# Responsive Philanthropy



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## Philanthropy and the 2020 census: A once-in-a-decade chance to get it right

By Vanita Gupta

The U.S. Constitution requires a census every 10 years, and getting it right is important to everyone. The census has an enormous impact on the nation's ability to ensure that all Americans receive equal treatment under the law and have equal access to economic opportunities. Census data provide the basis for virtually

all demographic and socioeconomic information used by policymakers at all levels of government, businesses, philanthropy, community leaders and research organizations.

A good census is not a partisan issue. The goal of the U.S. Census Bureau is to "count everyone once, only once, and in the right place." But the census doesn't count all groups equally well, which skews the results in favor of some communities over others for the next 10 years. Already, budget shortfalls are placing census operations designed to reach groups that have been historically underrepresented in the census at risk, threatening fairness and accuracy, and ultimately, our democracy.

The U.S. Census Bureau spends billions of dollars on the census. However, none of that money reaches the nonprofit organizations whose outreach to people of color, immigrants and people with low income can help make the difference between a disastrous undercount and an accurate count.

#### IT'S NOW OR NEVER

Some of the largest foundations in the country have started to fill a portion of this resource gap, but more focus and resources are needed to support the organizations engaged in critical census education and promotion.

Here are four reasons why funders need to (continued on page 12)



to strengthen communities

# A message from the President and CEO



Dear Colleagues,

These are challenging times for democracy and human rights in the United States. Some in our nation are attempting to turn back the clock and undo many of the advancements our society has made over the past 100 years.

In response to this dangerous environment, smart philanthropic leaders will figure out how to play both offense and defense at the same time. In this issue of "Responsive Philanthropy," we feature some important ideas that will help funders calibrate strategy to best support underserved communities and social justice movements.

In "Philanthropy and the 2020 Census: A once-in-a-decade chance to get it right," Vanita Gupta of The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights tells us why foundations must start putting resources into education and promotion of the 2020 census immediately, if they haven't already started doing so. Gupta provides four reasons why funders need to ensure the census is accurate. "The outcome of the census influences – directly or indirectly – almost every issue that U.S.-focused philanthropies support," Gupta notes.

Ludovic Blain of the California Donor Table and Jim Araby of UFCW Western States Council explain what philanthropy can do to respond to the rightwing push to reduce the power of unions in "How should philanthropy respond to attacks on unions?" Blain and Araby list 10 opportunities for philanthropy to address needs as labor declines. "One result of rightwing attacks on labor unions is that liberal and progressive philanthropy will find itself, and its grantees, in a different ecosystem far less likely to produce the results – the justice – we seek," the authors write.

We asked eight NCRP nonprofit members: "What does winning look like for your organization in the current political environment?" Learn how they view success for the important work they're doing in today's political climate.

In "Funding transformation through racial healing," NCRP's Jeanné Isler shares why W.K. Kellogg Foundation believes racial healing can transform the nation. The foundation's Truth, Racial Healing and Transformation effort aims to motivate people to make a sustained commitment to support change. Isler focuses on how the program is working in New Orleans, Dallas and Buffalo, New York.

Did you know that some nonprofits are re-granting portions of their funding to help grassroots efforts? Rev. Jasmine Beach-Ferrara of the Campaign for Southern Equality explains how her organization is using micro-grants to fund LGBTQ organizing in the South in "Pay it forward: A new way to fund grassroots LGBTQ organizing in the South."

In our Member Spotlight, we feature the Episcopal Health Foundation. The foundation's vision is to transform every community in Texas into a healthy community by improving health in addition to health care.

We are committed to highlighting stories and resources that help the sector become truly effective forces for good. Let us know what you think: Send comments and story ideas to community@ncrp.org.

Sincerely

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# How should philanthropy respond to attacks on unions?

By Ludovic Blain and Jim Araby

Labor has an important role in the social justice movement – from member leadership development projects to tax-exempt giving to partisan giving. Unions can be effective at communicating a political message to members and increase turnout and support for candidates who support policies that help people of color and low-income communities by unlikely voters.

As rightwing attacks on unions typically cause their decline and diminish labor's ability to create a landscape for better policy outcomes, progressive philanthropy needs new strategies to protect the communities it cares about.

Foundations and high-net-worth donors should understand that we are operating in an environment of declining union support for certain organizations and campaigns.

One result of rightwing attacks on labor unions is that liberal and progressive philanthropy will find itself, and its grantees, in a different ecosystem far less likely to produce the results – the justice – we seek. So philanthropy needs to help stem the tide and prepare for it at the same time. Foundations that seek to make America better for the most marginalized will need to beat back the attacks, thus causing the retreat of labor's power, and to step into the gap caused by that retreat.

Labor spends hundreds of millions of dollars to defeat anti-labor candidates and support pro-labor candidates. The backlash against rights gained by blacks, other people of color, women, immigrants, gays and lesbians, workers

and other people over the last century or so has been fueled by the asymmetric polarization of American politics caused by the rapid shift of the Republican Party to a reactionary platform.

In an overwhelming number of cases, anti-labor candidates are also reactionary on many other issues progressive philanthropy supports, while pro-labor candidates are supportive of those other issues.

## IMPACT OF UNIONS ON THE AMERICAN SOCIAL CONTRACT

The existence of unions has made American life better in many ways. Union employees make an average of 30 percent more than non-union workers, 92 percent of union workers have job-related health coverage versus 68 percent of non-union workers, and union workers are more likely to have guaranteed pensions than non-union employees. Further, the gender wage gap for union members is half the size of non-union workers' gap.<sup>1</sup>

As labor continues to decline, wages and worker protections do so as well. The union membership rate – the percent of wage and salary workers who were members of unions – was 10.7 percent in 2016. In 1983, the first year for which comparable union data are available, the union membership rate was 20.1 percent.

The impact unions have on the average American goes beyond the work-place; it is also found at the polling place. Union members are 4 percent more likely to vote than non-union



Photo by Fibonacci Blue. Used under Creative Commons license: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0/legalcode.

members who have similar demographic characteristics.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, union members are more likely to vote for candidates who support policies that help low-income communities and people of color, such as raising the minimum wage.

Unions run sophisticated political campaigns to turn out their members in high-priority races at the local, state and national levels.

These unions spend incredible amounts of time, energy and money on mobilizing their members to volunteer, give money and vote. Unions contribute directly to candidates at all levels of government. Labor unions also spent \$167 million in the 2016 federal election cycle. This excludes the millions more that are given at the local and state level.

Unions play a vital role creating democracy at the workplace by having an impact beyond the bread and butter issues of wages and benefits. They instill a democratic tradition of getting involved and being active inside the workplace and at the polling place. Attacks on labor union members' rights are a direct attack on democracy itself.

Labor is by far the largest organized sector within the progressive movement. There are 14.6 million union members and an additional 6 million union family members who are eligible to vote. To put that in scale: the ACLU has 1.2 million members; Sierra Club, 3 million members; Color of Change, more than 1 million members; NAACP, 300,000 members; League of United Latin American Citizens has 135,000 members; and Planned Parenthood sees 2.5 million men and women in the U.S. annually.

As labor retrenches, other organizations will need to engage former labor members; otherwise, some of those members are ripe for either joining rightwing movements or becoming apathetic to politics. At the very least, unions directly engaging their members

in improving workplace conditions is part of the social contract that is difficult to replace.

#### ADVERSE IMPACTS ON LABOR

Twenty-eight states have passed "right-to-work" laws, so misnamed because they actually prohibit private sector unions from requiring all workers covered by a union to pay dues for the cost of representing them. It essentially allows workers to receive all the benefits of joining a union with none of the responsibility to pay the union for those benefits.

Rightwing philanthropy has led this attack on labor. These attackers include the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, which funded "the Freedom Foundation in Washington State" to "defund Big Labor" because "Washington State's liberal labor laws have long allowed it to be a net exporter of union dollars to other parts of the country," as well as funding similar activities in many other states.<sup>3</sup>

Since the "Tea Party" wave swept the country in 2010, six states passed "right-to-work" legislation (Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, West Virginia and Wisconsin). Many political observers were surprised that the reliable Democratic states of Wisconsin and Michigan went to Trump in 2016, but if you look closer at the data you will see a direct correlation between the passage of "right-to-work" legislation and the decrease in Democratic turnout.

Wisconsin's Act 10 legislation made it more difficult to keep a union certified, which resulted in a drop of union membership from 15.2 percent of all Wisconsin workers in 2009 to 8.3 percent in 2015. After Michigan in 2013 became the 24th state to adopt a right-to-work law, union membership dropped from 16.3 percent to 14.5 percent after the first full year.4

These rightwing victories brought real negative change to those states: For example, teachers in Wisconsin saw an

8 percent drop in wages since Act 10 severely limited most public employees' ability to collectively bargain with the government.<sup>5</sup>

Attacks on labor have escalated since 2010 when Republicans took a majority of statehouses and governorships; many of the fights have been waged at the state legislative level. Where Republicans don't have power, they attempt to diminish progressive power at the ballot box.

Even in California, the rightwing and its supporters have attempted to use the ballot box to change the political rules in their favor. Tax exempt groups like the Freedom Foundation attack union members saying that the unions they attack are "a huge political operation in California" and describing themselves as "a frankly political operation." Three initiatives that would have banned political contributions from unions have been defeated at the ballot in the past 14 years. However, anti-labor groups successfully passed an anti-pension initiative in San Diego in 2012.

#### WHAT CAN PHILANTHROPISTS DO?

As labor diminishes, there are a few ways foundations and high-net-worth donors can respond:

- Ask grantees what a retreat by labor will mean for them. Have strategy discussions with them and their labor allies about what each of your sectors should do.
- 2. Fund power-building strategies for communities to work with allies, including labor, to protect their communities and our society. Foundations in the California Civic Participation Funders table have done so, including directly funding county labor federations to work with community leaders for non-partisan civic engagement, as spotlighted in Bolder Together<sup>7</sup> and Bolder Together 2.8
- 3. Support innovations in workplace

- organizing that elevate wages and benefits and build worker and community power such as the innovations done through the Workers Lab<sup>9</sup> and Restaurant Opportunities Center.<sup>10</sup>
- 4. Make long-term strategic investments in labor education programs either at the university level (like the UC Berkeley Center for Labor Research and Education<sup>11</sup> or the UCLA Labor Center<sup>12</sup>) or within non-profits themselves.
- Fund more efforts on economic and sectoral studies that engage communities in deeper power analysis on what is happening in the underlying economy.
- 6. Fund non-partisan candidates (New America Leadership Project, 13 Wellstone Action 14), appointed (like state-wide Boards and Commission Leadership Institute 15 as well as local ones 16), and government staff (such as the Haas Institute Governing for Racial Equality 17) academies that are tied to other networks can help broaden and deepen understanding of the larger progressive vision for local, state and federal government.
- Invest in long-term legal research that helps strengthen workplace rights and small democratic participation.
- Fund organizing at the scale equivalent to the size of labor as an organizer of their own members.
- 9. Foundations should ensure that their grants are used in the most impactful way possible. That includes ensuring that grantees are taking the 501(h) election, so their groups can lobby strongly. Public foundations, like community foundations, should encourage their grantees to start up 501(c)(4)s and give c4 funds.
- 10. High-net-worth donors need to

continue to expand their efforts over the past decade using non-tax-exempt dollars to support candidates aligned with progressive policies that those donors have been supporting through 501(c)(3) giving.

Attacks on labor, just like those on Planned Parenthood, and other progressive anchor institutions are part of a white American nationalist backlash. These backlashes happen regularly, attempting to retrench all the rights won in the previous era. They've have been described as "redemptions," and the preceding periods where rights were fought for and won are called "reconstructions." We need to make this most recent American redemption<sup>18</sup> shallow and short-lived. This needs to be America's last redemption.

Ludovic Blain is director of the California Donor Table.

Jim Araby is the executive director of UFCW Western States Council.

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# What does winning look like for your organization in the current political environment?

NCRP members share their vision of success as they work to address critical issues faced by our communities.

WINNING IS RECOGNIZING THAT intersectionality – the interconnected nature of social identities as they overlap giving people advantages and disadvantages in society – is not just applicable to the populations we serve, but to ourselves, and plays a role in our work, whether we're aware of it or not.



Winning is building the roads that bring communities together with leaders that take risks, that listen to communities and understand intersectionality. It is creating a united front that seeks to liberate everyone from all forms of oppression in a coordinated, interconnected way that reveals the voice and power that everyone has had all along.

Layal Rabat, Empowerment and Advocacy Manager
 Asian Pacific Community in Action

WINNING FOR THE TASK FORCE INvolves an intersectional approach to social justice that believes that no one is free until all people are free. Under the guise of resistance, we will give voice to disenfranchised LGBTQ people, amplify progressive positions and lift up the work that fights back against the ha-



tred, intolerance, small-mindedness and insularity displayed by our opponents. Winning means holding governmental agencies responsible for their decisions by monitoring what they do and protesting policies that affect our constituencies negatively. Winning means welcoming more people across the country to help with our organizing, activism and visibility of LGBTQ people.

Rea Carey, Executive Director
 National LGBTQ Task Force

TO ACHIEVE COMMUNITY-LED CHANGE for health and well-being, diverse stake-holders must start by finding common ground. The current political environment is extremely divisive with an 'us' vs. 'them' narrative. I'd like to rephrase the question, because winning implies that someone loses. How will our orga-



nization create impact in the current political environment? The Active Living By Design (ALBD) team enters partnerships as abundance thinkers, believing that when we all do better, we all do better.

We look for 'both/and' solutions. We believe in the power of people to reshape their communities into healthier places to live through collaboration. Therefore, ALBD helps strengthen and bridge powerful connections between funders and investors, resource and technical assistance providers, community leaders, residents, partners and other community agents.

We prioritize collaboration with those most vulnerable to health disparities and coach community leaders and partnerships through shifts in power. When decisions are made by and with residents, rather than for them, and when unlikely partners develop trusting relationships, an important culture shift takes place, which leads to more sustainable and impactful change.

Risa Wilkerson, Executive Director
 Active Living By Design

NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS UNITE state-by-state to register 1 million new voters nationally and create state-by-state forums for candidates for state government to address issues of justice and equity.





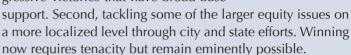
WE HAVE AN EXTRAORDINARY OPPORtunity to take power-shifting creative action to redefine justice and make our social systems more equitable. Winning looks like designing new ways of engaging people, to take bold leaps of imagination together, that propel us into a future where there are fewer prisons and more healthy, safe communities.



Piper Anderson, Founder/Chief Creative Strategist
 Create Forward

ONE WAY TO LOOK AT THE CURRENT political environment is as an opportunity to channel the public's dissatisfaction with the status quo to make concrete progressive change.

This can be done in two ways. First, successfully defending hard-fought progressive victories that have broad base



John Schwartz, President Voqal

AS WE'VE SEEN WITH OUR EMERGING statewide partnership Philanthropy California, we can find success in public policy by using all of our sector's assets to speak with a unified voice and cut across political divides. States and cities are often called the laboratories of democracy, but I see philanthropy as a



driving force in that, pulling together different experiments in effective grantmaking and community building.

To me, success in public policy looks like funders utilizing their experience, issue expertise and community networks to take their work into the advocacy realm, amplifying their impact far beyond a single grant.

> Christine Essel, President and CEO Southern California Grantmakers

FOR US, 'WINNING' IS DIVERSE YOUNG people coming together to engage in conversation and action that improves Memphis. And by 'young people' we mean ALL youth—regardless of their background, race, socioeconomic status, etc. That's key in this current political climate, and it's re-



ally complicated for our community, because all voices have not been equal, historically. So for BRIDGES, success is when young people are provided training and support and then given opportunities to lead within our community. Regardless of where they come from, youth have great insight and ideas that are valuable in shaping the future for us all.

Dana Wilson, Vice President of Bridge Builders
 BRIDGES USA

#### New/Renewed Members & Supporters

Access Strategies Fund
American Jewish World Service
Annie E. Casey Foundation
Arca Foundation
Colorado Health Foundation
Community Foundation of Tompkins County
Compton Foundation
Conrad Hilton Foundation
Episcopal Health Foundation
Heising-Simons Foundation
Jay & Rose Phillips Family Foundation
Jessie Smith Noyes Foundation

Kansas Health Foundation
Korean American Community Foundation
Lumina Foundation
Mertz Gilmore Foundation
Meyer Memorial Trust
Minneapolis Foundation
New York Foundation
Packard Foundation
Richmond Memorial Health Foundation
Robert Wood Johnson Foundation
Saint Luke's Foundation
San Francisco Foundation

Sandler Foundation
Santa Fe Community Foundation
Southern Bancorp Community Partners
Stewart R. Mott Foundation
Unitarian Universalist Veatch Program at
Shelter Rock
United Way of the Bay Area
Walter and Elise Haas Fund
Walton Family Foundation
Weingart Foundation
Woods Fund of Chicago

## Funding transformation through racial healing

By Jeanné Isler

It's rare that a funder will unabashedly express a grand vision of transforming the nation, but that is what the W.K. Kellogg Foundation (WKKF) did with its Truth, Racial Healing and Transformation (TRHT) effort. The WKKF, and the recent recipients of TRHT grants, believe that racial healing is a key component to such transformation.

WKKF defines racial healing as: "To heal is to restore to wholeness; to repair damage; and to set right. Healing a societal racial divide requires recognition of the need to acknowledge the wrongs of the past, while addressing the consequences of those wrongs."

For more than 10 years, WKKF has invested \$200 million into organizations working to eradicate structural bias in their communities. The America Healing initiative was a key component of this investment, supporting research on unconscious bias, expanding racial equity movement efforts, exploring how communication can influence perceptions and behaviors, creating a movement for racial equity, and solidifying a network of civil rights and racial justice organizations.

WKKF staff see TRHT as a natural next step to America Healing. "We are very optimistic that these leaders and communities will do the hard work needed to succeed in the transformation they seek," said La June Montgomery Tabron, president and CEO of WKKF.

Dr. Gail Christopher, senior advisor and vice president for TRHT, explained that this is a long-term, broad-based, multi-sectoral effort, informed and influenced by several truth and reconciliation efforts from around the world. TRHT aims to transform our culture, moving beyond simple conversations about race and ethnicity to acknowledge our humanity, confront patterns that are persistent barriers to success and heal old wounds.

In 2016, WKKF worked with 176 leaders and scholars to develop a framework that communities can use to implement a TRHT process. In June 2017, it awarded grants to 14 regions totaling about \$24 million.<sup>2</sup> The investments range from approximately \$1.5 to \$4 million, and implementation lasts two to five years.

For each site, voluntary representatives from a variety of sectors, e.g., philanthropy, business, grassroots activists and media, came together to develop an implementation plan to pursue efforts in two pillars: narrative change, and racial healing and relationship building.

Healing circles, which are facilitated conversations in which participants share their experiences and beliefs about race and racism in diverse groups, are a core component of these efforts. Each place also chooses to pursue action and change in at least one of the three other areas within the TRHT framework in which racism manifests itself: separation (e.g., housing), the law and the economy.

TRHT is a collective funder organizing effort that seeks to empower those who are willing to be bold and lofty in shifting the narrative of racial hierarchy.

So, I asked leaders from three of the sites to tell me about how they are implementing TRHT and how racial healing advances their goals to end systemic racism in their communities.

#### LOUISIANA: MOVING BEYOND CRISIS MODE AND "US VERSUS THEM"

Alfredo Cruz, vice president of programs and special initiatives at the Foundation for Louisiana, said the motivation for their work is the need to change the reality for people of color and other minorities who have been underrepresented in every aspect of power in the state. But nothing will change unless tackled through a racial equity lens, and such change requires racial healing — and that healing will need to take place in Louisiana communities and within the many organizations working to improve outcomes in the state.

For example, soon after Cruz started working at the Foundation for Louisiana, which was founded in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina to do disaster recovery, he realized that staff members were still operating in crisis mode. Ensuring that his colleagues are healing helps them to be more effective.

Additionally, John Pierre, professor at Southern University Law Center and Baton Rouge contact for the Louisiana TRHT, noted that people are isolated and entrenched in an "us versus them" worldview, not realizing how public policies can make all of us vulnerable. TRHT helps educate people about how policies affect each of us.

The plan for the first year includes diversifying the advisory committee.

Greater New Orleans Foundation is a partner, and though the Baton Rouge Area Foundation is not a formal partner, they invest in related work. Other partners to include are the people in the region who have already been leading racial healing activities.

There also is a long list of projects and ideas that need to be evaluated and prioritized in future years such as legal clinics for undocumented residents and programs that improve access to economic opportunities for young people. These projects will be concrete examples of what a changed narrative around race looks like in the state.

## DALLAS: THE RESPONSIBILITY OF BEING CALLED IN

The Embrey Family Foundation is a small foundation that has long focused on social justice, but racial equity is relatively new for them. Lauren Embrey and other leaders at the foundation wanted to bring the Facing Race conference to Dallas, but they realized they had to prepare their community for it first, so they created Dallas Faces Race in 2013.

"[We're] not a big strategy house; [we're] led and run by women who rely on intuition to tell us what is right," said Diane Hosey, who handles philanthropic outreach for the foundation. "Philanthropy has been called in, and we need to respond. It's the definition of philanthropy, and it's our responsibility."

Dallas Faces Race creates awareness building and training for nonprofit leaders to focus on racial equity by hosting dialogues within their organizations. They expected 20 partners, but more than 300 organizations have signed up. Over time they realized that conversation alone will not have a systemic impact.

When five Dallas police officers were shot and killed in a July 2016 mass shooting, their Dallas Faces Race program officer at Embrey was inundated with calls from the community. More funders got involved, including

the Communities Foundation of Texas, which is the fiscal sponsor and key thought partner for the TRHT grant. By the time Embrey sent the formal request to WKKF, five other funders cosigned the invitation letter.

Joli Robinson, manager in the office of community affairs at the Dallas Police Department, and David Lozano, executive artistic director of Cara Mia Theater, are the co-chairs of the Dallas TRHT.

Everyone must go through racial healing – not just "those in need," said Lozano. Foundations, simply by their giving pattern, can define a narrative of what and who is important. Communities would typically adapt their narratives to fit the funder. He sees the transformative opportunity of people of color leading funders in narrative change and believes that doing it in this context can translate to empowering people of color in the larger society.

Robinson and Lozano agree that funders' work is primarily to listen, which can create a paradigm shift and change the power imbalance. By engaging in healing circles and building relationships in their workgroup, community people can start to lead the conversation instead of funders. Lozano asserted that the pace of TRHT in Dallas feels slow, but they want to ensure they have a strong foundation for the work that needs to be done.

#### **BUFFALO: A GREAT OPPORTUNITY**

Clotilde Dedecker, president and CEO of Community Foundation for Greater Buffalo, believes that institutions are built on people and racial healing brings the work to individuals. To the extent that individuals in institutions can understand the lived reality and trauma of systemic racism, they will follow through with equitable changes. In 2006, the board prioritized increasing racial/ethnic equity in the Buffalo region. After several successes, they said they wanted to do more and, in 2013, invested a year exploring what "more" looks like.

They invited Christopher to speak to a roundtable of 32 leaders from diverse sectors about the economic case for racial equity. The foundation made the case for narrative change with indicators of inequity and local data about the economic case to close the gaps. The hope is to "open the mind, heart and institutional will to drive systems change."

The Buffalo TRHT seeks to offer authentic, asset-based alternative narratives to the dominant narratives around inequity. The foundation staff and roundtable participated in healing circles and are now training religious leaders and facilitators to build local capacity to host circles for others in the region. They also hosted a racial equity impact analysis (continued on page 11)



Photo courtesy of W.K. Kellogg Foundation.

# Pay it forward: A new way to fund grassroots LGBTQ organizing in the South

By Rev. Jasmine Beach-Ferrara

When we launched the Campaign for Southern Equality (CSE) in 2011, my living room became our "office", no one was getting paid, and almost every foundation we approached turned us down, either because they didn't fund LGBTQ work or because they thought our primary strategy at the time – winning marriage equality in the South by 2016 – was laughable.

Across sectors, skepticism is a classic response to innovation and startups. But for grassroots LGBTQ organizers launching new work in the South, the skepticism is intensified because of specific regional dynamics, including the reticence of Southern foundations, local governments and other institutions to support LGBTQ organizing and because LGBTQ Southerners, the natural donor base for local grassroots work, are more likely to be low-income.

Fast forward to 2017: Large national LGBTQ foundations have increased their funding to established LGBTQ nonprofits in the South in recent years. The past year has also shown an exciting uptick in LGBTQ foundation grants to grassroots Southern work. But the fact remains that for most grassroots groups, especially those without 501(c)(3) status in rural areas, there are remarkably limited funding options.



#### BEING LGBTQ IN THE SOUTH

Most people are surprised to learn that one-third of all LGBTQ Americans live in the South, a community that is diverse in race and gender. We live not just metro areas but also in smaller towns like Morristown, Tennessee, and Petal, Mississippi.

There are more than 750 grassroots LGBTQ groups across the region, many of them volunteer-led and without 501(c)(3) status, working in the hyper-localized context of a specific town or population.<sup>2</sup> One of the first grants CSE received was for \$250 from Blue Ridge Pride in our hometown of Asheville, North Carolina. This grant made it possible for us to host a free legal clinic, but it was also a vote of confidence.

## A PIPELINE OF FUNDING FOR GRASSROOTS ORGANIZERS

Starting in 2015, we began making micro-grants of up to \$500 through our Southern Equality Fund. The goal is to build a pipeline that gets funding

to grassroots organizers who are doing heroic frontline work so they can grow and sustain their efforts and leadership.

You do not have to be a 501(c)(3) to receive a grant through our fund, and we've made the application short and sweet, knowing that many grassroots groups have not applied for a grant before and do not have paid staff or consultants who can focus on grant-writing. We get back to folks within a month of applying. To date we have given 111 grants totaling more than \$59,000 to groups across 12 Southern states.

In the coming year, our goal is to increase our grantmaking to 10 percent of our organizational budget. In doing so, we are creating a practice of organizational tithing, drawing on the faith-based practice of giving away 10 percent of your wealth to support good works and acts of mercy.

Other organizations are doing it, too. Equality Virginia has launched a re-granting program to provide funding and capacity building support to transgender leaders and groups across the state. The Southern Vision Alliance provides wraparound support, including fiscal sponsorship and funding, to a cohort of youth-led, North Carolina-based groups focused on social, racial and environmental justice.

Most people are surprised to learn that one-third of all LGBTQ Americans live in the South

### Funding transformation through racial healing

(continued from page 9)

## URGENT NEEDS IN THE MIDST OF CHANGE

Systems and structures – in the South and in the LGBTQ movement – are changing. The Out in the South Fund, a project of Funders for LGBTQ Issues, has embarked on a multi-year project to increase LGBTQ funding among Southern grantmakers and Southern funding among LGBTQ funders. Southern institutions from hospitals to public universities are building out work and programs around LGBTQ issues, breaking a long silence.

But there is still the urgency of today and tomorrow. Tragically, more than half of the trans women of color who have been murdered to date in 2017 lived in the South.<sup>3</sup> The prevalence of HIV rates among gay and bisexual men in the South, especially men of color, dramatically outpaces other regions of the country.<sup>4</sup> Across Southern school districts, transgender children live without district-level policies that protect their rights under Title IX.<sup>5</sup> You can still be fired for being LGBTQ in most Southern states.<sup>6</sup>

## PAY IT FORWARD TO FUND THE FRONTLINES

Simply put, we need to get more funding into the hands of grassroots LGBTQ organizers across the South, and we need to do so as quickly as possible.

Established 501(c)(3) LGBTQ organizations in the South are well-positioned to lead an effort to fund grassroots work; we encourage more to do so. A quick glance at financials shows that if the six largest LGBTQ organizations in the region were to begin tithing at 10 percent to support grassroots work, it would release almost \$1 million into the region annually.

There's a moral case for doing so: Getting resources to where they are most urgently (continued on page 14) tool training for 54 major employers and government organizations, so they can understand the forces and policies that led to current conditions. Finally, the foundation is convening five public–private partnerships focused on systems change around key issues.

#### CHALLENGES AND LESSONS

Despite the optimism surrounding TRHT from grant recipients, there are some serious hurdles:

- Criticism that TRHT strategies, specifically racial healing, are not systemic.
- People and institutions enter at different stages of capacity and will. Cruz shared the challenge of bridging two cities in Louisiana with similar racial inequity but very different cultures. Louisiana communities are segregated, and everyone wrestles with the fact that they have to work together with people they didn't choose. Hosey acknowledged fear around racial healing work across divides, especially in the south. Dedecker and Robinson noted that people in power don't always understand the conditions and effects of racism. and it hinders decision-making with an equity lens.
- Lozano mentioned the power that funders wield and the complexity of funders leading this work in their communities. Many people, often under-resourced, have been doing racial healing work at the grassroots level for years. Foundations who are leading TRHT work could reinforce the power dynamics overlook people already doing healing work.

The work of TRHT is a long journey. The funders who are leading TRHT initiatives offered advice for other funders who want to do such work.

- Show courage and leverage your relationships to get people into the room.
- Learn from those most affected by problems in your communities and iterate your practices and behaviors accordingly.
- Shifting the understanding of people in systems, including grantmaking institutions, is a part of shifting the systems themselves.
- The work is urgent, but the work is a journey. Act with urgency that can be sustained, not panic that will dissipate.
- Start from where you are, with a coalition of the willing.

Funders who are genuinely interested in transforming systemic causes of inequity in their community, especially systemic racism, can use their leadership to support healing the trauma that prevents us from collectively moving forward.

Jeanné Isler is vice president and chief engagement officer at NCRP.

### **Notes**

- W.K. Kellogg Foundation, "TRHT Implementation Guide," http://www. racialequityresourceguide.org/TRHT-Summit.
- The TRHT sites are: 1. State of Alaska;
   Baton Rouge, Louisiana; 3. New Orleans; 4. Buffalo, New York; 5. Chicago; 6. Dallas; 7. Los Angeles;
   Richmond, Virginia; 9. Selma, Alabama; 10. Saint Paul, Minnesota;
   Battle Creek, Michigan; 12. Flint, Michigan; 13. Kalamazoo, Michigan; and 14. Lansing, Michigan.

## Philanthropy and the 2020 census

(continued from page 1)

prioritize achieving a fair and accurate 2020 census:

## 1. THE CENSUS IS IMPORTANT TO EVERYONE.

The outcome of the census influences – directly or indirectly – almost every issue that U.S.-focused philanthropies support, including political empowerment, social justice, educational opportunity, employment, veterans' services, rural development, health care and infrastructure in disadvantaged communities. Philanthropy also relies on census data to guide investment strategies and evaluate the work of grantees.

Decennial census data on state populations determine the number of seats in Congress each state receives and how those districts are drawn. More than \$600 billion annually is allocated through federal programs based, in whole or in part, on census data.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, state and local governments use census information to distribute billions more for essential services. Census data are also used to monitor compliance with, and enforcement of, civil rights statutes.

Counting every person in the United States is an extraordinarily complex endeavor - it is the nation's largest peacetime mobilization of personnel and resources. Even with careful planning, a perfect count is virtually impossible: Some people are missed, some are double-counted, and some do not respond fully. But, because the accuracy of the census directly affects our nation's ability to ensure equal representation and equal access to public and private resources, achieving a fair and accurate census must be regarded as one of the most significant civil rights and social justice priorities facing the country.

## 2. THE 2020 CENSUS IS ALREADY UNDERWAY.

While the 2020 census may seem far off, key decisions are being made now, and poor choices could lead to signifi-

cant harm for years to come. The Census Bureau has spent an entire decade planning for the upcoming census, and, by the end of 2017, the Census Bureau will have finalized the questionnaire for 2020 and launched its program for sharing preliminary address lists with states and municipalities.

Significant operations will go into effect in 2018 with the End-to-End Census Test. This pivotal "dress rehearsal" had been scheduled to take place in three areas - Pierce County, Washington; Providence County, Rhode Island; and Bluefield-Beckley-Oak Hill, West Virginia – but due to budget shortfalls, it will only be conducted in Providence. The dry run is the only opportunity for a complete test of the 2020 questionnaire and new technologies, including a new Internet response option that the Census Bureau is promoting as the primary response mode for the 2020 census and electronic devices for census takers to collect information during personal visits to unresponsive households.

In 2019, the Census Bureau will ramp up its outreach efforts, which include a partnership program, paid advertising and a census in the schools program. Hundreds of millions of questionnaires will be printed, and local offices across the country will begin recruiting more than a million temporary census employees, with plans to hire about 300,000 enumerators during peak operations. Census workers also will canvass selected communities that have undergone significant change or that have unstable housing conditions, to update the master address file that establishes the universe for the 2020 count.

## 3. ENGAGING LATER MAY BE TOO LATE.

Historically, the census has missed disproportionately high numbers of people of color, low-income households in rural and urban areas and young children. The Census Bureau also designates "hard-to-count" areas based on additional characteristics, including limited English proficiency, mobile and single-parent households. This uneven accuracy has significant civil rights implications because it could deny the most vulnerable members of our society equal representation and opportunity. Efforts to address these challenges must be built into the census process now, before it is too late for them to have an impact.

Encouraging people to complete their census questionnaires, and eliminating undercounts in at-risk communities, will be particularly challenging in 2020. Encouraging an online response might lead to concerns about Internet privacy and data confidentiality, especially given high-profile news stories about computer hacking affecting businesses and government. And some communities that may already feel besieged by the current political climate may be concerned about new options for identifying Middle Eastern and North African ethnicity. Immigrant and mixed-status households may be especially fearful of providing information to the federal government in 2020, given the heightened climate of fear that anti-immigrant rhetoric and policies have created.

The Census Bureau will attempt to minimize undercounting with an extensive, \$400+ million communications plan, but the bureau cannot be successful on its own. The role that national and state advocacy groups and community-based organizations play is critical to a fair and accurate census.

According to former Census Bureau Director Kenneth Prewitt, "Of the many things necessary for a successful census, none rival 'trusted voices' that reassure Americans anxious about the government asking questions. The Census Bureau knows that trusted community voices persuade millions of Americans to join the once every decade opportu-

nity that is truly 'of the people, by the people, for the people.'"<sup>3</sup>

We commend the philanthropic community for identifying an accurate 2010 census as an important goal and for committing significant resources to this work – The Leadership Conference's 2010 census education and promotion campaign, a collaborative with Asian Americans Advancing Justice-AAJC, the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials Educational Fund, the NAACP, and the National Congress of American Indians, which served as a key bridge between the Census Bureau and communities at greatest risk of an undercount - would not have been possible without this support.

Foundations invested at least \$37 million in "get out the count" campaigns to increase the accuracy of the 2010 census.<sup>4</sup> But the flow of funds to nonprofit organizations was uneven and unpredictable, and the levels of funding were not commensurate with the importance of the census and the wide-ranging and long-term consequences of underperformance.

Equally important is to consider that meaningful funder involvement did not begin until 2008, which was not early enough in the decade during the last census cycle.

Our work for the 2020 census has been under way for years, and some of the nation's largest foundations have begun to shore up funding to support nonprofit communities. But the resources and reach to date are inadequate to meet the immense challenge of ensuring a fair and accurate count.

In the current climate, broadening the coalition engaged in census work will be critical. Foundations that understand the importance of the census for their other substantive areas of focus must find ways of ensuring a swift and sufficient investment in the work of community groups.

## 4. FOCUSING ON POLICY IMPROVEMENTS NOW COULD PAY SIGNIFICANT DIVIDENDS.

The 2020 census faces a severe threat that underfunding will compromise its fairness and accuracy. In order for the Census Bureau to prepare well – and carry out important tests of new technologies and procedures – it requires a continuous ramp up in funding levels in the years ending in "6" through "0."

Unfortunately, as the below graph shows, for this cycle Congress allocated far less than the Census Bureau requested in both 2016 and 2017; the 2017 funding level was only modestly higher than the previous year. To make matters worse, the administration's funding request of \$1.5 billion for fiscal year 2018 is irresponsible and unrealistically low, falling at least \$300 million short of the level needed to ensure a cost-effective decennial census in 2020.

This underinvestment has already forced the Census Bureau to scale back or eliminate some key 2020 census preparations. For example, 2017 field

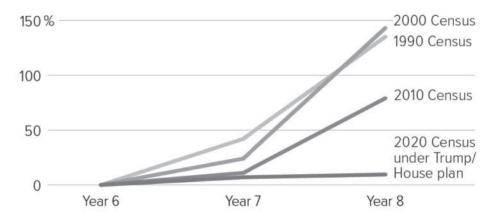
tests planned for Puerto Rico and on two American-Indian reservations were canceled. In addition, the opening of three of six regional 2020 census offices has been delayed, and the communications campaign and coverage measurement components of the 2018 dress rehearsal were eliminated.

Given the Trump Administration's inadequate budget request for 2018, the Census Bureau has been forced to entirely eliminate two of the three dress rehearsal sites, thus diminishing the opportunity to fully test all methods and operations in a census-like environment in different types of communities.

The consequences of inadequate preparation and funding could be devastating, with vulnerable, hard-to-count communities taking the hardest hits. Educational outreach, to both sides of the aisle, about the need for sufficient government investment in the sound preparation and policy development to ensure a fair and accurate census, can help address this potential crisis, but

## Proposed Increase in 2018 Census Bureau Funding Far Less Than in Previous Decennial Census Cycles

Change in Census Bureau Budget relative to year 6 of each decade



Note: All years are fiscal years. Figures show discretionary budget authority in each year of the decade relative to that in the sixth year, not adjusted for inflation.

Source: CBPP based on Office of Management and Budget, enacted appropriations, and draft legislation from the House Appropriations Committee

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philanthropic support is needed for this work to be successful.

Census funding has been traditionally viewed by philanthropy as a once-adecade undertaking, without a midcycle funding stream. But funding for organizations with a proven track record on census issues, as well as for those who can reach audiences that will support and decide census policy, can help make the difference in bolstering efforts to educate and influence policymakers.

## FUNDERS: BE A VALIDATOR TO YOUR PEERS.

The census is a classic "intersectional" issue. It has a direct impact on antipoverty efforts, criminal justice reform, racial justice issues, educational access and much more. Thousands of community groups across the country are hoping to play a role in promoting the census to their constituents, but they lack the resources to develop and staff major activities.

Foundations that support the core

work of these organizations should recognize that an inclusive census enables grantees to access the resources they need to provide better services.

We hope that funders will be open to combining portfolios, as many did in 2010, to increase the pot of available funding. Please talk to your colleagues about this critical issue.

When it comes to the census, there are no do-overs – we have only one chance this decade to get it right. ■

Vanita Gupta is president and CEO of The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights and former head of the Civil Rights Division at the U.S. Department of Justice.

#### **Notes**

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- Abraham Lincoln, The Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863.
- 4. Kim Crews, "Philanthropic Support for 2010 Census Outreach: A List of Grants Awarded," May 2011, https://www.funderscommittee.org/files/FCI\_2010\_Census\_Grants\_Spread-sheet\_by\_Kim\_Crews-final\_1.pdf. See also Kim Crews, "Philanthropic Support for 2010 Census Outreach: An Overview of Grants Awarded," May 2011, https://www.funderscommittee.org/files/2\_Overview\_of\_Grants\_Awarded\_by\_Kim\_Crews-final.pdf.

## A new way to fund grassroots LGBTQ organizing in the South

(continued from page 11)

needed, to be used by those who are most impacted. There's a strategic reason as well: Creating legal and lived equality in the South requires that we do long-term organizing in every community, not just in large metro areas.

For CSE, funding grassroots work is a core strategy as we build a new model of Southern organizing, just like direct services and litigation. We learn from and build with our grassroots partners. In the shared work and mutuality of these relationships, there is also great joy.

Rev. Jasmine Beach-Ferrara is the executive director of the Campaign for Southern Equality, which promotes LGBTQ equality across the South. She is a minister in the United Church of Christ and

a County Commissioner in Buncombe County, North Carolina.

### Notes

- According to research from Funders for LGBTQ Issues, foundation funding to LG-BTQ groups in the South has increased from less than 5 percent to 25 percent in recent years, with grants primarily going to large non-profits in metro areas.
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   2017, www.lgbtmap.org/equality maps/non\_discrimination\_laws.

## Episcopal Health Foundation

Houston, TX episcopalhealth.org



NCRP: Episcopal Health Foundation's vision is to transform all of Texas to healthy communities. How do you define "healthy communities?" What do you mean when you say #HealthNotJustHealthCare?

**EHF:** EHF believes healthy communities are created when diverse people come together to develop community-driven, people-centered health systems. We believe that healthy communities should not only ensure that all Texans receive quality medical care, but that the places they live and work should help enable them to get and stay healthy.

It's clear that issues such as housing, employment, poverty, transportation and education have a great influence on a family's health status. But the U.S. spends \$3 trillion a year on health care – not health. When it comes to spending on social services, the U.S. ranks below most developed countries in the world. Despite massive spending on health care, we have the lowest life expectancy and highest rate of infant mortality of those developed countries.

While providing health care services is critical, EHF's focus goes beyond the exam room to address the underlying causes that lead to poor health. That's why we're dedicated to improving #HealthNotJustHealthcare in Texas.

If we don't address the root causes of poor health, clinic visits alone won't make a difference. Overall community health will continue to decline, and vulnerable, low-income families will continue to suffer more than anyone else.

NCRP: The foundation's website mentions that "we're not just funding more ... we're investing in different." What are some of the different strategies the foundation is pursuing?

**EHF:** We're convinced that simply building more clinics to serve more people won't heal a broken health system. Our grant investments fund organizations and programs that work "upstream" to focus on new and different ways to provide preventive health services and address the challenges that cause people to become unhealthy.

We're working to strengthen systems of health to make them more accessible and equitable – not just deliver "after-the-fact" medical care.

EHF is also helping grant partners and congregations organize and focus their efforts to better understand the health needs of their community.

Finally, we've recently focused efforts to help health systems and families implement best practices for healthy child brain development from before birth to age three. We believe this is a key strategy to helping Texans build the foundation for a healthy life.

#### NCRP: Why should health funders be concerned about federal and state policies that affect health care in the country?

**EHF:** Improving health requires policy and public funding commitments at the highest levels. The financial contribution philanthropy can make – through grants and program-related investments – is tiny compared with the contribution made (or withheld) by public sources. All our philanthropic resourc-

es cannot make up for poor public policy choices.

The current "repeal and replace" debate is an excellent example of the importance of public policy and its impact on health philanthropy. For decades, many health foundations focused efforts on helping low-income and vulnerable populations access healthcare by gaining insurance coverage. When the Affordable Care Act (ACA) passed in 2010, many foundations supported government agencies in implementing that coverage. The remarkable decrease in the uninsured rate that resulted from the ACA enabled health foundations to shift resources to other matters, including health equity. The advances in coverage that enabled this shift may be lost if an ACA replacement significantly reduces coverage.

Philanthropy can move the ball forward when public policy is aligned, but our work gets much harder when that is not the case.

NCRP: What advice do you have for funders exploring how they can improve health and health care in their communities?

DS: We believe the way change occurs is through the engagement of community members. The people "on the ground" are most affected by community health and have deep knowledge of their own lives and communities. Funders can support organizations that seek to raise these voices: community organizing groups, civic engagement groups, leadership training. If we help community members engage, our own agendas will be advanced.



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by Ryan Schlegel and Stephanie Peng

June 2017

The second report in this series explores why it's important for donors to build lasting wealth among the South's marginalized populations. It features six community leaders from the South who are working to revitalize local economies in ways that are inclusive and equitable for local residents in Kentucky Coal Country and the Lowcountry of South Carolina.

#### Foundations, donors and health policy

by Lisa Ranghelli May 2017

This new health equity brief is a handy resource for grantmakers and donors who are unsure about whether they should, and if so, how to respond to attempts to reverse recent advances in health equity through the Affordable Care Act, Medicare and Medicaid.

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