The Center for Social Inclusion works to unite public policy research and grassroots advocacy to transform structural inequity and exclusion into structural fairness and inclusion. We work with community groups and national organizations to develop policy ideas, foster effective leadership and develop communications tools for an opportunity-rich world in which we all will thrive.

PROGRAM REPORT 2010
The Center for Social Inclusion works to unite public policy research and grassroots advocacy to transform structural inequity and exclusion into structural fairness and inclusion. We work with community groups and national organizations to develop policy ideas, foster effective leadership and develop communications tools for an opportunity-rich world in which we all will thrive.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Letter from the Executive Director</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideas</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation Equity</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Economy: Energy Democracy</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadband: A Critical New Area of Social Equity</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leadership</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alston Bannerman Leadership Initiative</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance and Strategy Support for Leaders</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior Fellows</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabbatical Fellows</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSI Supporters</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff and Board</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
People often ask me, “What do you really do?” After all, “transforming structural exclusion” is a mouthful and hard to digest. Basically, at CSI we make deep and lasting fairness for communities of color easier to achieve. We create, and help others create, policy and communications strategies and we build relationships that can transform the racially inequitable world we live in into the cohesive, diverse and prosperous one most Americans want.

Without public dollars, opportunity is limited. We work with others to look hard at federal investments in transit, high speed internet access, renewable energy and community planning that communities of color need. And we advocate for fairer policies and models that include communities of color in transportation and broadband access, as well as the renewable energy economy.

More than ever, we have to work together across race and ethnicity if we want to make transformative ideas happen. CSI supports community leaders of color to develop ideas, strategies and relationships for implementation of health care reform, equitable rebuilding of the Gulf Coast South and other issues. We also support individual leaders through sabbatical and senior fellowships to sustain and advance their work and create space for their developing ideas and strategies.

Of course, we have to talk about race and ethnicity in a way that gets us working together, without shying away from what feels hard and scary. At CSI we have been deepening our understanding of how to talk about race and policy effectively and sharing lessons and tools with the field.

After almost nine good years as a project of the Tides Center, we are becoming an independent non-profit organization. Independence represents several things. What won’t change is our important work to identify policy ideas and partnerships that can solve our problems by confronting racial and ethnic exclusion, to support leaders in communities, and to figure out how to talk about race and ethnicity well and effectively.

We are grateful for our past nine years as a Tides Center project and rejoice in our future as an independent Center for Social Inclusion.

Maya Wiley
Executive Director
Accessible, affordable transportation is critical to the lives we live. Residents of communities of color and poor White communities, whether rural or urban, must travel to obtain better jobs, secure educational opportunities and get quality health care. Too often competing interests result in transportation policies that unintentionally leave low-income Americans stranded. To achieve equity in transportation policy, we need to craft and catalyze strategies that help rural and urban communities of color get the investments needed to spur mobility in every sense of the word.

In 2010, CSI drew upon its experience and relationships as a policy strategy intermediary to fashion two key approaches to securing accessible transit opportunities for communities of color. We began by tracking transportation spending under the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act ("Recovery Act"), a response to the nation’s economic crisis, in order to help community leaders better understand the law and argue for fairer, opportunity-building investments. Also in 2010, CSI began to bridge national efforts to ensure a federal transportation reauthorization bill that would promote stronger, healthier and more prosperous communities, as well as local efforts to fight for better transit.

GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY

CSI formed an exciting partnership with other national groups committed to government accountability: OMB Watch, the Transportation Equity Network and Good Jobs First. Together we developed the Equity in Government Accountability and Performance or EGAP project. The project will produce an innovative online mapping tool to help local, state and federal advocates track whether federal transportation dollars are flowing to the communities that need them most. The EGAP site will launch in 2011 and serve as a potent advocacy tool, helping advocates to identify areas where there is a need to push for greater equity. This online resource can be mobilized to support critical research, community organizing and public education efforts. As with all our work, CSI is collaborating with advocates, organizers and researchers to develop this valuable tool.

Once the online resource is complete, the collaboration will continue. CSI will partner with advocates in key states to help them best utilize the tool as they develop transit equity campaigns. To do this, CSI will draw upon its expertise in structural racism analysis and translate it into viable strategy. Through each of its elements, the EGAP project will spark more effective organizing and advocacy for equitable transportation policy and illustrate the power and meaning of transparency and accountability.

FEDERAL TRANSPORTATION REAUTHORIZATION

The 2010 mid-term elections changed the national conversation, diverting attention from the idea that public investment can build opportunity to opposing arguments that investment in people and communities must be sharply limited. In such a climate, CSI is providing critically needed analysis and strategy, shedding light on how policies impact communities of color, how racial attitudes drive support for proposals, and how to shift current dynamics in ways that generate opportunity and prosperity for all Americans.

With regard to transportation policy, there is a particular need for policy ideas that show how public dollars can improve communities, while working around often arcane
and highly technical planning, implementation and oversight processes. We must create space for meaningful community participation. As Congress moves closer to reauthorizing the federal transportation bill, CSI is supporting strategies to increase transit investments in disconnected communities.

We work with national and local partners to catalyze and support policies that increase access to transit for isolated communities of color and improve the ability of these residents to shape local and regional decision-making. We work with partners in the South, a largely rural region that is home to over half of the nation’s Black population and rapidly growing Latino communities. In addition to addressing transit options that connect to jobs, we are also looking at the impact of transportation on health care and educational opportunities, areas of critical importance.

CSI recognizes that advocates in the region must focus on multiple issues despite limited capacity. With this in mind, we are partnering with key Southern organizations and networks to build capacity to do transportation equity work. In 2011, CSI is positioned for even greater impact as it generates and seeds creative approaches to advancing racial equity in transportation policy and deepens relationships at the local, regional and national levels.

Investment in America’s green future has increased over the last few years, yet these investments are not reaching America’s communities of color in an equitable fashion. In response to this imbalance, CSI identified strategies to support communities of color as owners and producers of green energy.

The number of households of color in the United States is projected to increase to 56 million by 2030 and become the largest population in the United States by 2042. With unemployment for people of color seven percentage points higher than the national average, job placement is an immediate priority. But what long-term strategies will create lasting economic opportunity? CSI takes a long and structural view of the need to expand the workforce, avert a global environmental crisis and support communities that build innovative structural solutions. We recognize the role that participation by communities of color can play in green energy as owners or producers, not just consumers or workers. Throughout 2010, CSI explored possibilities for ‘community-scale’ clean energy generation.

In the energy economy, community-scale means both an actual energy facility and an integrative and inclusive planning process. A community-scale facility might be a network of rooftop solar panels on homes, schools, and other community institutions generating electricity for its members to use or sell. As a process, community-scale must foster integrated planning efforts among the web of complex relationships shared among households, public and private organizations, institutions and government.

Whatever the form, communities of color have a strategic opportunity to embrace the renewable energy revolution. CSI is boosting these prospects as it identifies policies that utilize the capacity of community-scale renewable energy and as it shares ideas and models that embody ways in which communities of color can become viable participants in the green economy. Bold ideas, the right policies and targeted investments can help build wealth in our fastest growing communities and help America transition away from non-renewable and expensive fossil fuel.
CSI RESEARCH: COMMUNITY ENERGY OPPORTUNITIES

In the first half of 2010, CSI released the white paper Energy Democracy: Community Scale Green Energy Solutions. With this paper, we initiated a broad dialogue among academics, community advocates and environmental justice experts linking a clean economy to the conditions communities of color face today. The participants included: Columbia University, Green for All, the Pratt Institute, Cooler, Insight Center for Community Economic Development, U.S. Green Building Council, Broadway Federal Bank, Green Worker Cooperatives, Institute for Local Self Reliance and Full Spectrum of NY.

The research, analysis, and recommendations that stemmed from this exchange highlight meaningful strategies to support communities of color in community-scale clean energy generation. One such recommendation included the development of state and local community planning and zoning ordinances to create Energy Improvement Districts (EID) in neighborhoods. EIDs would identify areas for special financing for renewable energy products and provide opportunities for communities to capitalize on assets that would normally be blocked by zoning laws (such as digging and layering new pipes to create a district energy system).

Through the discussions catalyzed by the Energy Democracy report, CSI provided research support to beneficiaries, such as an entrepreneur of color in Oklahoma who is seeking to create a wind farm cooperative among Black farmers. Currently, CSI is assessing other community-energy programs to help federal agencies ensure that communities of color are included in renewable energy opportunities. We are building the foundation to develop a planning tool for communities to utilize in their efforts to become owners of green energy.

The Energy Democracy report permitted CSI to identify ways that renewable energy—an area of boundless opportunity—can bridge local communities of color to the national policy debate. Many of CSI’s organizational colleagues address the intersection of race and energy by promoting access to much-needed green jobs generated by weatherization efforts, energy efficiency and green manufacturing. Instead of adding another voice to this well-represented collective initiative, CSI is pioneering efforts to create ownership and control in the field of energy production—providing communities of color with a path for sustainable and dependable social wellbeing and growth.

CSI is positioning itself to play a vital role in shaping renewable energy policy by facilitating networks and partnerships among policy experts, community groups, leaders of color, state and congressional policymakers and agency officials. These connections will establish opportunities to ensure that communities of color are valued in future energy plans. By publishing a follow-up to the 2010 report, CSI will define more clearly the barriers and possibilities for the participatory role communities of color can play in renewable energy. CSI will also release a series of case studies that provide strategic models for energy generation, community planning and technological developments.
High-speed (broadband) internet access is an emerging area of social equity that profoundly affects the lives of people of color. CSI spent all of 2010 highlighting the role of high-speed internet as a catalyst for economic recovery and increased employment in communities of color. As the FCC considers new strategies for investing in the nation’s broadband infrastructure, CSI’s role is to inform national policy in order to ensure that these investments reach communities of color and are implemented in ways that increase equity and inclusion. This means investments that enable communities to deploy new infrastructure through direct ownership and control, increased job and business opportunities, higher quality services and access to emerging ideas and social networks.

ADVANCING THE NATIONAL CONVERSATION: PROMISING OPPORTUNITIES FOR COMMUNITY-SCALE BROADBAND MODELS

As always, we have grounded our work in community. In January 2010, with Congressman Bennie Thompson and the Mississippi State Conference of the NAACP, we co-convened a public hearing on “Building Opportunity through Broadband”. At the hearing, telecommunications professionals, advocates, and experts in public health, economic development and education testified about the state of broadband in Mississippi’s 2nd Congressional District. The hearing considered what it would take to ensure that all of Mississippi’s residents could take full advantage of the internet to contribute to the 21st century economy. CSI also produced a “digital white paper” based upon the lessons of the hearing, Building Opportunity Through Broadband: Recommendations for the National Broadband Plan, which was submitted to the Federal Communications Commission. We also published Broadband in the Mississippi Delta: A 21st-Century Racial Justice Issue, a report highlighting the correlation between broadband access, business development and jobs in the state of Mississippi, which has one of the highest unemployment rates in the nation. With its focused analysis of infrastructure development, CSI has been a leader among racial justice organizations on the issue of broadband equity and a unique contributor to the national broadband discussion.

Partnering with Columbia University’s Center for Technology Innovation and Community Engagement (CTICE), CSI worked with community allies in New York and Mississippi to draft funding proposals submitted through the federal Broadband Technology Opportunities Program, which coordinates the allocation of the $7 billion stimulus fund for broadband infrastructure. CSI partnered with CTICE to draft a proposal for a project that will create good jobs in digital document conversion, as well as grant greater access to high-speed internet in communities without it. Called “Digital Mississippi”, the project is a community-scale broadband model to reach the last mile of service rollout into rural and low-income urban communities.

CSI’s partnership with OMB Watch, Good Jobs First and the Transportation Equity Network to establish the Equity in Government Accountability and Performance, or EGAP, project also extends to broadband equity. Here the goals of the Broadband EGAP project, like the transportation equity work described above, include tracking public funds and supporting the use of this innovative online advocacy tool.

CSI teamed up again with partners such as CTICE in December 2010 to conduct a national symposium on community-scale broadband models, coupled with the release of a new short report: The Promise and Challenge of Community-Scale Broadband Models
that highlights the localized model of broadband infrastructure. These models include locally-owned cooperative service providers, as well as small private enterprises and municipal internet services. We are laying the groundwork for a national working session for Black leaders that will focus on equipping them with the information needed for upcoming policy discussions around broadband infrastructure in order to prepare them to advocate for the interests of communities of color. Through these efforts, CSI is fighting to ensure federal investment in projects that not only provide access to high-speed internet but also lay the groundwork for better educational opportunities, health access and job creation.
The challenge to reform policy requires leaders. CSI believes that in order to achieve progress on racial equity we must build broad, multi-racial alliances with the ability to advance strategic policy reform. CSI informs, supports and connects leaders of color through training, networking and the Alston Bannerman Leadership Initiative, which includes sabbaticals and senior “ideas” fellowships for leaders of color. Alston Bannerman fellows represent the diversity of work critical to racial equity, including workers rights, environmental justice, indigenous rights, civic engagement and community development.

In 2010, CSI awarded eight exceptional leaders with a sabbatical or senior fellowship. This marks the 22nd class of sabbatical fellows and the 2nd class of senior fellows, the latter of which was initiated by CSI to foster big and transformative ideas for the field.

“The sabbatical,” said Ai Jen “gave me the space to step back, heal, reconnect to my sense of purpose, and to gain the strength that I needed to get back in the ring in the way that I wanted, with more focus, energy and vision than ever. Like a reset button, the Alston Bannerman Fellowship saved my life in the movement, and allowed me to feel reborn in it.”
CSI’s leadership work includes support for multiracial alliances and strategies that produce lasting opportunities. This year marked the passage of national health care reform, providing an opportunity to foster multiracial alliances and structural transformation at the state level. Health is inherently a structural issue. Access to health care is impacted by a host of players, like government agencies and private insurers, multiple systems, like transportation and environmental conditions, and a range of policies. This means that systemic reform requires a comprehensive lens that takes into consideration this range of factors and institutions. Communities of color are disproportionately uninsured, tend to live furthest from hospitals and doctors, and are more exposed to unhealthy environmental conditions. Thus race must be at the center of state advocates’ strategies for state implementation of federal legislation.

The challenges faced by advocates in the South are even more acute, with health disparities at their most pronounced and state governments reluctant to implement health care reform. Using the structural race lens as a tool for strategy development, CSI supports health advocates in southern states—including Louisiana, Texas and Mississippi—to take advantage of key opportunities to improve health outcomes for communities of color. In 2010 CSI conducted structural racism strategy trainings in these states to support advocates to align and maximize their reach. We also shared lessons from our communications testing results about how to attack the race wedge in public policy debates so that advocates can more readily ensure that communities of color are at the center of state implementation of federal policy.

Senior Fellows are experienced community-based leaders of color—organizers, policy advocates or others—who are creative, strategic thinkers but who do not ordinarily have the time or resources to develop their ideas. With this $25,000 award, senior fellows conduct projects of their own design to develop innovative policy solutions and proactive strategies.

Gail Small, one of the first Alston Bannerman Senior fellows, is a Native American organizer and attorney who founded and directs the reservation-based non-profit Native Action in Lame Deer, Montana. The senior fellowship project she is working on seeks new climate-justice policy solutions based on collective models of land and natural-resource ownership. Through research, consultations with indigenous leaders across the US and abroad, and engagement with other environmental lawyers and journalists, Gail is helping to develop the idea of a Public Trust Doctrine to protect the atmosphere, and a litigation strategy to establish it.

THE 2010 SENIOR FELLOWS AND THEIR PROJECTS ARE:

Francis Calpotura
TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR GRASSROOTS RESEARCH AND ACTION (TIGRA)
Oakland, CA

Project objective: to document the predatory practices of the international pre-paid calling card industry which harshly affect immigrants and military families, and to develop a strategy to set standards for corporate responsibility, including a commitment to reinvest in affected communities.
Leah Wise
SOUTHEAST REGIONAL ECONOMIC JUSTICE NETWORK
Durham, NC

Project objective: to research how guest-worker programs in the South may have impacted African-American employment in order to lay the groundwork for collaborations and policy interventions that benefit both immigrant and African-American communities.

Through collaboration and online tools, the Alston Bannerman Leadership Initiative is building an active network of fellowship alumni and other leaders of color to foster idea-sharing and cooperation.

With a $25,000 award, the sabbatical fellowship gives long-time organizers the resources to take critical time out for reflection, exploration and rejuvenation. The fellowship keeps leaders from “burning out”, supports their strategic thinking, strengthens their organizations and relationships and ultimately supports equity and justice.

Ai-jen Poo, selected in 2009, is a perfect example of an activist that CSI is proud to support. The founding director of Domestic Workers United in New York, Ai-jen was exhausted from a six-year campaign to win the nation’s first labor law protecting nannies, housekeepers and other domestic workers. “The sabbatical,” she reported, “gave me the space to step back, heal, reconnect to my sense of purpose and to gain the strength that I needed to get back in the ring in the way that I wanted, with more focus, energy and vision than ever. Like a reset button, the Alston Bannerman Fellowship saved my life in the movement, and allowed me to feel reborn in it.” Thanks, in part, to the sabbatical, Ai-jen became the first Executive Director of the National Domestic Workers Union, which builds on the precedent set in New York to secure rights for domestic workers in other states and at the federal and international levels.

Another 2009 fellow, Arnoldo Garcia, has worked for over 20 years with the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (NNIRR), helping communities to self-organize and advocate, not just around issues of legal status, but for their full labor, environmental, civil and human rights. Reflecting on his sabbatical, Arnoldo said, “Activists cannot live by politics alone and expect to thrive and survive with hope intact; we need bread, poetry and long breaks like that offered by the Alston Bannerman Fellowship, to succeed and to inspire younger and older people that yes, it is possible and desirable to commit yourself lifelong to fight and organize for justice and community.”

2010 SABBATICAL FELLOWS

Robert Alvarado
COMMITTEE FOR ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE ACTION (CEJA), SAN ANTONIO, TX

Diana Bustamante
COLONIAS DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL, LAS CRUCES, NM

Fekkak Mamdouh
RESTAURANT OPPORTUNITIES CENTERS UNITED, NEW YORK, NY

Jose Matus
ALIANZA INDIGENA SIN FRONTERAS, TUCSON, AZ

Denise Perry
POWER U CENTER FOR SOCIAL CHANGE, MIAMI, FL

Al White
ACTION COMMUNICATION AND EDUCATION REFORM, DUCK HILL, MS
The historic election of a Black American president has had the unintended consequence of reinforcing the false notion that racial inequity no longer exists.

While some conservatives claim that we live in a post-racial era, they also continue to implicitly and explicitly use race as a wedge to divide public support for government. While anti-government rhetoric does not represent the full range of public sentiment, it has had far-reaching detrimental effects on progressive policies such as health care reform and finance reform.

CSI has been working for four years to create communications strategies to win critical policy reform and to build a better conversation about race in America.

Our most recent round of testing in 2010 with Western Strategies LLC, a political communications consultancy, yielded exciting results: not only can we talk about race to win, we must talk about it. We tested messages paired with visuals that called out the use of “illegal aliens” and “welfare queens” to take away support for progressive approaches to health care and finance reform. The messages and visuals also evoked emotion in order to reach viewers. Of our national sample that mirrored the country’s voting population, race-explicit messages out-performed conservative messages by a substantial margin, even among southerners.

We also spent 2010 educating policy makers, national and local advocates and educators using tools we developed from our communications research. We are building upon lessons from these results by conducting another round of tests on two current debates where opponents will manipulate voters using race: health care reform implementation and immigration reform.

We are looking forward to publicizing our next set of communications testing results in late 2011.
The Center for Social Inclusion is grateful for its visionary supporters. They share our dedication and passion for catalyzing strategic solutions to transform our nation and ensure an equitable future for all. CSI funders make a difference, and we extend a heartfelt thank you for their commitment to our work.

Anonymous
Atlantic Philanthropies
Quinn Delaney and Wayne Jordan
Catherine Elias-Jermany
French American Charitable Trust
Ford Foundation
Connie Cagampang and Jonathan Heller
The Hull Family Foundation
The W.K. Kellogg Foundation
Linked Fate Foundation
Jane Levikow
Media Democracy Fund of the Proteus Fund
The Open Society Institute
Richard L. Pearlstone
Douglas H. Phelps
Public Welfare Foundation
Schooner Foundation
The Starry Night Fund
Surdna Foundation
Robert J. Turner and Stephanie Barton
Judy Turnock
Underdog Fund of Tides Foundation
Philip and Kate Villers
Wallace Global Fund

We would like to offer special thanks to the following for their efforts in support of the Center for Social Inclusion:

Caroline Beasley-Baker
Kimberly James
Kakarakra Inc.
Monique Morris
Karmen Ross
The Make Agency
Tronvig Group
**STAFF**

Madeleine Adamson  
PROJECT COORDINATOR  
*Alston Bannerman Leadership Initiative*

Natalie Almonte  
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT  
TO MAYA WILEY

Darnelle Bernier  
DIRECTOR OF DEVELOPMENT

Yesenia Bran  
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Jacob Faber  
SENIOR RESEARCHER  
(THROUGH 08/10)

Denis Rhoden  
RESEARCHER

Brittny Saunders  
SENIOR ADVOCATE

Lynda Turet  
ADVOCACY COORDINATOR

Cassandra Welchlin  
DIRECTOR OF SOUTHERN PROGRAMS  
(THROUGH 07/10)

Ana Weibgen  
PROGRAM ASSOCIATE

Maya Wiley  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

---

**BOARD OF DIRECTORS**

Catherine Albisa  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR  
*National Economic and Social Rights Initiative*

Melissa Bradley  
CEO  
*Tides Network*

Roger Clay  
PRESIDENT  
*Insight Center for Community Economic Development*

Colin Greer  
PRESIDENT  
*New World Foundation*

Richard Healey  
PRESIDENT  
*The Grassroots Policy Project*

Constance Heller  
ACTIVIST DONOR

Paul Hudson  
PRESIDENT AND CEO  
*Broadway Federal Bank*

Mahdis Keshavarz  
PRINCIPAL  
*The Make Agency*

Alexis McGill Johnson  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR  
*American Values Institute*

John Powell  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR  
*Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity Ohio State University*

Ramon Ramirez  
PRESIDENT  
*Pineros y Campesinos Unidos del Noroeste (PCUN)*

Ron Shiffman  
PROFESSOR  
*Pratt Institute*  
*School of Architecture, Graduate Center for Planning and the Environment*