PolicyLink

Leadership for Policy Change

A PolicyLink Report

PolicyLink is a national nonprofit research, communications, capacity building, and advocacy organization, dedicated to advancing policies to achieve economic and social equity based on the wisdom, voice, and experience of local constituencies.

Leadership for Policy Change
Strengthening Communities of Color Through Leadership Development

Principal Authors

Dwayne S. Marsh
Milly Hawk Daniel
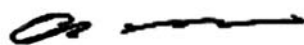Kris Putnam, *consultant*

PolicyLink Team

Joe Brooks
Raymond Colmenar
Rachel Poulain
Trina Villanueva

Preface

When Michael Wald asked PolicyLink to identify ways to engage more leaders of color in policy change, it provided an opportunity for us to underscore a core PolicyLink belief: The success of our work—whether focused on equitable development, access to technology, or health equity—depends on the ability of community leaders of color to take an active, central role in developing policy solutions. Yet repeatedly, this nation's most talented, credible, and dedicated advocates are excluded from critical decision-making venues. As a woman of color working at the intersection of implementation and policy regarding issues affecting children, families, and community, I am constantly amazed by how frequently I am nearly the only person of color present when policy is being discussed and decided.

While the need for increased leadership of color is clear, the path to achieving it is not. Engaging more leaders of color in policymaking requires a shift in resources, priorities, and power. Foundations and other institutions can facilitate this shift through concerted efforts to prepare and position more representatives from communities of color for policy impact. PolicyLink is grateful to The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation for their confidence and financial support, and applaud them for asking the critical questions. We hope that this report begins to provide the answers.

Many people contributed to this report. Beyond the dedicated efforts of the PolicyLink team, I thank the National Community Development Institute, whose team led by April Veneracion and Omowale Satterwhite developed the Program Scan and added greatly from their vast organizational and individual development experience. Nicole Gallant of The Hewlett Foundation was a steady liaison whose insights proved extremely valuable. Finally, I thank the interviewees and focus conversation participants whose wisdom, lessons, analysis, and reflections contributed to the richness of this report.

Angela Glover Blackwell
President
PolicyLink

In 2001, I was asked by The Hewlett Foundation to design a potential new program focused on children and youth. I began by asking hundreds of committed advocates around the country "why, despite years of government and foundation efforts, do so many children still have bad outcomes?" The most common responses were not related to a lack of money or programs; recurring themes were the need for better policymaking, greater organizational capacity, and more leadership training.

I then asked Angela Glover Blackwell and her colleagues at PolicyLink to develop recommendations on how to improve both the policymaking process and the capacities of those providing leadership on children and youth issues. Based on past experience, the PolicyLink team was uniquely qualified to examine these questions.

The resulting analysis and conclusions are insightful and powerful. Foundations and government currently rely on the leadership of African American, Asian, Latino, and Native American community organizations to implement programs to help our most disadvantaged children and youth. However, few of these highly talented leaders are brought to policymaking venues or afforded the opportunity to develop all of the needed skills. Meaningful change for communities of color cannot be realized without connecting these leaders and their organizations to the policy table.

The report delineates specific ways that foundations, government agencies, and other institutions can cultivate more robust leadership development programs. Most importantly, it provides a roadmap for institutions that are committed to improving the well-being of disadvantaged minority communities with options for immediate implementation. We hope that it will inspire new efforts to fund programs that provide minority leaders with opportunities to engage in policy change.

Michael Wald
Senior Advisor to the President
The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation

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Executive Summary

Policy determines the way society organizes its resources, conducts its business, and expresses its values. In a democracy, all people have a right to participate meaningfully in policymaking. Yet, people in low-income communities of color historically have had limited access to the policymaking process despite the range of federal, state, and local policies that directly shape their existence.

Leaders of Color for Policy Change
The Hewlett Foundation asked PolicyLink to assess the conditions for leaders of color who want to impact policy effectively, and to recommend how to increase their numbers and influence. *Leadership for Policy Change* is the result of that effort. The report documents the need for leaders of color, identifies the barriers to their participation in policy arenas, suggests strategies for overcoming the barriers, and recommends a strategic option for leadership development programs. PolicyLink conducted interviews, reviewed leadership literature, and scanned leadership programs and concluded:

- Leaders of color are critically needed to advance a new generation of policies that address the economic and social inequities confronting children, families, and their communities.

- Leaders whose values are consistent with community needs and concerns, and who are grounded in those communities exist, and need to be supported in their ability to impact policy.

- Leadership development efforts that are place-based have significant potential for long-term policy impact.

- The full and effective participation of leaders of color in policymaking arenas can be

achieved by specific intervention strategies that address existing barriers.

- There are opportunities for existing leadership development efforts to enhance the capacity of leaders of color to influence policy.

Methodology
Between April and August 2002, PolicyLink conducted interviews with 111 community-based, nonprofit, and philanthropic leaders; elected officials; academic researchers; business professionals; and leadership development program administrators from across the United States. Fifty individual interviews were conducted and five focus group conversations held, one each in Chicago; Del Ray, Florida; Miami; Oakland; and San Francisco. The majority of the interviews were with people of color.

The literature review included more than 70 books, articles, and reports on leadership development in the nonprofit, business, and philanthropic sectors. (See page 30 for a partial list of sources.) A scan of leadership development programs identified 72 with a stated focus either on people of color **or** policy. Websites and print materials were reviewed for 32 of these organizations, and 10 were given more in-depth analysis, featuring at least one program staff interview.

Key Findings
PolicyLink research for this report underscores the need for leaders of color, the barriers that can prevent their participation in policymaking, and the interventions that can eliminate or minimize the influence of those barriers.

Needs. Leaders of color who are grounded in the communities they represent are needed to impact policies that affect the quality of life. People of color, however, are not the only leaders who can be effective in promoting such policies, nor will their presence guarantee positive policy outcomes

for these communities. The policy arena needs people who can broaden the discourse, minimize harmful decisions, and increase the likelihood that policies will have a positive impact. The absence of people of color from the policy arena excludes points of view that bring new perspectives to policy discussions that affect the entire nation, such as housing, health care, employment, transportation, education, and the environment.

Barriers. Whether intentional or accidental, barriers prevent people of color from full participation in the arenas that profoundly impact the daily lives of their children, families, and communities. This occurs for a number or reasons, including institutional racism; lack of experience with the policymaking process; isolation of leaders of color; few opportunities to attain skills, training, and positioning; limited access to academic pathways that lead to policymaking careers; not enough strong organizations and organized constituencies; and challenges related to diverse cultural approaches to leadership.

Strategic interventions. Strategies exist that can aid in removing these barriers and that can become part of leadership development programs that are intentional about supporting leaders of color to impact policy. Programs should incorporate a strong curriculum that offers participants training and opportunities to develop skills, to have mentors, to be exposed to best practices in the policy development field, and to have increased visibility in the policy world. Helping participants understand and use data effectively will enable them to bring credibility and strategic focus to advocacy efforts and policy initiatives.

Effective intervention strategies will link leadership development to actual policy goals in the community, providing leaders with the means for change by being involved in real policymaking.

Research also demonstrates that "place," or geography—the state in particular—plays an important role in leadership development and policy change, and should be a core element in leadership development curricula. A triple focus that targets individual leadership, organizational capacity, and constituency building provides the most strategic approach for developing leaders of color who can impact policy.

The success of these interventions will take time: time to develop leaders, time to develop organizational capacity, and time to realize policy goals. Foundations and organizations interested in doing this work should be prepared to make the necessary budget allocations and long-term time commitments.

Recommendation

PolicyLink recommends leadership development programs that intentionally recruit people of color and that incorporate individual leadership training, organizational capacity building, and constituency development. Such programs include goal oriented, place-based policy work that enables participants to develop the skills and tools needed for effective policy engagement. Programs should provide opportunities for formal and informal mentoring and support networks of relationships across boundaries of race, ethnicity, and class.

Conclusion

The wisdom and experience of people of color hold promise beyond enhancing the quality of life in communities of color. Leaders in these communities can help create substantive policy changes that lead to greater economic and social equity across economic and social sectors. The nation suffers when these voices are not heard. The promise of democracy is fulfilled when everyone has the opportunity to be part of the conversation and influence policy outcomes.

I. Introduction

The impact of public and private policy is not always self-evident. As individuals search for affordable housing, better schools, and jobs that provide decent standards of living, they have little opportunity to appreciate the role that policy decisions play in their daily lives. Yet these decisions profoundly affect family and community well-being, and misinformed policies often result in economic and social inequities.

Community service providers, organizers and advocates, community builders, nonprofit development corporations, faith institutions, and civic associations in the low-income communities of color most frequently affected are committed to addressing these inequities. Yet when policies are being developed and implemented, there is a disturbing absence of leaders of color in the conversation, often to the detriment of all communities. Opportunities for poor people and people of color to influence the policies that shape their lives are difficult to attain. Committed, talented leaders exist in these communities, but the chances to develop the skills, access, and experience to negotiate the places where policy is made are usually limited.

Increasingly, leadership development is acknowledged as a key element in improving the participation of people of color and low-income individuals in policy development. Public and private policy have long been the province of government and business leaders operating in arenas of limited access. Leadership development provides the tools and techniques that increase access to these processes.

While the need for increased participation of leaders of color in the policymaking process is clear, the path to achieving it is not. People of color who wish to take on broader, more

The Cost of Exclusion

"What is lost by not having those most affected at the table in the policy discourse? Sound governing, good planning, justice.... Everything, ultimately."

John Boonstra
Washington Association of Churches

mainstream leadership responsibilities face an array of obstacles including lack of access to professional development, limited funding resources, cultural differences, racism, and isolation from power. Often missing, too, are strong, supportive organizations to back these leaders and the means to build politically viable constituencies.

The result has been a dearth of leaders who can find access to policy tables and effectively influence what happens there. The limited numbers of leaders of color who have managed to gain access report feeling isolated and overworked as they try to fulfill policymaking roles in as many venues as possible. If they are unavailable, they fear, the voices of low-income communities of color will be unheard in the policy discussion. This has dangerous implications not only for communities of color, but for all sectors of a civil society.

The Hewlett Foundation recognized the need for greater numbers of well-prepared leaders of color in policy venues. The foundation asked PolicyLink to study the issues involved, report its findings, and recommend a strategic option for leadership development that could result in an increased number of leaders of color who are effectively prepared to influence policy. This report, *Leadership for Policy Change*, is the result of that effort. It explores the field for leadership

development among communities of color and recommends key next steps to improve the ability of these communities to impact policies. It reveals that:

- Leaders of color are critically needed to advance a new generation of policies to address the economic and social inequities confronting children, families, and communities.

- Leaders whose values are consistent with community needs and concerns and who are grounded in those communities exist, and must be supported in their ability to impact policy.

- Leadership development efforts that are place-based have significant potential for long-term policy impact.

- The full, effective participation of leaders of color in policymaking arenas can be achieved by specific intervention strategies that address existing barriers.

- Opportunities exist for leadership development efforts that can enhance the capacity of leaders of color through findings detailed in this report.

Leadership for Policy Change provides support for these conclusions and recommends a strategy for developing leaders who are prepared to address the needs of low-income communities of color. This report is intended to benefit practitioners engaged in community building efforts, leadership development programs that target communities of color, and the foundations that support these efforts.

Methodology

Between April and August 2002, PolicyLink conducted interviews with 111 community-based, nonprofit, and philanthropic leaders; elected officials; academic researchers; business professionals; and leadership development program administrators from across the United States. Fifty individual interviews were conducted and five focus group conversations held, one each in Chicago; Del Ray, Florida; Miami; Oakland; and San Francisco.

The majority of the interviews (approximately 84 percent) were with people of color who identified themselves as African American (34 percent), Latino/a (10 percent), Asian/Pacific Islander (24 percent), or Native American (2 percent). Interviews conducted with individuals who self-identified as white totaled 16 percent.[1] Nearly half (46 percent) of interview participants were women. Sixteen percent represented emerging or grassroots leadership.

The literature review included more than 70 books, articles, and reports on leadership development in the nonprofit, business, and philanthropic sectors. A scan of leadership development programs identified 72 with a stated focus either on people of color **or** policy. Websites and print materials were reviewed for 32 of these organizations. Ten programs were reviewed through a more detailed analysis that included an interview with at least one program staff.

II. The Importance of Policy

Policy determines the way society organizes its resources, conducts its business, and expresses its values. Low-income communities of color face challenging family and neighborhood conditions yet have historically had limited access to the policymaking process. This comes despite the range of federal, state, and local policies that directly shape their existence. This report is informed by a belief that all people have a right to participate meaningfully in the policymaking process and that improving the quality of life for low-income children, their families, and communities of color requires the full participation of those affected by the decision making process.

Public awareness of federal, state, and local government policies is often focused on issues such as housing, transportation, economic development, health, welfare, and education. Private sector policies exert important influence as well. A company's decision about where to locate facilities can have a major community impact. Private companies partner with community representatives about job creation and investment needs, and they contribute financial and human capital for community purposes. Company decisions about employee salaries and benefits greatly determine the well-being of families, and thus communities.

Public and private policymakers often interact with constituent interests before finalizing policy decisions. There is an inside and outside aspect of the policymaking process. Federal, state, and local legislative, executive, and judicial branches typically perform the visible inside function. Outside players represent both formal and informal institutional interests, with constituent

Putting Policy in Context
The conclusions reached in this report are largely due to the analysis of the interviews, program scan, and literature review conducted by PolicyLink. However, the conclusions are also informed by the success of policy campaigns in which leaders of color played key roles. Two such campaigns—focusing on community reinvestment and infant health—are described on page 10 and offer concrete examples of the possibilities that exist for policy impact by people of color.

interests represented by professional lobbyists, issue-focused coalitions, public interest advocacy organizations, think tanks, grassroots community networks, and other organizations—all trying to influence the outcomes of the policymaking process.

In this process, groups and individuals:

- identify problems that require a policy change or intervention;

- establish principles to guide a proposed remedy;

- understand the related substantive issues and clarify the policy needed to address those issues;

- develop a policy strategy with related data and required resources; and

- build coalitions and gain power to win the policy change or intervention sought.

Each of these activities can be a point of entry into the policymaking process. Effective engagement, however, requires understanding how the process works and how to leverage participation for real impact. These are skills that more people of color can learn and use for overall social improvement.

People of Color in Policy Advocacy

People of color have played significant roles as advocates and have led policy victories not only for their communities, but for the larger society.

Community Reinvestment Act—Then and Now

The 1977 Community Reinvestment Act (CRA), which requires financial institutions to make loans in distressed urban and rural communities where they conduct business, is recognized as one of the most important pieces of economic justice legislation in the last quarter century. CRA has resulted in over $1 trillion in loan commitments in urban and rural low-income communities. It was enacted through the advocacy of a broad, multi-ethnic coalition.

In 1999, Congress passed the Financial Services Modernization Act, which enabled consumers to bank, buy stocks, and acquire insurance in one location. The law represented the greatest threat to the integrity of CRA to date. The Modernization Act initially featured several clauses that would severely weaken the ability of communities to hold major financial institutions accountable for neighborhood investment. Ultimately CRA was preserved. However, its supporters believe that the CRA would not have survived if not for the broad and deep support it received during a massive national campaign led by local and national leaders representing diverse low-income communities, housing activists, community developers, and the civil rights community around the United States.

Observers believe that CRA's integrity was in serious jeopardy very late in the legislative process; the Clinton administration appeared ready to compromise. The most damaging provisions of the banking reform included exempting small banks from CRA and limiting continued scrutiny of banks with solid past performance. Forceful advocacy, the civil rights community, and the Congressional Black Caucus directly affected the White House. The administration was reminded that minorities most hurt by diminished community lending had been among the President's biggest supporters. The White House returned to the bargaining table to craft better CRA provisions in the final legislation.

Community Involvement in Healthy Start

The Healthy Start Program was initiated in 1991 by the US Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), to reduce the nation's infant mortality rates. Communities with infant death rates at least three times the national average were eligible for grants. A majority of grantee sites were communities of color, particularly African American. Healthy Start grants encourage resident and parent participation in local efforts to reduce infant mortality, which provide real opportunities for leadership, skill building, participation in governance councils, and central roles in shaping program practice. Parents of color were policy players in an arena that could make a difference.

The community involvement component of Healthy Start was threatened with the possibility of a political decision to fold the program into the Title V Block Grant process. Increased state discretion could have potentially minimized the priority placed on community engagement.

Proactively moving to get broader support for the program, a coalition comprised mainly of program directors and resident and parent participants of color from several sites initiated an extensive advocacy campaign. They developed a communications plan to promote Healthy Start, its design, and accomplishments in the 90 communities around the country that house the programs. In addition, the program directors formed a 501(c)(4) organization to increase their advocacy. They reached out to national intermediaries, including PolicyLink, to build their capacity as they sought policy innovation. The lobbying message was simple and direct—maintain the program as is and avoid the risk of moving the program to a block grant. Political momentum culminated when African American Congressman James Clyburn hosted a June 2000 congressional briefing to raise awareness of the value of Healthy Start and the vital role of resident/parent involvement in the program's success.

The victory to maintain the resident/parent participation component of Healthy Start was realized when President Clinton signed the Children's Health Act of 2000, establishing the once-pilot program as regularly funded under HHS, with community consortia as a key component.

III. The Need for More Leaders of Color in Policy Change

Across the country, community service providers, organizers, advocates, community development corporations, faith institutions, and civic organizations are working to address the social and economic inequities facing children and families in communities of color. Yet when policies that affect these communities are being developed and implemented, people of color are seldom present for the conversation.

This exclusion is detrimental beyond communities of color. It deprives the nation of the wisdom and experience these communities can offer in solving some of the country's most pressing problems. The absence of people of color from the policy arena and decision-making processes excludes points of view that can offer new perspectives on housing, health care, employment, transportation, education, and the environment. Such exclusion revokes the promise of democracy. Communities will experience policies as ineffective or inequitable unless they have opportunities to develop collective problem solving strategies. Research for this report underscores the need for leaders of color who can use these strategies on behalf of their communities to influence policy.

Leaders of color are critical in formulating policies that impact their communities
The policy arena needs people who can broaden the discourse, minimize harmful policy decisions, and increase the likelihood that the policy will have a positive impact. Leaders of color who understand the needs and assets of community residents and organizations will best be able to effectively drive policy efforts. They will be most aware of issues affecting their communities. While

Recognize the Opportunity
"Often, in communities of color, we don't even know that the policy table is there."

Anthony Thigpenn
AGENDA

the presence of people of color in leadership positions does not guarantee progressive social action, their absence strongly decreases the probability that the full diversity of considerations will be reviewed as part of policy development.

Recent history is filled with examples of the significant policy impact leaders and communities of color have had in the United States. Consider the role of grassroots leaders and organizations that were largely responsible for encouraging the national discourse and mobilizing efforts to advance racial equality in the 1950s throughout the Civil Rights movement. Or, the importance of having Asian Representatives Norm Mineta and Robert Matsui, and Senator Daniel Inouye as elected officials who led a successful reparations effort for Japanese Americans who were interned during World War II. "It is good to have people of color in policymaking positions," argues Richard Murphy of the Academy for Educational Development. "It is fair, right, and when we have diversity, we get stronger decisions."

People of color are not consistently present and visible in U.S. policy discourse
People who will be affected by policies should be part of the development of those policies. Yet there are few people of color in public, private, or nonprofit sector positions where policy is made or influenced. More than 80 percent of U.S. congressional leaders, 94 percent of state

governors, and 96 percent of university presidents in the United States are white men. Throughout the 1990s, white men constituted 97 percent of Fortune 500 CEOs.[2] In philanthropy, 94.1 percent of all CEOs and 89.5 percent of all CFOs are white.[3] In the entire history of the United States Congress, there have been only 15 senators of color. Only one African American has held a gubernatorial position (although 6 ran for governor, all unsuccessfully, in the 2002 election). Media play a critical role in influencing policy, yet newspaper newsrooms are still, at 88 percent, overwhelmingly white.[4]

Many people interviewed for *Leadership for Policy Change* believe there are more people of color in leadership positions in the nonprofit sector, relative to government and business. While numbers were in actuality slightly better than other sectors, the vast majority of nonprofit executives nationally—at just more than 75 percent—are white.[5] The smaller budgets and staff size of most organizations led by people of color can negatively impact their ability to influence policy.

Voices of color can bring an important perspective to critical contemporary economic and social policies

Racial and ethnic diversity in policy discussions paves the way for analyzing fundamental issues of access, wealth distribution, and resource allocation from multiple perspectives, and gives rise to a variety of approaches to potential solutions. Leaders of color interviewed for this report cited education, housing, childcare, and welfare reform policies as significant recent policy failures that could have benefited from a more inclusive approach. Failing to include the voices of leaders of color from low-income communities in the policy discussion can have a domino effect. Unequal public education, for example, is related to unemployment and economic disparities.

Leaders who share values of justice and equity should play an active role in policy development

People of color are not the only leaders who can be effective in promoting policies that positively impact communities of color, nor will their presence guarantee positive policy outcomes for their communities. The most effective leaders in communities of color will be women and men who share community values on justice, equity, and inclusion, and who are grounded in the community. What's important, says Van Jones of the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights, is "a question of values and politics." Several leaders interviewed for *Leadership for Policy Change* reported forming alliances with committed white leaders, sometimes challenging leaders of color whose attitudes and actions could negatively impact low-income communities and people of color.

Regardless of color, leaders who hope to be effective in efforts to improve the opportunities and quality of life for all children, families, and communities should possess:

- A set of values focused on justice, equity, and inclusion.

- A passionate commitment to improving the quality of life for all individuals in the community.

- A willingness to bridge boundaries of race, ethnicity, class, and gender.

- An understanding of the importance of an organized constituency and the ability to build it.

IV. Barriers that Prevent Effective Policy Impact

Whether intentional or incidental, barriers exist that prevent people of color from fully participating in policymaking arenas. Acknowledging and removing these barriers will enable greater influence by leaders of color and ultimately lead to better outcomes for all communities, especially low-income communities of color.

Lack of experience with the policymaking process inhibits participation

Many people of color have not had exposure to the policymaking process or experiences that help them to understand how policy is made. The concept of "policy" can be confusing and the means for influencing it can seem complicated. Without access to the right information, it can be difficult to know what policy is, where it happens, and who makes it. Knowing what policy is and how to use it effectively are skills that can be learned. Without training and support many leaders find it difficult to use policy to make change. Yet, "current power and political structures are not designed to be inclusive about policy decisionmaking," observes Jesse King, COO of Daniels Fund. Leaders of color need support in knowing when, where, and how to speak up to influence legislation.

Persistent institutional racism is a barrier to leadership

Institutional racism covertly or overtly resides in the policies, procedures, operations, and culture of many public or private institutions, reinforcing individual prejudices and perpetuating inequities. It results in situations in which people of color feel unwelcome in policy environments, which have traditionally been bastions of white, typically male, leadership. Such homogeneous environments are prevalent in private corporations and to a slightly lesser extent in government. Through intentional resistance, institutionalized racism, or lack of awareness, such environments can be isolating and insensitive to the experiences of emerging leaders of color. In interviews for this report, several leaders reported experiencing feelings of isolation even in some nonprofit advocacy organizations whose missions promote inclusiveness.

Isolation of leaders of color in policy circles is a barrier to participation

The presence of only one or two people of color at policy tables is a lonely and isolating experience. Leaders may fear jeopardizing their tenure if they are perceived as pushing too hard on issues related to low-income communities of color.[6] Leaders interviewed spoke of finding little support for their efforts from others at the policy table while enduring tremendous pressure from their communities to speak out. Several described feeling hugely outnumbered much of the time and able to bring only limited political power to bear on the subjects under discussion.

These leaders described the difficulty of deliberating or brainstorming ideas—essential elements of the policy development process— without the presence of other leaders who share similar values and perspectives. Leaders of color who gain access to the places where policy is made struggle to be everywhere at once for fear their absence will leave their communities vulnerable to the actions of those without a personal stake in the policy outcome. Individual leaders of color who reach high levels of policy, power, and access, can experience even greater isolation because the opportunities for that kind of advancement are so few. Increasing the numbers and effectiveness of leaders of color can provide a means for mutual support, freeing leaders from feeling that they are alone in representing their constituencies.

Lack of skills, training, connections, and positioning limits participation

While people of color may feel a strong commitment to improving outcomes for children, families, and communities, they frequently lack the skills, training, connections, and positioning from which long-term, policy-oriented careers and opportunities can emerge.

- *Skills*—Policymakers need to be adept at using a wide range of communications and advocacy tools; they also need to be savvy negotiators and diplomats. Often, leaders of color have only been in positions to make demands and draw attention to grievances. Jesse King of Daniels Fund asserts that for every 500 excellent advocates, there are only a few who can "put down the hammer that got them to the table, pick up the pen, and negotiate with those in power." Many leaders have also had little experience effectively collecting, analyzing, and presenting data to influence the policy debate.

- *Training*—The lack of opportunities to learn the techniques of policy engagement keeps people of color from the policy debate. Few leadership development programs focus explicitly on the needs of leaders of color, and even fewer include a policy focus. Unless focused attention is paid to recruiting and training people of color for leadership roles in policymaking, there will continue to be a dearth of strong leaders.

- *Connections*—Success in leadership and policy requires opportunities to engage others who are established in the policy arena. Many emerging leaders of color lack exposure to more powerful leaders who can open doors and provide opportunities.

- *Positioning*—When the Democratic and Republican parties anticipate vacancies in elected offices they position existing and emerging leaders to run for those offices. This kind of positioning influences leadership

selection for foundations, advocacy groups, and other nonprofit organizations. Positioning can pave the way for emerging leaders of color to have a significant influence on policies that impact low-income communities.

Academic pathways that lead to policymaking careers are not broadly accessible

Policy, public administration, law, planning, and business schools frequently serve as pipelines to policymaking positions, and there are a number of promising programs in universities and colleges that prepare people of color for leadership in policy positions. Some are organized for students of particular racial and ethnic groups, others for advancement in particular professions, some for broader notions of preparing for civic engagement.

Public institutions in particular have large numbers of persons of color in the student body, including many who are in mid-career and are potentially strong candidates for leadership development. Many of the programs are very consistent with the goals of this report, placing students with community-based or advocacy organizations to work on real-world policy issues, or creating support groups and mentoring. Unfortunately, there are not nearly enough of these programs. The schools that have the resources to expand such programs are often the ones that struggle to maintain diversity in the student body.

In addition, choosing a career in policymaking can be financially risky for many people of color. Completion of a professional graduate school program that might position one for access to policy circles is often accompanied by significant student loan debt. This leads many professionally trained people of color into more lucrative legal or corporate positions. Further cutbacks in affirmative action programs at colleges and universities will exacerbate this problem.

Leaders of color often lack strong organizations and organized constituencies
Many organizations led by people of color are focused on service delivery. They are not funded to do policy-related work such as data gathering and analysis, production of position papers, educating and organizing constituencies, testifying before legislative committees, and monitoring progress on legislation. These policy activities are time intensive, and without additional resources, the organizations are consumed by fulfilling the baseline function of their missions.

Without support for policy activities, organizations are unable to mobilize constituencies of color, which are often underutilized, unprepared for advocacy roles, and unconnected to the existing leadership that could champion their issues. Yet building these constituencies is critical to any organized effort to support the policy goals of the organization and its leader.

Diverse cultural approaches to leadership can conflict with expectations in policy arenas
The dominant cultural paradigm in the United States can present a challenge to expanding leadership in policy development. This paradigm has established standards and expectations about who leaders are (e.g., white, male, vocal, individually oriented) and how policy is developed (e.g., "old boys' networks" or through campaigns that require significant financial investment).

Despite the rapidly changing racial and ethnic demographics in the United States, this paradigm is yet another barrier to the participation of leaders from communities of color in policy development. For example, the collective approaches of many Asian traditions, or the multigenerational perspective of most Native American cultures, may restrict people from advocating for community needs. "In the United

Immigrant Leadership
Emerging immigrant leaders face multiple barriers to developing leadership skills and obtaining leadership positions. According to a study by MOSAICA for the Hyams Foundation, these barriers can include having low income, limited formal education, and little or no ability with English, which results in limited access to leadership development training and opportunities to exercise leadership abilities. Educated immigrant professionals who speak English often struggle for employment access. For both groups, the most successful strategies for building immigrant leadership were identified as those that organize around issues important to immigrants' lives, bring immigrants together across nationalities, and allow for a "ripple effect" of leadership development throughout the community (e.g., through train the trainer approaches).[7]

States, you need to speak up," says J.D. Hokoyama of LEAP, a multicultural leadership development agency in Los Angeles. "This can be challenging from an Asian Pacific Islander perspective, where you are taught to listen, to observe, to take note," he added. Sally Gallegos of United Indian Nations says, "The very notion of leadership can be off-putting to some communities. It connotes exclusivity. For our communities, family is where the answer lies."[8]

V. Intervention Strategies for Improving Policy Participation

Research for this report revealed strategies for addressing the need for leaders of color and removing the barriers that are obstacles to active engagement of people of color in the policy process. Leadership development programs cannot remove all the barriers, but strategic interventions can help mitigate against them, maximizing the possibilities for leaders of color to effectively influence public policy.

Design programs that are intentional about developing leaders of color

Few existing leadership development programs focus specifically on developing leaders of color. Those that do—such as Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics (LEAP) and the Center for Third World Organizing (CTWO)—are intentional about recruiting people of color and have been successful in supporting the development of effective leaders. Successful programs involve people of color in program design and ensure that training and curricula reflect participants' strengths and unique challenges. These programs incorporate diverse approaches to leadership and policy change, providing leaders with a heightened understanding of the way in which leadership style can enhance effectiveness in different policy environments. Such programs should offer each leader the opportunity to assess individual strengths and weaknesses and to follow a tailored learning plan in preparation for policy impact.

Leadership Development and Community Capacity Building

Community members are not only the recipients of social policy; they have demonstrated that they can be the agents and leaders of policy change as well. Many low-income communities and communities of color however, lack the experiences, opportunities, and access to resources needed to assume these leadership roles. According to research conducted by The Aspen Institute on comprehensive community change, recent community-change ventures have sought to develop residents as leaders, create social connections, and organize residents to participate in social change.[9] They recommend that efforts to involve residents as leaders should begin with a deep and complete understanding of the community's existing leadership structures and provide sufficient support to the development of new leaders. They identified the need to create social connections among community residents, as such connections can establish a basis for civic unity and ultimately social change. Finally, they argue that mobilizing communities does not mean that all residents are equally engaged. Rather, people will have different levels of interest and abilities to commit.

Recruit leaders of color who are grounded in and accountable to their communities

Leadership programs that recruit community leaders who are grounded in, representative of, and committed to serving low-income communities and communities of color will have the most success in developing effective leaders. To be effective, leaders need to be responsive and accountable to their communities and rely on input from resident voices in identifying policy targets. Leaders who are not grounded in community will lack the necessary constituency support that advancing policy requires. Emerging leaders of color will be well served by leadership development programs that recognize the value of leader and constituency connections.

Emerging leaders can also use guidance in balancing the needs of their communities and the delicate maneuvering required to remain at the policy table. "Accountability is a problem, especially for an individual leader of color who gains political access," says Anthony Thigpenn of AGENDA. "At best, she or he will be distracted; at worst, co-opted. Organizing has to build accountability. And we have to be conscious of the price of compromise." Leadership development programs can help emerging leaders learn how to be effective in policy negotiations without relinquishing accountability to constituents.

Link leadership development to actual policy goals in community
The vast majority of leaders interviewed for this report strongly believed that the best way for leaders of color to learn how to change policy is by being involved in actual policymaking. Development programs that structure learning opportunities around real policy goals and objectives with potential community benefit will be the most effective. Research for this report demonstrates that "place," or geographic region, plays an important role in leadership development and policy change, and should be a core element in leadership development curricula. Place—neighborhood, county, or state— anchors emerging leaders to a constituency and enhances the potential for meaningful collaborations and partnerships. Bringing together leaders within a geographic region can help build essential networks for policy support. Convening gatherings of emerging leaders can provide opportunities to share experiences, develop joint strategies, and reap the benefits of working together to achieve policy goals.

The state was consistently identified as the arena most critical for influencing policy issues affecting low-income children, families, and communities,

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Leadership Development and Women
Little literature exists on leadership development for women. A recent search on Amazon.com found 756 books on "leadership development" but only 13 on "women and leadership development." Some researchers, however, have examined the leadership styles of women versus men. They found that women are more likely to adopt a democratic leadership style versus an autocratic style favored by men. Women's leadership styles tend to be more transformational, relationship-oriented, and include interpersonally oriented behaviors such as participatory decisionmaking, consideration, praising, and nurturing behaviors. Male leaders were found to be more directive, controlling, and task-oriented in their leadership styles. Interestingly, little difference was found between male and female leadership behaviors related to innovation, problem solving, and communicating vision. According to Stetler (2002) women's leadership styles would work well in organizations that have flat organizational structures and team-based management both of which value the more interactive leadership style of women.[10]

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and most obvious in its lack of representation by elected officials and policy advocates of color. Devolution has increased the importance of state government, and state policies have profound impact on children and families. State engagement has traction locally and nationally, and it ensures that impact can occur in numbers large enough to actually improve outcomes at the family and community level. Influencing state policy will require greater mobilization of local leadership and constituencies of color. Leadership development programs that focus on the state level can help create natural networks within states and provide opportunities for intra- and inter-state learning. Achieving impact in a number of key states sets the stage for advancing national policies to improve outcomes for children, families, and communities.

Many people of color who do state-level policy work feel isolated; others feel state level engagement is inaccessible. Still others noted an often unwelcoming feeling in the current mix of advocacy organizations, and those organizations often struggle to coordinate effectively with the constituent organizations they need to move policy. A state-based leadership development strategy can address these problems by providing opportunities for forming and sustaining alliances. Further, this strategy presents significant opportunities for philanthropic partnerships for leveraging additional financial support.

Support the development of relationships and networks across boundaries

Interviews for this report and a growing body of additional research identified the need for leaders who can work across boundaries of race, culture, socioeconomic experience, geography, field, and discipline. Efforts by foundations such as Kellogg and Annie E. Casey and organizations like the Leadership Learning Community (a national network of leadership development organizations and funders) incorporate cross-boundary learning into their programs, recognizing that leaders engaged in policy change will be put into positions that require negotiation across differences. They recognize the responsibility that leadership development programs have for providing opportunities for participants to acquire the tools and experiences such negotiation requires.[11] Patti Culross of the Packard Foundation observes: "There are not a lot of people in power who are of color, so if you cannot negotiate with the people at the table [whoever they may be] you will not be successful. Even if you want to *change* the talk at the table, you have to *engage* in it first."

Building such relationships within a structured leadership development program can be a difficult and time-consuming task. Surita Sandosham, coordinator of the Rockefeller Foundation's Next

Pushing Boundaries Builds Learning Allies

"Unlikely allies are also important. The Chief of Probation is an ally in our campaign work, even though he is also the jailor. We build the power of the young women leaving his system."
Lateefah Simon
Center for Young Women's Development

"Expose people beyond what their immediate experience is, so they can see other models that can be replicated, have exposure to other solutions, and talk with people in other cities."
David Portillo
The Denver Foundation

Generation Leadership program observes, "You need to understand that if you are bringing diverse people together you must spend time upfront around team building. You can't do any other work until there is a level of trust. In order to build the trust, you need to get to know each other. This takes time."

Use mentoring to provide leaders of color with access, guidance, and support

A study of minority advancement in business found that people of color who advanced the furthest shared one common characteristic: a strong network of mentors who nurtured their professional development.[12] Most leaders interviewed for this report also cited mentorship as an extraordinarily important strategic intervention in the development of leaders of color. The Leadership Learning Community and the Kellogg Foundation both specifically identify mentorship as a critical component of any leadership program.

Jesse King of Daniels Fund notes, "Think of the charge, the responsibility you feel when you are around good leaders, you feel the need to keep up." Beyond motivation, mentors provide strategic guidance, perspective, technical awareness, access, connection to allies, accumulated professional knowledge, and general life wisdom. Mentorship does not only occur within cultural or ethnic groups. Hedy Chang of the Haas Jr. Fund recalls that one of her early mentors was a white man who provided "important access and skills at a key point in my career." Rinku Sen, publisher of the Applied Research Center magazine *ColorLines* agrees: "For the majority of people of color engaged in this work, most training has been informal. Having a set of mentors who are older and diverse, men and women, coming out of different experiences, is key."

Leaders interviewed for *Leadership for Policy Change* recommended that programs provide mentors across generations of movement leaders. Young leaders of color spoke of finding it difficult to find mentors among older generations of community builders and policy advocates.[13] Burnout and a lack of effective venues for sharing experiences were cited as possible reasons for the lack of exchange. Programs that can help foster these relationships, young leaders said, would be invaluable.[14]

Focus on the importance of data and information

Information is critical to policy development. It frames the policy debate, surfaces potential solutions, and determines who engages in the discourse. Using data brings credibility, nuance, and strategic focus to advocacy efforts. Unfortunately, the use of data as an advocacy tool is dramatically underutilized by leaders of color, often due to insufficient organizational resources. Without data, groups are often marginalized and considered uninformed by those in authority. Providing training and actual experience in data gathering and analysis was seen as a very high

Strength in a Community of Mentors

"It is not just mentorship, but having experienced, inspirational people around. Having institutional density creates a space for being open minded, inclusive, and nurturing."

Martha Matsuoka
Ph.D. candidate,
University of California, Los Angeles

Strengthening Leadership Through Information and Accountability

Effective leadership, informed by data, brings insight, sensitivity, and creative problem solving to pressing policy issues.

- Hmong parents in Stockton, California, concerned about prevalent gang activity, negotiated with the police for two half-time community liaisons in the police department. It was the first formal interaction between that community and local law enforcement.

- The Denver Foundation was criticized for not investing in poor neighborhoods and neighborhoods of color. Looking for ways to engage residents, the foundation created a technical assistance program that extends beyond service provision to leadership development through improved data collection.

- The Books Not Bars campaign has brought regional attention to the planned development of a "super prison" for youth in Alameda County, California, forcing new policy discourse on alternatives to youth incarceration.

priority by those interviewed. Additionally, community leaders and researchers often do not communicate well with each other, wasting valuable chances to coordinate efforts.

Organizations that serve children and families in low-income communities of color need assistance in developing the capacity to collect and manage *quantitative* data on the status of communities and populations served. They also need to become proficient in collecting and presenting *qualitative* data that reflect diverse cultural experiences and that can help shape public perception through media and public education. Without accurate neighborhood-level information, organizations may not develop the most strategic policy.

The ability to collect and interpret data internally can be useful to organizations with the capacity to do so. "In-house research capacity became a priority when we realized we had to develop campaigns that require data to keep a firm grasp on the issues," recalls Anthony Thigpenn. Some organizations may need to find other ways to collect the data, perhaps through collaborations to acquire the services of independent research organizations. The community should have input into how the data will be collected and evaluated. Community members should also be part of the discussion about how the data will be used. Marian Urquilla of the Columbia Heights/Shaw Family Support Collaborative, says "A lot of times it is about bringing information to a community in a way they have not seen it and allowing them to have the discourse. They can think through alternatives and drive policy transformation."

Knowledge is Power

"Currently, the technocrats still control the data. A multitude of effective programs in inner cities around the country exist, but we don't have the evidence. Our ability to advocate for them is greatly frustrated. Data can be an engagement mechanism in low-income communities."

Joseph Youngblood
Trenton Board of Education, now with the Watson Institute

Provide a strong curriculum that offers participants skills, training, visibility, and exposure

- *Skills and training*—The leadership development curriculum should include analysis, negotiation, diplomacy, and advocacy as well as tools to support creative and critical thinking and public speaking; collection, management, and presentation of information; use of technology; and the development of media and public education strategies. David Portillo of the Denver Foundation cites the importance of "media coaching and training for front line people of color." J.D. Hokoyama singles out training to help immigrant leaders cope with challenging cultural experiences. "We want to help people maintain their values," Hokoyama says, "but still develop new skills that can help them navigate the dominant society."

- *Visibility, positioning, and exposure*—Leadership programs should pay particular attention to opportunities for increasing the visibility of leaders of color (through interactions with elected officials, business and labor leaders, and community members) and positioning them to assume greater leadership responsibility at the program's end. Programs can provide site visits to other communities, opportunities to participate in

exchanges with other successful programs, mentoring and relationship-building opportunities, and introductions to other leaders in the area.

Focus on the development of individuals, organizations, and constituencies
Leadership development efforts that combine a "triple focus" on individual leadership development, organizational development, and community or constituency development can enhance the effectiveness of leaders of color.[15] Several leaders interviewed for this report talked about the limited financial and technical resources in many organizations led by people of color. These limitations leave the leader without a strong base from which to implement a vision for the community. Organizations with limited resources are vulnerable to the loss of their leaders, who also need an involved constituency to engage in substantive policy and social change efforts.

Individual. For nonprofit leadership, individual and organizational development are closely linked. A recent study of nonprofit executive directors in five cities across the United States found that less than one-half would take another executive director role. The reasons for refusing another leadership position included lack of confidence in their skill levels and lack of job enjoyment (due to high stress, long hours, and concern over agency finances).[16] Reports from grassroots, emerging, immigrant, and nonprofit leadership development programs underscore the need for providing organizational capacity building simultaneously with individual development. One study, for example, found that the most significant barriers to immigrant leadership included insufficient organizational resources, limited staff time and experience, and limited management experience.[17] When organizations are in crisis, or when the leader is spending the majority of time managing, there is little time to create, implement a vision, and lead.

Organizations. Few leadership development programs address organizational effectiveness issues, and few organizational capacity building programs address leadership needs. Examples of programs that combine both include the Eureka Communities Fellowship and social entrepreneur programs such as the Echoing Green Fellowship Program. Their leadership development programs include such organizational capacity building strategies as mission planning, strategic planning, fundraising, financial management, board development, and communicating effectively with diverse audiences. Capacity building support can include core operating funding, which can further the organization's efforts to create and implement a policy agenda.

The simultaneous focus on individual and organizational development can facilitate future leadership needs and long-range planning by encouraging the development of leaders of color from within an organization. Lynette Lee of East Bay Asian Local Development Corporation advocates "developing an organizational culture to grow more people and leaders of color." The Development Guild's study of emerging, community-based leaders found that barriers to emerging leadership included lack of organizational commitment to nurture new leadership voices, an inability to adapt to change, and current leadership that is threatened by new leadership.[18] Leadership development programs can incorporate strategies that help organizations improve their ability to identify, mentor, and develop emerging leadership from within the organization's junior or middle management, thus creating a pipeline to leadership that can sustain the organization into the future.

Constituencies. Constituencies and communities that are organized can engage in the most aggressive policy development. Particularly in communities of color, leaders need constituencies

to build political momentum and gain access to policy circles. Constituencies need leaders to advocate on their behalf in the places where decisions are made. Constituencies and communities are often underutilized, unprepared for advocacy roles, and unconnected to existing leadership and organizations that can champion their issues. Leadership programs that provide emerging leaders with strategies for engaging constituencies will enable leaders to serve communities more effectively.

The boundary-crossing experiences described earlier can help leaders engage constituencies. Leadership development programs can also include strategies for using popular education, organizing, collective leadership, community capacity building, and collaboration as tools in building constituency. Craig McGarvey, an expert on civic engagement, commented on community leadership development strategies among immigrant communities in California's Central Valley, saying "Many organizations take the responsibility to encourage and train new leaders, and in doing so, the established leaders make themselves invisible so that other leadership can emerge."

Popular education (the attempt to inform and engage residents around issues that are relevant to their way of life) is an important tool used to organize constituencies. "Where popular education and organizing are effective, they use a problem people can understand and work together to solve," explains McGarvey. Typically, when residents are engaged through organizing and popular education, their interest in policy-related issues remains heightened.

Connect emerging leaders to movement building strategies

Leaders and communities of color can benefit from exposure to best practices in the policy development field and apply lessons learned

Social Change

"There aren't a lot of resources to support advocacy and organizing. Most resources are for service provision. There is a misconception that nonprofits can't or shouldn't do advocacy."

Taj James
Movement Strategy Center

from those practices. Exposure to these best practices provides a visceral understanding about what policy is, who makes policy, and how individuals and communities can influence policies that support other program activities. Learning from others is an excellent means for discovering the career paths that lead to greater policy involvement and for observing firsthand how policy goals are developed, implemented, and used to create the next policy development opportunities.

Connecting to policy-oriented best practices can also lead to movement-building, as a policy-influencing strategy. Taj James, of Movement Strategy Center, believes that "Too many efforts are organization driven. Movement-identified efforts hold promise for engaging in long-term policy change." Peggy Saika of Asian Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy adds "When we are in an organizational posture, we are able to address service needs. But at the end of the day, even if we are effective at feeding, clothing, and housing, are we really participating in democracy? That is where movement building comes in."

Be prepared to make necessary budgetary allocations and long-term commitments

Leaders interviewed for this report noted that many leadership programs targeting people of color lack the resources to provide the breadth

and depth of experience needed to help emerging leaders learn how to craft strategies and policy targets that are relevant to local communities. There is a need for additional financial and human resources to support programs that enable women and men of color to develop effective and policy focused leadership.

Recognizing the problems of inadequate funding prompted these leaders to stress that realizing successful program results requires a long-term commitment. It takes time for existing and emerging leaders to build competencies and increase their understanding of how to wield influence. Time is needed, too, for the leaders' organizations to build capacity to be an effective participant in the change process. More time is required for targeted communities and constituencies to organize, engage in policy work, and realize desired outcomes. Many see this as a ten-year process that requires a foundation commitment of several multi-year grants, and the willingness to support programs for several years before significant results can be seen.

Interviews for this report were unanimous in agreeing about the need for leaders of color who can effectively influence policy. They were also in agreement that barriers exist that must be eliminated—or at least minimized—so that a group of leaders of color can emerge.

The literature on leadership and a scan of leadership development programs identify programmatic elements that have proven successful in developing leaders, although within narrower parameters than those envisioned by this report. The strategic option for leadership development programs that follows builds on the knowledge of previous efforts and incorporates

the thinking of leaders interviewed for this report. The result is an approach to leadership development that is intentional about developing leaders of color who—with the support of organizations and constituencies—are prepared to effectively influence policies that impact children and families who live in low-income communities of color.

VI. A Strategic Option For Leadership Development Programs

PolicyLink recommends the following strategic option as the best approach to leadership development for leaders of color who can effectively impact policy. This option grows out of understanding the challenges to the development of leaders of color and from the analysis of program approaches discussed in the literature review, program scan, and interviews. The program elements are designed to support the development of leaders of color prepared to advance a new generation of policies to benefit the lives of residents in low-income communities.

Goal: Place-Based Leadership Development for Policy Change

Support the development of leaders of color to impact policy by providing leadership training, organizational capacity building, and constituency development in the context of goal oriented, placed-based policy work in a program that intentionally recruits people of color.

Potential participants

Emerging and existing leaders who are all focused on a similar issue (e.g., youth transitioning out of foster care), who approach the issue from different institutional perspectives (e.g., community-based advocacy, transitional housing provider, Department of Social Services), and who work within a common geographic area (e.g., city, region, state). The majority of participants should represent the nonprofit sector, but leaders in the public and business sectors could be included as appropriate to the policy issue. Participants would be individuals with organizational affiliation who can be *influential* within the organization or in the communities with which the organization works.[19] These participants would represent and

be grounded in communities, and would have demonstrated leadership and commitment to social justice. The cohort should be comprised primarily, but not entirely, of people of color.

Benefits to participants

Participants receive individual and cohort-wide leadership development and policy training through curriculum, site visits, network-building activities (e.g., quarterly dinners with policymakers and elected officials), analysis of policy victories, mentoring, and by working together to reach a common policy goal, such as drafting legislation or making policy recommendations. Participants will have an opportunity to cross boundaries by working with individuals and organizations not usually perceived as allies. This work:

- builds understanding of issues that affect targeted policies;

- provides specific skills around the use of data, media, and writing;

- develops the use of timing, framing, and strategic planning; and

- shares coalition building and other techniques that will aid in the ability to move complex agendas and engage constituency.

Benefits to participants' organizations

The nonprofit organizations of each participant will participate in a systematic assessment of organizational needs and receive organizational capacity building assistance to increase their effectiveness in the policy arena. For example, an organization might need improved information technology systems,[20] guidance in how to shift from service provision to policy advocacy, or support in developing its board.

Benefits of this approach

- *Intentionally recruits leaders of color*—While the focus of this strategy is to build the leadership capacity of people of color, it is not restricted to them. The cohort should include

participants who bring different perspectives to the program and who will contribute to boundary crossing and relationship building experiences.

- *Unified policy focus*—PolicyLink research indicates that leaders of color are most likely to engage in a leadership development program that is structured around an actual policy agenda. The agenda can encourage a cross-section of leaders (the participant cohort) to work together across racial, ethnic, socioeconomic, gender, and cultural boundaries toward a common goal.

- *Focus on place*—Geographic region should be the focus of the policy agenda. Many leaders of color interviewed see state-level policy engagement as most important.

- *Addresses concerns identified in the research:*
  - Opportunities to build networks and relationships across boundaries;
  - Mentoring;
  - Use of data and information;
  - Comprehensive skills building curriculum;
  - Triple focus on individual, organization, and constituency development; and
  - Opportunities for learning lessons from best practices.

Anticipated outcomes

- *Leaders of color prepared to impact policy*—Leaders of color will develop the understanding, skills, competencies, networks, linkages, resources, exposure to influential leaders, and strengthened relationships in communities to effectively impact policies that affect children and families in low-income communities of color.

- *Healthier organizations*—Community-serving organizations (of the leader participants) will benefit from tailored needs assessment and capacity building assistance. It is anticipated that organizational infrastructure will be strengthened and the capacity of the organization to address and shape policy will be enhanced.

- *Informed constituencies*—Without engaged constituency, leaders are rarely able to build sustainable policy change. It is intended that this strategy will specifically incorporate tools for public education, civic engagement, and leadership accountability as part of the program.

Actual policy change might also be an outcome of this leadership development strategy. However, in the context of the program, activities to achieve policy change are a *venue* for individual and organizational leadership development, not a goal. Program success will not depend on reaching the policy goal, which might not be realistically accomplished within the program timeline or might be prevented by uncontrollable factors (e.g., state fiscal crisis or world events).

Implementation considerations

- *Clarify foundation priorities*—Identify policy issues that support and advance the foundation's programs and focus on geographic areas that are of interest to the foundation.

- *Contract with an intermediary organization*—Identify an intermediary organization that brings leadership development expertise to develop, manage, and administer the leadership development program.

- *Conduct significant due diligence*—Determine the appropriate policy issue, the relevant geographic area(s) of concentration, and the right "mix" of leaders currently working on the issue within the geographic area. Understanding the existing politics among the cohort is important, as present and past experiences among them and their organizations can impact group dynamics.

VII. Fellowship Programs

In the course of research for this report, it became clear that many institutions interested in leadership development for communities of color have chosen fellowship programs as the method for providing support and training. These programs typically recruit candidates from professional schools in policy, planning, health, law, social welfare, business, and related fields. Many recruit beyond these areas, however, and seek out nonprofit employees, business sector representatives, and recognized community leaders.

While there are innumerable fellowship program models, the most effective complement elements of the programs described in the strategic option above. They place people of color in policy organizations that are working for improved outcomes for children, families, and communities of color. One challenge of fellowship programs described in the research is the difficulty policy organizations have had in retaining participants. Reasons cited for this difficulty included financial constraints, lack of attention to the needs of fellows early in their professional development, and inadequate preparation of the host organization to manage its responsibilities to the fellow. Many interviewees felt that the environments of the host organization were sometimes unwelcoming. Some cited inadequate orientation and interaction for fellows.

Focus group conversations suggested that the fellowship experience might begin with cohorts of 10-12 fellows going through a collective legislative "internship" experience that grounds them in the policy context they will address during the remainder of a two-year fellowship. Throughout the program, fellows receive skill building training, experiential learning, and professional development that prepares them for a career in public service and policy advocacy. The organizations that host fellows receive customized technical assistance that builds their capacity as advocacy organizations.

Programs should allow fellows and key staff of participating policy organizations to regularly convene for leadership, policy training, and experiential learning. Opportunities to interact with experts, public intellectuals, philanthropy, business, and media leaders support the development of fellows' networks and access to key policy arenas beyond the fellowship.

Effective fellowships can complement the recommended strategic option
Fellowship programs can address the paucity of people of color who are pursuing training and skills development that qualify them for effective policy advocacy. It also responds to the challenges that many policy organizations have faced in recruiting and retaining advocates of color. Fellowships allow individuals to build skills around policy development and advocacy, values clarification, public speaking, community organizing, media training, and data and research preparation in the context of a particular organization. The policy organization has the opportunity to provide long-term employment opportunities for fellowship graduates at the end of the program.

VIII. Conclusion

Programs structured around place-based policy goals, that are tailored to individual needs, and that build networks of relationships across boundaries of race, ethnicity, and class provide the best means for successful leadership development for people of color. These programs should provide opportunities for formal and informal mentoring. These key points are the foundation of this report, and are the means for improving the ability of leaders of color to successfully impact policies affecting children, families, and communities of color.

A Leadership Development Scenario

A comprehensive leadership development program, as outlined above, is the most effective way to target leaders of color who can become effective policy advocates for children, families, and communities. This option incorporates the necessary elements for successfully supporting leaders of color to have impact on policymaking. How this option can play out in the real world is the focus of the scenario that follows.

In a fictional interview, reporter Marcus Robinson of an imagined *Public Policy Quarterly*, interviews Cecilia Rodriquez on the eve of her award for community leadership in the Somewhere region. Cecilia was a key player in guaranteeing benefits to East End residents from transit development in that community. She also helped ensure that there was minimal displacement of Somewhere's low-income and immigrant residents. The story Cecilia gives the reporter is a portrayal of the way leaders of color can influence policymaking for the benefit of low-income communities.

Cecilia Rodriquez Honored:
Transit Development Provides Benefits for East End Residents
by Marcus Robinson, *Public Policy Quarterly*

More than 1,300 people attended the annual CAUSE dinner, which has become the premier nonprofit advocacy award ceremony in the Somewhere Metropolitan Region. One of this year's recipients was local activist Cecilia Rodriquez. She was prominent in the leadership group that led a successful campaign that brought $67 million in investments, from Somewhere Rapid Transit Agency and private investors, into East End for the creation of a Transit Village. The Transit Village development has generated extensive economic activity and new housing, with minimal displacement of the low-income or immigrant residents. In fact, many of these residents have obtained employment in the Village or have begun small businesses there. Additionally, more than half of the Village construction contractors have been women and minorities.

In the last seven years TransJustice, the organization Cecilia founded, has become a major player in the development of transportation policies in the region and state. In addition to East End Transit Village, TransJustice was the driving force behind the development of the recent state policy that guarantees 25% of publicly funded transportation

projects be set aside for resident ownership and other community benefits. As CEO of TransJustice, Cecilia has marshaled a diverse staff, an engaged community, and a committed funding base to ensure that low-income residents benefit in multiple ways from transportation investment. Ms. Rodriquez was interviewed before receiving the award.

MR: Cecilia, this state policy regarding community benefits would not have advanced without the organized participation of people from low-income communities. How did they get involved?

CR: The short version is that people of color, like me, who had credibility in those communities became involved early. And the truth is, I'm not sure that I would have become engaged if I had not been recruited. I joined a cohort of nearly twenty community-based leaders recruited by the Community Foundation as part of the Foundation's effort to help leaders of color have policy impact. They selected a group to participate in an intensive two-year training that built on our individual networks and skills and also helped us strengthen our organizations and engage local constituencies in policy initiatives. The cohort decided pretty early in the process that we would focus on the opportunities that could be generated by the planned transit stop in East End.

MR: How does a foundation help leaders have policy impact?

CR: Well, the process was always steady and deliberate. After we identified our common interest in the transit station in East End, we began to focus on building our capacity to engage the issue. Not all of us were transportation advocates, but we all clearly saw how transit issues affected our work. There were organizers like me, service providers...most of us were people of color. It was important to create the space to explore those issues from our own experience. Early curriculum helped us to gain an understanding of the policy process at the same time it showed us what other communities had been able to achieve. We also studied effective policy campaigns across the country. We knew policy was important. We just needed help figuring out how to get at it. As we progressed, we got into specific strategies to advance policy campaigns and began to think about targets that could produce collective benefit.

MR: So, it was important that the program actually focused on real policy goals.

CR: Yes, policy goals in our community; but we had to work at the regional level and also at the state level. Our region was growing, but our neighborhoods of color were being left behind. There was a sense of urgency to see if we could catch up. We had to learn fast because the big decisions were being made at the state level and none of us had much experience working there. And all of this happened while the East End transit stop was starting to be planned without our input. We could not have gotten in the mix as quickly as we did without help from a lot of people. The support we received from seasoned policy advocates who the foundation made available to us was extremely important.

MR: What other things were key to your success?

CR: During and after the program, the program helped me not only to develop my personal skills, but also to build the kind of organization I would need to be effective in the policy arena. Good policy work requires a certain familiarity with data and studies; also, you have to be able to be impressive in and after the meetings. That means having staff to do things like prepare written testimony, issue press releases, and help those out front feel confident to act when opportunities emerge. The capacity building grants that we received from the Community Foundation allowed us to hire the staff to do these things. But constituency is key and the program also helped me maintain the engagement of residents even as issues got increasingly complex. I think that a combination of individual skill, organizational capacity, and constituency development is critical to policy change. The networking that we were able to do within the cohort also turned out to be very valuable. In the future, as alumni we can bring a **lot** of weight to bear on an issue, and policymakers know it.

MR: What's next for these leaders?

CR: [Laughs] No rest for the weary, no? Well, first this very positive experience needs to be shared. Our plans for maintaining the momentum and leveraging this experience include building a constituency-based statewide policy advocacy organization that beyond transportation, will address affordable housing, displacement, reinvestment, wealth building, and workforce development. We have commitments from several foundations to support this work for multiple years. The Community Foundation has been a fantastic partner. In addition to helping us get funding for the new venture, the Foundation is planning to share lessons learned from the experience with other funders across the country and with professional schools that can recruit people of color and incorporate the skill-building curriculum of our cohort into their own. Lastly, in our private lives, some of us are joining with labor and political groups to find ways to culitvate elected officials from our community. We are starting by running a candidate for the transportation board. There is a lot to do and this is only the beginning.

Endnotes

[1] Numbers will not add up to 100 percent because some people identified themselves as belonging to more than one group or did not self-identify.

[2] Numbers for elected positions tallied by PolicyLink staff from congressional listings; CEO data from Fortune 500 and from Feminist Majority Fund, 1996; university data from Affirmative Action Review by Labor Secretary Reich, 1995.

[3] Burbridge, L. and colleagues. *The Meaning and Impact of Board and Staff Diversity in the Philanthropic Field*. Joint Affinity Groups, 2002.

[4] According to 2002 survey by the Radio-Television News Directors Association.

[5] CompassPoint Nonprofit Services. *Daring to Lead: Nonprofit Executive Directors and Their Work Experience.* San Francisco: Peters, J., and Wolfred T., August 2001, p. 11.

[6] Drawn from several of the individual interviews.

[7] MOSAICA: The Center for Nonprofit Development and Pluralism. "Research on Barriers and Opportunities for Increasing Leadership in Immigrant and Refugee Communities." A public report. Boston, April 2000.

[8] Shared during the Oakland Focus Conversation, August 7, 2002.

[9] The Aspen Institute. *Voices from the Field II: Reflections on Comprehensive Community Change* (2002).

[10] Stetler, N.J. "Gender Differences in Leadership: Current Social Issues and Future Organizational Implications" [electronic version]. *Journal of Leadership Studies*, 2002, 8 (4), p. 88.

[11] Findings come from three sources: (1) The Annie E. Casey Foundation. *Building Leaders for Change: An overview of the Annie E. Casey Foundation's Children and Family Fellowship.* Baltimore, MD, 2001, 6.2; (2) Beineke, J.A. and Sublett, R.H. (1999). *Leadership Lessons and Competencies: Learning from the Kellogg National Fellowship Program.* Proceedings of the International Leadership Association 1998 Annual Meeting, 21–26; and (3) Crossing Boundaries: An Exploration of Effective Leadership Development in Communities (a funder meeting on August 2, 2002, organized by the Southern California Association of Philanthropy and the Leadership Learning Community).

[12] Thomas, D.A., "The Truth About Mentoring Minorities," *Harvard Business Review*, April 2001, pp. 99–107.

[13] Seven of the nine emerging leaders interviewed less than 35 years of age noted these challenges.

[14] Among the emergent leader respondents who recognized the need for this were Lateefah Simon and Van Jones.

[15] The "triple focus" approach was coined by the Kellogg Foundation to describe an approach to grassroots leadership development. See Campbell, J.C. *Grassroots Community Leadership: A Guide for Funders,* Battle Creek: W.K. Kellogg Foundation, 1998.

[16] CompassPoint Nonprofit Services, p.20. Cities surveyed were San Francisco, Fresno, Washington, DC, Honolulu, and Dallas.

[17] MOSAICA: The Center for Nonprofit Development and Pluralism. "Research on Barriers and Opportunities for Increasing Leadership in Immigrant and Refugee Communities." Public report. Boston, April 2000. p. i.

[18] Development Guild/DDI, Inc. *Engaging New Leadership Voices for Catalyzing and Sustaining Community Change.* A report prepared for the Leadership Cross-Cutting Theme. Brookline, MA: W. K. Kellogg Foundation, November 2001, pp. vi–vii.

[19] It is not required that a participant be affiliated with an organization, but if s/he is not so affiliated, connecting her/him to the appropriate organization for her/his policy interest would be a priority of the leadership development effort.

[20] Evidence of the value of information and technology in community development is detailed further in *Bridging the Organizational Divide*, Kirschenbaum et al. PolicyLink, 2001.

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A Summary of the Leadership Development Program Scan

Introduction

Engaging those most affected by policy in a new generation of policy development is a beginning step for reversing negative trends affecting low-income communities. Many organizations and foundations nationally have been supporting programs and initiatives to develop leaders and their capacity to sustain social and economic change. This research presents an overview of recent activities in the leadership development field with an emphasis on policy. It serves as a starting point for the program recommendations. A detailed analysis is available on the PolicyLink website at http://www.policylink.org. The Asian Pacific American Legal Center has produced an excellent guide that focuses on the broader field of leadership development, entitled *Crossing Boundaries: An Exploration of Effective Leadership Development in Communities.*

Purpose of the Scan

This program scan provides a baseline review of existing leadership development models, identifies existing gaps in programming for people of color, and presents best practices and lessons learned from the field. The following questions guided the research:

- What are the predominant program models for achieving leadership development?

- What is the current state of leadership development programs for people of color?

- What are the key design elements of successful programs?

Landscape of Programs

The research revealed three predominant program models:

- Individual development

- Organizational development

- Community development/building

Individual development programs focus on developing the personal capacity of individuals to be effective leaders. *Organizational development* programs focus on improving organizational function and the effectiveness of leaders to address areas of governance, finance, operations, and programs. *Community development/building* programs focus on building community capacity to increase the civic engagement of residents.

The matrix on pages 35-36 categorizes programs based on the three predominant program types found in the research.

Key Findings

Among the many things that need to be considered in the program planning phase are the "what" and "how" of a program. The "what" of the program are the major programmatic elements including target population, selection process, learning methods, and skill-building curriculum. The "how" is the operational infrastructure needed to implement the project, beginning with having a set of clear short- and long-term expected outcomes, allocating appropriate staff and financial resources, and determining key partners. The examination of the ten programs revealed major considerations, described below.

Programmatic Elements

1) *Determine the target population.* Selection of a target population is an outgrowth of the intended outcomes.

2) *Establish appropriate selection criteria.* People of color historically have not had access to powerful institutions and networks that are more readily open to elites through wealth, family background, and higher education.

3) *Convene selection committee.* Participant selection is crucial. Many of the programs used a selection committee comprised of program administrators and a panel of peers. Each needs to be intentional about selecting and screening participants based on the established selection criteria.

4) *Determine learning approach or methodology.* Programs customized approaches based on overall program goals and target populations. Three typical approaches to achieving learning goals include: 1) Skills training by outside experts or trained facilitators; 2) Peer-to-peer networking to encourage peer learning, build networks, and make connections, often with an emphasis on solving community problems; and 3) Field placement to encourage experiential learning by doing projects such as public policy, organizing, or community building with a law firm. The most effective methods use a combination of all three learning approaches to promote effective leadership development in communities of color.

5) *Develop experiential learning opportunities, such as field placement.*

6) *Develop mentorship opportunities.* Because people of color, especially emerging leaders, may not have the same access to and experience working in nonprofit organizations, a considerable amount of time needs to be allocated to developing ongoing mentorship relationships for participants. Alumni networks and connecting participants with other established leaders is important.

7) *Establish core competencies for leaders.* A range of skill building competencies are needed among individuals seeking to create policy or legislative change.

   a. Values clarification
   b. Self-awareness and reflection
   c. Public speaking/media savvy
   d. Relational/coalition-building skills
   e. Facilitation/conflict resolution
   f. Constituency building/community organizing
   g. Public policy/legislative training
   h. Statistical knowledge

8) *Support organizational capacity of sponsoring or affiliated organization.* By and large, there does not appear to be a strong emphasis on building the capacity of the field placement organizations.

9) *Develop appropriate compensation incentives.* Design incentives with the target population in mind. It may be important to create for lower income people, new immigrants, and those without higher education, additional supports, such as childcare, transportation, translation, and additional training regarding the function of public policy.

10) *Create measures of success.* The programs typically measure their success by two factors: (1) the impact of the projects undertaken by fellows, and (2) the percentage of graduates that go on to take positions in the field targeted by the fellowship program. There is a notable absence of a formal evaluation process in most programs.

Operational Infrastructure
Many of the operational infrastructure findings are typical of new or emerging organizations trying to implement a program.

1) *Identify long-term outcomes.* Program designers need to consider the impact that leadership development training can have on the long-term outcomes they are trying to achieve. For foundation-sponsored programs,

planners need to consider the integration of the program with the foundation's other grantmaking activity.

2) *Use theory of change to guide the development of the program.* Increasingly, foundations and other program designers are utilizing a "theory of change" or a "causal model" to design initiatives. In this approach, the program designers identify a set of outcomes for the initiative and then develop the appropriate set of activities.

3) *Decide whether to keep a program in house or support an operating intermediary.*

4) *Secure adequate staff and financial resources.* Key costs for these programs include the financial incentives for the fellows, staff support, training resources, and administration.

5) *Create ongoing support for fellows in the field.* An additional program consideration is the degree to which the sponsoring program provides support for its fellows in the field. Provide technical assistance to the fellows to help them implement their projects, such as crafting effective media campaigns or successfully mobilizing residents.

6) *Partner with existing programs.* Effective programs may be brought on to conduct trainings in a particular area such as community organizing.

7) *Consider cultural competency and appropriateness.* All programs considered cultural diversity as an overarching value but its implementation varied from one program to another. Some considered it in the selection of individuals; others infused this value into the development of their curriculum.

Conclusions

Many leadership development programs are attempting to build the capacities necessary for changing policies that impact children, youth, and communities. In designing a program, designers need to consider key programmatic and organizational infrastructure issues that can support learning and skill development for leaders of color. Changing societal conditions calls for a new leadership paradigm that brings together individuals, organizations, and their communities.

AN ANALYSIS OF LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS		
APPROACH	**EXAMPLE(S)**	**DESCRIPTION**
Individual		
Skill building	**Coro Fellowship** **Leadership Education for Asian Pacific Americans**	Have a specific curriculum with a clearly articulated set of core competencies. Usually skill building programs use traditional models and methods such as training and workshops by expert trainers to transfer knowledge to participants.
Networking	**American Leadership Forum—Senior Fellows Program** **Greenlining Academy** **Next Generation Leaders**	Focus on bringing together people from different backgrounds to build mutually supportive relationships. Forge relationships across sectors, race, class, and gender. Inspire transformational learning based on shared interests and greater understanding of different perspectives. Intentionally utilize group learning methods and activities that promote relationship building.
Research fellowships	**HUD Minority Fellowships**	Build knowledge by investing in individuals who conduct research projects that have implications for the field. Knowledge is built through published reports and other forms of information dissemination.
Issue/ Constituent-oriented	**Asian Women Leadership Institute** **Center for Young Women's Development** **National Council for La Raza Leadership Training Institute**	Focus on a particular issue or segment of society (e.g. youth) and the development of individuals in the selected group. Build confident individuals within a supportive, same group setting.
Professional/ Career development	**Human Capital Initiative**	Build the workforce through training in a particular field. Often sponsored by private corporations or industries to support a pipeline of individuals to enter the professional field.
Public sector recruitment	**Presidential Management Intern Program** **Truman Scholars and Urban Fellows Program**	Have a focus similar to professional development and pipeline programs. Popular with public sector and civil service agencies, these programs help to fast track program participants into high level positions in government without going through the standard civil service process.
Recognition	**California Wellness Foundation**	Promote individual achievement usually through financial support or exposure. These programs provide emerging leaders with visibility to support future professional work.
Foundation-sponsored initiatives	**Leadership for a Changing World** **Leadership for Community Change** **Next Generation Leadership (NGL)**	Provide support to individuals as a way to leverage current grantmaking and capacity in the field. The methodology and program focus vary based on the goals of the foundation and often utilize a combination of program strategies to promote individual development.

AN ANALYSIS OF LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS		
APPROACH	**EXAMPLE(S)**	**DESCRIPTION**
Organizational		
Sponsored placement	**Skadden Public Interest Fellowship**	Fund a highly skilled individual to work in a community based organization. Increases organizational capacity to function more effectively in specific areas, such as law or business.
Social entrepreneur-ship	**Echoing Green** **Denali Initiative**	Support individuals with an interest in building entrepreneurial organizations. Often born out of a venture capital model where investors base their investment decisions on the experience of the management team. Venture philanthropists seek a social return on their investment.
Community leaders	**Center for Community Change New Voices Initiative** **Eureka Fellows**	Build the skills of individuals, usually organizational leaders such as the executive director or board chair, to create sustainable organizations. Assist executive directors in gaining insight about organizational management issues through a variety of individual and organizational support strategies. While many executive directors are passionately committed to issues of community need, they are not prepared for the day-to-day challenges of managing an organization.
Community Development/Community Building		
Community organizer training	**ACORN** **Center for Third World Organizing** **Industrial Areas Foundation** **Pacific Institute for Community Organization**	Focus on increasing resident engagement in addressing issues that affect their lives. Often based on the belief that residents should be involved in making changes in their own neighborhoods. When trained and organized, marginalized communities can and do exercise their power in numbers.
Community capacity building/ collaboration	**American Leadership Program Collaborative Leadership in Action** **Devolution Initiative** **FAITHS Initiative** **Koshland Program**	Focus on bringing together individuals from different sectors to promote social change. In recent years program developers have expanded their understanding of the conditions and connections needed to make social change.

Telling the Story
The Individual and Group Interview Process

"This is the agenda for the rest of my life."
Interviewee

This sentiment, widely shared by the women and men interviewed for this report, underscores the serious responsibility the project team felt to reflect the diversity of perspectives on leadership development. The report answers the question shared by many of this nation's most progressive advocates for social change: how do we deepen our policy impact? The 250-plus hours of interview transcripts held many answers. The assignment for the leadership development project team was to analyze the interview results and develop appropriate recommendations.

Interview Selection
One of the most difficult tasks involved in the production of this report was narrowing the list of 341 potential interviewees to the targeted fifty. The interview list needed to be as representative of this nation's leadership landscape as possible, a difficult task given the number of selection variables to be considered: geography, gender, age, ethnicity, experience, sector, formal leadership training, constituency base, position within their organization, political affiliation, and many more. While challenging, this selection effort proved inspirational as the team reviewed the breadth of committed and emerging leaders working in numerous capacities to promote justice and equity. Nonetheless, the process of selecting fifty interview subjects took nearly twenty days of intense meetings and included some of the team's most heated discussions.

Interview Process
Scheduling interview time with such predictably busy people proved daunting. Ninety-six percent, however, were able to allow time for the full interview. The team contacted a few dozen other colleagues and experts for good measure. The full interview, guided by a thoughtful survey instrument, was scheduled to last fifty minutes, but often ran to seventy or more. About 70 percent of the interviews were conducted in tandem, to get the benefit of multiple perspectives on what was discussed. Many were conducted by phone. The prolific travel itinerary of PolicyLink staff allowed for several conversations across the country to happen in person.

Throughout the 13-week interview process, the project team met almost weekly to share findings, discuss observations, and refine the working theory of change that would eventually drive the recommendations. The team found the passion, candor, and conviction of interviewees energizing. It was refreshing to hear this accomplished and diverse group of people squarely addressing fundamental questions of race and class in America.

Interview Results
The essence of what the interviews revealed is reflected in the report; it would be impossible, however, to convey the full richness and complexity of the dialogue. Some of the findings were immediately evident—the questions had only to be asked to reveal answers: that leaders should be connected and accountable to constituency, that data is critical in policy development for leaders of color, and the importance of place to these communities.

Others required a bit more synthesis: What is the exact nature of mentorship that specifically helps leaders seeking to influence policy? Why is the state the geographic arena that holds the most promise for impact? Finally, there were tenets of

progressive social justice efforts that interviewees implored us to reinforce to audiences with influence: the value of civic engagement, public education, and community organizing; the need to develop a solutions orientation that is asset-based; the elevation of individual and family needs to a larger framework that integrates those concerns into the collective good.

Successful leadership, the kind with lasting policy impact, starts with tactics proven effective and pushes the envelope of those experiences, crossing boundaries in an effort to reshape decision making. It raises the standard of excellence expected of advocates. It extends beyond the nonprofit arena into the private and public sectors. Each person interviewed shared these characteristics of leadership and possessed their own distinctive systems analysis of policy development. Yet these perspectives resonated highly with those of their fellow participants. Finally, regardless of accomplishments achieved and accolades accumulated, to a person, none were satisfied with their work to date. They wanted more progress.

Most of the interviewees had strong messages for philanthropy, mainly regarding the scope of investment in leadership, the flexibility of available resources, and the composition of the leadership within philanthropic institutions. Ultimately, this interview process proved to be a dialogue about power—understanding it, using it, and changing the rules to ensure its more equitable distribution.

Focus conversation in Del Ray, Florida

Focus Conversations

Detailing the process behind the focus conversations could merit its own section in the report. Suffice it to say that the regions of the country where conversations were held were selected to address constituencies, geographic balance, and other characteristics not sufficiently covered by the fifty primary interviews. Local PolicyLink partners played a key role in the logistics and facilitation of each session. Comprised mostly of residents, participants in the original four sessions were compensated for their time and thoughtful input. Each focus group session was progressively more assertive about thoughtfully responding to information collected and shared from the previous group. The first session included two hours of the team listening to focus conversants and thirty minutes of conversation proposing alternative strategic options; by the fourth session that ratio had nearly reversed. A fifth session occurred while the report was in final editing, which allowed the project team to present the strategic option and receive feedback from an audience of foundation program officers and leadership development practitioners concerned with policy impact. Their thoughtful comments were invaluable.

| Principal Interview Participants			
Name	Organizational Affiliation	Title	Geographic Location
John Barros	Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative	Executive Director	Boston, MA
Vida Benavides	Independent	Political Consultant	San Francisco, CA
John Boonstra	Washington Association of Churches	Executive Minister	Seattle, WA
Cheryl Casciani	Baltimore Community Foundation	Director of Programs	Baltimore, MD
Hedy Chang	Haas, Jr. Fund	Senior Program Officer	San Francisco, CA
Genie Chough	State of California, Health and Human Services	Assistant Secretary	Sacramento, CA
Miguel Contreras	Los Angeles County Federation of Labor	Executive Secretary-Treasurer	Los Angeles, CA
Patty Culross	Packard Foundation	Program Officer	Los Altos, CA
Kitty Epstein	Independent	Leadership Development Facilitator	Berkeley, CA
Jim Field	Community Renewal Society	Program Director	Chicago, IL
Marguerite George	Arizona State University	PhD Candidate	Tempe, AZ
James Gibson	Center for the Study of Social Policy	Senior Fellow	Washington, DC
Gregory Hodge	California Tomorrow	CEO	Oakland, CA
J.D. Hokoyama	Leadership Education for Asian Pacifics, Inc.	President & CEO	Los Angeles, CA
Taj James	Movement Strategy Center	Executive Director	Oakland, CA
Van Jones	Ella Baker Center	National Executive Director	San Francisco, CA
Jael Kampfe	Formerly of Four Times Foundation	Executive Director	Red Lodge, MT
Jesse King	Daniels Fund	Chief Operating Officer	Denver, CO
Christopher Kui	Asian Americans for Equality	Executive Director	New York, NY
Stewart Kwoh	Asian Pacific American Legal Center	Executive Director	Los Angeles, CA
Joselito Laudencia	Asian Pacific Environmental Network	Executive Director	Oakland, CA
Barbara Lee	United States Congress	Congresswoman	Oakland, CA
Lynette Lee	East Bay Asian Local Development Corporation	Executive Director	Oakland, CA
Martha Matsuoka	University of California at Los Angeles	PhD Candidate	Los Angeles, CA
Craig McGarvey	Formerly of James Irvine Foundation	Program Director	San Francisco, CA
Joe McNeely	Development Training Center	President	Baltimore, MD
Richard Murphy	Academy for Educational Development Center for Youth Development and Policy Research	Vice President & Director	Washington, DC
Fabio Naranjo	J.D. & Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation	Program Officer	Chicago, IL
Jacqueline Novogratz	Acumen Fund	Chief Executive Officer	New York, NY
Manuel Pastor	UC Santa Clara Latin American & Latino Studies	Chair	Santa Cruz, CA
Arnold Perkins	Alameda Public Health Department	Director	Oakland, CA
Jane Pisano	Natural History Museum of Los Angeles	President & Director	Los Angeles, CA
David Portillo	Denver Foundation	Program Officer	Denver, CO
Chuck Ridley	Mad Dads	Executive Director	Miami, FL
Kwesi Rollins	Institute for Educational Leadership	Project Director	Washington, DC
Peggy Saika	Asian Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy	Executive Director	San Francisco, CA
Rinku Sen	ColorLines Magazine	Publisher	Oakland, CA
Juan Sepulveda	The Common Enterprise	President	San Antonio, TX
Kathleen Sheekey	Advocacy Institute	President & CEO	Washington, DC
Lateefah Simon	Center for Young Women's Development	Executive Director	San Francisco, CA
Donna Stark	Annie E. Casey Foundation	Director of Leadership Development	Baltimore, MD
Makani Themba	The Praxis Project	Executive Director	Washington, DC
Anthony Thigpenn	AGENDA	Executive Director	Los Angeles, CA
Tunua Thrash	Madison Park Community Development Coorporation	Business Development Organizer	Boston, MA
Connie Tucker	Southern Organizing Committee for Economic & Social Justice	Director	Atlanta, GA
Marian Urquilla	Columbia Heights/Shaw Family Support Collaborative	Director	Washington, DC
Landon Williams Tessa Rouverol Callejo	FAITHS Initiative (Joint interview)	Director Associate Director	San Francisco, CA
Joseph Youngblood	Formerly of Trenton Board of Education	Executive Director	Trenton, NJ

Focus Conversations

Del Ray Beach

Henry Saldana	Latino Leadership Institute, Inc.
Kevin Ballard	Community resident
Wayne Barton	Community resident
Courtney Cain	Community resident
Evelyn Dobson	Community resident
Freddy Gonzalez	Community resident
Tony McCray	Northwest Community Development Corporation, community resident
Lisa Patterson	Village Academy
Klebert Petitfrere	Community resident
Jose Ramirez	Community resident
Juana Ramos	San Castle Community Leadership, Inc.
Sabrina Rich Ingraham	Community resident
Frandy Roserts	Community resident
James Watson	Pyramid Books

Miami

Modesto Abety	Miami-Dade Children's Services Council
Tanya Dawkins	Collins Center for Public Policy
Garciela Dewar	Collins Center for Public Policy
Charisse Grant	Dade Community Foundation
Hilary Hoo-You	Miami-Dade Health Policy Authority
Cordella Ingram	Local Initiatives Support Corporation
Jocelyn McAdory	United Way
Kathleen Mitchell	Collins Center for Public Policy
Chuck Ridley	Mad Dads
Maria Rodriguez	Human Services Coalition Union of the Uninsured
Kristopher Smith	National Conference for Community & Justice
Muriel Wong Lundgren	National Institute for Innovative Leadership

Chicago

Nilofer Ahsan	Center for the Study of Social Policy
Denise Dixon	ACORN
Jim Field	Community Renewal Society
Jesus Garcia	Little Village CDC
Sarita Gupta	Jobs with Justice
Sarah Jane Knoy	Organization of the Northeast
Fabio Naranjo	J.D. & Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
Angelique Orr	Target Area Development Council
Antonio Perez	Center for Neighborhood Technology
Tom Walsh	Organization of the Northeast
Patricia Watkins	Target Area Development Council

Oakland

Tammeil Ailkerson	The Greenlining Institute
Lew Butler	Formerly of California Tomorrow
Kendra Fox-Davis	Center for Third World Organizing
Sally Gallegos	United Indian Nations Inc.
Martina Gillis	Coalition for Ethical Welfare Reform
Michael Harris	Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights
Francisco Herrera	Caminante, Inc.
Martha Matsuoka	University of California at Los Angeles
Kim Miyoshi	Kids First
Belinda Reyes	Public Policy Institute of California
Retha Robinson	The San Francisco Foundation
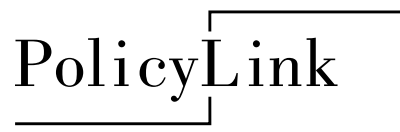
PolicyLink

Leadership for Policy Change
**Strengthening Communities of Color
Through Leadership Development**

PolicyLink National Office:

101 Broadway
Oakland, CA 94607
Tel: 510/663-2333   Fax: 510/663-9684

Communications Office:

1350 Broadway, Suite 1901
New York, NY 10018
Tel: 212/629-9570   Fax: 212/629-7328

www.policylink.org