

Responsive Philanthropy

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The people are beautiful, already

By Nichole June Maher

For Washington state's Group Health Foundation, the current coronavirus pandemic has only reaffirmed the importance of community leadership to advance equity.

*Editor's Note: This piece was written before the murder of George Floyd by police in Minneapolis and the subsequent uprisings in more than 400 cities. Please see **A message from the Vice President and Chief***

***Engagement Officer** that accompanies this issue of Responsive Philanthropy for more context.*

An early and unsettling headline from this pandemic came on a Friday in March from *The New York Times*: "Chilling' Plans: Who Gets Care as Washington State Hospitals Fill Up?"

At the time, we were the American epicenter for the outbreak as hospital and state leaders were planning for what was believed to be inevitable: Washington would soon see more pa-

tients than it could care for. Leaders were drawing up criteria to help hospitals decide who would get life-saving treatment and who wouldn't.

There were frightening implications: People of color, people with disabilities and older people would be denied life-saving care at staggering rates if criteria such as age and underlying health conditions were to move forward.

At Group Health Foundation, we were worried about what would eventually become true: Black, brown and Indigenous (continued on page 11)



challenging grantmakers
to strengthen communities

A message from the Vice President and Chief Engagement Officer



Dear Reader,

We are in a moment of great pain and opportunity.

The combined crises of the COVID-19 pandemic and uprisings against law enforcement have exposed the broken parts of our systems and institutions in an unprecedented way.

Philanthropy has an opportunity to respond to these gaps with courage. Black-led organizations fighting for social justice have repeatedly explained the need for more funding and better relationships with philanthropy. For decades our sector has been aware of health and resource disparities that led to disproportionate impact of COVID-19 pandemic.

In this issue of *Responsive Philanthropy*, our authors invite us to act boldly on best practices and shift priorities to support organizations who work to correct the weak points in our society.

Rev. Dr. Starsky Wilson of the Deaconess Foundation reminds us that now is the time to be explicit about race, anti-Blackness and racial equity. Funders can use communications platforms and advocacy resources to help movement leaders push policy beyond what is pragmatic for a just-recovery.

Nichole June Maher of Group Health Foundation urges philanthropy to find the willpower to wield its social, political and economic power and acknowledge its ongoing role in social inequities.

Aaron Dorfman, NCRP CEO, shares reflections from Satterberg Foundation grantees about a model that other family foundations can follow. A popular and helpful practice that every foundation could do, especially in moments of crisis, is increase payout.

Finally, we hear from several funders and donors about why they give to 501(c)4 organizations, a critical strategy for supporting organizations that fight to correct broken systems.

Philanthropy at its best trusts frontline, movement organizations, Black-led organizations and others with deep networks in marginalized communities deserve that trust now more than ever as they lead the charge for significant policy change and social transformation.

Don't miss this opportunity to be a partner in the nation's social transformation.

Best,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Jeanné L. Lewis". The signature is fluid and cursive.

Jeanné L. Lewis
Vice President and Chief Engagement Officer

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The COVID-19 crisis and political reset: Wielding philanthropic power for a just recovery

By Rev. Dr. Starsky Wilson

“These crises are awful, awful, awful. And they open things up. The silver lining of this time may be that this might be one of the only moments in the lifetimes of many of us where there’s actually the political space for a reset. Actually, the space for people to think new things ... This should be a moment where we’re all big enough to rethink fundamental things about the kind of America we want to be part of.”

- Anand Giridharadas author of *Winners Take All*
(May 6, 2020 on MSNBC’s *Morning Joe*)

*Editor’s Note: This piece was written before the murder of George Floyd by police in Minneapolis and the subsequent uprisings in more than 400 cities. Please see **A message from the Vice President and Chief Engagement Officer** that accompanies this issue of Responsive Philanthropy for more context.*

Disorienting is the most appropriate word I can find for the past few months. This spring, our partners were digging in on the census, a statewide Medicaid fight and voter engagement for November.

We were quietly focused on a technology audit and had just launched a grantee perception survey when COVID-19 led us to shut down the offices, push out emergency unrestricted grants and flip our conference center into a virtual organizing space.

Through the social distancing, grief, emergency response, mourning, Zoom calls and self-pity, it has been hard to see a silver lining. But based upon some promising responses to the pandemic, I believe Giridharadas’ claim

that the challenges of this moment may open the door for transformation.

Philanthropy can play an important role in shaping a political reset. In order to do so, though, we will have to wield power with assets beyond our grant-making. The bad news is it will take all that we have. The good news is that is all it will take.

USE YOUR VOICE TO AMPLIFY AND SHAPE A “JUST RECOVERY”

Amid the pain of COVID-19 relief work, it is important for philanthropy to leverage its unique position to help frame a just recovery. This can be advanced by strategic communications efforts lifting up information missing from the debate and amplifying the demands of front-line movement groups.

For example, Deaconess is connecting data about disproportionate health and economic impacts on the Black community to the evolving definition of economic recovery. One target for this work is a regional pandemic task force established and led by major health care organizations.

Philanthropy's
unique position
as a potential bridge
between grassroots
advocates
and elected officials
is critical.

Though applauded for its multisystem collaboration, the exclusion of federally qualified health centers and subordination of municipal health directors made it ripe for the exclusionary decision-making, which left poor, Black neighborhoods where contraction and death rates are highest to be the last with COVID-19 testing sites. In partnership with our grantees, we are using our voice and research to hold the task force accountable to communities the relief effort is leaving behind.

We are also developing multi-platform media relations campaigns tied to funding announcements. These announcements are when foundations to “make news” and we can take advantage of the attention to describe what “equitable recovery” is and amplify the agenda of our partners.

We recently announced a cohort of power-building organizations whose organizing efforts represent an inclusive, democratic, just recovery agenda centering marginalized communities that should shape the allocation of more than \$200 million in CARES Act funding for our region, accountability for executives who will stand for election during the pandemic and alternative strategies for integrated voter engagement. Our announcement creates space to hand the mic over to these groups, amplifying their agenda.

It has been heartening to see national funders employ similar strategies. On April 16, the Wallace Global Fund used a field-leading grant announcement to amplify key partners and frame just recovery from COVID-19. The headline covered their bold commitment to spend 20% of their endowment this year. Equally impactful, though, the fund presented the Poor Peoples' Campaign: A National Call for Moral Revival, led by Rev. Dr. William Barber and Rev. Dr. Liz Theoharris, with its 2020 Henry A. Wallace Award.

In doing so, Wallace Global lifted up the call for the 140 million people who

lived in poverty before this pandemic to be centered in America's post-crisis rebuilding project. With the award and \$250,000 contribution, it invests in the moral awakening that Barber calls a “third reconstruction” at a point in history when public resources (including federal relief and stimulus funds) will be available to support the campaign's transformative public policy priorities and vision.

In its video announcement, the fund's Board Chair Scott Wallace made it clear that this is not moment to tinker, but rather to remember what is possible with deep public leadership and investment. Wallace noted, “we have to design programs with a New Deal mentality, programs that will directly subsidize people's lives that are being damaged so severely.”

ADVOCATE FOR PUBLIC POLICY WITH 'POLITICAL IMAGINATION'

In his historical reference, Wallace offers more than nostalgia. The grandson of FDR's former vice president modeled the expansive philanthropic vision-casting this moment calls for, one that takes its cues from the movements setting the agenda and uses its platform to amplify their message. It is in line with Giridharadas's observation that “there might be enough political imagination in the wake of this to actually transform ... things fundamentally.”

Philanthropy does not generate this type of political imagination alone. A pointed Twitter reaction by political consultant and movement strategist Jessica Byrd to a February 2020 Democratic debate segment featuring Tom Steyer and Michael Bloomberg is instructive: “Two white men billionaires on stage saying ‘I built an organization’ and claiming the work of organizers whose names they don't know is wack,” she typed. “Philanthropy isn't the work. The work is the work and they didn't do it.”

There is much more creativity, imagination and boldness in the work and witness of our grantee partners on the ground than the halls where we review returns and revise investment policies.

Because social distancing restrictions are causing policy to be made in emergency mode and with less public input, philanthropy's unique position as a potential bridge between grassroots advocates and elected officials is critical.

We must be careful to listen with humility, learn from and incorporate movement brilliance into policy discussions and bring our partners with us to these (virtual) decision-making spaces.

While we were still assessing how to transition our office and weighing portfolio losses, our partners at ArchCity Defenders and Action Saint Louis were developing a list of policy priorities for COVID-19 to center unhoused, incarcerated and otherwise marginalized citizens. By March 13, they had mobilized 30 organizations to sign on (including Deaconess) and launched an online petition gathering thousands of signatures. The county executive later expressed appreciation for the recommendations and translated some into his executive orders for crisis response.

In the weeks since, they launched St. Louis' COVID-19 Response Hub, an online platform tracking how government officials' actions responded to the organizing agenda, while turning up the heat on a campaign to close a jail and taking voter engagement for the census virtual.

Our initial, conservative advice to our grantees was to focus on organizational sustainability and the potential financial impact of economic shifts. But, following their lead has broadened our sense of what is possible.

Another national foundation getting this right in their COVID-19 response is Open Society Foundations, as they invest in the imagination of their grantees for relief among the most vulnerable populations and keep an eye on systemic injustice for recovery.

They identify exposed communities as “informal, low-wage, and gig economy workers; refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers; disadvantaged groups such as the Roma in Europe; homeless people; frontline health workers and caregivers; and detained and incarcerated individuals.”

When committing \$130 million to support them in this pandemic, the foundations’ leaders emphasized lessons learned from the 2008 financial crisis about the need not just to respond to immediate needs, but to attack systemic inequalities, strengthen democratic systems and take a proactive posture on human rights:

Deeply concerned about grave threats to democratic accountability and individual freedoms, Open Society will also fund partners that are challenging violations to political freedoms, as leaders take steps to suspend access to information, roll back sexual and reproductive rights, extend surveillance beyond public health means and look for scapegoats to blame, exploiting the pandemic as a means to seize unchecked power.

‘BE STRONG AND VERY COURAGEOUS’ ABOUT CENTERING RACIAL EQUITY

Finally, in order to support the political reset that will be required for a just recovery, foundation leaders must be brave enough to be open about racial equity.

Wielding the type of rhetorical and historical hyperbole appreciated by

preachers like me, Giridharadas, notes that, “This is a crisis that in many communities is literally a ‘Black plague,’ that is killing African Americans disproportionately in part because people are not listened to in the health care system, in part because of lack of access.”

He makes a bold parallel between COVID-19 and the Black Death, which killed up to 200 million people in the mid-1300s. In a sector drunk with nuance and impressed with academic sophistication, this type of unequivocal case-making for targeted, unwavering commitment to Black communities is a necessary act of courage.

During their virtual April conference, ABFE convened Black foundation CEOs to discuss the impact of COVID-19 on Black communities.

Crystal Hayling, executive director of The Libra Foundation, spoke about their relationship to the National Domestic Workers Alliance, noting “they may be the most important labor organization in the country right now.”

Libra is doubling grantmaking to \$50 million in 2020 because they consider this a historic opportunity to gain ground against systemic oppression. They see the alliance, comprised primarily of Black and brown domestic and home health women workers fighting for dignity in the workplace and cultivating the leadership of women of color, as one of their most important grants.

Hayling’s centering Black women resonated deeply with me because they are the face of death from COVID-19 in St. Louis. The first 2 people to die in our community were a Black female nurse and a 31-year-old Black Red Cross staffer. For a full month, the only people to die of the disease were Black people.

When I received a message from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation about participating in their \$50 million response to COVID-19 by accepting and deploying \$1 million in our community, Libra’s leadership was top of mind.

Inspired by Hayling and moved by the tragedy of these 2 women’s deaths, I began to repeat that “if Black people are the ones dying, then Black leaders should shape the healing process.” Within a week, alongside \$1.2 million from Deaconess, we launched an Equitable Relief and Recovery Fund to support the work of Black-led organizations.

Initially, I would not have called these race-specific actions or statements brave. But as we spoke about this fund with partners and media, the more the messages came. A white, female philanthropic leader expressed appreciation for Deaconess pursuing impact in affected communities by resisting what she called “the privileged solidarity of white women” influencing other responses. One Black capacity building consultant emailed, “I’m really grateful for your team’s leadership. This is unapologetic, brave and just.”

For us, it is simply our best effort to support a social ‘reset’ with all the resources at our disposal. This is what all of philanthropy will need to do to ensure that the public health and economic recovery from COVID-19 is just and transformative. Doing anything less would be an abdication of our moral responsibility to seed change for future generations and leave this world a better place than how we found it.

Hebrew scriptures record a moment of transition and recovery from a period of disequilibrium, loss and death. The rising leader, a young man named Joshua, is encouraged that the coming days will be filled with promise. He simply had to remember the lessons from the past and “be strong and very courageous.”

If we too can be strong and courageous in our grantmaking, in our words and in our actions, philanthropy has the potential to help birth “days of promise” for our society from the tragedy of the pandemic. ■

Rev. Dr. Starsky Wilson is president & CEO of Deaconess Foundation and NCRP’s board chair.

The coolest equity-focused family foundation you've probably never heard of

By Aaron Dorfman

This mid-sized philanthropy provides grassroots organizations in California and Washington with 6-figure multi-year core support grants.

*Editor's Note: This piece was written before the murder of George Floyd by police in Minneapolis and the subsequent uprisings in more than 400 cities. Please see **A message from the Vice President and Chief Engagement Officer** that accompanies this issue of Responsive Philanthropy for more context.*

Family foundations have long played an important role to provide resources for social change. NCRP explored this in depth in our 2015 report *Families Funding Change*.

Most people in the field know about social justice leading family foundation funders including Nathan Cummings, Surdna, Libra, Arca, Mary Reynolds Babcock, Hill-Snowdon, Overbrook, Jessie Smith Noyes and McKnight foundations plus Unbound Philanthropy, Evelyn and Walter Haas, Jr. Fund, Melville Charitable Trust, Moriah Fund and others.

In recent years, there's an important new entity on the scene that's quietly making a huge difference. You've probably never heard of them if you don't live in Washington, California or Arizona. It's the Satterberg Foundation.

Satterberg is a family foundation headquartered in Seattle. It had assets of \$424 million at the end of 2019; an-

nual giving has been above \$20 million since the foundation received an influx of assets in 2015.

Its wealth comes from the Pigott family [pronounced pig-ott] who have a substantial ownership stake in a major trucking company. PACCAR, Inc. is an American Fortune 500 company and global leader in the design, manufacture and customer support of light-, medium- and heavy-duty trucks. It is traded on the Nasdaq stock market under the symbol PCAR.¹

The Satterberg Foundation was created and named by the founder, Virginia Satterberg Pigott Helsell. Virginia and her husband, Bill Helsell, spent the 1960s, '70s, and '80s bringing together the children of their blended family and committed to ensure that connection far into the future.

All the details of how the Satterberg Foundation was to grow and mature were left in the care of their children who are the foundation's founding board. Today, the board is comprised of multiple generations of family members.

The foundation leaders seek to help build a just society and a sustainable environment.

"Our mission of promoting a just society and a sustainable environment

is critical," said Sean Boyd, a board member. "A society that builds trust in the public and private institutions that protect people's rights, health and their environment by treating everyone fairly and with respect creates a neighborhood, community and a world that we all want to live in. When this mission statement was adopted it was with incredible and sadly necessary foresight that the founding board members saw the role [the foundation] could play in helping alleviate some of the inequities of the world."

MULTI-YEAR CORE SUPPORT GRANTS ARE THE CORNERSTONE OF SATTERBERG'S APPROACH

What I find most impressive about the foundation is that in just the past few years the foundation has funded 183 organizations in Washington and California with multi-year general operating support grants.

Importantly, we're not talking about small, 2-year grants. The 2018 grants were each for \$300,000 over 3 years.

The 2019 grants to a different set of organizations were for \$500,000 each over 5 years. Research by the Center for Effective Philanthropy has shown that large, multi-year grants like these contribute to organizational effectiveness.

"Satterberg's commitment to grassroots, people of color-led organizations is a model for philanthropy. I can't tell you how much it matters to have multi-year general support funding that we can count on."

—Rich Stolz, OneAmerica

This is exactly the kind of grantmaking that helps grantees build power to achieve justice and equity.²

Every grantee I contacted noted how incredibly important this kind of funding is.

“Satterberg walks the talk in terms of being responsive to grantees and putting the work first,” said Zach Norris, executive director of the Oakland-based Ella Baker Center for Human Rights. “They are about racial justice and understand making their own processes clear and painless allows us to focus on and transform the pain we see in our communities.”

“The impact of the 5-year grants is instrumental,” Norris added. “How many times have we said we need long-term support? Too few funders listen. We fought an 8-year campaign to close youth prisons across the state of California. Without long-term support we couldn’t win campaigns like that one. That proved to be important not just here in California but across the country. If we want to transform the conditions we are living under, we have to be able to play the long game in order to win.”

Rich Stolz, executive director of OneAmerica (the largest immigrant and refugee advocacy organization in Washington state), said: “Satterberg’s commitment to grassroots, people of color-led organizations is a model for philanthropy. I can’t tell you how much it matters to have multi-year general support funding that we can count on. The funds have allowed us to pursue strategic organizing priorities in rural communities in Washington state where there are limited resources available for that work.”

Stolz also noted that the multi-year general support funding has “created space for longer term financial planning, and it’s allowed us to be more bold and nimble in our response to crises. It makes a difference knowing that the foundation trusts us to know what

our communities want, that it respects that we need to be accountable to our base and that it isn’t trying to use us to advance its own boutique strategies or institutional ego.”

Roxana Tynan, executive director of Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy also praised the foundation’s long-term support. “Satterberg is helping to lead the field with long-term general support grants, aimed at organizing. They have also been great about minimizing reports and making the administration of the grant super easy. They are great listeners!”

“The Satterberg Foundation’s general support has allowed us to be responsive to the needs of immigrant communities, especially as everything around us has been changing constantly even before the coronavirus crisis,” said Angelica Salas, executive director of Coalition for Human Immigrant Rights. “One programmatic example is how we have been able to respond to the needs of immigrant youth after the federal government revoked their legal immigration protections, which engaged us in a state and national campaign to

keep them protected along with their families. That fight still continues.”

Salas also noted that the Satterberg funding “has allowed us to build our organization’s infrastructure to be able to reach more immigrants in underserved regions and to expand our services throughout the state of California for hard to reach individuals and families who need our protections desperately.”

PAYOUT DOUBLE THE LEGAL MINIMUM

Another thing I find impressive about the Satterberg Foundation is that they have committed themselves to a 10% payout – double the legal requirement.

“Our board of directors made a commitment decades ago to go above and beyond the 5% payout,” said Sarah Walczyk, the foundation’s executive director. “This decision is rooted in the foundation’s mission and vision to ‘Live in a world in balance with vibrant communities in which all people enjoy the opportunity to grow and thrive.’”

Walczyk added: “We know the world we want to live in today and 20 years from (continued on page 10)



Members of OneAmerica encouraged Washington State lawmakers to adopt pro-immigrant positions during a visit to the state capital in January of 2020. Photo by Mel Ponder.

From protest to political power: Why we give to 501(c)4 organizations

Many of the nation's most savvy grantmakers and donors who seek to make lasting structural change on important issues give to 501(c)4 organizations, in addition to their sizable investments in more traditional 501(c)3 nonprofits. In their own words, here's why they do it and why it matters for the communities and causes they support.

*Editor's Note: This piece was written before the murder of George Floyd by police in Minneapolis and the subsequent uprisings in more than 400 cities. Please see **A message from the Vice President and Chief Engagement Officer** that accompanies this issue of Responsive Philanthropy for more context.*

OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS

The Open Society Foundations supports advocacy organizations because good policy saves lives, advances equality and protects our democracy. When government budgets run into the billions of dollars and affect millions of people, effective and lasting change only happens when laws and policies are revised, approved or defeated.

Through the Open Society Policy Center (OSPC), our 501(c)(4) arm, we back creative and courageous efforts to advance a more just, inclusive and democratic America.

We are proud of our partnership with frontline organizations demanding better lives for all Americans and our neighbors around the world.

Together, we have helped to reduce racially disparate sentencing laws, check executive war powers, humanize our immigration system, protect voting rights and anti-corruption rules, advance reforms of the pharmaceutical industry and Wall Street, and block countless efforts to enshrine hate, repression and division into federal, state and local law.

Working to influence U.S. foreign policy, OSPC supported the expansion of bans on funding foreign military units that have engaged in extrajudicial killing and kidnappings, and supported Sen. John McCain's successful effort to end the CIA's detention and interrogation program.

The powerful often have enough advocacy muscle and money to choke out the voices of the people, especially the marginalized. Open Society is proud to have increased our spending in the face of recent escalations of bigoted and anti-democratic policies, and hope other philanthropic institutions will do so as well.

*Tom Perriello, Executive Director
Open Society-U.S.*

MS. FOUNDATION FOR WOMEN

After 46 years, the Ms. Foundation expanded out to develop a c(4) arm, and is venturing into supporting c(4)s through our newly formed Ms. Action Fund (MAF). The strategy of the MAF was constructed around the idea of building political power for women of color.

Political power is not just about representation, but the ability to influence outcomes, to change the landscape – the ability to move transformational change on behalf of our communities. We believe that building a more reflective democracy moves us closer to a country where communities of color – women and girls of color, in particular – have political influence.

It has been proven that the health of any nation depends on the support and existence of strong independent women-led structures. Simply put, women of color must have increased power to influence outcomes on the policies and institutions that affect their lives.

We believe that shifting the makeup of U.S. political institutions is tied to increased power among organizations empowered to do 3 main things: hold institutions accountable; govern in partnership with elected officials; and ultimately leverage influence for systemic transformation.

Therefore, while our analysis takes into account electoral opportunities, power for women of color must also include strengthened capacity, infrastructure and influence across the country.

Ms. Action Fund is coming out of the box to put more money into the people closest to the solutions. To build political power for women of color that is truly transformational we have decided to focus on tackling challenges centered around funding, aligned training and infrastructure, and building accessible and culturally competent tools.

*Teresa C. Younger, President & CEO
Ms. Foundation for Women*

Growing our c(4) investments into social change movements yields bigger wins.

CIVIC PARTICIPATION ACTION FUND

The Civic Participation Action Fund (CPAF) is exclusively a c(4) grantmaker. When the Atlantic Advocacy Fund (AAF) created CPAF, it did so because it recognized that changes in public policy are often necessary to create the kind of change AAF was seeking.

Because c(4) organizations can engage in much more direct advocacy than c(3) organizations, they are key players in achieving policy change. These groups can directly lobby elected officials, and they can ask their members and communities to lobby and engage in elections.

Early on, CPAF focused on issue-based work but soon decided to adopt a civic engagement approach to the work.

We recognized that the people and communities whose interests we sought to promote, mostly people of color and low-income communities, often participated in civic engagement activities at rates far lower than their representation in the general population and far lower than their white counterparts.

If their voices were to be heard by the policymakers who were making decisions about issues that directly impacted their lives, they needed to be engaged, and policymakers needed to understand they would be held accountable for their policy positions.

Some voter engagement efforts, such as voter registration and voter education, can be done with c(3) funding.

However, the kinds of messages that directly link candidates to their policy positions, and work on direct issue advocacy like ballot measure campaigns, require c(4) funding.

This type of work can then be translated into political power as the organizations doing the work demonstrate their ability to win elections by mobilizing their communities.

For example, CPAF provided early support for a minimum wage/paid sick leave ballot measure in Arizona in 2016 by giving a grant to LUCHA, an emerging Latinx-led immigrant rights group in the state.

The ballot initiative was overwhelmingly supported by the voters that year and because of LUCHA's leadership role, the organization has grown in stature, membership and financial viability to become one of the leading powerhouse organizations in the state.

*Stephen McConnell and Katherine Peck
Civic Participation Action Fund*

IAN SIMMONS

Our smartest opponents have utilized the c(4) playbook for decades. With c(4) resources the Kochs built Americans for Prosperity, spending about \$100 million per year persuading voters, writing laws and winning elections throughout the U.S. In states like Wisconsin, their c(4) infrastructure mobilized voters key to Trump's surprising 2016 election.

The Kochs chose to build their strongest organization with c(4) resources because c(4) resources enable clear and persuasive conversations with voters and lawmakers. Tax-deductible c(3) resources come not only with a tax-deduction but a gag order – restrictions that neuter public conversation.

When we combat agendas fueled by hate or corruption, we must enable organizations to talk plainly with voters, empower the best candidates and win better laws. That usually means using c(4) dollars. If we don't fight with c(4), we fight with our stronger arm tied behind our backs. When we use c(4), we win more fights.

That's how the best progressive organizations operate. For example, The Alliance for Youth Action deploys millions of voter guides around the country with c(4) resources, enabling organizers to engage voters directly, unencumbered. They talk openly about candidates who are awful on the issues and those who are awesome; young voters, like all citizens, respond better with clarity. Research shows organizing with such tools is more effective, helping progressives win more power.

Whether we seek to strengthen climate standards, defeat a corrupt president's re-election, recruit inspiring, diverse candidates or fight for fair elections, building an inclusive America requires the proven power and precision of c(4) fuel.

Ian Simmons

*Co-Founder & Principal, Blue Haven Initiative and
Democracy Alliance Partner*



Organizers from Alliance for Youth Action affiliate MOVE Texas distributed voter guides for the 2018 Midterm Elections.

JASON FRANKLIN

Most of my personal giving and that of the donors I advise is c(3) giving supporting community organizing and advocacy to advance racial, social, economic and environmental justice. But I have increasingly layered in c(4) (and political) giving alongside that c(3) funding to help build a more robust ecosystem of work towards social change.

Tax-deductible c(3) giving remains critical for so much work as it supports community building, research, issue education, communications and more. But all of that work gets a powerful boost when we also fund movements to expand into the c(4) realm with lobbying, ballot measure campaigns and electoral work from endorsements to independent expenditures. Growing our c(4) investments into social change movements yields bigger wins and that is worth far more than the tax deduction that we lose.

Take for example Amendment 4 in Florida, the Voting Rights Restoration for Felons Initiative that passed in 2018 and stands to restore the right to vote to an estimated 1.4 million people. We have funded civic engagement efforts in Florida for years (and will continue to do so!), but it took a major investment of c(4) resources into the Florida Rights Restoration Coalition, New Florida Majority and others to pass the biggest voting rights enfranchisement campaign in a generation. And we must continue to fund their work to implement this landmark law as conservatives attempt to undermine it with illegal modern-day poll taxes and other tactics.

When I review my own giving or help a client develop their philanthropic strategy, a key question I ask is whether shifting types of giving could lead to greater change. Over and over, increasing c(4) and political giving is the answer.

Jason Franklin

Co-Founder & Co-Chair, Solidaire Donor Network and President, Ktisis Capital



A major investment of 501(c)4 resources in groups like Florida Rights Restoration Coalition enabled the Voting Rights Restoration for Felons Initiative to be passed in Florida in 2018.

Satterberg Foundation

now. The only way this will be possible is if we are responsive to the urgent needs of our communities, trusting them as experts to build power and sustainability rather than preserving our life span.”

ADVANCING EQUITY

In addition to their core support grants and their high payout, the foundation’s board has other interesting and impactful ideas to advance equity.

For example, they wielded their power by convening an Equity Summit in April 2019.

In addition, the board has provided multi-year grants over \$1 million each to regional associations of grantmakers and others in the communities they work in to advance racial equity work.

“Satterberg Foundation’s trust and

the flexibility of its Community Partnership Grant propelled our organization to a new level of impact both within our membership and in the larger philanthropic ecosystem,” Christine Essel, president and CEO of Southern California Grantmakers, said in an email. “The foundation’s investment gave us capacity to patiently plant and grow the seeds for effective cross-sector partnerships between grantmakers, government and grassroots leaders. In addition to creating a strong statewide alliance and bolstering our advocacy arm, we also built a network of members who increasingly center equity as the powerful driver of deep and lasting change.”

Satterberg Foundation builds power by funding community-based organizations whose leaders work to build a just society and a sustainable environment.

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The board shares power by giving those groups multi-year core support, and they wield power through convening their peers and their community.

I encourage other family foundations and foundations of all types to follow their lead to find ways to partner with Satterberg, a not-yet-well-known but successful philanthropy. ■

Aaron Dorfman is president and CEO of NCRP.

Notes

1. To learn more, visit <https://www.paccar.com/about-us/history/>.
2. For full list of Satterberg’s grantees, visit <https://satterberg.org/grantees/>.
3. Learn more about the Equity Summit at <https://satterberg.org/seattle-equity-summit-2019/executive-summary/>.

people are overly represented in infections, fueled by longstanding systemic inequities. Our team thought if we didn't speak up in that moment, we would regret it for years to come. As our board chair said: "It's always the right time to do the right thing."

Over the weekend, we talked about what the right thing meant for us. We weighed countless options and struggled to find our voices. We are grant-makers, not health care providers; what would we know about making such painful and unimaginable choices?

While we struggled with our next steps, Disability Rights Washington (DRW) already knew what to do. In reaction to the same news report and within the same weekend, DRW connected internally, organized with partners in and out of state, and filed a complaint the following Monday with the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' Office for Civil Rights. Seven other states also sent in complaints modeled after DRW's.

Five days later, the agency issued a statement affirming that "our civil rights laws protect the equal dignity of every human life from ruthless utilitarianism." In the 3 days it took for us to figure out our best role, DRW assumed theirs to reaffirm the rights of people across the country.

Equity is a leading value at Group Health Foundation. We aspire to seek community wisdom for funding decisions and prioritize lived experiences when hiring staff and recruiting board members. We are committed to making mostly general operating grants and minimizing unnecessary hoop-jumping for grantees.

Yet, despite our aspirations and commitments, the rapidly changing, quick pace of this public emergency even got us momentarily distracted from a core belief: trust and follow community leadership on matters that impact them most.

We struggled, but what we did do

right in this case was something we have always done: fund nonprofits that are culture- and identity-specific, multiracial and whose leadership and board are reflective of the communities they serve. We are grateful to have supported Disability Rights Washington in 2019 and 2020.

I share this story because it was humbling for us. And I believe in this moment humility is something philanthropy could use more of, including examining our role in creating the inequities we see today and how we can work to undo them in the future.

PHILANTHROPY IS COMPLICIT IN PERPETUATING HARM

We find ourselves in a pivotal moment, living through a pandemic that

has claimed more than 100,000 lives in the U.S. and nearly 4 times as much worldwide. At the end of it, many of us will likely have lost someone – a family member, a friend, a colleague. We will know even more people who have lost a job, closed a business or missed a mortgage payment.

As a result, we are all grieving concrete losses, even grieving dreams and ideas about how we thought 2020 would turn out. There is certainly a lot of pain, and one of the most painful reckonings as we do this work is admitting how philanthropy is complicit in the inequities we see now.

Modern philanthropy's promise was to make the world a better place. Billions of dollars later, philanthropy has done a lot of good and perpetuated the disparities we see in health, education, employment and other areas of well-being.

Our sector was founded by dynasties of white families who believed wealth equaled expertise. Our professional inheritance is tied to this world view and how it lives on in the way we operate today.

What we now have is the legacy of our decisions: decisions on who gets funding (overwhelmingly white-led institutions), what issues are worth funding (without naming racism as a root cause), which prescriptive strategies to fund (instead of trusting community-designed solutions) and how to measure success (usually through a Euro-centric framework).

In recent years, we have taken best-selling critiques about philanthropy in stride – nodding in agreement as we launched book clubs, joined panel discussions, appeared on podcasts and drafted op-eds. The word "equity" has become ubiquitous, flowing freely from our speeches, annual reports, mission statements and funding strategies, signaling that we have a deeper understanding of the world around us.

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The dollars have not flowed to match our words. Numerous reports show funding for specific racial and ethnic communities have either stagnated or decreased; and the 1,000 largest foundations in the U.S. gave only 10% to communities of color.

The subtext? Philanthropy knows better than community; that people who talk about equity know how to advance it – not communities experiencing inequities every day.

When the coronavirus crisis hit, too many of us put down our newly acquired equity lenses and defaulted to business as usual. Some of us resumed the practice of spreading resources evenly across grantees all the while knowing that this pandemic did not evenly impact communities.

Yet, the best responses came from foundations that understood how racism, classism, ableism, ageism, heterosexism – and other -isms – work, and how they interact to compound inequities.

These funders understood from their grantees for whom social isolation would be most damaging. They understood which communities are overrepresented in jobs that put them at higher risk of exposure: cleaners and janitorial staff, food-processing plant employees, grocery store clerks, delivery drivers and warehouse workers. They understood who could not access public assistance based on immigration status. They understood whose humanity would be denied because of their race or ethnicity. They understood that racism plus classism is a public health crisis.

Here in Washington, we were able to quickly bend our infection rates thanks to our culture- and identity-specific nonprofits. They proactively addressed these challenges and their success was because they had earned the trust of their communities.

These groups responded to immediate needs: child care when schools were closed, food and supplies during shelter-in-place orders, technology for



Let's Stop COVID-19 sign in downtown Bellevue, Washington, during the pandemic.

mental health counseling and culturally specific and non-English communication to prevent spread. Our nonprofits also stood up to systems by stopping evictions and foreclosures, pushing for better unemployment insurance and work conditions and, in the case of DRW, ensuring federal protections are in place for treatment. The work was going to happen with or without philanthropy, but our dollars helped defray costs, allowing them to serve more of the community.

“Center those most impacted,” is not new insight. Yet we in philanthropy have largely ignored this advice, even when presented with a plethora of data, reports and stories that prove it is the fastest path to change. We come up with sophisticated reasons for our inaction, but they all boil down to a lack of willpower.

Many of us in philanthropy are afraid to lose what this world offers us: job security, access to power and the chance to influence and shape the work of others. Afraid of damaging our reputation and dismantling the cozy places we've found ourselves in, we have made choices that protect our role and hedge against “risks.”

However, the real risk is allowing our privilege to become our expertise.

REMEMBER WHO IS DOING THE WORK

We at Group Health Foundation are fortunate because we are new and get to build our organization from the ground

up. Our team has benefitted from all the insight our peers in philanthropy have shared with us and we will forever be grateful for the lessons learned. If there is a common sentiment I can share, something I have heard time and again from both nonprofit leaders and retiring foundation presidents it is this:

Be more courageous, take more risks and remember who is doing the work.

Let's remember who is doing the work and recognize that anything we want to accomplish is entirely dependent upon the community organizations we fund, not us. Let's commit significant resources to organizations that are for and led by Black, Indigenous and people of color, immigrants and refugees, people with disabilities, members of the LGBTQIA+ community and people who have experienced poverty.

And when we do, let's resist the urge to position ourselves as the expert, leader or savior of their work.

Let's also stop normalizing and promoting the notion that certain communities are destined to suffer. This narrative upholds a society where it is acceptable to undervalue whole groups of people. We recently saw this play out nationally when too many people were quicker to decry broken windows over stolen Black lives.

Let's take more risks by shouldering the burden that comes with challenging the status quo. Let's apply pressure on those with whom we share institutional power to echo what generations have been asking for: comprehensive unemployment insurance for all workers, humane immigration policies, abolition of the prison industrial complex and health care as a human right.

Let's demand a government that is accountable to the people it serves and ensure that future leaders reflect their communities. There is no shortage of brilliant leaders all around us. They are running nonprofits and organizing in their communities, and they can tell you off the

top of their head – without a request for proposal process or a slide deck – what equity looks like for their people.

Let's build a society where those who design policies are the people who experience inequities rather than those people who just talk about equity.

Let's be courageous and acknowledge the generational harm that chattel slavery and attempted genocide has had on Black and Native communities. Let's work to truly understand how its legacy has created a blueprint for racism and fascism that has hurt everyone in this country and apply that understanding to how we approach our work. Let's always call racism for what it is.

We can create a better society if we put our full support behind the nonprofits doing the work. These organizations and leaders show they can do a lot with

a little; imagine what we can build together if we develop the courage to trust and follow community leadership.

In philanthropy, we hold the trifecta of power: economic, political and social. Now is the time to wield it so that communities can lead us through recovery and what comes after.

The last time I wrote an NCRP article was 15 years ago. I was a young executive director of a Native American organization. Ironically, the piece was called "The New Same Old Story." I was deeply frustrated with philanthropy and wanted change. I was not naïve; I understood I was just one more person in a long line of leaders who had been asking philanthropists to believe in community-driven solutions, trust community leaders and get real resources to those who carry our society's burden of inequity.

I never imagined that one day I would be part of philanthropy, let alone a foundation CEO. I closed that article with a principle gifted to me by a friend and lifelong mentor from the Quinault Indian Nation:

"The people are beautiful, already."

I believe this more today than ever before. We will all be fine if we remember this when we make grants. ■

Nichole June Maher is president and CEO of Group Health Foundation. She previously served as the CEO of Northwest Health Foundation and executive director of Native American Youth and Family Center. Nichole is also co-founder of the Coalition of Communities of Color.

New and Renewing Members

Advancement Project
African Communities Together
Alliance for Youth Organizing
Amy Mandel and Katina Rodis Fund
Arca Foundation
Arch Community Fund
Arcus Foundation
Blue Shield of California Foundation
Bonfils-Stanton Foundation
Borealis Philanthropy
California Wellness Foundation
Cleveland Foundation
Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights
Community Change
Conant Family Foundation
David and Lucile Packard Foundation
Deaconess Foundation
Demos
Dr. Bronner's Family Foundation
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Eugene and Agnes E. Meyer Foundation
Evelyn and Walter Haas, Jr. Fund
Florida Immigrant Coalition

The From Now On Fund
The Fund for New Jersey
George Gund Foundation
Georgia Appleseed
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The Kresge Foundation
LA Voice
Legal Aid Justice Center
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Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy
Louisiana Organization for Refugees and Immigrants
Marguerite Casey Foundation
Maryland's International Corridor
Community Development Corporation
Mentes Puertorriqueñas en Acción
The Needmor Fund
North Star Fund
Northwest Area Foundation
Pennsylvania Immigration and Citizenship Coalition

The Perrin Family Foundation
Public Welfare Foundation
Racial Justice NOW!
Raikes Foundation
Refugee Congress
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Scherman Foundation
Schott Foundation for Public Education
Silicon Valley Community Foundation
Solidaire Network
Stupski Foundation
Surdna Foundation
Texas Criminal Justice Coalition
Tides Foundation
Unitarian Universalist Veatch Program at Shelter Rock
Virginia Coalition for Immigrant Rights
Walton Family Foundation
Weissberg Foundation
Welcoming America
William and Flora Hewlett Foundation
Yelp Foundation

Select Publications

Won't You Be My Neighbor: Local Foundations, Immigrants & Refugee Populations May 2020

The coronavirus pandemic has exposed the deep-rooted inequities that have constituted an ongoing crisis for many communities in America. Many immigrants and refugees are people of color who are over-represented in the ranks of essential workers who are at highest risk of contracting and dying from the virus. This interactive digital dashboard from NCRP's Movement Investment Project provides data on funding for the pro-immigrant and refugee movement in all 50 states and the District of Columbia.

Power Giving: How to Make the Most of Your Philanthropy Impact April 2020

Two-thirds of U.S. philanthropy comes from individuals not foundations. This 1-page brief intended for individual donors details how effective individual donors understand the intersection between philanthropy, power, opportunity and equity. The brief discusses how philanthropic "Power Givers" do 3 things: 1. Give to groups that build community power and movements. 2. Share power with grantees. 3. Wield their power, access and assets for positive impact.

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