Responsive Philanthropy

NCRP'S QUARTERLY JOURNAL

SEPTEMBER 2018

IN THIS ISSUE

Michelle Dione captured the viral video of "BBQ Becky" calling the cops on a group of Black people for having a barbecue at Lake Merritt on April 2018. View the video on https://youtu.be/Fh9D_PUe7QI.

The gentrification of movements: 4 Ways funders can stop putting raisins in the potato salad

By Vanessa Daniel

Last year my family moved to Tacoma, Washington, after 17 years of living in Oakland, California. The decision to move was a heart-wrenching one.

My partner and I had spent our entire adult lives in Oakland. We'd built a vibrant community of friends, most of whom were involved in movement work to advance racial, economic and gender justice. We were part of a local group called Baby-buds, a queer women of color community that supported each other through the process of having children. Our kids were growing up together like cousins. We love Oakland. However, as rents skyrocketed, we could no longer afford the standard of life we wanted there.

GENTRIFICATION HAD FINALLY PUSHED US OUT.

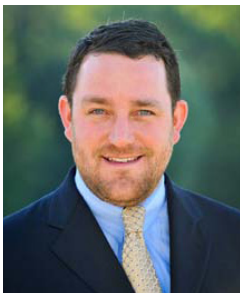
On our last night in Oakland – a full year before BBQ Becky[1] and Permit Patty[2] – we went to our favorite Ethiopian restaurant on Grand Avenue with some members of our Baby-buds crew. It was a lovely summer evening, and we were enjoying ourselves.

Suddenly, a white woman at the table sitting next to us turned and snapped at our friend's 6-year-old son, who had flipped the light switch to a small lamp on the wall behind him on and off. One of his moms calmly told the woman that they were happy to tell him not to flip the light switch again but would appreciate her using a kinder tone and addressing them rather than their child. The woman was incensed; she glared at us and spat out her words, "You should know better than to let your kid play with a light switch in the first place. No one should have to tell you that." She threatened to call the police on us and then proceeded to finish eating her plate (*continued on page 12*)

ncrp National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy

challenging grantmakers to strengthen communities

A message from the President and CEO



Dear Colleagues,

The mid-term elections are just a few weeks away. Our strength as Americans comes from our ability to work together. With so many nonprofits and foundations knitting together a landscape of people from different places and of different races into a whole, I am hopeful for our future.

We cannot let the greedy few and the politicians they finance divide us against each other based on what someone looks like, where they come from or how much money they have. It's time to stand up for each other and come together. It is time for us to vote for leaders who see all of us as equal, whether we are white, Black or brown, who respect all of our families, and who will govern for all of us.

Thank you to all of the nonprofits working this fall to advance these values and this vision, and to the foundations and other donors who help support their efforts.

This edition of *Responsive Philanthropy* invites us to reflect deeply on our work and then take action that is grounded in the communities that matter to us and the future that's at stake.

In "**The gentrification of movements: 4 Ways funders can stop putting raisins in the potato salad**," Vanessa Daniel of Groundswell Fund observes how grassroots strategies that have been used for decades by people of color-led organizations have gained the attention of funders. Yet it is well-funded, white-led organizations appropriating the strategies as their own that are reaping the benefits. "Aside from being ineffective in moving the needle on social change generally, this funding approach only reinforces white supremacy," writes Daniel.

For many family foundations, taking the big step towards diversity, equity and inclusion is daunting. Cynthia Addams and Colin Jones of The Collins Foundation share the foundation's growth and evolution in "**In pursuit of equity: A family foundation's story**." Opening the board to non-family members has been an integral part of their efforts.

BoardSource's Anne Wallestad and I identify four important questions on CEO oversight that boards need to ask themselves to protect their organizations in "**Reflections in the wake of the Silicon Valley Community Foundation**." We write, "The board's role in CEO oversight is not a straightforward or easy role to play, but it is an absolutely critical one."

Define American's Rev. Ryan Eller urges funders to get behind efforts to shift people's perceptions of immigrants in "**Change culture and attitude to get it right on immigration reform**." Eller observes that the focus on policy change hasn't been effective and may lead to more harm: "While our movement is investing in ballot measures and bills, the anti-immigrant movement is investing in a cultural narrative that has successfully convinced the public that immigrants are our enemy and ought to be feared."

Finally, our Member Spotlight features **LA Voice**, a multi-racial, multi-faith community organization that believes all people have a voice and the power to transform their communities and the country.

I thank you for being a part of NCRP's community. Tell us how we're doing and what stories you'd like us to cover. Email community@ncrp.org.

Sincerely,

Aaron Dorfman
President and CEO

PS: Are you a funder interested in moving the needle on equity and justice? Discover how NCRP's *Power Moves* self-assessment guide can help you towards true and lasting positive impact.

Responsive Philanthropy is the quarterly journal of the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy.

2018, Issue No. 3
ISBN: 1065-0008

National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy
1900 L Street NW, Suite 825
Washington, DC 20036
Phone 202.387.9177
Fax 202.332.5084
E-mail: info@ncrp.org

In pursuit of equity: A family foundation's story

By Cynthia Addams and Colin Jones

The work associated with diversity, equity and inclusion in philanthropy is often called a journey, but "pursuit" sounds like a better description after several years on this path. While a journey can be uncertain and meandering, the idea of a pursuit calls to mind intentionality.

At The Collins Foundation, we have been on such a pursuit for several years. During this time, we have continually asked ourselves: How and where do values of diversity, equity and inclusion show up in a general-purpose family foundation like ours? Engaging in a broader range of perspectives on our board of trustees is one answer to that.

COMMUNITY TRUSTEES AT THE COLLINS FOUNDATION

In 2010, we contributed to – and learned a lot from – *Grantmaking to Communities of Color in Oregon*,[1] a report compiled by Grantmakers of Oregon & Southwest Washington and the Foundation Center, which indicated that fewer than 10 percent of grants in Oregon reached communities of color. That report prompted many conversations internally, among funders and with community-based organizations led by people of color. It also led to a published series of recommendations to Oregon foundations, titled *Philanthropy and Communities of Color in Oregon*,[2] by the Coalition of Communities of Color. All of this provided context for a 2013 retreat of The Collins Foundation board of trustees and nearly two years of equity learning, discernment and planning.

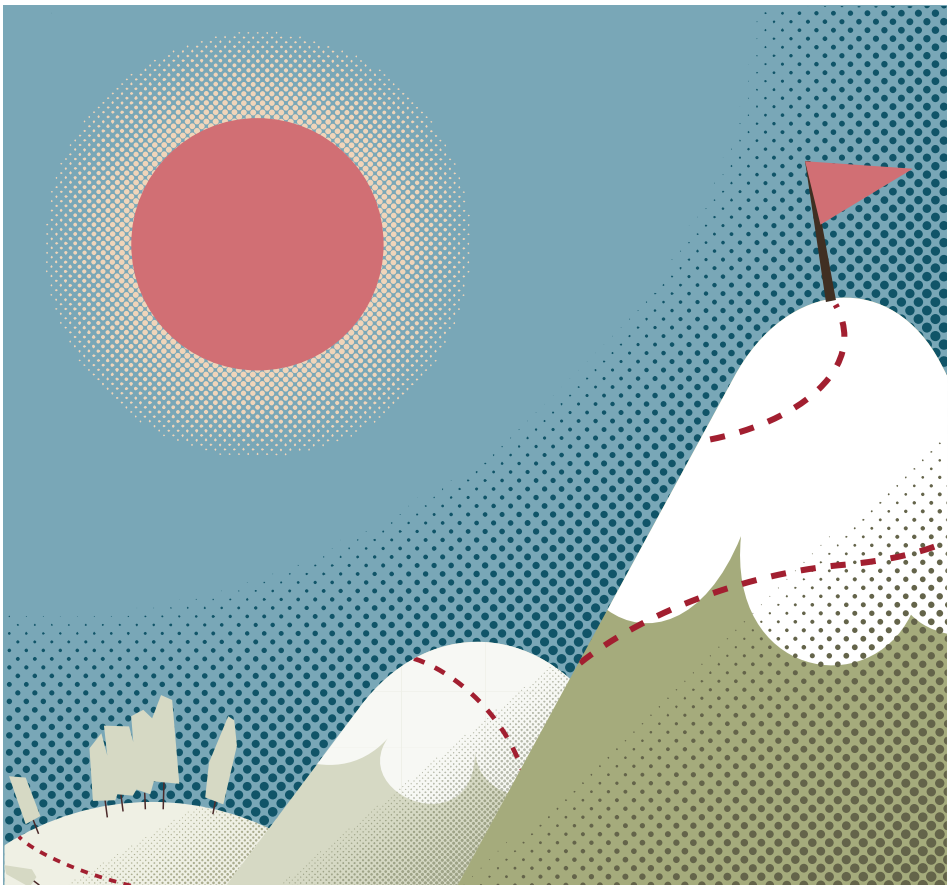
The Collins Foundation has benefitted tremendously from the participation of two community trustees over its 70-year history: one who joined in 1980 and recently retired and a second who joined in 2007 and will retire at the end of 2018. Among the key goals identified by the foundation's multi-year plan to advance diversity, equity and inclusion[3] is to grow the number of community trustees on our board while also ensuring that the next generation of community trustees brings new perspectives afforded by racial and ethnic diversity. Recent revisions in our bylaws will increase the size of the board and formally establish the inclusion of community trustees as integral to the foundation's governance for the first time – three community trustees and four Collins family members will govern the foundation moving forward.

In fall 2016, we invited a diverse group of nonprofit leaders to join our trustees' retreat to share what qualities they would hope to see in the next generation of foundation trustees. We also wondered what questions or concerns they would have if they were asked to join the board and what they would need to feel welcome.

Their advice is helping to guide our selection of new trustees. It has also informed organizational changes and helped prepare us to welcome the first community trustees to join the board in more than a decade.

UNEARTHING OUR TRADITIONS

Our equity planning process started with a series of one-on-one interviews



conducted by a consultant with staff and trustees in summer 2014. Following these interviews, we sought to discern the deepest values of the foundation, i.e., those that have helped deliver on our mission of improving quality of life and well-being for Oregonians and those that stood in the way of progress toward equity, diversity and inclusion.

Love, compassion, collaboration and service came up often during our values discernment process. Equally potent, however, was the value we placed on tradition.

With a long history in Oregon, the foundation's grantmaking, along with many of its traditions and patterns, was established by its founding family in the 1940s – a Methodist family of wealth with a calling to support others in the spirit of compassion and service. Not surprisingly, the foundation's grants carried that stamp of service, and, over the decades, a healthy pool of grantees emerged, along with a pattern of giving that was firmly established. As the next generation of trustees joined the board, supported and nurtured by the prior generation, they, too, had the opportunity to steward the foundation's assets and grantmaking in a growing line of succession.

As we reflected on the role that tradition has played within the foundation, we had to confront hard questions: How does a grantmaking tradition that favors long-term relationships forged in earlier decades coexist with a goal to expand and increase funding to communities of color in a state that has grown increasingly more diverse? How, too, does a foundation reckon with the disparities experienced by people of color across Oregon, including within the nonprofit sector, without accepting that we have contributed to those disparities in some ways? How would new community trustees – the first from outside the foundation in decades – react to or be affected by our longstanding traditions?

Unearthing the many expressions of tradition at The Collins Foundation has been liberating and transformative.

For example, the foundation recognizes religion as one of its funding areas, in part because of its Methodist heritage. We are also increasingly aware of the disparities that exist in LGBTQ communities, and we are committed to doing our part to address them. Although the regional body of the Methodist Church in the west openly practices inclusion, it is governed by an overarching Methodist doctrine that intentionally excludes LGBTQ individuals from full participation in the church.

Living our values meant shifting our funding toward advocacy and organizing for full inclusion – that was a big step for The Collins Foundation. Fortunately, we found a willing partner in the Oregon-Idaho Conference of the Church,[4] which has become a vocal advocate for change.

FOSTERING A CULTURE OF LEARNING

The discernment process that led to the foundation's multi-year equity plan helped us recognize that to serve the Oregon of today and the Oregon of the future, we must invest in our own learning and the learning of others, and explore new ways of grantmaking.

This commitment to learning and exploration has shown up in big and small ways. In 2016, we invested in an equity learning cohort, bringing together five youth-serving organizations to deepen their internal commitments to equity and strengthen practices for serving youth of color. The following year, we renewed our investment in the cohort and started a new tradition within the foundation – a staff and trustee equity conversation to open each trustee meeting, which is both deepening our shared knowledge and building stronger relationships among us.

In tandem with this shared learning, we have sought out and seized

on opportunities to try new approaches to grantmaking. Our board of trustees enthusiastically agreed to launch a rapid response fund in early 2017 for immigrants and refugees impacted by federal policy changes. Embracing such work required a streamlined approach to decision-making, which is different from our 70-year pattern. Together, with three other funders in Oregon, we were able to establish the Oregon Immigrant & Refugee Funders Collaborative[5] to align our funding and reduce barriers for community-based organizations.

Also pushing our boundaries is the launch of a new initiative, several components of which were first imagined during our equity planning three years ago. Led by our new community engagement fellow, this initiative will provide multi-year operating grants and technical assistance to small and emerging organizations in communities of color, including those rooted in immigrant and refugee communities, disability and deaf communities and LGBTQ communities in Oregon. The work will be guided by a community advisory committee – the first ever for The Collins Foundation – that will help steer the process, select the program participants and make funding recommendations to our board of trustees.

These steps toward learning, growth and experimentation have value in their own right: They are deepening our relationships with Oregon's diverse communities and making our grants more responsive to ever-evolving needs on the ground. At the same time, they are building habits of openness and flexibility within the foundation that will serve us well when we welcome the next generation of community trustees.

NEW WAYS OF WORKING

Our responsive grantmaking and our processes are evolving, too, with new opportunities for adaptation consistently showing up.

Because we anticipate our new community trustees will also be working full-time and juggling multiple responsibilities, we recently disrupted yet another tradition – the expectation that trustees will read every grant proposal in its entirety, of which there are nearly 40 every two months. By authorizing staff to make funding recommendations on smaller applications, the trustees will shift to reading only the summary write-ups on smaller requests. And, with less time dedicated to reviewing individual applications in board meetings, there will be more opportunity for shared learning, community engagement and strategic discussions.

This change grew out of an increasingly collaborative staff-review process, which itself began evolving as we welcomed new staff members with diverse perspectives and experiences.

THE WAY FORWARD

Today, The Collins Foundation is an evolving organization with a long history behind it, a blossoming of fresh ideas and a willingness to grow and change. But none of this would have been possible without hours dedicated to discerning our values, questioning our traditions, looking for growth opportunities and learning how to embrace difference.

The foundation should think of welcoming new board members not as a final destination, but as part of our continued growth and evolution.

One piece of advice, in particular, lingers from that 2016 retreat with nonprofit leaders: The foundation should think of welcoming new board members not as a final destination, but as part of our continued growth and evolution.

While the pursuit of equity at The Collins Foundation is well underway, there is no doubt that the next generation of trustees will be influential in further defining what this pursuit looks like for a general-purpose family foundation committed to responsive and equitable grantmaking in the 21st century. ■

Cynthia Addams is CEO and Colin Jones is grants manager at The Collins Foundation, a 70-year-old family foundation in Portland, Oregon.

Notes

1. View the report at http://gosw.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/ORDiversity10_single-pages_web.pdf.
2. Download the report at http://www.coalitioncommunitiescolor.org/research-and-publications/cccphilanthropyinoregon.
3. View The Collins Foundation's diversity, equity and inclusion plan at http://www.collinsfoundation.org/diversity-equity-inclusion-plan.
4. Learn more at https://www.umoi.org/newsdetail/new-lgbtq-advocacy-coordinator-ready-for-spirits-to-be-stirred-111121538.
5. Learn more about the Immigrant & Refugee Funders Collaborative and its submission guidelines at http://www.collinsfoundation.org/submission-guidelines/immigrant-refugee-funders-collaborative.

Reflections in the wake of the Silicon Valley Community Foundation: 4 Questions for nonprofit and foundation boards to protect their organizations

By Anne Wallestad and Aaron Dorfman

Recent events at the Silicon Valley Community Foundation (SVCF) have rocked the philanthropic community and left many wondering why things went so terribly wrong. They have also shed light on the challenges that governing boards face as they work to understand the realities of a CEO's leadership and the culture he or she fosters within the organization.

In the case of the SVCF, we have no inside knowledge about what the board did and did not know, what role it may have played in enabling dysfunction, or what signals it may have missed in its governing role. But, regardless of those specifics, this is a cautionary tale for other boards about what can go wrong, why it is important for boards to build systems and practices that create the space for staff feedback and reporting of wrongdoing, and how to take action as a board when there is a clear need to do so.

4 IMPORTANT QUESTIONS FOR EFFECTIVE CEO OVERSIGHT

We offer boards the following four questions for reflection:

1. Are we embracing – or avoiding – our role in protecting the safety and well-being of the staff?

As Anne wrote in a *Nonprofit Quarterly* article that pre-dated headlines about SVCF:

> *"When it comes to the board's role in staff oversight, many like to point out that the board has exactly one employee: the chief executive. While true in many ways, this sentiment obscures the fact that the board has a very important role in providing leadership and oversight of the entire organization, including protecting one of its most important resources – its people."*[1]

A board that thinks it has no role in protecting employees is confusing management – a staff-level role that is squarely within the CEO's purview – with oversight, which is an essential board function. Boards play a crucial role in ensuring that the CEO is providing strong leadership to the organization and its staff and to ensuring that the CEO's power doesn't go unchecked if there are issues of abuse or mistreatment.

Indeed, when the CEO is condoning – or is at the center of – an organization's harm of its employees, board-level action may be the only recourse. And that's a responsibility boards must take seriously.

2. Do we have appropriate channels for staff to share feedback and report issues?

Establishing policies and practices to guide the board's engagement with the staff helps ensure that the board is surfacing issues while respecting the distinct roles of the board and CEO. This includes:

- ***Whistleblower policy:*** Every organization should have a formalized whistleblower policy that enables staff to report issues of abuse or wrongdoing at any time. This should include a direct reporting line to the board so that reports related to the CEO's leadership cannot be suppressed by the CEO as well as a protocol that alerts the board of any reports made at the staff level and how they are being addressed.
- ***Annual review:*** Boards should invite staff feedback about the CEO's leadership in an annual review process, as is described more fully in the next section. Boards that fail to invite team feedback as a part of these annual reviews (including the 40 percent of boards that do not do annual CEO evaluations at all[2]) are missing a huge opportunity to better understand the CEO's leadership.
- ***Board-endorsed feedback systems:*** While not recommended as a standard practice, some circumstances may prompt a board to establish a formalized mechanism for ongoing staff feedback. Typically, this stems from identified challenges or issues and a sense that the board needs to invite and listen to staff feedback to better understand what board-level action may be needed.

Outside these formal channels, board members should avoid inviting, listening to or sharing feedback about the CEO's leadership with employees. This can be difficult to observe in practice, especially if a staff member signals that he or she has a concern. Board members should not ignore these attempts but instead di-

rect the employee to one of the formalized systems of feedback.

Additionally, the board member should alert the board chair to ensure that – if there are numerous signals of concern or complaints from staff – the board has the opportunity to observe the trend and address concerns proactively as a part of a formalized, board-endorsed process.

3. Do our evaluation systems ensure that we are reflecting on staff feedback about the CEO's leadership?

Because the board has very little exposure to the CEO's day-to-day leadership of the team, it is important that it invites staff feedback as a part of the CEO's annual review rather than relying solely on its own impressions. Boards should consider some combination of the following:

- ***Direct, 360 feedback:*** BoardSource recommends that – at minimum – each CEO review includes feedback from those employees who report directly to the CEO.
- ***Staff surveys:*** Staff surveys can be a helpful window into the CEO's leadership of the team as well as the overall health of the organization.
- ***Staff retention metrics:*** Boards should work to understand how the organization's staff retention compares with that of other organizations, paying attention to any spikes in attrition or significant variances within different demographic categories, which could be a signal of challenges.
- ***Publicly available commentary & feedback:*** Boards can take advantage of publicly available commentary on sites like Glassdoor.com, which enable employees (and former employees) to share candid feedback about the organization's work environment.

Boards must be thoughtful about how these inputs are invited and interpreted. Three things to keep in mind are:

- ***Beware of unintended consequences.*** Thoughtfulness about how feedback is invited helps boards to avoid negative, unintended consequences. One of the reasons that we recommend the incorporation of 360 feedback into the evaluation process is that it is one of the only opportunities that boards have to invite staff feedback in a way that is respectful of the CEO and does not signal a lack of confidence from the board. It also encourages honest feedback by protecting staff members' confidentiality.
- ***The full board should be involved.*** Each and every board member should be involved in evaluating the CEO's performance by providing input and reviewing the collective feedback from the board, the staff and the CEO. This ensures that the full board has a holistic view of the CEO's leadership and that potentially alarming feedback cannot be ignored or deemed insignificant based on one person or subgroup's judgment.
- ***Context is everything.*** What's happening within an organization and its operating environment can have a significant impact on the staff experience. For example, an organization that is going through major changes or is in financial distress may have staff members who are feeling anxious about their job security, limited in terms of their budget or programs, or frustrated by changes that are happening around them as a part of efforts to right the ship. All of these things can have an impact on the feedback that is shared.

If staff members (or former staff members) share pointed feedback about a CEO's leadership, board members should avoid knee-jerk reactions to what could simply be complaints from a frustrated or disgruntled employee. Instead, focus on broad themes that may

"What makes you think we're on a sinking ship?"

be worthy of exploration with the CEO, keeping in mind that the CEO's job is to navigate the organization through challenging or complex situations and make decisions that are measured not by their popularity but by the extent to which they advance the organization's goals and impact.

4. Are we observing things that could be signals of problematic leadership? Subtle signals can sometimes be incredibly illuminating. For example:

- ***The willingness of the CEO to engage senior staff leaders with the board:*** A CEO's extreme aversion to contact between the board and staff – including in board meetings and committee meetings – may be a signal of underlying challenges that the board may need to better understand. It could reflect a lack of transparency around organizational performance, a loss of confidence in the CEO's leadership within the team, a weak or dysfunctional senior leadership team, generalized leadership insecurity or paranoia, or something else.
- ***The way that employees act in the CEO's presence:*** When team members – particularly at the senior team level – are afraid to speak up, look to the CEO before saying anything, or tense up whenever the CEO is around, that could be a signal of a potential challenge.
- ***The way a CEO talks to (or about) the team:*** Boards should be wary about a CEO who sends signals that he or she doesn't appreciate or value the team. The signs could be subtle such as by speaking only in the "I" when talking about the organization's work. They could also be more overt by speaking rudely or dismissively to or about the team or individual team members. Either way, these could indicate that the CEO devalues the team, which could be playing out problematically within the organization.
- ***The failure to recruit and retain talented people of color or women:*** Finally, an organization's failure to recruit and retain talented people of color and women could be a warning sign for the board about the organization's culture and its CEO's leadership. Paying attention to hiring and promotion patterns, retention rates and average tenures in a way that disaggregates by demographic categories may help the board to detect if there are issues of bias, hostility or abuse.

IT'S HARD TO GET IT RIGHT, BUT WE MUST.

While it's easy to blame a board when things go wrong, the signs of a potentially dysfunctional organizational culture (and the CEO's role in it) are nuanced. Boards are wise to be cautious about making assumptions about what things do – or do not – mean. However, boards need to avoid ignoring or explaining away signals that could be indicators of real organizational distress and dysfunction, particularly when they could be the result of the CEO's leadership and management and therefore can only be addressed by board intervention.

In the case of the Silicon Valley Community Foundation, it is unclear what, if anything, the board should have done differently. As outsiders, it is impossible for us to know what went on within that boardroom. And even when board governance and leadership are done "right," things can still go wrong within an organization.

For all those reasons, the board's role in CEO oversight is not a straightforward or easy role to play, but it is an absolutely critical one.

As social sector organizations – whether we are foundations or non-grantmaking nonprofits – the board's role in CEO oversight is essential to our missions; to the people and communities we serve, and to the team members who rely on us to intervene when they are being harmed or are at risk. And, in our minds, those are very good reasons for boards to work hard to get it right. ■

Anne Wallestad is president & CEO of BoardSource. Aaron Dorfman is president & CEO of the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy (NCRP). Follow @BoardSource and @NCRP on Twitter.

Notes

1. Anne Wallestad, "It's Time for Nonprofit Boards to Have a Conversation About Sexual Misconduct," *Nonprofit Quarterly*, February 22, 2018, https://nonprofitquarterly.org/2018/02/22/time-nonprofit-boards-conversation-sexual-misconduct/.
2. BoardSource's most recent *Leading with Intent* study found that 40 percent of CEOs were not being evaluated on an annual basis. A full 15 percent of CEO's reported that they had never received a formalized evaluation from the board. Visit https://leadingwithintent.org/.

The board's role in CEO oversight is not a straightforward or easy role to play, but it is an absolutely critical one.

Change culture and attitudes to get it right on immigration reform

By Rev. Ryan M. Eller

For weeks this past summer, pro-immigrant organizations and community members scrambled together to reunite children with mothers and fathers and end the inhumane separation of families at the border.

As I wrote in my NCRP blog post just a couple of months ago, it is important to move from rapid response to lasting change.[1] When we scramble to respond in these moments, we need to scramble knowing that a solution is also coming. But that permanent fix won't take place without shifting cultural attitudes toward immigrants. Below I offer three specific ways we can do this with the help of grantmakers and donors.

LOOKING BEYOND COMPREHENSIVE IMMIGRATION REFORM

Over the last several decades, the primary strategy of the immigrant freedom movement has been to enact legislative reform via comprehensive immigration policies. And funders, understanding how critical it is to ensure legal protection to immigrants, have invested millions into pushing these efforts forward. Yet, for many different reasons, we've not seen the hoped-for results.

Our recent history is evidence that investing energy only on policy reform can lead to harmful results. For example, even though then-president Barack Obama issued an executive order calling for the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) that enabled over 800,000 young people to continue to contribute to their communities temporarily without fear of deportation, he deported more immigrants than any other president in our country's history. By 2016, he had deported 2.5 million people, earning him the title among many advocates as "Deporter in Chief." The administration's belief at that time, as it is now under Donald Trump, was that being tough on immigrants would spark congressional action. It didn't work then. It won't work now. And, in the end, families are the ones who suffer.

A CULTURE WAR THAT DEHUMANIZES IMMIGRANTS

While our movement is investing in ballot measures and bills, the anti-immigrant movement is investing in a cultural narrative that has successfully convinced the public that immigrants are our enemy and ought to be feared.

In 2016, the four largest national anti-immigrant organizations – NumbersUSA, Center for Immigration Studies, Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), US Inc. – reported nearly $32 million in cash assets to use toward anti-immigrant research, media influence and political "education" work, which increasingly cements their hateful rhetoric into American culture.

Since the 2008 election of President Obama, America's first non-white president, these groups have grown an average of 12 percent annually, with the largest of these (FAIR) growing its operating revenue by 73 percent between 2014 and 2016, alone despite being labeled as hate groups by the Southern

Members and leaders of Define American Chapters at the first chapters summit at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. Define American Chapters are student-led initiatives to bring the conversation on immigrants and identity home to their college communities. Students receive the tools to reach out to people who have different opinions and backgrounds, and create opportunities for mutual understanding.

Poverty Law Center. "The more they go after us, the more money flows in (from donors)," said Dan Stein, president of FAIR, to the *DailyMail.com* just last month.[2]

These skyrocketing new funds have enabled these groups to scale even more dramatically among online and media audiences. Through fear-mongering, divisive discourse and inaccurate studies often amplified not just by *Fox News* and conservative radio but also by outlets like *The Washington Post*, *CNN* and *The Wall Street Journal*, these anti-immigrant groups have embedded a toxic narrative that vilifies and dehumanizes immigrants. Studies suggest that white nationalist sentiments are growing among specific segments of the population, particularly in the South and Midwest. Further, recent research has shown that the perception that an overwhelming number of Americans support pro-immigrant politics is severely misleading.

Part of the reason for this is that, staggeringly, more than 25 leaders from within the aforementioned hate groups now hold senior positions in the Trump administration, which gives them an even more powerful platform to exploit the fear they have embedded in the hearts and minds of Americans. They are extremely successful in this effort: even among hate groups, anti-immigrant hate groups have been measured to have the most pernicious and vitriolic messaging on social media (above anti-Muslim and anti-Black groups), and the biggest followings among hate groups.

According to a recent study commissioned by Unbound Philanthropy in 2018, these anti-immigrant groups have activated a conservative base that believes immigration, legal and illegal, is the number one threat to America today. Meanwhile, among segments of the population that are the most pro-immigrant, the issue of immigration itself falls to seventh or eighth on their list of priorities compared with other concerns.

Film festival attendees talk at the first annual Define American Film Festival at the Des Moines Art Center in Des Moines, Iowa on Saturday, January 23, 2016. Photo by Michael Conti/Define American

While the anti-immigrants are riled into a sense of urgency to keep immigrants out, pro-immigrants don't feel nearly the same urgency to fight back.

SHIFTING CULTURAL ATTITUDES BY CHANGING THE NARRATIVE

While some look at the re-election of new leaders as a solution, the truth is that anti-immigrant sentiment did not begin with Trump, and it won't end the day he leaves office. All he has done is fan the flames of xenophobia and exploit an existing undercurrent of fear and blame that has long percolated below our country's surface.

So, the real question is: How do we rehumanize the conversation about immigrants when it has become so dehumanizing?

A comprehensive solution requires both policy and culture change. Policy change is fundamentally necessary to protect struggling communities; culture change is a critical part of facilitating policy shifts. We cannot improve the politics of immigration until we improve the cultural lens through which our nation's 43 million immigrants – 11 million of whom are undocumented – are perceived and seen.

In a December 2016 study reported by *The New York Times*,[3] researchers discovered a startling correlation between a person's choice of presidential candidate and the television shows he or she watches. This correlation was stronger than with any other variable, including political party or who a person voted for in the previous election. In July 2018, an NPR/Ipsos poll[4] found similarly that the TV news that a person consumes is the strongest predictor of his or her feelings on immigration – stronger, even, than said person's political party.

These findings demonstrate the inextricable connection among media, culture and politics. For America to truly become a welcoming country and ultimately bring about much-needed legislative change, we need a comprehensive strategy that recognizes the critical role of media narratives in shaping culture and public perception.

Recently, Define American worked with major Hollywood influencer Shonda Rhimes to develop a storyline on the top-rated show Grey's Anatomy featuring a DACA-recipient surgical intern. Seen by an average of 8 million viewers per episode, Grey's Anatomy is among the top-10 most-watched television shows among Trump voters and in rural America. By creating a character that counters the dominant and toxic narrative about undocumented Americans, projects like this allow us to reach into the homes and hearts of people who may not otherwise be willing to listen to the other side of the story.

3 WAYS TO REHUMANIZE IMMIGRANTS

We can't keep fighting these fights just to come back in two years and fight them again. As separate as these issues may seem, shows like Grey's Anatomy have the power to influence who we are as a nation, and we who are as a nation determines how silently we will sit by as we watch families being torn apart.

Policy and culture create a feedback loop that creates significant shifts in how we define what it means to be an American. To be effective in this work,

we need more funders who help us advance these primary goals:

- **Change the way news media talks about immigrants**

  Legislative reform is difficult when the language around immigration has been polarized and weaponized.[5] Define American's #WordsMatter campaign has successfully worked with more than 20 news organizations to change their style guides, no longer using dehumanizing language like "illegal" when referring to people. To have a more humanizing conversation on immigration, we have to start by using humanizing language.

  We also have to end the power and influence of anti-immigrant organizations in inaccurately framing these conversations. This summer, Define American launched a full-scale #SourcesMatter campaign to expose the influence that FAIR, CIS, NumbersUSA, US Inc. have had in shaping the language and national discourse on immigration. This campaign will put pressure on journalists to abide by professional standards and always acknowledge these sources as hate groups when citing them, and raise public awareness about these groups and their ties to eugenics and white nationalism.

- **Build empathy through storylines in entertainment media**

  Entertainment and pop culture tell stories about topics both new and familiar and provide narratives that help us figure out how we feel on a given topic. Entertainment media can serve as educator, influencer and a social script, particularly for the 91 percent of white people in America who, according to *MTV News*,[6] reportedly do not have meaningful relationships with non-white people.

  Define American has always recognized entertainment media as a critical tool for reshaping the way that the public thinks about and perceives immigrants. It works with more than 23 top-rated television shows on networks like NBC, CBS, Netflix, Hulu and MTV to educate writers and producers on immigration and embed humanizing storylines, building empathy and promoting understanding across tens of millions of viewers each week.

- **Create welcoming communities through local organizing**

  Culture change is, by definition, broad and large-scale, and it can take root in multiple forms. In addition to the national media shifts, local organizers and advocates also need to work in their communities to stimulate more cultural shifts.

  Define American currently has 55 chapters in more than 22 states. We train young people and influencers to work with local media to shift conversations about immigrants, citizenship and identity within strategic regional zones.

  According to the Southern Poverty Law Center,[7] hate groups are now recruiting on college campuses more heavily than any other time in U.S. history. Our chapters program provides a space for young people of all backgrounds to connect and grow as advocates and allies.

People often think that cultural shifts happen on their own, but the reality is that they don't. Somewhere along the way, there is a group of people that invested in pushing it in one direction or the other. ■

Rev. Ryan M. Eller is executive director of Define American. Follow @EllerRyan and @DefineAmerican on Twitter.

Notes

1. Read the post on https://www.ncrp.org/2018/08/rapid-response-support-is-important-but-immigration-funders-must-also-invest-in-shifting-culture.html.
2. Valeri Bauman, "Anti-immigration group FAIR achieves new political clout in Trump's America, drawing more donations, followers and getting their own people in power – despite being labeled a hate group," *DailyMail.com*, August 27, 2018, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6103189/Anti-immigration-group-FAIR-achieves-new-political-clout-Trumps-America.html.
3. Josh Katz, "'Duck Dynasty' vs 'Modern Family': 50 Maps of the U.S. Cultural Divide," *The New York Times*, December 27, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/12/26/upshot/duck-dynasty-vs-modern-family-television-maps.html.
4. NPR, "NPR/Ipsos Poll: American Views on Immigration Policy, Press Release, July 16, 2018, https://www.npr.org/about-npr/629415700/npr-ipsos-poll-american-views-on-immigration-policy.
5. David Nakamura, "'Language as a weapon': In Trump era, immigration debate grows more heated over what words to use," *The Washington Post*, January 21, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/language-as-a-weapon-in-trump-era-immigration-debate-grows-more-heated-over-what-words-to-use/2018/01/21/d5d9211a-fd6a-11e7-a46b-a3614530bd87_story.html.
6. "MTV Delves Into Looking Different," *Blog.Viacom*, July 17, 2014, http://blog.viacom.com/2014/06/mtv-delves-into-looking-different/.
7. Heidi Beirich and Susy Buchanan, "2017: The Year in Hate and Extremism," *Intelligence Report*, 2018 Spring Issue, https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2018/2017-year-hate-and-extremism.

The gentrification of movements

(continued from page 1)

of delicious Ethiopian food, apparently oblivious to the fact that threatening to call the police was a threat on our lives – particularly for the Black people at our table.

GENTRIFICATION IS INFURIATING AND, FOR THE COMMUNITIES AND CITIES WE LOVE, HEARTBREAKING.

The gentrification of cities involves affluent white people moving in, sometimes because they are attracted to the culture, i.e., the "ethnic" food, etc. The trouble is, they often don't like the people of color who created that culture.

So they call the police on us (in Oakland, this included an attempt to shut down a 65-year-old Black church[3] because the singing was "too loud" and to ban the playing of any musical instruments[4] without a permit around Lake Merritt, a popular spot for drumming).

They displace us (between 2000 and 2014, 31 percent of Oakland's Black population[5] was pushed out, an indicator of a similar trend of push out among other groups of color).

And they engage in theft and appropriation of the culture.

Before you know it, there are white women donning saris and putting their image on their own line of "artisanal" Indian ghee. There are white hipsters opening soul food restaurants. The restaurants look OK from the outside, but something isn't right.

There are raisins in the potato salad.[6]

THE GENTRIFICATION OF MOVEMENTS IS NO DIFFERENT.

In recent months, I have noticed it picking up steam as, particularly in this treacherous political climate, strategies that have been used for decades by people of color are finally gaining the attention of funders.

Black women, in particular, are killing the game. They are literally preventing entire states from plunging over the Roy Moore-esc cliffs that the majority of white voters (including white women) are trying to drive them over. These women launched #BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo, two of the boldest movement moments of our time – movements that are changing the weather, culturally and politically, in this country.

Women of color are running for office in record numbers – and winning – with some of the most courageous platforms we've seen, dispelling the myths that candidates must water-down their messages and pander to white swing voters in order to win.

Women of color-led organizations in particular, such as BlackPAC, Texas Organizing Project, New Virginia Majority and CHIRLA have spent years honing year-round voter engagement approaches that treat voters not just as a tactical means to win elections but like, well, people, i.e., whole people deserving of candidates and organizations that bring an integrated race, class, gender and decolonization analysis. They make voters actual partners in the long-term, shoulder-to-shoulder work of transforming material conditions and the balance of power toward social justice in neighborhoods, cities and states. They have focused on talking to voters directly, and they have prioritized the New American Majority (people of color, millennials and single women).

Yet organizations led by people of color, especially women of color and particularly Black women, are seeing precious little of the surge in philanthropic giving that has occurred post the election of 45.

As these strategies gain traction with funders, well-funded, white-led organizations that dismissed these approaches and the people of color who developed them are now declaring to funders, "Look! we have a new innovation!" They are announcing that they will no longer just run TV ads during elections; they will knock on doors and talk directly to people. They will no longer ignore women voters, voters of color and young voters but, instead, will reach out to them. Some are Elvising and Columbusing, claiming full credit for major wins like those in Virginia and Alabama that were clearly delivered by Black women.

These movement gentrifiers are essentially telling funders, "Everything that people of color-led organizations can do, we can do it better and … at scale. So don't fund them. Fund us!"

Some funders are responding affirmatively. It can be a relief to check the "diversity" box without ever having to change who you are writing a check to, without having to deal with the minefield of implicit bias and outright racism that keeps foundation staff and trustees from trusting people of color organizations with money and without having to pull back the curtain on the allure of scale to find that big numbers often lack the depth of relationships in a community that translates into the real power to win in the short- and long-term.

THE PROBLEM IS THIS: THERE *WILL* BE RAISINS IN THE POTATO SALAD.

There are entire movements in this country, with hundreds of thousands of people in their ranks that were founded expressly because people of color could not express their boldness and brilliance within white-led movements. Excluded worker organizing (such as domestic workers who were left out of 1935 National Labor Relations Act), environmental justice and reproductive justice, nearly every social justice sector has a people of color-led wing of the movement that was created for this exact reason.

The idea that philanthropy can simply fund people of color via white-led

organizations and fuel the boldness that people of color are generating is false. At some point (as has been proven again and again), there will be white leadership telling people of color to not talk about police brutality or to tone it down on immigrant rights or to go silent on transgender rights because they don't want to spook white swing voters. At some point, there will be raisins in the potato salad.

Aside from being ineffective in moving the needle on social change generally, this funding approach only reinforces white supremacy.

A helpful parallel is this: Hundreds of years ago, women were not allowed to obtain credit. Eventually, the law in the United States changed to allow banks to require women to have their husband or another male relative cosign their loan or credit application (this was permitted until 1974). Very few people today would point to the shift to this cosign situation and declare that it afforded women real freedom or self-determination. If we can see the problem with that, we are capable of seeing the problem with funding people of color-led work underneath the sign-off authority of white leadership.

Now, should white-led organizations working for justice engage people of color? Yes, particularly if they want to win. Are there some that are doing so in authentic and respectful ways and that are even deserving of funding? Certainly. But to say it is highly problematic for white-led organizations to be the majority of what philanthropy supports in order to reach communities of color is an understatement. It is a stark manifestation of white supremacy.

What can funders do or avoid doing?

- **Direct at least half of the dollars in your portfolio to bold and courageous social justice organizations that are deeply rooted in communities of color and that have majorities of people of color – particularly women of color – in *leadership* positions at the staff and board levels.**

  This, it is worth noting, is not the same as a majority white organization with a single person of color as executive director or an organization with a majority people of color line staff and white people in most of the decision-making positions.

  NCRP's thoughtful *Power Moves* guide is a helpful read for those of us in philanthropy grappling with how best to support marginalized communities. One of the tenets it lifts up is: "Fund under-resourced communities to build power and be their own agents of change." Yes, do this!

- **Recognize the difference between organizations with an extractive approach that seeks to use people of color as a means to an end and those with a collaborative and generative approach that see and treat people of color as partners in long-term work.**

  Defund the former. Fund the latter. For example, voter engagement campaigns aimed at mobilizing voters of color in a one-off way to elect candidates who have zero commitment to represent the interests of communities of color is not an original or effective means of winning social change. It is colonialist and imperialist in the most basic sense.

- **Stop offering people of color-led organizations small amounts of funding to hand their ideas and innovations over to white-led organizations who are deemed "capable" of taking them "to scale."**

  Fund the organizations that had the great ideas in the first place to take them to scale.

- **Build your muscle to work against implicit bias, structural racism and misogyny on a daily basis.**

  Beverly Tatum describes structural racism as a moving airport walkway. Virulent racists are running on the walkway. Some people who disagree with racism think they are disengaging from it by standing still, but the walkway still moves them toward the same destination of racial disparities and discriminatory outcomes.

  In order to take an active role in dismantling white supremacy and any system of oppression for that matter, one must turn around on the walkway and walk faster in the opposite direction. This takes strength, backbone, endurance and tenacity. For many white people, it takes building muscle groups that they have never had to use.

  Part of the reason total annual philanthropic giving to people of color has flat-lined at roughly 5 percent for more than a decade, despite the rising percentage that people of

The idea that philanthropy can simply fund people of color via white-led organizations and fuel the boldness that people of color are generating is false.

New and Renewing Members

The Alan Rabinowitz Trust
Allegany Franciscan Ministries
The Annie E. Casey Foundation
Arca Foundation
Arcus Foundation
Center for Popular Democracy
Citi Foundation
The Cleveland Foundation
The Colorado Health Foundation
Compton Foundation
Conrad N. Hilton Foundation
The Cricket Island Foundation
The Educational Foundation of America
Faith in Public Life
GALEO: Latino Community Development Fund
The George Gund Foundation
Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation
Healthy Places by Design
The Heinz Endowments
Inner-City Muslim Action Network
Jay and Rose Phillips Family Foundation
Jessie Smith Noyes Foundation
Kansas Health Foundation
Korean-American Community Foundation
The Kresge Foundation
LA Voice
Liberty Hill Foundation
MACED
Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation
Mass Story Lab/Create Forward
Mertz Gilmore Foundation
National Birth Equity Collaborative
National Housing Resource Center
The Needmor Fund
New York Foundation
Perrin Family Foundation
Prosperity Now
Public Accountability Initiative
Public Welfare Foundation
Retirement Research Foundation
Richmond Memorial Health Foundation
The Scherman Foundation
Selma Center for Nonviolence, Truth & Reconciliation
Sobrato Family Foundation
Surdna Foundation
Taller Salud Inc
Unitarian Universalist Veatch Program at Shelter Rock
United Students Against Sweatshops
Virginia Organizing
Voqal
Western States Center
Woods Fund of Chicago

color makeup of the U.S. population, is because too many people in philanthropy are standing still on the walkway.

Build your muscle. Do the work to change the status quo.

Let's stop bankrolling the gentrification of movements. Let's fund toward the liberation of all people. And when it comes to freedom, liberty and potato salad, let's enjoy the real deal. ■

Vanessa Daniel is executive director of Groundswell Fund, which won the 2017 "Smashing Silos" Impact Award for intersectional grantmaking. Follow @pwr2thappl, @GroundswellFund and @NCRP on Twitter.

Notes

1. Tom Cleary, "Jennifer Schulte, 'BBQ Becky': 5 Fast Facts You Need to Know," *Heavy.com*, June 23, 2018, https://heavy.com/news/2018/05/jennifer-schulte-bbq-becky/.
2. Jessica Campisi, "After internet mockery, 'Peppermint Patty' resigns as CEO of cannabis-products company," *CNN*, June 26, 2018, https://www.cnn.com/2018/06/25/us/permit-patty-san-francisco-trnd/index.html.
3. Cheryl Hurd, "'We Make a Joyful Noise:' West Oakland Churches Respond to Noise Complaints," *NBC Bay Area*, October 7, 2015, https://www.nbcbayarea.com/news/local/West-Oakland-Churches-Responds-to-Noise-Complaints-331187662.html.
4. Sam Levin, "Oakland to Take Down Lake Merritt Signs Prohibiting Musical Instruments, Activists Plan Protests," *East Bay Express*, October 8, 2015, https://www.eastbayexpress.com/SevenDays/archives/2015/10/08/oakland-to-take-down-lake-merritt-signs-prohibiting-musical-instruments-activists-plan-protests.
5. Olivia Allen-Price, "How Many Are Being Displaced by Gentrification in Oakland?" *KQED*, February 9, 2017, https://www.kqed.org/news/11307279/how-many-are-being-displaced-by-gentrification-in-oakland.
6. https://knowyourmeme.com/memes/raisin-potato-salad.

MEMBER SPOTLIGHT

LA Voice

Los Angeles, CA
lavoice.org

LA Voice leaders joining together in song at a criminal justice transformation town hall meeting.

NCRP: What is LA Voice's mission and how is it especially relevant today?

LAV: LA Voice is a multiracial, interfaith organization with a mission to transform Los Angeles into a county that reflects the human dignity of all communities, with racial and economic equity and abundant life for all.

Our work is transforming Los Angeles by building relationships across differences of race, faith and class and channeling those relationships into powerful community organizing campaigns. Through our network of 53 congregations across LA County, we reach 50,000 families and directly engage more than 4,000 people in action and leadership growth each year. LA Voice is an independent organization and a member of Faith in Action (formerly PICO National Network). LA Voice leaders are currently working to improve our communities through the following areas of work: immigrant integration, criminal justice transformation and affordable housing and homelessness.

Our work is especially relevant in this moment, where divisions of race, faith and class are being exacerbated and exploited by divisive leaders across the nation – including those in California. Beyond our organizing victories that improve life for those in greatest need across the county, our work builds relationships across divides that we must bridge if we are to create one nation for all of us.

The most common feedback we hear after someone attends their first LA Voice event is that they have never before been in a room with people from so many different backgrounds. Building solidarity across difference is more important than it ever has been before, and LA Voice is at the forefront of that work.

NCRP: Why is it important to build the power of people and communities in addressing injustice and inequities of all kinds?

LAV: People power is the only answer to our complex problems. People most affected by the unjust and racialized systems have to be at the center of decision-making about where we go from here, and only broad people power based on our common values will get us there.

When we look to the future with our hearts, we see a wide and deep multiracial, multifaith coalition rooted in the love of people and expressed through our spiritual traditions reorienting Los Angeles County's priorities to focus on those at the margins of the circle of belonging, creating a city with racial and economic equity and abundant life for all, i.e., a beloved community.

NCRP: Any recommendations for grantmakers who wish to be effective supporters and partners with organizations like yours?

LAV: Without support to develop leadership, bridge relationships and confront power – in the ways that community leaders and people at the frontlines define – we will never get where we are trying to go. So, while three-year general operating support grants are a good start, we need to imagine a much broader, longer horizon for funding our colelctive change efforts. ■

www.ncrp.org

National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy

1900 L Street NW • Suite 825 • Washington, DC 20036

Select Publications

As the South Grows: So Grows the Nation
by Ryan Schlegel and Stephanie Peng — June 2018

The fifth and final report in the series provides a roadmap for Southern and national grantmakers with an interest in building power, wealth and resilience in the South so that Southern leadership can start taking full advantage of philanthropic resources and turn soil and seeds into a sustainable grassroots ecosystem.

Power Moves: Your essential philanthropy assessment guide for equity and justice
by Lisa Ranghelli — May 2018

The only self-assessment toolkit centered on the role of power and privilege in advancing equity, *Power Moves* helps funders examine how well their practices and strategies build, share and wield power for lasting impact.

As the South Grows: Bearing Fruit
by Ryan Schlegel and Stephanie Peng — February 2018

The fourth report in this series explores how Southern cities like Metro Atlanta present opportunities to learn how to confront and break down structural barriers that will have reverberating effects on the rest of the country.

visit: www.ncrp.org/publications

NCRP Board of Directors