Executive Summary

Throughout the country, the plight of workers is becoming increasingly dire as income inequality continues to intensify. Automation is rising and corporate takeover is expanding by means of tax cuts and political control. Productivity has escalated since the 1970s, while compensation has remained nearly stagnant (see figure 1).

Figure 1: Gap Between Productivity and Hourly Compensation, 1948 - 2017

Source: Economic Policy Institute, 2018
California, while not immune to these forces, presents examples of resilience and resistance on its fertile soil. It is at the center of several of the nation’s most exciting efforts to advance equity and justice. In particular, the labor movement has led to recent, impressive victories. For example, the passage of California Assembly Bill 5 (AB5) that will expand the legal protections for more than one million workers, including gig workers like Uber and Lyft drivers, who had been misclassified as “independent contractors.” (In response to the signing of the law, gig companies have launched a $90 million campaign to try to avoid following the new rules).

In the aftermath of the Supreme Court case, Janus v. AFSCME, worker organizing has increased and become more militant. Strikes have rippled throughout the golden state – from teachers standing up for our students and our public educational system, to health care workers fighting for expanded healthcare for all, and public sector workers organizing for our communities and the common good. There has been a rise in community-benefit agreements, living wage ordinances, and the movement for a fifteen dollar an hour minimum wage. Workers in the state are showing up and winning big.

While California has been leading the way on many fronts benefiting low-wage workers, the benefits have not been even. Philanthropic funders are now presented with the opportunity to commit resources to new areas of social change so together we can realize our full potential and ensure that our values are consistent with our funding decisions.

Tides conducted a landscape analysis to understand the breadth of existing research on low-wage work, and to understand the overall make-up of the ecosystem. Sixty people were interviewed with representatives from worker centers, community organizations, policymakers, unions, government officials, researchers and academics. Core findings from this work are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Key Lesson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Worker Ecosystem: Low-wage work varies drastically by region within California (e.g. industries, urban v. rural, political environment, culture, and demographics).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Organizations supporting workers' rights often do not identify themselves as “worker centers” or “workers’ rights organizations.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>More equity in funding is needed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Capacity Needs: Organizations need core support for organizing and investment in their organizational infrastructure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Revenue diversification is essential for financial sustainability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Policy change is a critical strategy to address underlying root causes of barriers to quality work.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 2: Highlight of Key Lessons, Insights, and Gaps

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Lessons</th>
<th>New Insights</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regional Variation &amp; Investment</td>
<td>In California, philanthropic dollars have predominantly been directed to the Bay Area and Los Angeles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In 2015 California foundations allocated 87% of their financial support to these two regions. The remaining 13% was spread across the rest of the state.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The scarcity of resources to regions outside of the urban core has left little to no nonprofit infrastructure and regional power via networks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tides can play an important role by supporting collective capacity for smaller community-based nonprofits in these priority regions, with the goal of connecting strategic resources and legislative campaigns with the work already being done in the urban cores.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Definition of Worker Rights Organization | Part of the complexity is a lack of consistency in how organizations focused on strengthening the rights, protection, and opportunities for low-wage workers identify their organization. Recognizing the broader landscape of organizations in the worker space may uncover significant opportunities not previously identified. |

| Equity in Funding | Of the $11.3B grant dollars California foundations awarded in 2015: |
|  | 30.43% was allocated to support economically disadvantaged populations |
|  | 1.71% went to groups focused on ethnic and racial minorities |
|  | 1.20% went to help immigrants, migrants, and refugees. As the state and country continue to become more racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse, equity in funding will become increasingly important. |

| Core Support for Organizing & Infrastructure | Tides has deepened the conversation about capacity needs by including organizations beyond the enforcement space (education, civic engagement, base-building, etc.), and from insights by those previously not engaged: |
|  | Core operating support is the most valuable type of funding because it enables investment in organizational infrastructure, and hard-to-fund pieces of work like base-building. |
|  | Tides recommends providing high-impact worker organizations with core operating to scale effective worker organizing and enable organizations to build infrastructure and bolster organizational capacity. |

| Revenue Generation & Diversification | Over 90% of funding for worker organizations comes from foundations, which is undesirable both for an organization’s independence and its long-term financial sustainability. |
|  | There is a need to educate both funders and grantees on revenue diversification opportunities, and to create spaces for shared capacity. |
|  | Tides supports the income diversification work being done in the field, including earned income models and partnerships with public agencies. Organizations expressed interest in creating networks and learning cohorts in this space and Tides recommends exploring this further. |

| Policy & Legislative Change | There is a growing need for those in the field to: |
|  | Receive 501(c)4 resources. |
|  | Understand what policy efforts can be taken as a 501(c)3s. |
|  | Be equipped with the compliance and policy strategy training. |

| Gaps | |
|  | Investment in early-stage organizations (small to medium-sized) through core operating support; for affiliate organizations, and in regions outside of the urban cores. |
|  | Long-term investment in core support for organizing and organizational infrastructure. |
|  | Networks and learning communities to help organizations diversify their funding. |
|  | Lack of resources for policy and legislative change (e.g. financial, legal, compliance, education, strategy, etc.). |

SOURCES: All key lessons come from field interviews and the following sources:
DEFINITION OF WORKER ORGANIZATION: Nik Theodore, et al. The Worker Center Ecosystem in California. (The LIFT Report)
EQUITY: Manuel Pastor. State of Resistance, What California’s Dizzying Descent and Remarkable Resurgence Mean for America’s Future / Foundation Center, California Foundation Stats
CORE SUPPORT FOR ORGANIZING AND INFRASTRUCTURE: Irvine Fair Work Worker Organizing Theory of Action
REVENUE GENERATION AND DIVERSIFICATION: Irvine Fair Work Worker Organizing Theory of Action
POLICY AND LEGISLATIVE: Field interviews
These key learnings are not separate from one another, nor are they surprising, yet each theme is featured to ensure thoughtful integration into future funding strategies. Strengthened by the extensive existing fair work research, Tides brings new insight from engaging many who have been left out. Key lessons, new insights, and gaps are highlighted to reflect the learnings from the landscape (see figure 2). The report includes an overview of the methodology and insights, recommendations for impact, organizations to watch, a field scan, and a philanthropy overview for each lesson. Voices from field interviews are uplifted throughout the report and are summarized in statements, expanded with additional findings.

**Methodology**

**Field Research Overview**

| Goals | 1. Build relationships & credibility with potential grantees and those in the field. |
|       | 2. Identify the breadth of issues impacting organizations and their capacity building needs. |
| Process | / May - July 2019 |
|         | / Led 38 Interviews with 60 representatives from worker centers, community organizations, policymakers, unions, government officials, researchers and academics. |
|         | / Attended 16 events (e.g., convenings, panels, worker actions) |
|         | / Reviewed 20+ reports |

A wide range of people in the ecosystem were consulted (see figure 3). Those from worker centers and community organizations focusing on low-wage workers were prioritized. Special attention was paid to the Central Valley and Inland Empire because early inquiry and existing research signaled those regions have high need.

**Figure 3: Interviews by Sector**

1) See Appendix for complete list of interviews conducted. 2) See Appendix for a complete list of events attended.
Worker Ecosystem

Lesson 1. Low-wage work varies drastically by region within California

INSIGHTS

/ Philanthropic dollars have predominantly focused on the Bay Area and Los Angeles. In 2015, California foundations allocated 87% of funding to these two regions. With only 13% spread across the rest of the state.

/ The lack of resources allocated outside of the urban core has contributed to a vulnerable and underdeveloped nonprofit infrastructure, as well as lack of regional power.

/ There is a critical opportunity to build the collective capacity of smaller community-based nonprofits in these priority regions, connecting strategic resources and legislative campaigns with the work already being done in the urban cores.

RECOMMENDATIONS

/ Provide funding and capacity building to strengthen infrastructure to worker organizations in under-resourced areas.

/ Mobilize urban-based organizations to cultivate alliances and seed efforts to support ally organizations in under-resourced regions.

/ Ensure grantmaking reflects regional differences, including political environment, culture, industries, and demographics of under-resourced areas.

ORGANIZATIONS TO WATCH

/ Central Valley Partnership
/ Central Valley Worker Center
/ EBASE (supporting organizing in Concord)
/ LA Black Worker Center (supporting organizing in San Bernardino and Riverside)
/ UC Merced-Civic Capacity Research Initiative (CCRI)
/ Voices: The Voice of Including Community Equitably (Fresno)
/ Warehouse Worker Center (Inland Empire)
FIELD SCAN

While California is considered a hub for innovation, there is significant regional disparity in terms of where these innovations are realized and who benefits. During the early nineties, the state suffered significant job loss and regional disparity grew. Northern California has since rebounded due to technological advances, while Southern California experienced growth from an influx of immigrants. The middle of the state did not benefit from these developments (Pastor, 2018). Today while the Silicon Valley and Los Angeles serve as epicenters for technological advancement, workers outside of the Bay Area and Los Angeles have a higher likelihood of experiencing poverty, health impacts due to climate related causes, and a lower median income.

As seen in figure 4, poverty impacts over two-thirds (68 percent) of the workers in the San Joaquin Valley region and over half of workers in the Central Coast (56 percent), Sacramento Valley (56 percent), and Inland Empire (51 percent) (Jones, et al, 2018). Furthermore, median income between 1985 and 2015 declined throughout the Central Valley, despite remaining steady or increasing for the Bay Area, San Jose, and Los Angeles and (Pastor, 2018).

Figure 4: Poverty by Region

Source: Regional Poverty, Jones et al.
The middle regions of California are home to some of the most toxic and polluting industries - contributing to the highest rates of asthma in children and worst air quality in the nation (Seyfort, 2014). According to Faith in the Valleys Executive Director, Pastor Trena Turner, worker issues are particularly challenging in the Central Valley because the major industries such as agriculture, gas, and oil cause great harm to local people. (Turner & Nelson-Hollis, personal interview, 2019). These jobs are precarious, unstable, and have unsafe working conditions. The Central Valley Partnership strives to improve conditions for workers through education, organizing, advocacy, and by collaborating with organizations across the valley.

The Central Valley is a key area; a lot of workers are being exploited and not a lot of resources are being offered to worker centers. We need to create a process to build networks in these areas to strengthen those workers organizations, to build an infrastructure for worker justice to ease the process.3

- Victor Narro, Project Director, UCLA Labor Center

Consistent with these findings, in the LIFT Report, Nik Theodore’s recommendation to strengthen California’s worker center ecosystem is to, “Support under-resourced regions. The infrastructure needed to serve low-wage workers requires targeted resources, including expansion into regions outside of the state’s main metropolitan areas” (Theodore, N., Gutelius, B., & Gonzalez, A., 2019, 2). Directly delivering dollars to the center part of the state will help to close the gap (Pastor & Benner, 2018).

3) Paraphrased statements from an interview with Victor Narro.
Many of these rural areas are experiencing population growth as a result of displacement caused by rising housing costs and gentrification in urban centers. Los Angeles has the highest concentration of low-wage workers, with almost 30 percent of all low-wage workers living there (UC Berkeley Labor Center, n.d.). However, the Black population in Los Angeles has declined from 13 percent to 8 percent since the 1980s while the Inland Empire has experienced growth of over 250,000 new Black residents (Waheed, Haywood, Smallwood-Cuevas, Brown, Orellana, 2017).

Amazon’s expansion of warehouses and inventory operations into the San Bernardino and Riverside counties has lowered the region’s unemployment rate. Unfortunately there are serious concerns about the quality of the jobs being offered – many of the jobs are part-time with no benefits. Additionally, they are often located in hazardous areas and offer unsafe working conditions. The Warehouse Worker Center is currently addressing these issues through organizing and advocacy efforts.

Urban areas are certainly not without problems. While low-wage workers in Los Angeles County and the Bay Area face significant challenges, they are able to access more well resourced workers’ rights organizations and strong networks. Additionally, with typically more progressive elected officials than other areas in the state, passage of minimum wage, fair work policies, and the creation of enforcement agencies often begin in these areas and help set a precedent throughout the state. Recently, Oakland approved funding for a new city department to enforce Oakland’s labor laws. Community organizations, like EBASE are working collaboratively with the city through the implementation process. (O’Hara, personal interview, 2019). These wins move the needle forward for all workers, yet they do not happen overnight and only occur through years of organizing.
"Rarely do funders engage and visit us to ask what support is needed. Resources go further when the causes of problems are understood directly. The San Joaquin Valley is critically important to transforming California."\textsuperscript{4}

\textit{Daniel O’Connell, Executive Director, Central Valley Partnership}

Alicia Olivarez, Policy Director of POWER California, shared that there is real disconnect taking place and underscored the degree of disparity for funding across regions. After spending time in the Bay Area before relocating to Fresno, she has been surprised by the challenge of getting people to believe in the value of investing in the Central Valley\cite{Olivarez}. According to 2015 data for California foundations for “all publishable grants, foundation administered programs, program-related investments, and grants to individuals,” there was significant disparity between regions\cite{CaliforniaFoundationStats} (See figure 5).
Not only is there significant disparity in philanthropic funding by regions, public funding mirrors this trend. Executive Director of Worksafe, Inc, Doug Parker, stated that public resources in California have the same problem as philanthropy (lack of funding to certain areas in the state) and could really make change by addressing it. (Parker, Trang, & Forneret, personal interview, 2019). Lack of resources, both philanthropic and public funding, contribute to under-development in certain regions.
Finding 2. Organizations supporting workers' rights often do not identify themselves as “worker centers” or “workers' rights organizations.”

“In many places, including Fresno, there is a false dichotomy that has been created between good jobs and protecting the environment, which often pits groups against one another. It's not either/or. It's jobs and the environment. We are not two different groups. We all need a job that pays the bills and we all need a planet. We need to hold our elected officials accountable for creating an economy that works for everyone, without harming anyone's neighborhood.”

- Kaylon Hammond, Director of Operations, Leadership Counsel for Justice and Accountability

5) Quote from an interview with Kaylon Hammond.
INSIGHTS

/ There is a lack of consistency in how organizations that focus on strengthening the rights, protections, and opportunities for low-wage workers self-identify.

RECOMMENDATIONS

/ Funders in the economic justice space or those focused on workers’ rights should prioritize any organization aimed at strengthening the rights, protections, and opportunities for low-wage workers in California, even if they do not identify as a worker organization.

/ Worker centers, day laborer centers, and workers’ rights organizations that understand and articulate multi-issue challenges (e.g., housing, immigration rights, gender rights) that workers face should be uplifted and funded.

/ Further exploring the role of multi-issue organizations that do base-building and workers’ rights organizing is recommended. In future years, bringing this group of organizations into the workers’ rights space will broaden and strengthen the rights, protections, and opportunities for low-wage workers in California.

ORGANIZATIONS TO WATCH

/ Center for Race, Poverty and the Environment
/ Dolores Huerta Foundation
/ Faith in the Valley
/ Restaurant Opportunities Center (ROC) United

FIELD SCAN

A recurring theme from the field highlighted a lack of consistency regarding what defines a workers’ rights organization. Many organizations aimed at improving conditions for workers do not identify as worker centers or worker organizations. The two most common themes from interviews indicated: 1) community organizations are serving as a “one-stop shop” because of need, and 2) organizations are exploring the intersection of multiple issues to promote system-level changes.

1) Community organizations are often “doing it all” in part because of a lack of resources organizationally and regionally; therefore, may not see themselves as a traditional “worker center” even though there is an explicit focus on improving the lives of low-wage workers. Nik Theodore speaks to this as a “one-stop shop” that many organizations play to fill a void in under-resourced regions, organizing across health, environment, immigration, education and workers’ rights issues.
These organizations often serve a broad area and numerous industries (Theodore, N., Gutelius, B., & Gonzalez, A., 2019). Monica Ramirez, founder of Alianza Naciona de Campesinas, gave the example of civic engagement groups prioritizing policy and laws that improve experiences for workers, but aren’t necessarily worker rights organizations (Ramirez, personal interview, 2019).

2) Multi-issue organizations focus on creating holistic change (e.g., individually, organizationally, and societally), by addressing the root cause of problems and prioritizing systemic change at the intersections of issues. For example, this could include an environmental organization that addresses pesticide use and the health and safety impacts on agricultural workers. Saru Jayaraman, Co-founder and President of the Restaurant Opportunities Center (ROC) United, spoke to the challenges of filling the job vacancies in the restaurant industry in San Francisco. Stating that if the focus is exclusively about improving the working conditions, while workers cannot afford to live in the city or pay to commute, there is a disconnect in actually improving the lives of the workers (Jararaman, 2019).

In an interview with Pastor Trena Turner, Executive Director of Faith in the Valley, she stated that Faith in the Valley is a multi-issue organization focused on workers’ rights, immigration, the environment, housing, and restorative justice... and the greatest value the organization brings is how integrated the programs are, allowing people to see the connections on all of the issues (Turner & Nelson-Hollis, personal interview, 2019). Dolores Huerta spoke to the power of the Dolores Huerta Foundation being a multi-issue organization, that by increasing engagement and educating communities, members are prepared to act when situations arise. For example, in Lamont when hundreds of locals marched and organized, there was pressure to institute a minimum wage before it happened at the statewide level. (Huerta & Chavez, personal interview, 2019).

Finding 3. More equity in funding is needed.

"When we build power for black people, we build power for other organizations, as well."6

- Janel Bailey, Co-Executive Director,
LA Black Worker Center

6) Quote from an interview with Lola Smallwood-Cuevas, Janel Bailey, and LaTonya Harris.
INSIGHTS

According to California Foundation Stats, California foundations awarded $11.3 billion grant dollars in 2015, with the following breakdown in giving:

- 30.43% for economically disadvantaged populations;
- 1.71% percent to focus on ethnic and racial minorities;
- 1.20% to focus on immigrants, migrants and refugees.

RECOMMENDATION

As the state of California and country continue to become more racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse, explicit investment in worker organizations serving low-income communities of color, immigrants, women and underserved populations is essential.

ORGANIZATIONS TO WATCH

- Central Valley Worker Center
- LA Black Worker Center
- Pomona Economic Opportunity Center
- Inland Communities United for Change
- Voices: The Voice of Including Community Equitably (Fresno)
- Workers Lab

FIELD SCAN

While it is projected that by 2040 the United States will be a majority minority country, California crossed this threshold in the 1990s. Within the low-wage workforce, the majority are people of color and rates of foreign-born workers are higher among the low-wage workforce (40 percent) compared to all workers (33 percent). (UC Berkeley Labor Center, n.d.). Black, Indigenous, and people of color experience the highest likelihood of poverty and unemployment.

Median household income is lowest for Black and Brown communities and has decreased significantly for Black households during the past decade. As shown below in figure 6, between 1990 and 2015, a difference of approximately twenty thousand dollars has remained between the two groups: 1) Non-Hispanic Whites and Asian American / Pacific Islanders (AAPI) and 2) Black and Latinx. (Pastor, 2018).
Repeatedly interviewees spoke to the need to broaden outreach to certain populations. Carmen Rojas, co-founder and CEO of Workers Lab, reported that they lead explicitly on race and gender, hiring first generation people of color, and most board members are also people of color. They have focused on supporting Black and Latinx owners, by trying to get capital for leaders that do not typically have access to capital. (Rojas & Haro, personal interview, 2019).

**PHILANTHROPY OVERVIEW**

Foundation redlining, whether implicit or explicit has reinforced disparities and represent a lack of investment in diverse leadership. (Batten, 2016). Only one third of grant dollars that California foundations awarded in 2015 supported economically disadvantaged populations (California Foundation Stats, 2019). Money allocated to support underresourced populations was further concentrated in the urban core than the total giving dollars.

**Figure 7: Statewide Giving by Population Focus**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statewide Giving</th>
<th>Population Focus</th>
<th>Immigrants, Migrants, &amp; Refugees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$11.3B</td>
<td>$3.44B</td>
<td>$135.21M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$193.07M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.43%</td>
<td>1.71%</td>
<td>1.20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: California Foundation Facts.*
On the national scale, foundation funding targeted for Black communities declined from 3.8 percent in 1998 to 1.5 percent in 2006. (as cited in Taylor Batten & Chioke Williams, 2017).

Additionally, funding going to Black-led groups is not from regular long-term funding pools, but instead from short-term discretionary funding (Taylor Batten & Chioke Williams, 2017).

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**Capacity Needs**

**Finding 4. Organizations need core support for organizing and investment in their organizational infrastructure.**

Even in a progressive place like LA, our movement isn’t spending the right amount of resources on organizing. How can you give up on something that we haven’t really invested in, in the first place?

- Roxana Tynan, Executive Director LAANE
  (Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy)

**INSIGHT**

Worker organizations express significant challenges in raising funds for organizing. There is a need to move the philanthropic community towards core operating support for strengthening organizational infrastructure.

General operating support is the most valuable type of funding because it enables investment in organizational infrastructure, and hard-to-fund work like base-building.

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7) Paraphrased statements from an interview conducted with Roxana Tynan and Nelson Motto.
RECOMMENDATIONS

/ Expand the conversation about capacity needs beyond the enforcement space (education, civic engagement, base-building, etc.), and bring insights from those previously not engaged.

/ Provide high-impact worker organizations core operating support to help them scale effective worker organizing, which enables them to build infrastructure, and bolster organizational capacity.

ORGANIZATIONS TO WATCH

/ Communities for a New California Education Fund
/ Dolores Huerta Foundation
/ EBASE (East Bay Alliance for a Sustainable Economy)
/ LA Black Worker Center
/ POWER California

FIELD SCAN

Worker leader affiliates emphasize that top priorities to advance the field forward are 1) building worker power, and 2) strengthening worker organizing (James Irvine Foundation, Fair Work Convening 2018).

/ Lola Smallwood Cuevas, co-founder of the LA Black Worker Center and UCLA Labor Center Project Director told us that making progress for workers is about having power- the more power, the more people listen, and building power happens through organizing. (Smallwood-Cuevas, Bailey, and Harris, personal interview, 2019).

/ Organizations employ strategies such as: organizing, civic engagement, leadership development, alliance building, campaigns, research and policy analysis, traditional and new media, communications and framing, organizational development, and movement building. (Pastor, Ito, Rosner, 2011).

Voices from the field strongly expressed that investing in organizing is critical and significant challenges are faced when trying to access this funding. Camila Chavez, Executive Director of the Dolores Huerta Foundation spoke to the importance of having organizing dollars to make real changes for workers in the community – and it would be the dream for foundations to commit to its importance. (Huerta and Chavez, personal interview, 2019). Core operating support enables organizations to accomplish this by investing in people and infrastructure.
Finding 5. Revenue diversification is key for financial sustainability.

INSIGHTS

/ Over 90% of funding for worker organizations comes from foundations, which puts organizations independence and long-term financial sustainability at risk.
/ Building organizational capacity to improve fundraising is a priority.
/ Support for new financial models that encourage budget diversification, such as revenue generation are urgent.
/ There is a need to educate funders and grantees on revenue diversification opportunities, and create spaces for shared capacity.
/ Organizations are interested in creating networks and learning cohorts to learn about income models and explore partnerships with public agencies.

RECOMMENDATION

/ Help organizations diversify their revenue sources and support collective learning opportunities through networks.

ORGANIZATIONS TO WATCH

/ California Domestic Workers Coalition
/ CLEAN Carwash Campaign
/ Communities for a New California Education Fund
/ Prospera

FIELD SCAN

/ Across stakeholders, revenue diversification is a priority. Several organizations interviewed were working to explore what diversification or revenue generation might look like. They were undertaking activities such as implementing membership models (dues), creating cooperatives, partnering with government agencies, and instituting fee-for-services.

One of the most common ways organizations are diversifying revenue is by partnering with public agencies.
With the recent passage of the California State Budget, the California Domestic Workers Coalition (CDWC) won significant resources to establish an outreach and education program. Community-based organizations (CBOs) have gained the trust of the domestic workers community and will collaborate as the program is implemented, while the California Division of Labor Standards and Enforcement administers the program.

When speaking with Kimberly Alvarenga, Executive Director of the California Domestic Worker Coalition, she spoke about the trust that the worker organizations have gained with the domestic workers and the importance of CDWC playing a key role because of those relationships. A co-enforcement model with trusted partners will support and contribute to its success (Alvarenga, personal interview, 2019).

"We could be a bridge between families and the workforce agencies that don’t do outreach in the unfinished areas of our communities. Communities for a New California (CNC) Education Fund currently visits 1,200+ homes daily through door-to-door canvassing and house visits in our neighborhoods. By having relationships with both the agencies and families, we could serve as a two way information flow and streamline communications."

- Pablo Rodriguez, Executive Director, CNC Education Fund

The City and County of San Francisco (CCSF) partners with local worker organizations and can be a model for other jurisdictions throughout the state (Asay & Griffin, personal interview, 2019). The Office of Labor Standards and Enforcement (OLSE) within CCSF partners with six community groups, including, Chinese Progressive Association, Filipino Community Center, Asian Law Caucus, Dolores Street Community Services, Young Workers United, and SOMCAN. (Asay & Griffin, personal interview, 2019).

8) Quote from an interview with Pablo Rodriguez.
Groups work closely with their communities and membership to engage and educate on local labor laws and connect people to the department when appropriate.

Often community organizations and worker centers fill a need that public agencies potentially would; yet the agencies are also underfunded, understaffed, and unable to realistically fill that gap. Another diversification tactic is to generate revenue through fee-for-services.

Currently, a small portion of the budget for Leadership Counsel for Justice and Accountability comes from contracted legal work and the Center for Race, Poverty and the Environment is exploring a similar route with legal services offerings. (Werner, personal interview, 2019; Brostrom, personal interview, 2019).

Additional revenue for the organization can come from both the service fees and the settlement wins. Prospera, an innovative business that supports cooperative business ownership is beginning to explore offering trainings and additional support through a payment structure (Orozco, personal interview, 2019).

Finding 6. Policy and legislative change is a growing priority.

Policy funding allows for greater movement building.9

- Michelle Crentsil, Open Philanthropy Action Fund

INSIGHTS

There is a growing need for those in the field to:

- Receive 501(c)4 resources to support the deepening of the organization's work.
- Understand what policy efforts can be taken as a 501(c)3s.
- Be equipped with compliance and policy strategy training.

RECOMMENDATION

- Explore opportunities to mobilize funders through a collaborative fund to meet the needs of worker organizations in the advocacy space.
- Help foster partnerships with others to provide capacity building and technical assistance opportunities to grantees.

9) Paraphrased statements from Michelle Crentsil speaking on the panel Bold Funding Strategies to Build Power.
ORGANIZATIONS TO WATCH

California Domestic Workers Coalition
Central Valley Partnership
Center for Race, Poverty and the Environment
Inland Empowerment United
LA Black Worker Center

FIELD SCAN

There is opportunity to shift policy and legislation to benefit workers by taking a multiple pronged approach to change-making. Over the past several years there has been an increase in 501(c)4 organizing, both building upon previous models and creating new models that work for the emerging space. Base-building organizations that have historically stayed out of elections are seeking increased community influence through participating in the political arena. “Activists are using 501(c)4 structures to advance their organizing strategies, working towards deep community engagement and collective action that can help us leverage our collective power.” (Tides Advocacy, 2019). Organizing around policy change can intensify and uplift worker organizing by expanding the tools that are available. Many of the worker organizations expressed the importance of having a clear strategy on policy change that works in parallel with what is happening on the ground.

In Fresno, several organizations collaborated with the community, leading to more worker friendly city leadership. On June 27, 2019, the council unanimously approved a project labor agreement (PLA) to expand the parking and terminal space at the Fresno Yosemite International Airport. The agreement ensures that a significant percentage of the hires will be from the local community and particularly from disadvantaged zip codes (Project Labor Agreement, 2019; Taub, 2019). As the valley continues to develop and increase in major capital improvement and infrastructure projects, setting a precedent for these types of agreements can have a significant impact in improving the lives of working people throughout the valley. Co-founder of the Central Valley Worker Center, Pedro Ramirez stated that the agreement will have a positive outcome in Fresno and that the model that was used can be brought to other areas in the valley (Ramirez, personal interview, 2019).

Another recent example of the important role of policy for reinforcing workers’ rights is the California Domestic Workers Coalition (CDWC) getting legislation passed to establish an outreach and education program, addressed in the previous section. When speaking with Kimberly Alvarenga, Executive Director of the California Domestic Worker Coalition, she spoke about the legislative work that was done to get this bill passed, as well as the education and engagement with members, the community and employers. (Alvarenga, personal interview, 2019).
SUMMARY

We have only just begun to realize what is possible with grassroots groups working in and around issues related to workers and worker rights. This report intends to highlight six key lessons and draw attention to critical themes impacting the field, as well as the leadership of those on the ground and within policy. These lessons were most prominent based on research and interviews conducted with representatives from worker centers, community organizations, policymakers, unions, government officials, researchers and academics. Directly engaging those in the broader fair work ecosystem, not only through interviews, but also by attending worker meetings, community events, open houses, and panel discussions, was intentional to help exemplify the breadth and diversity of the field. The space of fair work is complex and vast, and is not be oversimplified.

Philanthropy’s role should be to highlight the success of inspiring strategies, particularly where success has appeared against all odds. Improving opportunities for low-wage workers will require a deepened commitment to building the collective capacity of organizations. Moreover, for those in philanthropy committed to equity and justice, we must consider the ways our funding strategies fail to address the very problems we say we are committed to. The risk is simply too high not to.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thank you to the numerous individuals who provided support and insights for this landscape report. In particular, those that took the time to be interviewed and speak honestly about their experiences, both in the field and within philanthropy. Tremendous gratitude for the numerous members of the Tides team who made this effort possible, including, Jessi Luckett, Sujatha Sebastian, Roxana Shirkhoda, Tara Holmes, and Michael Chasnow.
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Werner, A. (June 2019). personal interview with Prebys-Williams, A.
## Appendix

### List of Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Erin Garner-Ford, Executive Director &amp; Sarah Hutchinson, Policy Director</td>
<td>ACT for Women and Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monica Ramirez, Founder</td>
<td>Alianza Nacional de Campesinas &amp; Justice for Migrant Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimberley Alvarenga, Executive Director</td>
<td>California Domestic Workers Coalition</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jenny Ramirez, Interim CEO</td>
<td>California Harvesters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yungsuhn Park, Special Assistant to the Labor Commissioner</td>
<td>California Labor Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pedro Ramirez, Regional Coordinator</td>
<td>California Labor Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingrid Brostrom, Assistant Director</td>
<td>Center for Race, Poverty &amp; the Environment</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daniel O’Connell, Executive Director</td>
<td>Central Valley Partnership</td>
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<tr>
<td>Daniel O’Connell, Executive Director</td>
<td>(other organizations participants work with, include: California Complete Count- Census, Dolores Huerta Foundation, United Farm Workers, Madera City Council, California Carpenters Regional Council)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mai Thao, Vice-Chair</td>
<td>City &amp; County of San Francisco, Office of Labor Standards &amp; Enforcement (OLSE)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Emilio Huerta, Legal Counsel</td>
<td>CLEAN Carwash</td>
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<tr>
<td>Santos Garcia, Board Member</td>
<td>Communities for a New California Education Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>Travis Alexander, Member</td>
<td>Dolores Huerta Foundation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Greg Asay, Deputy Director &amp; Larry Griffin, Compliance Officer</td>
<td>EBASE (East Bay Alliance for a Sustainable Economy)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flor Rodriguez, Executive Director</td>
<td>Faith in the Valley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pablo Rodriguez, Executive Director</td>
<td>Faith in the Valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camila Chavez, Executive Director &amp; Dolores Huerta</td>
<td>Fresno-Madera-Tulare-Kings Central Labor Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kate O’Hara, Executive Director</td>
<td>Jobs with Justice, Bay Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aaron Foster, Organizer</td>
<td>TIDES</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roxana Tynan, Executive Director &amp; Nelson Motto, Organizing Director</td>
<td>LAANE (Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaylon Hammond, Director of Operations</td>
<td>Leadership Counsel for Justice and Accountability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashley Werner, Senior Attorney</td>
<td>Leadership Counsel for Justice and Accountability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lola Cuevas Smallwood, co-founder, LaTonya Harris, co-Executive</td>
<td>Los Angeles Black Workers Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director, &amp; Janel Bailey, co-Executive Director</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manisha Vaze, Senior Program Manager</td>
<td>Neighborhood Funders Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alicia Olivarez, Policy Director</td>
<td>Power California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ximena Orozco, Client Success Manager</td>
<td>Prospera</td>
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<tr>
<td>Becky Rhodes, Organizing Coordinator</td>
<td>SEIU, Local 521</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rob England, Political Organizer</td>
<td>SEIU, Local 521</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rebecca Greenberg, Program Officer</td>
<td>Solidago Foundation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Steven Pitts, Associate Chair &amp; Danielle Mahones, Director, Leadership Development Program</td>
<td>UC Berkeley Labor Center</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ana Padilla, Project Director &amp; Edward Orozco Flores, Associate Professor of Sociology</td>
<td>UC Merced - Civic Capacity Research Initiative (CCRI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victor Narro, Project Director</td>
<td>UCLA Labor Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel Pastor, Director &amp; Jennifer Ito, Research Director</td>
<td>University of Southern California, Program for Environmental and Regional Equity (PERE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felipe Grimaldo, Program Director (Plus 4 Lead Organizers)</td>
<td>Valley Forward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leroy Candler, Board Chair</td>
<td>Voices: The Voice of Including Community Equitably (also President for Fresno NAACCP chapter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheheryar Kajoosi, Executive Director, Warehouse Workers Resource Center</td>
<td>Warehouse Workers Resource Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmen Rojas, Co-founder &amp; CEO &amp; Adrian Haro, Managing Director</td>
<td>Workers Lab</td>
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<tr>
<td>Derecka Mehrrens, Executive Director</td>
<td>Working Partnerships USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lauren Casey, Organizer</td>
<td>Gig Workers Rising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doug Parker, Executive Director; Jora Trang, Managing Attorney; &amp; Thais Forneret, Associate Director of Development &amp; Operations</td>
<td>Worksafe, Inc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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## List of Worker Events Attended

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event / Action</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 22, 2019</td>
<td>City Rising: &quot;The Informal Economy&quot; Community Screening, EBASE.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 23, 2019</td>
<td>Hearing &amp; Vote for Domestic Worker Outreach Program with California Domestic Workers Coalition, along with Jobs with Justice, the SF Women’s Collective and Mujeres Unidas y Activas, State Capital.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1, 2019</td>
<td>International Workers Day 2019, Oakland. May Day, No Ban, No Wall. Sin Fronteras and others.</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 7, 2019</td>
<td>Bay Area Black Worker Center Open House.</td>
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<tr>
<td>June 12, 2019</td>
<td>Advancement Project California, Race Counts Webinar and Training.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 20, 2019</td>
<td>Bay Area: Reimagining Asset Building Through Community Ownership.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 20, 2019</td>
<td>Oakland Progressives Party &amp; Townie Awards.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 25, 2019</td>
<td>NDWA Labs, Innovation and Technology for Domestic Workers: Ai-Jen Poo and Palak Shah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 27, 2019</td>
<td>EBASE at 20: Documentary Sneak Peak and Party.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 11, 2019</td>
<td>Latino Nonprofit Accelerator, Cohort 2 Reception.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 23, 2019</td>
<td>Human Rights Commission’s: The Urgency of Now (Saru Jayaraman, Carmen Rojas, Dr. Cornel West, etc.).</td>
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</table>
Voices From the Field: Tides Key Lessons

Worker Ecosystem

1. Low-wage work varies drastically by region (e.g. industries, urban v. rural, political environment, culture, and demographics).
2. Organizations supporting workers’ rights often do not identify themselves as “worker centers” or “workers’ rights organizations.”
3. More equity in funding needed.

Capacity Needs

4. Organizations need core support for organizing and investment in their organizational infrastructure.
5. Revenue diversification is essential for financial sustainability.
6. Policy change is a critical strategy to address underlying root causes of barriers to quality work.

1. Regional variation and investment.
Rural Central California is widely considered “ground zero” for many of the nation’s most pressing challenges facing working families, including healthcare, free trade, economic opportunity, homelessness, water access and air quality. Our region is almost exclusively comprised of small rural communities with high levels of concentrated poverty and disadvantaged immigrant populations.

Dillon Savory, Executive Director, Fresno Madera-Tulare-Kings Central Labor Council

2. Definition of a “worker rights’ organization.”
There is a real need to connect the struggles of low-wage workers with other struggles, including housing and the fight for rent control, education specifically early childhood education and other quality of life issues. Organizations that may not explicitly identify as “worker organizations” often deal directly with issues that affect low-wage workers.*

Manuel Pastor, Director, USC, Program for Environmental and Regional Equity (PERE)

3. Equity in funding is needed.
The equity lens is critical. There has been very little investment over the last 25 years in Black communities in L.A. because of the question of proportionality v. equity… For us, it means bringing race as the main pathway and starting point, and focusing on economic justice through a racial identity lens.*

Lola Smallwood Cuevas, Co-founder, LA Black Worker Center

4. Organizations need core support for organizing.
If we are building a movement it needs to be funded at scale, which is currently not the case. There should be a focus on infrastructure for change – and it has to be connected to building the base and supporting our efforts at organizing.*

Alicia Olivarez, Policy Director, POWER California

5. Revenue diversification is key.
How do we create new pathways for higher wages for our workers? Many don’t have access to traditional methods for getting wage increases due to a variety of challenges that are common in many low-wage industries. We need to explore models that create new opportunities for workers, which is why we are exploring a cooperative model for car washers that might work for other industries like garment production or agriculture.*

Flor Rodriguez, Executive Director, CLEAN Carwash Campaign

6. Policy change is a growing priority.
There are limited funding opportunities and c4 resources available. To drive the lasting change we need to see, we have to influence policymakers and decision-makers through campaigns, lobbying and strategic messaging.*

Ingrid Brostrom, Assistant Director, Center for Race, Poverty & the Environment (CRPE)

* Paraphrased statements from interviews.
** See Appendix for full details on interviews and worker events.

Research Summary**

38 Interviews conducted with 60 People Present
20+ Sources Reviewed (reports, summaries, analyses, etc.)
16 Worker Events Attended
As of July 31, 2019