

Advocacy in the Age of Obama

by Ruth McCambridge

***Editors' note:** Over a three-year period, the **Nonprofit Quarterly** has committed to following 30 nonprofits as they traverse this economically challenging and tumultuous environment. In this, part three of the *Nonprofits in the Age of Obama* series, we explore the importance of advocacy organizations at a time when numerous policy shifts have taken place at national and state levels, many of which serve rural or remote portions of the United States.*

Advocacy in the Age of Obama

The nonprofit sector has a tradition of advocacy networks that encourage those affected by a problem to speak their truth to legislators, but the realm of nonprofit advocates also includes a scheme of state, regional, and national players much less connected to and governed by constituencies affected by those issues.

President Barack Obama has voiced an interest in promoting active participation in our democracy, but some believe that the scrum around the new administration looks depressingly familiar

as an insider's game dominated by national issue advocates without grassroots connection and authenticity. Will those in more marginalized states and populations be heard through their nonprofit advocates? This complicated question depends not only on legislators' willingness to listen but also on the connectedness of advocacy networks to those they represent.

First we consider a national advocacy and service network made up largely of volunteers as well as a Connecticut behavioral health center and then explore an organizing and advocacy network in Arkansas and a think tank in New Mexico.

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Amplifying Voice: Alliance on Mental Illness

Fairfax, Virginia

Active at the national, state, and local levels, the Fairfax chapter of the National Alliance on Mental Illness (NAMI) network epit-

omizes many of the sector's strengths. It provides a collective voice at the national and state levels and a local place of connection and advice for those with serious mental illness.

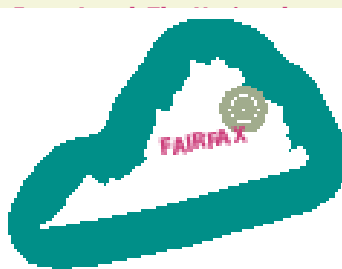
Former Republican Senator Pete Domenici of New Mexico has a daughter with atypical schizophrenia. Twenty years ago, as his daughter neared her 18th birthday, he recognized that there was a problem. He and his wife sought support for themselves, and they found it at one of 1,100 chapters of the National Alliance on Mental Illness (NAMI).

We started stopping by their meetings after work, and we quickly found out that, in spite of us having a child who had problems, there were so much more serious ones than ours. We ran into parents with two children who are schizophrenic, and they tried desperately to keep them at home and take care of them, and they went broke and the kids are in jail. That's when I first started finding out about the issue, how parents were losing control of their children physically, and they were in jails because there wasn't any place to put them, ultimately.

"People don't have the supports to come out of the hospital."

—Diane Manning, United Health Services

Now a citizen at large, Domenici is largely credited with getting the mental-health parity bill passed last year under the umbrella of the stimulus package, but only after a 12-year fight. The bill stops insurance plans from discriminating against those with mental illness through the practice of charging higher deductibles and co-pays and by imposing lower spending limits than is the case with physical ailments. Though not as broad as originally envisioned, this bill is one step toward addressing serious problems in a fragmented



system of care made up of public-sector, nonprofit, and private players.

Michael Fitzpatrick is the executive director of the national office of NAMI. According to Fitzpatrick, the national office is connected to 52 state offices, counting Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia, and 1,100 local chapters. These state and local groups are made up largely of volunteers, including those who struggle with mental illness and their family members. These chapters provide peer support and education to those affected by mental illness and conduct advocacy to promote a more rational system of care.

In support of local efforts as well as its aggressive national agenda, NAMI's national office recently released the *Grading the States 2009* report, the second installment of a series that explores by state and by service the system of care for adults with serious mental illness.

It is a complex picture, Fitzpatrick asserts. "One of the things my medical director said as we were preparing the report is that you could have a community where the pieces were there and people could find treatments and there was a workforce that was trained and ready, and then you'd move 100 miles to the east and find a similar community with similar demographics, and there were very few services in place. There tend not to be coherent plans."

This is a fairly accurate portrayal. Connecticut received a B from NAMI—the highest grade awarded in the NAMI report and a grade awarded to only six states—but Diane Manning of United Mental Health Services says that, even with its acknowledged strengths, the state's system is fraught with gaps in terms of outpatient services—for pre-crisis and post-hospitalization—many of which are provided by nonprofits.

"That's where the waiting lists are, and they're getting longer and longer and beginning to back up the hospitals because people don't have the supports to come out of the hospital," Manning says. "It's also backing up the emergency rooms. There aren't the supports to help people maintain their medications, maintain their apartments, remember to get their food; it's just not happening." Frankly, she says, "if you get to the point where recovery seems to be on the horizon,

that's about the last time you see a community support."

Still, it's worth remembering that Connecticut received a B from NAMI, while Wyoming descended from a D in 2006 to an F in 2009. Anna Edwards is the executive director of Wyoming's state NAMI office. Edwards believes that the system of outpatient care in Wyoming is pretty good but that one of its most serious problems is the lack of voluntary inpatient care. "All the limited number of available beds are taken up by involuntary commitments," Edwards says. "There is one state hospital and a few smaller hospitals with four or five beds, so we have been pushing for more services to be available in people's own communities so they don't need to be shipped across the state or to another state to get care." Edwards says that NAMI Wyoming has worked to increase access to voluntary commitments, but it is also trying to change two other aspects of the laws on hospitalization.

In Wyoming, residents have to pay even when they are involuntarily committed. If a patient can't afford care, state hospitals just write this off and bill the state, but counties are billed for the first 48 hours and the state pays the remainder. "A lot of times, the counties don't want to pay, so collection agencies are called or liens are placed on the houses of people who were recently released," Edwards says. "There is also a loophole that we would like to close in the statute that could allow counties to sue people who have been involuntarily committed."

NAMI also wants to require the state to provide transportation for patients being released from hospitals. "We're very rural, and we don't really have a bus system. People are being released in very remote locations with no way home," Edwards says.

NAMI Wyoming interacts with local chapters across the state to provide support for its programs and engage them in advocacy. The composition of the state board that oversees Edwards is 40 percent those who are mentally ill and 60 percent family members.

Edwards's description of her introduction to NAMI explains the organization's resilience and power.

I was new to the whole thing, and they did this training called "In Our Own Voice." It is one of our regular programs. . . . Anyway, there were around 15 people with mental illness in the room, and they ran the gamut of different kinds of diagnoses. And listened to these people courageously get up and tell their story, knowing that we would be asking them to do this in front of their peers and their communities. As I sat there and listened to each person do their presentation, I saw the confidence it built in each of these people, and I said, "Wow, this is why I am here."

Given state deficits, NAMI's local and state chapters will probably do more blocking than building in the near term.

Fitzpatrick says NAMI is poised to stay abreast of the developments in the national health-care debate in Congress. "There may be some opportunity to expand the law further," Fitzpatrick says. But he expects that over the next few years the bulk of the organization's advocacy work will involve monitoring the implementation of the parity law and advocacy for more complete systems of care in the states. The monitoring of implementation will begin in January when regulations are released and insurance companies establish their compliance programs. "Our job," says Fitzpatrick, "is to make sure that the legislative intent becomes reality." As anyone in public-policy reform knows, this is a grinding and often long-term job. One of NAMI's overarching goals is to increase the reach of Medicaid funding for people experiencing mental illness and increase access to robust coverage for the underinsured.

In the "battleground" of the states, where most mental health budgets have been cut this year, NAMI's local and state chapters will probably be "blocking more than building" with regard to the systems of care because state deficits have grown and mental health budgets are likely to worsen in 2010. "Our focus has to be on how to build coalitions in each state that will be in the top five or six advocacy voices in terms of credibility and visibility," Fitzpatrick says.

Culture Shock: Arkansas Public Policy Panel

Little Rock, Arkansas

The Arkansas Public Policy Panel has a budget of \$700,000, approximately 10 percent of which is derived from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation's Mid South Delta Initiative (MSDI). It also receives substantial support from AmeriCorps. VISTA provides seven of the organization's 16-member staff. For a budget of this size in Arkansas, the Panel is a substantial organization.

The Panel's 501(c)(3) work includes place-based organizing primarily in the largely rural, low-income communities of southern and eastern Arkansas and statewide organizing on a few key issues. The "other side of the organization" is the 501(c)(4) coalition the Arkansas Citizens First Congress, which is made up of 40 organizations.

But the heart of the Panel's work is its place-based organizing. "We help local communities come together, develop a vision of what they want to do in that community, create a strategic plan, and then implement an action plan to do it," says



"Our focus is on building sustainable community infrastructure."

—Executive Director Bill Kopsky, Arkansas Public Policy Panel

Executive Director Bill Kopsky. "Our focus is on building sustainable community infrastructure in those places, because we view that as key to building leadership and long-term social-change capacity across the state."

When asked for an example, Kopsky tells this story:

We helped organize the Gould Citizens Advisory Council [GCAC] five years ago. Gould is a small town with 1,200 residents. At that time, it was in bankruptcy, had a failing water system, owed back taxes to the IRS, lacked a police force, and some weeks even went without basic trash service. City officials were pretty unresponsive to resident concerns, so GCAC put together a platform for city officials to support. They recruited several of their own

members—most of whom never imagined themselves in elected office—to run. They held a candidate forum, where all of the candidates had an opportunity to make their case and respond to residents' questions. Then they chose a slate of candidates who committed to support their agenda, and they worked hard to promote those candidates.

Long story short, they won five of seven seats, and now some of the serious problems in Gould are being addressed. Not everything is solved, but the improvements are dramatic. Most importantly, they saw that they can get involved and improve their community.

The Panel is one of MSDI's newest grantees, but it is coming in just as the Kellogg initiative, which is scheduled to end in December 2010, winds down. "Everyone is waiting to see what Kellogg will do with the momentum," Kopsky says.

We've made serious progress with their investments, but it's not sustainable yet. They engaged a lot of grassroots and nonprofit people in an Arkansas design team that worked really hard to develop plans, but it's unclear what will become of their work. Local action by the design team members prompted the Kellogg Foundation to make an endowment gift of over a million dollars to the Arkansas Community Foundation, but it's still unclear how that gift aligns with the other work Kellogg has done in the region.

Kellogg started the MSDI program with the goal of transforming the quality of life for low-income residents of the Delta. I don't think an objective assessment of really what they accomplished in their 10 to 15 years would say that they've done that yet. Transformation like that takes a long time, and it takes sustained engagement, the right strategy, and the right mix of partners to implement the strategy. If they're done and they just leave, it could actually do more harm than good. It could be yet another initiative that's come into the region, raised expectations, and then failed to deliver. And there's only so many times that can happen before folks just get sick of seeing anybody from outside. The best thing that we got out

East Coast Entrepreneur: United Services Dayville, Connecticut

In its reporting on the Age of Obama series, the *Nonprofit Quarterly* has been struck by the extent to which nonprofits' experience of the downturn is tied to these organizations' geography and field. These

variables are very much at play at United Services. But so too is the CEO's comfort with financing schemes and her drive to build capacity.

Diane Manning is the CEO of United Services, a comprehensive behavioral health center. The organization covers the 21 towns of northeastern Connecticut, a sixth of Connecticut's land area, but some of the most sparsely populated regions of the state. Over the past two years, United Services has grown by approximately 20 percent. "Our facilities had become overcrowded, and we couldn't meet community need anymore," says Manning, who has an MBA in health-care finance. "We invested in buildings and in computerization and technology so that we would be better able to serve a growing number of people." In 2009, United Services saw a 48 percent patient increase compared with 2008.

The growth was financed in ways that were "a bit creative," says Manning, who describes making use of U.S. Department of Agriculture funding, among other sources.

It was very clear, based on the kinds of services we were expanding, that we would be able to cover the financing costs with the increased business that we knew was out there. We've never been an organization to sit and wait around for the state to bail us out of anything. We're usually a step ahead of them. So about 18 months ago, we put the entire organization on an electronic medical record and billing system. It cost us about a half million dollars to put 250 [staff] live. This was also financed on a three-year lease buyout.

United Services—which is supported by a broad mix of funding, including Medicaid, Medicare, third-party insurance, and state



contracts—is a sophisticated agency with advanced systems, including its new electronic records. This capacity has allowed the organization to qualify as an enhanced-care clinic, which brings the benefit of a higher reimbursement rate. They have also recently improved their facilities. Many patients who make up this increase suffer from an anxiety-based depression and other situational ailments that, if left untreated, can escalate.

Meanwhile, various partner agencies involved in prevention, rehabilitation, and other services surround United Services. These agencies, says Manning, are funded by state grants and contracts that have not received rate increases and suffer from capacity issues. This is because the state of Connecticut has elected not to use Medicaid money for case management, social rehabilitation, and residential supports. This puts the entire system of care at risk.

The organization is not allowed to build a reserve from public dollars, and most of the money from its limited public fundraising goes to less well-supported efforts, such as its domestic violence program. As a result, the organization has almost no reserve. Prospective reimbursement tempers this situation somewhat. Manning explains that the state now has a prompt payment requirement that resulted from a bad track record of late payments.

And [the state] didn't pay the nonprofits, even though we had contracts in place. A lot of agencies couldn't make payroll because they had no line of credit and no reserve, and the legislature put some legislation through that said that they couldn't do that any longer—that they had to pay prospectively. The big variable, of course, is that you have to have a contract in place, and if the state agency is slow in getting your contract in place, you don't get paid. Our largest state contractor is very, very aware of the impact of not moving money on their providers, and they're really good about making sure the contracts are in place. But that's not the same in every state agency. We deal with six of them. Two of them are really good, and four of them are slow. . . . I have enough fee income. So as long as that keeps moving, we are able to manage.

of that process was the relationships and the networks that were built among the grassroots people that they engaged. There were a lot of problems with the way they implemented their Delta strategy, but they did create forward momentum. The question is, what comes next?

Kopsky believes that funders and national advocacy groups are confused about how to effectively approach Arkansas, whose nonprofits are relatively small.

“We either get ignored or experimented on.”

—Bill Kopsky

One of the things that we get in Arkansas all the time is, “You guys are too small for us to invest in you. We want to give a \$2 million grant and not a \$200,000 grant because we don’t have the capacity to service 100 \$200,000 grants; we want to give 10 \$2 million grants.” Well, that’s a fine sentiment, but it really limits who you can invest in.

In conversation a few years ago, a funder in New York, who doesn’t understand the Arkansas context, offered us a \$100,000 grant for one year and wanted us to use it to transform the economy of the Delta. To his credit, what was in his head was that he could get us the \$100,000. He knew that his board would never in a million years sign off on a small state like Arkansas and that they wouldn’t see the strategic advantage of it. He could give us \$100,000 without his board’s approval, but it would have to be to accomplish something that was audacious. We just told him we couldn’t even come close to accomplishing what he was suggesting, and we had to walk away. And when they do invest, they expect these dramatic transformations to happen in two or three years on very modest budgets and very narrowly focused strategies. It never works, and people act as if it’s a great mystery what’s needed, but it’s not a mystery at all.

In 1988 the Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation commissioned a report from Grassroots Leadership on what makes social change so

hard in Arkansas. Arkansas has a ton of assets that should make social-change efforts easier than many other places. . . . Grassroots Leadership titled their report *Building Constituency*, and the basic premise is that Arkansas *does* have all of this incredible potential to make progress and even influence the country—but it lacks the community infrastructure and capacity to seize those opportunities. What will transform Arkansas, and most of the South, is building that community infrastructure of grassroots democracy organizations: *building constituency*.

But no one wants to read a 30-year-old report with someone else’s ideas. They want something new and dramatic. We either get ignored or experimented on, and it’s frustrating. The key to progress in Arkansas—and what we focus on—is building the capacity of grassroots organizations to influence what happens in their own communities and connecting them to work together in diverse coalitions to influence what happens in the state.

Kopsky also believes that national advocacy groups are unsure about how to work with Arkansas.

National people are always interested in affecting the way our Blue Dog Democratic delegation is going to vote on health care, employee free choice, climate change, and other key legislation. They show up three months before a vote and expect to have an impact, and they’re usually frustrated before they leave.

What moves policy in Arkansas is long-term relationship building, authentic local voices, and infrastructure for those relationships and voices to coalesce and mobilize. I think that’s what a lot of national groups haven’t yet understood about the South. People say, “Who cares about a city of 1,200 people like Gould?” But what they don’t understand is that the people of Gould, while developing their city, also developed a relationship with their state legislator and with the Citizens First Congress coalition they encouraged him to support. . . . The capacity of our coalition partners, like GCAC, has the biggest impact on how much we can influence state policy makers.

The local organizing informs the state coalition and supplies the bulk of its power, and the state policy coalition informs local activists and adds strength to their local organizing.

Kopsky asserts that too many want to find shortcuts to this process and aren't willing to stick around for the long haul to address the systemic problems that plague Arkansas communities.

A lot of progress can be made in the South, but it's going to be a little bit slower, and it's going to be with a different strategy than your typical mass mobilizations, and it's going to center on building relationships, constituencies, and authentic infrastructure in communities so that they can then speak for themselves. Some communities in Arkansas still have basic voting-rights problems or entrenched poverty or bad water supplies or low-performing and hostile schools, and many of them haven't had positive experiences trying to make change in their communities. So organizing to address those core local problems and connecting them to larger state and regional movements has to be the strategy. Then you can move any policy the base wants to support.

Most of the Panel's non-Kellogg money comes from a small group of small foundations that knows the South well. None of these small-foundation grants are likely expandable.

When asked about how the organization would handle the drop-off of funds connected with the Kellogg initiative ending, Kopsky says:

We know we need to significantly increase our grassroots fundraising. Actually, two weeks ago, something happened that was amazing. A local contributor who has been giving us very generously about \$5,000 a year called and asked if we had staff holes that we couldn't currently fill, and I said yes. And they said, "Well, if we gave you \$40,000 for two years—so \$80,000 total—would that help?"

So we have the offer of this gift on the table, and we're trying to figure out how we can leverage it. Because ultimately, our long-term goal is

to have 30 to 40 percent of our budget coming from grassroots donations, but it's going to take some time.

Predictably, the Panel's prospects in this regard follow a different trajectory from that in many other parts of the country. "The Arkansas economy doesn't experience the growth that other states experience during good times, and recessions tend to get here late," Kopsky notes. "So our economy really hasn't been as deeply affected as other areas yet. Our state budget's not in terrible shape like many other states. The economy is certainly hurting here, and the numbers are starting to get much worse. We start hurting here later than other places, but unfortunately, we're also likely to experience the recovery more slowly as well."

Local Treasure: Think New Mexico

Think New Mexico is a small nonprofit, a state-based public policy think tank with a no-nonsense results orientation. Its size, focus, and legislative track record—in sho



its claim to have "bang for the buck"—suggest that the organization stands a high probability of surviving the recession not only unscathed but with additional measurable accomplishments under its belt.

A decade old, Think New Mexico is a powerful engine for social change. Founder and Executive Director Fred Nathan focuses on effective advocacy and the promotion of achievable solutions to statewide problems.

Part of the reason for the organization's success is its persistently bipartisan approach. "Most think tanks are way over on the left or way over on the right," Nathan says. "But one way that we are different is that we believe that in a state like New Mexico that's 49th or 50th in too many national rankings, our focus ought to be on solutions rather than ideology."

Consistent with that philosophy, the organization has a board of directors made up of a dozen

prominent Republicans, Democrats, and Independents from New Mexico. “Our board members come from across the political spectrum,” Nathan says.

We’ve had more than 30 board meetings but have made all of our decisions by consensus without a single dissenting vote. Even though the members of the board come from sometimes diametrically opposed political viewpoints, the focus of our organization is moving the state forward in the national rankings where New Mexico often performs poorly. In this way, we all share the same agenda, so choosing our annual policy project leads to lots of discussion, but is always done by consensus.

The group has successfully led campaigns that have resulted in landmark laws in a half-dozen policy areas.

But this powerful group does not just sit around the tank and think. “The other way that we’re different,” Nathan observes, “is that when we issue a policy report, we don’t just cross our collective fingers and hope something good happens. We write legislation based on our research, recruit the sponsors, and spearhead the advocacy effort for its passage.” The group has successfully led campaigns that have resulted in landmark laws in a half-dozen policy areas.

Think New Mexico tends to take up one new issue a year, though sometimes legislation will take a few years to pass. The first initiative was to make full-day kindergarten accessible to every child in New Mexico. The second successful campaign repealed the tax on groceries. The third created a strategic river reserve to keep some water in our rivers, the fourth was to reform New Mexico’s lottery to cut its bloated overhead and redirect those resources to full-tuition college scholarships for deserving high-school students. And last year, Think New Mexico led the campaign to reform title insurance to make it more affordable for people to buy a home or refinance a mortgage.

This year the organization has two campaigns: (1) to move the state toward building smaller

public schools rather than “supersized dropout factories” and (2) to ban political contributions from special interests and lobbyists.

To get all this done takes approximately \$400,000 a year, two-thirds of which comes from local foundations and a third of which comes from individuals, which the organization refers to as “social investors” rather than “donors.” (Recently, Think New Mexico received a large grant from the Kellogg Foundation—which was only the second in the organization’s history from a national foundation.)

Nathan says that Think New Mexico’s funding is relatively stable, though it has decreased slightly recently. “Every year of our existence, the number of our contributors has gone up. But in 2008, that number went down—by only 10 donors—from 624 to 614,” Nathan notes. “If it had been a normal year, we would have expected it to be closer to 700; however, the total dollars contributed were about the same as they were 2007. Same thing with the foundations: instead of the steady growth that we had been experiencing, it was flat. But given the overall state of the economy, we were relieved.”

The organization has no reason for immediate worry, because it has twice its annual budget (or \$800,000) split evenly between liquid reserves and investments. This level of savings is unusual, but the fact that Nathan’s salary is a modest \$81,033.75—a figure he reeled off the top of his head—might explain how these reserves were accumulated.

In addition to Nathan, the staff consists of three others. There has never been a development director, and Nathan says there never will be. He says that Think New Mexico is not interested in growing the staff. “That is not how we measure success. We’re where we want to be in terms of our size,” Nathan says. “The staff is extremely talented and hardworking, and we have been able to attract a lot of free and low-cost interns.” Despite a serious budget deficit at the state level, Nathan does not believe that the organization’s campaigns will be negatively affected this year. “Our effort to ban political contributions from special interests and lobbyists may actually benefit from the tight budget situation, since the reforms cost nothing to implement and save taxpayer dollars that are wasted on corruption.”

Nathan is very much a founder: Think New Mexico started in his bedroom, and Nathan worked without a salary for nearly a year with the blessing of his “long suffering” wife. He knew he had to fundraise to build the organization and launch the first campaign, so he went “where the money was.”

“I was so unbelievably naive. I thought that what nonprofits do is write letters to the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation, and then they send you money,” Nathan laughs.

But instead of grants, we got lot of rejection letters, including one from [a major foundation in New York] on our first initiative, which was to make full-day kindergarten accessible to every child in the state. I had been getting rejected for six months, so, I called up the program officer who signed the letter and said, “I got this rejection letter, and I was hoping to get some advice,” and he said, “Well, I think I remember your letter.”

He said, “You’re in New Mexico, right?” and I said, “Yeah,” and he said, “And you’re pushing full-day kindergarten?” I said, “That’s right.” And he said, “And you’re a brand-new organization?” I said, “That’s correct.” And he said, “Well, I think you should feel very good because, as I recall, you got to the third round in our process.” And I said, “Well, how many rounds were there?” And he said, “Seven.” And I said, “Well, actually, I don’t feel so good about it. I was just kind of hoping you could give me some pointers.” And he said, “Well”—and I’ll never forget this conversation—he said, “Full-day kindergarten is really not that sexy.”

After a moment, I blurted out, “I don’t remember that being one of the grant criteria.” And then he said, “Well, in New Mexico, you’re sort of out of sync with the rest of the country.” I looked at his stationery to see where he’s writing from, and he’s writing from Madison Avenue in New York City, and I’m thinking to myself, “Really? Am I the one who’s out of sync here?”

I learned the hard way that, in terms of grantwriting and fundraising, it is much wiser

to focus on people that know you and trust you rather than these big national foundations. We got lucky with our full-day kindergarten initiative. We got it through the legislature and the then-governor—who had threatened to veto the bill—changed his mind and signed it at the last minute after it had received a lot of media attention. That helped to bring our work to the attention of local founders, and we have been able to build some strong relationships around our successive campaigns. I often wonder what would have happened to us if the governor had vetoed our full-day kindergarten legislation. My guess is we wouldn’t be doing this work.

For advocacy organizations across the nation, the struggle is to connect local efforts with a network of local, state, and even national partners that can bring force and longevity to local initiatives. Now, with fewer dollars and greater need in their communities, these organizations face a greater uphill climb to connect local efforts to networks of support.

“It is much wiser to focus on people that know and trust you rather than these big national foundations.”

—Fred Nathan, executive director, Think New Mexico

So too, for many of these organizations, the specifics of geography and local circumstances have dictated the success of initiatives and fundraising, the ability to create a local network, and, to some extent, the degree to which these organizations have been able to survive and thrive in tough times. For these organizations located beyond the coastal areas of the United States, local conditions and the trust and familiarity of local relationships will likely continue to drive success in their communities—far from the watchful eyes of national foundations in the major cities. The question becomes, when will those on the national scene tune in to these organizations’ added value in their communities?

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