In the report that follows, we share collected insights from the funders and advocates we interviewed across the country, in the hope that their observations will helpfully contribute to other funding and campaign efforts. These respondents noted that while considerable attention has been paid to factors informing the development of sound campaign strategy, comparatively less attention has been paid to the structural and operational issues that undergird successful campaign efforts.

Our research accordingly focused on these matters. Given our small (but deeply engaged and expert) interview sample, the findings shared here are not intended to be comprehensive. As always, we at TCC Group seek additional observations and comments from readers of this report, to enrich field discussion of these issues and strengthen our collective work going forward.
Introduction

Funders wishing to ensure that their grants have sustained and maximum impact are increasingly turning to advocacy as a strategy worthy of consideration. While advocacy support can be awarded to individual organizations that may be part of a campaign, there is increasing interest among funders in awarding grants in support of coordinated, policy-focused campaigns as a whole. Making sound grant decisions for advocacy campaigns raises various questions:

- Are the strategies and tactics pursued by campaigns likely to make a difference? How can funders determine whether campaigns are governed and managed effectively to garner the widespread support that they need? How can funders build their capacity for self-reflection and assessment, to inform real-time learning and strategy? To enrich both advocates’ and funders’ understanding of campaign dynamics, we also conducted a small "benchmarking" study of diverse campaigns, ultimately speaking with actors from a total of seven campaigns around the country.

- How can funders best be managed and governed to reflect values such as equity and inclusion? How can differences among diverse institutions and approaches be negotiated fruitfully? And what kinds of resources, over what period of time, and deployed in what ways, will enable advocates to plan for action, reflect and adapt as necessary, and seize upon unexpected opportunities when they arise?

- What are clear and appropriate ways to hold multiple actors within a campaign accountable, and what roles should funders themselves assume with these diverse grantees? Finally, how can funders use their varied assets—including material resources, mobilizing peer networks, and tapping knowledge resources—in support of campaign progress?

For their part, advocates face a comparable set of challenging considerations. Among them: What combination of strategies and tactics are likely to build power and public will for change? How can campaigns best be managed and governed to reflect values such as equity and inclusion? How can differences among diverse institutions and approaches be negotiated fruitfully? And what kinds of resources, over what period of time, and deployed in what ways, will enable advocates to plan for action, reflect and adapt as necessary, and seize upon unexpected opportunities when they arise?

Beginning in 2014, TCC Group served as an external "embedded evaluator" for two Pennsylvania statewide advocacy campaigns: the Campaign for Fair Education Funding (CFEF) and the Pre-K for PA campaign. TCC Group’s role involved helping advocates build their capacity for self-reflection and assessment, to inform real-time learning and strategy. To enrich both advocates’ and funders’ understanding of campaign dynamics, we also conducted a small "benchmarking" study of diverse campaigns, ultimately speaking with actors from a total of seven campaigns around the country. While each campaign was statewide and focused on a policy “win,” they differed from one another by virtue of the tactics they utilized (e.g., ballot initiatives, legislative action, judicial advocacy), the regions they encompassed (West, Southwest, Mid-Atlantic), and the issues they addressed (e.g., marriage equality, immigration rights, ...)

"Too many nonprofits that could be [engaging in advocacy] aren’t doing it. They will get a lot more done if they’re doing advocacy to change the rules of the games to benefit their clients than they will by just delivering services."

– FUNDER

DEFINITIONS OF COMMONLY USED TERMS

Campaign: A group of actors (organizations, associations, communities, individuals) working in an organized and active way toward a particular policy goal.

Advocacy: As broadly defined here, a set of activities potentially encompassing activities such as lobbying, community organizing, public education, policy analysis, communications, and policymaker engagement.
Methodology & Campaign Background

To identify campaigns that would illuminate valuable insights and lessons for funders and advocates, we tapped funder and advocacy allies that TCC staff had previously supported through our earlier strategy and grantmaking work. We also solicited suggestions from campaign representatives (and their funders) during the course of our interviews. Our goal was to interview at least one funder and one advocate for each of the campaigns we investigated. Of the seven campaigns we explored, five yielded a matched set of funder and advocate interviews.

Of the seven campaigns in this study, three were focused on educational equity and funding (including early education); one was focused on immigration rights and educational access; one was focused on marriage equality; one was focused on voter rights; and one was focused on minimum wage.

Campaign actors used a variety of approaches to achieve their ultimate goals, but in some cases were constrained by funding parameters. For example, mindful of legal restrictions placed on private foundations, the grant agreement terms of one foundation precluded support of ballot initiatives; consequently, this tactic was not pursued by campaign advocates.

Of the campaigns we surveyed, four pursued a legislative approach; one pursued a judicial approach; one pursued a ballot initiative; and one prepared for both a ballot initiative and a court case. Importantly, each and every campaign believed in and utilized community organizing as a critical strategy to strengthen community voice and garner the power needed to achieve policy victory and sustain gains made. Campaigns also engaged in various forms of public outreach to garner widespread support across a diversity of stakeholders.

In this case, the campaign secured a judicial victory relatively early on, obviating the need for the originally planned second ballot initiative.
Structuring Effective Campaigns

Necessarily, every campaign must determine how it is managed and governed, who it engages, and how its decisions get made. Campaigns typically aim to function democratically, ensuring that diverse voices are heard and that various actors have a stake in the issue and decisions reached. This democratic value—and complementary campaign structure—is arguably essential to supporting the sustained buy-in and long-term participation that advocacy campaigns typically require. Campaigns also need their governance to be efficient and effective, encompassing such matters as ensuring transparency, achieving clarity about agreed-upon rules and procedures, and developing policies that allow diverse stakeholders (critical to an issue gaining support) to be heard. While there is no single or “right” structure for campaigns, there is a well of wisdom that campaign members shared with us about governance and management structures most likely to support effective action.

Enabling Progress: Approaches for Leadership, Governance, and Decision-Making

Campaigns typically seek democratic forms of self-management. Campaigns consisting of diverse partners need mechanisms for incorporating perspectives of all members. In many campaigns, major differences exist in strategy and approach among grassroots organizing groups and larger, traditional advocacy organizations; strong and clear governance can mitigate inevitable tensions, allowing for organizations to best utilize their skills and perspectives. The tone and role of the leadership/governance body often differ widely across campaigns. For example, campaign governance (usually in the form of a steering committee or an executive committee) can function by setting high-level strategy with significant member input or alternatively, choose to function in more directive, and less participatory, ways.

All campaigns interviewed for this study indicated having some form of a decision-making body, typically a steering committee or a designated board of directors. This said, criteria for the constitution of these bodies varied. Some campaigns chose to form their steering committees based on who received campaign-specific funding, for example, while others granted steering committee membership based on a predetermined financial contribution. (In these instances, the amount required to “buy in” varied considerably.) The buy-in funds were typically used later on for 501(c)(4) activities unable to be covered through foundation support.

Campaigns also adopted a variety of procedures for decision-making and conflict resolution, ranging from a consensus-based model to majority voting. Some campaigns mandated that voting members be present to vote and further agreed that decisions, once made, could not be re-opened. When conflicts arose, campaigns sometimes engaged outside facilitators to guide difficult discussions. One campaign engaged its funder to play a neutral facilitator role regarding strategic decisions. Advocates offered the following insights regarding leadership, governance, and decision making:

- Ensure representation from diverse campaign actors (e.g., urban/rural, grassroots/community voices, populations most affected by policy change)
- Ensure participation of those with skills and resources to lead
- Determine which decisions can be made exclusively by the governing body, and which must involve all voting members
- Determine which decisions committees/campaign managers can make without consulting the campaign Executive Committee

In campaigns with actors working on both the national and regional levels (defined here as groups both local and statewide in their reach), it is important to amplify the voice of those directly affected by policy change. One campaign that included state and national partners, as well as local actors, chose to allocate two steering committee votes for those representing constituencies within the state, thus shoring up campaign ownership by those within the state itself. This was particularly helpful to ensure that community voices—which
What types of decision-making structures do campaigns employ?

- **FORMAL/Strict** (specific voting requirements, less directive Steering Committee)
  - Large campaigns with many voting members
  - Members with potential conflicts on other issues (e.g., labor members and business members)

- **MODERATE** (some decisions brought to membership for a vote, strong Steering Committee)
  - Good alignment among member organizations
  - Fairly steady policy environment without major strategic shifts

- **INFORMAL** (consensus based)
  - Member organizations have worked together before
  - Strong trust in campaign staff or Executive Committee
  - Strong commitment to process

Decision-making structures should exist at all levels. Many campaigns have established parameters for decision making for the steering committee/executive board as well as the campaign overall, but individual committees often lack their own guidelines for decision making. Having clear roles and responsibilities at the committee level, along with guidance on what decisions the committee must bring to the larger campaign, is helpful in resolving conflict in the overall campaign.

Find ways to include partners who cannot meet a financial buy-in threshold. While a large buy-in for a seat at the steering committee can appear to be a barrier, one campaign had a union partner who wished to have a behind-the-scenes role, donating its seat at the table to a community-based group. This allowed for greater community decision making on the campaign. At the same time, it allowed a significant way for a partner to contribute without being the public face of the work.

Use evaluation to support reflection and problem solving. One campaign participated in an evaluator-facilitated debrief process that brought up challenges with accountability within the campaign. Subsequently, the campaign members created a strict Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) for all campaign members and contractors outlining consequences for going off message. This created tighter discipline for the campaign and helped them navigate through a challenging time. Having opportunities for outside stakeholders to provide neutral and unbiased feedback can be helpful in navigating through internal challenges.

Decision-making structures are not working, change them. Campaigns frequently make shifts in decision-making processes based on phases and dynamics of the campaign, and accordingly, on having a better understanding of what is and is not working. Several campaigns changed their voting rules so that decisions did not continually get re-visited by stakeholders who were not able to be present at the time of the original vote. MOUs can be developed and/or updated to set clear parameters for decision-making and decision authority. The table below highlights the different types of decision-making structures commonly used by campaigns.
We needed to have someone to be tough and be an enforcer in the coalition—and build the structures to help with that.

—ADVOCATE

A strong campaign manager can be instrumental in sustaining momentum and improving accountability. While individual organizations participating in the campaign frequently have multiple priorities and work areas — in addition to the specific campaign at hand — the designated campaign manager is dedicated exclusively to the campaign and thus able to focus completely on campaign work. This concentration of activity is crucial, particularly following a campaign loss and/or during less active campaign periods.

Campaign staff can provide professional expertise that may be lacking among campaign members. Several campaigns especially valued the skills that campaign managers brought that were outside the skill set of campaign members, especially regarding lobbying work and communications skills, allowing them to fill multiple needs with one hire (or one team). Campaigns that hired staff that had needed skills were able to get more value from the campaign staff than the management role alone.

There is no ideal “home” for staff. Some campaigns hire staff who remain independent contractors (i.e., not on staff at any campaign member organization); some are hired by the campaign’s fiscal agent and are housed there; and some designate a position at a specific campaign organization for staffing purposes. Advocates with whom we spoke suggested that staffing operational logistics be determined in accordance with a campaign’s particular needs and feasibility, since no particular model was regarded as more effective than another.
What staffing structures do campaigns use?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNSTAFFED CAMPAIGNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Campaign actors have long history of collaboration, working well together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign actors have their own campaign-specific or general operating support to engage in campaign (and campaign management) activities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>CAMPAIGN STAFFED BY PARTICIPATING ORGANIZATIONS</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One grantee in the campaign has the bulk of resources and can provide staffing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grantee has strong collaborative relationship with other campaign partners</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXTERNAL CAMPAIGN STAFF (independent consultant or firm)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sufficient funding exists to make a good long-term hire (commitment of at least a year)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External staff bring multiple skill sets to role</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A rotating campaign coordinator model can work well in an unstaffed campaign, particularly with campaigns that have periodic lulls. One campaign used different coordinators drawn from member organizations in a rotating manner, based on the ebbs and flows of campaign activity. This allowed for fresh perspectives and energy, but also necessitated that coordinators maintained good relationships with the member organizations, transferred knowledge effectively, established systems to maintain continuity, and possessed strategic clarity. The table above illustrates features of various campaign staffing structures.
Fostering Stakeholder Engagement

Statewide campaigns often struggle with engaging the diverse constituencies across their states. Many campaigns expressed deep challenges in identifying and engaging supporters from smaller cities and rural areas. In some cases, the major players in a campaign are only familiar with the landscape of the largest cities and/or the state capital. These challenges can be somewhat mitigated by steadfast persistence in seeking to engage underrepresented regions. For example, campaigns in rural areas noted challenges with gaining community traction, due to a lack of credibility and relationships needed. Strategic and persistent partnerships with faith communities helped these campaigns make critical inroads. Campaigns also wish to engage communities of color in their work. Some campaigns were able to authentically incorporate relevant organizations and communities in their campaigns, driven by local community organizing groups led by people of color. Others struggled to meaningfully engage these communities. Key observations of concerning effective stakeholder engagement strategies include:

- **Funders can play a crucial role in tapping their resources and networks to help connect communities across a state.** In several campaigns, funders sought out peers across their state and encouraged their engagement in and support of the advocacy effort. Having funders “walk the walk” and work in collaboration with other funders is viewed as helpful by both funders and advocates. Advocates may struggle making inroads on their own, especially if they lack the resources needed to engage new organizations; locally-based funder support can help to ensure that organizations from varied communities can meaningfully participate in statewide work.

- **Inclusion of affected communities strengthens campaign action and outcomes.** Campaigns that authentically engage affected communities—for example, by including local organizing groups as a vital force within campaign coalitions—are often most effective in changing the hearts and minds of the legislature and the general public. In some campaigns, the principle of community inclusion was strongly embraced by funders and advocates; in others, campaign members led the push for greater community inclusion. This said, several advocacy partners acknowledged the unavoidable challenges of engaging grassroots/community organizations in campaign work, since these groups frequently lack the essential resources (both financial and time) necessary to undertake state-level work. For these reasons, advocates argued in favor of allocating resources specifically toward maximizing and facilitating community engagement, as well as establishing governance structures that give underrepresented voices a seat at the table.

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We have seen the way race can be a wedge and we have a strong racial justice value as an organization, so we drew that line. We told the steering committee it was not negotiable.

— ADVOCATE

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Resourcing Campaigns for Success

Campaigns sought out and utilized a variety of resources to achieve their goals. In addition to funding, campaign members were also able to utilize in-kind time and resources as well as intellectual capital, sometimes supported by funders and sometimes coming from within participating organizations. The following section explores the diversity of resources actively pursued and utilized by campaigns in this study.

Making Dollars Count

Most of the campaigns in the study were supported by a mix of local, state, and national funders, as well as national funder collaboratives, and some received support from labor unions as well. A few campaigns needed to obtain a financial match, usually as a condition of a national funder to incentivize local giving and boost overall support. As described previously, some campaigns required a set contribution from member organizations to sit on the steering committee, and some required MOUs for any member, outlining some resource (time or money) as a necessary indicator of commitment. A few of the campaigns also engaged in fundraising efforts for legislative activity, usually tied to the need for unrestricted funds for lobbying. Shared insights include:

- Funder collaboration is a powerful vehicle.
  While engaging a mix of funders (with their respective interests and agendas) can inevitably present challenges, funder diversity and collaboration have positive benefits for funders and campaigns, for various reasons. For funders that are wary of advocacy, for example, directing funds to a pooled fund can help to minimize risk, making an investment more attractive to the funder’s board. For advocates, tapping the funding streams of diverse funders (with different granting requirements) can open up the door to more varied campaign activities. For example, public foundations are often able to support the charitable and educational activities of 501(c)(4) organizations that private foundations will refrain from supporting for legal reasons.

- Long-term funding commitment is essential for grantees to succeed, but it can be hard to access.
  Many funders indicated a desire to make longer-term commitments to campaign work, but were constrained by foundation policy which precludes multi-year grants. Program officers interviewed for this study had a keen understanding of the long-term and incremental nature of campaign work, but acknowledged that their board members often sought proof of quicker progress. Program staff often found evaluations or documenting an explicit theory of change helpful in nurturing a board’s understanding of the inevitability of slow and incremental progress. Some funders, for example, found it useful to develop a visual depiction of the pathway to desired policy change, including short-term, interim, and long-term outcomes to be achieved along the way to an ultimate policy win.

It’s a long game. How do you stay committed to that work? I think setting up some of those incremental benchmarks along the way is really important—shine a spotlight on some unexpected outcomes you might not have been looking for.

– F U N D E R

*We did not seek to identify the “right” amount of funding to support a campaign, but would argue that all resource considerations here are applicable to multi-party advocacy efforts of any size.*
A major area that is often neglected is funding to monitor and advocate for successful implementation following a policy victory.

Essential Complementary Supports
In many campaigns, funders provided resources beyond direct grants to participating organizations (whether general operating or project-specific funding). For example, funders provided additional support to hire consultants (e.g., communications, public relations, and polling); connected grantees with additional funders; hosted convenings of similar grantees; and connected statewide grantees to national strategy partners. Some funders designated a pool of funds available for grantees to access as needed for technical assistance and other consultant support, while others sought to make these resources available as requested in real time over the course of the campaign.

Funders were varied in the public role they played in the campaigns they supported. In some cases, it was helpful to have funders make public statements in support of campaigns. Local funder voices—who had home state credibility and were known to their community—were generally considered more helpful than the advocacy of their national funder peers. Funders generally deferred to the campaign’s understanding of the landscape regarding whether public statements from a funder would be helpful to the campaign.

Funders were also viewed as a critical networking source for connecting advocates to other funders. Some funders actively sought out funding peers for the work, seeing both the benefit to the campaign and a vehicle for amplifying their own resource investment. Many funders indicated a strong preference for working in a collaborative to pool and leverage resources, and share risk; one funder stated that they would not approach this type of campaign work without a formal collaborative.

Supporting Implementation of Campaign Wins
A major area that is often neglected is funding to monitor and advocate for successful implementation following a policy victory. For some campaign victories, such as a judicial victory for marriage equality, work must be supported to strategize on the next steps to be taken to achieve overall equality for LGBTQ people. For other campaigns, support may be needed for outreach to affected communities, letting them know of the policy change. Funders can be rallied to support an advocacy campaign—sometimes even over a considerable period of time—but then fall away once a win is achieved, moving on to the next battle. While this is to some extent understandable, advocates have indicated that it can be a barrier in ensuring the success of a policy win. Implementing policy change requires, among other things, steadfast monitoring, continued access to the decision-making table, communications and outreach, and an ever-present spotlight to hold the feet of policymakers to the fire.

How Can Funders Best Resource Campaigns to Make the Most Difference?

• Unrestricted funding
• Sustained funding commitment over the long time it takes to achieve a win
• Rapid response funding
• Continued funding beyond policy wins to ensure groups are supported through monitoring and implementation
• Funding for 501 (c)(4) education and charitable activities
• Funder collaboratives
• Capacity-building/technical assistance
• Funding to support outreach to affected communities to educate on the policy change

“Part of what allowed our work to be so successful is that we were invited into national conversations about strategy very early and we were able to understand how we fit into a national movement strategy.

–ADVOCATE
Fostering a Productive Partnership: Funders and Grantees

Supporting campaigns effectively takes patience, trust, understanding of the respective roles of funder and grantee, and an appreciation for how these roles differ when the funding is directed to multiple organizations rather than a single institution. While a funder’s relationship with an individual advocacy organization is likely to be direct and multifaceted, potentially encompassing financial, networking, and thought leadership support, a funder’s relationship with a campaign must take into consideration that multiple organizations—and often multiple funders as well—are involved. Grantees and funders shared some best practices for fostering successful relationships with each other throughout a campaign:

► Allow for anonymous reports to ensure candid feedback. Some funders allow grantees to submit reports anonymously to safeguard relationships within multi-organization campaign structures. Anonymity has proven to be a useful tool to increase grantee candor, especially when there are potential conflicts and challenges among grantees. These anonymous reports would not replace standard grant reports, but serve as communication and feedback mechanisms for funders supporting a variety of campaign actors.

► Support grantees in choosing their own partners. Advocates were of one voice in noting that forced collaboration among advocacy and organizing partners seldom, if ever, works. It is important for funders to understand the complexities of organizations working together on a campaign, and trust that there may be good reasons why organizations chose to work together—or not.

► Be mindful of not imposing the funders’ point of view. Diverse organizations in a campaign need the space to develop their strategy and tactics collectively, navigating different approaches and constituencies in doing so. While campaign advocates often choose to tap funders for their expertise and knowledge of campaign issues, these same advocates appreciate—and need—the space to develop and negotiate complex strategy and tactics with peer campaign members rather than with their funding partners.

► Ensure candid feedback through creative due diligence and reporting mechanisms. Safeguarding relationships within multi-organization campaigns is essential to ensuring success. For this reason, some funders allow grantees to submit anonymous reports on campaign progress and challenges. Both funders and advocates noted that anonymity is a useful tool to increase grantee candor, especially when there are potential conflicts and challenges among grantees. Anonymous reports do not replace standard grant reports, but rather serve as a supplemental communication and feedback mechanism for funders who support multiple actors within a campaign.
**Champion campaign priorities and actors.**
While the campaigns explored in this study focused on different policy issues, they shared a commitment to equity and inclusion as a cornerstone of their work. Funders demonstrated their belief in these concerns by supporting and elevating the voices of affected communities within campaign coalitions. Funder support for the inclusion of marginalized groups is helpful to garnering credibility and building momentum for additional support.

**Align support for advocacy campaigns with the funder’s own “theory of change.”** To guide grantmaking choices and build internal will for campaign funders, it is essential for funders to identify how their own institutional priorities may be furthered by the campaign in question. Several funders felt that having a theory of change for their own foundation’s work, and using that as a way to ascertain whether a potential grantee/campaign “fit” into their overall theory of change, was incredibly helpful in determining whether they could commit to a long-term campaign. Likewise, advocates felt that funders with a broader commitment to equity and the ability to fund broadly (e.g., funding advocacy around the social determinants of health rather than access to health care) made their campaign work more successful, and allowed them to draw in a broader range of partners.

**Conclusion**
Advocacy remains a critical—and often under-resourced—tool for enabling longstanding, systemic change. Engaging in advocacy efforts—and supporting these efforts effectively—is challenging, but essential and rewarding work for both advocates and their funders.

To make lasting change, the funders and advocacy partners in this study suggest resources must be multifaceted—encompassing dollars, networks, convening, and knowledge. They must also be sustained—stretching through the phases of campaign development, to actualization, to support of implementation after a policy goal has been achieved. Advocacy groups, in turn, must, among other things, structure their campaigns in ways likely to make judicious use of resources, foster democratic participation of diverse members, enable the voices of the most marginalized to be heard, and communicate compellingly to secure widespread public support for a diversity of stakeholders across a state.

The advocates’ and funders’ voices shared here were unanimous in arguing that there is no single or “right” model for a campaign’s structure, governance, or management. However, there are practices worthy of both funders’ and advocates’ consideration to strengthen the likelihood that systemic change can be achieved. We hope the insights generously shared by funders and advocates for this report stimulate rich learning and conversation, contributing to the continued support of advocacy campaigns to make meaningful and lasting change.
Additional Resources

For further reading on these topics, we recommend the following publications:


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The opinions expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the William Penn Foundation.

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About TCC Group

At TCC Group, we are committed to addressing complex social problems by heightening our clients’ understanding of their collaborative role in society; we help them strengthen strategy, build capacity, and advance assessment and evaluative learning. We envision an effective social sector that addresses society’s complex problems through a collaborative approach that harnesses the diverse skills, energy, and visions of its stakeholders.

TCC Group has more than 35 years of experience working in the social impact field with companies, philanthropies, and nonprofit organizations. Our unique strength as a firm lies in our ability to assist clients at all stages of development across the interlocking areas of planning, execution, and evaluation. Our approach is data-driven and outcomes-based, draws from the knowledge of in-house program management and evaluation teams, and ensures that our clients develop actionable and measurable strategic goals to communicate effectively with their stakeholders.