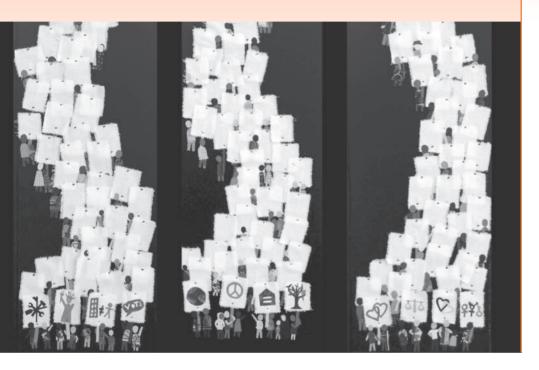
Responsive



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Egalité Liberté, et Communité, 2014. Image courtesy of Connie Cagampang Heller/Project Linked Fate.

Building the Road to Belonging: Three Ways Philanthropy Can Help End Mass Criminalization

By Connie Cagampang Heller and Alexander Saingchin

Police Shooting Kills Sleeping 7-Year-Old Girl During Drug Raid.

Police Kill 12-Year-Old Boy Playing with Plastic Gun.

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Woman Who Acted in Self-Defense Now Serving Life Sentence.



challenging grantmakers

Have you found yourself thinking something urgently needs to change after seeing headlines about the latest abuses perpetrated by the criminal justice system? How did criminalization become a defining characteristic of American society? What can we in philanthropy do about it? In this article, we will look at some of the reasons why, as a society, we have taken a punitive approach to criminal justice, give some examples of how people who are directly impacted are creating change, and finally offer three philanthropic strategies to support authentic partnerships with movements challenging mass incarceration.

Sadly, it may not surprise you to learn that the victims in each of the previous stories were people of color. But perhaps it might surprise you that a recent study published by Stanford University shows that white people are more likely to support harsh criminal justice policies even when they know those policies disproportionately apply to people of color.1 When shown a video of mug shots, white San Franciscans were more likely to support reform if the video included a higher percentage of white people than if it included a higher percentage of African Americans. In other (continued on page 13)

A Message From the Executive Director



Dear Colleagues,

Have you ever spent time with men or women who are incarcerated? When I was growing up, my mother served as the chaplain at the women's prison in Shakopee, Minnesota. Getting to know the women and their stories helped me realize at an early age how horribly misguided and unfair our nation's criminal justice system is. More than 2.3 million Americans are incarcerated, and our system is particularly unjust for people of color. Recently, I've been encouraged by the growing intersectional criminal justice reform movement, with campaigns to reform policing, prosecution policies, reentry opportunities and more. While it cannot cover the entire breadth of the subject, this edition of *Responsive Philanthropy* is a special issue devoted to what philanthropy can do to support these efforts.

In our cover story, the Common Counsel Foundation's Alex Saingchin and Project Linked Fate's Connie Cagampang Heller provide a framework for understanding criminal justice reform in "Building the Road to Belonging: Three Ways Philanthropy Can Help End Mass Criminalization." By telling the story of the Ban the Box campaign's growing success, Alex and Connie share a map for grantmakers to support the movement.

Next, in "The South and Criminal Justice Reform," Grantmakers for Southern Progress's LaTosha Brown discusses the regional outlook on criminal justice reform in a conversation with Niki Jagpal, NCRP's senior director of research and policy. The interview touches on the changing culture in the South, the economic impetus for prisons and more.

In "How Philanthropy Can Help Close the School-to-Prison Pipeline," Kyle Bacon draws on his years of experience in after-school programming to explain how our schools push many young people from school to jail. He explains how putting students and families most at risk at the center of creating intervention programs is key to their effectiveness.

Janay Richmond, field associate at NCRP, discusses the financial realities behind mass incarceration in "Following the Money: Why We Must Divest from Mass Incarceration."

Black Benefactors' Amoretta Morris brings in the perspective of the Black Lives Matter Movement in her op-ed, "Moving Money, Making Change: Funding the Movement for Black Lives."

Our Member Spotlight looks at Faith in Florida, a PICO National Network affiliate working to unite communities of faith to advocate on systemic racial and economic issues, such as rights restoration for formerly incarcerated individuals.

The issue also provides key terms about mass incarceration and a resource list sharing criminal justice reform funders.

As always, we hope *Responsive Philanthropy* is a useful resource for everyone in philanthropy. We are always trying to improve – let us know how we're doing at readers@ncrp.org.

Sincerely,

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Interview with LaTosha Brown: The South and Criminal Justice Reform

By Niki Jagpal

NCRP Senior Research and Policy Director Niki Jagpal interviewed Grantmakers for Southern Progress Project Director LaTosha Brown about her unique regional perspective on criminal justice reform.

Niki Jagpal: Given its history, and the history of philanthropy as a whole, how is philanthropy in the South reacting to the growing awareness of structural disparities in our country?

LaTosha Brown: The South is shifting and so are its demographics. We're seeing areas of new perspective, new people and people of color who are actually going into philanthropy as program officers and in other positions. These young people have different perspectives, which may be representative of race or class, so new conversations are being had within phi-

lanthropy. But they're new conversations to deal with old problems. There's a long, long way to go.

In the South, we're still plagued with many of the structural problems from social racism and the major social issues that result from poverty, oppression and racism. But something is changing in the South and the question for philanthropy is: How will we respond? I will give an example. Georgia has the fifth-highest incarceration rate in the nation, and we're starting to see some legislative traction there, with both Republicans and Democrats, around framing criminalization not just as a justice issue but as a fiscal issue. One of my colleagues on the parole board in Georgia told me about a meeting he had with the head of the Department of Corrections (DOC) and some other managers there. The head



CC image of Louisiana State Penitentiary by GoffB.



CC image of Lake Killarney, part of Louisiana State Penitentiary, by Lee Honeycutt.

of the DOC, who's a Republican, actually, brought out the book Slavery by Another Name and asked the staff to read it. Now, I don't know if this might not be a big deal for somebody somewhere else, but that's a big deal in Georgia. That's a really, really big deal. My understanding is that the book came from a fiscal kind of space and that opened the conversation, but it also opened up a space for people to discuss another frame, the South's slave past, the economic exploitation of people and the criminalization of folks. So, here you have the DOC saying "we've got to do something about this." In a very traditionally conservative space, we've seen the Georgia Department of Corrections thinking really aggressively about how it can do things differently to decrease recidivism, to increase the number of programs that are inside the prisons and to start really thinking about alternatives to mass criminalization.

NJ: I've looked into that a little bit: the relationship between how framing issues differently helps people to be able

to come into a space from another angle and see them as multilayered issues. And that's basically what I heard you say.

LB: Absolutely. I think that there's a disconnect, even in philanthropy; when we're thinking about criminal justice, we see the race component of the criminalization of people of color, right? But we're not seeing the economics of racism and how it is so built into the economic infrastructure in the South. Within the top five states with the highest prison population per capita, Louisiana is number one, Mississippi is number three, Alabama is number four, and Georgia is number five.1 Those states were among the six with the highest slavery population.2 So we shifted there's some correlation between the economics of slavery and enslavement and economics of prisons.

In philanthropy, I think we see criminal justice in its current form and what it's doing to communities, and we see the implications of race. I think it's important for foundations involved in criminal justice reform to have an analysis around the economics of racism in the South. We need to see how the criminal justice system is an economic driver, particularly in rural areas, where there is not really any development of other industries.

Recently, I went to a symposium about the history and significance of the slave trade,³ and it brought up something I'd never thought about before: When slaves were taken to auction, and nobody bought them, what happened to them? And what happened is they actually were placed in slave prisons.

NI: Wow.

LB: That's the kind of reaction I had. There were slave jails in the French Ouarter of New Orleans that became a catalyst for commerce. Slaves were jailed because they couldn't be sold. You might be too old or cough too much. Maybe you were a woman and couldn't bear children. Or you kept running away. So, for no other reason than you were a slave and no one wanted to buy you, you were put in these cells. And an industry grew up around it. People built businesses right by these jails to feed and clothe the slaves. There's a whole other history here, and I know it seems off-topic, but I think it is connected. It's the question of "What do you do with people who you think are excess people? What do you do with people when you don't have enough jobs? What happens to excess people?" I don't think there's any such thing as excess people, but you get my point.

NJ: Rural communities are not often the beneficiaries of philanthropic money. Do you have any advice for national or regional funders that work on criminal justice reform to help them understand why they need to better prioritize rural communities? LB: In some areas, the demand to build a prison is like the demand to build a school. It's probably more so. Why? Because prisons are seen as an economic base for communities. They're not seen as prisons. It's interesting because people in some areas don't want prisons there, right? But in rural areas that are economically struggling, the reason for the interest in having a prison in a community is that it creates jobs and income for counties.

National funders dealing with mass criminalization need to ask: Where is this local demand to build a prison coming from? Part of it is race, we know that. But part of it is also, if you build a jail with 800 beds, you'll find a way to fill those beds to cover the cost of the operations of the facility. In my opinion, this fuels some of the criminalization.

Funders should look into helping support work in local counties or other struggling counties that don't have a lot of jobs, and allow them to think about an economic strategy outside of the obvious, i.e., building a prison.⁴

There are different places along the continuum for philanthropy to engage with this issue. There's an entry point for a framework around race and class and criminalization of people. There's one around the criminal justice system itself. There's one around a community's demand or a community's tolerance for the expansion of prisons, some of which I think is fueled by the economic reality in these rural areas.

NJ: That's so unfortunate and sadly true not just in the South, but I would imagine across the country.

LB: Right. If I can say this, it's probably not the most political thing, but we have an economy in which Black bodies make money, and people have figured out how to make their profit in the South at the expense of destroying communities.

NJ: What are some of the foundations and organizations doing great work?

LB: The Greater New Orleans Foundation is doing interesting new work around child support and how that connects with the criminalization of Black men. Another great example is the Foundation for Louisiana, which is engaged in reducing the population of New Orleans' prison and the city jail, and has worked with the city to develop some strategies around that. In the last 10 years, the city's jail population decreased by more than half.⁵ The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation also has provided support for criminal justice reform in New Orleans.⁶

On the organization side, I love the Georgia Justice Project and Equal Justice Initiative, which both provide the field with a lot of research and information. There are some great grassroots, community-based organizations in need of capacity support, including Project South and the Southern Movement Assembly, the Ordinary People's Society, Project Vote and Families and Friends of Louisiana's Incarcerated Children. There's also a coalition called the New Southern Strategy Coalition. It's a collaborative network of southern groups and some national allies to reduce the negative consequences of criminalization of people in the South. Its goal is to work collectively to bring about criminal justice reform in the region as a shared strategy, to bring in local organizations that can incorporate the nuances of how you move stuff locally but are informed by a larger process.

NJ: How else can philanthropy help?

LB: Foundations should work to:

1. Build the civic infrastructure capacity of grassroots and community networks in the South.

- 2. Provide more data and research resources to support policy work.
- 3. And most importantly, prioritize funding organizing and advocacy. ■

Niki Jagpal is senior director of research and policy at NCRP. LaTosha Brown is project director for Grantmakers for Southern Progress.

Notes

- Oklahoma is the state with the second-highest incarceration rate.
 See http://www.bjs.gov/index.cfm?ty=pbdetail&iid=5177.
- As of the 1860 census, the six states with the highest slave populations were Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina and Louisiana. See http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2010/12/10/opinion/20101210_Disunion_Slavery-Map.html.
- 3. The Symposium was the Library of Virginia's "To Be Sold: The American Slave Trade from Virginia to New Orleans," which took place on March 21, 2015. To view a recording of the event, see http://www.virginiamemory.com/exhibitions/to-be-sold/symposium.
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The School-to-Prison Pipeline's Role in Criminal Justice Reform

By Kyle Bacon

- Inadequately-resourced schools filled with overcrowded classrooms but void of fully equipped and supported teachers, counselors, special education services and textbooks.
- Punitive "zero-tolerance" policies that lead to suspensions, expulsions and contact with the juvenile justice system.
- Increased in-school police presence, often with limited youthworker training, leading to countless school-based arrests.
- Alternative school environments for students who have been suspended or expelled with little or no educational accountability standards. Juvenile detention facilities with modest educational services.

Each of the aforementioned are well-documented checkpoints along the schoolto-prison pipeline that thrust many of our underserved and under-supported young people down the track from school to jail. Students who are pushed along this pipeline often find it difficult to transition back to traditional schools where they can receive proper education and support. Throughout my career, I have worked with juvenile offenders, children and families impacted by incarceration, and students at risk of falling prey to systemic barriers. This space is where educational equity, social justice and civil rights policies intersect, and philanthropy has an important part to play.

I chose to engage in this work so that I could help actively address not only the issues, policies and systems that create the

school-to-prison pipeline, but also have a direct impact on the lives and communities affected by them. Organizations like those I have served in, that work to close the school-to-prison pipeline, rely on innovative partnerships and collaborative programming among local, state and federal stakeholders, including school districts, community-based intervention programs, nonprofits, government institutions and funders. Funding for schools and related educational programs is complex, but philanthropic funds are essential because they can support critical work in ways that government sometimes can not. Funders like the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, the Annie E. Casev Foundation and the Schott Foundation for Public Education are already making important strides in supporting education,1 but there remains a huge space for foundations to help close the school-to-prison pipeline.

There are some existing government-funded programs that provide a model for strategies that foundations might want to pursue. While working in Ohio, I saw firsthand the effects of Title I state and federal allocations that enabled local districts to provide in-school academic intervention for students falling behind academically.² Crucially, the students and families most at risk of falling into the pipeline or being pushed out of school were at the center of the process of change and the creation of corrective plans. Oneon-one interventions, small group work targeting identified areas of necessary competency in collaboration with classroom teachers and school counselors, and in-class instructional support are helping to fill the gaps many students face falling into.

There was much to celebrate from the academic gains and behavioral shifts this program facilitated, seen through analysis of grant feedback reporting data. However, it was clear that there still were groups of district students standing to benefit from additional support outside of school. Almost all of this subset of students had already had contact with the juvenile detention system. Unsurprisingly, and unfortunately, a majority of these students came from disinvested neighborhoods and were disproportionately non-white.

In my role as an academic interventionist for the Springfield City School District in Springfield, Ohio, I was tasked with providing supplemental academic services for a district partner - a secondchance residential program for juvenile offenders who were reentering the public school system. A majority of the residents who matriculated through this program had been suspended or expelled from school and had missed significant classroom instruction time and positive behavioral support structures. Intentional and coordinated efforts were needed to help redirect their academic and life trajectories. Progress required empathy, culturally appropriate content, careful consideration of learning differences, effective behavior management and positive discipline approaches and collaboration among counselors, teachers and justice system officials. Most importantly, my colleagues and I needed to meet the students where they were in life and include their voices in the creation of a plan to get them where they needed to be. The cohorts of students who came to this program from juvenile detention centers had encountered many of the challenges listed previously. At times, "success" was hard to define and measure effectively.

I transitioned from doing academic intervention work in Ohio to preventive work with a national nonprofit organization. I had the opportunity to work with children and families impacted by incarceration or at risk of falling behind in school, which had the potential to lead them into the pipeline of contact with the prison system. We developed academic skill building, character building and future dream building programs for the students during after-school time in partnership with Title I schools in cities throughout the country. Localized work gave a snapshot of the school-toprison pipeline issues but lacked clarity on what needed to be done and how to measure success. Working with national level organizations provided a different lens through which to see what is happening in different places and measure results beyond the district level. This provided a different partnership experience, in particular with government and philanthropy, to create, measure effectiveness and scale success.

One story of a student who was redirected from the pipeline highlights not only the risk factors that are so prevalent, but also how preventive supports can make a meaningful difference. This student self-identifies as a product of resilience. Throughout his life, he says he has been pulled, pressed, stretched and bent - but never broken. He experienced the foster care system early in life. He had a parent who suffered from mental illness, abused drugs and was incarcerated. He was so angry that his behavior led to him to be kicked out of school and placed in an alternative school where little didactic work was done.





CC images of students protesting and signing a petition to stop the school-to-prison pipeline by ACLU of Southern California.

His grandmother stepped in and took custody of him and his sister, providing an environment in which he could learn, grow, feel supported and protected and "just be a kid." Moving to another new school, he was nervous that the other kids would make fun of him for being two grades behind. His grandmother enrolled him in a national program that provided social-emotional development and positive mentoring, and taught him to be accountable for his own learning. Ultimately, he was redirected from the pipeline, graduated from high school and is now in college. He exhibited resilience, grit and determination, all skills learned through innovative programming made possible through integrated work of the nonprofit sector, government and philanthropy. Now a young adult, he wrote to his mother in prison to forgive her for all the hurt he endured through her decisions. He is now ready to be an advocate for children who travel a path similar to his.

I have seen firsthand the impact that policy has on people's lives, specifically in communities of color. Advocates must continue to provide policy makers evidence and solutions based on culturally relevant data that move policy and advance necessary reforms, while also providing space and adequate supports for innovative and non-traditional initiatives and programming. Grantee organizations and frontline workers must continue to engage with federal policymakers, the Department of Justice and the Department of Education. We must continue providing young people diverse platforms to tell their stories and share insights on what change can and should look like. Institutional philanthropy is uniquely positioned to offer grantees flexible support that allows people doing work on the ground to respond with agility to confront everchanging circumstances.

More work is still needed to ensure that some of our most at-risk young people, families and communities have the necessary supports and opportunities they need to thrive, just like the rest of American communities across the country.

The philanthropic community can and must be engaged as funders, thought partners and advocates with grantees and community stakeholders. Philanthropic funding is needed for this grassroots work to be effective through diversifying allies and building strong partnerships. This is a win–win for foundations, which stand to benefit from implementing high-yield social justice strategies. Research from NCRP shows that funding strategies like grassroots organizing and advocacy garners a return of \$115 for every dollar invested.³

Young professionals are answering the call to provide philanthropic support through organizations like Capital Cause that transform communities through collective giving. Their efforts are advancing social and criminal justice reform movements through intentional and strategic actions such as the Justice4 initiative. This group raises funds and awards microgrants to organizations already engaged in the movement. (continued on page 9)

Why We Must Divest from Mass Incarceration

By Janay Richmond

The rapid expansion of incarceration hurts more than the people directly affected by the system. The 2.3 million incarcerated individuals in the U.S. (triple the number in 1980)¹ put a strain on taxpayers while businesses profit from – and get tax breaks for – using low-cost prison labor.² It takes jobs out of the mainstream economy, makes it tough for small business owners to compete and negatively impacts entrepreneurs and other hardworking people reaching for the American Dream.

The laws in place that feed America's rising prison population unjustly target people of color, largely as a result of the so-called "War on Drugs." African Americans make up only 13 percent of our population, yet more than 40 percent of those incarcerated are Black. While direct indications of discrimination often are obscured from our daily lives, our nation is as flawed as it was 500 years ago. Like all those participating in the economic market, even the philanthropic sector is implicated.

In the 1500s, Portuguese and Spanish colonists brought enslaved laborers across the Atlantic, followed by other European nations competing to grow their colonial economies.⁵ In the U.S., an economy built on labor from chattel slavery lasted until the Civil War, when business interests were left to devise new ways to supplement the loss of this unpaid labor source. The 13th Amendment prohibits slavery except as punishment for a crime, a loophole that has been threaded by economic interests since its inception in 1864. Passed in 1865–66,

the Black Codes' vagrancy laws pressured freed men to sign yearly labor contracts or risk being arrested and forced into hard labor.⁶ Convict leasing to businesses started in the 1880s and the "Progressive Era" brought chain gangs.⁷

The New Deal somewhat restricted prison labor,⁸ but by the 1990s, the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) lobbied Republicans and Democrats alike to pass laws that (1) enforced harsher sentences for drug addiction and possession and (2) deregulated prison labor practices.⁹ The result is a national economic trend: Microsoft, Starbucks, Victoria's Secret, Costco and Wal-Mart have all used low-cost convict labor.¹⁰

Like the economic drivers of slavery, the modern capitalist economy incentivizes the generation of a reserved low-cost labor source. The two largest private prisons in the country, the Corrections Corporation of America and The GEO Group, are publicly traded entities. This has successfully made us our own worst enemy, because all people who trade on the market, employers who offer benefits, employees who receive 401K or 403b benefits and foundations that invest their endowments are owners of this new system that trades Black lives.

For example, as recently as 2012, The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation had \$2.2 million invested in The GEO Group, ¹² a company with about 66,000 incarcerated people under its control. ¹³ Some argue that, in context, that money is just a drop in the bucket considering the foundation's large portfolio. But even if foundation in-

vestment in private prisons is minimal, large funders have diversified endowments and many hold stock in corporations that use convict labor.

When you hear the term "systemic racism" used by the Movement for Black Lives and others, this is that mysterious system. This is the wizard behind the curtain. This time around, it operates in an ingenious way that puts blood on all of our hands. As in centuries past, it plays on fear and misinformation, and it justifies itself with acrobatic feats of rhetoric. If we all own a piece of the economic pie, we are all invested in keeping this system alive. While it has become woven into the fabric of American life to the point that it seems totally inextricable, the prison industrial complex is not indestructible.

Foundation trustees are responsible for protecting their endowments, a duty most commonly understood to mean using sound, money-making investment savvy. Some argue that investment goals should be considered separately from grantmaking activities. But investing in a system that isolates Black people as cheap labor sustains the very societal problems and disparities that foundations, in their work to work toward the common good, attempt to correct. How savvy can an investment policy be if it undercuts a foundation's goals?

In addition to robust investment screening protocols, foundations should take steps to end America's dependency on the prison-industrial complex. To this end, here are some steps foundations can take:

- **1. Fund advocacy and community organizing groups** that build power among formerly incarcerated populations, their families and allies to dismantle private prisons and unpaid labor, as well as other criminal justice reform toward more just policing and sentencing.
- **2. Market our new normal.** We need to pursue public education to combat the narrative of fear perpetuated by those with special interests.
- **3.** Call out companies that include prison labor in their business models. Shareholder activism and divestment are powerful tools some foundations forget are at their disposal.
- **4. Put pressure on lawmakers** to once again restrict prison labor.

Foundations cannot say they are interested in helping disadvantaged groups forge a path to equity while investing in the system that represents the biggest obstacle in their lives. It's time to decide just how serious we are about reducing injustice in America.

Janay Richmond is a field associate at the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy.

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(continued from page 7)

Traditional philanthropic entities like the Ford Foundation and others have made shifts to the way they fund, providing greater flexibility for organizations engaged in issues like justice reform. And the government continues to partner with philanthropy and non-profits through efforts like My Brother's Keeper and collaborative work to provide the funding and support through the Department of Justice and Department of Education.

I recognized at an early age the value of education and of having the opportunities and support systems to realize my dreams relatively unencumbered. Each child, family and community deserves the same. From neighborhood blocks to national board rooms, and from local courthouses to the White House, I have had the opportunity to experience the impact that both strong and structurally-biased policy can have on the communities that depend on policy most for effective change. We are all better when we are all doing better.

Kyle Bacon has served at organizations working to close the school-to-prison pipeline for over 10 years.

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Moving Money, Making Change: Funding the Movement for Black Lives

By Amoretta Morris

Emmett Till. Kerry Baxter. VonDerrit Myers Jr. Mike Brown Jr. Kendrick Johnson. Rekia Boyd. Eric Garner Sr. Cary Ball Jr. Oscar Grant III. Anthony Hudson. James Rivera Jr. Mario Romero. Meagan Hockaday. Jordan Davis. Ramarley Graham. Tesfaye Mokuria. Andrew Joseph III. Tamir Rice. Tanisha Anderson.

It has been almost three months since the families of those 19 victims of police violence took the stage at the opening ceremony of the Movement for Black Lives National Convening, joined by a thousand activists.

As a professional grantmaker, grassroots philanthropist and lifelong activist, it was a privilege to be in this intergenerational space filled with Black families, movement elders, high school activists, young nonprofit leaders, formerly incarcerated people, differently abled participants, fellow funders and old and new friends. From acknowledging our collective trauma in the opening ceremony to celebrating our joy in impromptu drum circles, the gathering was a reflection of what has happened to the communities touched by this movement. Many funders have taken advantage of this political moment to advance new strategies and deepen their support for communities, but it isn't enough. Many still hesitate to support the organizers and activists at the heart of the movement. Funders looking to do more should consider three things:

1. Practice inclusion and accountability in new ways. One of the most compel-

ling pieces of this movement is that its leaders are committed to an intersectional analysis that says ALL Black lives matter. Movement groups analyze and reject patriarchal and homophobic ways of doing business. At the national meeting, the most beautiful example of this inclusion was when Miss Major Griffin-Gracy, an elder Black transgender woman who was a leader in the Stonewall riots, opened the testimonials session and shared advice on movement building. The next day, the agenda was amended to create space for trans and gender nonconforming attendees to take the stage to share ideas on how to create more safe space at the conference, and in the movement, to love all Black people. This is what community accountability looks like.

2. Fund system change. If we want to advance equitable outcomes for the communities in which we work, we must understand that race is socially constructed and politically maintained in ways that allows structural racialization to be deep and pervasive. Funders must provide evidence about effective programs within the context of a structural analysis of the problems we seek to address. As a conference attendee said, "Don't let folks talk about what is happening in the Black community unless they are willing to talk about what got us here."

3. Tell our stories. In a field invested in evidence-based practices and measuring results, it feels unproductive to stop and daydream. But, we need to do this. It's time for the sci-fi fans and

Afro-futurists in philanthropy to come out in force. It is your radical imaginations that the field and this movement most need to expand our notion of freedom.

Institutional funders, individual donors and donor networks alike have an important role to play in creating spaces for the Black community to come together. By funding convenings such as the one in July, as well as infrastructure and staffing for networks such as Black Lives Matter and intentional leadership development like BOLD, they increase the capacity of local groups and individuals to organize, connect and build power with others across the country. Resource Generation, a network of young high-wealth donors, and the Community Investment Network, a national network of giving circles of color, provide examples of two non-traditional funders using their resources flexibly and efficiently to support the movement.

For more information about investment opportunities, strategies, organizations in your local area and potential co-investors, contact Funders for Justice, an organizing platform for funders, donor networks and affinity groups to connect with each other and with the movement for racial justice and police accountability across the country.

Let's dream together. ■

Amoretta Morris is a professional grantmaker by day and grassroots philanthropist by night. She belongs to Black Benefactors, a local giving circle in Washington, D.C.

A Resource Guide on Criminal Justice Funders

The following are just some of the funders that support criminal justice reform in the U.S.

ANDRUS FAMILY FUND

http://affund.org New York, NY

Leticia Peguero, Executive Director

Focuses on changing outcomes for youth affected by juvenile justice systems.

AKONADI FOUNDATION*

http://akonadi.org/

Oakland, CA

Quinn Delaney, Founder and President

Addresses the harm of systemic marginalization and criminalization on youth of color while creating the opportunity for all young people to thrive.

ASTRAEA LESBIAN FOUNDATION FOR JUSTICE

http://www.astraeafoundation.org

New York, NY

J. Bob Alotta, Executive Director

Supports organizations and campaigns working for systemic change and resisting the criminalization of LGBTQI lives.

COMMON COUNSEL FOUNDATION

http://www.commoncounsel.org

Oakland, CA

Laura Livoti, CEO

Supports movement building and grassroots groups, with a focus on influencing public policy and corporate accountability.

THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE INITIATIVE

http://www.criminaljusticeinitiative.org

New York, NY/Northampton, MA • Founded 2001

Aleah Bacquie Vaughn, Executive Director

Funds and nurtures grassroots activism led by formerly incarcerated people working to transform the criminal justice system in the United States.

DAVID ROCKEFFILER FUND

http://drfund.org/

New York, NY

Lukas Haynes, Executive Director

Supports organizations that advocate for prison reform and nonprofits that provide pre- and post-release services.

FORD FOUNDATION*

http://www.fordfoundation.org

New York, NY

Darren Walker, President

Ford's Civil and Criminal Justice Systems program gives marginalized populations access to a robust criminal justice community committed to fairness and equal protection under the law.

NEO PHILANTHROPY

http://www.theneodifference.org/

New York, NY

Michele Lord and Berta Colón, Co-Presidents

The National Campaign to Reform State Juvenile Justice Systems works to change juvenile justice policies to enhance public safety, improve outcomes for youth and reduce taxpayer costs.

OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS*

https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org

New York, NY

Christopher Stone, President

On an international scale, promotes new alliances for criminal justice reform, develops alternatives to pretrial detention and expands access to competent legal representation.

2015 NCRP Impact Awardee

WOMEN DONORS NETWORK

http://www.womendonors.org

San Francisco, CA

Donna P. Hall, President and CEO

WDN's Criminal (In)Justice Circle identifies, strengthens and invests in a broad network of organizations working to fundamentally change the unjust criminal justice system.

^{*}Philanthropy's Promise Signatory

Some Key Terms for Understanding Criminal Justice Reform

CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM

A broad term that refers to work to improve the criminal justice system, including overlapping efforts affect police forces, prosecution policies, the courts system, access to legal aid, prisons and incarceration rates and re-entry for previously incarcerated individuals. (https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/justice-and-prison-reform/criminaljusticereform.html#restorative)

BAN THE BOX

A national campaign by All of Us or None to remove the conviction history question from job applications. Since its start in 2004, over 100 local governments have adopted this fair chance policy, resulting in an increase in those with prior convictions entering the workforce. (http://www.nelp.org/publication/thefair-chance-ban-the-box-toolkit)

POLICE BODY CAMERAS

"On-officer recording systems" worn by police officers to record their interactions with the public. A strategy the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has deemed a potential "win-win" in preventing police violence. (https://www.aclu.org/police-body-mounted-cameras-right-policies-place-win-all)

SCHOOL-TO-PRISON PIPELINE

The ACLU defines this as "the policies and practices that push our nation's schoolchildren, especially our most at-risk children, out of classrooms and into the juvenile and criminal justice systems, [reflecting] the prioritization of incarceration over education." (https://www.aclu.org/fact-sheet/what-school-prison-pipeline)

MASS INCARCERATION

The United States leads the world in international incarceration rates. There are currently about 2.2 million people in U.S. jails and prisons, or 1 in 35 adults, a 500 percent increase over the last 40 years. These trends are directly related to changes in sentencing law and policy, rather than actual crime rates, and disproportionately affect people of color. (http://sentencingproject.org/doc/publications/inc_Trends_in_Corrections_Fact_sheet.pdf)

WAR ON DRUGS

The War on Drugs is an American phrase denoting policies to reduce the illegal drug trade in the U.S., first popularized when President Richard Nixon declared drugs "public enemy number one" in 1971. Programs established then were predecessors to the modern Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA). (http://www.hrw.org/legacy/reports/2000/usa/Rcedrg00-05.htm)

#BLACKLIVESMATTER MOVEMENT

A grassroots movement to end police brutality against people of color, created in July 2012 after George Zimmerman was acquitted in the death of Trayvon Martin. In July 2015, leaders gathered in Cleveland, Ohio, for the first Movement for Black Lives Convening. (http://blacklivesmatter.com)

THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT

Ratified in 1865, this Constitutional Amendment abolishes slavery and involuntary servitude, "except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

PRISON-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

As defined by journalist Eric Schlosser, "a set of bureaucratic, political, and economic interests that encourage increased spending on imprisonment, regardless of the actual need." (http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1998/12/the-prison-industrial-complex/304669)

New and Renewing NCRP Members

Alliance for Nonprofit Excellence
California Association of Nonprofits
Cleveland Foundation
Daphne Foundation
David and Lucile Packard Foundation
Deaconess Community Foundation
Ford Foundation
Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation
James Irvine Foundation
Korean American Community Foundation
Liberty Hill Foundation
Mertz Gilmore Foundation

National Flousing Resource Center
Native Americans in Philanthropy
NEA Foundation
New York Foundation
PICO National Network
Rockefeller Foundation
Rosenberg Foundation
Southern Coalition for Social Justice
United Way of Greater Los Angeles
Wallace Alexander Gerbode Foundation
Woods Fund of Chicago

Three Ways Philanthropy Can Help End Mass Criminalization

(continued from page 1)

words, rather than being moved to action by the injustice of dramatic racial disparity, the participants continued to support a punitive, rather than rehabilitative, approach when confronted with a racially-biased criminal justice system. Indeed, racial prejudice can be subconscious and deeply rooted.²

Mass criminalization is an expression of underlying racism and implicit bias that has been present, both structurally and culturally, in our society for decades. Policies at the local, state and federal levels have been designed to exclude certain groups, notably Black and Native people - fortifying a labyrinth of barriers to full political participation with the cumulative effects of social oppression, reduced economic choice and multigenerational trauma. The Making of Ferguson by Richard Rothstein highlights how past and present housing, banking and education funding policies continue to segregate and discriminate against communities of color in cities across the country.3

Mass criminalization is an egregious area of racism and segregation in our country. Richard Nixon's "War on Drugs" has caused the U.S. to spend billions of dollars on arrests and prison sentencing that disproportionately target communities of color and dehumanize Black people in particular, with catastrophic outcomes for these communities and the erosion of Civil Rights Era gains. The California Endowment's Do the Math: Schools vs. Prisons campaign revealed that Californians "spend \$62,300 a year to keep one inmate in prison, and just \$9,100 per year per student in our public schools." But, in the past 35 years, California has built 22 new prisons, but only one campus for the University of California.⁴ These spending choices come at a huge societal cost for everyone and lay bare the extent to which we have reinstated cultural and legal criminalization and ultimately social separation of people of color.

Given this cultural and political backdrop, addressing mass criminalization

requires structural solutions to dismantle unjust policies and their effects. We need to build a movement that proffers an expansive vision of who belongs and a policy platform that holds membership and inclusion for all communities as its central principle – and establishes political power for communities with less of it.

To do this, funders will need to learn to partner authentically with those most impacted by the reaches of the criminal justice system to advance short- and long-term solutions that shift how society views formerly incarcerated people (disproportionately people of color) and their families. Grassroots, community-led groups that organize those directly affected by an issue are best positioned to understand the needs of these communities – and have the appropriate solutions to solve them. These groups work to be accountable to their community, activating community members to participate in political action that addresses the root causes of structural racism and the policies that embody it. By coming together with allies and the resources needed to succeed, these groups are building movements that challenge the stories we tell about ourselves and each other and ensure that we have a healthy democracy by and for the people.

Take, for example, the growing movement to end hiring discrimination against formerly incarcerated people (FIPs). In 2003, community organizers who had been formerly incarcerated convened in Oakland and New Orleans to discuss the challenges their communities faced, including the lack of voting and employment rights, as well as other issues that affect people in prison and after their release. They agreed to organize both locally and nationally under the banner All of Us or None (AOUON), and to prioritize a campaign to "Ban the Box," or remove the check box for convicted felons on applications for public employment.

What followed was simply inspirational. By organizing FIPs and their families, investing in their leadership and building long-term alliances with other grassroots groups, AOUON won numerous victories across the country. San Francisco was the first municipality to Ban the Box on public employment applications; other cities in California followed. In 2011, AOUON helped found the Formerly Incarcerated and Convicted People's Movement (FICPM), a bottom-up alliance of groups organizing FIPs that gave an added boost to the national Ban the Box campaign. Now, more than 100 cities or counties and 18 states have removed questions



May His Memory Be for a Blessing, 2012. Image courtesy of Connie Cagampang Heller/ Project Linked Fate.

about conviction history from their public employment applications, and President Obama is considering an executive order to do so for all federal contractors. The campaign continues with its expansive vision to Ban the Box everywhere, including on housing, business and professional licensure applications. It seeks to end all forms of discrimination against people with criminal records, and truly offer people a fair chance.

These victories required the development of political power for those with little of it and applying a racial justice lens. AOUON is committed to bringing the people most impacted by mass criminalization into the movement to share their struggles and appeal to elected officials. To overcome long-held racial stereotypes and advance policy change, we must show the humanity of people with past convictions. It is easy to mistreat an anonymous "criminal" other; it is quite different to relentlessly punish someone you know and care about. Indeed, AOU-ON's victories have come from telling real stories about real people's lives - and empowering those same people to make visionary demands of our democracy.

This is just one example; the movement to end mass criminalization provides many more. The imperative for funders is to support these efforts without getting in the way (a historical challenge). This requires authentic partnership with movement. Here's how:

- 1. Support grassroots, community-led groups that organize those who stand most to win or lose from an issue, and codesign funding priorities with them. AOUON developed the Ban the Box campaign by advancing a vision created by impacted communities, cultivating leadership within those communities and building a broad political base ready to demand action to address structural racism and the policies that embody it.
- 2. Support regional and national convenings of groups organizing FIPs, their

families and families with incarcerated children to facilitate movement-building. Funding for grassroots organizing has been far too limited, inhibiting community-led groups from engaging in the critical relationship-building and strategy alignment needed to build a stronger criminal justice reform movement. Funders need to provide sufficient resources to groups to design these convenings (including planning time, travel funds and support for facilitation) so those involved can create their own agendas and work toward desired outcomes.

3. Approach the issue with root causes in mind - and where they intersect with other issues - with the long-term aim to dismantle structural racism and build a new paradigm of inclusiveness and belonging. Several community-led and movement groups have already developed analysis on the intersection between criminal justice, immigrant rights, LGBTQ rights and/ or corporate accountability. For example, it is no coincidence that the private prison industry has lobbied aggressively for regressive policies around prison construction, immigration detention and expanded policing. Groups such as Enlace, Break-OUT!, Black Alliance for Just Immigration, PUENTE Human Rights Movement and FIERCE are making these connections, helping build a stronger movement. They are supported by funder collaboratives, like the Sunrise Fund, that recognize the power of policy-change campaigns led by the people most impacted.

Yes, something does have to urgently change if we want to stop the inhumane treatment and senseless killings of low-income Black, Brown and Native people. Philanthropy can and must play a role. The road to belonging starts by acknowledging that conscious and unconscious racial animosity has been a driving force in shaping the policies that led us to this era of mass criminalization. If we are to not only undo the harm that it has already caused, but also to advance an inclusive

and just vision for society, philanthropy must walk in authentic partnership with the movement toward racial justice that has sprung up all around us. Is philanthropy up to the task?

Connie Cagampang Heller of the Linked Fate Fund for Justice at Common Counsel Foundation has been actively engaged in grantmaking and donor organizing for more than a decade. The Linked Fate Fund supports grassroots organizing and intermediaries dedicated to dismantling systemic racial inequity and building inclusive democracy.

Alexander W. Saingchin, program officer at Common Counsel Foundation, oversees a set of family foundation and donor-advised fund portfolios with a strong focus on racial justice. Common Counsel Foundation also hosts the Social and Economic Justice Fund, a pooled fund for movement building that has recently focused on criminal justice reform.

Notes

- 1. Shara Tonn, "Stanford research suggests support for incarceration mirrors whites' perception of black prison populations," Stanford Report, August 6, 2014, http://news.stanford.edu/news/2014/august/prison-black-laws-080614.html.
- For more information about implicit bias, see john a. powell, "Implicit Bias and Its Role in Philanthropy and Grantmaking," Responsive Philanthropy, May 2015, http://ncrp.org/publications/ responsive-pubs/rp-archive/responsivephilanthropy-spring 15/role-of-implicitbias-in-philanthropy-grantmaking.
- 3. Richard Rothstein, The Making of Ferguson: Public Policies at the Root of Its Troubles, Economic Policy Institute, October 2014, http://www.epi.org/publication/making-ferguson.
- 4. Mary Lou Fulton, *Do the Math: Schools vs. Prisons*, The California Endowment, August 15, 2014, http://tcenews.calendow.org/blog/do-the-math:-schools-vs-prisons.

Faith in Florida

Orlando, FL www.faithinflorida.org





Image courtesy of Faith in Florida.

NCRP: What is Faith in Florida and how does its faith-based organizing approach make it uniquely suited to address systemic racial and economic barriers?

Faith in Florida: A member of the PICO National Network, Faith in Florida is a multifaith, multiracial community organization that builds power in communities across Florida to address issues that cause suffering for our families. Our faith calls us to speak with one voice and constructively engage decision-makers and institutions to address systemic racial and economic issues. Particularly in the Black community, the church continues to be a hub that holds communities together, a place where people learn and share information. Our faith-based organizing approach draws from these strengths.

NCRP: Florida has a unique cultural and political environment, especially around its relationship to prisons and incarcerated people. How has this affected your work? Faith in Florida: Returning citizens in Florida are set up for an ongoing cycle of failure, facing barriers to housing, employment and social services. Close to two million Floridians have lost their right to vote. Florida is one of only three states where all people with felony convictions are permanently disenfranchised unless they are pardoned.

Sadly, money dominates our state's political system. Florida policymakers enjoy a beneficial relationship with private prison companies and the American Legislative Exchange Council. We have seen this in recent attempts to privatize a majority of Florida's prisons, significant campaign contributions made to the governor by pri-

vate prison corporation The GEO Group and a reluctance to implement policies to reduce the recidivism rate. We must fight against this political context to restore the rights of people in our communities.

NCRP: What are the goals of your Live Free Campaign? What challenges and successes have you encountered?

Faith in Florida: Our state Live Free campaign, in coordination with the national campaign led by PICO, seeks to address the systematic criminalization of people of color. We work to promote fair employment opportunity for returning citizens by banning the box, restoring voting rights through clemency reform, implementing "Ceasefire" programs to policing and reduce gun violence, and deepening our communities' understanding of race's role in our criminal justice system.

In the past year, we helped to lead efforts in partnership with St. Vincent DePaul and the National Employment Law Project that have successfully "banned the box" in four Florida cities. We are working to build support across the state for voting rights restoration. Largely as a result of our efforts, the cities of North Miami Beach, Florida City, Opa Locka, Miami Gardens and El Portal have passed resolutions urging the governor and his cabinet to revise the clemency policy.

We also have held key meetings with law enforcement in Miami and Orlando to gain support for a Ceasefire initiative.

At the same time, we are up against opponents with a huge war chest. Raising sufficient resources to combat resistance to reform is a challenge.

NCRP: Why is rights restoration for previously incarcerated individuals crucial to criminal justice reform?

Faith in Florida: With rights restoration, returning citizens and their families would form a sizable voting bloc. This would help convince elected officials to embrace sensible criminal justice reform and enact policies that remove reentry barriers in employment and housing.

NCRP: How can foundations best support efforts to end mass incarceration?

Faith in Florida: Foundations should invest meaningfully in the recruitment, training and leadership development of formerly incarcerated individuals to lead campaigns for reform in their communities and states. We need moral clarity to win on these issues. Foundations should invest in organizations like Faith in Florida and our sister organizations in the PICO network that appeal to people's moral values, not just their economic interests.



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Select Publications

The Kresge Foundation - Will This Bold Grantmaker Become the Next Great Social Justice Foundation?

By Elizabeth Myrick

October 2015

This Philamplify assessment examines the Kresge Foundation, which has moved from risk-avoidance to risk-pursuit since its 2006 strategic shift. While the foundation exceeds most of NCRP's criteria for effective social justice philanthropy, the report recommends that it incorporate an explicit racial equity lens across all programming and increase mission investing.

visit: www.philamplify.org/foundation-assessments

Families Funding Change: How Social Justice Giving Honors Our Roots and Strengthens Communities

By Niki Jagpal and Ryan Schlegel

October 2015

Between 2004 and 2012, only 9 percent of grant dollars from family foundations went toward social justice strategies like advocacy and grassroots organizing. This paper offers useful tools for family foundations to embrace effective social justice philanthropy, including a discussion guide, ideas for overcoming perceived barriers and profiles of leading family foundations that have successfully transitioned to social justice giving.

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