



BUILDING ALLIANCES: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF COLLABORATION BETWEEN RURAL ORGANIZING PROJECT (ROP) AND CAUSA IN OREGON

Introduction

This ethnographic report focuses on collaboration between two important progressive state-wide organizations in Oregon. These two organizations—CAUSA and the Rural Organizing Project (ROP)—have logged significant successes in stopping national, state, and local efforts to limit the rights of Latino immigrants, gay and lesbian citizens, and those who are working for economic and social justice. The challenges the two organizations face in their collaborations based on the social, cultural, and economic differences of their constituents and the way they frame and conceptualize each other's struggles are an important focus. Specifically, the difficulties of Latino and Anglo collaboration at the local level are examined in two case studies in Medford and Forest Grove.

The report then focuses on values and political strategies shared by the leaders of ROP and CAUSA. Shared underlying social values and political strategies are crucial elements in how and why ROP and CAUSA have been able to learn how to be effective allies for one another. To illustrate how this has worked, two specific cases of successful collaboration are looked at in depth. The first involved the defeat of a national piece of legislation to introduce a guestworker program known by activists as “The New Bracero program” in 1997 and 1998. The second was a state-wide initiative in 2000 to prohibit public school teachers and employees from teaching about, promoting or recognizing homosexuality in public schools. The conclusions analyze the risks and benefits of collaboration, ways to continue to nurture such collaborations, and the ways that such collaborations can develop political power in changing political scenarios both in the state of Oregon and in the U.S. as a whole.

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ROP and CAUSA have functioned as allies since the mid-1990s. ROP is dedicated to serving as a progressive voice in the state of Oregon, both to specifically counter initiatives promulgated by groups such as the Oregon Citizen's Alliance (which has sponsored anti-gay local and state-wide initiatives and regressive legislation on a range of social issues) and to build capacity among rural citizens to create an alternative vision. ROP is focused on expanding local, regional, and state-wide political spaces to include a progressive viewpoint, and to support local autonomous human dignity groups with the goal of keeping such groups an important part of how democracy is understood in Oregon.

CAUSA is a state-wide coalition of immigrant rights and Latino organizations that is dedicated to serving as a political voice for Latino, immigrant, and worker rights. Many of the issues that CAUSA member groups deal with are survival issues such as access to local services, holding public school systems accountable, and combating anti-immigrant discrimination and racism. The leaders of ROP and CAUSA are strong, charismatic individuals who both have a long history of mentoring, supporting, and encouraging others. Both are also important public figures in their own right. (See Appendix 3 for a List of organizations that belong to CAUSA and ROP.) (See Appendix 1 for Oregon map).

Social Differences and Collaboration

Successful collaboration between two organizations is built on open communication, articulation of common interests, a clear strategy for how each organization can best contribute based on its strengths and knowledge, mutual education about the issues of the other organization, and a respect for difference of opinions and understandings of the issues at hand. In order to understand how ROP and CAUSA have been able to work together and what the challenges are in that work, we first need to look at the specific differences between the organizations that affect how the leadership and constituency of each organization frame specific issues and what kinds of experiences they have to draw on as resources for collaboration.

ROP is a network of rural, volunteer-based human dignity groups. Its constituency is primarily white, middle-class and working class, with many of its members having received a college education. While some of its members have grown up in Oregon, many local leaders and those who have been active in the staff have had significant experiences either living elsewhere in the U.S. or abroad. ROP does have some Latino members and in the past has had a few people of color on its board and in local groups. Nevertheless, it self-identifies and is identified by others as primarily a white organization. The membership of ROP is also concentrated on those 35 and older, although there are some younger members and leaders. ROP membership also includes a significant number of "out" gay men and lesbians and those who love them. They have been at the core of local human dignity groups that have worked to counter several anti-gay state measures since the early 1990s. In 2004, ROP had more than 60 affiliated local human dignity groups scattered around the state of Oregon—including in some of the

most isolated counties in the East. Several of these counties have the designation of “frontier” counties and still lack basic infrastructure.

The self-identified political orientation of many of its members is “progressive” with many stating that they are dedicated to “social justice,” “human dignity,” and “democratic practices.” Many also add the words “fighting discrimination” to what they see as an important part of their political orientation. An important political lineage running throughout the leadership both in the staff and the local level is the battered women’s movement. A number of women involved in the organization since its inception in 1993, including Marcy Westerling, gained significant political experience in this movement and have brought this experience to bear on their participation in ROP. In fact, the first ROP groups were formed directly by existing battered women’s services groups who felt that the challenge of the 1990s might require an overt and separate multi-issue political organization. The other sources of political experience when ROP formed were community organizing and the gay rights movement in Oregon.

CAUSA is a coalition of local Latino and immigrant rights organizations, primarily based in the larger urban areas of Oregon running down the I-5 corridor through the Willamette Valley from Portland to Medford. Its constituency is largely Latino, encompassing a wide-range of Latino experiences from Latino pioneers who settled in the area several generations ago to recent undocumented immigrants, primarily from Mexico. Many of the groups that make up CAUSA are serving the neediest parts of the Latino immigrant population in Oregon and the bulk of their constituency tends to be poor and working class with some middle class families. Member groups of CAUSA include Mano a Mano in Salem (a social service organization serving the local population), Pineros y Campesinos Unidos del Noroeste PCUN, Oregon’s only farmworker union), UNETE (a Medford-based volunteer organization dedicated to helping Latinos, many of them new immigrants), Centro Latino (a Eugene-based social service agency), Latinos Unidos Siempre (LUS—a Salem-based Latino youth organization), and VOZ (Worker’s Rights Education Project which serves primarily immigrant day laborers)(see Attachment 4 for a complete list).. Often the families served by the constituent groups that make up the CAUSA coalition include folks who may have little or no education and may not be literate in Spanish (due to speaking an indigenous language) or English. An important part of the community that CAUSA member groups serve is recent immigrants who are struggling to establish themselves with a steady job and to learn English. Many have routinely experienced racism and discrimination in a wide range of environments. In other words, the focus of the work of many of the agencies and organizations participating in CAUSA is on a daily survival struggle encompassing a wide range of social issues, which come wrapped in poverty and racism. Beyond this, the organizations in CAUSA include youth and more established Latinos who have made a decision to dedicate themselves to improving the situation of immigrants on a variety of fronts.

Many of the now-middle class leaders and organizers who work in CAUSA and its constituent organizations came from family backgrounds where they personally experienced the struggles of recent immigrants. Some are college-educated, but often they are the first in their families. The participants in CAUSA range in age from youth in

their teens through people in their 50s and 60s. In our interviews we encountered one self-identified lesbian participant in CAUSA. Political influences mentioned by many of the organizers and participants in CAUSA include the philosophy and work of César Chávez, experience working in the solidarity movements which supported social movements and popular opposition organizations in Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Mexico, and experience in farmworker organizing. Some have engaged in community organizing and working with youth before coming to CAUSA. Participants in CAUSA articulate “immigrant rights,” “fighting racism,” “ending discrimination,” “worker/labor rights” as some of their key points of struggle. Some of these social values overlap significantly with those of ROP.

Given the significant class, ethnic and racial, and even political experiences and orientations of the two groups, a key question to answer is: what is the basis of their collaboration? How do leaders and members move from what may be very different experiences and understandings of issues to working together on a specific campaign?

Political Education and Experiences of Understanding Among Leaders: Initial Contacts and Collaboration Between CAUSA and ROP

One of the key factors in initiating the collaboration between CAUSA and ROP can be traced to the social values, political education, and creative interest in collaboration found among several leaders: Ramón Ramírez, Kelley Weigel, and Marcy Westerling. In addition, all three of these leaders and other activists in each organization had a history of engaging in broad strategic thinking about how to combat the entrenchment of the right in the state of Oregon and nationally before they met each other. Ramón, Marcy, and Kelley each had specific points in their trajectories as leaders, which influenced them in important ways in relation to their ability to work in the ROP/CAUSA collaboration and others. In the case of Ramón Ramírez of PCUN and CAUSA (president of PCUN and CAUSA) this was gay and lesbian rights and broader issues of discrimination. In the case of Kelley Weigel (former co-director and former field director of ROP) and Marcy Westerling (founder and executive director of ROP), it was immigrant and Latino rights. The initial point of contact for both organizations involved these three people and their mutual abilities to understand the importance of joining together with other communities to create a united political front that could effectively take on the political Right. Defending the rights of Latinos, immigrants, gays and lesbians, the poor, workers, and others who faced a series of punitive legislative measures and other efforts to limit their social benefits and eclipse their political participation was the common political goal of activists in CAUSA and ROP.

In interviews with Ramón, Marcy, and Kelley, “experiences of understanding” stood out when they narrated their personal political histories. For each of them, these experiences involved an emotional and/or intellectual leap in which they came to see the world in a new way that permitted them to empathize with, respect, and support the struggle of another group with new conviction. Such experiences were important in helping them to work with others towards created a united political front. These same kinds of experiences were often parts of the political histories of other activists in ROP and

CAUSA and allowed them to serve as bridge people in their local groups. Their bridging helped others to see the importance [and effective strategy] of working in solidarity on an issue that initially was not identified by the group as initially important. While some of these “moments of understanding” are highlighted here, it is also important to point out that each leader’s individual development as well as that of their organizations individually and in collaboration was not necessary linear in its unfolding. What may appear to be a smooth progression in these narratives of individual and organizational development in reality is often a part of a much more complex pattern of moving forward, doubling back, falling, trying again, and succeeding with a different goal and strategy.

For Ramón Ramírez, one of these experiences of understanding happened in 1992, when a lesbian and gay march which went from Eugene to Portland in opposition to an anti-gay ballot measure (Measure 9). The march stopped in Woodburn and stayed overnight at PCUN’s union hall. It was the first time that PCUN’s membership and leadership had a public dialogue with gay rights leaders. Ramón described this dialogue (1)

Ramón: Right. So they had stopped in Woodburn. We actually went and met them as they were marching in, brought them in, and proceeded to have a dialogue with the lesbian and gay community.

Lynn: They came here?

Ramón: Right. They stayed in the hall. And I think it was kind of a strategic juncture in that we were able to have pretty much for the first time a dialogue with the gay and lesbian community.

Lynn: Can you tell me a little bit about that? What you remember of that? Who dialogued with them?

Ramón: One of the things that stood out the most was that they were marching throughout the valley, and we were one of the only groups to welcome them. They told us the story that they were allowed to stay in a church. I'm not sure where, maybe in Junction City. The pastor just gave them the key and said, “Make sure it's cleaned up.” Then he left-- like not wanting to have anything to do with them. So that story really stood out. So what we decided to do-- and there was a lot of controversy about that, even among us—we had a discussion about how do we handle this situation.... In that context our community was pretty much homophobic, because of the church influence, the Catholic Church influence, among other things. So what kind of message did we want to have? What stance would we take? And our position was that, in the end, we needed to support the LGBT community and we needed to defeat Measure 9. Measure 9 was clearly an attack on the gay community.

1. Beginning here and throughout this text, I have inserted comments made by those interviewed as well as the questions or comments that preceded them by the interviewer, usually me, Lynn Stephen. Quotations thus often look like a conversation, which they were. See Appendix one for a complete list of those who were interviewed for this project.

But we looked at it from the point of view that the Right (the political Right), was going to deteriorate the Oregon constitution in terms of civil liberties and rights, and protections from discrimination. All along we were looking at it seeing that they are attacking the GLBT community first, and we (Latinos) were second. We're next in line. So we were clear about that, back then. We were definitely the target also. But that dialogue was the beginning of what could develop into a strong relationship with a community that we hadn't worked with and that would present a series of challenges not only to the organization (PCUN) and to us as individuals in that organization, but also to the community. The issue of gay rights is very controversial here; we still have a lot of homophobia in our community....

...What was important was that a lot of the folks that made up, and that currently make up the leadership of what became ROP and their network were on that march. And the dialogue was not necessarily talking about what we had in common, but we took the tactic of what our differences were so that we would have a better-grounded perspective of where we're coming from. So we talked more about the church influence in the Latino community that feeds into homophobia. We talked about those kinds of issues. And then on their part, we also raised the whole issue about the march's concentration on gay folks in the Portland metropolitan area, yet 30 miles to the south farmworkers are getting attacked on a daily basis. We're organizing and we haven't seen support from that community for our movement, for our struggle. That whole discussion, just those two topics created a lot of interest.

After this experience, Ramón and other Latino leaders began to put together the state-wide coalition that became known as CAUSA. They went to call on ROP and other groups that had experience in winning the fight against the anti-gay Measure 9 ballot initiative in 1992. They believed that they could learn from them about how to put together a successful state-wide campaign. While their motivation for approaching ROP and other groups was to forge a more effective state-wide campaign to defeat a series of anti-immigrant and anti-farmworkers pieces of legislation, they also were motivated by a desire to create a broad front to defeat the political right in the state. Their growing understanding of and acquaintance with leaders in the gay and lesbian rights movement helped to make them effective communicators and trusted bridge-builders.

For Marcy Westerling, a series of circumstantial events including an immigrant father, working on environmental organizing, campus organizing, and coming into a consciousness about the importance of anti-racism work were important to her perspective. More particularly as a young person she remembers distilling these experiences as “mobilizing the community around me on some outrage that I had just recognized.” In terms of the importance of race and race education, two distinct moments of understanding seem quite important to her. The first, stemmed from a traumatic rape and subsequent organizing experience she had while a student at Smith College and studying abroad in a small town in Italy. There, the realization that women had been socialized into silence about sexual violence motivated her to fight back and help others

to do so. Her experience of having a total lack of rights was fundamental in getting her to see the importance of fighting for different kinds of rights.

Marcy: I went to an all women's college, Smith College.

Lynn: What was that like?

Marcy: I really got caught up in trying to do what you are supposed to do in college, which I didn't understand was to party. So I was very academic. I did spend my junior year at the University of Florence and actually ended up on my third day there, before I was situated or anything, being kidnapped and raped. It ended up being a multi-continental issue. I was in a really primitive town in Italy and there was an absolute epidemic going on...

Lynn: Of rape?

Marcy: Yes. There was a university for foreigners, a total melting pot of asking for it, but not asking for rape. They had all these single men that were being allowed in, really homeless men in the sense of being totally disconnected from their own base of support, and then Italian culture so fucked up around women and all of the rest of it. It was a huge epidemic, because all Italian women know you never say anything, and so there weren't any consequences. But I was an American woman in 1979 where you couldn't turn on the TV and see the movie of the week without seeing a message on how to get medical and legal help if you are raped. This is what you do. So I did that. I went to the hospital, tried to get medical care, and wasn't able to get any of that because "it couldn't have happened." In the end, I was arrested, my passport was confiscated, and it was a huge mess that led to the entire year being about this trial.

Lynn: Your trial?

Marcy: Well, they did end up catching some of the folks and putting them on trial. They slowly, because I wouldn't recant, shifted. I got an incredible education on the intersections of gender, class and race, because they all intersected incredibly well. That was a very pivotal moment of understanding mobilizing and the system. It was women that went door to door, that heard about it, and knew that there was someone who was willing to talk. They literally door-knocked until they found me so that they could make sure I pressed charges since no one else was. It ended up being a landmark case because of all of that.

Lynn: In Italy?

Marcy: Yes, so I never really looked back. I made a commitment at that moment to doing social justice work and pretty much around those intersections-- understanding that as long as you could rank one oppression over the other, it was ridiculous. When I came back I went full time into organizing....

Once Marcy returned, she went to work for ACORN (a community organization) and then left to work with the battered women's movement in Oregon. The backbone of ROP was formed out of local human dignity groups affiliated with the Oregon Coalition Against Domestic and Sexual Violence whose philosophy Marcy described as "feminism meets Paulo Freire." In 1993 (a year after Ramón Ramírez and others hosted The Love and Justice March in the PCUN union hall in Woodburn described above); Marcy began working with a new group forming to promote justice for gays and lesbians. Initially called SOC-PAC (Support Our Communities-PAC), this group became Basic Rights Oregon in 1994—the long-term organization leading the fight against a never-ending barrage of anti-gay ballot measures in the state of Oregon. Through Marcy's personal and political connections in the battered women's movement and her new work with SOC-PAC in 1993, she states that the original local groups that made up ROP were "disproportionately feminist-based and queer-based."

Developing anti-racist education and moving immigrant rights issues onto the agenda were an important focus for Marcy in the early days of ROP. A second "moment of understanding" occurred when she and others began to do anti-racist education with initial ROP human dignity groups. Then a heart-felt desire to communicate with neighbors led one Klamath Fall local ROP steering committee member to consider whether or not the group should collect signatures for an "English Only" ballot measure. This occurrence surfaced the need to look at specific forms of racism and how they affected Latino immigrants and farmworkers.

Marcy: ...we did our first annual bringing people together back in March of 93. We asked people to make two decisions, one is "should the ROP exist?" and the second is "should every group have an unlearning racism session to really address that issue, to really stop making assumptions on one of the most toxic issues in this country?"...

Lynn: ...And it was discussed as race or immigration, or both?

Marcy: It was discussed as race at that point, which was more the model of the battered women's movement, pretty race-driven. The concrete reality of racism experienced by immigrants and farmworkers was not yet talked about....

...In the process of going around and doing these unlearning racism trainings, the most vivid image that I walked away with was at Klamath Falls in doing one there with their steering committee--a very lovely group of people, as all of our people are. It was incredibly clear that in that room I was developing, ROP was developing, the skills of the people that were totally ready to take the clip boards and collect the signatures for the English only initiative that was on the table. There was this one older woman who, you know, talked about how important it was to talk to your neighbors and you know, it was a very honest, superficial kind of we're pro-human dignity and don't we all need to talk the same language (i.e. English)?" It was very sweet. It wasn't like a racist thing. Here we were doing this unlearning racism thing and we are totally surfacing not only racism, but also how

easy it would be for us to be the leads on it (through people like the woman who was ready to work for the English only initiative). This led to additional thinking. We had an advisory group that I think at the time was majority people of color since that was part of its purpose. We recognized that the constituency that we were working with was going to stay majority white and that was actually a good thing because there was a lot of work that had to be done with white folks.

That initial meeting educating the primarily White constituency of ROP about racism and its manifestation in legislative proposals such as a 1993 “English Only” proposal was the beginning of a long-standing effort on the part of ROP leadership to prepare ROP members to work on immigrant rights issues. Pro-active efforts educating ROP membership about immigrant rights were the best way to inoculate ROP’s base from being manipulated on the issue. By creating a shared analysis of the links between anti-gay and anti-immigrant legislation, ROP leaders such as Marcy hoped to be able to get ROPers to begin to see that if they wanted to defeat people on the right promoting anti-gay legislation they also had to defeat people who were targeting Latinos and Latino immigrants. This occurred about nine months after PCUN’s and early leaders of CAUSA’s initial dialogue and contact with a state-wide gay rights coalition. Both ROP and CAUSA began the process of education and contact with political actors and issues that they had not initially identified as their own within a relatively short period of one another, in 1992 and 1993.

A third critical person in the CAUSA/ROP collaboration is Kelley Weigel. As a recently-graduated college student from the International Studies Program at the University of Oregon, Kelley began working as an office manager for a social justice organization in Eugene, CALC (Community Alliance of Lane County). As a part of her work for that organization, she participated in the same gay and lesbian march that was hosted in the PCUN union hall. Listening to the conversations between PCUN leaders such as Ramón and gay and lesbian elders made a big impression on her. Her work in CALC which had an early and consistent focus on anti-racism work and immigrant rights made her an ideal person to be the bridge between ROP and CAUSA. Kelley recalled the power of the 1992 conversation in the union hall and the importance of her experience in CALC for her later work with CAUSA. Her narrative also provides details on the series of anti-gay measures that dominated state politics at the time.

Kelley: In January of '91, the Gulf war broke out. I went from half time to full time doing draft resistance counseling and the crisis management work that CALC often does in Eugene. I just started working at CALC and after the Gulf war, it was OCA (Oregon Citizens Alliance, sponsor of anti-gay measure 9 in November, 1992), and that was the program work that they shifted me into. So I was half-time working on that program, which at that time was dealing with the Springfield city initiative (anti-gay) that was the junior version of the statewide 1992 (Measure 9).

Lynn: This was the "Son of....?"

Kelley: It was the first one. There were two city initiatives, Springfield and Corvallis; Corvallis won and Springfield lost in May of '92, and then there was a statewide initiative in November of 1992. That was a huge focus of my work and actually my first connection to PCUN because I participated in the Walk for Love and Justice, which did stay in the union hall overnight. That floor was very hard, which I know many people can attest to besides me. It was interesting for me because, unlike a lot of the people who had been on the March who were long-time activists within the gay and lesbian community, I was a relative newcomer to that movement, and I was an ally. So to hear the conversations that happened that night between people like Ramón and Larry and some of the elders in the gay and lesbian movement...It was a deep conversation that was challenging on both sides, I think. It was a conversation of people really talking about what it meant to be an ally and what it means to not always be comfortable within your own community because you need to be an ally with someone from outside your community....

...Cipriano (past president and co-founder of PCUN who died in 1995) was still alive, right? I think he was there. I think he actually kicked it off, but Ramón stuck around. They were always a good team. I think Cipriano really put it out there (to the gay and lesbian leaders). He said, "Like, you know, we are only 30 minutes from Portland and it's not until your butts are on the line. You are asking for support and we are here." Ramón followed with, "yeah, and we know we have some issues we have to deal with as well. We want to talk about some of those things so we can really be allies."

...I wish I could remember this woman's name, I see her face so clearly. She is a white woman who... was just recounting a story of feeling like she had tried to organize people to support farmworker issues and realized that she had been dealing only with the issue, and not with people. So in other words, she wasn't dealing with racism. She was dealing with "we should support this boycott" (PCUN was calling for a boycott of Norpac at the time, see section on collaborations below). So people were willing to support the boycott, but they weren't really grappling with the issues of what it meant to recognize human beings and how deep racism went within their own community. She was very distraught about that and felt like that meant that she wasn't a good ally. It was an interesting conversation, particularly because some of the leaders of both PCUN and the folks that were at the Walk for Love and Justice were basically age peers. So working through some of that kind of "we've been both working on our own issues but obviously we haven't managed to figure out how to tackle the bigger problems."

Lynn: Had you ever seen a discussion like that before in the work you'd been doing?

Kelley: Not on those particular subjects.

Lynn: Gay, Latino issues and how do we deal with homophobia and racism?

Kelley: Working at CALC, we talked a lot about racism. But to have those kinds of conversations come up out of people just kind of hanging out together for the night, no. The work that CALC did was always more constructed than that. Those types of conversations would happen in the context of an anti-racism workshop and people comparing their relative levels of oppression and that kind of stuff would come up. That conversation (in the union hall) felt different, too, in the sense that people seemed so... it wasn't like comparing oppressions. It was "we have to figure out how to work together." People were invested in trying to name what the obstacles were and get them out of the way....

Having the mutual interest, understanding, and desire to "figure out how to work together" expressed in the 1992 conversation in the union hall between PCUN activists and gay and lesbian activists has been at the core of the collaboration between ROP and CAUSA. The political education and experiences of understanding that leaders like Ramón, Marcy, and Kelley brought with them to the table were crucial in beginning the relationship between ROP and CAUSA. In addition, their mutual commitments to social justice, democracy, and mutual respect and to defeating the political Right in Oregon set the context for the construction of their collaboration. Larger political circumstances in the state of Oregon in the mid-1990s linked to coordinated anti-gay, anti-immigrant, and anti-worker initiatives emerging from the Right-wing "Oregon Citizen's Alliance" or OCA and Oregonians for Immigration Reform (anti-immigrant group) created concrete political opportunities for organizations such as ROP and CAUSA to work together. As explained by Ramón Ramírez, it was political necessity that initially drove the alliance that emerged between CAUSA and ROP and pushed some in CAUSA to take on coalition work on gay and lesbian rights, even though they were not initially comfortable with the issue.

Lynn: So this new relationship really started out in that march....

Ramón: The reason why it was important to set that context was because we thought that the best people who were able to give us consultation on putting together a strategy that would defeat these proposals (anti-immigrant) would be the gay and lesbian community-- rather than go out of the state, and talk to forces that, in a lot of ways, lost their strategy (in California's anti-187 campaign in 1994). It was in our best interest to go to the gay and lesbian community and seek their assistance. And tell them "we need your help in strategizing the very serious attacks against us." So our whole theory about how they're going to attack the gay and lesbian community and then immigrants afterwards really unfolded in front of us.

I remember that within the coalition (CAUSA, in January of 1996), our first meeting was pretty large. We probably had about 40-50 people. The coalition was really starting to bring in a lot of folks. ...The discussion was that there were some folks that were not really progressive in the coalition. They were saying"

well, we shouldn't really be talking to the gay and lesbian community. What interest do they have in us? Why should we do that?" And I think it was, without a doubt, ignorance. Part of it was out of fear and part of it was definitely homophobia. A number of us presented our case...

We made the case based on the numbers that the proponents of Measure 9 (anti-gay ballot initiative in Oregon in 1992) had from an initial polling. They were at around 68-70% in favor of Measure 9. In November of that year, they were able to defeat it. So we kept pushing the fact that we felt that we couldn't just be for immigrant rights. That we really had to be for the rights of all people. That we had to really struggle to build a society based on respect and equality so we couldn't exclude anybody. I don't know, to tell you the truth, if we really won over people on that argument, but certainly on the argument that they had actually defeated a measure that had that much support brought people to their senses.

Mechanisms of Collaboration: Structural/Personal/Cultural

Once ROP and CAUSA began to start working together, their continued collaboration was not only contingent upon interpersonal interactions, but also certain structural connections. The first formal connection between the two organizations occurred in February of 1996 when the Executive Committee of CAUSA '96 wrote to ROP and asked that a representative from ROP be on the Board of Directors of CAUSA '96. Kelley Weigel became this representative and a crucial link between the two organizations. Kelley recorded a telephone conversation in her notes with Ramón and noted, "He (Ramón) thought this was an excellent "first step" for better working relations between Latino groups and ROP. Can't deny that. I think this is where we need to be."

Another important link that occurred during that same time between CAUSA and ROP was a series of visits CAUSA made to different parts of Oregon in order to network with and educate Latino and non-Latino organizations about anti-immigrant legislation and the Oregon Latino Voter Registration Drive. In 1995, Marianne Gonzales who had worked in the battered women's movement started a contract with ROP. ROP had written a grant to start a new organization/project called Latinos and Others United in Response (LOUR). ROP supported and encouraged Marianne in her local Latino rights advocacy, and eventually applied for a grant that allowed Marianne to become a part-time staff person for LOUR for eighteen months. Marianne recalled the importance of founding LOUR and bringing together Latinos in sparsely populated eastern Oregon.

Marianne: ...it seems like I met a couple of women. I think they were of Mexican descent, Mexican-American and we thought, wouldn't it be fun to do something in the community to celebrate our culture? We thought it would be fun to kind of do that with our culture too and for younger generations or second generations like me and my children. We wanted to do something for the children to educate them a little bit about that and to have an event for the community. So we thought we would have a 5 de Mayo celebration.... It was incredibly successful and so much fun. We had a woman there that knew the old dances. She

taught us. We did the dancing, we got together, and we made food. We made tortillas and beans and we had it at the fairgrounds. We charged for dinner and then the dancing. It was a great day, a lot of fun and people from the whole community turned up...

...I think about it now and it makes me smile because it was so much fun and the thing I think was fun for me too was getting together with the women and cooking and talking. We actually ended up making money. We gave scholarships, so that was exciting.

Lynn: When did you start doing that?

Marianne: That must have been around 1995 or so. The main thing we did was the Cinco de Mayo celebration and then we would see how to give away the scholarship. So I got to thinking, wouldn't it be neat to have this informal way to get all these people from different walks of life and different backgrounds in the city together ... Wouldn't it be neat to see how that could work in other communities? Bring people together around a celebration, only doing more than that. It was educational, showing pride in our culture, educating the community in our culture, educating us about our own culture, learning the dances. I mean not that many generations know native, cultural dances and things like that. So then this grant became available...

...We had this vision for this project (LOUR) that we would take this to other communities. It's such a great distance to travel in eastern and southern Oregon and there is nothing in between. You go from Lakeview to Burns and there is a gas station or two. You are on the road for three or four hours and that is pretty much it. So we had to be pretty specific... so that's why we chose Lakeview, Klamath Falls, Bend, Ontario and Burns. There were already a lot of great people doing some great stuff there. There was already some organizing going on. You find Mexican or Hispanic groups doing something over here and then other progressive groups doing something over here. So how do you bring them together and build that trust and relationship? That was the question.

ROP's efforts to support and grow LOUR were short-lived in a formal organizational sense. When the eighteen-month grant from the McKenzie River Foundation that supported Marianne as LOUR's part-time staff person was finished, the organization did not hold together. Some of the member organizations continued to function and the failure of LOUR to cohere as a long-term project further motivated ROP leaders to support their collaborative work with CAUSA. ROP leader Marcy Westerling also felt that ROP learned a great deal from their efforts with LOUR about how to be effective allies to Latino and pro-immigrant organizations.

In 1996, CAUSA worked with LOUR and ROP and organized visits to Ontario, Klamath Falls, and the tri-county area of Crook, Deschutes, and Jefferson to offer trainings to local activists on how to combat proposed anti-immigrant legislation sponsored by a group

called Oregonians for Immigration Reform (ORI) modeled on proposition 187 in California (see their website at <http://www.oregonir.org/>).

Cultural events offered after the trainings also were important in bringing people together. CAUSA and ROP collaborated on similar forums elsewhere in the state. While the legislative proposals from Oregonians for Immigration Reform did not appear on the ballot in 1996 because OIR was not able to get enough signatures to qualify the initiatives, they reappeared in various forms after that year. The experience of putting together the forums helped to educate people in ROP who were not so familiar with immigrant issues and also provided concrete assistance and connections for CAUSA in extending their state-wide work beyond the I-5 corridor. They were able to meet with LOUR groups and others in Eastern Oregon where they had few previous contacts. Samuel Davila who was one of CAUSA's speakers on the tour recalled the kinds of links forged through his work with ROP.

Lynn: Do you remember the places that you went?

Samuel: Nyssa, Val, Hood River, Klamath Falls, Medford, Eugene, of course, Portland, Cornelius, Corvallis, Astoria, Seaside, Newport, Bend, Ontario, no, no, Hermiston.

Lynn: And when you did this, do you remember meeting people from the Rural Organizing Project or being aware of their existence?

Samuel: Yes, I learned very quickly that they were a white progressive group working on economic justice. It was Ramón that established, or had the contacts with them. I would assume that with the formation of this new group and the opportunity to bring community presenters, that's how I was introduced to them. I've known them since then.

That same year, ROP endorsed PCUN's boycott of NORPAC, Steinfeld, and Wholesome and Hearty in a clear signal of their support of farmworker rights. PCUN is a key member of CAUSA. NORPAC is the largest processor of fruits and vegetables in the west owned by 250 growers in Oregon's Willamette Valley. PCUN called the boycott to pressure NORPAC growers to endorse collective bargaining to improve the situation of Oregon farmworkers. Marion Malcolm, who was on the ROP board at the time, recalled that one board member didn't want to endorse the boycott, but put her concern aside so that the endorsement could go forward. This endorsement, like the collaboration between LOUR and CAUSA, was an important indication of concrete support for the issues that CAUSA worked on.

Thus the structural links that were created in 1996 between ROP and CAUSA, their collaboration on CAUSA tours, and actions such as the ROP board endorsement of the NORPAC boycott were important steps for building the foundation of a collaborative relationship. As noted, some of these linkages were structural (ROP seat on CAUSA board, and inviting the CAUSA board to meet and participate annually at ROP caucus),

some were cultural (linking CAUSA with LOUR, Latino to Latino links), and some were personal as noted above (bringing Kelley Weigel as ROP rep to CAUSA).

Framing Issues at the Grassroots Level: Culture, Class, and Communication

While the leaders of ROP and CAUSA had engaged in significant cross-organizing and coalition experiences by the end of 1996—both with one another and with other organizations—not all participants at the grassroots level in each organization had. Varied class, cultural, and educational experiences made for some differences in how members of each group perceived the issues, intentions, and goals of the other. These differences emerged most clearly when members of locally-based groups might come face to face and find that they had very different understandings of what was going on.

For example, in the CAUSA tours organized during 1996, CAUSA organizers were traveling to parts of the state that they didn't know and sometimes arrived late. On a fall tour, they arrived a day late, due to a snowstorm. While Latino community organizational events are often on a flexible time schedule, ROP events tended to be very prompt—even early. Such differences could lead to scheduling or communications conflicts between the collaborating organizations. Of the joint organizing efforts in touring the state, Marcy recalled:

There were some bad moments. But when we saw a problematic trend in communication then we decided that each group might be better off coordinating their own gigs since it made for fewer communication flaws....We found that collaborations required the acceptance of communication realities and re-looking at them when things went awry.

Lynn: How did you process the snowstorm incident with CAUSA?

Marcy: Totally poorly. I think that would be a great example of an organization looking at being multi-racial. It's the kind of thing that we probably wrote off, didn't want to make it an issue, felt that it would be wrong. We didn't have the language, really.

At the time, Marcy did not feel that she had the language to discuss the incident with CAUSA members and let it drop. She chalked it up to learning how to be multi-racial and understanding very different senses of when you would and would not drive in a snowstorm and how people would feel about that decision. But if a coordination or communication barrier continued, then ROP or CAUSA would come up with a concrete plan that designated who was in the lead in scheduling. This insured that presenters on the tours resolved their own logistics.

Class and cultural differences can also come out in how white, middle-class ROP members approached engaging in solidarity with farmworkers whose lives were very different from their own. In 1997, PCUN was organizing a series of accompaniment delegations to labor camps on farms where the union was trying to pressure growers to increase wages. ROP members took part in some of these trips. Former CAUSA staff

person Jon Brier recalled these trips and some of the realizations and changes that white companions went through, including some from ROP.

Jon: For starters, the key dynamic is white supporters showing up to support Latinos and farm workers of color and mixed organizing staff-- the organizing team being primarily Latino and white. I think largely the (accompaniment) team I was working with was white. It included a lot of religious folks and a lot of community organizations. ROP was there.

... (For the people accompanying) there is a whole world of questions... “What are you talking about, a labor camp? What is a labor camp?” And then every kind of basic question got asked about working conditions. “People actually working 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 hours a day? People don’t have protective equipment?....”

... On one hand, you have people that are flat out degrading in violently racist ways. The flip side is the alternative, often romantic side saying “those poor noble people working the fields”-- kind of big brother on the white horse... Their attitude was “What is going to make change in any struggle or the struggle in the fields is because some people will help and take charge of the situation, know the problems, and can be the experts.” So changing this is about being able to remove the more offensive part of charity—the part that says “ people are helpless. No one has the skill, the analysis, or the strength, or the courage to take action to organize themselves or to fight for dignity. It’s going to be because there are white experts who are doing the job for them.” I think that was the prevalent thing, the other flip side to people being violently and openly racist. There were a number of comments saying: “those poor people. Isn’t it terrible? Isn’t it sad? I can’t believe this is going on. I just feel so bad for them.” I think I am not doing justice to the comments people would say, but some had a paternalistic attitude, very condescending and not respectful....

While some white companions were initially paternalistic in their approach to farmworkers, others (including some from ROP) who continued with accompaniment work and participated in rallies, marches, and other events came to view the situation differently. Their change in attitude was due to persistence in their participation and an ongoing effort by ROP to educate their members on racism and its connections not only to the conditions farmworkers labor under but also on how white allies can approach their solidarity work with farmworkers.

CAUSA consistently raised the importance of confronting racism, and ROP on dealing with homophobia. One of the key points of open communication seemed to be that each organization clearly told the other from the get-go what each needed to work on in order for them to get along. Jon Brier recalled of the ROP-CAUSA collaboration:

One of the strengths of the relationship was CAUSA was explicit that ROP needed to call its members on racism issues and I think ROP was explicit with CAUSA that CAUSA needed to call its membership on homophobia issues. That

was my understanding when I entered CAUSA and how much smarter CAUSA became based on the experience of working with LGBT rights. That's how I understood the relationship...Both sides of the community were going to be explicit about calling each other on the issues they had to work on.

Such efforts did not eliminate racism in ROP or homophobia in CAUSA, but they did establish an important precedent for ongoing discussion of these issues within each organization. In addition to racism and homophobia, classism and sexism were also issues that each organization emphasized internally and in their relationship to one another. These issues were understood by leadership as important points in their common starting analysis.

The Difficulties of Anglo and Latino Collaboration at the Local Level

While leaders such as Ramón and Marcy shared an underlying political analysis that saw a common enemy in the Right working to marginalize immigrants, gays and lesbians, working people and the poor, the way this analysis worked politically and strategically on the ground was not easy for local folks to carry through without extensive preparation. Local level collaborations between ROP activists and Latinos based in their own communities sometimes proved difficult.

In Medford, Oregon, the group UNETE has been so overwhelmed with daily survival struggles of Latino immigrants, that it has been difficult to spend much time on collaborations. In our extended conversation with Dagoberto in Medford, he emphasized how his volunteer work with UNETE involves a constant stream of people who are in personal and family crises. This occurs to such an extent, that it is often difficult for him to get away to go to ROP and CAUSA trainings and events that he wants to attend. Simply put, he spends most of his time responding to crises and is unable to spend much time planning or even working with organizations that cannot be of immediate, concrete assistance to the people he supports. As one of only two service-providing organizations or the large Latino population in the Medford area and the only Latino organization that takes on political work, UNETE's five volunteer staff members (who all work full-time paid jobs as well of UNETE) are often overwhelmed. Because many of the farmworkers they service work only part of the year, there are certain crises times when they are very busy. Other times of the year they are engaging in cultural activities and also trying to respond to political crises as well. Dagoberto stated:

They (other organizations) always say that we don't have time and I am going to tell you why we don't have time. We need a paid staff. I can tell you about the problems we face. We can start in the fall. People run into a lot of problems here in November and December because they can't pay rent or for their electricity. (The harvest season ends and many farmworkers have no source of income). Then the agricultural season starts up again with the roses in March and we start on labor issues. Then we have to prepare the César Chávez celebration in March. Then something happens during the summer harvest season. Then we have to prepare the celebration for the Day of the Campesino in August, and then with the

harvests of pears, other fruits in August, September, we have other issues with people.

Dagoberto works very hard to respond to the trainings offered by CAUSA and ROP and to participate in campaigns such as the Latino Voter Education drive and promoting the Dream Act (which will allow academically-talented high school seniors who are undocumented to receive residency and pay resident tuition in higher educational institutions). He and others in UNETE manage to do a significant amount of political work, but always under pressure and usually in crises mode. Thus any collaboration they engage in which do not have an immediate result for struggling farmworkers come at a cost in terms of what they cannot do instead.

What Dagoberto's comments underline, is the varying reality of different kinds of Latino populations in Oregon and particularly the stressful, daily life circumstances of undocumented farmworkers and others. The every-day crises of worrying about having a job, being paid at least minimum wage, being able to pay rent and utilities, being able to afford food and school supplies, and hoping that not being able to speak English won't result in even more difficulties mark the lives of many of the people Dagoberto works with. This structural reality strongly influences the kind of work he does, what he must respond to first, and his very limited time and resources to devote to alliance building.

What constitutes a "Latino" or "immigrant rights" issue for local Latino populations in many small towns and cities where ROP and CAUSA work is often first and foremost an issue of economic survival and secondly of racism. Many small towns also have several generations of Latino immigrants who may have significant differences between them. Thus things like local political campaigns for elected office such as mayor, city counselor, and school board are not at the top of the list of many undocumented workers and their families. For Latino families who settled in the same town several generations ago and are U.S. citizens or legal residents, these issues may be of key importance. The context of what the key concerns for local Latinos are can vary significantly from one town to the next and even within communities. For ROP activists it can be very challenging work to deal with the complexity of the local Latino community and to figure out how to be good allies. An example from Forest Grove illustrates this point.

Mike Edera, who works with a small ROP human dignity group in Forest Grove, reflected at length on the challenges of trying to work with local Latinos as allies. He focused first on the importance of working together with local Latinos based on common political interest versus as accompaniers in the solidarity model described above where white activists visited farm labor camps. He emphasized the importance of moving away from accompaniment to finding shared political interests. Even this, however, does not guarantee that local Anglos and Latinos will choose the same strategy for working on an issue. Differences in legal status, in particular, can make some venues feel safe for legal residents and citizens and unsafe for those who are undocumented. He stated:

Yeah the accompaniment campaign. A bunch of us went to that and that was really good. You know a lot of us had seen and know what the camps are like.

I've seen it. What was really good was having people who could tell us the story from the inside, having some communication. But there is still...this kind of psychological barrier or psychological difference. Essentially, you can go down and accompany folks and then you go home to another world. But a person that lives two doors down from you is living that reality. And to get to that point where you are socially in the same level... The accompaniment thing was a great experience to see how well organized PCUN was and how that made a big impression with folks, but....

...Even in our group there are folks that are into that Central American model (reference to providing solidarity from the U.S. to organizations in El Salvador during the 1980s) and my view is not like that. My view is much more that we have to be allies... We have politics that are equal and our role is to work on things where we have common interests rather than as supporters. And that is not to denigrate that other model of solidarity, but particularly in a community like Cornelius where the Latino community is moving from being agricultural workers to being a big chunk of the community and being involved in all the industries and community, we have common interests around schools, around all the economic issues and to develop some kind of politics where we move together instead of a few people supporting the immigrant community. I don't know how that is going to happen. We tried that and it hasn't worked yet ...

Lynn: Give us some examples of attempts to develop the kind of politics where you move together.

Mike: We tried. Michael Dale, who you know, ran for school board in Forest Grove. Our group was his support. We were the people walking the streets and from that point on for years we tried to focus on school issues because we saw these cuts were happening across the board. So here was finally a moment where the issues of the Latino community in Forest Grove around drop out rates and school funding could become the issues of the Anglo community. We tried to find a way to develop that, but we have not been able to come up with that model yet.

... The other barrier is that in the Latino community many people are not, they are not ready to go to these school district meetings... There will be some, but they are not banging on the door the way that they would be if they were natural born U.S. citizens and they were getting the kind of treatment they are getting. So there is a disorganized... There is not a strong political movement in the Latino community in Forest Grove and Cornelius around those issues yet. It hasn't developed yet....

... When there is a meeting at Centro (Latino community organization in nearby Cornelius, Oregon) around legalization or amnesty, there are people there that you never seen before. There is standing room only and then people are saying the most radical shit, but then they are gone.

Here, Mike articulates his conscious move away from a solidarity model and an attempt to work on common issues with Latinos in the community of Forest Grove focused on budget cuts to the schools and drop-out rates. These issues were certainly of concern to established families as well as those who were more recent arrivals. The strategy and venue of school board meetings for organizing people to change what was happening in the schools presented a problem for many of the Latinos in Forest Grove.

Because the school board is predominantly white and meetings are held in an official local government building, meetings are not perceived as a welcoming or safe space for many Latinos. For those who are undocumented, any building or governing body associated with “the government” is sure to discourage attendance. A predominantly white crowd and a meeting conducted in English is not welcoming to many Latinos, documented or undocumented.

Thus in this case, while Mike and his group successfully identified a local political issue they could work on with local Latinos, trying to get Latinos concerned about the schools to attend school board meetings proved difficult. Meetings were not safe or welcoming spaces for most. In contrast, Centro Cultural (a Latino social service and advocacy organization in nearby Cornelius) is viewed as a safe space by local Latinos. There, “standing room only” crowds will attend a meeting on legalization and freely express their opinions. Such crowds will include both documented and undocumented residents. Trying to get a similar crowd to school board meetings, however, is quite hard. Mike’s example highlights the difficulty in local Anglo/Latino collaboration not only for reasons of common political interest, but also because of important differences in what kind of environment can draw people together. A non-profit, Spanish-speaking, non-official venue such as Centro is safe for local Latinos and recent Latino immigrants. It might not feel so welcoming to Anglo ROP activists who are not Spanish speakers. And their presence might make some people at Centro nervous. Mike’s discussion reflects on the multiple levels of difference of language, culture, class, and legal status that have to be considered when working towards collaborative organizing. He draws on his experience to analyze the ongoing challenges posed by collaborative organizing.

The case of the school-board organizing in Forest Grove highlights the complexity of local collaborative organizing between Anglos and Latinos. For ROP activists, identifying a common political issue with local Latinos was a first step. In Forest Grove the common political issues were school budget cuts and drop-out rates that strongly affected Latino and other youth. The primary step of moving beyond a solidarity position to one of alliance through common political goals was achieved. What proved far more difficult was coming up with concrete strategies and safe processes and places to work together. At the level of strategy, process, and place strong obstacles to collaboration emerged.

The work of Dagoberto Morales is driven by the daily needs and crises of largely undocumented workers. This in turn limits the amount of time and attention he and his co-workers in UNETE have to participate in local collaborations. The crises situation of UNETE suggests that perhaps one of best ways that local groups can act as allies is to

support the activities of UNETE when requested in a parallel fashion. If the organization had more volunteers or allies who could help alleviate the stress of Dagoberto and others at critical times of the year, then perhaps UNETE participants would have more time to engage in collaborative projects.

In Forest Grove where local Latinos and Anglos in the local ROP group share common interests in better schools, ROPers might go to Centro Cultural to see if they can support projects there and see what kind of interest there might be in a community forum on the schools. Ropers' attempts to collaborate with local Latinos have created experiences and knowledge that they can draw on in the future when thinking again about when, how, and with what frame to try to work locally with some part of the local Latino community as allies. Perhaps many local groups are not ready for shared projects and will do best continuing to work on parallel rather than shared projects with local Latino organizations.

Leadership: The Importance of Shared Social Values and Commitments

Before talking about two examples of successful campaigns of collaboration between ROP and CAUSA, it is important to discuss the role of leadership. The underlying shared social values and commitments of Marcy Westerling, Ramón Ramírez, and Kelley Weigel were crucial underpinnings in the successful collaboration of ROP and CAUSA. Each shared a political analysis of how to defeat the Right, had worked long and hard to combat the shortcomings of their respective communities with regard to issues of racism, classism, sexism, and homophobia, and were committed to building alliances. In their political and personal relationships, they had learned to trust one another, follow the other's lead, and to listen and not assume that they knew best. In many ways, their effective leadership came from what they shared before working together as well as from their ability to be flexible and change as their working relationship deepened. Gender differences also emerged as important in Marcy and Ramón's work together—not only in terms of how they dealt with gender-based differences, but also in terms of the complementarities of their differently gendered approaches to leadership and alliance building.

For Latino activists within CAUSA, successful work with ROP was linked to particular people who had the ability to sit back, listen, learn, and follow CAUSA's lead—not to assume that they had all the answers. This ability came from the capacity on the part of ROP activists such as Kelley Weigel to operationalize interpersonally her underlying shared commitment with CAUSA to social justice and participatory democracy. As pointed out by another key CAUSA member, all too often the experience of Latino activists with white activists involves a familiar feeling of being told what to do and how to do it. Guadalupe Quinn, CAUSA staff person in Eugene, Oregon and a long-time Latino activist who has many experiences working with White activists stated, "I think it's a lot harder for white folks who are used to being in charge, who are used to being the folks that run stuff and who don't even see that their egos get in the way and that the work often becomes just about them. That has a lot to do with them needing to be important."

Kelley Weigel, who spent a great deal of time participating on the CAUSA board for more than two years, appears to be a white person who did not live up to the above stereotype. Ramón talked about the trust he felt was built with Kelley and ROP through the years. For him, that trust emerged not just out of shared values and commitments, but out of Kelley's ability to make these shared commitments felt through the way she behaved faced to face with Ramón and other members of the CAUSA board. Key in this dynamic was her confidence in CAUSA to know what the right path was for their campaigns and to trust them in their ability to carry out political work.

Kelley Weigel has been one of those people who not only had an influence on me, but also had an influence on a lot of other members of CAUSA. She showed us how to be patient, through her own example, and how to be a strong ally, and how to build trust and use that trust. A lot of what ROP did when we were asking them to do stuff was trusting us. They learned over the years to trust our leadership. I can't remember a single example, at this point, when they really came out and challenged us in terms of our leadership or our strategy or our tactics. They've always been pretty faithful, and to me that's something that I look for in other areas and in how coalitions are built. For a strong coalition to be healthy, you have to have a lot of trust, and that trust has to be built over the years.

Reflecting upon her experience on the CAUSA board, Kelley Weigel also emphasized listening, becoming personally close with people on the CAUSA board, and having confidence in CAUSA's ability to be effective. She also stressed the importance of her time commitment and continuity in gaining the trust of CAUSA board members. She stated of her experience:

I spent my Saturday afternoons that way (at CAUSA board meetings) because I got a lot out of it personally. I learned both factually and learned a lot about being an ally, too. I think a lot of people don't always want to take the time to do that. I do think that one of the reasons why the relationship worked well is that I was willing to put that time in. And some of the leadership of CAUSA wanted to see that kind of investment... You know, you're not just here to make three decisions and then leave. But really to talk about the challenges within the organization and dealing with the financial difficulties and talking about the things that didn't work so well, as well as talking about someone's kids and all that. I think it was a very unique combination of events and personalities that allowed the relationship to grow as well as it did.

The members of the CAUSA board spend one Saturday afternoon per month together—often for several hours or more. After ROP staff person Kelley Weigel spent more than two years with them doing this, very solid personal and political relationships were built that benefited both organizations. Spending sustained periods of time together allowed Kelley and CAUSA board members to concretely see and feel each other's commitment to their shared political goals. While working on specific campaigns also helps to solidify confidence and trust between the two organizations, the ability of leaders such as Kelley to be a stable, supportive, trusting presence is also important to long-term collaboration.

Once a year, CAUSA also has its board meeting at the annual ROP caucus, which draws together between 100 and 200 activists from its 60 member groups. There, ROP members can interact at meal times and in shared space with CAUSA members. Many cited this as important in their education—listening to Guadalupe Quinn or Ramón Ramirez or others address them on immigration or farmworker issues. For one CAUSA member, attending the ROP caucus was uncomfortable and not meaningful. The sustained contact between Kelley and CAUSA board members, however, seems to have fostered much stronger and permanent relations.

The shared commitment among Kelley, Ramón, and Marcy to social justice, an end to discrimination, and participatory democracy as well as their political sense of the crucial importance of alliance building in achieving their political goals has given each of them a common base for leadership. In order to be effective alliance builders, they have each developed a style of personal interaction that emphasizes listening carefully, respect for others, personal dedication to their causes, and enthusiasm and encouragement for all political organizing efforts—small and large. While this might be described as a “leadership style,” it does not just emerge from innate personality traits found in Kelley, Ramón, and Marcy. Instead, what might be called their collective form of interpersonal interaction--listening, respect, and enthusiasm for all committed efforts-- is more effectively seen as emerging out of the social and political context of their work. Their “leadership style” thus is driven in significant part by the type of values they share and their shared sense of effective strategy. Guadalupe Quinn describes the style of personal interaction with Ramón who has served as a mentor for her.

In this community if Ramón Ramirez wants to come and talk to folks, or something is needed by PCUN, people will make that a priority. Clearly he has a reputation where he is very well respected and people care enough that they'll do stuff a lot because of him. Also because he has such a record of the work and commitment and knowledge and he knows how to motivate folks. He is a mentor. A lot of people are involved in this work because of Ramón and Cipriano (Ferrell, former president of PCUN) and the encouragement that they have given folks. .. Ramón is never arrogant. Ramón always makes you feel like you are not only just as important, but you have as much ability to do whatever he is doing. I think that makes a huge difference for folks because they always feel very respected. I always have felt that from PCUN and also from the CAUSA network and part of that is because I am an elder. But I know that even without that, Ramón has always appreciated people's willingness to work and to be there and really be there for the long run. It makes a difference.

Leadership and Gender

While Marcy and Ramón share important elements of how they lead and interact with the people they work with, there are also important gendered differences in their approaches. These gendered differences can be traced in part to the type of organizing each cut their teeth on. Marcy began in the battered women's movement which emphasized process, networking, and very self-consciously confronting racism, sexism, and homophobia.

Rather than producing charismatic, public leaders who spoke to large crowds, the battered women's movement produced leaders who worked behind the scenes, did the caring work of keeping connections going, and helped people to process and work through very difficult family and marriage situations. In many ways, the kinds of skills that were further developed in the battered women's movement were quintessentially female. While legal advocacy work and confronting government agencies was also a part of the work, Marcy Westerling emerged as a compelling networker who preferred being behind the scenes. Her leadership might be called more "feminine" in its orientation to networking, remaining behind the scenes, and encouraging others to go out front. She is also, however, a very effective public speaker.

Ramón Ramirez became politically active in East Los Angeles as a junior high school student who participated as an ally to walk-outs of Latino high school students protesting the inferior conditions of the schools. He later worked to support boycotts called by the UFW, and in 1971 brought César Chávez to his high school. From there he became involved in the farmworker movement and co-founded PCUN. He developed as a charismatic public speaker who in many ways has the traits of a public male leader. At the same time, as reflected in Guadalupe's quote, he also spent a great deal of time mentoring others and encouraging them to take the lead as well. Thus while their ways of leading are somewhat similar as driven by their shared values and strategic concerns, there are also subtle ways in which the gender of each also influences their presence and style.

Marcy Westerling is described by others as a mentor as well, although one with a more "behind the scenes" and one-on-one folksy style. Much of the support and training the Marcy has provided through ROP comes through small house meetings and gatherings, one on one conversations, and now e-mail. Marianne Gonzales, former staff person for LOUR (described above) found these qualities to be very important for her in wanting to work with ROP and in developing LOUR. Marianne got to know Marcy through the battered women's movement and appreciated having someone she could share ideas with and who could communicate well with her.

I was a volunteer in Lake County in what was called the Crisis Intervention Center at the time. Marcy had come into the office and introduced herself. ROP was very young organization at the time. So the director of the crisis intervention center asked me to have a meeting with Marcy. She thought it would be a good idea if we met. So, Marcy and I met and developed a friendship and a working relationship ever since then. We have a lot in common and it was nice to have ideas for what I did...and we could talk.

Marcy has also thought about the differences between the way she and Ramón work as leaders. While gender is not central to the differences she articulates, it is subtly woven into how she presents herself in relation to Ramón and the way she characterizes the work of ROP. Unlike CAUSA, ROP's work as described by Marcy is not characterized by public, quantifiable victories, but by subtle conversations, dialogues and small

changes measured between individuals. In the quote below, Marcy subtly paints herself and ROP as having feminine qualities. She states:

But with Ramón, he and I have such different roles in the world. He is totally a named leader on a national level... he is a total leader. I am a behind the scenes support system for 60 groups, 200 over the course of 12 years that probably wouldn't exist if I wasn't here.... I have a very behind the scenes role, which I have crafted. So I am a terrible story, cause the signs of my success are always other people and other groups and they don't even come back to ROP in a neat way... What we get (from working with Ramón and CAUSA) is a base that actually might be less racist than a year before. This is kind of the whole reason we exist. So there's nothing measurable. You talk to Ramón and he will say CAUSA has had 25 victories in the last year. You talk to me and I'll say well, we actually have had no victories in our existence. We don't win anything, but what we have is 60 groups that have maintained themselves who have this many more members and are doing this many constant projects. So we don't have victories.

Pushing a gendered analysis of Ramón and Marcy's styles of leadership and the characteristics of ROP and CAUSA too far undermines the importance of structural, historical, and other kinds of differences between the two organizations. What does make sense in terms of gendered metaphors is to suggest how the different kinds of leadership presences that Marcy and Ramón have developed and the different structures of their organizations (ROP as network and CAUSA as coalition) have worked to their mutual advantage. One of elements of the collaboration that works is the complementary nature of the style and structure of each organization. Both Marcy and Ramón and ROP and CAUSA can work well together because they each bring different and complementary elements to the collaboration.

Beyond gender and its nuances, Marcy's quote above also gets at the heart of what is behind successful ROP/CAUSA collaborations: one state-wide organization that is dedicated to building sustained grassroots groups around the state that can provide a political voice on a wide range of social and economic justice issues and another organization that builds political initiatives, takes on legislative measures, and provides charismatic, public leadership and education on immigrant and Latino issues. Where the two have successfully converged is through a common lens of social justice, struggles against discrimination, and a hope for participatory democracy in the state of Oregon. The mutual needs and resources of each organization as well as their shared values and commitments have generated leadership styles and structural complementarities that have been effective together in specific political moments.

Collaborations that Work Part I: Fighting a New Bracero Program, 1997-1998

What are the characteristics of ROP/CAUSA collaborations that have worked? In the next two sections two campaigns are highlighted to explore what the specific elements

are of successful collaborations. These two examples are just that. They are not meant to serve as the only examples of collaboration or even the best. There have been others. Rather, they are explicitly chosen because they seem to highlight what is the most challenging issue for each organization to get their constituency to take on. By looking at how ROP was a good ally in fighting guestworker legislation and how CAUSA helped to defeat a major anti-gay initiative, we really get a look at how constituents and leaders in each organization educated and supported their members in political arenas they are not always comfortable in and how participants can successfully grow into an issue that is not a part of their life experience and understanding.

During 1997, Oregon's senator Ron Wyden co-authored a bill authorizing a federal investigation into the streamlining and revision of the H-2A Guest Worker program. This effort was the beginning of a series of legislative proposals at the national level to try to bring back some version of the first Bracero program, which ran from 1942 until 1964. This program allowed the importation of Mexican workers for annual harvests with the stipulation that they were to return to Mexico after their work was finished. Braceros were contract workers who were supposed to have certain guarantees met in terms of housing, transportation and wages, recruitment, healthcare, housing, food, and the number of hours they worked. The contracts even stipulated that there should be no discrimination against the Braceros. The contracts were initially between the U.S. and Mexican government. Compliance officers, including Mexican consular officials, were few and far between. Later contracts were switched to private contractors in the U.S. Most growers and the U.S. government ignored the terms of the contracts and Braceros had no one to complain to. The Bracero program blocked farmworker unionization and has been called "legalized slavery" by some, including the past director of the program.

Wyden's effort to begin a process to broaden and reinstate the former Bracero program was linked to demands from growers for more ease in contracting farm labor. Immigrant rights and farmworker organizations were also interested in new legislation, but not the kind proposed by Wyden. They were not consulted at the time when Wyden began the investigation. PCUN and CAUSA made pressuring Wyden and others on this issue a priority and enlisted ROP's help in early 1997.

The first action ROP took was to write a letter to Ron Wyden and to discuss the issue at the level of their board, and then in local meetings and trainings. In May of 1997, ROP held its annual caucus in Eugene and immigrant rights was one of the workshops offered to participants. Discussion of what was emerging as a new guestworker piece of legislation that came to be sponsored by Oregon's Senators Gordon Smith and Ron Wyden was featured in a 1997 ROP newsletter. One article made a direct parallel between the 1992 anti-gay Measure 9 in Oregon and the proposed guestworker legislation.

The same issue was at stake with the OCA's infamous Measure 9: do we create a "second class" status for a group of people—in this case workers—or are people truly equal? The "Guest worker" legislation is complicated by the issue of race, class, national status, but

at the core the issue is one of equality and whether workers (foreign or domestic) have protection under the Constitution (ROP Report, p. 3, Spring 1997).

In the summer of 1997, ROP board members and others participated in a PCUN accompaniment program described above that involved going with organizers on visits to the fields, labor camps, and other worker housing to show direct support for farmworkers. The ROP board had an all-day meeting at the PCUN office in May of 1997 where they were given presentations about the issues of farmworkers in addition to attending to their normal business. The meeting date and location were selected to maximize ROP participation in an all-day coordinating meeting for the accompaniment effort, following the board meeting. That summer ROP put out a packet of information in English and Spanish to all of its constituents about “how to defend yourself if the INS comes. “

During 1998, CAUSA made it a top priority to defeat new guestworker legislation and to pressure Wyden in the state of Oregon. The initial objective according to CAUSA board meeting notes was to “get Wyden off the bill.” CAUSA organizers believed that without Wyden’s support of the bill, growers would have a hard time passing the bill. Their strategy was to encircle Wyden and to start organizing his constituency and supporters to see their objections to the bill. CAUSA planned an all-out campaign to cover the Democratic Party, Churches, Students, Labor, Social Service organizations, the GLBT community (gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender), and all parts of the state.

By July of 1998, Ron Wyden and the other Oregon senator, Gordon Smith, had formally submitted a new piece of legislation that became known among Latino activists as the “New Bracero Bill.” A series of protests, rallies, and meetings were organized throughout the state in order to let Wyden know that his own constituents did not support his proposed guestworker legislation. The idea was that if Smith felt vulnerable to being re-elected by lack of support in his own state and in his own stronghold areas, he could be pressured to back down. In August of 1998, CAUSA published a press release before a large rally to protest the Smith/Wyden legislation. It stated in part:

Senator Wyden and Senator Smith have now submitted a supposed “bipartisan compromise” bill. While appearing to offer concessions to farmworkers, the bill systematically dismantles significant worker protections and will result in the displacement of thousands of U.S. workers. In addition Smith-Wyden will:

1. Cut wages (Farmworkers are already the lowest-paid workers in the U.S.).
2. Expand the industries which can get H-2A workers to include food-processing plants, e.g. Smith Frozen Foods (owned by Gordon Smith), and forestry.
3. Gut all the housing protection standards. With the current shortage of housing already, workers will be forced to live in orchards, under bridges, or on the streets.
4. Virtually eliminate the already weak enforcement against grower violations and wrong-doing.
5. Eliminate growers’ responsibility to recruit local farmworkers.

We maintain that no labor shortage exists. The current attempt to bring back the Bracero program is but another ploy by growers to keep their profits high and farmworkers unorganized... We believe that the solution is recognizing the right of farmworkers to collectively bargain, thus raising wages, improving working conditions, and adding to the stability of the work force.

Rich Rohde, an organizer for Oregon Action (an allied ROP organization) recalled the effectiveness of the CAUSA/ROP collaboration in mobilizing people to work against the proposed Smith/Wyden guestworker legislation in Medford, Oregon. During the campaigns to pressure first Smith and then Wyden, Rich watched CAUSA activists come down and mobilize local Latinos and then also get much of the white progressive community out as well.

Rich: They would come down with these big vans of people (PCUN and CAUSA) and they had all sorts of multicolored flags and all of the stuff of community organizing that worked well with the Latino and the farm worker community and in a model that wasn't seen in southern Oregon. So they just added so much to what people were able to do and were really able to give people some organizing models to look at. The other side of this, this would go back to the Marcy side of it. Clearly they (ROP) are fighting the bill as a national issue, but the main response was from southern Oregon. We did a big action on Smith's office on West Main St. There was a huge action... We had 800 people signing petitions. We stapled them together. We rolled these things out like for a block... and we had television, it was all to get Smith to do it. He eventually lost interest in it and that's when Wyden came in. Wyden had contacted us and said, "I want to meet with farmworkers." And so Dago (Dagoberto Morales, introduced above) got a whole bunch of folks down to that meeting and they had it there and I even have pictures of it.

Lynn: When was that meeting?

Rich: It must have been in '97. It was right after the bill was dying; the Smith bill was dying so people felt like we had killed that thing.

Lynn: So Dago organized a meeting with farmworkers?

Rich: Yeah and because Wyden's main staff person on guest worker and farm worker issues said that Wyden had come up with this great scheme to make it better (Smith's proposed guestworker bill). And he wanted to work with farm workers to do that. So she came down and they had this meeting where it was clear that they were not listening to farm workers....

...They (the farmworkers) said, "This is what we want, this is what is going to happen." They gave her a whole critique of it. And she said "Oh, that's good. We will get back to you." What they came back with was terrible. That's when the Wyden bill got put in as a "compromise bill" which was worse than Smith's bill. I

think that there becomes a point where the fight for guestworker moves way beyond the farm worker community into a state- wide progressive issue. And I think that's where ROP plays a role as do the environmental groups, unionized groups, and farm worker groups. They all join together to fight the guest worker bill. That was across the state, but it was particularly strong in Medford.

CAUSA activists were particularly adamant about supporting collective bargaining efforts, which the proposed legislation would undermine because in Oregon, PCUN had successfully negotiated the first farmworker collective bargaining agreements in the state's history. By October of 1998, a total of four contracts were signed. Between July 22, 1998 and October 16, 1998, CAUSA and other groups had organized a determined media campaign and 19 public actions against the Smith/Wyden bill—targeting Wyden in particular. ROP local committees were crucial in the success of many of these actions, particularly in rural parts of the state and in places where CAUSA did not have sustained contacts. Some of these more remote areas where protests against Wyden took place were the most effective as he did not expect to find protesters there. ROP groups mobilized in places as remote as Lakeview, Prineville, and Burns. While numbers at some of the protests were small, the ROP presence was a majority of those present. In some instances where there were only four or five people, four of them were ROPers—as in Burns and Lakeview. Ramón Ramírez of PCUN and CAUSA and Larry Kleinman of PCUN recalled the effectiveness of having ROP activists appear to protest Wyden's support of the bill.

Ramón Ramírez: This is what we did. We start weekly protests at Ron Wyden's office in Oregon. We do protests not only in Portland but, we do it Eugene too. What we do is we immediately launch a statewide campaign to hound, to basically protest both Ron Wyden and Gordon Smith statewide. What's important here in terms of our relationship with ROP is that we ask ROP to assist us in this campaign. We research and get Smith and Wyden's schedules, then we informed ROP where both senators are going to be. Can ROP do something for us here and here? And they responded. The guy was in Burns, and I think there were about four ROPers there. They stood out with four picket signs. In Lakeview, there was a meeting there, and there were only a handful of people, but they were able to pass out leaflets and do a protest before the meeting and go in and jam him on these questions.

Larry Kleinman: At a picnic. Nobody had ever done this to Wyden. Not even close. And a lot of people were angry at Wyden for a lot of reasons over the years. He disappointed a lot of people and bamboozled people, let them down. So when he pulled this (sponsorship of guestworker bill), and we talked to people about it, it really hit a nerve. But the reason why ROP was important, even if their turnout was modest, was that Wyden had won his election in January '96 by a very narrow margin, against Smith. And he overwhelmingly carried Multnomah County. He'd been a Portland-based politician, and he was branded the senator from Portland. So one of the reasons I think he got bamboozled into this whole guestworker thing was he was very hungry to expand his base, his appeal, his

reach into rural Oregon. That's why he struck up this alliance with Smith, and that's what Smith wanted. They did these joint town halls all over the state. So the fact that not only was he being repudiated by his erstwhile friends and allies in Portland, he was also hearing it all over the state in what was for him a very important initiative to establish himself as an authentic statewide leader—that was tough.

Marcy Westerling recalled the kind of response that ROP could give to CAUSA when they called about getting ROPers out to protest Wyden. The success and impact of ROP's contribution to this campaign was significant in building further trust and confidence between the two organizations. Marcy commented on this:

...I think the whole guestworker stuff really helped us to define our relationship, in terms of people having a hard time understanding where ROP can be useful. We kept trying to say, "We are useful in our own communities." Ramón could hear that, but most people can't. Their response is, "I don't even know where your community is". But he said, "Okay, we need this many people to show up at this town hall in Burns."

Lynn: Is that the Wyden protests? How did that work? He talked in detail about that. How did it work from your point of view?

Marcy: First of all, one thing that was really true at that moment was that we were constantly saturating any contact we had in our communities with the current state of the moment on that ballot measure, or that legislation, so it was really a top conversation piece...

...The vignette that is playing in my mind--- and I am pretty sure it is Harney County, Burns, is that they did do an incredibly rapid mobilization somewhat on their own. I mean they were able to understand that. You know we didn't call them up and say this is exactly what we need you to do, but it was kind of like, O.K. Now it's going to be in Burns. And they knew that Burns needs to get this many people and we need to ask this question. They really talked about how it shocked Wyden to the point that, shortly after, he made his comment that we were a pain in the ass organization because he couldn't go anywhere without running into us.

The effectiveness of the local Burns and other small ROP groups in pressuring Senator Wyden on the spur of the moment made a deep impression on both Ramón and Marcy. While the action was not planned, ROP had done months of educational work on the guestworker issue and provided very specific educational materials for their constituents. ROP disseminated focused "talking points" to activists in places like Burns so that when Senator Wyden did show up, they were prepared. The fact that the talking points were available to such people came from the structural and personal relationships that people had built up through CAUSA/ROP connections at the level of boards, meetings, and workshops. That same year ROP also worked with CAUSA to keep several anti-immigrant legislative proposals off the ballot such as one amending the constitution to

deny public services to undocumented immigrants and another requiring proof of citizenship to obtain a driver's license.

On October 18, 1998, what had been planned as a protest of U.S immigration policies in Eugene, Oregon turned into a celebration of the defeat of the agricultural guest worker bill sponsored by Oregon senators Smith and Wyden. Although many predicted Congressional passage after being passed in the Senate, the bill was dropped from a spending package negotiated by House and Senate leaders in meetings with the Clinton administration. The Register Guard reported that "It fell prey to a groundswell of grassroots opposition from farmworker advocates and labor unions, who contended the legislation was a cleverly disguised attempt to exclude U.S. workers and open the border to a flood of cheap foreign labor" (Neville 1998). President Clinton also strongly opposed the bill and made it clear that if it passed, he would veto it.

Senators Smith and Wyden continued to work on their legislation the following year and eventually crafted a piece of legislation that by the fall of 2001 appeared to have the support of major immigrant rights and farmworker organizations as well as of growers. Sept. 11, 2001 and the course of U.S. immigration policy resulted in the complete burial of that proposal. The importance of this example for understanding the dynamics of ROP/CAUSA collaboration is in seeing how the two organizations were able to work effectively together.

Collaborations that Count Part II: Defeating Anti-Gay Proposition 9 in 2000

The 1992 exchange in the PCUN union hall between PCUN activists who later formed CAUSA and supporters of lesbian and gay rights who became the starting core of ROP came to a second fruition in the year 2000. In 1992, an anti-gay measure sponsored by the Oregon Citizen's Alliance (OCA), which proposed a constitutional amendment to codify discrimination based on sexual orientation failed by a 56 percent "no" vote to a 42 percent "yes" vote. In 1994, the OCA put a similar measure on the ballot, Measure 13, which received a 52 percent "no" vote and a 48 percent "yes" vote (Basic Rights Oregon website, <http://www.basicrights.org/aboutbro/ocahistory.asp>).

In 1996 and 1998, the OCA attempted to submit similar measures, but the measures failed to qualify or were withdrawn. In 2000, the OCA sponsored a new anti-gay measure, which was related to its earlier efforts. ROP was born out of the measure 9 proposed in 1992 and was committed to defeating the new Measure 9 put on the ballot by OCA in 2000. An article in the fall 2000 ROP newsletter focused on this history.

ROP was born out of the crises of the 1992 election forcing a vote on the civil rights of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender people. This infamous ballot measure 9 would have required the Oregon Constitution to drop a category of people—queers—from basic protections provided by the law. This radical effort was defeated through real grassroots strategy and the base of the ROP was born. "Do we invest in our communities and all their diversity, or do we narrow our communities and restrict for whom our system of governance works?" In 2000 we are facing the same question but with even "nicer"

language than with the OCA's second effort in 1994 of Measure 13. The OCA's newest measure (again Measure 9) would make it illegal for teachers or students to say anything that could be perceived as "promoting" a positive view of homosexuality (ROP Report fall 2000:3).

The success of the ROP/CAUSA collaboration in derailing the Smith/Wyden guestworker legislation (and other state-level legislative initiatives) had cemented the relationship between the two groups in working together in state-wide politics. During the 2000 election season, ROP provided trainings, materials, and talking points for CAUSA organizers to use in the Latino community to encourage people to vote against Measure 9. Two of the groups that participated in CAUSA, Voz Hispana Causa Chavista (a civic participation and voter education organization) and LUS (a youth organizing project based in the Latino Community) published their own materials in Spanish. They also did some media work connecting voter registration and education with the importance of voting against Measure 9 and several anti-immigrant measures on the ballot that year. In discussions with Latino activists who participated in that campaign, the importance of the ROP materials emerges. The insistence of leaders like Ramón that the Latino community discusses homophobia and support gay and lesbian rights is also emphasized. A common interest in creating broad-based voter-education materials and media campaigns helped ROP and CAUSA to work together on a variety of issues that election season including defeating Measure 9. Voz Hispana PAC published a voter guide that recommended that Latino voters vote against Measure 9. They also put out a separate detailed one-page leaflet in Spanish that is partially translated below.

Proposition #9. This measure is about the prohibition of instruction, promotion, or recognition of homosexuality or bisexuality in the public schools...

...If this measure is approved, it will be prohibited for teachers and employees of public school to support or explain any themes related to homosexuality. They could only be silent or condemn any act related to homosexuality. If it is determined that any teacher or employee violates the contents of this measure, then funds can be taken away from the entire school district. ...

Recommendation: The Comité de Estudios y Sugerencias (The Study and Suggestions Committee) recommends that you vote "NO" on this measure because this measure is an attack on minorities and on human rights and furthermore it sets a precedent for discrimination and oppression (Voz Hispana 2000).

This leaflet and similar ones were used by Voz Hispana and LUS (the youth group) in voter education campaigns and in public events. ROP staffer Kelley Weigel worked with Voz Hispana staff person Juan Argumedo and fed him material and he did the same for her. Kelley commented:

When Voz started, I remember talking to Ramón and Juan about replicating that (ROP voter guides). I actually gave Juan all our materials, not just stuff we had written, but also stuff we had gathered. It was a fine year, 2000. So then we were

able to share that information and I think there was enough trust between the organizations at the point. It was, sure, we'll look at your stuff and if it's useful, we'll use it or we'll make our own edits. I still send stuff to Juan today. So I think that's one thing we've shared, that kind of voter education. Because you can't read the voters' pamphlet, it's too much (often Oregon's voter pamphlet is 20-25 pages long).

The kinds of trainings, discussions, and preparation people went through in these CAUSA groups left an impression on them. CAUSA members involved with voter education in the Latino community about homosexuality remember the conversations very clearly. Laura Isiordia who was a member of Voz Hispana during the 2000 election season recalled their discussion of Measure 9:

We take on everything that has to do with humanity. We are committed to working with and supporting all sectors of society. I remember this discussion really clearly now that we are talking. We talked about how we are all human beings and it doesn't make sense to classify people as homosexuals and treat them differently. We are simply all human beings with integrity.

... We did and do a lot of educational workshops where we talk about what is going on and we try to get people in the community involved. We first talk about particular proposals in our Committee of Study and Suggestions. We talk about specific legislative measures, work on them, interpret them, and make recommendations. Then we go out and have public forums to reach out to people. We did them in different areas and at different times to reach people. We did this for this measure as well.

The youth group LUS was very active in receiving trainings from ROP and others around the issue of homophobia. LUS members followed this up by conducting their own workshops and public education forums on the topic and the importance of defeating Measure 9. Just as the Burns, Oregon human dignity group of ROP was able to use their training about farmworker issues to respond effectively on the spur of the moment, youth from LUS were able to spontaneously deploy their knowledge about how Measure 9 furthered discrimination and bigotry on a Latino cable television show in 2000. Ramón Ramírez recalled this event and how effective young people from LUS were in contesting what a Latino fundamentalist minister was saying on a cable show. Their preparation from a group that is a part of the ROP network was critical in helping them to do this. Ramón stated:

So they're doing the Latino, Spanish-speaking cable TV circuit. Probably about five or six stations--in Portland, one in Tualatin Valley, there's one here, and then there's one in Salem. So they get to Portland to one of the programs, and they're put on the same program as this evangelical Latino preacher from L.A. who is promoting Measure 9—telling people to vote yes. We had attended a training about a week or two earlier that ROP had put together with a group they were working with in Salem called the Committee Against Hate, who we still work

with. They are a part of the ROP network. They did a training, and the leadership of LUS went to the training about Measure 9. So they're prepared. They abandoned the stuff they went on the show to talk about... They get into it with this minister, saying that's not true, you're lying, this is what it does, and all that. They throw down the line. They call me up on the cell phone. So I alert Jamie, who then says I need your help if that's what's going on. Then we heard this preacher on Spanish-speaking radio, on the ads. By then the Causa board meets, ROP and we decide we're going to work together on this.

Because they were prepared, the LUS youth were able to respond on their feet and take advantage of a terrific political and media opportunity to get their message across about why Measure 9 should be defeated. They directly confronted the Evangelical preacher trying to convince Latino voters to vote for Measure 9. In a community where there is still a lot of fear and lack of knowledge about the topic of homosexuality, their statements no doubt reached an important audience.

Jon Brier, former staff person for CAUSA, talked about how important the contacts and relationships CAUSA developed with ROP-linked groups were in terms of bringing the issue of homophobia to the attention of Latino and other youth of color. These contacts also filtered out to other groups in CAUSA as well, such as Mano a Mano, which works with Latino families. The kind of cross-youth training Jon documents in his narrative below is one of the most important examples of successful ROP/CAUSA collaboration that will have a lasting impact. Youth activists who worked on this issue together in 2000 are now in positions of leadership in a wide range of organizations. Their exchanges at points in their lives when their political perspectives were in formation will make a lifetime of difference to them as individuals and to the organizations they participate in. In addition, Jon credits LUS with having a major influence within CAUSA in terms of how it came to deal with and confront homophobia in its own organizational culture. Jon credits ROP and their connections and trainings for some of the ability of CAUSA to begin to confront homophobia not only in politics, but at organizational and interpersonal levels.

Jon: Well in 2000, the attack on GLBT (Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender) communities was focused on teachers in public schools. I think that ROP had taken the lead on some kind of postcard... a specific campaign that was either sponsored by Basic Rights Oregon (Oregon gay rights organization) or someone who was taking the lead on the campaign. ROP was key in terms of mobilizing. ROP had talked to CAUSA about distributing these postcards.

The deeper more important stuff was the relationship. As you were mentioning, LUS was and is a really vital youth organizing project based in the Latino community. And in the year 2000 LUS members started to engage more heavily and directly with ROP in terms of doing trainings and collaboration. One key area where LUS members started working with the ROP and started to do challenging trainings was by looking at the homophobia within the organization and within people's individual attitudes...

...I think that LUS members started to go to trainings with ROP, these retreats. I do remember meeting with LUS members and staff who had gone to these retreats in Sandpoint, Idaho which were sponsored, at least in part, by ROP. It was basically a youth retreat that had mixed youth of color and white youth and included GLBTQ youth. If I remember correctly, I think it was a key point of contact for LUS members to begin to challenge themselves on issues of homophobia...

...There was another organization that was critical, which was Youth for Justice from Eugene. They were a mixed youth of color and white youth with a heavy focus around GLBTQ issues.... I do know that there started to be more contact between Youth for Justice (YFJ) and LUS and I don't know how much campaign collaboration there was, but in terms of hearing from LUS members how blown away they were from time to time with YFJ people, people were saying that Youth for Justice opened a lot of eyes at LUS...

...Those were some key points of contact for LUS to begin asking the hard questions about homophobia within their group and in CAUSA. You know a big base for organizations within CAUSA include the Mano a Mano family center, families and workers and other people who would come into the Salem area and come into the Mano a Mano office or through Latinos Unidos Siempre (LUS) or later through Parents with Voices... the network of groups that were CAUSA member groups. I think there were ripples in terms of carryover to people who were involved with all those organizations (that belonged to CAUSA) who started to address homophobia in more of a real way....

...**Jan:** Homophobia. Did you see ROP influence the work of CAUSA around that issue?

Jon: Yeah. I think that's fair to say so. It gets into the question of organizational culture within CAUSA. It is about seeing if there are any changes in people's attitude on a day to day level, both on a personal level in terms of program work or staff meetings or day to day interactions or in terms of doing outreach in terms of which organizations you are going to work with.... I definitely saw what may have been very small steps in terms of-- not to say that I don't have problems with homophobia or other issues as well-- looking at people around me with whom I worked and seeing incremental changes of people calling each other on the issue if someone were to make a comment. Or someone would jokingly call someone else something and someone else would give a shove and say, "what's up with that?" So on that level, on a very small organizational day-to-day level, I did see that...By the time I left, it was not just thinking about how the organization was going to be structured between the board, the membership, and so forth, but also looking at trainings around racism, internalized oppression, looking at sexism, homophobia—a whole range of issues. And so I think they (ROP) should be credited for putting homophobia on the map within CAUSA.

A final key factor in why the ROP trainings and materials concerning homophobia and the reasons for defeating Measure 9 in the year 2000 made an impact in CAUSA had to do with the commitment of Ramón Ramírez to following through consistently with the issue. Just as Marcy Westerling and Kelley Weigel continued to press ROP groups to continue with anti-racist education and political work as well as to understand the issue of immigrant rights, Ramón pushed on all the organizations he was involved with, including CAUSA, to take homophobia seriously and to work hard at being allies with the LGBTQ community. PCUN secretary-treasurer Larry Kleinman pointed this out in an interview and emphasized how Ramón's commitment to LGBTQ issues has been recognized by the gay community. Larry stated:

.....I think a big part of this has been Ramón setting a tone with ROP, setting a tone in his relationships with organizations focused on gay and lesbian issues and civil rights, setting a tone in CAUSA, in LUS, in PCUN. I think it's easy to look past that and underestimate what the subtle impacts are of setting that tone. I think it's actually been something more widely and clearly recognized by the gay and lesbian organizations than by our organizations. That doesn't mean necessarily that it hasn't been felt, but it hasn't been recognized as much. So Ramón is held in very high esteem and has a very special place in the minds and in the ceremonies or rituals of some of those (Gay and Lesbian) organizations.

What Do We Get From Each Other?

The two examples cited above of successful ROP/CAUSA collaboration date from 1998 and 2000. While ROP and CAUSA leaders clearly recognize these two examples as successes, a mutual understanding of how the two organizations had grown to respect and understand one another at a deep level became even clearer to them when they began to work in a larger coalition with other organizations. Often the lessons learned and the benefits gained from working together are not evident in the immediate aftermath of a campaign—won or lost. More often, what was learned and how well relationships solidified becomes more apparent in other contexts.

At the end of 1998, ROP and CAUSA joined with two other organizations to create what was later called the Oregon Campaign for Economic Justice, funded by the Ford Foundation's Collaborations that Count Initiative. ROP and CAUSA were joined initially by Oregon Action (a state-wide, multi-issue social and economic justice organization that evolved from Oregon Fair Share) and the Oregon Center for Public Policy (an organization founded as a way to challenge regressive policies in the state). Their first coordinated campaign was to take on food stamp reform. Through their work, they were able to “simplify the application process, extend eligibility to thousands of residents, restore benefits to immigrants, and exempt all childless adults from punitive good stamp limits” (Applied Research Center 2004:193). Data collected from this project were also used to help with the CAUSA campaign to halt new guestworker legislation, which ROP also collaborated on.

In 2002, new organizations were added to the coalition including VOZ, Ecumenical Ministries, Jobs for Justice, and others. The group took on a wide range of economic justice issues in Oregon including tax reform, minimum wage issues, farmworker issues, and immigrants' rights. According to an evaluation of the Oregon Campaign for Economic Justice, the collaborative "faced some internal and external challenges on its road to success. Internally, members struggled with issues of capacity and resource allocation, and with melding different organizational approaches, structures, and systems of accountability" (Applied Research Center 2004: 187). While some of the friction seems to have emerged from differences between policy initiative groups and grassroots organizations, Marcy Westerling of ROP and Ramón Ramírez of CAUSA both realized in the context of this larger coalition how their organizational cultures and ways of reading political situations had grown somewhat similar. In the larger coalition, they both had the experience of understanding how much closer they felt to each other than to some of the other organizations. This is perhaps the best evidence of how the two organizations have come to influence one another. Ramón discussed these differences with me and PCUN secretary-treasurer Larry Kleinman.

Ramón: I didn't realize how deep that relationship was until we started working with the Collaboration that Counts of the Ford Foundation. Without mentioning any names of the groups, there were some sharp political differences, and there were some class and sex stuff that cut into some of the stuff that was going on. We didn't have to go far into this discussion to really feel that we were much more in tune with ROP than with other folks.

Larry Kleinman: So these were differences with not necessarily ROP, but with other people...

Ramón: Others in the collaboration.

Lynn: So the difference is that with other people you felt the conflict highlighted the trust and the understanding you had with ROP. It wasn't apparent in the same way until that time?

Ramón: Right. It had to do with another organization, that didn't have the same history that we had, that was promoting a different perspective and political positioning. It had a race and class and sexism cut to it. Immediately, I could say this is not the way we should go about it. I think clearly what ROP is saying and doing is what we agree with. So it became really evident, just like you were talking about. Sometimes the influence does not happen right away, but over time. That was a good example of that.

Marcy Westerling reflects similar affection for CAUSA and confidence in ROP's relationship with CAUSA.

Lynn: What do you feel that ROP has gotten from this relationship with CAUSA and Ramón?

Marcy: A lot. Tremendous affirmation to stumble our way through this and to actually get a lot of credit for what we do right and minimal consequences for what we do wrong. Coming from the battered women's movement that's totally shame-based, on who is the best anti-racist ally, it's such a different relationship. I mean, PCUN and Ramón and CAUSA have treated us with incredible elegance and not just organizationally.

What finally emerges out of Marcy and Ramón's comments is an appreciation of their history together and confidence for the future. A key question for both organizations is how to keep this relationship going and not take it for granted.

Conclusions

PCUN and ROP have clearly been able to establish a strong record of collaboration and have made significant strides both internally and in relation to one another in developing the capacity to be effective allies. Some of the elements of this successful collaboration can be replicated in other organizations and some are intrinsic to the unique nature of ROP and CAUSA and to the shared perspectives of their leaders. A key underlying element in the ability of the two organizations to work together are the shared underlying social values of social justice, participatory democracy, and to fighting discrimination of all kinds. These values are strongly shared by Marcy and Ramón. Ramón has given gay and lesbian activists and their allies a new experience in dealing with Latino males who are often suspected of being homophobic. By building solid and long-lasting relationships with queers and their allies, Ramón has demonstrated his commitment to fighting homophobia externally as well as internally by raising the issue. Marcy has taken immigrants rights issues consistently to many communities where there is little or no awareness of the existence of local Latino immigrant populations and their rights. By questioning divisions between Anglos and immigrant Latinos in small town Oregon, Marcy has built credibility with CAUSA and also raised awareness in ROP at many levels. Marcy and Ramón also have similar political analyses about who the enemy is: the political Right in the state of Oregon and nationally. The both believe in a political strategy that builds alliances that can function effectively in fighting this common enemy. Their underlying social values and their common strategy results in some similarities in how they lead their organizations and interact with others: both are effective in harnessing new individuals and groups to work with them and in listening and respecting other established groups in an effort to find common ground to work from.

Common elements that could be replicated by other groups as a model for successful collaborations can be taken from the two successful case studies discussed above. These include:

1. Leaders educated and committed to the issue at hand;
2. Mutual trainings and workshops on the campaign issue;
3. Constant contact with constituents and continual feeding of talking points and counter-arguments to allow people to respond spontaneously;

4. Examination of organizational culture and inter-personal relationships in terms of the issues at hand (racism and homophobia here)
5. Structural means of planning and maintaining ongoing contact between the two organizations (sitting on each other's boards, attending mutual strategy meetings).
6. Trust in the ability of the leaders and participants in the collaborating organization to follow the lead of the initiating organization and then do to a good job in representing the issue.

These elements come from two successful campaigns focused on state-wide and national initiatives. This seems to be where the two organizations are most effective in working together. Smaller collaborations at the very local level present the biggest challenge for CAUSA/ROP collaboration. ROP is a network with a large number of small groups in the state of Oregon that are all volunteer. The only paid staff is three people in the ROP office Scappoose. They circulate throughout the state visiting local volunteer groups. CAUSA is a coalition made up of existing organizations, many of which have paid staff. The organizations that participate in CAUSA are social service organizations and/or political organizations. PCUN is also a labor union. At the local level, CAUSA/ROP collaboration usually implies a volunteer-based group of Anglo ROPers working together with a Latino organization with paid staff.

Both the differences in agenda, daily focus, and organizational cultures at the local level can make it very difficult for these kinds of collaborations to work. In Forest Grove, a local Anglo ROP group identified a common political goal with local Latinos—eliminating cuts to the local school budget and improving drop-out rates. Because they chose to organize around this issue through the conventional venue of school board meetings, the result was a place for public discussion and meetings that felt unsafe and unwelcome to many Latinos. The official venue probably frightened those who are undocumented and public meetings in English with an Anglo majority were uncomfortable for most Latino immigrants. Here a common political issue was identified, but the organizing strategy for mobilizing was not developed enough to account for major differences in what was a safe and welcoming organizing and public forum space for Anglo ROP members versus Latino immigrant parents with children in the public schools. The following possible steps may help to facilitate collaboration at the local level.

1. Local Latino organizations and ROP groups identify common political interests and hold joint strategy discussions about if and how they can work together. Such discussions have to consider the needs of each constituent group and consider the relative risks of different venues for each group. Undocumented immigrants have to be given the highest priority in terms of what is safe for them as they are at the greatest risk.
2. If a common local issue is identified, ROP and CAUSA can be used as resources for local ROP and Latino organizations to facilitate communication and mutual preparedness. This type of resource sharing is most likely to be successful on a one on one basis or in very small groups.

3. Because local organizations often have intense local histories that can involve interpersonal and group-based conflict, local leaders of both ROP and Latino organizations have a shared interest in developing new leadership, particularly youth, who can build new histories together. The organization of LUS based in Salem can be a model for this. The historical experience of LUS members participating in ROP workshops on homophobia can also be drawn upon. In addition, ROP did a successful youth track at an ROP caucus. Roughly 50% of the room was Latino youth through CAUSA. The youth shut the door and got into some major race/queer discussions. ROP also did a week-long training with youth that was highly successful. Experience has shown that it is much harder to bring adults together in the same way. Thus increasing integrated youth activities will not only better train future ROP and CAUSA leadership but may also provide a positive model for adults.

One of the important elements of the state-wide alliance ROP and CAUSA have built is the ability of each organization to be candid about what the differences are between the two organizations and the blind spots of each. As discussed above, each organization has had opportunities in which they called the other on issues of racism, sexism, homophobia, and classism. Part of this awareness-building has been an ongoing process of education and re-education of internal constituents of each organization and cross-education of those in the other organization. Ongoing education within CAUSA about homophobia and sexism has been crucial, as has ongoing education within ROP on racism and its anti-immigrant forms. These educational and organizational culture-building efforts have been stimulated both by the commitments of the leaders of ROP and CAUSA to eliminating discrimination as well as by the political context driving the work of each organization and their collaboration. As long as there are anti-immigrant and anti-gay legislative proposals in Oregon (which looks likely into the future) then each organization will continue to have to educate internally and externally about these issues. But what are the costs of such work? How is it sustained into the future? And how can the collaboration of ROP and CAUSA be sustained in the changing political and demographic context of the state of Oregon?

In order to sustain the collaborative potential built between CAUSA and ROP, the two organizations need to continue to work together in coalition on particular campaigns, but also think towards longer-term forms of collaboration. Sitting on each other's boards is one way to do this structurally. An important part of the future, however, involves the preparation of new generations of leaders. Both organizations are aware of the importance of this process and have had internal discussions about this.

One way to sustain the ROP/CAUSA relationship into the future would be to set up a joint youth-organizing effort. This has already happened around specific campaigns, but might be something to consider building in a longer-term way that extends beyond particular referendum issues and the election calendar. As seen in both organizations, education of constituents about the issues of racism, sexism, homophobia, classism, and xenophobic nationalism displayed as anti-immigrant sentiment is ongoing work. If young people are exposed to the kind of "issue" calling that ROP and PCUN have done for one

another and are socialized from a young age to be aware of such issues, then eventually such “issue” calling will not be as necessary. A cadre of young activists will have this as a part of their political socialization.

Another important focus in the future collaboration of the two groups is to strategize together on the changing demographics in Oregon and to tie this strategizing directly to specific state legislative campaigns. This involves longer-term coordinated anticipatory planning on the part of both organizations to prepare for likely legislative measures.

Working with an ever-increasing population of Latinos and Latino immigrants in the state, including indigenous Mexican migrants, is clearly on the agenda ROP and will continue to be for CAUSA. When Latinos or “Hispanics” were first counted in the census in Oregon in 1970, their numbers were small, 32,000 or less than 2 percent of the population. From 1990 to the year 2000, the Latino population in Oregon more than doubled from 112,707 or four percent of the state population to 275,315 to about 8 percent of the population. In some counties, Latino settlement rates are quite significant. In Jefferson County, 17.7 percent of residents are Latino, in Marion County, 17.1, in Washington county 12.2 percent, and in Yamhill country 10 percent. 1 percent (U.S. Census, Oregon Quick Facts, <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/41/41047.html>). In the agricultural corridor of the Willamette Valley, which includes the towns of Salem, Keizer, Woodburn, Silverton, and Independence, Latino populations—primarily of Mexican origin—now make up very significant percentages of residents.

Mixtec migrants settled in significant numbers in these communities, some of whom were identified as “Hispanic American Indians” in the 2000 census. In the 2000 census, 407, 073 people reported themselves as both “Spanish/Hispanic/Latino” and American Indian and Alaskan Native. This was 1.2 percent of the total Hispanic population (U.S. Census 2001:10, table 10). Oregon reported 5081 Hispanic American Indians (Huizar Murillo and Cerda 2004: 283-284). Researchers Edward Kissam and While the official number in the census given for “Hispanic American Indians” in Oregon is 5081, it is quite likely that the number is higher, perhaps 10,000 (see Davis 2002) (2).

In places where ROP has built small groups, such as Bend and other parts of Eastern Oregon, the number of Latinos is increasing rapidly. This also the case on the coast. In a recent Oregon election, crucial seats in the state legislature were won by 200 or 300 votes. The increasing presence of Latinos in the state, some of who are residents and citizens, suggests the importance of coalition work in working together in state electoral politics as well as on legislative campaigns.

Working together on referendums is obviously still also important. The recent example of Proposition 200, which was passed in Arizona, suggests the continuance of anti-immigrant sentiment at a national level. In November of 2004, voters of Arizona approved Proposition 200, which requires state and local employees to verify the immigration status of people applying for public benefits and to report undocumented immigrants or face possible criminal prosecution. On December 23, 2004 a federal judge lifted an order barring proposition 200 from becoming law (Carroll and Wingett 2004).

Anti-immigrant legislation was on the 2005 Oregon legislative agenda as well. For example, Oregon House Bill 2608 requires proof of citizenship or legal residence to obtain a driver's license, permit, or identification card in Oregon. Similar bills were defeated in the 1995 and 2003 legislative sessions. House Bill 3195 would prohibit school districts from offering instruction in more than one language to students whose native language is not English, effectively eliminating ESL funding. Such measures are examples of the kind of anti-immigrant legislation that ROP and CAUSA can work together to defeat now and in the future.

Anti-gay measures prospered during the 2004 elections as well. In the state of Oregon, an amendment banning same-sex marriage prevailed there with 57 percent of the votes. Similar bans won by larger margins in Arkansas, Georgia, Kentucky, Michigan, Mississippi, Montana, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Ohio and Utah. These anti-gay victories have reinvigorated the Christian right and other conservative groups.

After the 2004 elections it is painfully clear that the United States is divided into two countries (Blue and Red) of people who have difficulty talking to one another and appear to have developed fundamentally different world views. Successful collaborations such as that of ROP and CAUSA are important models not only for Oregon but, also nationally. Their experience of building successful alliances around wedge issues such as gay rights and immigrant rights is valuable around the country. The ability of groups with different constituencies to come together and take advantage of political openings as well as the possible existence of underlying common values and political strategies is greatly needed to move progressive politics forward in the United States. We hope that this ethnography offering an examination of the lessons and challenges of the successful collaboration of ROP and CAUSA will help to provide insights for how to take political crises and turn them around.

2. The town of Woodburn, Oregon provides an intensified snapshot of how the Mexican-origin population in Oregon increased and in some places where it concentrated, truly transformed small cities and rural communities. This has happened to a great degree in California and is likely to continue happening in rural Oregon in ways that can now be seen in Woodburn. In addition to indigenous Mixtecos, a wide range of people from other parts of Mexico received amnesty in 1986 and 1987 and also began to settle permanently in the Woodburn area. The presence of residents from Michoacán, Jalisco, and Sinaloa became evident through the establishment of businesses identified with these parts of the state. By the mid to late 1990s, some settlers from Oaxaca had also begun to establish a few local businesses. By the year 2000, the town of Woodburn had a population of 20,100 people and 50.07 percent of them were "Hispanic" or "Latino," primarily of Mexican origin (44.5 percent of the total town population). This made Woodburn the largest city in Oregon with a Latino majority.

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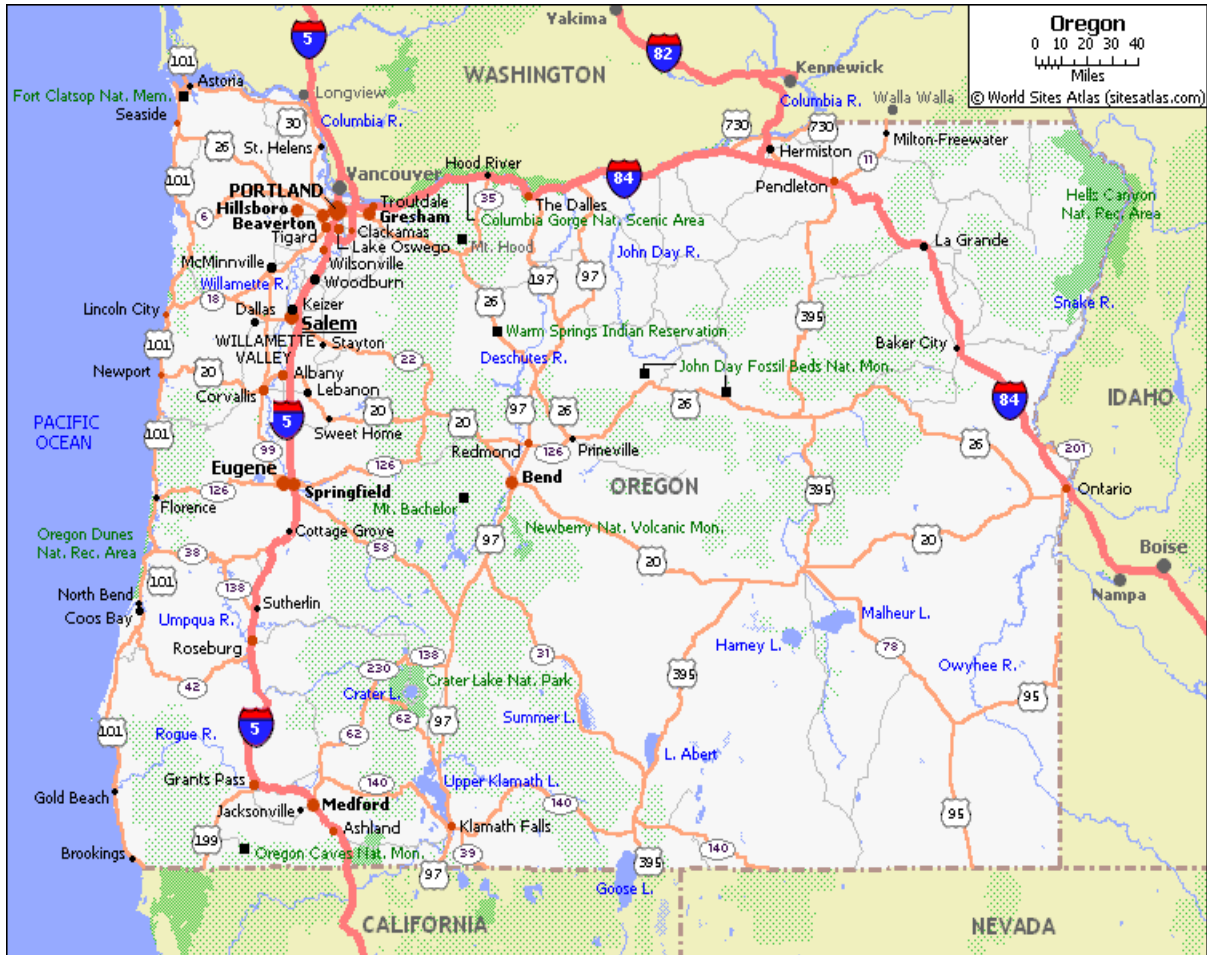
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Attachment 2 - Oregon Map



Attachment 3 - Data Collection

Data collection was carried out by Lynn Stephen and Jan Lanier between May and September of 2004.

Interviews

Our interview strategy focused on several levels of knowledge:

- a. Key leaders and staff people from both organizations
- b. Local activists who had key roles in leading local groups
- c. Local group participants with varying levels of involvement.

Those interviewed included (in order of date interviewed):

Ramón Ramírez and Larry Kleinman (CAUSA, Woodburn, May 28, 2004)
Laura Isiordia (CAUSA, Woodburn, May 28, 2004)
Aeryca Steinbauer (PCUN, CAUSA, Woodburn, June 2, 2004)
Marion Malcolm (ROP, Eugene, June 10, 2004)
Mike Edera (ROP, Scappoose, June 16, 2004)
Marcy Westerling (ROP, Scappoose, June 16, 2004)
Kelley Weigel, (ROP, Portland, June 16, 2004)
Cara Shufelt (ROP, Scappoose, June 17, 2004)
Guadalupe Quinn (CAUSA, Eugene, June 25, 2004)
Jon Brier (CAUSA, Seattle, June 28, 2004)
Dagoberto Morales (CAUSA, Medford, June 29, 2004)
Marianne Gonzales (ROP, Grants Pass, June 29, 2004).
Gordon Owsley (ROP, Ashland, June 30, 2004)
Rich Rohde (ROP, Medford/Ashland, June 30, 2004)
Chris Lira (ROP, Eugene, July 9, 2004)
José Sandoval (CAUSA, LUS, Salem, July 12, 2004)
Jessica Buchanan (CAUSA, LUS, Salem, July 12, 2004)
Samuel Davila (CAUSA, Salem, July 16, 2004)
Xóchitl Esparza (CAUSA, Salem, July 16, 2004)
Carmen Urbina (CAUSA, Eugene, July 20, 2004)
Juan Carlos Monjarás (CAUSA, Eugene, July 20, 21, 2004)
Cassandra Villanueva (CAUSA, Portland, August 16, 2004)
Craig Frasier (ROP, Scappoose,, August 26, 2004)
Pedro Soza (CAUSA, Portland, September 20, 2004)

Our interview strategy was to highlight the different styles and levels of leadership and participation that we have observed in both organizations. CAUSA functions as a coalition of local groups concentrated in four areas of the state (Portland, Salem, Eugene-Springfield, Medford). We focused in the Eugene and Salem area on local activities as well as on how activists work together on a state-wide level. ROP functions as a network for local-level human dignity groups spread around the state. In the Medford, Eugene,

Attachment 3 - Data Collection (cont.)

and Scappoose areas we worked to get a sense of how local groups worked as well as how they articulated at the state-wide level.

Our interview strategy focused on using specific events and campaigns as a window onto ROP and CAUSA collaborations, highlighting both successful collaborations and challenges faced internally by each group as well as in working together. Such moments included guest-worker program initiatives for migrant workers from 1998 to the present, anti-gay ballot measures in 2000 and earlier, anti-immigrant state-level legislation, and events such as the recent Freedom Ride. We also spent a significant part of each interview documenting each activist's personal history, how they become politically involved, how they began to participate in their respective organization, and their experience working as an ally to the other organization under study (for example how an ROP member supported a CAUSA campaign to beat back anti-immigrant state legislation).

Archival Analysis

We assembled more than 300 pages of archival information collected from the CAUSA and ROP archives. We culled the archives for relevant texts including meeting minutes, reports, newsletters, descriptions of events. This information has been catalogued and indexed by organization and theme and was used in conjunction with the interview transcripts and observations to write reports.

Attachment 4 - Organizations in CAUSA and ROP

CAUSA Member Organizations

Centro Cultural, Cornelius, Oregon
Eugene-Springfield Solidarity Network, Eugene, Oregon
Farmworker Housing Development Corporation (FHDC), Woodburn, Oregon
Jobs with Justice, Portland, Oregon
Latinos Unidos Siempre (LUS), Salem, Oregon
Mano a Mano Family Center, Salem, Oregon
Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán, Eugene, Oregon
Oregon Farmworker Ministry, Portland, Oregon
Organización de Comunidades Indígenas Oaxaqueñas (OCIMO), Salem, Oregon
Pineros y Campesinos Unidos del Noroeste (PCUN), Woodburn, Oregon
Rainbow Coalition, Portland, Oregon
Rural Organizing Project (ROP), Scappoose, Oregon
Salem/Keizer Coalition for Equality, Salem, Oregon
UNETE, Medford, Oregon
Voz Hispana Causa Chavista, Woodburn, Oregon
VOZ, Portland, Oregon

ROP Member Organizations by County

- **Baker**
 - Baker County People for Human Dignity
- **Benton/Linn**
 - After 8
 - Corvallis NOW
 - PFLAG Corvallis/Albany
- **Clackamas**
 - Estacada Citizens for Fairness
- **Clatsop**
 - Columbia Pacific Alliance for Social Justice
 - Grace Episcopal Church
 - AAUW
 - North Coast Pride Network (NCPN)
 - Pacific Unitarian Universalist Fellowship
 - Womens Political Caucus
- **Columbia**
 - Columbia County Citizens for Human Dignity
- **Coos**
 - Human Rights Advocates of Coos County (HRACC)
 - South Coast PFLAG
- **Curry**
 - Curry County Citizens for Human Dignity
- **Deschutes**

Attachment 4 - Organizations in CAUSA and ROP (cont.)

- PFLAG Central Oregon
- Human Dignity Coalition
- **Douglas**
 - Douglas County AIDS Council
- **Grant**
 - Grant County Civil Liberties
 - Women for a Viable Community
 - Grant County Conservationists
- **Harney**
 - Blue Sage Ministeries
- **Hood River**
 - Columbia River Fellowship for Peace
- **Jackson**
 - Abdill-Ellis Center
 - Columbia River Fellowship for Peace
 - Human Rights Coalition of Jackson Cty
 - LGBT/The Caucus
 - Peace House
 - UNETE
- **Josephine**
 - Josephine County Human Rights Alliance
 - Josephine County PFLAG
 - Social Justice Alliance
- **Klamath**
 - Illinois Valley Task Force for Social Justice
 - Klamath Area LAMBDA Association
 - Klamath Basin Peace Forum
 - Klamath Cty Coalition for Human Dignity
 - Klamath Crisis Center
- **Lake**
 - Concerned Citizens of Lake County
 - Hispanos Unidos
 - North Lake Wellness Center
- **Lane**
 - Community Alliance Of Lane County
 - Cottage Grove Sun. Eve. Forum
 - Equality Project
 - Mother's Kalis Bookstore
 - PFLAG of Lane County
 - Sexual Assault Support Services (SASS)
 - Springfield Alliance for Equality and Respect (SAFER)

Attachment 4 - Organizations in CAUSA and ROP (cont.)

- **Lincoln**
 - Central Oregon Coast NOW
 - Coastal Aids Network (CAN)
 - Progressive Options
- **Marion**
 - Coalition to End Bigotry (CEB)
 - PALS: People's Alliance for Livability in the Santiam Valley
 - PFLAG Salem
 - Multnomah
 - East Metro Human Rights Coalition
- **Polk**
 - Polk Alliance for Human Dignity (PolkA)
- **Tillamook**
 - Tillamook Womens Crisis Center
 - Tillamook Cty Citizens for Human Dignity
- **Umatilla**
 - Pendleton Commons
 - Pendleton Peace Net
- **Union**
 - Oregon Rural Action
- **Wasco**
 - PFLAG of Wasco County/ Safe Schools
 - Wasco County Citizens for Human Dignity
- **Washington**
 - West County Coalition For Human Dignity
 - Centro Cultural
- **Yamhill**
 - Yamhill County Citizens for Human Dignity

Source: <http://www.rop.org/countylist.htm>

Building Alliances: Ethnography

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