Democracy-Focused Philanthropy:

Choosing Operating Models for Deeper Impact

Acknowledgements

Contents

Foreword

In 2021, Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors (RPA) completed research on philanthropy that was focused on protecting democracy in the United States that was commissioned by Democracy Fund for its own strategic planning process. In this research, RPA gave special attention to equity and racial justice dimensions of democracy philanthropy. Through interviews with funders and practitioners, and review of selected secondary sources[1], RPA collected a wide range of information on the various ways in which philanthropy can and should support efforts to build and preserve democracy by addressing deep-seated and persistent problems of racial injustice and inequity in both the field, and in our own institutions. This report presents RPA's insights on this important and timely topic, with the objective of helping funders understand the menu of options at their disposal for democracy philanthropy.

Research for this report was conducted between 2020 and 2021, during which time racial justice and diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) came to the forefront of philanthropic interests and conversations. Arguably, and regrettably, some of the momentum to spur real action in addressing racial injustice has been lost in recent months. We believe that the findings presented in this report, in particular the compelling insights of our interviewees, can reinvigorate discussions and commitments to racial justice, DEI, and the broader agenda of advancing democracy in the United States and around the world.

Because the experts we interviewed were so crucial to our findings, we want to give them particular credit for informing this report: Vince Warren, Center for Constitutional Rights; Cardozie Jones, True North EDI; Ana Marie Argilagos, Hispanics in Philanthropy; Anurima Bhargava, Anthem of Us; Kavitha Mediratta, Atlantic Fellows for Racial Equity; Satonya Fair, Peak Grantmaking; Devon Ysaguirre, Donata Secondo, Joe Goldman, Kelly Reed, Laura Chambers, Lauren Strayer, Liz Ruedy, and Tom Glaisyer, Democracy Fund; Terry Edwards, Consultant; Keesha Gaskins-Nathan, Rockefeller Brothers Fund; Crystal Hayling, Libra Foundation/Democracy Frontlines Fund; Don Chen, Surdna Foundation; Abby Skeans and Sarah Ruger, Stand Together; Sam Mar, Arnold Ventures; Jonathan Gruber, Einhorn Collaborative; Daniel Stid, Hewlett Foundation; and Sanjiv Rao, Ford Foundation. Any mistakes of fact or interpretation are, of course, entirely the responsibility of the RPA team.

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[1] Secondary sources are listed in the Annex.

Introduction

Constitutional democracies, not least the United States, face profound challenges. Basic institutions, beliefs, structures, systems, and ways of being are under growing stress. Across the globe, party politics are fracturing as authoritarian trends are on the rise. Recognizing the increasing urgency of sustaining and safeguarding fundamental institutions of democratic governance, RPA consulted several democracy funders and other experts to explore how various philanthropic models can contribute to building and protecting democracy.

In the last decade, democracy-focused philanthropy has grown dramatically. According to Candid's "Foundation Funding for U.S. Democracy" data tool, grantmaking for this cause totaled $851.7 million in 2011 (in 2020 dollars), while in 2020 grantmaking in this area totaled $2.5 billion, a growth of 300%. This massive quantitative increase in democracy philanthropy reflects the growing attention that funders are paying to this cause, yet a full understanding of this space also requires a deep qualitative analysis of the multiple ways in which funders engage in democracy philanthropy. This report helps address that need.

Further, the report highlights the central role that racial justice should play in any serious conversation about democracy philanthropy. Insofar as democracy boils down to representation, the reality that so many formal democracies in the world remain corrupted by inequality and unequal access to the levers of power means that democracy-focused funders face an obligation to center equity and racial justice in their work. As one of our interviewees put it, "Philanthropy therefore has a crucial role to play in strengthening understanding of the distortions from money and disinformation, because otherwise it's not going to happen."

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In this spirit, the research team assembled a rich collection of data to illuminate the following:

- Models and trends among funders supporting democracy.

- Assumptions that philanthropic leaders hold about the nature of the impact they seek to create for democracy, as well as how those assumptions are connected to their stated core values.

- How aspects of a funder's operating model facilitate different types of impact, and how to re-engineer these if necessary.

- Meaningful practices in philanthropy in advancing racial justice and supporting diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI), and implications of historical practices.

- How funders create programs or portfolios that incorporate divergent strategies and approaches, as well as the implications of this strategic diversity for internal structures, communications and partnerships, reputation, and success in achieving impact.

The research process included interviews with leaders of ten foundations and six additional experts on racial justice and DEI, as well as desk research on an additional set of more than a dozen democracy funders. Throughout this process, and encouraged by the funder that originally commissioned the work, RPA utilized its own analytical tool *The Philanthropy Framework* to analyze the charter, social compact, and operating model of each funder—elements that together define a philanthropy's culture, inform its structure, and shape its strategy. From this work, several notable observations emerged:

- There has been a rapid awakening to the vulnerability of US democracy.

- There is growing acknowledgement of historical processes that undermine democracy and that have never adequately been addressed.

"Funders and DEI experts see advantages in drawing on external expertise, an approach that gives grantees—which are often on the frontlines of protecting and expanding democracy—not only more resources but also more agency."

- There is increasing recognition that the issue of intersectionality is as important in democracy as it is in other areas, such as health and education.

- There is greater understanding that values held in progressive philanthropic circles are far from universal, and liberal-to-progressive funders' narrative on basic equity and inclusion has been eroded by authoritarian and regressive policies and narratives.

- It is impossible to protect democratic processes without sufficient support for deep shifts at the level of mental models: values, attitudes, and beliefs. To achieve these shifts, funders need to get more resources into the hands of grassroots community organizers and movement-builders.

The RPA team was particularly struck by the degree to which a philanthropy's leadership and staffing practices influence the organization's success, specifically with respect to racial equity. Still, while our interviews with democracy funders revealed a desire to center equity and racial justice in their work, there is clearly much work that remains to be done. The RPA team hopes and anticipates that this report will help to accelerate that work.

Using *The Philanthropy Framework* to Understand Democracy Philanthropy

One of RPA's headlining initiatives is the "Theory of the Foundation," launched in 2013 to enhance the capacity of philanthropies to effectively align their resources with the strategies best suited to achieving the impact they seek. Over nine years, this initiative has generated publications, convenings, and learning cohorts, illuminating the rich variety of ways in which philanthropies can: approach issues of legacy, governance, and decision-making; view and express their role in society; and marshal and operationalize their arsenal of resources to achieve impact. A key output of this initiative is *The Philanthropy Framework*, a tool that channels insights gained through the Theory of the Foundation initiative and that distills these lessons into practical guidance on identifying and deploying philanthropic resources for maximum impact. The framework consists of three core elements that together define a philanthropy's culture, inform its structure, and shape its strategy:

- *Charter:* The organization's scope, form of governance, and decision-making protocol

- *Social compact:* Implicit or explicit agreement with society about the value the organization will create, including questions of accountability and legitimacy

- *Operating model:* The organization's approach to the resources, structures, and systems needed to implement strategy
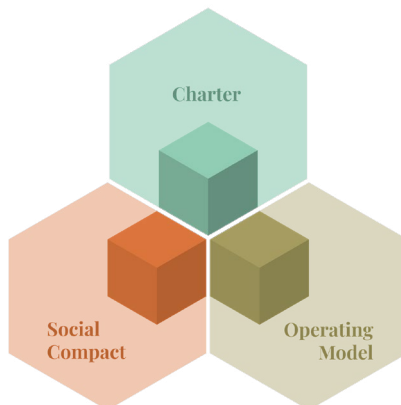
While the research conducted for this report touched on all three of these components, this report focuses specifically on how a philanthropy's operating model contributes to its impact in democracy philanthropy. A philanthropy's operating model reflects how the organization approaches six key capabilities. These are expressed below as dichotomies, though they are best understood as each existing on a spectrum:

- **Resourcing:** buy vs. build – whether the philanthropy is more likely to outsource (buy) or develop in-house capabilities (build) for programmatic expertise, advocacy, communications, operations, and other core functions

- **Decision-making:** centralized vs. decentralized – whether the philanthropy's programs operate independently or are integrated in a centralized structure

- **Initiative:** proactive vs. responsive – whether the philanthropy see itself as a creator of solutions (proactive) or opts to support goals and initiatives defined by leaders outside of the organization (responsive)

- **Flexibility:** creative vs. disciplined – whether the philanthropy leans toward being creative and adaptive in implementing strategies or toward being more rigid in sticking to an implementation blueprint

- **Programming:** broad vs. deep – whether the philanthropy defines its role in terms of an expansive social change agenda or favors having a limited number of well-defined programs with clear boundaries

- **Relationships:** networked vs. independent – whether the philanthropy sees itself as part of a broader ecosystem of funders, grantees, and other stakeholders or chooses to act largely independently

The remainder of the report follows the six dimensions of a philanthropic operating model outlined above, explaining how each relates to the challenges and opportunities faced by democracy-focused philanthropies.

Resourcing

When it comes to operations, advocacy, communications, and other organizational functions, funders continually face the decision of whether to build in-house expertise or to contract these tasks out to external partners. The chosen approach is critical because it defines the role the funder plays in the ecosystem for democracy philanthropy, including how it contributes to the field, the skillsets and talent required to carry out its work, how communities benefit from its work, and how it interacts with those communities.

We found that the democracy field comprises funders that fall across the full buy vs. build spectrum, with some focusing on internal resourcing, and others opting to make greater use of outsourcing. Overall, though, we found that most of the democracy funders we examined lean toward the buy side of the spectrum. This pattern shows in the relatively small number of programmatic staff compared to the total amount of funding deployed, resulting in a large proportion of overall funding flowing externally to grantees, as well as extensive reliance on external advice and guidance.

One example of a funder on the "buy" side of the resourcing spectrum is Democracy Frontlines Fund, which in recent years has invited other funders to collaborate and learn about how best to address racial injustice through trust-based philanthropy, a philanthropic model that acknowledges and works to overcome power imbalances in philanthropy. As a staff member from the fund explained, these partners not only informed Democracy Frontlines Fund's approach to democracy philanthropy, but also provided direct input on whom the organization should fund: "We built a brain trust of people…who have had deep experience and connection to organizing movement work. They helped to guide and curate the selection of a slate of 10 grantees who each get $3 million over three years."

In contrast, democracy funders falling on the build side of the resourcing spectrum provide much more than financial resources, relying as well on the talent and expertise of their own staff members to carry out their roles as funders, advocates, think tanks, coalition-builders, and strategic communicators. The build approach offers clear advantages to philanthropies that aim to design, rather than simply accelerate, change processes. For instance, a robust communications capacity enables influence, reputation, and awareness, while a well-resourced strategy team can directly steer and control how the funder's positioning in the ecosystem translates to real impact.

It is important to recognize that there can be internal divergence over whether and when a democracy funder should adopt a buy-side or build-side approach

to resourcing. Ultimately, this question reflects the capacities and priorities of the philanthropy itself. Each approach offers possible advantages and disadvantages and thus requires careful consideration and reflection.

KEY TAKEAWAY

Based on our research, funders and DEI experts see advantages in drawing on external expertise, an approach that gives grantees—which are often on the frontlines of protecting and expanding democracy—not only more resources but also more agency. That said, it is important to be aware of trade-offs; taking a buy-side approach will typically involve ceding power and influence to external parties. Those who rely more strongly on internal capacity will enjoy greater control over their work but should be sure to recognize and address the power imbalances and equity challenges that stem from the funder's privileged position.

Decision-Making

Questions of decision-making center on how, and to what extent, funders make decisions internally versus placing authority in the hands of external partners (e.g., grantees and consultants), and whether internal decision-making is more centralized or decentralized. This issue is closely connected to the broader theme of trust, a critical ingredient in any organization's effectiveness. An organization's leadership can express trust in its staff by delegating tasks such as program design and budget authority. Without trust, staff are less likely to be engaged, motivated, and open about their views and stances. Employees are also more likely to respond positively to leaders they trust and to share challenges with them that hamper their ability to complete their work. Thus, trust contributes to a more equitable environment and more rapid and nimble decision-making, and it increases the overall effectiveness and impact of the organization.

Foundations interviewed had a range of approaches to the issue of decision-making. As noted previously, Democracy Frontlines Fund cedes decision-making to its external "brain trust" to choose grantees, and it allows the grantees to determine how they use the funding they receive. One fund representative explained, "The communities that are most impacted tell us what are the issues that really matter to democracy—like defunding prisons and police, fighting voter suppression, and funding power-building through community organizing."

This decentralized approach can lead to innovative thinking. Democracy Frontlines Fund, for example, has linked voting rights to land ownership issues, something that struck the research team as an uncommon topic among democracy-focused foundations.

Despite the range of approaches, there was an overall sense among interviewees that many

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democracy funders have relied too heavily on internal decision-making processes, thereby missing opportunities for engaging constituents and advocates outside of their walls. One interviewee expressed the following:

> *"Funders have a rubric and preexisting notions, and they only look for the information that affirms these preexisting notions… 'We have our folks, and we know when to put the money in.' … Being able to think outside of the box is really important, and I haven't seen that from a lot of democracy funders."*

KEY TAKEAWAY

Although centralized decision-making can offer more streamlined processes for executing strategy, it also carries the risk of blinding the funder to potentially valuable outsider perspectives. While funders always need to manage potential problems of creating unnecessary silos among their staff, a more decentralized decision-making model is generally more conducive to advancing democratic causes, as it allows for more input from diverse sources, a setup that is very much in the spirit of democracy.

Initiative

Philanthropy involves making choices between taking a more proactive or responsive approach to tackling social problems. Those organizations that take the former approach view themselves as the primary creator of solutions to these problems, while those taking the latter approach tend to place greater value in supporting the priorities and programs identified and developed by community leaders. This balancing act is particularly salient in the field of democracy philanthropy, where funders are under increasing pressure to relinquish authority and power to those they have traditionally viewed as beneficiaries, rather than as partners. Increasingly, we find, democracy funders are recognizing that they need to *listen first and fund later*, thus ensuring that their philanthropic strategy is responsive to what disadvantaged groups say they need rather than to the priorities of privileged—and often white-led—philanthropies. One of our interviewees captured this sentiment as follows:

> *"It's about asking, not telling. That's probably the biggest difference from the traditional funding model, where we usually go in and say …, 'We have the solution and we're going to fund it. We want you to do this.' That's a white patriarchal position on funding. There has to be a reset to walk in the door and say, 'What are you all doing? How are you tracking to success?'"*

One DEI expert commented that democracy funders too often assume that fixing democratic structures (e.g., legislatures and parties) will automatically improve outcomes for marginalized groups but they do not actually make the time to listen those groups: "If you assume that the democratic process works and that it's just not working for some, you fix it like a mechanic. If you're listening to black folks and they're explaining to you

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the million ways in which it doesn't work, then you fix it like an artist, and I think that's what needs to happen."

The related question of trust emerged as fundamental to deliberating between proactive and responsive approaches to issues related to racial justice and equity. The question of trust is particularly pronounced when funders purport to work on behalf of, or to benefit, communities of color, as one interviewee expressed: "When we say we're working on behalf of anyone, there is a risk of perpetuating domination. In our history we have not trusted BIPOC communities to be the ones who generate the solutions for their own communities. … Our default is distrust."

As evident in the above statements, the research team found a clear preference for responsive approaches in democracy philanthropy, especially relating to communities of color. Yet there is an important distinction being responsive and being reactive, as explained by one of our interviewees: "We can still be responsive, and that's different than being reactive. Reactive is being performative. 'Oh, everyone else is putting money here. I guess we should, too.'" In other words, responsiveness requires thorough deliberation and strategic reflection, whereas reactiveness tends to take the form of knee-jerk decision-making and poorly planned initiatives. Reactiveness undoes strategic planning processes, making those who participated in those processes wonder, as another interviewee phrased it, "Why did we go through all that if every time we feel a tingle or a sting, we're going to do something completely different?"

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KEY TAKEAWAY

Equity and racial justice are utterly inseparable from the discourse on how philanthropists can and should work to advance democracy. But effectively incorporating such hefty topics into strategic planning and funding decisions requires humility, historical perspective, and hard conversations. Democracy funders have begun to recognize that they need to invest not only dollars but also hours in listening to the insights and perspectives of BIPOC communities that have been shortchanged by highly imperfect democratic systems and processes. Only by deferring to these communities can democracy funders achieve the impact they seek. While funders should not feel compelled to completely abandon proactive approaches to democracy philanthropy, the need for responsiveness is more urgent than ever.

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Flexibility

Philanthropies differ substantially with respect to how much they emphasize creativity or discipline in their work. Some favor the structure of frameworks and logic models while others prefer to adjust their strategies and operations in response to changing circumstances. These differing approaches reflect the flexibility dimension of *The Philanthropy Framework* and can entail significantly different strategies in the realm of democracy philanthropy.

Some of our interviewees leaned toward the creativity end of the flexibility spectrum, explaining that adaptiveness and improvisation are critical given how much the state of democracies can fluctuate over time. One interviewee expressed this idea as follows: "Invariably a foundation will have a long-term game plan on racial equity, only to shift based upon an immediacy, if not an urgency." Considering this volatility, creative funders may sometimes be better positioned to develop, implement, and support programming that meets the needs of the day.

On the other hand, there is also something to be said for sticking to a plan. Trying to tie funding to partisan shifts can detract from a focus on deep, longstanding, and durable issues—in other words, creativity might lead to focusing too much on trends and events and too little on underlying norms and culture. As Rockefeller Brothers Fund president Stephen Heintz has written, "Democracy funding has for too long followed presidential election cycles, waxing and waning in four-year periods. But democracy is more than a series of moments; it is the days, years, and decades between them."

The Hewlett Foundation exemplifies the opposite approach, countering what several interviewees cited as shortcomings of programming based on which political party is in control. By doing so, they enable true strengthening of democratic processes as parties move in and out of power.

Certain interviewees also questioned the goal of being fast and nimble because of how often this approach results in foundations funding the people they already know. As one interviewee commented, "When people feel pressed, it's not that they don't consult; it's who they consult with, who they prioritize. Most of the time, [they consult] people in [their] inner circle who think like they do."

KEY TAKEAWAY

Democratic vitality and inclusiveness are highly complex outcomes for philanthropies to target. In light of that complexity, funders need to think carefully about how they enact their theories of change—how do they work to support democracy, which institutional levers do they aim to pull, and what kinds of specific results are they looking to measure and evaluate? Deploying funding to influence rapidly evolving institutions and issues (e.g., reproductive health policy) may require a more creative and adaptive approach. On the other hand, a disciplined approach may be more appropriate for funding strategies emphasizing more fundamental and slow-to-change issues, such as voter turnout.

Programming

Philanthropies may have few well-defined programs that all revolve around a single-issue area (i.e., a deep programmatic orientation) or a more diverse array of programs with different objectives across different issue areas (i.e., a broad programmatic orientation). These distinct orientations comprise the programming dimension of *The Philanthropy Framework*.

One way of viewing the distinction between deep and broad programing is through the frame of risk. Just as a diversified investment portfolio can be a hedge against financial risk, so can a diverse portfolio of philanthropic initiatives protect against the risk of any one initiative failing to achieve impact. Indeed, one interviewee recognized that taking a deep approach to programming often means risky attachment to a particular problem and solution: "The risk of falling in love with the problem is that you just look for problems that you can see. So, they are short-term or they're obvious, as opposed to deeply rooted and long-term. And the greatest risk of this problem-solving orientation is to come up with a solution and then hunt around for a problem."

Taking a broad approach to programming, in contrast, spreads around the risk, enabling greater freedom to experiment and occasionally fail. As one interviewee explained, "We assume a lot of front-end risk because usually the earlier you invest, the higher the failure rate. So, we fund a lot of groups that never even get off the ground." Of course, opting for a broad approach may also necessitate a more superficial engagement with any given issue, as broad programming tends to spread resources more thinly across multiple causes.

A broad approach also involves greater exposure to different types of actors operating through different types of organizations. This diversity can easily be seen as a major asset to funders, but it may also

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carry its own type of risk, as acknowledged candidly by one interviewee: "Risk is not being in control, funding people who make me uncomfortable, funding people who don't talk like me, or look like me."

Those that favor broad programming tend to focus on long-term change and the broad forces that shape the world. This touches on the issue of time horizon, which was another important theme in our research. As Dimple Abichandani of the General Service Foundation wrote about the election cycle of 2020, "The historic levels of participation and turnout are a testament to the brilliance of Black women-led organizations in Georgia, and Arizona's historic wins are a reflection of deep, long-term investments in Latinx and Native-led organizations. Arizona and Georgia are two examples of what happens when funders invest in leaders of color and support long-term power building and organizing." Similarly, a long-term democracy funder noted that, "in general, philanthropy should endeavor to build up the organizations and movements of civil society that are striving to improve democracy, work that requires a longer time horizon and broader programmatic mindset."

KEY TAKEAWAY

Whether to go broad or deep is one of the most fundamental strategic questions that a funder can consider. As with the other dimensions of *The Philanthropy Framework*, there are benefits and costs to consider on each end of the spectrum. Assessing those costs and benefits from the perspective of risk-appetite can be a constructive approach to determining where one ought to fall on that spectrum. Is the funder committed to one issue area that may or may not bear fruit, or is there a preference to spread philanthropic resources across multiple causes and initiatives? Determining that preference is the first step toward deciding how to structure and plan programming for advancing democracy.

Relationships

Philanthropy may be a largely self-directed or collaborative undertaking. How a funder sees its role vis-à-vis other actors defines its approach to relationships. Robust relationships with grantees, community members, thought leaders, and frontline activists help funders to understand ground-level realities germane to supporting democracy. Several interviewees underscored how important it is for democracy funders to deepen and expand their relationships, particularly with BIPOC and other disadvantaged communities. One interviewee explained this imperative as follows:

> *"Democracy by its definition entails that we all have a voice. And the way it's designed right now is that there's a voice for those able to stand out … those able to get much more visibility or who have some kind of a break and are able to get through. But what about the smaller organizations and those that don't have those lucky breaks? You have to be extraordinary and exceptional. And that's not democracy."*

To be effective supporters of these smaller organizations, our interviewees highlighted the need to build trust into grantmaking relationships through the provision of open-ended support. As one staff member explained: "What is most important is core support, and multi-year grants, and calibrating how much grant reporting you require with how much money you're giving."

For instance, Democracy Frontlines Fund prioritizes funding frontline community organizers with long-term general operating support, as one staff member explained: "We have to build new habits as funders, and one is to be in deep relationship with a set of organizations over time, as opposed to making everybody go through a constant beauty contest. We also learn from our grantees. We're funding

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ecosystems... We look for interdependence." This commitment to cultivating relationships and learning from partners speaks to the fund's deeply networked approach to relationships.

To be sure, interviewees who have worked or now work in foundations acknowledged that accepting unsolicited proposals and providing open-ended support to grantees can be difficult at times. One interviewee said, "I can think of one good reason why not to accept unsolicited proposals, which is not to be overloaded, because we have more applications than we have eyeballs to read them." Still, even with his acknowledgment, there was consensus across interviewees on the point that there is an imperative to change how philanthropy works with grantees, especially when it comes to organizations led by and serving marginalized communities to advance democracy and racial justice.

A DEI expert who works closely with foundations noted how many processes and events are invitation only, "Which says, 'I know who I need to fund, [and it's] not you.'" If a funder is committed to racial justice, there is an imperative to take a critical look at practices that may inadvertently perpetuate systems of white power and privilege that permeate society. This critical perspective will seed more genuine and longstanding relationships with the broader ecosystem of democracy philanthropy. As another interviewee explained, "It's not inherently unfair, but this is a place where a lot of funders have to prove that [they] are not just funding friends— the most well-resourced organizations that have a development director, high-bandwidth organizations that generally get the invitations."

Equally important, equity-minded funders should invest in internal change such as comprehensive training on equitable and trust-based grantmaking. These practices are essential to building meaningful, durable, and impactful relationships with grantees that can combat racial injustice and democratic decline. And a few interviewees challenged white dominance in board composition, in other words

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leadership at the very top of the philanthropic hierarchy, with one wondering why an all-white board is still considered appropriate: "I know why it's practical, I know why it happens, but it's not acceptable for an organization that wants to move in the world [of promoting democracy] to reserve its leadership for white people."

KEY TAKEAWAY

The topic of how to build, handle, and sustain relationships is a loaded one in the philanthropy sector, especially as practitioners and thought leaders come to recognize the need to shift more power into the hands of grantees and communities. While some traditionalists may resist this change, the trend is to acknowledge, and work to correct, the power imbalances that currently characterize much of philanthropy, including democracy philanthropy. Based on this research, the RPA team recognizes that some foundations prefer to take solitary action in service of their mission, but the default in democracy philanthropy should be to take a thoroughly networked approach: building funder collaboratives, empowering grantees, and collecting and utilizing community input on how best to make democratic systems more vibrant, inclusive, and just. Only through extensive collaboration can philanthropies leverage their resources for maximum impact.

Conclusions

This report has shared findings from primary and secondary research on how various dimensions of a philanthropic operating model lend themselves to achieving impact in democracy philanthropy. Given the undeniable reality of racial injustice and its deleterious effects on democratic systems, the report pays special attention to how democracy-focused philanthropies address and work to uproot racial injustice, both within their own practices and throughout society. To be clear, this report is not a roadmap; it does not offer a plug-and-play framework for figuring out which approach is best-suited to a particular type of philanthropy. Rather, the report surfaces a number of fundamental considerations that thoughtful funders should reflect on as they determine whether, why, and how to deploy their resources to protect and enhance embattled democratic norms and institutions.

Looking back on the various insights covered in this report, two areas stand out as especially pressing. First, there was a recognition that the field of democracy philanthropy and those in it need far more self-examination to rise to the enormous challenges posed by the erosion of democracy in the U.S. and globally. No one was complacent about the troubled state of affairs today, and many are openly and actively exploring how they can take an active role in reversing this course.

Second, the individuals interviewed specifically on equity and racial justice—who brought unique insights as Black, Asian, and Latinx people—were more vocal in calling out the failings of most funders in the democracy field to understand and wrestle with the historical and contemporary interplay between democracy and race in the U.S. Their message was clear: Learn deeper, work harder, do better. RPA echoes this call, while acknowledging that effectively meeting this challenge is not easy work for anyone.

The research team was particularly struck by the insights around centering equity and racial justice in the work of philanthropies, and how much of a connection there was between how a philanthropy is led and staffed, and how that influences success in advancing equity. Trends among democracy funders interviewed by RPA reflect the intent to better center equity and racial justice in their work. These trends are related to the crescendo of events in recent years, a "nothing about us without us" viewpoint, as well as a genuine desire to reinforce philanthropy's legitimacy and allow unexpected, non-funder-driven solutions to manifest.

In closing, democracy funders can consider the following suggestions to more meaningfully center equitable power dynamics and racial justice through the entirety of their work:

- ***Charter:*** Consider the impact of funder legacy on future processes and work and address the dearth of written rules and governance (particularly from the perspective of board diversification), to ensure that these core elements reflect equity.

- ***Social compact:*** Engage in extensive discussion with all levels of staff around questions of internal and external accountability and how that intersects with perceptions and expressions of legitimacy; and build accountability mechanisms and feedback loops with staff, grantees, and partners to truly embed equity.

- ***Operating model:*** Concepts of equity and racial justice should permeate every strategy and capability of a funder, including who shapes and implements operational programs to who receives grants to who is empowered to make decisions and on whose behalf.

We at RPA hope these findings contribute to the continuing evolution of practices in the field of democracy philanthropy in the United States and around the world.

Annotated Bibliography

Selected Relevant Literature and Documentation on Theory of Philanthropy, Theory of the Foundation, Operating Model Archetypes and Diversity/Equity/ Inclusion in Philanthropy

This annotated bibliography was compiled by Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors (RPA) as part of its efforts to assist Democracy Fund (DF) in developing a robust, comprehensive theory of philanthropy in order to lay groundwork for a successful strategic planning process that will begin in 2021. This document is a wide-ranging collection of leading literature and resources—including tools and frameworks—on the topics of theory of philanthropy, theory of change, Theory of the Foundation, operating model archetypes, as well as strategic and organizational development. These documents include RPA's own publications and thought pieces produced by the Theory of the Foundation initiative and encompasses sources related to the questions of power dynamics, equity, racial justice and legitimacy of philanthropic organizations.

2020 Grantmaker Salary and Benefits Report. Council on Foundations. 2020. https://www.cof.org/content/2020-grantmaker-salary-and-benefits-report
The Grantmaker Salary and Benefits Report (GSB) provides salary, benefits, and diversity data for full-time staff at U.S. foundations to aid in budget planning and personnel practice benchmarking. Information is presented by grantmaker type, foundation type, asset size, and geographic location.

Anheier, Helmut K. and Hammack, David C. *American Foundations: Roles and Contributions.* Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution. 2010.
Describes the essential role of foundations in American philanthropy, and how foundations have been criticized for a range of issues, including causes they support, ineffectiveness and lack of transparency. Assesses the impact and significance of the nation's largest foundations, and highlights their comparative advantage over other institutions.

AORTA https://aorta.coop/
This cooperative offers workshops and trainings for organizations based on its work on an intersectional approach to liberation. AORTA offers a series of tools, such as an assessment of how white supremacy shows up in the workplace.

Association of Small Foundations. *Foundation Operations & Management Report: the tool for small foundation benchmarking 2008-2009*. Washington, DC. 2008.
Report is a benchmarking tool for small foundations (which explores key issues such as compensation and investment returns and trends). Findings show that 45% of respondents noted that succession was the most important issue facing their foundation (p.15).

Bank of America, *Giving and racial equity: A starting point.* https://www.privatebank.bankofamerica.com/articles/giving-and-racial-equity.html
This article suggests four steps for donors to incorporate racial equity goals in their giving strategy.

Batten, Susan Taylor, Jones, Edward M., MacKrell, Leslie and Petit-Frere, Jerry. *Guiding a Giving Response to Anti-Black Injustice.* ABFE and The Bridgespan Group. 2020. https://www.bridgespan.org/insights/library/philanthropy/guiding-a-giving-response-to-anti-black-injustice
This memo offers funders potential paths to invest in organizations and movements within the Black-led racial justice ecosystem. It provides principles for giving and highlights priority investment areas and example organizations within those areas.

Berman, Melissa A, Karibi-Whyte, Renee and Tarasov, Olga. *The Philanthropy Framework.* New York, New York: Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors. 2019. https://www.rockpa.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/The-Philanthropy-Framework.pdf
In a climate where the intentions, assets and practice of philanthropy continue to transform at a rapid pace, Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors' *The Philanthropy Framework* provides a tool for analysis and planning to guide emerging and established philanthropies to better align resources for maximum impact. Created with input from leaders from more than 50 foundations worldwide, *The Philanthropy Framework* seeks to address fundamental changes in philanthropy and the world such as generational shifts in attitudes, massive wealth creation, diversity of capital, new models for impact, and new operating environments among others.

Berman, Melissa A, Karibi-Whyte, Renee and Tarasov, Olga. Social Compact in a Changing World. New York, New York: Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors. 2019. https://www.rockpa.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Social-Compact-in-a-Changing-World.pdf
This report explores how foundations are grappling with the growing critique and scrutiny leveled against them around the world, and how they approach the questions of legitimacy, accountability and power. The report features extensive interviews and case studies.

Bernholz, Lucy. *Reimagining Philanthropy.* Stanford PACS Center on Philanthropy and Civil Society and Digital Civil Society Lab. 2020. https://pacscenter.stanford.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Chron-Series_Bernholz_FINAL.pdf
This five-article series, originally published in The Chronicle of Philanthropy, explores the shortcomings and harmful practices in philanthropy, and suggests way of improving the practice and imagines an aspirational future state of philanthropy which benefits our democracy.

Bernholz, Lucy and Pawliw-Fry, Brigitte. Stanford PACS Center on Philanthropy and Civil Society and Digital Civil Society Lab. 2020.
In June-November 2019 Bernholz and Pawliw-Fry conducted 33 "How We Give Now" conversations with 338 participants, which generated 2,277 responses of how people give to make the world a better place.

Bishop, Michael and Green, Michael. *Philanthrocapitalism: How Giving Can Save the World.* New York: Bloomsbury Press. 2008.
Examines the giving revolution of 'philanthrocapitalists,' defined as a new generation that has harnessed technology and globalization to earn immense wealth and that uses business skills to engineer social change.

Brest, Paul and Harvey, Hal. *Money Well Spent: A Strategic Plan for Smart Philanthropy.* New York: Bloomberg Press. 2008.
Discusses how endeavors often fail due to vague goals, poor strategy and the absence of feedback. States that effective strategy can greatly improve the return of philanthropic investments. Helps philanthropists design strategies (with a focus on grantmaking) and gives anecdotes of both successful and failed efforts.

Buchanan, Phil, 2019. Giving Done Right: Effective Philanthropy and Making Every Dollar Count. New York: Public Affairs.
Giving Done Right arms donors with what it takes to do more good more quickly and to avoid predictable errors that lead too many astray. This crucial book will reveal the secrets and lessons learned from some of the biggest givers, from the work of software entrepreneur Tim Gill and his foundation to expand rights for LGBTQ people to the efforts of a midwestern entrepreneur whose faith told him he must do something about childhood slavery in Ghana.

Buteau, Ellie, Buchanan, Phil and Gopal, Ramya.. *How Far Have We Come? Foundation CEOs on Progress and Impact.* The Center for Effective Philanthropy. 2013.
Report finds that few foundation CEOs believe that a lot of progress has been made toward the overall goal receiving the greatest proportion of their organization's resources. However, CEOs are more positive when it comes to gauging their own organizations' contributions to progress – and most believe the greatest barriers to their foundations' ability to make more progress are issues external to foundations.

Cameron, Kim S. and Quinn, Robert E. *Diagnosing and Changing Organizational Culture.* San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons, Inc. 2011.
Describes framework and methodology for helping managers and their organizations carefully analyze and alter their fundamental culture. Contains validated instruments for diagnosing organizational culture and management competency, and provides a theoretical framework for understanding organizational culture and a systematic strategy for changing culture and personal behavior. Also describes how almost all organizations develop a dominant type of organizational culture, which tends to emphasize one or more of 4 culture types: adhocracy, clan, hierarchy or market culture.

Center for Effective Philanthropy. *Foundations Respond to a Crisis: A Moment of Transformation?* Cambridge, Massachusetts. 2020. https://cep.org/portfolio/foundations-respond-to-crisis1/
This study is the first in a series of three reports CEP will release examining the extent to which foundations have changed their practices to meet the unprecedented challenges of 2020. The second report in the series will focus on how foundations are reckoning with racism and supporting communities — Black, Latino, Native American, immigrant, low-income, and people with disabilities — hit hardest by the pandemic; the third will look at how they are being more flexible and responsive. Findings in this report are based on survey data gathered from 236 foundations — 170 of which signed the Council on Foundations' pledge to act urgently in response to COVID-19, and 66 of which had not — as well as in-depth interviews with leaders of 41 foundations that signed the pledge. (All data was collected in July and August 2020.)

Choir Book: A Framework for Social Justice Philanthropy. Justice Funders. 2015.
http://justicefunders.org/choir-book/
Choir Book is a guide to support you and your philanthropic organization in aligning your grantmaking practice with social justice values. It defines core values, individual competencies and actions that support values-aligned practice to create a comprehensive framework for effective social justice philanthropy.

Corner, Julian. *Transforming Lankelly Chase's governance . . . so that we can do what we need to do properly.* November 2020.
https://lankellychase.org.uk/transforming-lankelly-chases-governance/
Lankelly Chase discusses the changes and steps the organization made when evaluating the effectiveness of its governance structure.

Crutchfield, Leslie R., Kania, John V. and Kramer, Mark R. *Do More Than Give: The Six Practices of Donors Who Change the World.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. 2011.
Discusses how foundation leaders, trustees and individual donors can address complex, global challenges. Focus is on what donors can do to become more proactive in solving problems and advancing causes they care about.

Daniel, Vanessa. *Philanthropists Bench Women of Color, the M.V. P.s of Social Change.* The New York Times. November 19, 2019. https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/19/opinion/philanthropy-black-women.html
This article discussed how women of color who lead grass-roots nonprofits are underrepresented in funding and provides some main reasons why women are not receiving funding.

Dismantling Racism Analysis Tools. https://www.dismantlingracism.org/analysis-tools.html
This toolkit includes such resources as: Dynamics of Denial and Resistance, Effective Problem Solving, Race Equity Stages,How a Movement is Built, Barriers and Bridges Principles to help organization better meet and implement their equity and racial justice commitments.

Dorsey, Cheryl; Bradach, Jeff; and Kim, Peter. Echoing Green and The Bridgespan Group. *Racial Equity and Philanthropy.* May 2020. https://www.bridgespan.org/bridgespan/Images/articles/racial-equity-and-philanthropy/racial-equity-and-philanthropy.pdf?ext=.pdf
This article discussed four barriers to capital that leaders of color experience and provides suggestions for funders to help break down these barrires.

Dorsey, Cheryl; Kim, Peter; Daniels, Cora; Sakaue, Lyell; and Savage, Britt. *Overcoming the Racial Bias in Philanthropic Funding.* Stanford Social Innovation Review. May 2020. https://ssir.org/articles/entry/overcoming_the_racial_bias_in_philanthropic_funding
Echoing Green and The Bridgespan Group researched the depth of racial inequalities in philanthropic funding. The report discusses two main factors that inhibit philathropy's efforts to advance social change: 1) the role of race in the problems philanthropists are trying to solve and 2) the significance of race in how philanthropists identify leaders and find solutions.

Etzel, Michael and Pennington, Hilary. *Time to Reboot Grantmaking.* Stanford Social Innovation Review. June 27, 2017. https://ssir.org/articles/entry/time_to_reboot_grantmaking
Bridgespan and Ford Foundation developed a simple Grantmaking Pyramid that reframes how funders and their grantees should think about building successful, resilient organizations.

Fleishman, Joel. *The Foundation: A Great American Secret: How Private Wealth is Changing the World.* New York: Public Affairs. 2007.
Describes why private foundations matter and the historically important role they have played as champions of social change. Author outlines the negative impact of the financial crisis and expresses concern about the secretive nature of foundations, which leaves them unaccountable to the public.

Fleishman, Joel L, Kohler, J. Scott and Schindler, Steven. *Casebook for the Foundation: A Great American Secret.* Cambridge: Public Affairs. 2007.
Companion volume to *The Foundation: A Great American Secret* which explores 100 of the highest-achieving foundation initiatives of all time through brief case studies.

Ford, Kalyah and Karibi-Whyte, Renee. *Corporate Philanthropy's COVID-19 Test.*
This article explores corporate giving in response to COVID-19 through the lens of social compact, a core element of the Philanthropy Framework which encompasses the concepts of accountability and legitimacy. As the COVID-19 pandemic impacts hundreds of thousands of lives and the very fabric of society globally, corporate philanthropy is playing a significant role in helping to address some of the challenges and devastation left in its wake, particularly in Europe. While this was not universal—many corporations and related philanthropies were quick to react, others scrambled to find a way to contribute, and some stood still—those that had a well-defined view of their social compact were best positioned to act swiftly and purposefully.

Ford, Kalyah and Tarasov, Olga. *How Foundations are Transforming Risk Into Opportunity.* PND by Candid. PhilanTopic.2019. https://pndblog.typepad.com/pndblog/2019/05/how-foundations-are-transforming-risk-into-opportunity.html
This article explores the topic of risk in philanthropy and offers a framework for categorizing risk types, risk determinants, actions for mitigating risks and select domains of risk in philanthropy. Risk is often believed to be innate to philanthropy, deeply tied to the sense that a philanthropist should also be an innovator, and that philanthropic giving is synonymous with risk capital. Many philanthropic organizations with sizable resources (both financial and non-financial) and the will to confront global challenges welcome this idea — in theory. In reality, however, many see risk as a barrier to strategic philanthropic giving.

Fukuyama, Frank; Hooks, Brian; Nobel, Safiya; and Palmer, Stacy. *Reimagining Democracy: How Philanthropy Can Support Economic Support.* Online Briefing, November 30, 2020. https://knightfoundation.org/reimagining-democracy-how-philanthropy-can-support-economic-opportunity/
Discussion with leading thinkers who share their ideas about philanthropy needs to do in the long-term for philanthropy and civil life.

Greer, Lisa and Kostoff, Larissa. *Philanthropy Revolution: How to Inspire Donors, Build Relationships and Make a Difference.* New York, New York: HarperCollins. 2020.
The book showcases the latest research, as well as dozens of interviews with donors, nonprofit professionals and leading academics in the field. She also provides much-needed ethical solutions that apply to any business and shows how to 'save giving,' energize donors and build a more honest philanthropic culture.

Harold, Jacob. *What can data tell us about racial equity in philanthropy?* Candid. September 16, 2020. https://blog.candid.org/post/what-can-data-tell-us-about-racial-equity-in-philanthropy/
This article shares ten questions Candid often sees that relate to racial equity and provides information on the data it has collected on grants and how it is coded. Candid reflects that there are opportunities to make the data better, but the data can offer conversation points.

How Foundations Can Use Knowledge Management Tools to Advance Internal Equity and Inclusion: Webinar Recap and Resources. Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors. 2020. https://www.rockpa.org/leveraging-knowledge-management/
Knowledge management, an intentional strategy of getting the right knowledge to the right people at the right time to improve organizational performance, can offer a compelling path to address those challenges. Mapping how and through whom knowledge flows within an organization can reveal potential inequities, repression, exclusion, and lack of opportunity, allowing for the creation of targeted, sustainable solutions. This December 2020 webinar, hosted by Donita Volkwijn and Mae Hong, provides insight on how effective knowledge management can help donors advance equity and inclusion goals internally.

K, Tasha. *Anti-Racism Resource Guide.* June 2020. https://docs.google.com/document/d/1hpub-jkm9cLzJWqZSsETqbE6tZ13Q0UbQz--vQ2avEc/edit
This guide offers resources for one's anti-racist journey in learning, re-learning, and decolonizing history.

Karibi-Whyte, Renee. *Breathing Through Injustice: Philanthropy's Call to Action.* Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors. 2020. https://www.rockpa.org/breathing-through-injustice-philanthropys-call-to-action/
This article explores the concrete and actionable steps—and changes—philanthropy must make in order to address the concurrent and related pandemics of COVID-19 and institutional racism. As members of the philanthropy sector, we have the rare opportunity and responsibility to step in and be the oxygen in the room. Given our reason for being—to provide goodwill and to actively promote human welfare—we must act relentlessly to do all we can to promote, pursue, and support equity and justice for all. As a sector, we must find more and better ways to understand where the weeds of racism show up and the impact they have on individuals, groups, and society as a whole.

Karibi-Whyte, Renee. *Foundations Should Examine Practices That Prevent Them From Giving Grantees More Power.* The Chronicle of Philanthropy. 2020. https://www.philanthropy.com/article/foundations-should-examine-practices-that-prevent-them-from-giving-grantees-more-power
We are all talking, writing, and thinking a lot more these days about racial injustice and systemic inequality. But within the philanthropic world, which of these conversations will result in changes to our own practices? And of the changes that do occur, how much will last beyond the next crisis? After all, we'll need to climb many barriers, some unforeseen, to get where we need to go. During the past few months, my organization, Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors, has hosted a series of working groups with a diverse set of donors to start answering these and other questions. While we don't have all the answers, one thing is clear: To make lasting change, we must first look inward at our own actions and attitudes.

Koch, Charles G. and Hooks, Brian. *Believe in People: Bottom-Up Solutions for a Top-Down World.* New York: St. Martin's Press. 2020.
Full of compelling examples of what works *Believe in People* promotes partnership instead of partisanship and speaks to people from different perspectives and all walks of life. It shows that no injustice is too tough to overcome if you share a deep belief in people, are willing to unite with anyone to do right, and work to empower others from the bottom up.

Kohl-Arenas, Erica. *The Self-Help Myth: Towards a Theory of Philanthropy as Consensus Broker.* The American Journal of Economics and Sociology. 2015. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/ajes.12114
This article presents a theoretical and methodological approach to studying how philanthropic power is maintained through the process of negotiating consensus between greatly unequal partners such as wealthy funders and social movement leaders. It is proposed that grant agreements between private foundations and social movement organizations construct idealized spaces of public participation and discursive theories of change that draw attention away from structural inequality and antagonism, ultimately generating consent.

Le, Vu. *Have nonprofit and philanthropy become the "white moderate" that Dr. King warned us about?* Nonprofit AF. June 2020. https://nonprofitaf.com/2020/06/have-nonprofit-and-philanthropy-become-the-white-moderate-that-dr-king-warned-us-about/
This article questions if the sector has come a white moderate and invites foundations to ask themselves how they are aligned with white moderation and what actions to take to change.

Longhurst, R. *Five Reasons to Support Participatory Grantmaking.* 2017. edgefunders.org/five-reasons-support-participatory-grantmaking/
The article explores the benefits of participatory grantmaking and provides five reasons to support the practice.

Mackenzie, Lori Nishirua and Abad, Melissa V. *Are Your Diversity Efforts Othering Underrepresented Groups?* Harvard Business Review. February 2021. https://hbr.org/2021/02/are-your-diversity-efforts-othering-underrepresented-groups
This article discusses how many organizations have published statements in response to anti-racist behaviors, however, many employees are still not comfortable talking about racial inequity. The article offers strategies to help further inclusion within their organizations.

Martin, Eric R. *Your Leadership Moment: Democratizing Leadership in an Age of Authoritarianism.* Coral Gables, Florida: Mango Publishing. 2020.
Your Leadership Moment brings adaptive leadership to life for novices and advanced leadership practitioners alike. The framework it provides draws on the extensive personal research, travel, conversations, and reflections of author Eric Martin. Through poignant stories of both success and failure, *Your Leadership Moment* teaches what's possible when people discover the capacity and courage to lead regardless of identity, history, or access to power and financial capital.

Mechanisms – A Missing Component in Your Theory of Change. PNC. 2020. https://www.thinknpc.org/resource-hub/mechanisms/
This article introduces the theory of change concept of 'mechanisms' and explores the missing aspect of the theory of change, that is how we want charitable services or campaigns to be *experienced* by people, and how we want people to respond so that outcomes and impact are more likely.

Mitchell, George E and Calabrese Thad D. *Instrumental Philanthropy, Nonprofit Theory, and Information Costs.* Nonprofit Policy Forum, Volume 11, Issue 2. 2020. https://www.degruyter.com/view/journals/npf/11/2/article-20190050.xml?language=en
Instrumental philanthropy has gained attention and popularity in recent decades as an approach to maximizing the impact of giving. This article evaluates the suitability of the nonprofit institutional form, specifically the US public charity, as a vehicle for instrumental philanthropy. The analysis identifies an incongruity between the informational requirements of instrumental philanthropy and the form and theory of the nonprofit. An alternative theory of licensure is proposed to illustrate the difficulty of the information problem. Analysis suggests that the viability of instrumental philanthropy hinges upon information costs. Several public policy options are considered as means of better supporting instrumental philanthropy, presuming that allocative efficiency in the production of public benefits is a desirable public policy objective.

National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy. *Power Moves: Your essential philanthropy assessment guide for equity and justice.* Washington D.C. 2018. https://www.ncrp.org/initiatives/power-moves-philanthropy
This is a self-assessment toolkit to help determine how well an organization is building, sharing, and wielding power and identifying ways to transform the organization's programs and operations for equitable impact. The toolkit can be used as a guide for foundations to use their power to advance social justice and equity.

National Equity Project. *Leading for Equity Framework.* https://www.nationalequityproject.org/framework/leading-for-equity-framework
The goal of this framework to provide conditions that bring more equitable outcomes by enabling leaders and showing the interrelationships of an organization's practice.

Okun, Tema. *White Supremacy Culture.* dRworks (Dismantling Racism). https://www.dismantlingracism.org/uploads/4/3/5/7/43579015/okun_-_white_sup_culture.pdf
This is a list of characteristics of white supremacy culture that show up in our organizations. Culture is powerful precisely because it is so present and at the same time so very difficult to name or identify. The characteristics listed below are damaging because they are used as norms and standards without being proactively named or chosen by the group. They are damaging because they promote white supremacy thinking. Because we all live in a white supremacy culture, these characteristics show up in the attitudes and behaviors of all of us – people of color and white people. Therefore, these attitudes and behaviors can show up in any group or organization, whether it is white-led or predominantly white or people of color-led or predominantly people of color.

Patton, Michael Quinn, Foote, Nathaniel and Radner, James. *A Foundation's Theory of Philanthropy: What It Is, What It Provides, How to Do It.* The Foundation Review. 2015. https://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1263&context=tfr&utm_source=Newsletter+and+E-News&utm_campaign=78fdbf82d3-January_2016_Newsletter1_20_2016&utm_medium=email&utm_term=0_dc8d234d90-78fdbf82d3-
This article argues that philanthropic endeavors should be undergirded by a theory of philanthropy. Articulating a theory of philanthropy is a way for a foundation to make explicit what is often only implicit, thereby enabling internal and external actors to pose and resolve significant questions, understand and play important roles more fully and effectively, and improve performance by enhancing alignment across complex systems.

Philanthropy Framework Case Studies. Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors. 2017-2019. https://www.rockpa.org/project/theory-of-the-foundation/case-studies/
This continuously expanding collection of case studies feature the Philanthropy Framework analysis of select private foundations. The case studies explore the core Framework elements of the Charter, Social Compact and Operating Model and are intended to serve as a benchmarking instrument for peers in the field.

Potapchuk, Maggie. *Operationalizing Racial Justice.* MP Associates, Inc. December 2019. http://www.mpassociates.us/uploads/3/7/1/0/37103967/operationalizingrj.mpassociates.12.19.final.pdf
This guide offers questions, tools, resources, and steps for organizations to consider as foundations align their operations, culture, and grantmaking with racial justice values.

Powell, Alison, Seldon, Willa and Sahni Nidhi. *Reimagining Institutional Philanthropy.* Stanford Social Innovation Review. 2019. https://ssir.org/articles/entry/reimagining_institutional_philanthropy
Historic growth in wealth globally and the rise of new philanthropists threaten the relevance of institutional philanthropy—while creating new opportunities for impact and influence.

Prager, Denis J. *Organizing Foundations for Maximum Impact: A Guide to Effective Philanthropy.* Aspen Institute. 2009.
Book delineates the process by which foundations can be more effective in their philanthropy endeavors and successfully pursue their goals.

Reich, Rob. *Just Giving: Why Philanthropy is Failing Democracy and How it Can do Better.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 2018.
Just Giving shows how philanthropic generosity not only isn't the unassailable good we think it to be but might also undermine democratic values and set back aspirations of justice. Big philanthropy is often an exercise of power, the conversion of private assets into public influence. And it is a form of power that is largely unaccountable, often perpetual, and lavishly tax-advantaged.

Resonance: A Framework for Philanthropic Transformation. Justice Funders and the Resonance Collaborative. 2019. http://justicefunders.org/resonance/
In this historic moment, philanthropic leaders are ready to explore and create a rich variety of approaches to values-aligned philanthropic practice that will bring about true equity and justice. The Resonance Framework is designed to intensify and enrich values-aligned philanthropic practices to bring about a Just Transition in philanthropy. A Just Transition for philanthropy requires us to reject the accumulation of wealth and power, and to instead choose equity and justice. It also requires us to adopt new models for governing philanthropic resources – including financial capital, knowledge and human resources – to redistribute wealth, democratize power and shift economic control to communities.

Rojc, Philip. *Six Roles Philanthropy Has Played in an Election Like No Other.* Inside Philanthropy. November 5, 2020. https://www.insidephilanthropy.com/home/2020/11/5/six-roles-philanthropy-has-played-in-an-election-like-no-other
The 2020 election sparked democracy funders to increase their support and invited new funders to get involved in democracy funding for the first time. The article describes six roles philanthropy played during the election, including ensuring safe and secure voting, getting out the vote, and stemming the tide of misinformation.

Ruger, Sarah. *Philanthropists Across the Political Divide Must Work Together to Cure Extremism.* The Chronicle of Philanthropy. February 17, 2021. https://www.philanthropy.com/article/ philanthropists-across-the-political-divide-must-work-together-to-cure-extremism?cid=gen_ sign_in
This article discusses three ways where funders can strategically direct their funding to support the health of democracy.

Ryono Mari. *Journey Towards Intersectional Grant-Making.* Prepared for Funders for a Just Economy and A Program of the Neighborhood Funders Group. 2018. https://www.nfg.org/ sites/default/files/resources/FJE%20Report%20Journey%20towards%20Intersectional%20 Grantmaking%20DIGITAL%20final%20%281%29.pdf
Funders for a Just Economy recognized the lack of a central framework in economic justice. In 2017, it interviewed philanthropic leaders and convened colleagues to strategize on a framework to bring a racial and gender justice analysis in philanthropy. This report offers 12 best practices for intersectional grantmaking from the research.

Sen, Rinku and Villarosa, Lori. *Grantmaking With a Racial Justice Lens: A Practical Guide.* Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity. 2019. https://racialequity.org/wp-content/ uploads/2020/01/GWARJL_15.pdf
The guide offers useful tools for implementing a racial justice lens to boost your foundation's success at supporting structural transformation and building power in our communities. The guide centers the perspectives of racial justice activists first, and then of funders working on change in their institutions, to identify best practices for driving philanthropy beyond racial equity toward racial justice.

Sievers, Bruce R. *Civil Society, Philanthropy, and the Fate of the Commons.* University Press of New England: 2010.
Among the greatest challenges facing humanity in the twenty-first century is that of sustaining a healthy civil society, which depends upon managing the tension between individual and collective interests. Bruce R. Sievers explores this issue by investigating ways to balance the public and private sides of modern life in a manner that allows realization of the ideal of individual freedom and, at the same time, makes possible the effective pursuit of the common good. He traces the development of civil society from the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic and the eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment, analyzes its legacy for modern political life, and explores how historical trends in the formation of civil society and philanthropy aid or impede our achievement of public goods in the modern era.

The Annie E. Casey Foundation. *Operationalizing Equity: Putting the Annie E. Casey Foundation's Racial and Ethnic Equity and Inclusion Framework into Action.* Baltimore, MD. 2017. https://www. aecf.org/resources/operationalizing-equity/
This report reviews Annie E. Casey Foundations work to promote race equity and inclusion. It includes the equity principles that the foundation uses in its grantmaking and operations, and tools for operationalizing equity work.

Tierney, Thomas J. and Fleishman, Joel L. *Give Smart, Philanthropy The Gets Results.* New York, New York: Public Affairs. 2011.
Provides practical guidance for donors to get the most impact from their giving and serves as a guide for engaged donors and nonprofit leaders.

Villanueva, Edgar. *Decolonizing Wealth: Indigenous Wisdom to Heal Divides and Restore Balance.* Oakland, California: Berrett-Koehler Publishers. 2018.
Decolonizing Wealth is a provocative analysis of the dysfunctional colonial dynamics at play in philanthropy and finance.

Vision and Voice: The Role of Leadership and Dialogue in Advancing Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion. 2014. https://www.d5coalition.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/vision_and_voice_2014_final.pdf
This report is the outcome of a year-long study, which included 23 interviews of philanthropic leaders and a cohort of 10 foundation CEOs to identify the practices, barriers, and organizational cultures that support diversity, equity, and inclusion.

Volkwijn, Donita. *Suggestions for Beginning Difficult Internal Conversations.* Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors. 2020. https://www.rockpa.org/suggestions-for-beginning-difficult-internal-conversations/
Organizations are struggling right now. The shocking events of the last weeks, highlighting the deep and systemic racism on which the United States is built, coupled with the devastating effects of COVID-19, have acted as a match, igniting rage and hurt that have festered for centuries. This moment, however, has also revealed the potential for a monumental shift in how we speak and listen to each other. We stand at an inflection point that could herald a new era, and yet, has many of us grappling with how to open conversations without further adding fuel to the fire. How do we bring something as personal as race explicitly into our organizations?

Volkwijn, Donita. *Upending Philanthropy's Power Dynamics: a Workshop Recap.* Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors Theory of the Foundation Initiative. 2020. https://www.rockpa.org/upending-philanthropys-power-dynamics-a-workshop-recap/
The heightened demand and appetite for guidance and meaningful discussion around how philanthropy is addressing inequity was illustrated by Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors' recent *How Can Philanthropy Walk the Equity Walk and Shift Power Dynamics Internally and Externally?* seminar. This convening was part of the peer-learning curriculum of the Theory of Foundation Learning Collaborative, a global cohort of dozens of leading foundations and philanthropic institutions. The session was attended by nearly 50 people representing a variety of countries, foundations and organizational positions and featured the insights and experiences of four esteemed panelists: Chris Cardona, *Ford Foundation*; Max Rutherford, *Association of Charitable Foundations*; Juanita James, *Fairfield County's Community Foundation*; and David Daniels, *Bainum Family Foundation*.

We the People: a Toolkit for Strengthening Democracy. The Center for High Impact Philanthropy. School of Social Policy & Practice. University of Pennsylvania. https://www.impact.upenn.edu/toolkits/democracy/
The Center for High Impact Philanthropy's *We the People: A Philanthropic Guide to Strengthening Democracy* creates a framework for anyone looking to strengthen the democratic system.

ROCKEFELLER PHILANTHROPY ADVISORS

Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors (RPA) accelerates philanthropy in pursuit of a just world. Continuing the Rockefeller family's legacy of thoughtful, effective philanthropy, RPA remains at the forefront of philanthropic growth and innovation, with a diverse team of experienced grantmakers with significant depth of knowledge across the spectrum of issue areas. RPA is a global nonprofit organization that currently advises on and manages more than $500 million in annual giving by individuals, families, foundations, and corporations.

Founded in 2002, RPA has grown into one of the world's largest philanthropic service organizations and has facilitated more than $3 billion in grantmaking to more than 70 countries. RPA also serves as a fiscal sponsor for more than 100 projects, providing governance, management, and operational infrastructure to support their charitable purposes. For more information, please visit www.rockpa.org.