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RESPONSIVE PHILANTHROPY

NCRP'S 50TH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE
Edited by Suhasini Yeeda



Local Groups Assessing Philanthropy



National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy

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Background collage of various news articles and documents, including 'NCRP Supports Lawsuit by National Black United Fund', 'CHICANO EDUCATION PROJECT', 'RESPONSIVE PHILANTHROPY NOW AVAILABLE', and 'Watchdog Group Calls Effectiveness Of United Way Fundraising a 'Myth''.

A message from the President and CEO

Dear Reader,

The world needs courageous truth tellers, now more than ever.

As I write this, the current administration has been lying to the American people about events in my home state of Minnesota. But their lies aren't working. There are too many truth tellers out there, standing up to state-sponsored violence and oppression. Some of the community pushback has been helped along by nonprofits and the donors and foundations that support them.

This special issue of *Responsive Philanthropy* celebrates 50 years of NCRP being a courageous truth-telling organization. We've been holding up a mirror to philanthropy for 5 decades and helping give voice to people and communities who have been oppressed and marginalized in our society. The issue includes the following:

- Dr. Dwayne Proctor shares his personal story in philanthropy and the way his family's legacy is intertwined with NCRP's mission.
- Javier Soto reflects on NCRP's 1993 critique of The Denver Foundation's lack of commitment to diversity and what the foundation has done to address this, both in its work and internally on its board and with its staff.
- Tracy Gary reflects on NCRP's legacy and shares personal stories of how Bob Bothwell, NCRP's first executive director, inspired her own work in the sector, particularly in women's funding.
- Jeanné Lewis writes about NCRP's legacy as a thought leader pushing the field and challenges funders not to overlook the importance of faith in driving progressive change.
- Suhasini Yeeda shares the history of our *Responsive Philanthropy* journal and notes how important storytelling is for creating impact.

NCRP is only as strong as our community. Thank you for the role you have played over the past 50 years helping ensure that philanthropy is responsive and accountable. In the coming years, let's work together to create a future where philanthropy is a means to truly share wealth and power. When we do that, we can build the more equitable, just and democratic society we all deserve.



In partnership,
Aaron Dorfman
NCRP PRESIDENT AND CEO

From legacy to impact: How NCRP shaped my journey in philanthropy

By Dr. Dwayne Proctor

I have been a follower and champion of the work that the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy has been doing for the past 50 years, and I'm humbled to be a small part of its impact. This organization was fulfilling its mission as a critical friend and watchdog to philanthropy when I was finding my footing in the world of advocacy, which eventually led to a 20-plus-year career in philanthropy.

That career is rooted in my family's legacy of activism. My dad's father Joe Jameson was a Pullman Porter. Those men formed the first African American union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and were some of the architects of the Civil Rights Movement. My maternal grandfather was a farmer in Rippon, West Virginia and a staunch supporter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). That history jump-started my lifelong relationship with the esteemed organization.

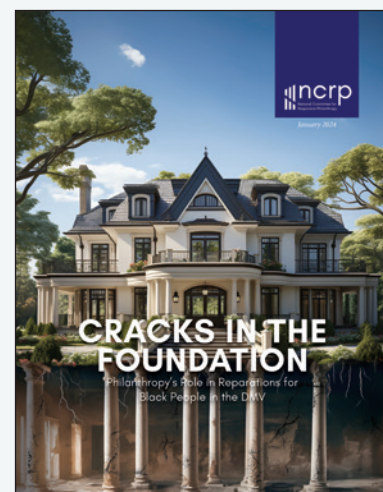
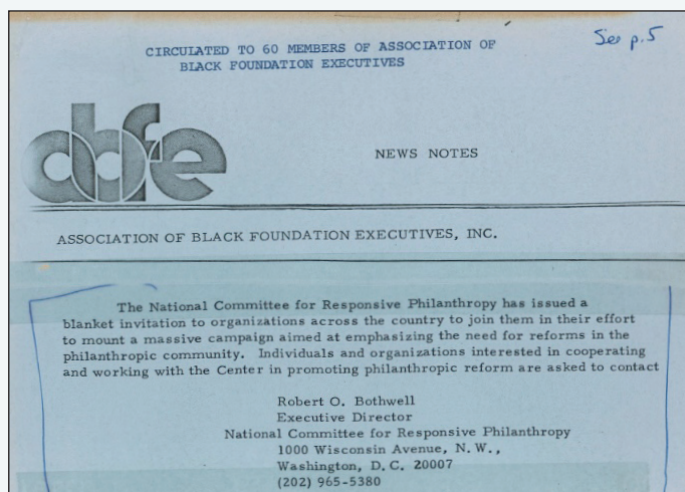
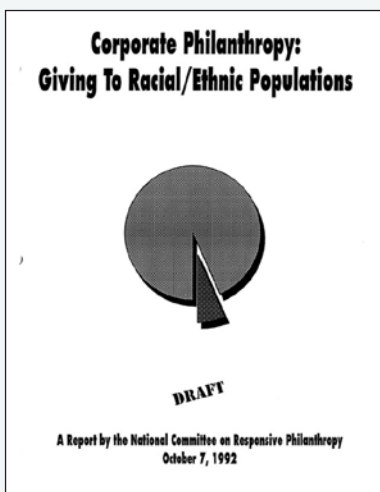


Dr. Dwayne Proctor

My journey to philanthropy wasn't a straight path, which I believe is its strength. There's nothing like lived experience to teach perspective and foster empathy for people who may travel different paths but share core values. I was born in Washington, DC, "Chocolate City," also known as the DMV. My family was poor, but I didn't know it. There were regular meals, my clothes were clean, and we lived in Black communities where all our neighbors

seemed to be in similar circumstances. We moved a lot across those borders and rivers, and I attended 4 different elementary schools.

In high school, I chose my career and aspired to be the world's greatest disc jockey. I took all available classes and procured an FCC broadcast license before I had a driver's license. I interned and then attended Virginia Tech University to study communications. My college career was derailed in my junior year when my Pell Grant application was denied. I stayed in Blacksburg, Virginia and worked in radio, bars and restaurants and was all of a sudden confronted with monthly bills. In those days I was active with my fraternity, participated in anti-apartheid campaigns, got down with a local anti-KKK group, and challenged the university's structural and systemic racism. My interactions with local police were not casual, and at one point, I was told that I had to leave town.



Right around that time, I met Ray Charles' road manager "Uncle" Joe Hunter who hired me as stage manager for Charles' 1986 world tour. Ray Charles and his orchestra drew large audiences across the globe, and the experience was heady. The exposure to the good and bad and the just and unjust around the world was eye opening.

Working for Mr. Charles taught me about self-determination, the value of a strong work ethic, and how collaboration between players, musicians and singers can create a harmonic convergence for positive change. This laid the foundation for my career in philanthropy. I learned the significance and practice of deep listening, which, in this field, is key when engaging with all kinds of people from various walks of life and lived experiences. While on tour, I saw the fruits of the power of collaboration when problem-solving and absorbed the truth that none of us can achieve anything worthwhile on our own. This holds true whether the challenge was setting up band equipment, navigating unexpected travel plans, or fighting for social justice. Mr. Charles also taught me the importance of striving for excellence

and being deliberate about how I defined success on my journey. One night, he told me that I needed to go back to college and that I didn't really belong on the road. That was hard to hear, but I knew that he was right. When Ray Charles gives you advice, you listen.

My next stop was University of Connecticut where I finished my undergraduate career, earned my PhD, became a Fulbright scholar, and was recruited to join the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (RWJF) and began a new defining phase of my life.

LOOKING PAST THE TYPICAL APPROACHES, MY FIRST ROLE IN PHILANTHROPY

I started at the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation in 2002 and led a range of national projects addressing issues like childhood obesity, alcohol prevention and teen pregnancy. I started reading the newsletters and reports published by NCRP when, like many philanthropies, we had to rethink our commitments and how we could support positive change in the wake of the devastated endowments during the Great Recession.

I'm incredibly proud of the work that my team at RWJF was able to do post-crash, the lives we touched and the systems we transformed. It was my reading that helped shape my thoughts about the role of philanthropies in the communities we sought to enhance and those we serve in my present-day role.

One resource that stands out in my memory is *POWER MOVES: Your Essential Philanthropy Assessment Guide for Equity and Justice*, which was published when I was tasked with leading a team dedicated to achieving health equity in the United States. It challenged philanthropies to acknowledge their power and be intentional and humble about using resources and privilege to advance equity and justice. To me, it seemed like a formula for how philanthropy should move, with lessons on how we should organize and engage with our intended beneficiaries.

I believe leaders in philanthropy should always push harder and go beyond what has always worked by taking risks that shake up "typical" approaches. We should always question why a norm is the default status quo, especially if it doesn't serve

IGNITE YOUR PHILANTHROPY.
Most grantmakers that care about equity and justice want to know that their work is making a difference on the issues and communities they care about.

But traditional assessments often overlook the critical relationship between power and equity to achieve lasting equitable impact.

For the first time, the sector has a set of practical tools so grantmakers like you can view strategies and practices through the lens of the power-equity relationship.

AMP UP YOUR IMPACT
POWER MOVES is a step-by-step self-assessment guide to determine how well you are building, sharing and wielding power and help transform your strategies and practices for lasting equitable impact.

It includes easy-to-use guides, insightful anecdotes, feedback tools, a readiness assessment and other comprehensive resources to guide you on your power journey to high-impact giving.

THE ROAD TO EQUITY AND JUSTICE IS PAVED WITH POWER.
We all want our communities to be safe, healthy and secure.

But existing policies, practices and norms are stacked against some populations while favoring the rich, powerful and influential.

That's why we will only see lasting equitable outcomes when people of color and communities that traditionally don't have power are given the ability to change the rules and help secure a thriving future.

EQUITY

POWER

BEGIN YOUR POWER JOURNEY TODAY
Discover if and how your strategies and practices are fully leveraging your power to break through barriers to lasting impact:

- BUILD POWER**
to catalyze equitable, long-term solutions instead of temporary fixes.
- SHARE POWER**
to earn the trust of peers, partners and the communities you serve.
- WIELD POWER**
to be a legitimate, powerful and relevant voice on issues you care about.

Download your free copy of **POWER MOVES** www.ncrp.org/PowerMoves.

LET US KNOW HOW WE CAN HELP.
Contact us today at powermoves@ncrp.org

WIELDING POWER

SHARING POWER

BUILDING POWER

POWER MOVES INVITES YOU TO EXPLORE THREE DIMENSIONS OF POWER

- BUILDING POWER**
Supporting systemic change by funding civic engagement, advocacy and community organizing among marginalized communities
- SHARING POWER**
Nurturing transparent, trusting relationships and co-creating strategies with stakeholders
- WIELDING POWER**
Exercising public leadership beyond grantmaking to create equitable, catalytic change

Together, these three dimensions represent the highest aspiration for grantmaking that advances equity & justice

our mission or bring about long-term change. A norm is a suggestion, go 3 steps further. Be bold about breaking barriers that are often self-imposed.

My path, personal and professional, taught me that expanding the definition of who can be innovative and what organizations are worthy partners is key to achieving success.

A FULL-CIRCLE MOMENT, FROM BEING BORN IN THE DMV TO BECOMING AN EXPERT ON ITS HISTORY

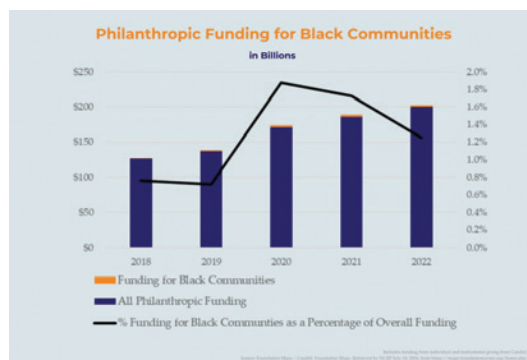
In 2024, NCRP released *Cracks in the Foundation: Philanthropy's Role in Reparations for Black People in the DMV*. The report asked grantmakers to reckon honestly with the intersection of philanthropic wealth origins and systemic harm to Black communities in the District and its Maryland and Virginia suburbs, following in the footsteps of fellow grantmaker [iF](#), [A Foundation for Radical Responsibility](#). The findings resonated with me on multiple levels. First, the DMV is my home. I was born there; my father and paternal grandfather grew up there. Our family history dates back to the 1720s when we first purchased property in the area. One of the foundations profiled in the report is the Cafritz Foundation; my mom brought me into the world at Cafritz Hospital.

Even with my deep roots and history in DC, this report had things to teach me about how foundations in the region may have extracted wealth and resources from the communities they served, which contributed to the oppression my family faced. I shared personal stories about the region with the authors and, when I could, bridged connections to local reparations organizers. This felt like a full-circle moment. After learning from and being inspired by NCRP, I was able to share a unique perspective informed by my heritage and aimed at addressing systemic wrongs.

The report sparked conversation and introspection at Missouri Foundation for Health (MFH), a health conversion foundation working to achieve health equity, where I serve as president and CEO. We took it as an invitation to dig deeper, understanding that *Cracks in the Foundation* is a call for all philanthropies to be introspective and accountable. Philanthropy Missouri, a statewide funder-supporting organization, hosted discussions with local St. Louis foundation staff about the report. It continues to be a touchstone for “doing no harm” as we further our work.

Traditional philanthropy is learning to value intellectual contributions and wisdom from the communities they serve, which is critical to finding effective, sustainable solutions that are transferrable across communities. If we are not led by those most impacted by the social determinants of health and create interventions without their input, those interventions often cannot serve their intended purpose. For MFH, that belief led to the creation of [The Spark Prize](#), a bold investment in the work of 5 Missourians who are leading transformative work to improve health and well-being in Missouri.

Our commitment to elevating community wisdom shaped our work on maternal and infant vitality over 10-plus years. We joined with partners in St. Louis and the bootheel, the southeastern corner of the state, that



were committed to helping babies across Missouri live to celebrate their first birthday. We showed up with specific metrics expectations to measure the project’s progress. As we built meaningful relationships, we realized that we needed to interrogate how we showed up for them and honor the wisdom they shared with us. Now, our work underscores the value of authentic community engagement to reimagine systems that impact multiple aspects of people’s lives. Moving this way allows us to move beyond one-time interventions to build trust and sustainable solutions. And, yes, these are the very same techniques used by organizers, Pullman Porters, and NAACP leaders and pastors leading congregations. Our society and sector are living through profound change and uncertainty. More and more, we’re hearing about public interest in our commitments to our mission, the resources we oversee and our place in making America a more perfect union. As leaders, we must be audacious in this moment. We need to be responsive and empathetic to our partners’ struggles. We must stand boldly in the face of this scrutiny. And we need to double down in support of NCRP and other progressive philanthropy-infrastructure organizations.

Dr. Dwayne Proctor is president and CEO of Missouri Foundation for Health, where he leads efforts to eliminate health inequities and transform systems so all Missourians can thrive. Under his leadership, the foundation partners across sectors to expand Medicaid, address firearm violence, improve mental and physical health access, and advance infant vitality.

Previously, Proctor spent 19 years at the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, leading national initiatives, and was a Fulbright fellow in Senegal, West Africa. Proctor chairs the NAACP Foundation board of trustees as well as the National Committee on Responsive Philanthropy board of directors.

Philanthropy must evolve

By Javier Alberto Soto

“In 1993, following National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy’s [NCRP’s] stinging critique from the past years, the community foundations in Atlanta, Boston, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and Seattle expended their grants to nonprofits serving the marginalized, and 4 of those 5 had significantly diversified their board and staff composition. And now, The Denver Foundation is a recognized leader on diversity, equity and inclusion.”

I joined The Denver Foundation in 2019, more than 2 decades after a survey by the National Committee on Responsive Philanthropy found that The Denver Foundation, along with nearly a dozen other community foundations across the country, should have been better connected with the communities it served. The reports encouraged the organizations to increase grants that benefit underserved communities and diversify their boards and staff. The Denver Foundation took intentional action.

It was a priority to continue that work when I joined The Denver Foundation. I hoped to bring my experience leading The Miami Foundation for 10 years, and the lessons I had learned since my childhood from my parents’ generosity. Though they would not be called “philanthropists” in the traditional sense of the word, they were the first philanthropists I knew, giving what they could.

LISTENING TO THE COMMUNITY, CRITICISM AND ALL

Throughout its history, The Denver Foundation listened to critics and community alike, allowing itself to be challenged and meeting the occasion with understanding, flexibility and direct action.

As a result of this listening, the foundation created the Strengthening Neigh-



Javier Alberto Soto

borhoods grant program in 1996. The Strengthening Neighborhoods program sought to support community identity in each unique Denver neighborhood, which meant getting to know those communities and supporting their work on a personal level. Along the way, the program became an incubator for new groups that formed to address their own communities’ problems with the foundation’s resources and support. This grassroots approach to grant funding grew steadily, awarding \$400,000 in grants the first year and the total increasing each following year.

Since its inception, the Strengthening Neighborhoods program has granted more than \$10.2 million to nearly 1,400 grassroots-led groups. Not only did the Strengthening Neighborhoods

program help The Denver Foundation connect more directly with community members, it helped Denver residents connect with each other across neighborhood lines.

President and CEO David Miller came on board during this time and encouraged meeting with community members in which staff listened to their perspectives and their proposed solutions. With the NCRP’s critique having “[shaken] the board out of complacency,” as Miller said, the foundation started engaging in advocacy work that was consistent and reflective of Denver’s population.

Thoughtful changes allowed The Denver Foundation to reach communities on a more personal level and viewed residents as assets and listening to their ideas. These changes prioritized connecting with and supporting Denver’s diverse communities.

Today, we continue that practice of listening. When I joined The Denver Foundation, I embarked on a bike tour of metropolitan Denver, cycling through all of Denver’s 78 neighborhoods while convening with community leaders to discuss important issues to them along the way.

Rather than inviting people to come into the foundation’s space and meet on the

foundation's terms, the bike tour allowed us to flip that approach and meet people where they were. This allowed us to learn about projects that we might not have been aware of otherwise and get involved in a way that supported the work community members were already leading.

Through this, we are building trust and relationships with grassroots organizations and other organizations that have been serving our community for more than a century, like Florence Crittenton Services, a program where “teen families can thrive through a two-generation, trauma-responsive program model that wraps around them to impact health & wellness, education & employability, parenting & child development, and economic assets.”

“A partner like The Denver Foundation helps us reach our impact at a deeper level because they understand the community need, and align with the people who make the difference,” Desta Taye-Channell, president and CEO of Florence Crittenton Services, said.

Organizations can't remain static when the world around them is changing. The Denver Foundation has strived to embody this principle from the beginning.

As an organization, we recognize the need to reflect on our practices, create space for challenging conversations, and support the inclusion of ideas and people. This philosophy opened doors for exciting community-led solutions and collaborations, innovative grants and diverse leadership, making us the organization we are today.

PRIORITIZING COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

In the mid-2000s, we were supporting diverse organizations and communities but recognized that we needed to better reflect those communities within our own staff and leadership.

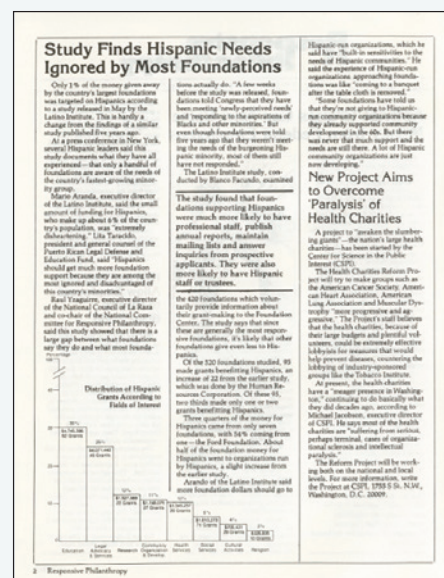
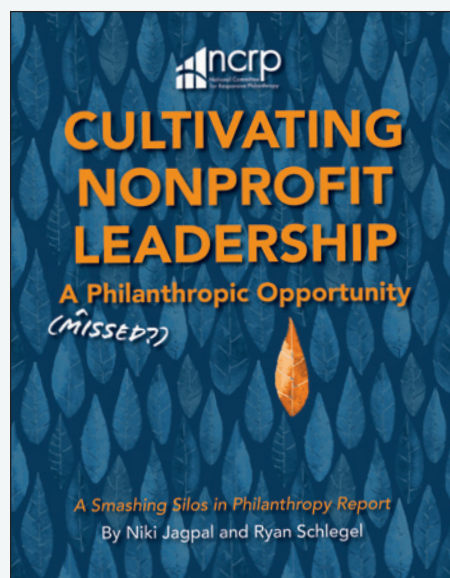
Beginning in 2001, we made conscious efforts to create boards and committees that reflected metro Denver more fully. The foundation invested in staff training and welcomed grantees and community leaders to join grantmaking committees and play an active role in the organization's leadership.

Jeff S. Fard (brother jeff) is a longtime The Denver Foundation collaborator and a graduate of the Leadership Development Program, brother jeff was a trustee and the board chair from 2003 to 2007.

“I wasn't the first Black person to be a board chair. I wasn't even the first Black man to be a board chair. But I was the first Black Muslim to be a board chair of The Denver Foundation,” brother jeff said. “I've seen every iteration of identity leading this organization. I see it infused in the organization and inclusivity is a part of the organization. And so it's a core value. It's represented in the work. It has grown and it's become more vibrant because it's more inclusive of more difference.”

Today, the board and staff continue to reflect the diversity of the metro Denver community.

In 2001, we were also asking what would happen if all organizations had the opportunity to invest in up-and-coming leaders in their communities? This led to the Inclusiveness Project, which sought to financially support community organizations as they trained and recruited more diverse staff – staff who reflected their communities but would likely have been overlooked in the past. This groundbreaking capacity-building project helped community organizations train and hire local staff and recruit diverse board members. In 2011, the program received the Council on Foundations' Critical Impact Award.



Today, this philosophy continues to guide us. When I joined the foundation, I encouraged the board to include racial equity in our new strategic framework. By 2023, we hired a chief of staff who helped bring a renewed focus to this in all aspects of our work. For The Denver Foundation, equity is a deeply held value that defines this organization, this community and where we believe the philanthropic sector should go nationally.

LOOKING AHEAD

Today, The Denver Foundation balances buy-in from high-profile partners, community leaders and everyday donors alike, ensuring that we are democratizing philanthropy. While we've made significant progress since NCRP's report 25 years ago, there is still much more work to be done.

I often reflect on the common perceptions of a philanthropist – older, wealthy individuals who give away their accumulated wealth at the end of their lives. But from my experience, that is not the full extent of what philanthropy is. Philanthropy isn't limited to the upper echelons of society, and you don't need to be someone who can donate millions or have your name on a building for your philanthropy to matter to someone else.

Although my parents would never be listed among the philanthropic aristocracy like Carnegie or Rockefeller, they were the first philanthropists I knew. My parents arrived in the United States as Cuban refugees in the early 1970s with very little material wealth or possessions. But, like so many of their generation who fled the communist island in the early years of the Cuban Revolution, they brought a tireless work ethic and a deep-rooted commitment to helping others. My parents sent remittances to family in Cuba, lent money to relatives in Miami trying to start businesses, and when anyone in our tight-knit circle was sick, my mother would send me over with a plate of food. Meanwhile, my dad supported charitable organizations that sent solicitations in the mail with small



donations, \$2 or \$3 at a time. These groups spanned from Catholic organizations to Native American tribes in the Dakotas.

My parents' charitable acts are not unique. The truth is that philanthropy has always been part of our communities. It's the parents who volunteer at their church or mosque every weekend, the grandmother cooking meals for a sick neighbor and the families who give what they can out of love and responsibility, not recognition. These types of giving practices, however, are not usually considered “philanthropy” and are not supported or incentivized by tax codes.

When we define philanthropy so narrowly, we erase entire communities of givers, especially communities of color, immigrants and working-class families. By doing so, we ignore the generosity that has sustained mutual aid networks long before philanthropy was formalized.

We must evolve. We must rethink who we call a philanthropist.

Our giving circles at The Denver Foundation serve as examples of how Colorado can lead the way. Giving circles are about more than pooling money to amplify impact. They emphasize the importance of volunteering and making connections within networks to further a group's objectives and a broader definition of what it means to give and be a philanthropist. Their formal and informal contributions have created a platform for lasting impact beyond what each individual member could accomplish alone.

Our communities do not get enough recognition for their generosity. While many do not consider themselves philanthropists, they are, in fact, philanthropists. It's time to reclaim philanthropy as a shared human value, not just the exclusive domain of the wealthy.

Javier Alberto Soto is president and CEO of The Denver Foundation. Since 2019, he has led the development of a strategic framework, the mobilization of significant resources to respond to the COVID-19 crisis and the foundation's 100th anniversary. Previously, Javier served as president and CEO of The Miami Foundation. Javier has been on several civic and corporate boards and was awarded Denver Business Journal's Leader in Diversity Award in 2024.

Javier has a B.A. in History and Political Science from Florida State University, a J.D. from Georgetown University Law Center and an M.A. in Sociology from the University of Colorado Denver.

Honoring 50 years of the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy and its imprint on women's funding

By Tracy Gary

For 5 decades, the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy (NCRP) has been a beacon of accountability, courage and principled challenge in the philanthropic sector, urging foundations and donors to put power, equity and community responsiveness at the heart of their giving. In celebrating NCRP's 50th anniversary, I find myself reflecting not only on the organization's structural achievements, but also on the generative spirit it has contributed to a broader movement for democratic, inclusive and justice-oriented philanthropy – a spirit that motivated me in my mid-20s and that still propels the field forward today in a tough and regressive period, just as it did around its founding in 1976. I will always be grateful for NCRP's exemplary boldness, availability, activism and strategic leadership.

years – my introduction to NCRP was during the first few years of the National Network of Grantmakers conference. It was a progressive network of foundations, representatives and donors that operated over time with some 400 members from 1980–2003 with a national convening. It also had many field-changing projects I was part of for more than 15 years. Bob stood out for his advocacy and encouragement. I was seeking mentors, and it was clear Bob and NCRP had a lot to teach me.

The Ford Foundation had come out with a study in the late 1970s that said that foundations only gave 1% of all their dollars granted to women and girls, and I sought to work to change that. It seemed unbelievable to me, a donor activist in-



Tracy Gary

how to make change happen. He was not just a good observer and listener, but, with NCRP, always providing great research and evidence. He seemed to have a fearless critique of entrenched philan-

As changemakers, dreamers and doers, we celebrate NCRP not only for what it has achieved, but for the questions it continues to pose: Who benefits from philanthropy? Who sets the agenda? Which voices are centered? Can government, business and funders do more? These are questions that have guided my own work, and I am deeply grateful for the ways NCRP has kept them alive, urgent and meaningful for 5 decades.

–Tracy Gary

A PERSONAL REFLECTION ON NCRP'S EARLY IMPACT

NCRP's first Executive Director Bob Bothwell was a leader who understood that philanthropy could and should do more than simply write checks – it could help transform power structures that kept entire communities disenfranchised.

As a young 29-year-old from New York – but now in the Bay Area for over 53

heritor on the way to give away all my inheritance (about \$7 million in today's dollars) between ages 21 and 35. I was a young feminist in my 20s when I began funding women and social change. I wanted more people to do so, and for there to be more funder education on what was needed.

Bob was welcoming and encouraging, and he showed up with tons of ideas for

thropic practices. He was, and NCRP still is 50 years later, a steadfast advocate for accountability and fairness to the disenfranchised, including women.

SPARKING THE WOMEN'S FUNDING NETWORK IN 1985

I helped start the Women's Foundation of California in San Francisco in 1979, which wanted to offer itself as a model that could be replicated. The goal was

to spark over 100 women's funds by the year 2000. Astraea Foundation, Ms. Foundation and Women's Way existed in the mid 1970s, but there were no replicated funds.

Bob and NCRP were working on workplace funds as democratized and accessible models of giving in workplaces. These funds showed that philanthropy was not just for wealthy people to give or for them to decide where the money was granted. Activist and community members could be equal decision makers alongside donors. Several of the workplace-giving funds served women and girls. Around the same time, Dana Alston founded the Black United Fund and was encouraging African American women to get involved. Soon Hispanics in Philanthropy was born in 1981 and Asians in Philanthropy in 1990. Along with Kathy Acey and the late Michael Seltzer, I helped seed and propel Funders for Gay and Lesbian Funding (now LGBTQ Funders) in 1982.

In 1982, I was asked to join the board of one of the first national networks of women in philanthropy called the Women and Foundation's Corporate Philanthropy. We were busy training women trustees to speak out about funding nonprofits for women and girls. Bob wrote me a note saying "Tracy, tell the trustees about the federations and about social change funds too." So, I did – in every room I stepped into for decades afterward.

It was natural for a network for women's funding to exist. Astraea, the Ms. Foundation, and NCRP's workplace member funds decided to meet in 1983. Initial meetings were hosted by NCRP and the Women's Foundation of California. Bob helped us by doing outreach to Dana Alston and WOMEN'S WAY and the "workplace" federations that were geared toward serving and supporting women and girls. Women

and Foundations helped house and raise funds with us, and we hired Carol Mollner who came to the job after her work getting the Women's Foundation of Minnesota going. Carol was the steady builder of the soon-to-be-named Women's Funding Network (WFN) and its founding conference in 1985. Carol remained as executive director, building the movement of women's funds for 14 more years until 1999. By the year 2000 – 15 years after that first convening – we had 119 women's funds across the United States, surpassing our goal of 100. After, Chris Grumm then Cynthia Schmae Nimmo and their teams built it to its membership of 180 women's fund. Since then, the vision has continued to spread internationally: Today there are dozens more funds connected through what is now the International Network of Women's Funds, called Prospera, rooted in the same democratic giving values that Bob, Dana and NCRP championed.

We planned a convening of at least 12 women's funds and federations in 1985, including both the emerging and established foundations and workplace federations. Though the funds used different approaches, women and girls, equity, justice and diversity were our

shared commitments. As so much of philanthropy was and still is headed by white people, we decided that in order to attend the convening, at least 25% of attendees had to be women of color. Bob cheered us on. There was resistance as many of the funders felt imposing diversity criteria was not "organic." But we persisted. Some of the now-180 funds are very diverse, but others are not. It is a process, and geography and leadership matters.

In 1985, the WFN joined identity-based philanthropic networks that were emerging and diversifying philanthropy while growing leadership. Several were seeded in 1980 and have evolved to be true forces in philanthropy, such as Neighborhood Funders, and Native Americans in Philanthropy in 1989.

NCRP leaders' voices have been of moral clarity. In the early years, traditional philanthropy operated with little scrutiny. Critique was rare and often unwelcome. NCRP's directors – Bob, Michael and Aaron – their teams, and their research helped change that. They insisted that philanthropy had to reflect the needs of those with the least wealth, the least power and the least



opportunity – and that foundations should be held to standards that go beyond tax compliance and ethical impact. Bob’s initial advocacy helped set the tone for NCRP’s mission: not to oppose philanthropy, but to make philanthropy more responsive, more equitable and more aligned with community aspirations.

Our aim was to grow a network dedicated to women’s funding that reflected diverse voices committed to shared power and social justice.

To my surprise after dedicating 15 years to movement building and then a 20-year hiatus from attending the WFN meetings, I was invited in fall 2025 to Washington by WFN’s Director of Philanthropy Chantal Bonitto to share the founding story from my perspective due to my efforts to grow leadership and more women donors. What brought tears to my eyes and hope to my heart was seeing the conference main hall, in which 75% of the 300 women’s fund leaders were women of color, and where

a majority of all attendees reflected the diversity that we had dreamed of and worked toward years ago! This was a moment of immense, generational fulfillment, rooted in movements that NCRP helped keep alive and accountable.

In 2007, Aaron Dorfman joined NCRP as executive director and is now its president and CEO, marking nearly 2 decades of leadership. I recently interviewed Aaron for a book I am writing with others on “redesigning nonprofits” and feel fortunate that he came to NCRP with deep experience in community organizing and a vision for research that could motivate action. How impressive is it that it has grown from a \$1 million to multi-million-dollar force for change. New partnerships and funders are a necessity now as the pressure to pull in and not fund DEI programs, immigrants’ rights or advocacy can destroy all that has been built. It is not an overstatement to say that new partnerships and funders are more crucial now than ever – to help

fund the advocacy avenues that have been built over the past 50 years.

Given what is happening now because of the administration’s policies and practices, NCRP’s 50th should raise an extra \$5 million to promote courage, boldness and a recommitment of what matters to so many to make lasting change. NCRP’s leadership is essential especially now, and we cannot just depend on foundations that have stripped their DEI commitments or that are earnestly afraid of losing their 501(c)(3) status.

May NCRP keep building new tools and advocate for better funding, fewer federal cuts, and new and better taxation. Having NCRP survive as a beacon for justice for 50 years is no small feat.

Throughout his tenure, Aaron has reinforced a theme that has become central to NCRP’s identity: Communities most impacted by inequity must be central to defining philanthropic strategy. Far from being abstract notions, this idea has shaped advocacy in various ways: urging foundations to prioritize general operat-

Special Report
Rightwing Attacks on Corporate Giving

Winter National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy 1990

‘Defund-The-Left’ Campaign Intensifies, Women’s Rights Agenda Prime Target

A campaign of harassment by Houston anti-abortion activists directed at local Red Lobster restaurants is part of a much broader campaign by the right to force corporate foundations to defund progressive nonprofits, particularly in the women’s movement.

In the “defund the left” campaign of the ‘80s in search of a mass movement, with anti-abortion activists being carried as the foot soldiers of the right.

These assessments and others developed in this special issue of *Responsive Philanthropy* are the result of six months’ investigation and research by freelance writer Dawn Rasmus.

Directed at the chain’s parent company, General Mills, the Red Lobster campaign has included pressure on managers of local restaurants, with picketing prominent as soon as the corporate foundation announces its 1990 contribution to Planned Parenthood.

Organized by Houston leaders of the “nurse” movement that blockades abortion clinics and harasses their patients and staff, it is part of a locally coordinated national boycott of Planned Parenthood’s corporate donors.

Leadership, motivational and abortion groups—the Christian Action Council and Focus on the Family—have recently expanded their anti-Planned Parenthood campaign to include the Children’s Defense Fund, Ms. Foundation, NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, and People for the American Way.

Anti-corporate donors to a major metropolitan funding consortium, Philadelphia’s Women’s Way, are also targets of a defunding drive being mounted by anti-abortion activists.

Corporate foundations don’t like to talk about it, but these campaigns are having some success and they are being raised as matters of serious concern in local donors’ forums and at national philanthropic gatherings.

They are also being discussed in rightwing strategy sessions in Washington, including Paul Weyrich’s “Library Covert.” In fact, while the immediate attack is coming from the religious right, it is best understood as part of the long-term design of

New Right strategies such as Weyrich, the founder of the Heritage Foundation.

That design includes a much broader campaign against corporate philanthropy for “appealing the left.” Moreover, it calls on corporations to replace their current philanthropic professionals with rightwing cadres and replace the progressive nonprofits that they fund with nonprofits on the right.

In part of this, a Heritage offshoot, the Capital Research Center, has recently initiated the third of its annual polemics against corporate funding of progressive nonprofits.

Distributed to corporate CEOs and their boards, these studies brought some initial, precipitous grant cancellations—again, mostly of grants to women’s groups. Those cancellations have generally not continued.

In fact, where the right has been unable to link its attack on corporate giving to at least to the appearance of a mass movement, it has had no great effect.

Since the late ‘70s, Weyrich and other strategists of the right have mapped a path to power leading through a movement built around “family” issues, with abortion as a prelude.

Whether or not their anti-abortion attacks will follow, the right’s target is the whole program, beginning with abortion, child care, pay equity and other women’s agenda items. And the payoff to the right’s financial backers may be continuing sources of cheap, often female

labor.

Most corporate foundations have not buckled under to the pressure. They cite clear program goals and corporate boards that understand them as two of the reasons why.

But observers of corporate philanthropy worry that some have buckled—and have revisionist guidelines to make their decisions easier. They fear a retrenchment into safe areas.

“It reminds me of Germany in the ‘30s,” remarked the executive director of one nonprofit. “What we need to know is where’s the pressure coming from, how it is organized, what can organizations and corporations do to belly right back.” ■



Dawn Rasmus writes justice

Inside: The right’s defund campaign. Where it’s coming from. What to do about it.

CIRCULATION 1,000

WOMEN’S AGENDA

New Group Monitors Funding for Women

The newly formed National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy is asking individuals and organizations for their ideas on how private philanthropy can better serve public needs.

The Committee points out that “studies done recently document how few dollars from private philanthropy flow to organizations working actively to correct inequities suffered by racial/ethnic minorities, by women and by other Americans generally powerless before the major governmental, economic and other institutions in the United States.”

Members of the Committee’s Board—who include Barbara Bode of the Children’s Foundation, Dorothy Haight of the National Council of Human Women, Maggie Kuhn of the Gray Child Development Project and Mary Jean Tully of the NOW Legal Development and Education Fund—have been that “assessments of the patterns of philanthropy need to be made in every major locale and in every critical area of public need.”

“We think,” their announcement continues, “that these assessments should look at the potential of philanthropy’s grant-giving programs, at the public’s access to philanthropy’s decision-making, and at philanthropy’s accountability to the public.”

Those interested in working with the Committee are asked to write to Bob Rothwell, Executive Director, at 1000 Wisconsin Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20007 □

Necessary Action
Social Justice Perspectives on What Needs to Be Done

Foundations have to do a variety of things which are against their normal style of operation. They have to work to strengthen the influence of citizens’ movements and organizations to mobilize empowered voters to put their public policy agendas into play. They have to support leadership building and development so that people can serve as the pivot and take their office, shared leadership. And they have to be willing to support activists. There is no short-term attention span to their issue. Foundations must realize this and react fully.


David Cohen, Advocacy Institute

To develop more answers to these and related questions, NCRP interviewed a cross-section of social justice activists across the country (see page 11 for a complete list of interviewees). With few exceptions, respondents expressed considerable dissatisfaction with how the great majority of foundations known to them are operating, and especially with foundations’ grantmaking strategies. A small number of progressive funders were singled out for praise by several interviewees. Respondents freely shared their thoughts about and reactions to what foundations have been doing, but many declined to go on the record with their criticisms. Their willingness with doing so is a strong indication of the lack of candor that can characterize the grantmaker-grantee relationship and of the obstacles that prevent foundations from receiving necessary feedback.

Interviewees offered varying solutions/competing conceptual frames to guide foundation thinking, and proposed several concrete steps for immediate implementation by foundations. But few of the ideas are currently receiving broad action.

Where’s the Foundation World on the Critical Issues of the Day?

Virtually every social justice leader interviewed for this report drew a complete book, when asked to comment on what foundations are doing in response to the vast array of contemporary inequalities and economic hardship. In the face of what they regard as an onslaught of potentially disruptive and even more harmful changes in national policy, none are apathetic, if not surprised, by the lack of aggressive movement and some of urgency among foundations. As one depicted it: “The world as we know it is rapidly



Deb Lister, Political Research Associates, speaking at Building Bridges Conference sponsored by Ford for Social Change

National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy Special Report 39

ing support, exposing underinvestment in communities of color, and critiquing philanthropic approaches that repeat systemic inequities.

At its core, NCRP is known as the philanthropic sector's "critical friend" – rigorous, principled and unafraid to name where the sector falls short while offering evidence-based guidance for doing better. Its legacy is not only in research reports or critiques, but in helping shift philanthropy from a mindset of charity to one of justice, shared power and accountability.

NCRP's voice helped start critical conversations on how philanthropy relates to democracy, equity, race, gender and community power, long before these concerns were widely recognized as central to effective social change. In that sense, NCRP did not follow trends: It helped create space for those trends to become visible, actionable and measurable.

LOOKING AHEAD

Now 50 years on, NCRP still insists that philanthropy be more than transactional

– it must be transformational. It calls on foundations and donors not just to give more, but to give differently: Support movements for justice, share power with communities and believe that philanthropy can help bend the arc toward equity. NCRP is not merely part of the philanthropic ecosystem, it helped shape the very questions we now ask about power, equity and impact.

As changemakers, dreamers and doers, we celebrate NCRP not only for what it has achieved, but for the questions it continues to pose: Who benefits from philanthropy? Who sets the agenda? Which voices are centered? Can government, business and funders do more? These are questions that have guided my own work, and I am deeply grateful for the ways NCRP has kept them alive, urgent and meaningful for 5 decades.

If you want the foundation and donor sector to evolve, fund and bring new supporters to NCRP. I commit to it. Join me! Here's to 50 more years of accountability, boldness and systemic change!

Tracy Gary has been a catalyst shaped by the community, its partners, networks, leaders and donors for over fifty years. She was a co-founder of The Women's Funding Network.

Tracy is the author of Inspired Philanthropy: Creating a Giving and Legacy Plan, and is writing a book, Redesigning Nonprofits, (Wiley Publishers, Nov. 2026). She has worked in fifty states and twenty-five countries promoting social justice giving and women's leadership. She helped start twenty-six nonprofits and has been on thirty boards. She engages multiple cultural generations for gifts made through giving from the heart with intention and strong advocacy for justice, equity and equality.

CIRCULATION 1,000

WOMEN'S AGENDA

For the first time in three years, the increase in private giving outpaced inflation, according to Giving USA, the annual report of the American Association of Fund-Raising Councils (AAFC).

Total private giving rose 12.1% to \$51.2 billion, substantially above the 8.9% inflation rate. AAFC called this increase "a remarkable demonstration of how caring and responsive Americans are."

At least part of the record increase, however, could be attributed to the tax change scheduled for 1981, which led many tax advisers to urge wealthy donors to make gifts in 1981, when they would get more tax benefits. A study by The Giving Organization found that 38% of a sample of taxpayers who itemize their deductions say that the tax advantage connected with giving

is either "very important" (41%) or "somewhat important" (43%). Corporate giving went up 11.1% (to \$3 billion) even with a 1.1% decline in corporate profits. This increase in giving coincided with a decrease in profits caused a big jump in corporate giving as a percentage of corporate profits, to 1.2%. For more than a decade the figure had been about 1%.

An AAFC survey found that the recipients of corporate gifts stay fairly constant. Ninety percent of the corporations responding to the survey said that more

than half of the organizations they currently support had received contributions from them at least once before during the past three years. Thus, AAFC concluded, "An organization not receiving corporate support may have some difficulty getting it in the future."

The study also found that corporations received 47% more requests for support after the federal budget cuts were announced, and that 20% of corporate giving benefits had been approved to national charities.

retirees, they believe joint fund raising will both increase the efficiency of their fund-raising efforts and give them access to payroll deduction gifts, especially those made by the increasing number of women in the workforce. Members of the New York City Women's Funding Coalition include labor, health, day care, education, employment and reproductive rights groups. Like many other recently formed ad-

Women's Groups Form Fund to Get More Dollars

In center the "traditional" understanding of women's groups, 13 New York City women's organizations joined last December to raise money, especially through payroll deductions at workplaces.

Members of the New York City Women's Funding Coalition include labor, health, day care, education, employment and reproductive rights groups. Like many other recently formed ad-

Constitutional Conventions: Newest Threat to Abortion Rights

Illinois Women Win State Advocate

Debate at Women's Campaign Fund

Giving Exceeded \$50 Billion in 1981, Outpacing the Inflation Rate

	1981	Increase	Percent of total
Individuals	\$48.11	11.7%	93%
Businesses	4.89	11.7%	9.5%
Corporations	4.68	11.7%	9.2%
Foundations	2.42	9.2%	4.8%

	1981	Increase	Percent of total
Religion	\$24.89	12.2%	48.2%
Education	7.49	11.2%	14.6%
Health & Hospitals	7.36	13.4%	14.3%
Social Welfare	3.32	11.9%	6.5%
Arts & Humanities	3.38	13.2%	6.2%
Civic & Public	1.58	13.2%	2.9%
Other	0.71	10.1%	0.7%

Corporate Giving Will Go Up, But Not by Much

If nothing else, President Reagan's frequent call for increases in corporate giving has led to a big increase in studies of corporate giving, with at least four being completed in the past six months or so.

The results of these studies are mixed, though they generally agree that corporate giving will not increase nearly enough to counter the Reagan budget cuts.

Indeed, a study of 427 of the largest corporations done by the Conference Board, a prominent nonprofit business research institute, found that only 9% planned to increase their giving in response to the President's many exhortations. And, as Herbert West of the New York City Trust Fund told NCRP, "Even if you could stop your

Corporations received 47% more requests for support after the federal budget cuts were announced.

And finally, a Council on Foundations study says that 46% of the corporations it surveyed plan to increase their giving. However, the corporate study surveyed by the Council (and probably by the other studies) were not very representative of all corporations. 46% of the surveyed corporations make charitable gifts, while only 23.4% of all corporations make such gifts, according to The American Association of Fund-Raising Councils.

Here the President's many speeches encouraging most corporations giving had an effect? The study by the International Association of Business Communicators thinks so, saying the 17% projected increase in giving could be "realized, in part, to the extent of voluntarism urged on business by the Reagan Administration."

However, E. Patrick McGuire of the Conference Board disagrees. He says the amount of

Engers and double corporate giving. It wouldn't begin to fill the gap." Corporate giving totaled \$4.68 billion in 1981, according to Giving USA, an 11.9% increase. In May, the President's Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives recommended that corporate giving as a percentage of profits be doubled in four years, but the various studies suggest that this won't happen.

The Conference Board study found that 46% of the corporations surveyed plan to increase their giving, but the study says this mainly reflects normal expectations of increased profits and inflation.

A study of 130 large corporations by the Investor Responsibility Research Center of Washington, D.C., says the "likelihood of substantial increases in corporate gifts in the near future is small." Only 30 companies offered projections of their future giving, the average anticipated increase for next year being 12.4%.

A survey of 80 Fortune 500 companies by the International Association of Business Communicators concluded that their giving would go up next year, but only by about 15%.

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"Our company supported the president because we believed in the effectiveness of a number of these programs. Naturally we're not too excited about continuing the programs and shifting the burden to the corporate sector."

—Corporate official quoted in Conference Board study

Corporate giving has always been primarily a reflection of profits, and that it's likely to remain so, so neither how many speeches the President makes.

The Investor Responsibility study says the bottom line impact of the Reagan tax changes may actually be to discourage corporate giving, "perhaps by a substantial amount."

Alternative Funds . . .

Some two out of three of which raise money through payroll deductions, social action and public interest alternative funds such as the Cooperating Fund Drive in Mississippi, St. Paul and Women's Way in Philadelphia), National Health Agencies and International Service Agencies.

The 34% increase in giving to alternative funds was more than three times the average increase recorded in 1981 by United Ways (10.3%). However, United Ways still leads the recording in the majority of funds raised at the workplace—more than 99.3%.

The NCF survey acquired specific agency figures for 21 alternative funds in 1980 which, combined, raised \$4.7 million. In 1981, 30 alternative funds raised \$6.3 million, with the increase coming primarily from payroll deductions. It was estimated that the other 17 known funds raised \$1.2 million, resulting in the \$7.8 million estimate for money raised by all alternative funds in 1981.

The survey found that the corporations were not having United Ways in nearly half the places where United Ways had long existed, they increased their contributions more than any other agency in all United Ways.

This report is available from NCFP at \$1.50.

Responsive Philanthropy

Fund faith: Why philanthropy must prioritize faith-led advocacy now more than ever

By Jeanné Lewis

Thanks to NCRP's 50 years of leadership, the philanthropic sector has made strides in the 21st century to leverage funding for power building and reparations for communities that have long been ignored or scapegoated.

—Jeanné Lewis

During my 8 years as a senior leader at NCRP, I was part of countless conversations about diversity, equity and inclusion; intersectionality; and the disparate funding that goes to legacy institutions instead of marginalized communities. Thanks to NCRP's 50 years of leadership and the thought leadership of the members of CHANGE Philanthropy, GEO and United Philanthropy Forum, among others, the philanthropic sector has made strides in the 21st century to leverage funding for power building and reparations for communities that have long been ignored or scapegoated.

Despite some progress, there is still a long way to go.

Organizations led by or focused on gender, youth, communities of color and other vulnerable populations still struggle to receive equitable funding compared to their white counterparts, prior to the Trump administration's attacks on diversity-related causes and freezing \$10 billion in funding to "Democratic-led" states and social programs.

Further, a rapidly changing media, cultural and political landscape is shifting the centers of power in our failing democracy. The K-shaped economy is widening



Jeanné Lewis

the gap between the haves and have-nots across all sectors. The problems are complex, enormous and interconnected, and there's no one-size-fits-all approach to meet the demand.

One funding gap that is seldom discussed is the decrease and lack of funding going from left-leaning funders to faith-based organizations. As the CEO of a faith-based non-profit during these tumultuous times, I am clear that this major funding blind spot must be addressed to make effective social change at this moment, or we risk generational loss. Progressive philanthropy has a strategic opportunity for growth. Funders must understand the role that faith and religious identity plays in our intersectional analysis of margin-

alized communities. For those looking to support civic engagement, rebuild our democracy and create an equitable society, faith-based work is a necessary strategy.

There is a paradox in left-leaning philanthropy when it comes to faith. There is a pervasive belief that faith-based groups are not strategic investments, yet many philanthropic professionals are people of faith. During my time at NCRP, many foundation staff, fundraising consultants and other industry professionals confided that their faiths and spiritual beliefs motivated them to work in philanthropy. However, they often did not feel comfortable explicitly discussing that aspect of their identity with their colleagues. The last 3 years have exacerbated interfaith tensions that already existed and made it more difficult for people to share their faiths. Despite these ongoing challenges, faith groups and leaders are core strategic partners for effective change.

If philanthropic professionals draw on their spirituality to apply strategic thinking to funding, it follows that faith leaders driving social change do the same. Faith groups – often misunderstood by modern philanthropy – are established in communities across America and quietly shape policy, culture and democracy at

scale. They are already established and actively serving their communities. Across political divides, racial lines and income brackets, faith leaders remain some of the most trusted messengers in American life.

For funders serious about long-term impact, power-building and systemic change, that matters. It's time to fund faith, now more than ever.

FAITH LEADERS ARE THE NEW POLICY INFLUENCERS

NCRP has successfully motivated philanthropy to fund policy shops, advocacy and think tanks. Funding faith-led advocacy is not a departure from that strategy – it is an expansion of it.

When policymakers want to understand what their constituents believe, they often look to faith leaders first. Gallup reports that clergy rank among the top most trusted professions in the United States, well above journalists, politicians and business leaders.

That influence emerges not only in sermons, but in city councils, state houses and congressional hearings. Elected officials don't want to risk the ire of a faith leader with a large following.

To our collective detriment, fringe, right-wing clergy have been the most vocal and best funded. Historically, they've distorted and weaponized faith for their political gain to justify oppression and violence against marginalized people. Meanwhile, left-leaning funders have not consistently invested in faith leaders who adhere to the core tenets of religious traditions unless circumstances prompt action.

The disparities are vast and continue today.

IRS filings from 2024 show nearly \$260 million invested in right-leaning nonprofits at the intersection of media, policy and culture. Turning Point USA and Prager University Foundation, 2 nonprofits with unapologetically white Christian nationalist perspectives and pastoral networks, received \$84 million and \$66 million, respectively.

In contrast, a pro-democracy funder collaborative invited grantees to envision an “ambitious idea” with a “lottery ticket” investment of \$10 million.

Faith in Public Life, and our frequent collaborators, Hindus for Human Rights and Bend the Arc, have a pending proposal to expand our faith speakers' bureaus. With hundreds of millions of dollars, we could not only recruit and train faith leaders but also build platforms, content teams and leadership profiles through organic content, paid partnerships and multi-media advertising.

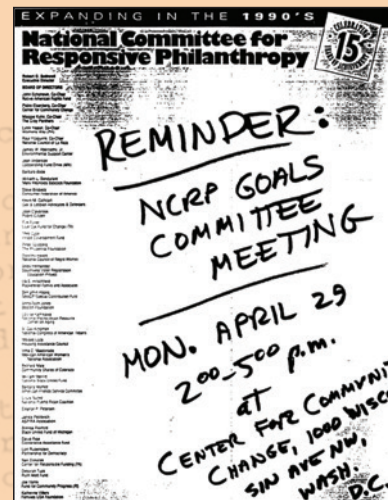
Faith leaders already have political influence. Philanthropy must invest in faith strategies that promote equity, inclusion and liberation at scale.

FAITH SHAPES MEDIA AND PUBLIC OPINION

NCRP's research has proven the return on investment when philanthropy funds marginalized leaders without stigma and trusts them to communicate effectively. Faith leaders should also be included in this approach.

Committee for
ve Philanthrop

1985 NCRP PLANS



National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy

According to the Pew Research Center, nearly 47% of Americans say religious leaders should speak out on political and social issues. Public opinion is not just shaped by headlines and social media algorithms. It's also shaped in sermons, study groups, prayer circles, religious schools and community gatherings – cultural spaces that reach millions weekly and operate largely outside traditional philanthropy.

Faith leaders consistently show up as credible voices during moments of crisis and change. During the Civil Rights Movement, Black faith leaders were spiritual guides and media strategists who exposed the immorality of racial oppression. They framed civil rights as a moral issue that demanded public attention and documented the violent responses to peaceful demonstrations for rights and dignity.

Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s "Letter from Birmingham Jail" remains one of the most influential media interventions in American history, precisely because it fused faith, ethics and public

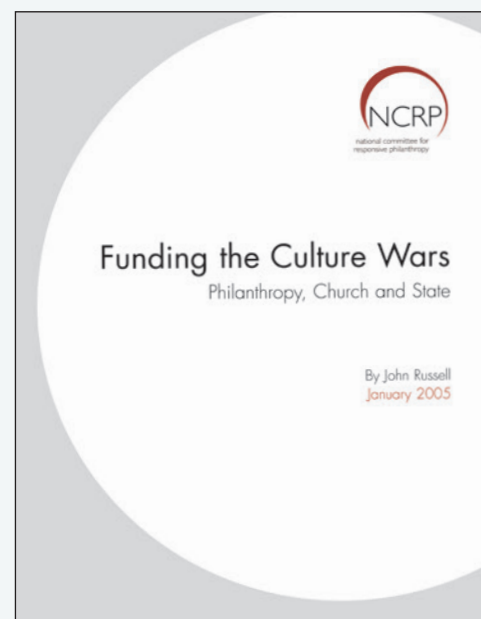
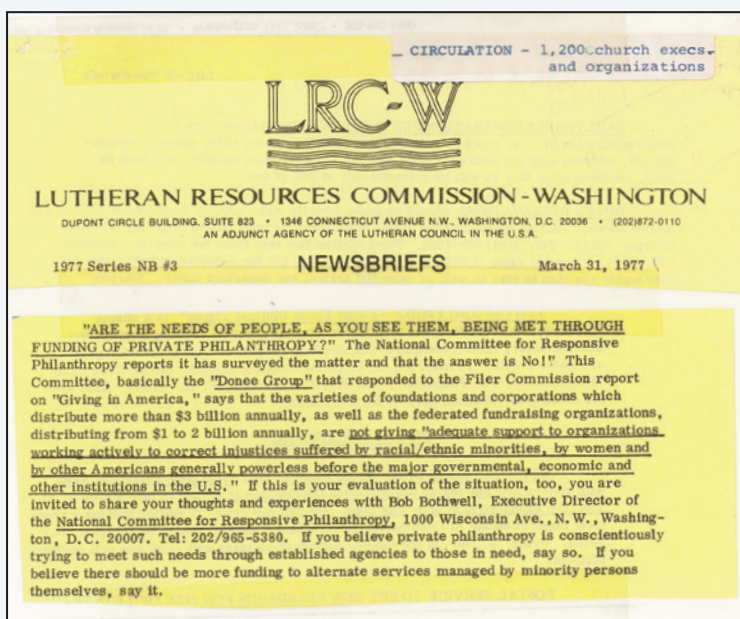
sentiment. Organized people of faith in Selma, Alabama leveraged the media to contrast their peaceful protests against the violent tactics of Jim Crow.

From Charlottesville, Virginia in 2017 to Minneapolis now, faith leaders across traditions are still on the front lines of modern resistance movements and making headlines that convey moral messages to the public. Two of Faith in Public Life's board members, an imam and a rabbi, spoke and participated in peaceful rallies in Minnesota. Faith in Minnesota, a 501(c)4 organization, organized a direct action and civil disobedience where 100 clergy of different faiths were arrested in protest of ICE. Jamal Bryant, an activist, author, and pastor from the New Birth Missionary Baptist Church in Georgia, amplified and recruited people of faith into a boycott against Target and other corporations for retracting their DEI pledges. The #boycottTarget effort resulted in a 30% drop in stock prices, which amounted to over \$12 billion in losses, and a CEO resignation. Bishop Mariann Edgar Budde, the first woman to preside over the Episcopal Diocese of

Washington, has directly called out President Donald Trump from the pulpit. Notably, she asked him to "have mercy" on vulnerable and scared people, particularly immigrants and LGBTQ+ individuals, at the 2025 National Prayer Service.

Faith leaders also model the power of redemption and create a permission structure in which the general public can change their opinions and beliefs. Minister Rob Schenck, an activist and evangelical minister who spent 3 decades lobbying for the religious right, recently attended anti-ICE protests in Minneapolis. His conscience drove him to right his wrongs and repair damage done to communities. In all of these examples, faith leaders didn't act alone, but partnered with secular, public and private groups to enact these initiatives.

Today's faith leaders are doing similar work around climate change, reproductive justice, gun violence, combating misinformation and democracy itself. This is why Faith in Public Life launched an Interfaith Speakers Bureau to train, equip and elevate faith leaders



across traditions to respond to major media moments.

Funding faith-led communications is not about proselytizing – it is about amplifying trusted messengers who can reach communities that philanthropic organizations and organizers often struggle to reach on their own.

Whether on cable news, local radio or social media, when faith leaders speak, people listen.

FAITH AND VALUES ARE THE LENS THROUGH WHICH PEOPLE VOTE

The philanthropic sector often values quantitative data over the lived experiences of marginalized people. Yet, NCRP's research has shown how long-term change is best sustained when identity and experience drive solutions. Faith is a core aspect of identity that drives systemic solutions, voting decisions and civic engagement.

Nearly 82% of Americans identify as religious, spiritual or both. This means

people of faith are everywhere, and those who are most directly targeted and affected by systemic oppression have faith identities that intersect with their race, immigration status and gender. The more we shy away from incorporating faith and values into everyday conversations, including democracy, the more we disconnect from a core aspect of voters' identities.

We often talk about voters as demographic categories – age, race or income. But values matter just as much. According to Pew, about 64% of Americans say religion plays at least some role in how they think about political issues, and nearly half say it plays a major role.

Faith shapes how people understand right and wrong, responsibility and care, and freedom and obligation. Faith-based stories are often shared widely online because they are value based and connect with people on a deep level.

Those frameworks influence whether people vote, who they vote for, and how they engage beyond the ballot box. Ignoring

faith in democracy work leaves a massive gap in understanding voter behavior.

In the Muslim tradition, for example, the principle of *amanah* – trust and stewardship – has inspired civic engagement efforts focused on ethical leadership and accountability. Muslim-led voter education groups like EmgageUSA have successfully increased turnout by framing participation as a moral responsibility rather than just a civic duty.

For philanthropy concerned about democratic backsliding, disinformation and disengagement, faith-led democracy work is not peripheral – it is essential. Faith organizations are often the only ones able to engage people who feel alienated from politics but deeply connected to their faith or identity communities.

FAITH OFFERS MODELS COMMUNITY BUILDING AND LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

In the “Smashing Silos” series of reports, NCRP explored the benefits of investing

3. Data Observations

GRANTMAKING DIVERSITY
Grants to each of the four categories were pretty evenly divided according to purpose. While likely a result of the broad criteria for inclusion in the sample, there is evidence that evangelical grantmakers have diverse interests. Twenty of the 37 foundations made grants in all four categories and another eight had grants in three categories.

GRANT SIZE
The average grant size for evangelical foundations was \$53,227. This is comparable to the average size of conservative public policy grants analyzed in Fall. From the sample of evangelical funders, it appears that larger grants are more common for domestic than international or missionary work. The evangelical policy grantmaking category also receives considerably smaller grants than social services. This finding, combined with the smaller overall value of grants for policy and advocacy, would seem to indicate that evangelical funders use social services as a higher priority than policy work. However, further examination shows that a number of very large gifts in the social services category are inflating the grant average. 8 gifts of more than \$1 million are excluded; the average gifts for policy and social services are \$46,767 and \$31,019, respectively.

TYPES OF FUNDING
One of the defining grantmaking strategies highlighted in previous NCRP research is the use of general operating support grants that offer flexibility to conservative advocates. The evangelical data offer even more evidence of this strategy. Fully 41 percent of grants were for general operating support, while only 16 percent went to program-specific grants. This large discrepancy may be evidence of a commitment and trust for the evangel-

TABLE 1: Dollar value and number of grants by category, 1999-2002

Grantmaking category	Dollar value	Number of grants
Domestic missions	\$62,087,373	1,102
International missions	\$37,917,486	809
Social services	\$41,602,056	701
Policy and advocacy	\$26,697,691	550
Total	\$168,304,806	3,162

TABLE 2: Average grant value by category, 1999-2002

Grantmaking category	Average grant value
Domestic missions	\$56,340
International missions	\$46,809
Social services	\$59,346
Policy and advocacy	\$48,541
Average Grant Size	\$53,227

FUNDING THE CULTURE WARS: PHILANTHROPY, CHURCH AND STATE 9

TABLE 3: Type of support by category, 1999-2002

Grantmaking category	Operating support	Program support	N/A	Other
Domestic missions	\$22,681,825 (37%)	\$14,774,236 (24%)	\$23,155,742 (37%)	\$1,475,550 (2%)
International missions	\$10,145,027 (27%)	\$6,576,950 (17%)	\$19,800,553 (53%)	\$2,175,206 (6%)
Social services	\$21,660,551 (51%)	\$2,742,396 (7%)	\$16,281,495 (39%)	\$1,518,000 (4%)
Policy and advocacy	\$14,794,368 (55%)	\$3,003,800 (11%)	\$8,874,523 (33%)	\$25,000 (0%)
Total	\$68,681,825 (41%)	\$27,897,382 (16%)	\$67,331,923 (40%)	\$5,193,756 (3%)

TABLE 4: Top five states by grants awarded, 1999-2002

State	Dollar amount	Number of grants	Percent of total dollars
Florida	\$50,714,947	332	30%
Michigan	\$44,564,258	874	26%
Iowa	\$20,024,054	283	12%
Washington	\$16,553,676	514	10%
Colorado	\$11,303,849	197	7%

TABLE 5: Top five states by grants received, 1999-2002

State	Dollar amount	Number of grants	Percent of total dollars
District of Columbia	\$23,453,956	176	14%
Michigan	\$23,234,010	573	14%
Florida	\$22,682,400	388	13%
Colorado	\$21,405,688	306	13%
Illinois	\$11,293,328	334	7%

TABLE 6: Top 10 Domestic Missions Grant Recipients, 1999-2002

Grant recipient	Dollar amount	Number of grants	Percent of total dollars
Campus Crusade for Christ International	\$17,227,882	178	28%
Crisis Communications International	\$7,417,100	24	13%
Young Life	\$5,915,754	97	10%
Focus on the Family	\$5,675,000	32	13%
Life Action Ministries	\$3,088,665	8	5%
Lois Palau Evangelical Association	\$2,522,866	29	4%
Billy Graham Evangelical Association	\$1,504,500	14	4%
Fellowship of Christian Athletes	\$1,194,315	45	2%
World Bible Presentations Inc.	\$1,180,000	2	2%
Central Ridge Ministries Media	\$1,087,340	10	2%

CHART 1: Domestic Missions: Subcategories

FUNDING THE CULTURE WARS: PHILANTHROPY, CHURCH AND STATE 10

4. Grantmaking Highlights

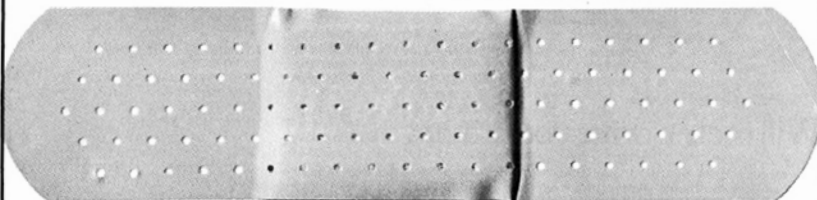
Underneath the broader lessons learned from examining the evangelical grants database, there are more specific observations to make about the relationship between these funders and the political process. Within each category, there are organizations or subcategories of funding that are pertinent to the current political situation as well as possible future programmatic support or funding.

DOMESTIC MISSIONS
The effort to evangelize Americans continues the largest form of evangelical grantmaking in this sample, which is not surprising considering the basic tenets of evangelism. Whether through youth groups on college campuses, radio and television broadcasts, or traditional traveling revival shows, spreading the gospel is a top priority. While these efforts are not strictly political,

the success of these domestic missions in recruiting adherents and a demonstrated desire to connect those adherents to political causes do warrant attention.

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THE WORST THING WE CAN DO ABOUT OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEMS



IS COVER THEM UP.

directly in leaders. Beyond policy and politics, faith traditions offer something philanthropy often seeks but struggles to build: a durable community and leadership sustainability.

Faith-led organizations are experts in leadership development, volunteer engagement and long-term sustainability. They know how to cultivate leaders over decades, not grant cycles. They know how to care for people through conflict, burnout and transition. For example, El-Hibri Foundation invests in dozens of Muslim-American leaders and allies each year, providing organizing training, capacity building and narrative development.

The U.S. Baha'i Office of Public Affairs regularly convenes interfaith dialogue and engagement activities to explore how to live out their core religious principles of unity, peace and equality in society. In indigenous spiritual traditions and Sikhism, leadership is often collective and intergenerational, emphasizing balance and responsibility to future generations. These are not just spiritual practices – they are governance models.

Clergy, gurus, imams, rabbis, pastors and lay faith leaders regularly engage with issues that philanthropy cares deeply about: immigration, housing, public health, education, climate adaptation,

criminal justice, and foreign policy. They use moral language inspired by their lived experience. When faith leaders frame climate change as stewardship, healthcare as human dignity, or immigration as hospitality, they are translating policy into values that mobilize action.

For philanthropy, this means investments in faith-led leaders and organizations often have outsized returns. These groups already have infrastructure, relationships, and moral credibility. With flexible funding and partnership – not control – they can scale impact without losing their roots.

A CALL TO FUND WHAT ALREADY WORKS

For the last 50 years, NCRP has redefined strategic philanthropy. Philanthropy does not need to abandon strategic thinking to fund faith-led work. It needs to recognize that funding faith-

based work is an extension of successful investment practices.

Some faith-inspired philanthropy like the Unitarian Universalist Program at Veatch and Trinity Church Wall Street have long recognized the impact of faith-based organizations. The Schusterman Foundation references the Jewish concept of *tikkun olam*— repairing the world – as a motivation for their work. This principle has animated decades of faith-driven policy advocacy in Jewish communities, including civil rights and refugee resettlement. But too often, faith leaders work with minimal resources and little recognition while shaping policy, influencing media, strengthening democracy and modeling sustainable leadership.

The question is not whether faith will shape our future. It already does. The question is whether philanthropy will invest in trusted messengers and moral frameworks that move people from belief to action.

Faith-based work enhances strategies that focus on policy, media influence, democracy and leadership, yet remains underfunded because of a belief gap within philanthropy about its strategic effectiveness. The range of influence of faith-based strategies is precisely why funding faith matters.

If philanthropy is serious about systems change, democratic resilience and social transformation, then funding interfaith work is not optional – it is strategic infrastructure. It is one of the smartest investments philanthropists can make to sustain society for the next 50 years.

Jeanné Lewis is a nonprofit executive, faith-based organizer and CEO of Faith in Public Life, a national interfaith coalition of faith leaders advancing society through narrative, culture and belonging. Previously, she served at the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, expanding funding for social justice organizations and as director of U.S. programs at Search for Common Ground. She's organized military and faith communities across the country. Jeanné attends St. Augustine Catholic Parish in Washington and is a former political candidate. She holds a BA from Washington University and MA in Conflict Resolution from Antioch University Midwest.



ix Local Groups

New and Renewing NCRP Grantmaker Supporters

The NCRP has designed a new Guide for Assessing Local Philanthropy to help individuals and organizations measure philanthropic patterns. The Guide not only addresses how to learn who gets what from philanthropy, but also di...

cludes how to determine the information about grant tutions, by posing research q...

Profit Making Organizations Challenged
The National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy has issued a report...

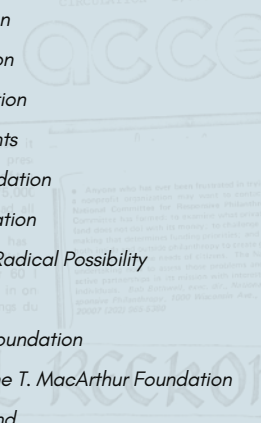
Enclosed you will find a letter from Executive Director of the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy. At this time they are conducting a wide survey of organizations and individuals to find out what private foundations do and their monies. Recent studies have shown that...

- Akonadi Foundation
- Allegany Franciscan Ministries
- Amalgamated Foundation
- American Jewish World Service
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation
- ANONYMOUS
- The Arca Foundation
- Arch Community Fund
- Arcus Foundation
- The Arthur M. Blank Family Foundation
- Barr Foundation
- Black Alliance for Just Immigration
- Blandin Foundation
- Blue Shield of California Foundation
- Bonfils-Stanton Foundation
- Borealis Philanthropy
- Brett Family Foundation
- Bush Foundation
- Butler Family Fund
- The California Endowment
- California Health Care Foundation
- The California Wellness Foundation
- The Colorado Health Foundation
- Conrad N. Hilton Foundation
- The Cricket Island Foundation
- Daphne Foundation
- The David and Lucile Packard Foundation
- Delaware Community Foundation
- Denver Arts & Venues
- Dogwood Health Trust
- Dyson Foundation
- The Evelyn and Walter Haas, Jr. Fund
- Farbman Family Foundation
- Fetzer Institute
- Field Foundation of Illinois
- Flora Family Foundation
- The Ford Foundation
- Foundation for Child Development
- Freedom Together Foundation
- The Fund for New Jersey

- Fund for Shared Insight
- General Service Foundation
- The George Gund Foundation
- The Grove Foundation
- Hall Family Foundation
- Headwaters Foundation
- The Heinz Endowments
- The Henry Luce Foundation
- Hill-Snowdon Foundation
- iF, a Foundation for Radical Possibility
- Inatai Foundation
- Jessie Smith Noyes Foundation
- John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
- Joyfully Ferocious Fund
- Kataly Foundation
- Kolibri Foundation
- The Kresge Foundation
- The Latino Community Foundation
- Levi Strauss Foundation
- Liberty Hill Foundation
- Libra Foundation
- Lloyd A. Fry Foundation
- Lumina Foundation
- Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation
- Masto Foundation
- Max M. and Marjorie S. Fisher Foundation
- Mendelsohn Family Fund
- Mertz Gilmore Foundation
- Meyer Foundation
- Meyer Memorial Trust
- The Minneapolis Foundation
- Missouri Foundation for Health
- Moore Philanthropy
- Ms. Foundation for Women
- Nathan Cummings Foundation
- National Education Association
- Needmor Fund for Social Justice
- Nellie Mae Education Foundation
- New Visions Foundation
- New York Foundation

- Norman Foundation
- North Star Fund
- Northwest Area Foundation
- Northwest Health Foundation
- Park Foundation
- Polk Bros. Foundation
- Proteus Fund
- Robert Sterling Clark Foundation
- Robert Wood Johnson Foundation
- Rockefeller Brothers Fund
- Rosenberg Foundation
- Saint Paul & Minnesota Foundation
- San Francisco Foundation
- Schott Foundation for Public Education
- Seattle Foundation
- Silicon Valley Community Foundation
- The Skillman Foundation
- Sobrato Philanthropies
- Solidaire Network
- Stryker Johnston Foundation
- Stupski Foundation
- Surdna Foundation
- Tides Foundation
- Unbound Philanthropy
- Unitarian Universalist Veatch Program at Shelter Rock
- United Way of Greater Los Angeles
- Voqal Partners
- W.K. Kellogg Foundation
- Wallace Global Fund
- Walton Family Foundation
- Weingart Foundation
- Weissberg Foundation
- The WES Mariam Assefa Fund
- The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation
- William Caspar Graustein Memorial Fund
- William Penn Foundation
- Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation
- Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation

Responsive Philanthropy Committee Seeks Ideas



The legacy of longform: A retrospective on the Responsive Philanthropy journal

By Suhasini Yeeda

When the first *Responsive Philanthropy* (RP) journal was published, it did not have a fancy cover, website presence or social media platform on which to promote its content. It was born from the need to really dive into difficult or misunderstood subjects and expand the means of how language can create impact. Sure – it did not have the fancy frills of modern technology. What it did have, however, is what it still offers today – one of the nation’s few platforms for longform narrative within the philanthropic sector. A unique space for the best actors in our little world to share trade secrets, hail wisdom from lived experience over data points, see things from perspectives beyond our own and learn from the very best. It’s for folks in local settings to share their experiences as they undeniably relate to the national conversation.

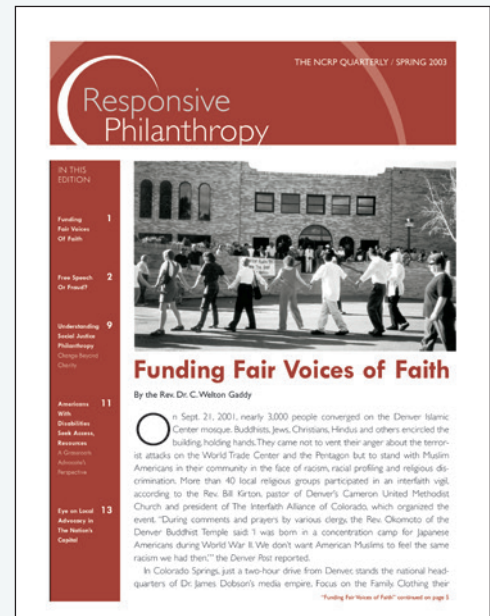


Suhasini Yeeda

While nonprofit websites, like our own, carry the strength of efficiently speaking to and about the sector in 800 words or less, sometimes we need more space to tell the whole story. Inside our flagship publication, you’ll hear from real experts about the most pressing issues facing our sector. *RP* and NCRP broaden the defini-

tion of expertise beyond data alone and value lived experience as a vital source of wisdom for the sector. In choosing depth over immediacy, *RP* prioritizes thoughtful reflection over speedy rapid-response statements. Longform storytelling becomes an art in itself, creating space for nuanced meaningful dialogue at a time that rarely allows for thoughtful reflection.

Our journal has covered a myriad of themes. In recent years, we have tackled issues like abortion and reproductive justice, the climate change movement and its funders, the growing threats to our democracy, and the power of antifascist storytelling. The increasing importance of voice, the very real threats we are facing in losing our rights to free speech, and how much we have to say during increasingly unprecedented times are not lost on us. As writer and activist Arundhati Roy said,



Since its inception, RP has served as a shared playbook for the field, documenting lessons from the frontlines and challenging philanthropy to be more accountable, equitable and community led. While its form has evolved – from newsletter to both printed and digital – it remains a vital space for learning from the sector’s best. In whatever form it takes in the future, we will remain steady in that mission – we can do better.

—Suhasini Yeeda

“there is no such thing as the voiceless, there are only the deliberately silenced, or the preferably unheard.” At NCRP, we take our responsibility as a leader in our field seriously to create space for voices that are too often silenced. By intentionally amplifying their perspectives, we not only broaden the conversation, but also encourage changemakers with greater resources, visibility and institutional safety to do the same.

A LOOK BACK TO THE BEGINNING OF RESPONSIVE PHILANTHROPY

RP was born from the principle that philanthropy is at its best when it listens to and learns from the groups it seeks to serve. NCRP’s members – funders and nonprofits – recognized the need to organize locally and do better. From the begin-

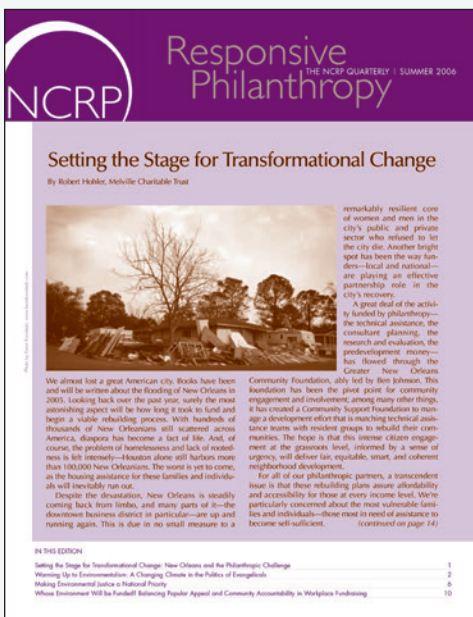
ning, the journal has amplified frontline voices by inviting stories from the field and showcasing them across the sector.

RP illuminated emerging practices like the federation model, which highlights how local communities are responding to challenges when their resources are aligned with their realities. It showcased how fully funded community foundations operate differently and more effectively through community-led change.

RP served to fill a gap in the philanthropy ecosystem around accountability, calling out bad practices and lifting up exemplary grant making. It was also a window into a sometimes-secret world of philanthropy for nonprofits. It pulled back the veil and showed how philanthropy worked or didn’t work for nonprofits. This was especially true for organizations

led by and representing those with the least wealth, power and opportunity. This was the founding vision for RP and NCRP. We know that nonprofits have historically gotten plenty of money from philanthropy. The missing piece was bringing an explicit class, gender, race, migrant and climate justice lens to that process in order to question whether philanthropy’s “business as usual” is neutral. That was and remains a cornerstone that we explore through RP that many others do not. It made the issue plain and understandable.

It’s amazing to see that the journal’s first objective of organizing philanthropy has now inspired a career field that includes formal trainings, academic programs, and a new generation of practitioners committed to creating a more responsive and equitable world.



Preserved in the archives of the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy at Indiana University, *RP* acts as both record and roadmap. Its history reminds us that philanthropy's role is not neutral, but as a provocateur and partner with the social movements pushing for justice today and in the generations to come.

OUR AUTHORS AS ANCESTORS

We could not produce this journal without the talent and expertise of our authors. The wide perspectives we publish, including executive directors of nonprofit organizations, frontline organizers and activists, funder intermediaries, and NCRP's own board members and former staff mates, also help us build a fair and true-to-form journal.

RP authors are often taking time out of their already-busy careers and personal lives to really dive into these longform articles, and they do it all with great passion as well as courage. For some of our nonprofit and frontline organizer authors, they take risks to write honestly about their expertise within philanthropy and speak truth to power in a way that should be inspiring to those with more privilege who are cowering in a moment when they

have less to lose. Each of these articles, in their own little way, builds a blueprint for our sector to – simply put – do better.

We must not allow the temptation toward cowardice during ugly regimes like the one we are facing to win. Instead, we must run so far in the opposite direction that we create something so beautiful and free that we can really be proud of one day.

Our hope is that *RP*'s authors can look back in 50 years to these articles and see manifestations of the world we will build.

THE FUTURE OF NCRP AND RESPONSIVE PHILANTHROPY

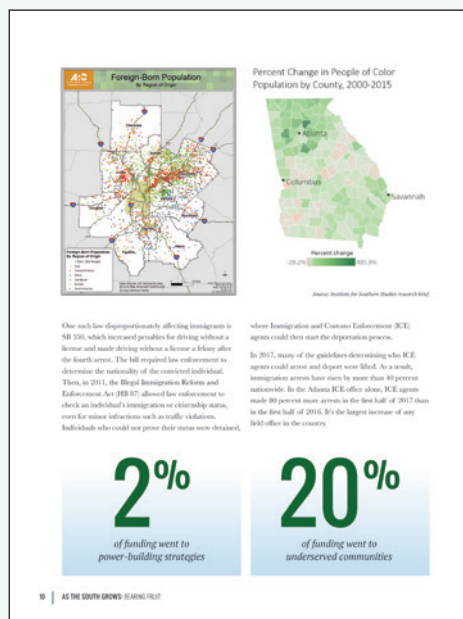
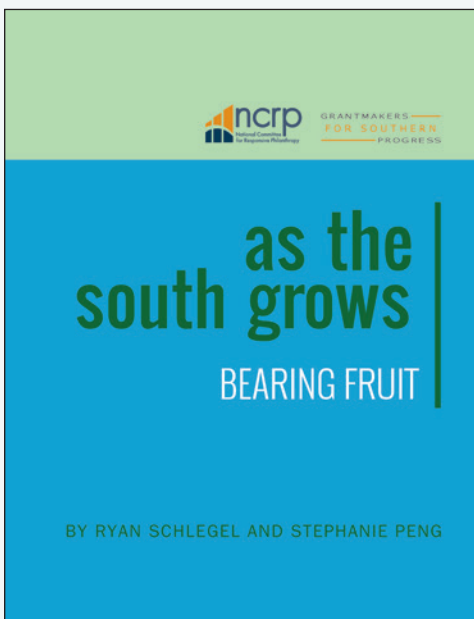
Philanthropy must continue to progress – not retreat. Founded in 1976 on the eve of the Reagan administration, NCRP emerged during a period of retrenchment that mirrors the challenges we face today. Then and now, social justice movements and the communities they serve have been under threat, and philanthropy has been asked to respond with courage rather than restraint.

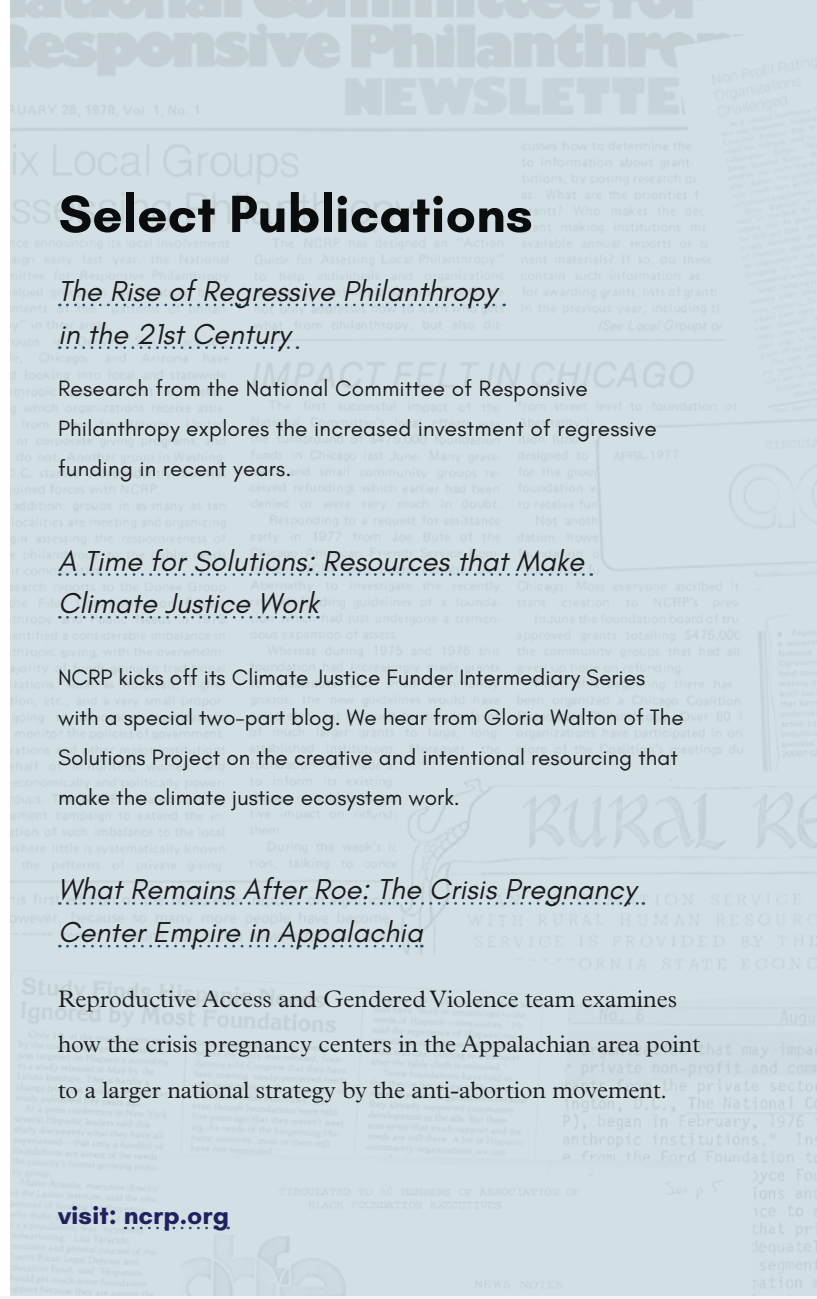
NCRP has many examples of courageous narrative in our legacy. “As the South Grows” is a series of reports that addressed

decades-long disparity in grantmaking in the South. *Power Moves* – still one of our most-viewed resources – encourages foundations to leverage their full power for equity and justice. Without the foundation of reports like “The Strategic Philanthropy of Conservative Foundations” we would not have the success of one of our most recent initiatives “Regressive Philanthropy,” where NCRP showcased how philanthropic giving designed to resist progress, maintain inequities, and ultimately take us backwards as a society has played a significant role shaping the authoritarian present. “Black Funding Denied” is our report critiquing community foundation support for Black communities, has a throughline to our more recent report *Cracks in the Foundation, Philanthropy's Role in Reparations for the DMV*.

Our reports, infographic data drops, blog articles and organizational newsletter are all done with courage and in spite of adversity or who sits in office. The *RP* journal is just one of the many ways we use our voice and the voices of the communities we serve to convince philanthropy to do better.

Since its inception, *RP* has served as a shared playbook for the field, documenting lessons from the frontlines and chal-





lenging philanthropy to be more accountable, equitable and community led. While its form has evolved – from newsletter to both printed and digital – it remains a vital space for learning from the sector’s best. In whatever form it takes in the future, we will remain steady in that mission – we can do better.

I am a firm believer that deep thoughts become clear words, and clear words have the power to create meaningful and impactful actions. NCRP is grateful to have multiple mediums to do that work: our immensely talented research team and the data we are known for, webinars and conference attendance where our movement leaders conduct and attend panels, and reports and publications that have helped built our reputation as a thought leader in this space. The keen perspective we offer is unique, provocative and not scared to explicitly name the difficult things.

We believe that longform narrative has the power to start and deepen dialogue to influence change makers and power holders. There are many vehicles for change, and no matter what form NCRP and *RP* take in the next 50 years, we will have the courage to challenge norms that don’t serve us, listen to and amplify the experts who hold the wisdom to know how to, and to be the conduit to change that we have been for 50 years.

Suhasini Yeeda is the Editorial Manager at NCRP. She is also a published writer, a California Arts Council Emerging Artist Fellow, a two-time Pushcart Prize nominee, and The Best American Short Stories and Best of the Net nominee. She holds an MFA from Sarah Lawrence College and a BA from Texas Wesleyan University. Suhasini lives and writes in Los Angeles.

STATE OF FOUNDATION FUNDING FOR THE PRO-IMMIGRANT MOVEMENT
A MOVEMENT INVESTMENT PROJECT BRIEF

A future that is inclusive, just and welcoming to all is not aspirational, it is essential and within reach. Our country's success is rooted in the success of our communities. Immigrants are an integral part of our national resilience, vibrancy, accomplishments and growth.

This future is also increasingly in peril as immigrant communities face growing threats on all fronts. But responding to these attacks is a vibrant movement comprised of a diverse ecosystem of individuals and organizations nationwide fighting for human rights, equal opportunity, justice and full participation in society for all people regardless of legal status.

Philanthropy can invest in this frontline, intersectional movement and the thriving future it is fighting for by ensuring that it has the resources needed to succeed.

THE PRO-IMMIGRANT MOVEMENT UNDER-RESOURCED AND UNDER THREAT

According to Foundation Center data, between 2011 and 2015, barely 1% of all money granted by the 1,000 largest U.S. foundations was invested to benefit immigrants and refugees.

FUNDING FROM 1000 LARGEST FOUNDATIONS
1% OF FUNDING FOR IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEES

In practice, this means that the organizations and leaders responding to the current crises have been under-resourced for years and now must drive their efforts full throttle while running on empty. National networks and local grassroots groups focused on organizing have been particularly under-funded.

WHAT IS A MOVEMENT?
"While there is no formula for a social movement, they usually share a few features. It involves people who are mobilized around issues they care about, and who share a powerful vision about what is wrong with society and how it can be improved. These people are engaged in diverse activities that are not under any one leader's control, and that lead to a change in attitudes, practices and public policy."

JEAN HARRIS and DEEPA BHARGAVA
"Moving about the Right" in the Nation

A REPORT FROM THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR RESPONSIVE PHILANTHROPY

MOVING A PUBLIC POLICY AGENDA: THE STRATEGIC PHILANTHROPY OF CONSERVATIVE FOUNDATIONS

July 1997

ncrp
January 2021

CRACKS IN THE FOUNDATION
Philanthropy's Role in Reparations for Black People in the DMV

x Local Groups
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