What the FCC is Going On?

Grassroots Resistance to Media Conglomeration

MARTHA WALLNER

Current activist struggles to challenge corporate-controlled media can be described using the old "good news/bad news" adage. The bad news is that on June 2, 2003, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), the government agency responsible for making the policies that dictate the structure of the media system, voted 3-2 to further "deregulate" it by loosening the limits on media ownership. The good news is that the fight is not over.

A number of efforts—both grassroots and mainstream—continue to pressure Congress to weaken the FCC's action, and on September 3, just one day before the new rules were to go into effect, the Federal Appeals Court in Philadelphia ordered a stay pending further judicial review. It's impossible to predict the outcome of the Congressional or court actions, but whatever happens, the problem of corporate control of the media is on the public's radar and momentum is building for change.

The Great Frame Robbery

The deregulatory agenda gained momentum during the Reagan years, and in media policy culminated during the Clinton Administration in the Telecommunications Act of 1996. While touted by mainstream media as pro-competitive and pro-consumer, this legislation resulted in increased media consolidation, massive layoffs, the shrinking of newsrooms and the disappearance of many independent broadcasters.

Led by FCC Chairman Michael Powell, Colin Powell's son, the recent FCC ruling could allow media conglomerates to control an even greater variety of media outlets, both locally and nationally. As Robert McChesney and John Nichols summarized in The Nation (February 24, 2003), "These rules [which the FCC voted to eliminate in June 2003] prevent one broadcast network from owning another broadcast network, limit the number of local broadcast stations that any one broadcaster can own to systems serving 35 percent of the TV-viewing households in the United States, prohibit a company from owning cable TV systems and TV stations in the same community, and prohibit ownership of newspapers and TV stations in the same community."

The mainstream media framed the struggle over ownership rules as one between those who want to "prevent change" and those who are committed to "updating" or "overhauling decades-old rules." This frame insidiously echoed the broader neo-liberal agenda to "free markets" by weakening the power of regulatory agencies to act in the public interest. Scholar Oscar Gandy has dubbed the shift in policy frame from citizens to consumers as the "great frame robbery." This is the same frame that has been used to justify the privatization of health-care and education and the scrapping of environmental and labor laws.

Although the FCC voted to strike down media ownership restrictions, they did so
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against widespread public opposition. In fact, by the time the vote was taken, over two million public comments in opposition to the FCC’s majority position had been filed and letters and phone calls poured in to the offices of Congress. According to Senator John McCain, Chair of the Senate Commerce Committee, which oversees the FCC, “this sparked more interest than any issue I’ve ever seen that wasn’t organized by a huge lobby.”

Grassroots Reframing of Media

How did the challenge to big media get such attention? For years, media watchdog organizations like Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) and social critics like Noam Chomsky alerted us to the bias and distortion in mainstream media content. In response, activist organizations like Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Discrimination and more recently the MediaCorps of MoveOn, have organized accountability campaigns and pressured media outlets for more accurate and less biased coverage. This year, however, activists finally succeeded in going beyond a critique of media content to confront the FCC.

In the fall of 2001, activists around the country began to sound the alarm about the FCC’s deregulatory plans. The Philadelphia-based Prometheus Radio Project (see page five), a leader in the fight for the licensing of low power FM radio stations and a RESIST grantee, had already developed some acumen in negotiating the FCC’s arcane rulemaking process. They set up a website that made it easy to file public comments with the FCC, and soon a number of other organizations, including the Communications Workers of America, followed suit.

Galvanized by the public response and frustrated by the mainstream media’s refusal to air the debate, dissident FCC Commissioner Michael Copps decided to break ranks with Powell and take the issue on the road. An ad hoc effort by organizations like the Center for Digital Democracy and grassroots organizations, including Reclaim the Media in Seattle, Chicago Media Action, Media Alliance in San Francisco, and Media Tank in Philadelphia quickly scrambled to organize the unofficial hearings that Copps would attend. Academic institutions and several other public interest organizations also pitched in to host forums. These were held from January through May 2003 in New York, Seattle, Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Austin, Durham, Phoenix, Atlanta and Burlington, VT.

Gloriously Unexpected Snowball Effect

The public hearings across the country, and the alternative media coverage they garnered, built an even larger constituency in opposition to the impending FCC vote. Frustration with the media’s distorted coverage of the war in Iraq and the growing anti-war movement culminated in MoveOn mobilizing its thousands of members to send protest messages to the FCC and Congress. Commissioner Copps’ collaboration with other organizations like Common Cause yielded bipartisan support for his position that the vote should be delayed pending more thorough study and public input. Organizations like the Catholic Conference of Bishops, the Parents Television Council, and even the National Rifle Association jumped on the anti-deregulation bandwagon.

The FCC, accustomed to acting in relative secrecy, voted on June 2 under the full glare of public opinion. After casting his dissenting vote, Commissioner Copps stated, “The media concentration debate will never be the same. This commission faces a far more informed and involved citizenry. The obscurity of this issue that many have relied upon in the past, where only a few dozen inside-the-Beltway lobbyists understood this issue, is gone forever.”

Clearly, whatever the courts and Con-

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Radio Mobilizing Communities

Three Case Studies on Global Activist Radio

AIMEE POMERLEAU

This article is adapted with permission from a radio show, Making Contact, which is a program of the National Radio Project. The original broadcast (“Radio Mobilizing Communities,” Program Number 28-03, July 9, 2003) can be heard in its entirety by visiting their website: www радиoproject.org.

Over the past several decades, radio has played a vital role in informing and mobilizing communities around the world. As micro-radio proponents Pete TriDish says, a community radio station “is just one of the things that makes democracy work.” This medium helps create connections between people, vital ideas and important information.

The three examples below show how activists can better understand the impact of radio in educating and mobilizing outside of the corporate-driven media. They include: street children in India, making and broadcasting their own radio shows in the marketplace; a Native American-run radio station at the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota; and micro-radio low-powered community stations in the United States.

Butterflies are Free to Broadcast

The Indian government has long held a complete monopoly over the country’s airwaves. In fact, India is one of the few democracies in the world that doesn’t permit regulations against community radio. They call themselves the Butterflies Broadcasting Children.

Fourteen years ago, social worker Rita Panicker founded Butterflies Street and Working Children to help the kids of Delhi’s streets. New Delhi has one of the largest concentrations of working children in the world, an estimated 400,000. “The organization was initiated to work with children who run away from homes,” Panicker explains. “These are children who are leaving domestic violence and wind up living in extreme poverty.”

A thousand-odd children come to the organization’s community drop-in shelters, where they receive informal education and health care. What’s different about Butterflies, aside from making radio shows, is that the kids do most of the decision making. They have formed a children’s council, a cooperative bank that gives loans, and a health cooperative run by the children. Recently they started the first child workers union in the country.

Asan is a 14-year-old member of the Butterflies Children’s Council. Since he ran away from his home in the impoverished state of Bahar, he sleeps in the Butterflies night shelter, lined up on burlap sacks with 70 other children. During the day the space doubles as a classroom and radio studio. Asan says he wants to make radio programs so the voice of children can be heard. “I want to tell people that we should have the
right to play and to enjoy our lives. But we sometimes get beaten by the police and face lots of other problems. Like one time, when I started picking rags, a plainclothes police officer found me and beat me up. And he broke my hand. This story needs to be heard. People should know about us and how we live.”

Eight years ago, Butterflies launched a Hindi language newspaper, written and run by street kids. It’s called The Voice of Child Workers, but the children refer to it as The Wallpaper, because they stick it on the sides of buildings. The paper expresses their thoughts and concerns and reports on local news like the closing of a neighborhood night shelter. With the help of UNICEF, Butterflies started similar papers in eight other states and now they have formed a national children’s newspaper union, which plans to bring out a national paper for street kids.

The success of the newspaper inspired Butterflies to turn to radio. The boys take weekly radio lessons in their night shelter studio. They produce a half hour program in Hindi, which features interviews, news, music and sometimes a play.

The kids don’t have access to the airways in India, so rather than broadcasting their programs they “narracast” them. They record shows and then broadcast them in crowded fruit markets, bus stations and other public areas using a speaker system that is attached to bicycles.

As Panicker explains, “We have a banner that says Butterflies Broadcasting Children [on the side of the cycles]. It is unbelievable that whenever they go and they blast it, hundreds of people are standing around and listening to them. It’s not that they look and then they are walking off. No. They’re around that cycle listening to what these kids have to say.”

Parpu, one of the radio broadcasters, has been living on the streets for longer than he can remember. He picks rags on the streets for a living, but dreams of becoming a radio professional someday. “I want to tell people that when children leave their homes and come to the streets of Delhi they lose their childhood. They don’t play. They don’t eat properly. If the Butterflies hadn’t been here I’m not sure I would have survived.”

The Butterflies radio kids emphasize that they are not making radio for themselves but for the adult world. Now that the Indian government has started giving out licenses to universities and schools, the kids expect to be granted permission to establish a proper radio station in the next couple of years. Then, they say, they will truly revolutionize India’s airways.

**Native American Radio Takes Off**

In 1973 Native American activists took over the village of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. They were protesting living conditions and treaty violations by the United States government. Two members from the American Indian Movement (AIM) died in the 71-day siege in South Dakota. This was the beginning of several more years of violence, including the shoot-out at Aquala, which led to the arrest and conviction of Leonard Peltier, who’s still in prison.

Today AIM members are healing the scars from the years of conflict. One project helping with this process is KILI Radio, the first Native American-controlled radio station in South Dakota.

The station transmits from the town of Porcupine on the Pine Ridge Reservation and has translators in other towns, including one in Rapid City. On any given day a listener may hear Lakota songs, classic rock and country western music. Station broadcasters also travel much of the state bringing listeners events like tribal council meet-nings and basketball tournaments.

According to Rapid City attorney and KILI’s first radio director Charles Abourezk, there were no Indian-control media in the state through the late 1970s. “We thought that in order to help move the reservation forward in terms of development that we needed some form of mass communication,” says Abourezk. “We looked at both radio and television and decided that the radio station might be the most fruitful project.”

In February of 1983, just 10 years after the siege at Wounded Knee, KILI began broadcasting. Apart from radio being cheaper to produce than television, Abourezk says radios were more common in Indian homes. In addition, Ron Walters with the Native American Journalists Association says radio is a medium that is especially well-suited to many American Indian cultures. “It ties to our oral tradition in a sense that it’s a language that they hear, rather than a written word, coming across the airwaves. And the impact that it has is that it connects those tribal communities with each other.”

Many say the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation is a different place today because of KILI Radio. The station began broadcasting tribal council meetings, so that people who were unable to attend could suddenly keep track of their elected officials. Abourezk says KILI has a way of tying the community together. “This might sound a little abstract, but we started to develop a narrative voice of the Oglala Sioux tribe and the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.”

KILI has now built translators on the Eagle Butte and Rosebud reservations, as well as off the reservation in Rapid City, where many Native Americans live. Soon other tribal communities were creating their own radio stations in the state. Ron Walters, of the Native American Journalists Association, says “A lot more American Indian tribes are going to be looking at radio as a medium to get the voice out, to get their stories told. And KILI is one that’s leading that way.”

Walters says radio stations like KILI offer a great example for people looking to build community through one of the tools of mass communication. And Abourezk says he’s confident that KILI itself will continue to serve its audience by keeping people in contact with the elected officials, the community resources and their neighbors.

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Radio Mobilizing Communities

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Low Power FM Very Powerful

In the late 1990s, as a way to circumvent the unsympathetic policies of the FCC toward non-commercial radio, many people started their own "pirate" radio stations. When the pirate radio movement reached a critical mass of around 1,000 stations, and they exerted pressure on the industry, the FCC reluctantly began to give out community radio licenses in 2000.

At that time, Prometheus Radio turned in their eye patches and parrots and became an advocate for legalized micro-broadcasting, helping people get these new licenses, which are for 100-watt radio stations. At that power, LPFM stations generally serve a neighborhood in a big city or a small town in more rural areas.

A RESIST grantee, Prometheus Radio promotes low-powered, community-controlled radio as one antidote to the corporate-controlled media ownership. In what can be likened to barn raisings, Prometheus Radio helped mobilize communities to build radio stations. The first station they built was with an environmental group called SACReD (South Arundel Citizens for Responsible Development)—the first environmental group in the United States to own its own radio station. Another LPFM station was formed with the Southern Development Foundation in Louisiana, a civil rights group which also hosts the world's largest Zydeco Festival in addition to its work in voters' rights, school reform and community-supported agriculture.

Owning the rights to radio waves is important and historically based. In the early days of radio, a number of labor unions owned stations, as did many colleges and interested people. After 1934, the airwaves came to be dominated by corporate interests.

Pete TriDish, who got his name from his early days as a pirate radio broadcaster, is a media activist with the Prometheus Radio Project. TriDish explains, "The non-commercial band was added as an afterthought to the FM band when that was allocated. It's become the status quo in the United States that corporations, whose main goal is to earn a profit, are entrusted with this key public resource. We think it is much better used in the hands of civil society groups, like environmental and civil rights groups. I find those entities at least as trustworthy, if not quite a bit more, than ABC, CBS, Fox, General Electric and those sorts of organizations." However, the civil society groups maintain tiny 100-watt stations and the major networks get the giant stations.

In 2000, when the FCC legalized low-power FM stations, there was promise of about 25 new low-power radio stations in the top 10 urban areas in the United States. Says TriDish, "It was not everything that we hoped for but it was reasonable."

However, the situation did not stay reasonable for long, TriDish explains: "[After the promise of licenses] the [commercial] broadcasters got so furious at the prospect of this added competition that they went to Congress. They couldn't get their bill passed through the light of day, but they got an appropriations rider tacked on to a key spending bill. And in that appropriations bill was a small piece of legislation that attacked the new low-power service and took away about three quarters of the new licenses. It took away all of the licenses in the major cities."

Under Congress' newly-imposed rules on LPFM, only one station is available in the top 50 urban markets in the United States. In response, for the last three years Prometheus Radio has been building rural and small town stations. That effort, too, is under challenge because when Congress passed that bill they also required the FCC to hire an outside contractor to do a study of any possible interference issues that could be raised with the low-power service. Explains TriDish, "The National Association of Broadcasters never wanted to admit that its main problem with low-power FM was competition, because they wouldn't have gotten very far with an argument that they wanted the government to keep competition out of the market. So what they said instead was that there would be an incredible amount of interference caused by these 100-watt stations to their existing 10- and 20- and 50,000-watt stations."

LPFM is a relatively new service, with very few of the stations on the air for more than a year. Even so, it shows signs of acting as a mobilizing force.

In many ways, these community radio stations have become public places where people get to meet and work together on a productive project that makes the community a better place. As TriDish explains it, "The way we think of a town that doesn't have a community radio station, it's sort of like a town that doesn't have a public library or a public swimming pool or a public park. It's just one of the things that makes a democracy work."

—Pete TriDish, Prometheus Radio Project

Vol. 12, #11

RESIST Newsletter
Challenging Media Infrastructure

Funding for Independent Media Crucial to Democracy

JAN STROUT

“Ever worry that... your prospects for advancement may depend on your mastery of such arcana as who won the Iraqi war or where exactly Europe is? Then don’t watch Fox News. The more you watch, the more you’ll get things wrong.” — Harold Meyerson, “Fact-Free News” (Washington Post, October 15, 2003).

The increasing concentration of media ownership—with long-term support from right wing forces—has created a standard of public information that is manipulative, monolithic and mostly misleading. As Meyerson points out above (and groups like FAIR have studied), the more often viewers watch mainstream news broadcasts, the less likely they are to know facts. For that reason, many social justice activists, progressive donors and grantmakers are challenging corporate-controlled media and supporting independent media.

Activists interested in justice and fairness (many of whom are listed on page seven) identified the need to reclaim media from corporate-driven interests, saying that healthy public debate is integral to strengthening the participatory democratic process. Such debate requires diverse values and perspectives, increased media literacy as well as an infrastructure that guarantees access to independent media outlets.

In response to these needs, a group of progressive funders formed the MediaWorks Initiative. This collaborative effort seeks to organize money to strategically support a powerful independent media sector through collaborative grantmaking and investment into independent media advocacy, production of progressive content, and multi-faceted distribution strategies to use media to organize for social change.

Harnessing Our Collective Strength

The mission of the MediaWorks Initiative is to connect progressive donors, foundations and investors with independent media producers, trainers and advocates in an effort to protect and increase the capacity of the media to contribute to participatory democracy. By raising awareness, building capacity, and increasing funding for independent media, MediaWorks hopes to create an information environment that supports democracy, diversity, debate and dissent.

The MediaWorks Initiative grew out of the National Network of Grantmakers Working Group on Funding Media. One month after the events of September 11, 2001, members of the Working Group decided to take action to increase funding for progressive media. Since then, MediaWorks has created a management team, raised seed funding, hired organizing and research consultants, expanded its leadership through recruitment of a diverse Steering Committee and is concluding a major feasibility study. The study includes a review of existing media funding research and interviews with more than 50 funders about their media funding behaviors and attitudes. We are currently compiling and editing this work. We are working to identify organizations and individuals who currently fund media or who want to begin funding media. We will provide information, support and assistance to those allies.

MediaWorks is evaluating several organizational options to increase and coordinate funding for media projects. We have organized media funding workshops at the conferences of the National Network of Grantmakers, Grantmakers in the Arts, Alliance for Community Media and Media Reform's Free Press, as well as targeted donor education briefings.

Thus far, we have found that a broad range of funders are particularly receptive to arguments about the importance of media in the current conservative landscape for two main reasons. First, they recognize that the corporate media blatantly serves the Bush Administration and slants coverage of political and economic policies to serve the conservative agenda. And secondly, they recognize the unique power of media as a tool to advocate, educate and organize for social change. The high level of public participation in the current deregulatory fight at the FCC (see page one) is evidence of record levels of public awareness and involvement in media issues.

When Working Assets President Michael Kieschnick was asked what his foundation is trying to accomplish through its media funding, he stated: “It’s impossible to achieve social change if most Americans get their news from mainstream or right wing sources. We see media as an essential part of infrastructure to have a fighting chance to win positive social change rather than as a defensive social change strategy.”

Jan Strout, a longtime media consultant, worked as an organizer for the MediaWorks Initiative and currently serves on its Steering Committee. For more information, contact her at justimedia2003@yahoo.com, or contact mediaworks_initiative@msn.com. Jan thanks Anna Lappe and Kathy Partridge for their assistance with this article.

Media Grantseeking Tips

JAN STROUT

- Do your research. Get to know the foundation’s mission and priority funding areas to be sure your goals match theirs.
- Due to the rapidly changing economic and philanthropic environments, priorities may change and new ones emerge to increase or decrease funding for media. Check the web sites for the most current deadlines and application information.
- Most progressive funders evaluate media requests in the context of an overall vision and/or campaign for social change. Be sure to demonstrate how the request to fund media will help achieve this vision.
- The media distribution strategies (including defining your audiences, how you plan to reach them and what actions you hope they take as a result of your media work or organizing) is as important as the production or content quality.
Media Resources for Social Change

Below is a short list of resources for media activism. A more extensive version which includes funding sources can be found at www.resistinc.org. For more information, contact the organizations at the addresses listed below. Many of the websites also include extensive and useful links to additional resources.

Alliance for Community Media
666 11th Street NW, Ste 740, Washington, DC 20001; www.alliancecm.org
The Alliance for Community Media is committed to assuring everyone’s access to electronic media through public education, a progressive legislative and regulatory agenda, coalition building and grassroots organizing.

Alternet
www.AlterNet.org
A project of the Independent Media Institute, AlterNet’s online magazine provides a mix of news, opinion and investigative journalism. The AlterNet article database includes more than 7,000 stories from over 200 sources.

Applied Research Center
3781 Broadway, Oakland, CA 94611; www.arc.org; www.colorlines.com
ARC is a public policy, educational and research institute whose work emphasizes issues of race and social change. It publishes ColorLines and RaceWire, serving the ethnic press with news, features and op-eds.

Association of Independent Video & Filmmakers
304 Hudson Street, 6th Floor, New York, NY 10013; www.aivf.org
AIVF is the membership organization of independent video and filmmakers whose mission is to increase creative and professional opportunities and to enhance the growth of independent media.

Common Dreams
PO Box 443, Portland, ME 04112-0443; www.commondreams.org
This site contains hundreds of links to other progressive publications and specializes in opinion editorials that are succinct, yet thought-provoking and informative.

Democracy Now!
PO Box 693, New York, NY 10013; www.democracynow.org
Democracy Now! is a national, daily, independent, award-winning news program airing on over 140 stations in North America. Independent journalists cover national and international affairs.

Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting
112 W. 27th Street, New York, NY 10001; www.fair.org
A national media watch group that publishes Extra!—a bi-monthly magazine of media criticism—and disseminates research through numerous special feature reports.

Free Press
26 Center Street, 2nd Floor, Northampton, MA 01060; www.mediereform.net
Robert McChesney’s latest organization works to strengthen independent media and resist consolidation of media ownership.

Free Speech TV
PO Box 6060, Boulder, Colorado 80306; www.freespeech.org
24 hour satellite television network presents daily broadcasts of “Democracy Now!” and organizes Mobile Eyes campaigns on peace and social justice issues.

Independent Media Centers
www.indymedia.org
Indymedia is a collective of independent media organizations and hundreds of journalists offering grassroots, non-corporate coverage. IMCs are grassroots organizations committed to using media production and distribution as a tool for promoting social and economic justice.

Independent Press Association
2729 Mission St., #201, San Francisco, CA, 94110-3131; www.indypress.org
IPA amplifies the power of independent publications so as to foster a more just, open and democratic society. IPA has projects to support campus alternative journalism; ethnic press; and offers technical assistance, training, advocacy and promotional efforts.

Media Alliance
942 Market St., Suite 503, San Francisco, CA 94103; www.media-alliance.org
A non-profit training and resource center for media workers, community organizations and political activists.

MoveOn
www.moveon.org
MoveOn is an international network of more than 2,000,000 online activists, providing an effective and responsive outlet for democratic participation.

National Radio Project/International Media Project
1714 Franklin Street #100-251, Oakland, California 94612; www.radioproject.org
Producer of progressive independent weekly radio program “Making Contact,” with News Desks focused on Youth, Women, and the Environment. NRP programming is broadcast throughout the world.

Progressive Communicators Network
274 North Street, Belchertown, MA 01007; www.spiritination.net
Brings together media and public relations practitioners committed to increasing the power and reach of grassroots voices in the media and in the formation of public policy and opinion through national gatherings, regional gatherings and collaborative projects.

Prometheus Radio Project
PO Box 42158 Philadelphia PA 19101; www.prometheusradio.org
Prometheus Radio Project has played a key role in the struggle to get licenses for community radio stations. Prometheus practices a mixture of research, advocacy, activism and direct services to organizations that want to start radio stations.

Youth Channel
537 West 59th St., New York, NY 10019; www.youthchannel.org
National Youth Media Access Project seeks to increase youth media participation and empowerment through training, programming, leadership development and literacy activities.
RESIST awards grants six times a year to groups throughout the United States engaged in activism for social and economic justice. In this issue of the Newsletter we list a few grant recipients from our October 2003 allocation cycle. For information, contact the groups at the addresses below.

**Citizens for Justice, Equality, and Fairness**  
PO Box 536, Dandridge, TN 37725; www.southernempowerment.org/CJE Wel come.html

In 1995, Citizens for Justice, Equality, and Fairness grew out of a Black history project in a small church in Dandridge, Tennessee. CJE initially focused on fighting the institutional racism in the Jefferson County school system and public sector employment. Currently, CJE has been building bridges among Latino and white allies to move their mission forward.

A RESIST grant of $3,000 for general support will fund this predominantly African-American grassroots community organizing group working to eliminate racism and other forms of oppression in rural Jefferson County, Tennessee.

**Juneau Pro-Choice Coalition**  
PO Box 22860, Juneau, AK 99802; www.juneauchoice.com

The Juneau Pro-Choice Coalition was founded in 1992 as a response to a pattern of decisions by the US Supreme Court that, in effect, gave state legislators greater authority to regulate women's access to abortions. Juneau is often only accessible by boat or plane, and in 1994 it lost its last abortion providers. At that point, the Coalition recognized that the practical problem of diminishing reproductive services was as big a threat to reproductive freedom as the legal threats. While maintaining its commitment to political organizing, it expanded its focus to include improving access to services through education and activism.

A RESIST grant of $2,500 in general support will fund this organization which focuses on direct action as well as education to preserve a women's right to self-determination over her reproductive life.

**People Escaping Poverty Project**  
116 Twelfth Street South, Moorhead, MN 56560; www.pepp.org

In 1986, the People Escaping Poverty Project formed when a small group of women who received financial assistance organized, fighting a 30% cut in the state's AFDC program. With assistance from the Women's Network of the Red River Valley, the group organized a broad-based network of groups and individuals which ultimately defeated the cuts. For the past 17 years, PEPP has continued its work in Moorhead, Minnesota, Fargo, North Dakota and other rural areas on issues including: forcing the city of Moorhead to purchase 15 homes with HUD money that it was about to decline; winning the demands of public housing tenants for better security; and influencing welfare reform policy in North Dakota.

A RESIST grant of $3,000 will fund general support for this organization on the border of North Dakota and Minnesota that seeks to address the root causes of poverty and build leadership for low-income people.

**Women of Color Alliance**  
PO Box 603, Meridian, ID 83680; www.wocao nline.org

The WOCA was created in 1998 as the direct result of a conversation among several women of color while sharing stories of their experience of racism and the effect that racism has had on their lives. In the fall of 1999, they held the first Women of Color Political Forum which showcased women of color in the West who overcame huge obstacles to serve in public office. In April of 2003, WOCA held its first annual conference where it brought together women from Reservations, Labor Camps and poor white women from rural Idaho.

A RESIST grant of $3,000 in general support will fund this organization seeking to develop an institutional foundation for social change activism led by and on behalf of women of color.