

TOWARDS A NEW GENERATION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN LEADERS IN LOS ANGELES

By Marqueece Harris-Dawson
President & CEO, Community Coalition

Community Coalition leaders celebrate the Coalition's 25th Anniversary and show solidarity with the #BlackLivesMatter movement at the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Kingdom Day Parade in South Los Angeles. #BlackLivesMatter was created by Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors and Opal Tometi.





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Community Coalition youth leader Tanness Walker advocates for equitable investment in Los Angeles schools outside of LAUSD headquarters.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In 2012, I set out on a journey of research and personal reflection to better understand African American leadership transitions in Los Angeles and to offer some ideas on how we—African American leaders and our multiracial allies—can more effectively cultivate African American social justice leadership and support successful leadership transitions in Black organizations in Los Angeles. In order to do so, my research led me to think more deeply about the state of African American leadership in general.

African American leadership in Los Angeles and California matters to all communities and is essential to a vibrant future for the city, state and country.

African American leadership was and is at a crossroads on many fronts. Organizations historically led by African Americans have been unprepared for leadership transitions and have struggled in many cases. African American and multiracial social justice organizations are seeking African American leaders to lead and co-lead their organizations but they do not have large, qualified African American candidate pools. There are many reasons for this. Many potential social justice leaders have found openings in the corporate and professional world that did not exist before the partial victories

won by the Civil Rights movement, and the drug trade and gang organizations have siphoned off much of the talent from the working class and poor that formerly might have produced Black movement leaders. More generally although Black people have surged to the polls over the last decade, the grassroots motion among African Americans has been fairly muted.

This challenge of leadership and leadership transitions is taking place in the context of significant demographic changes in which African Americans are increasingly less concentrated in South Los Angeles. There are many reasons for this, including the disinvestment in Black communities, the flight of jobs and manufacturers, mass incarceration and gentrification. Communities that have been historically majority-African American are seeing an influx of new groups, particularly Latino immigrant families. The socio-economic conditions of too many African American families are dire, yet funders have been hesitating to fund Black-specific initiatives for many years, most notably since around the 1992 LA Uprisings.

There are numerous reasons why the cultivation of African American leadership in Los Angeles and California matters to all communities and is essential to a vibrant future for the city, state and country. We need strong Black leaders leading Black and multiracial institutions because 1) we believe in self-determination and in supporting leaders who are connected to community organizations and social movements; 2) we are committed to equity and changing the distribution of power in this country;



Marqueece Harris-Dawson, U.S. Congressmember Karen Bass, and María Elena Durazo, Executive Secretary-Treasurer Emeritus, Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, are among many committed to investing in the next generation of social justice leadership in Los Angeles.

3) we understand that those impacted by the pressing issues of the day are best positioned to offer the solutions to these problems; 4) we residents and voters are critical to achieving our shared goals of shifting power relations and changing public policy; and 5) we offer a tremendous talent pool with unique understandings of the struggle for full civil and human rights, structural racism, building and exercising power and what is needed for a just and vibrant multiracial democracy.

In my year of research, I had the chance to interview a tremendous group of leaders and thinkers including: Dr. Melina Abdullah, Dr. Lula Ballton, Reverend Calvin O. Butts III, Dr. Walter E. Fluker, Dr. Melvina T. King, John W. Mack, Dr. Bryant Marks, Reverend Otis Moss III, Reverend Cecil L. "Chip" Murray, Tunua Thrash, Gloria Walton, Bob Wing, Reverend Jeremiah Wright and U.S. Congressmember Karen Bass.¹ The conversations brought out key themes that I share in this paper and helped me look at this challenge of leadership in new ways. Their ideas and insights also led me to

read and re-read writings that offer context for African American leadership today. I took time to reflect on my own experiences of leadership development and what they can offer to solving this puzzle.

This research project began as an inquiry about African American leadership transitions and ends with a vision of a systematic and high quality African American Leadership Pipeline Program. It became clear to me that the stories and insights of the interviewees and my own experience were not just about transitions, but offered a broader story about leadership that included both leadership development and leadership transitions.

In the paper, I share my personal history. I have participated in at least three highly intentional and systematic leadership pipelines: the Black Church, Morehouse College and Community Coalition. I share twelve lessons for cultivating leadership that come from those experiences and that of others that I offer as potential content for the curriculum of this future Los Angeles African American Pipeline Program:

TWELVE LESSONS FOR CULTIVATING LEADERSHIP

1. Remove the mystery.
2. Start with context and history.
3. Deliver people.
4. Stay close to your base.
5. Have a clear program and analysis. Put it in writing.
6. Engage thoughtfully on the great struggles of our time—peace, race, class, gender and power.
7. Learn through doing. Test growth.
8. Understand organizational development.
9. Teach relationship-building.
10. Build capacity for collective leadership.
11. Emphasize ethics and integrity.
12. Lead with love and spirit, personal transformation.

I share in greater depth four stories of leadership transitions that become the basis of six lessons for leadership transitions.

SUMMARY OF THE LESSONS FOR LEADERSHIP TRANSITIONS

1. Historically, women have been significant builders of organizations and nurturers of leadership and leadership transitions.
2. Leadership transitions are much more successful when an organization values cooperation, community and nurture.
3. Leadership transitions are more successful when they are mission-driven.

4. Organizational boards and management teams have more to do with the success of a leadership transition than the actual new leader.
5. The role of an outgoing leader should be clear, planned and formal.
6. There is not a natural leadership pipeline² for Black social change leaders in Southern California and we need one.

I conclude that there is a pressing need for an African American Leadership Pipeline Program in Los Angeles. I present an outline of a one- to two-year intensive program available to established and emerging leaders that would accommodate both leaders who can take off work to participate in the program and leaders who need to schedule their participation around ongoing full- or part-time employment. The program would include academic study and writing, intensive training and application and testing of the program lessons in social movement organizations.

This African American Leadership Pipeline Program could be an important first step in developing a deeper bench of African American Los Angeles-based social movement leaders and in supporting individuals and organizations with leadership transitions.

I invite my African American social justice colleagues and our allies in Los Angeles, California and the country to be a part of this next exciting chapter in developing African American leadership and nurturing the leadership transitions of the new millennium.

¹ Please see the Appendix for the titles and affiliations of these leaders.

² Pipeline programs are systematic programs to inspire and prepare people to enter a given field or career path.



Members of the United Civil Rights Committee take action in Los Angeles in 1963.



Youth leaders Jozik Benitez and Takoura Henderson speak out for equity and justice in education. Community Coalition's youth leadership development program, South Central Youth Empowered Through Action (SCYEAT), trains high school students to break the school to prison pipeline and prepares them to be leaders in the movement to reform our schools and change our communities.

INTRODUCTION: African American Leadership at a Crossroads in Los Angeles

This paper is designed to help activate a new chapter of action and investment for the future of African American leadership in Los Angeles.

I set out to write this paper because leadership transitions were coming to a crisis point in Los Angeles' Black community. Faith-based, labor, civil rights, community-based and religious institutions were unprepared to steward these transitions. Leaders were dying or leaving organizations with no plans of succession. Some of the oldest civil rights organizations such as the Los Angeles Urban League and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of Greater Los Angeles faced significant challenges after their most-recognized executive leaders left the institutions. My own organization, Community Coalition, and our sister organization, SCOPE, faced our own set of trials in leadership transitions. Multiracial social justice and labor organizations were searching for Black leadership and they could not find the leaders they sought.

We in Los Angeles and California have the capacity to cultivate this leadership. With support from the Durfee Foundation Stanton Fellowship, I set out to interview colleagues across the country and to take time for personal reflection. This paper is the fruit of that year and my answer to why we are witnessing this crisis of leadership and what we can do about it.

NATIONAL CONTEXT

The experiences of African Americans in Los Angeles take place in a broader national context. Social and economic problems facing the Black community are the most pressing since the Civil

Rights victories of the 1960s. The child welfare system often breaks up and destabilizes African American families rather than helping to strengthen them. Schools and societal structures in low-income communities of color are pipelining youth for prison, not college and successful careers.³ African Americans are more likely than whites to have their infants die, have children living in poverty, under-achieve in school, be in prison and be unemployed. They are less likely to go to college. Even if they graduate from college, they will likely earn less income and accumulate much less wealth than white graduates with the same level of education.⁴ De-industrialization and the undermining of government have robbed Blacks and others of millions of stable, living wage jobs. Yet, since the 1992 L.A. Uprisings, funders have hesitated to support Black-specific leadership initiatives. This continues in the Obama era. After the election of President Barack Obama in 2008, a dominant narrative swept the country: pundits claimed that we had achieved a post-racial, colorblind society.

African American organizations across the country are facing challenges in developing social justice leaders. Some of the reasons for these challenges include: 1) many potential racial justice leaders found openings in the corporate and professional worlds that did not exist prior to the partial victories of the Civil Rights movement; 2) the drug trade and gang organizations have increased immensely and have siphoned off much of the talent from the working class and poor that might formerly have produced Black movement leaders; 3) many Black institutions and Black businesses have shrunk and no longer produce as

many leaders committed to the Black community; and 4) many years have passed since there has been a mass, sustained movement among Black people to advance our interests. The African American community is not the only community that is facing challenges in cultivating social movement leadership, but it has certainly been hard hit.

In the face of these systemic challenges, there are many African American community organizers who are doing the hard, long-term work of cultivating leaders. I am also writing this paper at a time when actions in Ferguson, with #BlackLivesMatter and across the country are capturing the imagination of a generation of African American leaders, forcing the country to grapple with anti-Black racism and creating new opportunities for organizing and leadership development.

LOS ANGELES CONTEXT

While we face many similar conditions as African Americans across the country, there are unique experiences of African Americans in Los Angeles. We are witnessing a decline in the share of the population that African Americans represent in Los Angeles. There was a time when Blacks were 15 to 16 percent of the L.A. City population and 20 percent of the vote. Now African Americans are 8 or 9 percent of the population and 17 percent of the vote. Blacks are no longer limited to living between the 10 and 91 freeways. In fact, by 2005, more Blacks were living in the San Fernando Valley than were living in South Los Angeles.

There are many reasons for these geographic shifts including the disinvestment in Black communities in the city, the flight of jobs, mass incarceration (often causing families to move to be closer to their loved ones), the large influx of Latinos into South L.A., the increase in Black middle class families who decide to leave South L.A. and gentrification in certain

areas of South Los Angeles. African Americans and multiracial progressive communities have begun to worry about what these demographic and geographic shifts will mean for Black political power and representation in the city. These shifts have also created tensions among communities such as African Americans and Latino immigrant families in South Los Angeles.

Many civil rights leaders were shocked and discouraged that the level of systemic change and liberation for which they were fighting was not achieved during their tenure.

Another notable L.A. factor is that there is no natural city-wide or regional leadership pipeline for African Americans in Southern California. What might be the reasons for this? Some possible factors include: 1) the level of crisis facing L.A.'s African American communities has been so high that it has been harder to move beyond a defensive or reactive position; 2) many civil rights leaders were shocked and discouraged that the level of systemic change and liberation for which they were fighting was not achieved during their tenure—while still active, many entered a period of mourning and healing that impacted the degree to which they invested in preparing the next leaders to lead nonprofit organizations; and 3) Los Angeles does not have any historically Black colleges or universities that would naturally support this type of leadership development.

African American leaders and progressive allies have been concerned about the lack of investment in efforts designed to address structural racism and

the unique needs within the Black community. We see the opportunity of investing in our families and communities and in low-income communities of color more broadly and have taken action. Such initiatives include the Brother, Sons, Selves Campaign and the Cecil Murray Center for Community Engagement.⁵ The recommendations of this paper are designed to complement existing initiatives such as these in Los Angeles and California.

RESEARCH AND CONCLUSIONS

I believe that we must challenge the notion that Black power in Los Angeles, or any city or region, rests solely on our vote share. Former Mayor Tom Bradley won his mayoral bid in 1973 because he was able to put forth a clear vision and rally diverse people in support. Black struggle and aspiration can translate to every population. We have seen how the U.S. Civil Rights movement has been a source of inspiration and lessons learned for a wide range of social change movements in this country and even across the globe. We have a long tradition of successful elected Black officials and civic engagement initiatives in the African American community in Los Angeles. This tradition has always been linked to racially diverse constituencies and has developed great sophistication over the years.

The Black community in L.A. remains strong and has important insights to offer in terms of what a truly multiracial democracy in the twenty-first century will look like. African American communities have well-tested civic strategies and infrastructure to

Effective transitions to new African American leaders are a critical piece of the future of Los Angeles.

share with other communities. Effective transitions to new African American leaders are a critical piece of the future of Los Angeles.

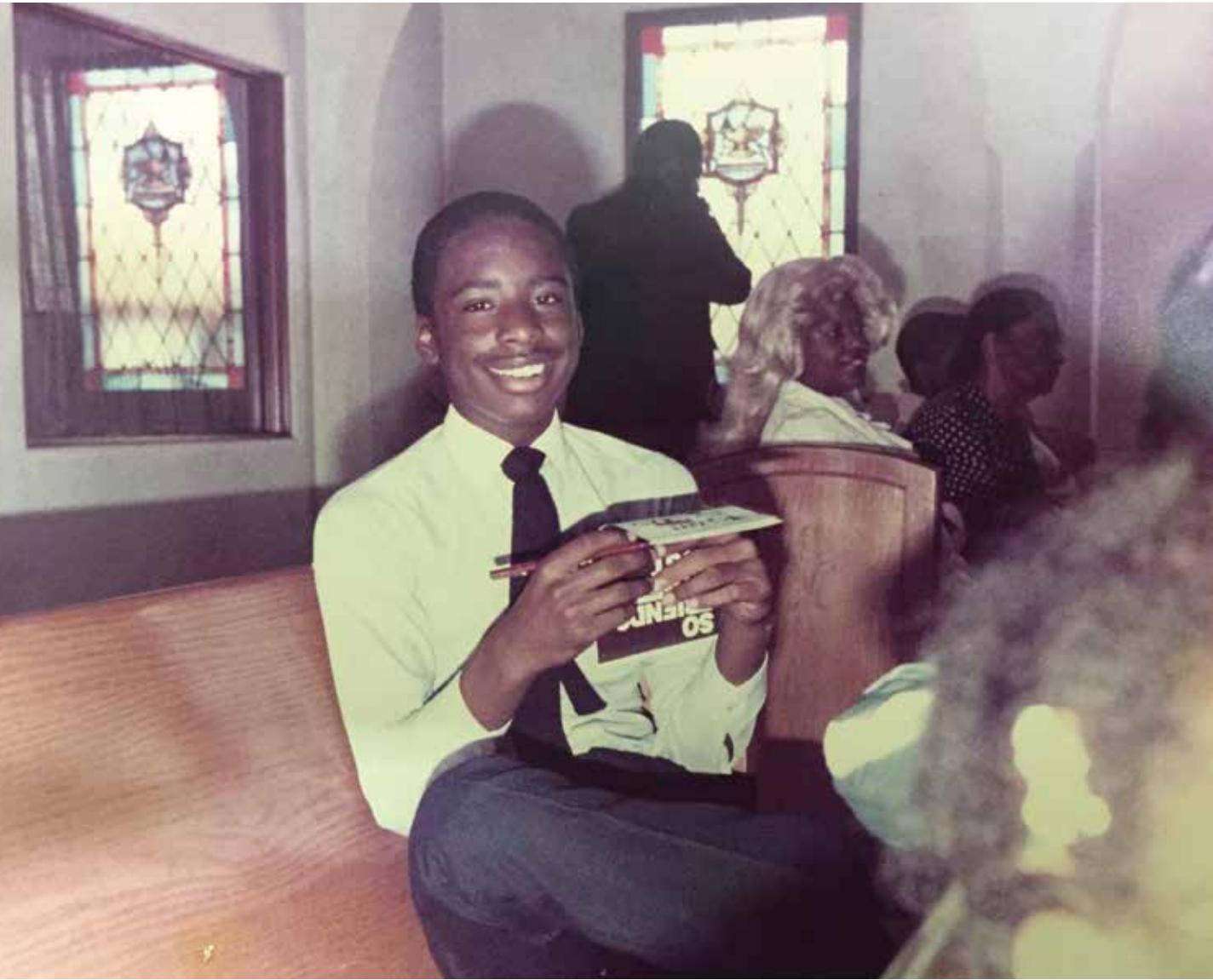
In order to achieve our vision of a vibrant and just Los Angeles, we need to ensure that there is a strong L.A.-based, L.A.-rooted Black candidate pool to take over key positions in Black institutions and to be a part of leadership teams in multiracial organizations.

Over the course of this past year, I have had the honor of interviewing key African American and progressive leaders in Los Angeles and across the country. I have taken a systematic approach to explore the seeming crisis of leadership transitions within the African American community. The focus of my interviews and literature review was primarily on leadership transitions, but this resulting paper looks at transitions in the broader context of African American leadership. In this paper, I share several stories of leadership and leadership transitions, including my own; pull out key lessons from these experiences; cite resources for existing leaders; and put forth a vision for a systematic African American Leadership Pipeline Program that will meet a critical need in our city.

³Siris Barrios, Leslie Cooper, Joseph Devall, Karume James, Joanne Kim, Marta López-Garza, Aurea Montes-Rodriguez and Tonna Onyendu. 2011. *Leading Change From Within: 20 Years of Building Grassroots Power in South Los Angeles*. Los Angeles: Community Coalition.

⁴William Julius Wilson. Spring 2011. "Being Poor, Black, and American: The Impact of Political, Economic, and Cultural Forces." *American Educator*.

⁵The Brothers, Sons, Selves Campaign is led by groups including the Liberty Hill Foundation, The California Endowment, Brotherhood Crusade, Californians for Justice, Centro CHA, Children's Defense Fund California, Community Coalition, East L.A. YMCA, Gay Straight Alliance Network, InnerCity Struggle, Khmer Girls and Guys in Action, Labor/Community Strategy Center, The Social Justice Learning Institute and Youth Justice Coalition. See *Brothers, Sons, Selves: Young Men in Los Angeles are Ready for Change* (2012). The Murray Center at the University of Southern California is led by Chairman Reverend Cecil "Chip" Murray and Executive Director Reverend Mark Whitlock. The center supports faith leaders in developing their leadership.



Marqueece's earliest leadership development came through the Black Church. His father was a pastor, and his mother was an active congregation leader.

MY HISTORY

I try to ground my actions in an understanding of history, so I will begin with my own. I was born on November 7, 1969, at Los Angeles' California Hospital on Hope Street. My father, William Dawson, was a minister, and my mother, Cheryl Dawson, was a clerk, church leader and child care provider.

From my father, I learned about organizing, power analysis, strategy and the sometimes tremendous isolation of being a leader.

My formative understandings of leadership come from my parents. I remember watching my father work to fill the seats of his church, manage conflict and make connections with his parishioners. From my father, I learned about organizing, power analysis, strategy and the sometimes tremendous isolation of being a leader.

The Black church is the most prominent institution in the United States that is completely run by Black people; hence the story of church leaders is an essential part of the story of African American leadership. I have never known leadership disconnected from daily life. If you are a pastor, you are always a pastor. You go to the local market, and you are the pastor. You go to the dentist, and you are the pastor. You do not get time off from leadership. I saw that my father could never step away from his leadership role.⁶

I was a curious child growing up and would ask my father endless questions. I asked him why he did not deal more decisively with his opponents. He responded that a person is more dangerous out of sight than standing in front of him and, ultimately, that we have to create space for people to disagree within our institutions. I learned that being a leader was not just filling the seats of a church or organization with bodies, but also having a vision and program for one's leadership.

My mother could lead complicated projects involving hundreds of people without a single meeting. From her, I learned about work plans, timelines, accountability and management. She followed what I call the Harriet Tubman tradition of leadership. In a time when many were speaking about the evils of slavery and advocating for abolition, Harriet Tubman embodied the action side of living an abolitionist life, filled with clear plans for liberation, strict allegiance to those plans and commitment to laying down the law about meeting responsibilities.



Three generations of the family (Marqueece on the right)



In 1999 Community Coalition helped win over \$153 million to repair neglected schools through Proposition BB.

In my early years, I studied political leaders such as Tom Bradley (Mayor of Los Angeles, 1973-1993), Harold Washington (Mayor of Chicago, 1983-1987) and Rev. Jesse Jackson (1984 presidential candidate). I followed the work of community activists. I began to understand the difference between having a philosophy and having a program.

Our family's way of life was shaped by the crack-cocaine crisis in the early 1980s. Basic activities like education, travel and even recreation had to be designed to prevent drug-trafficking related gun violence from harming our family.

Eventually, my parents felt compelled to leave South Los Angeles, the community I had known since birth. My parents decided this was the best decision they could make for the safety of their two boys. It is a decision that would reshape my life. We moved to the white middle-class city of Arcadia. While my physical

safety was ensured, my social and emotional development suffered as a result. I moved from a community where I felt affirmed, nurtured and supported to one where I was the "other." As a young teenager, I hated that my family was forced to leave our community. My parents ensured that I received a quality education and that I was given the opportunities I needed to succeed, but I sorely longed for the nurturing love and acceptance that I felt from my village in South Los Angeles. My new level of appreciation and understanding of community led me to vow to understand why South L.A. is the way it is, for the purpose of making positive change.

I was drawn to attend Morehouse College because some of the most iconic Black leaders in U.S. history had been students there including Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Maynard Jackson, Jr., Edwin Moses and Shelton "Spike" Lee. I instinctively felt that Morehouse would give me

the tools to return to South L.A. and make a difference. Morehouse sent a clear message to all of its students: leadership was a responsibility and not an option. No matter your vocation—chemist, filmmaker, hotelier or preacher—Morehouse expected you to be a community leader.

I had the desire to learn from effective leaders working on the ground in the Black community in Los Angeles when I returned to L.A. each summer and during my college breaks. I wrote my college senior thesis on Mark Ridley-Thomas, former executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) of Greater Los Angeles, who was serving on the Los Angeles City Council at the time. He now serves as the Second District Supervisor for the County of Los Angeles. Mark and his

team had a program that was changing South L.A., which included the establishment of the Empowerment Congress, a permanent vehicle for citizen engagement and leadership in South Los Angeles. I began volunteering with Mark once I returned to Los Angeles.

I was drawn to Community Coalition, led by now U.S. Congressmember Karen Bass, because they delivered concrete results to South L.A. and because they organized youth. As Community Coalition shared in *The State of South L.A.* (2000) and *Leading Change From Within* (2011), Community Coalition was created in 1990 in response to the 1980s crack-cocaine epidemic that devastated South Los Angeles. The goal was to provide preventative, community-centered solutions to address the root causes that fueled crime,



Marqueece with some of the earliest Community Coalition leaders: Juanita Judice, Francis Fikes, Doris Watson-Tucker, Stanley Tucker, and Otis Williams.

addiction and violence in the community. Their commitment to organizing community members, and youth in particular, showed me and countless others that everyone can be part of the solution.

I remember when my commitment to Community Coalition solidified. I was at a training on substance abuse, Reagan's experiment of extreme social disinvestment, the problematic

Together, we—the members, board, staff and allies of Community Coalition—would win groundbreaking policy victories, secure a permanent home and more than double the budget of the organization during this time.



Kinship in Action leader Debra Lee speaks on the steps of the California State Capital urging Governor Schwarzenegger to fund Relative Caregivers throughout the state.

War on Drugs and the impact on our communities. Anthony Thigpenn, founder of AGENDA and SCOPE and now Founding President of California Calls, led the organizing training. He discussed the historical context of community organizing, an analysis of the conditions and root causes of injustice in South Los Angeles, key elements of the science and art of organizing and a clear path to organize a mass base of South L.A. residents. Karen Bass shared the historical context including the systematic disinvestment in South Los Angeles, the loss of quality manufacturing jobs and the policy of criminalization over treatment for substance abuse in communities of color. She painted a vision of transformation in this city rooted in our shared values. I thought to myself, "We can do something here!"

I would go on to work with Community Coalition for over twenty years. Together, we—the members, board, staff and allies of Community Coalition—would win groundbreaking policy victories, secure a permanent home and more than double the budget of the organization during this time.

Our grassroots direct action campaigns have aimed to disrupt the pathways to prison, to get closer to addressing root causes and to help transform the social and economic conditions that foster addiction, crime, violence and poverty in homes, schools and neighborhoods.

Community Coalition's work to bring relatives serving as caregivers in the foster care system out of the shadows and to organize them has helped to win over \$80 million for kinship care providers, to reduce County foster care rolls by over 20,000 children and to create an innovative new federal program based out of Community Coalition to connect kinship families to needed resources and organize them to impact the reformation of our child welfare system.



Community Coalition leaders were instrumental in the passage of the A-G Resolution (by the LAUSD Board of Education), which mandated that A-G college preparatory curricula be available in all schools.

The organization helped to win hundreds of millions of dollars in repair money for South Los Angeles schools, universal A-G college required courses in the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) and reform of LAUSD suspension and expulsion policies. These are all pieces of our attempt to disrupt the school-to-prison pipeline while developing the next generation of leaders for social and economic justice.

We also continued to implement our environmental prevention strategies to address neighborhood violence and crime without increased incarceration, such as reducing the concentration of liquor stores and increasing special programs and cultural events in public spaces like parks and streets.

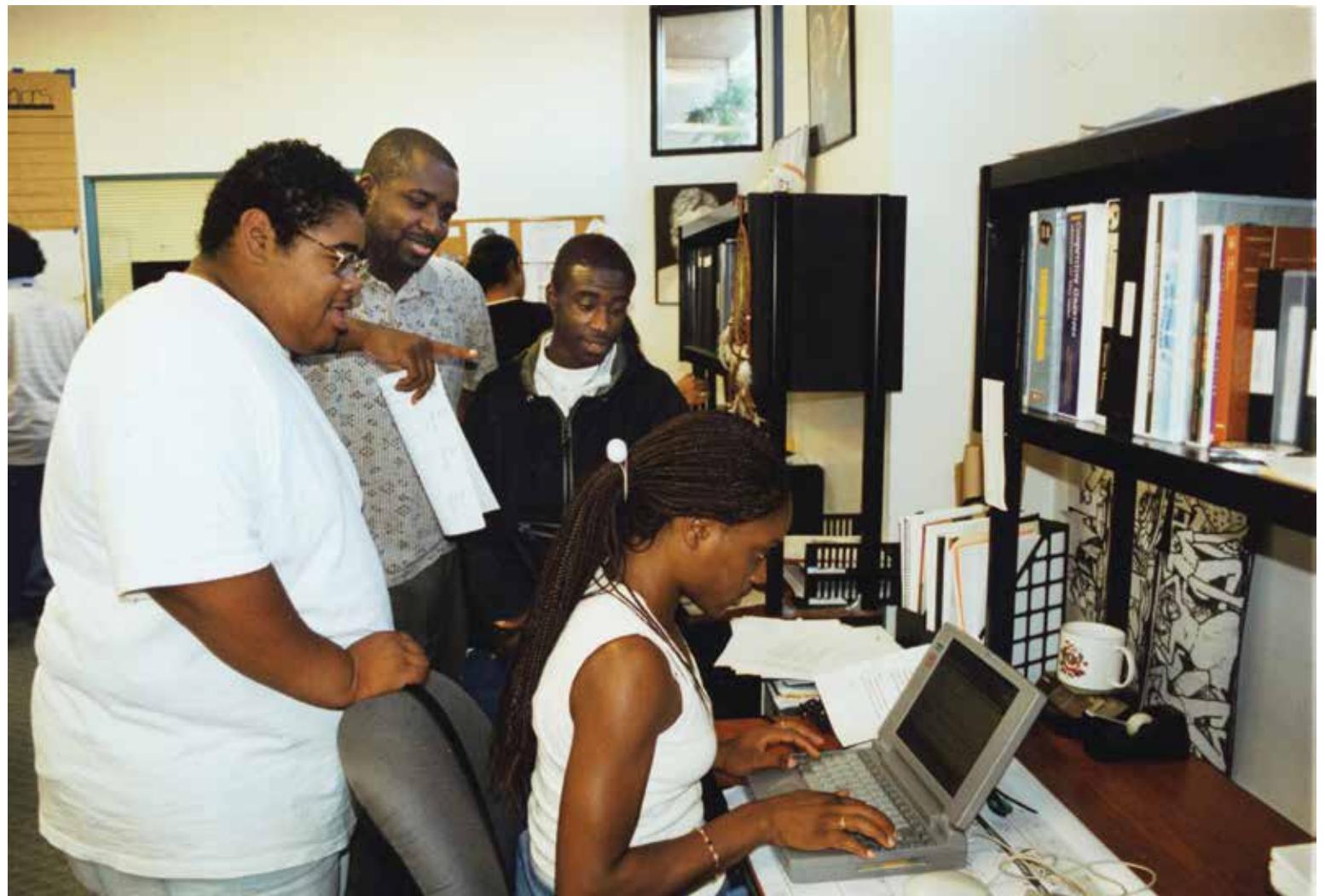
I have benefited from three great leadership pipelines: the Black Church, Morehouse College and Community Coalition.

During my tenure as President and CEO, we organized South Los Angeles residents to engage in the 2010 Redistricting process. This resulted in the preservation of all Black voter majority districts in California.

During this time our organizational budget grew from a little over \$2 million to nearly \$5 million. We purchased our headquarters, further securing our roots, stability and sustainability in the community. We are in the midst of a capital campaign and have temporarily moved out of our home in order to undertake a \$5 million renovation of our headquarters. These achievements were possible because of the deep investment in the grassroots, staff and board leadership of Community Coalition.

Over the years I have benefited from several leadership development programs and have participated in three distinct pipelines: the Black Church, Morehouse College and Community Coalition. To achieve our collective goals for Los Angeles and the region, more African Americans leaders in Los Angeles need access to similar opportunities.

⁶ Even in the context of nonprofit corporations today, this understanding of leadership holds true within the African American community. This is an example of the importance of race and cultural context for leadership.



Developing young African American and Latino leaders in South L.A. is core to the work at Community Coalition.

TWELVE LESSONS for Cultivating Leadership

"Go to the people. Live with them. Learn from them. Love them. Start with what they know. Build with what they have. But with the best leaders, when the work is done, the task accomplished, the people will say, 'We have done this ourselves.'" – Lao Tzu

African Americans and our progressive allies must develop a deep bench of African Americans capable of stepping into leadership in African American and multiracial organizations in Los Angeles. In this section, I outline twelve lessons for cultivating leadership that I believe can be useful in leadership transitions and could become part of a foundational curriculum for a systematic African American Social Justice Leadership Pipeline Program. The lessons draw on my personal experience, as well as the insights and experiences of the interviewees.

1. REMOVE THE MYSTERY.

Emerging and veteran leaders, particularly those from oppressed communities, often grapple with

deep feelings of insecurity and fear. These feelings are reinforced when leadership is talked about as a special and mysterious thing: "You've got it or you don't." "He was born to be a leader." I hold that the best leadership development removes the mystery and creates a realistic and inspiring path ahead for each of us to step into leadership. **All of these twelve lessons for cultivating leadership share the common thread that they help de-mystify leadership.**



Anthony Thigpenn has mentored a generation of community organizers who have gone on to lead organizations in Los Angeles and throughout the country. Mr. Thigpenn is the Founder of AGENDA and SCOPE and the Founding President of California Calls.

One of the things I most appreciated about Congressmember Karen Bass when she was mentoring me at Community Coalition is that she always took the time to explain her actions: how the organization was working, what she was observing and how that influenced her decisions. Having Karen share her insights gave me a feeling of confidence—that leadership was not magic, that it



Los Angeles Black Worker Center (BWC) Director Lola Smallwood Cuevas and Project Coordinator Lanita Morris walk with BWC leaders in the Kingdom Day Parade. The Los Angeles Black Worker Center develops organized power and authentic grassroots leadership among Black workers (unionized, non-union, immigrant, formerly incarcerated and the unemployed) and the extended community to reverse the disproportionate levels of unemployment and underemployment in the Los Angeles Black community.

was learnable and doable. Her approach debunked the superhero myths. I used to borrow Karen's van to transport youth in the early days. I remember I would drop Karen off at the end of each day, pick up the youth for the program and then return Karen's van in the late evening. During those rides in the van with Karen, she would share the historical and current context of our work. Karen took the time to systematically walk me through whatever she was facing as leader, whether it related to personnel, fundraising, organizing or campaigns.

Building on what my pastor father and Karen modeled over many years, **one of the primary ways I approach leadership development today is by sharing what I am seeing with emerging leaders I mentor.** I sometimes say, "Think of yourself as playing basketball, and think of me as the sideline announcer." When you are in the thick of a play, it is hard to tell what is going on. The announcer will say, "The defender is forcing the player to the left, and she is not good at

shooting from the left." In leadership development, I play the role of the announcer.

2. START WITH CONTEXT AND HISTORY.

Another leadership myth is that a leader will instinctively know what to do in any situation and does not have to do any research or preparation. From Karen Bass, **I learned the importance of understanding history as a guide to the relationships and work of the present.** I remember organizing residents on a neighborhood committee many years back. There was one person who was consistently disruptive. Every idea I had to mitigate the situation did not work. I shared the challenge with Karen, and she asked me if I knew the history of the man. I admitted that I did not. She proceeded to share that back in the day this man had been the head of a formidable organization. Once the government starting funding his field of work, he

could not apply for the grants because he did not have the literacy skills. In all community spaces after that, he would always try to reassert his leadership. Karen advised I take the force he was using against me and use it in my favor (to give him a leadership position so he did not have to fight for it). I made him the facilitator of the next meeting and it was one of our best meetings ever. He was invested. He brought valuable context and credibility. It was a powerful lesson for me for knowing the historical context.

3. DELIVER PEOPLE.

Society often suggests that it is charisma or intelligence that makes a leader. **I, like many community organizers, believe that the most important trait of a leader is that she or he has followers.** Often the strongest leaders are those who are so inspired themselves that their actions and passion inspire others. Ms. Debra Lee, a long-time leader with Community Coalition and our Kinship in Action Program, is an example of this kind of leadership. She is a resident of South L.A. and a Relative Caregiver who has worked tirelessly for the rights of children and Relative Caregivers in Los Angeles, California and across the country. After Ms. Lee began participating in Kinship in Action, we saw participation spike in the program and campaign.

There can be shame associated with raising the children of your children and, of course, the anguish for your troubled adult children. Ms. Lee creates a welcoming space at Community Coalition and the Kinship Center in which Relative Caregivers can share their stories and address both the psychic and economic burdens they face. Ms. Lee's actions have inspired other Relative Caregivers and she has helped build a strong center of community for them. Ms. Lee

can deliver the people.

4. STAY CLOSE TO YOUR BASE.

Some leaders lead with fear, but my research and experience show that **personal connection and empathy are more effective leadership tools.** Karrie Harris-Dawson is the Administration Director at SCOPE and my wife. A strong, wise and talented human being, she keeps me grounded and present to how people are likely to be really feeling in any given situation. Imagine it's raining, for example. Even though we need rain, it can feel wet and frustrating. I may want to lecture the person standing in the rain about how much we need the rain and how it will help us, particularly in this time of drought. Karrie is the first to tell me that sometimes the best thing you can do is just get under an umbrella with that person and say, "You're right. This feels awful." In the field, this approach changes the way an organizer listens to a community member. The organizer learns to discern what a person needs at any given moment: a solution, empathy, validation, information or something else. I now watch body language and social cues for people to signal to me



Marqueece's wife, Karrie Harris-Dawson, taught him the importance of empathy in leadership development.



Community Coalition youth leaders meet with Los Angeles Mayor Eric Garcetti to discuss the killing of Trayvon Martin and anti-Black racism in this country.

what they need. As a leader, you have to go to where people mentally and emotionally live and put yourself in their shoes. I am grateful for Karrie for teaching me that lesson.

5. HAVE A CLEAR PROGRAM AND ANALYSIS. PUT IT IN WRITING.

When you put something in writing, you are forced to be clear in your thinking and you are challenged to communicate effectively. From my father, I learned the importance of a vision and a program to realize that vision. **One of the ways in which we can cultivate leadership is by sharing our analysis, vision and strategic plans in written form.** Several interviewees talked about the importance of documenting the vision, strategic direction and priorities of an organization so that there is transparency and so that all stakeholders can be brought into alignment.

6. ENGAGE THOUGHTFULLY ON THE GREAT STRUGGLES OF OUR TIME—PEACE, RACE, CLASS, GENDER AND POWER.

Understanding systems of oppression is a lifelong process. Methodical study of the systems and structures of oppression that lead to injustice is a core practice at Community Coalition. **Leaders and organizers need to have a deep understanding of how systems interact with people and to be able to identify the gap between what a system says it does and what people actually experience.** I was at a hearing recently in which several eighteen year-old youth were giving testimony about their desire to get out of the foster care system as soon as possible. Their criticisms were entirely valid, yet I also realized that many of them did not know that the government would pay for their higher education until they were twenty-five if they chose to remain a part of the foster care

system. Community Coalition's organizers have honest conversations with youth and families about systems including their contradictions and real and perceived pros and cons.

In the year-long Rockwood Leadership program in which I participated, we had discussion groups about class, race and gender that were very important. Women got to talk about how sexism and patriarchy have impacted their leadership. People of color got to talk about race and differentiation and about how white supremacy impacts groups differently. We took on social class as well, which is perhaps the hardest topic for Americans because there is the myth that we live in a class-less society in this country.

Careful study and peer engagement on peace, race, class, gender and power are an essential component for any pipeline program for emerging African American social movement leaders. For many years now, activists and intellectuals such as Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw have talked about the intersections and interwoven nature of systems of oppression as a way to understand how we experience life and oppression as whole human beings and to build bridges across different movements for change. Many social and racial justice organizations have created outstanding curricula on these topics.

7. LEARN THROUGH DOING. TEST GROWTH.

We learn from books, conversations, social media and mentors, but there is no substitute for learning from actually getting in there and doing the work. New leaders should be offered challenges and opportunities—and the ability to make their own mistakes. In my earlier years at Community Coalition I was charged with starting a paid membership program



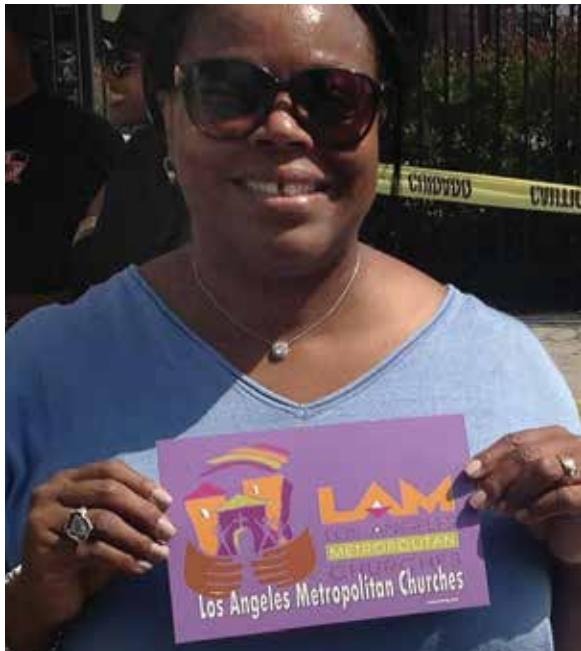
Outreach worker Brian Jackson speaks to South L.A. voters about what is at stake in the upcoming election.

from scratch. I needed to develop the plan, win over key stakeholders, raise the money for the membership drive, recruit a team to lead the efforts, carry out the plan and then evaluate our effectiveness. This is an example of giving developing leaders the opportunity to learn through doing and testing their growth along the way. This is one of the core practices of Community Coalition. **Simply stated, I learned through doing, tested my leadership and grew along the way.**

8. UNDERSTAND ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

People who are good at visioning, strategy and articulation are often thrown into management positions without sufficient preparation. Great organizers, service providers, researchers, artists and others often struggle as managers and institutional leaders and create unnecessary collateral damage as a result. I have had the opportunity to participate in several executive leadership programs to better understand organizational development and organizational change over the years, and this is something I wish for all leaders.⁷ From Dr. Harry E. Douglas III,

Community Coalition's former Board Chair, **I have learned to have perspective on the challenges of the day and to see individual and organizational development in the context of life cycles.** Dr. Douglas is the former



Cheryl A. Branch is the Executive Director of Los Angeles Metropolitan Churches (LAM). LAM is an association of 50 active member churches with a shared mission to train and develop the capacity of clergy, lay and community leaders to revitalize communities.



Community Coalition leader Ms. Loretta Cooper welcomes guests to Community Coalition's 2014 Powerfest.

Interim President of Charles R. Drew University of Medicine and Science and former Associate Dean and Associate Professor at Howard University. From these experiences, he brings a wealth of understanding on organizational development. I remember a difficult day when I realized that a Coalition member had inappropriately used some gift cards. Dr. Douglas took me aside and told me about a similar situation he had faced. I had a good laugh and realized that sometimes things will go wrong. Be prepared to deal with it, learn from it, correct the problem and move on. Dr. Douglas always puts our challenges into a broader organizational development context. Such an understanding of organizational development is critical for all leaders.

9. TEACH RELATIONSHIP-BUILDING.

Artful relationship-building is critical for just about any leadership role a person chooses to play. Relationship-building means building trust and cordiality based on honesty, mutual respect and personal empathy. Yet it also involves building a shared vision, plan and understanding of roles in the organization. Good relationship-building not only increases the possibility of unity but is key to building smooth working relationships that can weather the inevitable difficulties and differences that arise in the midst of work. Relationship-building is a part of every interaction that takes place, but also puts an emphasis on one-on-one interactions that are not always directly related to the work at hand, but to building a deeper and more personal knowledge of the people you work with.

10. BUILD CAPACITY FOR COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP.

Our society tends to lift up individual leaders and talk about leadership as an individual pursuit, but



Community Coalition's Executive Management Team invests heavily in their effectiveness as a team. Pictured here, clockwise from left: Aurea Montes-Rodriguez (Vice President of Organizational Growth), Alberto Retana (Executive Vice President), Joanne Kim (Chief Operating Officer), Marqueece Harris-Dawson (President and CEO).

that is a great disservice to those who actually seek to lead. I have learned that leadership is fundamentally a collective endeavor. The current members of the Community Coalition Executive Management Team include me, Aurea Montes-Rodriguez, Joanne Kim and Alberto Retana. I have had the opportunity to work with many staff and community leaders over the years. From these experiences, I have learned that **we rise or fall together; therefore we must collaborate effectively.** An organization is

like an organism: each part contributing to a whole. If one system fails, the organism fails. Max De Pree writes in *Leadership is an Art*, "As a society, we need to care more about faithfulness than success. We need to celebrate the potential of communities more than individual accomplishment. We need to pursue inclusiveness more deliberately than winning. Actions like these can take place only in an environment of high moral standards. I know I'm asking a lot of leaders. I believe you are up to it."

11. EMPHASIZE ETHICS AND INTEGRITY.

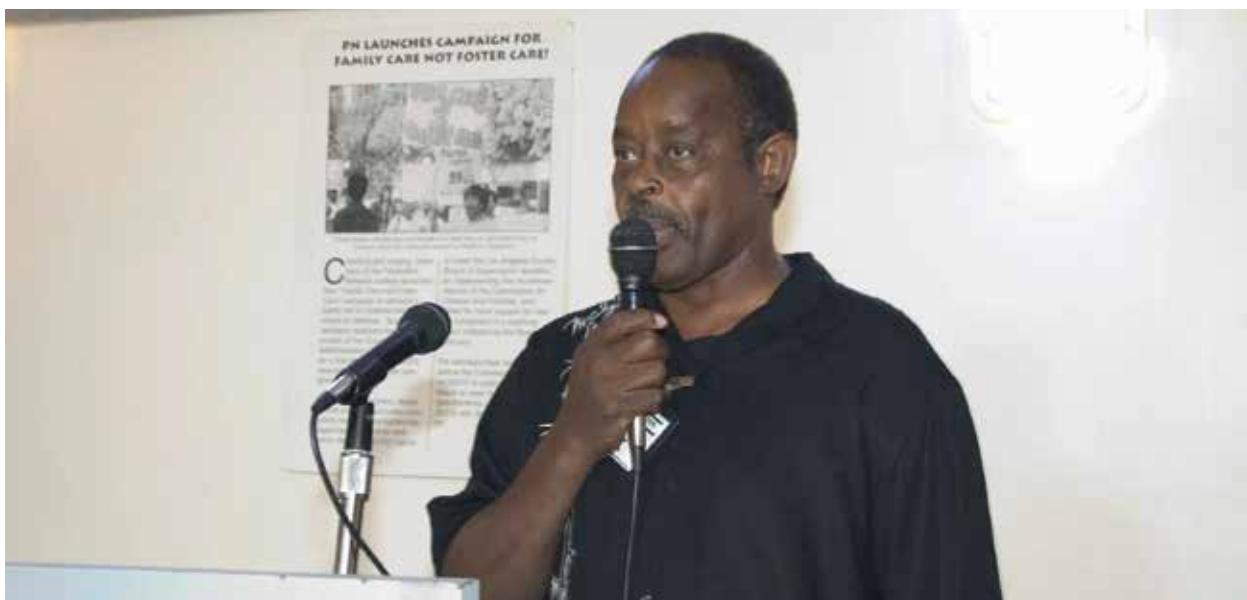
From South L.A. residents and Community Coalition members, I have learned the importance of integrity and follow through. My community has accepted me as one of their leaders because I tell the truth, I admit errors, I am accessible and I do what I say I am going to do. In some of my most challenging times of disappointment in myself and with the conditions of our communities, their faith in me has helped me forge ahead.

History is replete with examples in which leaders have been stopped or hampered through legal or technical attacks on their ethics and integrity. Marcus Garvey, Jr. was charged and convicted of mail fraud. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.'s political career as a Congressmember was greatly hampered by allegations of corruption. African American leaders and progressive leaders must understand the history of opponents attacking us through charges of ethical violations. We must be fully informed on all laws and regulations,

maintain the highest level of compliance and integrity and prepare for attacks.⁸

12. LEAD WITH LOVE AND SPIRIT, PERSONAL TRANSFORMATION.

I have come to a place in my journey in which I see the central role of love and spirituality in all effective leadership. In the following section, I will share more about the leadership transition between Dr. Lula Ballton and Tunua Thrash at West Angeles Community Development Corporation. They prayed together and derived significant grounding, confidence and clarity from their faith. Babatunde Folalyemi (1940-2012) was an activist, artist, Santa Barbara City Councilmember and my godfather. He helped negotiate a gang truce in California's Central Valley and was a veteran of war. Babatunde once told me, "In my life, I've never met anyone who didn't respond to love. I'm still waiting to meet that person." From him, I learned that the root of everything is in relationships and spiritual being.⁹



Community Coalition and Kinship in Action leader Walter Smith models the ethics and integrity needed for leadership for the long haul.

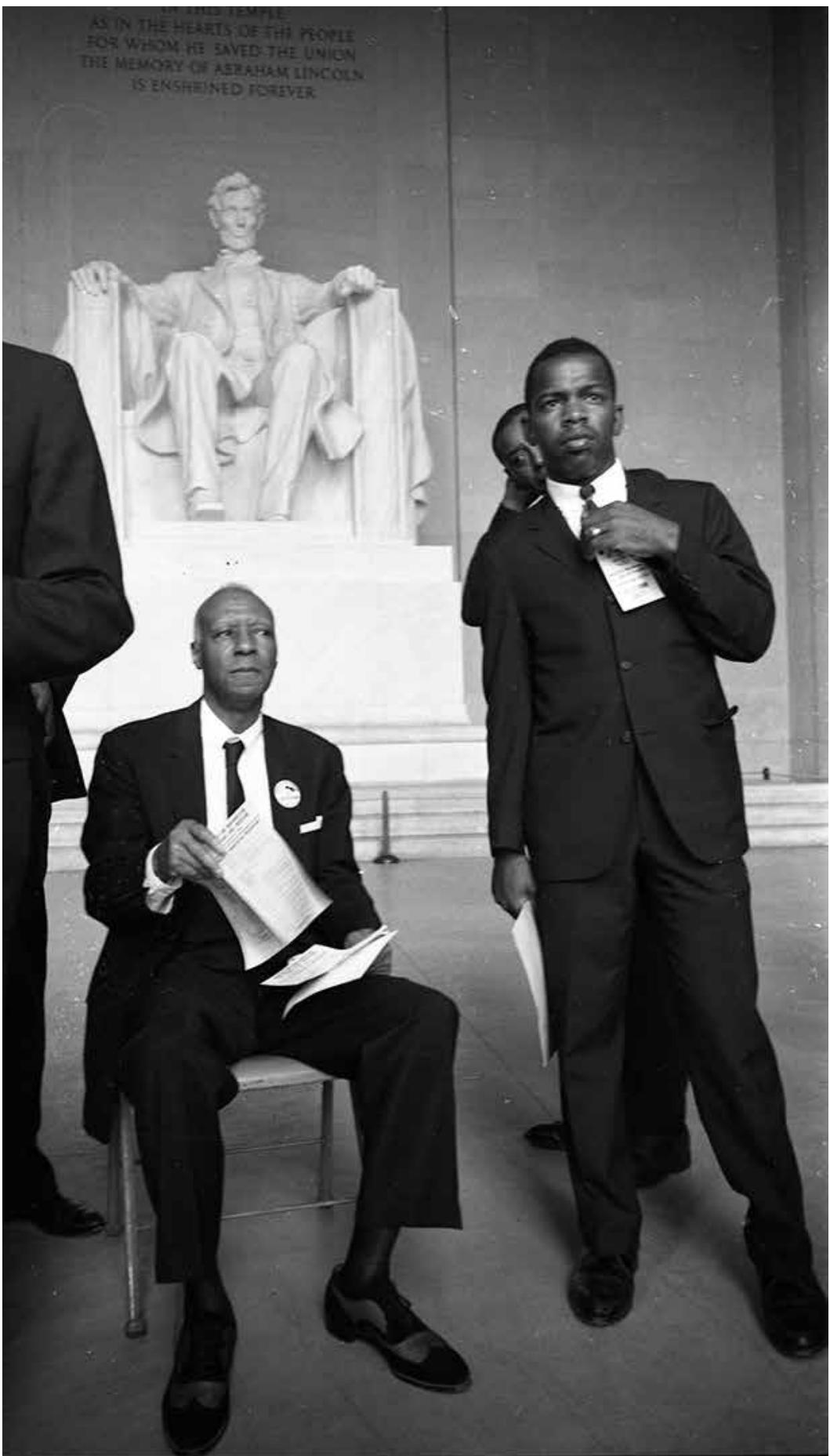


In 2011, Gloria Walton, Vincent Jones, Fran Jemmott, the Liberty Hill Foundation, and others brought together Black organizers and colleagues in Los Angeles to discuss the state of Black organizing in Los Angeles. Participants included: Yardenna Aaron, Janette Robinson Flint, Patrisse Cullors, Nourbese Flint, Shane Goldsmith, Evelin Montes, Cheryl Branch, Lola Smallwood Cuevas, Nii-Quartelai Quartey, Anthony Foster, Kafi Blumenfield, Preeti Kulkarni, Milton Davis, Pastor William Smart, Pastor Kelvin Sauls, Tafarai Bayne, Elliot Perry, Damon Azali-Rojas, Reverend Eugene Williams, Professor Ange-Marie Hancock and Lanita Morris. Guest speakers included Professor Regina Freer and Susan Burton.

⁷ I participated in the Stanford Graduate School of Business Executive Program for Nonprofit Leaders and the Aspen Institute and NewSchools Entrepreneurial Leaders for Public Education Fellowship, among others. We had a chance to learn, discuss and apply organizational theory including such concepts as the Theory of Constraints (in *The Goal* by Eliyahu M. Goldratt and Jeff Cox) and the Hedgehog Concept (in *Good to Great* by Jim Collins). I have been inspired by the work of Reverend Cecil L. "Chip" Murray and Reverend Mark Whitlock who lead the Faith Leaders Institute of the Murray Center at the University of Southern California to train religious leaders on the ethics and processes of churches. In doing so, they are teaching a generation of leaders of diverse races about the art and science of running their organizations. They are making a tremendous contribution by creating a new generation of faith leaders who will be prepared to run religious institutions. Training topics include: leadership, community and organizational assessment, developing a vision for changing communities, community development, civic engagement, governance, stemming youth violence, fundraising and financial literacy.

⁸ In 2011, I collaborated with Robert M. Franklin (President, Morehouse College), Mark Ridley-Thomas (Supervisor, Los Angeles County), Robert Ross (President and CEO, The California Endowment), Sterling Speirn (President and CEO, W.K. Kellogg Foundation) and Fred Ali (President and CEO, Weingart Foundation) to support the Empowering Leadership in Local Communities Summer Leadership Institute at Morehouse College. With the leadership of then Interim Executive Director of the Andrew Young Center for Global Leadership at Morehouse College, Dr. Melvina T. King, we led a powerful leadership development program with a particular emphasis on the ethics of leadership. RoadMap, a network of social justice organizational development consultants, has valuable resources on protecting against opposition attacks: <http://roadmapconsulting.org/programs-services-30/special-projects-protecting-from-opposition-attacks>.

⁹ I had the honor of following the work of Social Justice Leadership, which was founded and led by Ng'ethe Maina. Social Justice Leadership combined the tradition of social justice organizing and Ng'ethe's training at SCOPE with best practices in connecting leadership with social/emotional awareness and traditions of spirituality. They advanced what they called transformative organizing, an approach to liberate oneself and society. (Social Justice Leadership later merged with the Center for Progressive Leadership.) I had the opportunity to participate in Rockwood Leadership's Leading from the Inside Out year-long fellowship program in 2005-2006 with lead trainer Robert Gass. They have crafted a program that helps leaders tap into their emotions as a place of power and use social and emotional skills for leadership. They leverage some of the most successful leadership and organizational tools in the for-profit sector for progressive nonprofit organizations and activism. There is a field of practitioners bringing transformative practices to social justice organizing today which include Rockwood Leadership, Social Transformation Project, Generative Somatics, Forward Together, Movement Strategy Center, Momentum Institute and the Institute of Zen Studies.



A. Philip Randolph, seated, and John Lewis (current U.S. Congressman), standing, in front of the statue of Abraham Lincoln at the Lincoln Memorial during the March on Washington.

STORIES of Leadership Transitions

Thus far, I have talked about best practices in cultivating leadership. Now I will share four stories from the African American community that offer lessons to L.A.'s African American community and all communities on leadership transitions. This research was made possible by the Durfee Foundation Stanton Fellowship. I took a year to identify interviewees, reach out to them, travel around the country and record and videotape their experiences and lessons.

DR. MELINA ABDULLAH'S DISCOVERY

Dr. Melina Abdullah is Professor and Chair of Pan-African Studies at California State University, Los Angeles. She earned her Ph.D. and M.A. from the University of Southern California in Political Science and her B.A. from Howard University in African American Studies. Her research focuses on power allocation and societal transformation. Abdullah defines herself as a womanist, pan-Africanist scholar-activist. She recently researched and wrote a paper on Black women's leadership transitions. She originally expected the data to show that Black women leadership transitions are most successful when one woman is replaced by another woman. However, what she found was a trend in which women build organizations and then turn them over to men but that men inherit organizations and then turn them over to other men—all while women are continuing to build new initiatives and create organizations.

After writing the paper, Dr. Abdullah began to see that certain values (and the corresponding skills

After writing the paper, Dr. Abdullah began to see that certain values (and the corresponding skills needed to lead with those values) were central to successful leadership transitions.



Dr. Melina Abdullah

needed to lead with those values) were central to successful leadership transitions. Women were socialized to nurture leadership, and men were socialized to receive nurture. This was a big part of why women were comfortable turning over organizations to men, and why it was at times harder for men to nurture new leadership and initiate leadership transitions, especially to women.

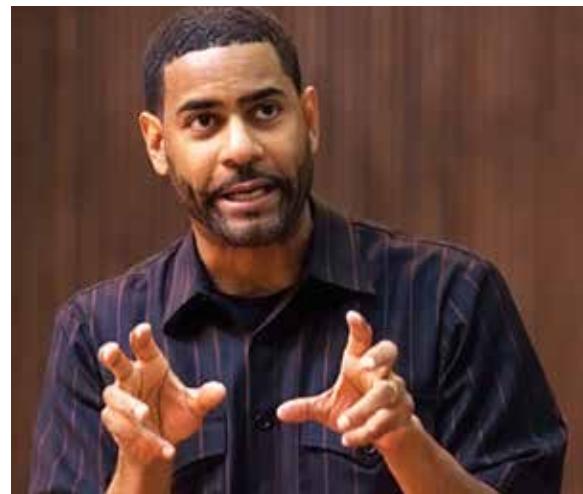
A lot of the characteristics of mothering in our society are also the elements needed to build an organization (nurturing talent, setting goals, supervising, motivating) and to steward successful leadership transitions. Many women leaders treat their organizations more as a family than as an enterprise. In a family, you look out for everyone, not just the strong, and you seek to build peace. By contrast Dr. Abdullah's research discovered that many of the organizations founded by men would leave individuals to fight out the conflicts. With fights come wounds and toxicity that can stay with an organization forever.

Another takeaway from Dr. Abdullah's research is that existing leaders have to proactively identify and cultivate women's leadership. Women are less likely to announce "I have talent! I want to be the next president!" yet they are often our strongest leaders. This is a major implication for leadership transitions within the African American community and likely for other communities as well.

Dr. Abdullah's research lifted up values and practices that can benefit all organizations. Ultimately, she concluded that her findings were less about any fundamental qualities of women and more about the organizational values needed for successful leadership transitions.

REVEREND JEREMIAH WRIGHT'S AND REVEREND OTIS MOSS III'S PLAN

In the 2008 presidential election, Reverend Jeremiah Wright of Trinity United Church of Christ (Trinity UCC) in Chicago, Barack Obama's church, became controversial across the country when portions of his sermons, taken out of context, were publicized in the media. Trinity UCC is one of the most progressive Protestant churches in



Reverend Otis Moss III

Image: Emory University

One of the biggest lessons of the leadership transition at Trinity United Church of Christ in Chicago from Reverend Jeremiah Wright to Reverend Otis Moss III is the importance of a roll-out plan for any leadership transition and to see a leadership transition like an organizing campaign.

the country, among the first to ordain women and members of the LGBTQ community as pastors. Reverend Wright is one of the leading liberation theologians of our time. Yet Reverend Wright came under heavy attack by Barack Obama's opposition and the mainstream media.

Reverend Otis Moss III had joined Trinity UCC in 2006 on a track to become Reverend Wright's successor. Earlier, he had attended Yale Divinity School and was my classmate and the student

body president at Morehouse College. He was the son of a key Civil Rights participant, Otis Moss, Jr. Reverend Wright worked with Reverend Moss to introduce him to leadership, community development and to coach him about how to study and how to engage in civic life.

One of the biggest lessons of the leadership transition at Trinity United Church of Christ in Chicago from Reverend Jeremiah Wright to Reverend Otis Moss III is the importance of a roll-out plan for any leadership transition and to see a leadership transition like an organizing campaign: plan out victories, make sure your base is solid, know how to strategically change the subject when you are losing and stick to your master plan even when distraction levels are at their highest.

In the midst of the national controversy of 2008, Wright and Moss III stayed with their leadership transition plan. Their plan was to focus on preaching and organizing, to fill up the sanctuary every Sunday. They focused on the fundamentals (such as having the budget in order) and on their community development projects. They agreed that Wright would stop engaging the press for a period, a tremendous commitment for Wright given the media attacks on him at the time. In that year, Trinity UCC helped build the first LEED-platinum senior housing development in the country, which was important to communicate the stability and mission of the church.

DR. LULA BALLTON AND TUNUA THRASH

According to the West Angeles Community Development Corporation (CDC) website,

West Angeles CDC was founded in early 1994 as an outreach program of West Angeles Church of God in Christ, then a

15,000-member congregation in the Crenshaw District of Los Angeles. Dr. Lula Ballton and Bishop Charles E. Blake, together with Trustees of West Angeles Church, founded the CDC to expand the compassionate outreach and neighborhood development ministries of the church in the face of mounting problems of poverty and injustice in the surrounding community. Lack of jobs, business investment and affordable, decent housing, struggling schools, endemic homelessness and gang activity were all signs that new, long-term improvements were needed.

From the moment that Dr. Ballton co-founded the West Los Angeles CDC, she was already planning how she would pass the torch of leadership to someone of the next generation. Everyone including her board knew this was her goal. Dr. Ballton admired the leadership of up-and-coming South L.A.-born leader Tunua Thrash, and always made it clear to Tunua that she was interested in Tunua taking her place of leadership at West Los Angeles CDC. Tunua and Dr. Ballton maintained a close and caring relationship rooted in their faith over several years, and in 2003 Tunua joined the staff of the organization.



Dr. Lula Ballton and Tunua Thrash

Dr. Ballton intentionally created opportunities for Tunua to learn the work of the executive director. She had Tunua handle the application process for a competitive national leadership transition program¹⁰ and co-lead the establishment of the West Angeles Plaza, a significant commercial development and revitalization project. Dr. Ballton shared, “I believe the Lord sent Tunua as an ambassador of the next generation. She could take what I gathered to a whole other level. Part of my job description at that time was to create a space for her to grow.”

“I am happy to have been the founder,” Dr. Ballton says, “but I am happier to drive down Crenshaw and see what the people have done, to see what Tunua has done.”

Even though Tunua was brilliant, talented and a “rock star” by any standard, she had difficulty imagining herself at the helm of the West Los Angeles CDC because the West Angeles Ministry was so big. **Dr. Ballton had to campaign for Tunua to accept the role as executive director.** Tunua recalls that board members, community members and even her family members were sending the same message: “You have what it takes. Be confident. You have a trusted friend and support in Lula.”

Tunua finally accepted the invitation to be Lula’s successor and they set a date. Tunua created a clear transition plan that included objectives and benchmarks for thirty days, sixty days and six

months. Dr. Ballton notes how she learned from the other executive directors in the bank-sponsored national leadership transition program. **Ms. Thrash talks about the importance of being gracious with outgoing leaders and the imperative that incoming leaders articulate their comfort levels and needs.** She notes, “I wrote down and shared with Dr. Ballton what I needed and what would be helpful. If new leaders do not get a chance to say these things, there can be misunderstanding and resentment.”

Dr. Ballton identifies their steadfast focus on the mission as one of main reasons that the leadership transition has been so successful. This was not about ego. “I am happy to have been the founder,” she says, “but I am happier to drive down Crenshaw and see what the people have done, to see what Tunua has done.”

Now, under the leadership of Ms. Thrash, the CDC is the developer of nearly \$50 million of real estate and a leader in economic development along the Crenshaw Corridor. The budget has grown from \$100,000 in 1994 to \$2.1 million in 2011. Like her predecessor, Ms. Thrash is also forward-thinking about her leadership transition and is already training the next generation of leaders. When West Angeles CDC applied for that national Bank of America leadership transition program several years ago, they had to submit a proposed team of an existing executive director, a senior staff and a high school student who would participate in the program. Today, that high school student, Irvin Shannon, works for West Angeles CDC, is a Howard University and USC graduate, and is leading a mentorship program for Black boys between 14 and 18. Says Ms. Thrash, “I have to think about my legacy. West Angeles CDC was here for me and I want it to be here for others.”

THE COMMUNITY COALITION'S LEADERSHIP TRANSITION STORY

For more than twenty-two years Community Coalition has worked with tens of thousands of African American and Latino residents to improve the quality of life in South Los Angeles. We at Community Coalition believe that people are the engines for social change. Through community organizing, Community Coalition builds strong community leaders who wage bold action campaigns to create safe neighborhoods, transform our schools, end the school-to-prison pipeline and strengthen our families and our safety net.

Congressmember Karen Bass, like Dr. Ballton, had always planned to pass the torch of leadership at the organization. As shared in "Leadership Succession: The Case of the Community Coalition" written by Helmut Anheier and Laurie Spivak of the UCLA School of Public Affairs, we went through a trial executive transition when Karen took a leave of absence and my colleague Associate Director Solomon Rivera became the Interim Director. Solomon had excelled at leading the daily operations of the organization, but neither he nor the management team was prepared for him to take on the top executive role. The management was not used to following anyone but Karen. We were not prepared for one of our peers to become our supervisor overnight. The situation was complicated by the fact that we did not have a strategic plan to guide us and help us set priorities. Once Karen returned to the Coalition, we invested in a process of organizational development to strengthen our management team and to develop a strategic plan.¹¹

I served informally in the executive director role and was soon asked officially by the Board to serve in an official position as the Interim. The board decided to open up the search for executive director and asked me to compete for the position. While I agreed with



Past and Present Community Coalition Leaders: Former Interim Director Solomon Rivera, Former Associate Director Sylvia Castillo, Leader Mary Carroway, Founding Executive Director and U.S. Congressmember Karen Bass, Executive Director Marqueece Harris-Dawson.

the decision, it was a difficult time because it was an extended period of limbo for the organization. I remember that the board chair called me on July 1, 2004, to offer me the job as executive director.

The management team at Community Coalition had learned from the previous trial run of executive transition. We had a strategic plan in place and a strengthened ability to work as a collective leadership body. Yet, there were still challenges. I share many qualities with Karen, but Karen always understood the value of process. It would take more time before I valued process. In the beginning of my tenure, I had to work hard to value process, show warmth and empathy in my leadership and communicate effectively with my management team peers.

I remember a turning point in my role as executive director at the Coalition. Communication had broken down within the management team. We disagreed over organizational priorities and could not reach consensus. I was not doing enough to foster empathy and reduce competition. One of our strongest management team members decided to leave the organization.

Everyone I respected had the opinion that I should try to get that team member back. At first, it seemed counter-intuitive to invite back the person with whom I had been at such odds, but I trusted the wisdom of my community. I swallowed my pride and competitive inclinations and asked my colleague to consider coming back.

In leadership, if you show that your pride is less important than the organization, people will follow.

After her return, everything changed. Our relationship stopped being a competitive one and the work of the management team became a team effort. I stopped feeling like all the people with whom I worked were waiting for me to make a mistake. It was like that moment when a lion tamer exposes his neck to the lion or a soldier puts down his guns. In leadership, if you show that your pride is less important than the organization, people will follow.

From the transition of leadership at Community Coalition between now Congressmember Karen Bass and me, **we learned that leadership succession is a group and community effort. It is not an individual thing. If a leadership transition fails, it is the failure at least in part of the group and not necessarily of the individual.** At Community Coalition, the management team began my executive transition on a more traditional path, seeing leadership succession as an individual test with everyone else as curious spectators. By the end of the process, the management team completely saw my success as theirs.

Now, as I think about another succession of leadership at Community Coalition, I am trying to make a real assessment of my vision and work, so I can communicate those explicitly. I am working hard so the team knows all the interactions and meetings I have on a daily, weekly and ongoing basis and what I do in these interactions. I am working with the management team to assess the impact on the culture of the organization when I move on.

I understand that it is more important than ever to have open conversations with everyone during times of leadership transition. The process of transition forces organizations to look inward. Issues arise in the process and must be addressed. *What are the fears about a transition? What are the issues that come up?* It is important to identify any potential points of conflict. Conflicts cannot be avoided, but you can identify them and have a game plan. *What about funding?* If a new executive director comes into an organization in a strong financial position with solid funding for the upcoming years, it changes her relationship and power with funders. *What is the role of race?* We are having conversations about race because it is possible that the next executive director of Community Coalition would not be an African American and we need to consider the impact of that. *Can Community Coalition remain a place that cultivates Black leadership without a Black executive director?* We certainly think so, but we need to match intentional plans and actions with this belief. When the time comes, we will have transition teams at the staff, board and member levels that will operate separately and come together at certain points as a collective leadership body.

¹⁰ The leadership program was sponsored by a national bank.

¹¹ In 2003, after requests and counsel by trusted allies, Karen ran for State Assembly, and Solomon began a new role as the Executive Director of an ally organization, Californians for Justice.

SUMMARY OF SIX LESSONS for Leadership Transitions

Much wisdom from leadership transitions lies in the stories—stories like those of Reverend Wright and Reverend Moss, of Dr. Ballton and Ms. Thrash and of Congressmember Bass, myself and the Community Coalition team. There is also a growing body of resources and case studies for executive leadership transitions within nonprofit and social change organizations that is rich in lessons and examples for leaders.¹² **The following is a recap of the major insights on African American leadership transition that emerged from my research over the last year:**

1. HISTORICALLY, WOMEN HAVE BEEN SIGNIFICANT BUILDERS OF ORGANIZATIONS AND NURTURERS OF LEADERSHIP AND LEADERSHIP TRANSITIONS.

Dr. Melina Abdullah's observations in her research had huge resonance for me. The more I read, the more I discovered that so many institutions, especially churches, were founded by women. Many older folk do not believe in women ministers (indeed, women are barred from being ministers in many churches), but there is a long history of women organizing churches and then hiring men as the ministers. Having women in leadership does not guarantee successful leadership transitions, but the values in which many women have been trained—including collaboration, relationship-building and nurturing—are critical for successful leadership transitions. All people can learn to emphasize and put into place these values and practices.¹³

2. LEADERSHIP TRANSITIONS ARE MUCH MORE SUCCESSFUL WHEN AN ORGANIZATION VALUES COOPERATION, COMMUNITY AND NURTURE.

My research showed that transitions were rarely successful within organizations that valued competition. That culture leads to many rooting for the new leader's failure so that they can themselves advance. Contrary to the often-accepted Western concept that competition makes people do their best, it frequently divides people and motivates them to emphasize their colleagues' weaknesses and work against each other. I found that organizations that emphasized cooperation, strong teams and nurturing values were more likely to succeed with their leadership transitions. I also found that organizational values cannot be faked. Lip service to values does not go far. In many organizations, it is almost as if their values are in the DNA or water of the organizations.

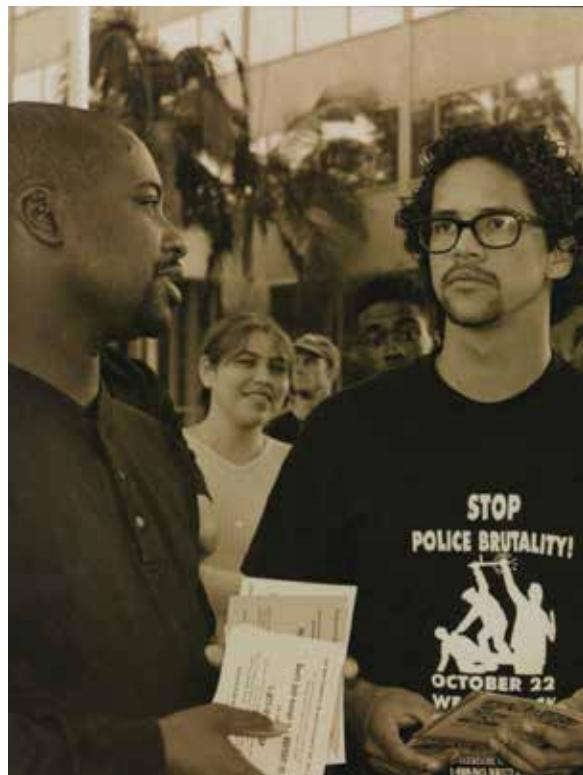


U.S. Congressmember Karen Bass and Dr. Cheryl Tawede Grills lead a meeting of Community Coalition in its early years.

Whatever an organization's values are, they must be taken into consideration for leadership transitions. There are many tools in the field to assess individual and organizational values. The most important thing is to make the assessment and keep these values in mind for leadership transitions. Production is a top value at Community Coalition, for example. This value, which is a strength, can also be a liability and lead to competition, conflict and undermining of leadership transitions. We have built structures at Community Coalition that amplify our strengths and mitigate the impacts of our weaknesses. We have a structure in which no one goes solo on a project, for example, so multiple leaders are invested in a project and our approach does not cultivate competition and charismatic or individual leadership. In choosing a new leader, it is important that we select people who can thrive in the culture and systems that the organization values and promotes.

3. LEADERSHIP TRANSITIONS ARE MORE SUCCESSFUL WHEN THEY ARE MISSION-DRIVEN.

The example of the transition from Reverend Jeremiah Wright to Reverend Otis Moss III at Trinity United Church of Christ in Chicago is an excellent example of a mission-driven transition. Their transition took place during the 2008 U.S. presidential campaign. Billions of dollars were at play and it would have been so easy for the two leaders and the church to get caught up in personalities and controversy. Instead they developed a plan that was rooted in their mission and completed a highly successful leadership transition. Dr. Ballton's and Tunua Thrash's is another example of a successful mission-driven transition.



Marqueece and Community Coalition Executive Vice President Alberto Retana have worked closely with the Coalition leadership to prepare for the next executive transition.

4. ORGANIZATIONAL BOARDS AND MANAGEMENT TEAMS HAVE MORE TO DO WITH THE SUCCESS OF A LEADERSHIP TRANSITION THAN THE ACTUAL NEW LEADER.

My research shows that top-level management teams, boards and funders of organizations have more to do with whether leadership transitions are successful than the actual incoming leaders. Those commenting on failed leadership transitions all said the same thing: "Not everyone bought into him (or her)." The management team might be the most important, and sometimes dangerous, entity in a leadership transition. The management team and the board of an organization have to think

The management team might be the most important, and sometimes dangerous, entity in a leadership transition.

in these terms: "This is about OUR success." In nonprofit corporations today, much like small businesses, executive directors are the central figures. The outgoing executive director held the key relationships with most of the stakeholders: with the management team, the board, the funders, the members, the media, allies, etc.

A key to a successful leadership transition is for the new leader to move into those roles.

Therefore it is critical for organizational boards, management teams (and each of the members of these groups) and the outgoing executive directors to find ways to proactively support new executive directors in cultivating relationships with the key stakeholders and anticipating and planning for any potential problems with those relationships.

All new leaders need support, and leadership transitions are always community efforts. It is almost always true that a leadership transition leads to other key leaders reevaluating their roles and future in the organization. Having an independent consultant with a strong understanding of an organization's context and culture will often result in a more successful transition as they can be a neutral party that is able to look independently into the existing



President and CEO Charisse Bremond Weaver leads the Brotherhood Crusade which was founded by her father Walter Bremond in 1968. The Brotherhood Crusade's focus since 2005 has been supporting the development of more than 2,000 local youth, ages 9 to 21. After performing a comprehensive individual assessment, Program Director George Weaver and his team develop a personalized growth plan for each young person.

leadership and help them and the new executive director cultivate the important relationships and navigate the difficult ones. A leadership transition should be planned like a campaign: understand the landscape and the players and develop strategies and tactics to achieve the desired goals. In the case of my leadership transition at Community Coalition, our Board Chair had gone through many transitions as a leader of health care institutions. He understood the delicacy of transitions, anticipated problems that might surface and mentored me through the transition.

5. THE ROLE OF AN OUTGOING LEADER SHOULD BE CLEAR, PLANNED AND FORMAL.

I found that it worked better when the outgoing leader had a clear plan following the transition. When outgoing leaders retire, and especially if they remain in the organization, they naturally retain significant influence. It is important that their impact on the organization is as planned as possible and primarily channeled through the new executive director. Otherwise it is common that rumors start flying about what the previous leader thinks or not and his/her purported opinion becomes the basis to challenge the new leader. Planned and formal engagement with the outgoing leader by the new executive director, the management team and/or the board chair is often the best. At Community Coalition, we started having formal meetings with Karen and bringing her to board meetings, so our engagement with her was organized and transparent.

6. THERE IS NO NATURAL LEADERSHIP PIPELINE FOR BLACK SOCIAL CHANGE LEADERS IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA AND WE NEED ONE.

The lack of a strong African American leadership pipeline in Los Angeles hurts our ability to attract, develop, retain and replace strong leaders. Pipeline programs are systematic programs to inspire and prepare people to enter a given field or career path. Because we do not have sufficient pipeline programs of this nature for social justice leaders in Los Angeles, potential African American leaders from Los Angeles leave and developing African American leaders from outside of Los Angeles do not come to this city even though we have powerful African American organizations, an innovative and impactful labor movement and a rich civil rights history. While Reverend Moss and Ms. Thrash could appear as internal candidates to the outside eye, they were actually external candidates recruited because of their potential to succeed Reverend Wright and Dr. Ballton. We need an effective city-wide or region-wide leadership pipeline program that will help build the talent pool in Los Angeles to become strong candidates for leadership and equip them to help steward successful leadership transitions just as Reverend Moss and Ms. Thrash did.



Community Coalition Director of Youth Programs Sandra Hamada with SCYEA leaders including Alfonso Aguilar, Carolyn Hernandez, Jathan Melendez, Gladys Halliday, Siria Diego and Precious Willis. Community Coalition youth and adult leaders partnered with InnerCity Struggle and the Advancement Project to develop a "student need index" which takes into consideration social, environmental and academic factors affecting student achievement. On June 10, 2014, the Los Angeles Unified School District passed the "Equity is Justice" Resolution directing Superintendent John Deasy to develop an equity-based need index to guide allocation of funds.

¹² The Annie E. Casey Foundation and Evelyn and Walter Haas, Jr. Fund invested in a series of publications on Executive Transition Management in collaboration with CompassPoint Nonprofit Services, TransitionGuides, Building Movement Project/Demos and the Meyer Foundation, and written by colleagues including Tom Adams, Tim Wolfred, Patrick Corvington, Albert Ruesga and Frances Kureuther. This monograph series introduces the three-step Executive Transition Management (ETM) approach to transitions and talks about succession planning in a more expansive way including strategic leadership development, emergency succession planning and departure-defined succession planning. In "Up Next: Generation Change and the Leadership of Nonprofit Organizations," volume four in this Executive Transition Management series, Building Movement Project Co-Director Frances Kureuther, talks about the multi-year work of Building Movement Project to look at the differences between younger and older people working in social justice nonprofit organizations and puts forth several recommendations for investing in younger leaders. Building on this body of work, Ms. Kureuther, Helen Kim and Robby Rodriguez published *Working Across Generations: Defining the Future of Nonprofit Leadership* in 2009. This book provides frames for thinking about the future of nonprofit leadership, deeper context for the different generations working in progressive nonprofit organization today, observations on the values that the generations share, the unique tasks they see for each generation, recommendations for action and concrete exercises that can be used by staff, members and board members of organizations to explore generational differences and the road ahead.

¹³ In "Towards a Womanist Leadership Praxis: The History and Promise of Black Grassroots/Electoral Partnerships in California" in *Racial and Ethnic Politics in California: Continuity and Change*, Dr. Melina Abdullah and Dr. Regina Freer "assert that a womanist leadership model [which can be implemented by a person of any gender], one rooted in community organizing, group-centered leadership, coalition-building and an insider-outsider strategy, offers promise for future Black political empowerment" (p.96-97). In "Feminist Leadership for Social Transformation: Clearing the Conceptual Cloud," Srilatha Batliwala unpacks understandings of feminist leadership including a discussion of the components of feminist leadership and popular myths about feminist organizations and feminist leadership.



Community Coalition youth leader Timothy Walker links the vision of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. with the need for quality health care and racial justice today.

CONCEPT FOR THE FUTURE: A Systematic Pipeline Program for African American Leaders in Los Angeles

My proposal is to create a systematic pipeline program for African American leaders in Los Angeles that provides key concepts and tools, places them in positions of leadership at host organizations, offers them visibility and networking opportunities and gives them a cohort and space to reflect on leadership and define their road ahead.¹⁴

For recruitment, we would target formal and informal leaders in community organizations, the nonprofit sector, private sector business, government and graduate school programs. The organizations of these leaders would need to

submit letters of endorsement stating that they identify the candidates as leaders. Unlike many leadership programs, this program would not only target future executive directors or presidents, but also emerging leaders with the potential to be powerful members of institutional leadership teams. We would have different approaches for leadership identification and outreach, including tailored strategies for recruiting Black women, Black men and Black LGBTQ leaders. While there would be flexibility around the age of participants, we would largely target leaders with at least five years of social change involvement, in the general age range of 25 to 40.



Community Coalition outreach workers talked to South L.A. residents about Proposition 47 at the Coalition's Powerfest in September 2014. Community Coalition worked with California Calls and allies throughout the state to pass Proposition 47, a significant social and racial justice victory for California.



Fran Jemmott, Principal of Jemmott Rollins Group and SCOPE Board member, leads a training for South L.A. leaders with the Prevention Network.

This would be a multi-year initiative with two cohort tracks. All participants would commit to take one academic course in the fall-to-spring period of a year for which they would write an article to contribute to the learning in their intensive cohort sessions. Track One would target graduate school students and leaders with the flexibility to participate in a ten-week full-time summer program. Track Two would target employed leaders who would come together three times for 1-2 weeks over a period of 18-24 months.

For Track One, the intensive summer program would begin with three weeks of full-time classes with experts and local leaders in the field, continue with six weeks with each participant actually working at an organizational site and conclude with a week of summation

and evaluation. This would require employed individuals to take off ten weeks from their paid work. We would encourage employers to see this as an investment in their staff and have their employees on payroll for at least a portion of the time. The program would raise the funds to cover the remaining costs of the employee's leave. For those employed leaders unable to take ten weeks off during the summer, we would create Track Two. Track Two would mirror Track One in content, but would be scheduled and administered differently to meet the needs of employed leaders who cannot take a considerable time off of work at once.

In the study portion of the intensive cohort sessions, participants would engage in discussion of the nuts and bolts of leadership (drawing on best practices of organizations including

I imagine this new pipeline producing a new line of leaders with ongoing leadership roles in Los Angeles and California in community organizations, nonprofits, government and labor.

SCOPE and Community Coalition), personal values and organizational values (drawing on such texts as Jim Collins's *Good to Great*), organizational development including the life cycles of organizations and dealing with change (drawing on resources such as Eliyahu Goldratt's and Jeff Cox's *The Goal: A Process of Ongoing Improvement*) and personal leadership (drawing on such work as Malcolm Gladwell's *The Tipping Point* and *Outliers* and Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*). Upon completion of the program, graduates would be regrouped

annually for continued learning and sharing of their experiences.

As we begin to see the fruits of this pipeline program, I imagine a new line of leaders with ongoing leadership roles in Los Angeles and California in community organizations, nonprofits, government and labor. Their relationships would allow organizations to work together better and organizations would be stronger because of this new layer of leadership. Within five years, I would imagine that a small handful of the participants would become executive directors and many more would be functioning at high levels as members of leadership bodies.

As the program matures and if there is appetite among existing veteran African American leaders in Los Angeles, we could explore ways to provide support to existing executive leaders who are preparing to transition out of their roles. The research suggests that this support is a very important component of successful transitions and organizational survival. We could also work to build overall organizational readiness for leadership transitions.

¹⁴ This is a proposal for the future, not one I am trying to help move immediately.

CONCLUSION

There are more Black people in Southern California than the state of Mississippi. We have strong African American organizations and have helped create nationally-recognized models for social and racial justice organizing, labor-community partnerships, multiracial and cross-sector organizing and civic engagement. We have universities such as UCLA and USC that partner with practitioners to help us analyze our work, draw out lessons, refine our practices and tell our stories effectively. We have access to multiple funding sources. A generational shift is occurring in the country and particularly here in Los Angeles within the Black community. We have tremendous assets, but we are not quite prepared for this shift. Carefully planned leadership transitions are key. And an African American Leadership Pipeline Program is one of the critical solutions.

I love this city. I love the story we have been able to write in it. I am excited about the new chapters. We are at a turning point, socially and politically. We went through a period in which African Americans in Los Angeles found a foothold with progressive coalitions, exemplified by the Bradley coalition, and we gained significant power that was geographically-based. Black people do not have to live concentrated together anymore to have power. We have to figure out a new way to relate to the world, politically and socially. We are now four generations deep of African Americans born in this city. We will be the first generation to fully live in the majority-minority state.



Members of the United Civil Rights Committee (UCRC) meet to plan the Los Angeles 1963 Freedom March.

Image: Walter P. Reuther Library



Tom Bradley served as Mayor from 1973-1993, blazing the trail for African American leaders and multi-racial coalition-building.

Image: Los Angeles Public Library



California Attorney General Kamala Harris, Marqueece Harris-Dawson, and Community Coalition leaders Trejon Johnson and Jaezon Johnson meet to discuss the needs of South L.A. residents.

We will draw on lessons from the past. We will chart a particular future based on the unique conditions in our city and start to move the needle on true indicators of social, economic, racial and gender justice.

African American leadership is key to our shared future. We need strong Black leaders leading Black institutions and multiracial organizations because 1) we believe in self-determination and supporting social movement leaders who are connected to the organizing in their own communities; 2) we believe in equity and changing the distribution of power in this country; 3) these leaders will offer some of the best solutions rooted in their lived experiences of the problems; 4) African Americans are critical to the progressive coalitions needed to win systemic change; and 5) African Americans offer a talent pool with unique contributions to make in understanding structural racism and inequality and leading transformative movements for change.

We will draw on lessons from the past. We will chart a particular future based on the unique conditions in our city and start to move the needle on true indicators of social, economic, racial and gender justice.



Community Coalition leader Lenee Washington.

Though I still have much to learn, I am committed to applying the wisdom of my mentors, my peers, the members of Community Coalition, this research and my life experience to systematically build the African American social movement leadership of Los Angeles for the next century. Let's join in this endeavor together and create a systematic leadership pipeline for African American leaders in Los Angeles.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank the Board and staff team of the Durfee Foundation for investing in the future of African American leadership in Los Angeles and for supporting progressive leaders in Los Angeles to take the time needed to develop solutions to some of the biggest problems we face as a sector. This paper would not have been possible without the Stanton Fellowship I received from the Durfee Foundation.

I would like to thank all of the interviewees for this project who gave generously of their time, including Dr. Melina Abdullah, Dr. Lula Ballton, Reverend Calvin O. Butts III, Dr. Walter E. Fluker, Dr. Melvina T. King, John W. Mack, Dr. Bryant Marks, Reverend Otis Moss III, Reverend Cecil L. "Chip" Murray, Tunua Thrash, Gloria Walton, Reverend Jeremiah Wright and U.S. Congressmember Karen Bass.

Thank you to all the Community Coalition family including Founder and Congressmember Bass; all past and present board members including former Community Coalition Board Chair Dr. Harry Douglas III and current Board Chair Deborah Bryant; and all my past and present fellow Community Coalition staff leaders including Aurea Montes-Rodriguez, Joanne Kim, Alberto Retana, Karren Lane, Josh Busch, Hector Sanchez, Joseph Devall, Leslie Cooper, Jung Hee Choi, Bob Wing, Kokayi Kwa Jitahidi, Elmer Roldan, Wendy Killian, Lizette Hernandez, Lorraine Dillard, Simone Rahotep, Katynja McCory, Mandla Kayise, Saul Sarabia, Robert Elliott, Malcolm Harris and Solomon Rivera. Thank you to all past and present Community

Coalition staff and over 10,000 members of Community Coalition including leaders like Prisilla Juarez, Mr. Willie McClintock, Mr. Laurence Williams and Mrs. Edna Williams. I recognize the allies of the Coalition without whom the scope and scale of the change we seek could never become a reality.

Thank you to editors Mari Ryono and Bob Wing and to Anthony Foster, Glauz Diego and Jose Ceballos who assisted in the production of the paper. Thank you to Querido Galdo of Queridomundo Design for designing the paper. Thank you to the photographers who shared their photos for this publication including Leroy Hamilton, Lucy Castro, José Ceballos, Joanne Kim, and Glauz Diego. Kafi D. Blumenfield, Frances Kunreuther and Sean Thomas-Breitfeld provided invaluable feedback. My wife, Karrie Harris-Dawson, always offers her wisdom and sense of humor.

I thank all of my family members who supported me and created my earliest understanding of what Beloved Community can look like. Most of all, thank you to all the mentors who have invested in my leadership over the years and to the residents of South Los Angeles and the City of Los Angeles who have a deep understanding of their fundamental rights and continue to do the hard work for justice.

COMPENDIUM OF RESOURCES: A Building List

It would be a far more ambitious task than the scope of this research project to provide a comprehensive list of writings and resources on leadership. The resources below are highlights from my journey thus far.

TRAINING INSTITUTIONS

AFL-CIO Organizing Institute: <http://www.aflcio.org/Get-Involved/Become-a-Union-Organizer/Organizing-Institute>

Aspen Institute: <http://www.aspeninstitute.org/>

Black Organizing for Leadership and Dignity (BOLD): <http://boldorganizing.org/>

Black Worker Center: <http://labor.ucla.edu/what-we-do/black-worker-center/>

Cecil Murray Center for Community Engagement and the Faith Leaders Institute at the University of Southern California: <http://crcc.usc.edu/initiatives/murraycenter/>

Center for Nonprofit Management Nonprofit Leadership Development Program:
<http://cnmsocal.org/education/leadership-excellence/>

Center for Third World Organizing: <http://ctwo.org/programs/>

CompassPoint Nonprofit Services: <https://www.compasspoint.org/>

Community Coalition: please contact Vice President of Organizational Development, Aurea Montes-Rodriguez, at aurea@cocosouthla.org to learn more about Community Coalition's leadership model and tools.

Harvard Business School, Social Enterprise Programs, Executive Education Program:
<http://www.exed.hbs.edu/programs/Pages/default.aspx>

Interaction Institute: <http://www.interactioninstitute.org/workshops/schedule>

Management Assistance Group: <http://www.managementassistance.org/ht/d/sp/i/2667/pid/2667>.

Management Center: <http://www.managementcenter.org/trainings>

Morehouse College, Andrew Young Center for Global Leadership:
<http://www.morehouse.edu/centers/leadershipcenter/>

New York University Wagner Research Center for Leadership in Action, People of Color Leadership Network and IGNITE Fellowship for mid-career women of color leaders:
http://wagner.nyu.edu/leadership/leadership_dev/pocln/ignite

Rockwood Leadership Institute: <http://www.rockwoodleadership.org/>

Social Transformation Project: <http://www.stproject.org/>

Stanford Graduate School of Business, Executive Program for Nonprofit Leaders:
<https://www.gsb.stanford.edu/programs/social-innovation/executive-program-nonprofit-leaders>

Stanford Social Innovation Review, Nonprofit Management Institute:

http://www.ssireview.org/npinstitute?utm_source=NPMI_email&utm_medium=email&utm_content=text_top&utm_campaign=2013_NPMI

Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education (SCOPE), Training and Capacity Building:

<http://scopela.org/our-work/training/>

UCLA Labor Center Summer Internships: <http://labor.ucla.edu/summer-internships/>

Wellstone Action: <http://www.wellstone.org/>

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- "Capturing the Power of Leadership Change: Using Executive Transition Management to Strengthen Organizational Capacity" (Volume 1) by Tom Adams, TransitionGuides
 - "Interim Executive Directors: The Power in the Middle" (Volume 2) by Tim Wolfred, CompassPoint Nonprofit Services

- “Founder Transitions: Creating Good Endings and New Beginnings: A Guide for Executive Directors and Boards” (Volume 3) by Tom Adams, TransitionGuides
- “Up Next: Generation Change and the Leadership of Nonprofit Organizations” (Volume 4) by Frances Kunreuther, Building Movement Project, Demos
- “Stepping Up, Staying Engaged: Succession Planning and Executive Transition Management for Nonprofit Boards of Directors” (Volume 5) by Tom Adams, TransitionGuides
- “Building Leaderful Organizations: Succession Planning for Nonprofits” (Volume 6) by Tim Wolfred, CompassPoint Nonprofit Services
- “Next Shift: Beyond the Nonprofit Leadership Crisis” (Generational Monograph Series 2) by Patrick Corvington, Annie E. Casey Foundation and Frances Kunreuther, Building Movement Project, Demos
- “Ready to Lead? Next Generation Leaders Speak Out” by Marla Cornelius, CompassPoint Nonprofit Services; Patrick Corvington, Annie E. Casey Foundation; and Albert Ruesga, Meyer Foundation

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ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

#BlackLivesMatter: <http://blacklivesmatter.com/>

Building Movement Project: <http://www.buildingmovement.org/>

Evelyn and Walter Haas, Jr. Fund Flexible Leadership Awards:

<http://www.haasjr.org/what-were-learning/resource/flexible-leadership-awards>

Movement Strategy Center: <http://movementstrategy.org/>

Race Forward: <https://www.raceforward.org/>

RoadMap: <http://roadmapconsulting.org/>

TransitionGuides: <http://www.transitionguides.com/>

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Dr. Melina Abdullah, Professor and Chair of Pan-African Studies at California State University, Los Angeles

Dr. Lula Ballton, Co-founder and CEO Emeritus of West Angeles Community Development Corporation

Reverend Calvin O. Butts III, Pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in the City of New York and President of the State University of New York College at Old Westbury

Dr. Walter E. Fluker, Martin Luther King, Jr. Professor of Ethical Leadership at Boston University School of Theology

Dr. Melvina T. King, Adjunct Professor of Ethical Leadership and Civic Engagement at University of San Francisco

John W. Mack, President Emeritus of the Los Angeles Urban League

Dr. Bryant Marks, Associate Professor of Psychology and Director of the Morehouse Male Initiative

Reverend Otis Moss III, Senior Pastor of Trinity United Church of Christ in Chicago

Reverend Cecil L. “Chip” Murray, Pastor Emeritus of First African Methodist Episcopal Church (FAME), John R. Tansey Chair of Christian Ethics in the School of Religion at the University of Southern California, Co-founder of the Murray Center at USC

Tunua Thrash, Executive Director of the West Angeles Community Development Corporation

Gloria Walton, President and CEO of Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education (SCOPE)

Bob Wing, Founding Editor of ColorLines magazine

Reverend Jeremiah Wright, Pastor Emeritus of Trinity United Church of Christ in Chicago

Image: National Archive



Civil Rights leaders marching from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial, 1963;
Community Coalition youth leaders and staff march against sex trafficking.

Front cover: Harriet Tubman; Charleston, South Carolina lunch counter sit-in, 1960;
U.S. Congressmember Karen Bass; Reverend Cecil L. "Chip" Murray; Former U.S.
Congressmember Diane Watson; Former Community Coalition staff James Rogers;
Community Coalition leader Briana Lamb.



www.CoCoSouthLA.org
8101 S. Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles CA 90044
323.750.9087