MISMATCHED

PHILANTHROPY'S RESPONSE TO THE CALL FOR RACIAL JUSTICE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

HOW MUCH FUNDING IS GOING TO RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE?

The year 2020 saw mass uprisings against police brutality and racial injustice, along with headlines and press releases announcing dramatic increases in funding for racial equity. **This new report from the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity (PRE) is different from other recent analyses in three ways:**

1. Most reports have focused on the dollar amounts *pledged* for racial equity by foundations and corporations. This report looks only at **actual confirmed grants awarded**.

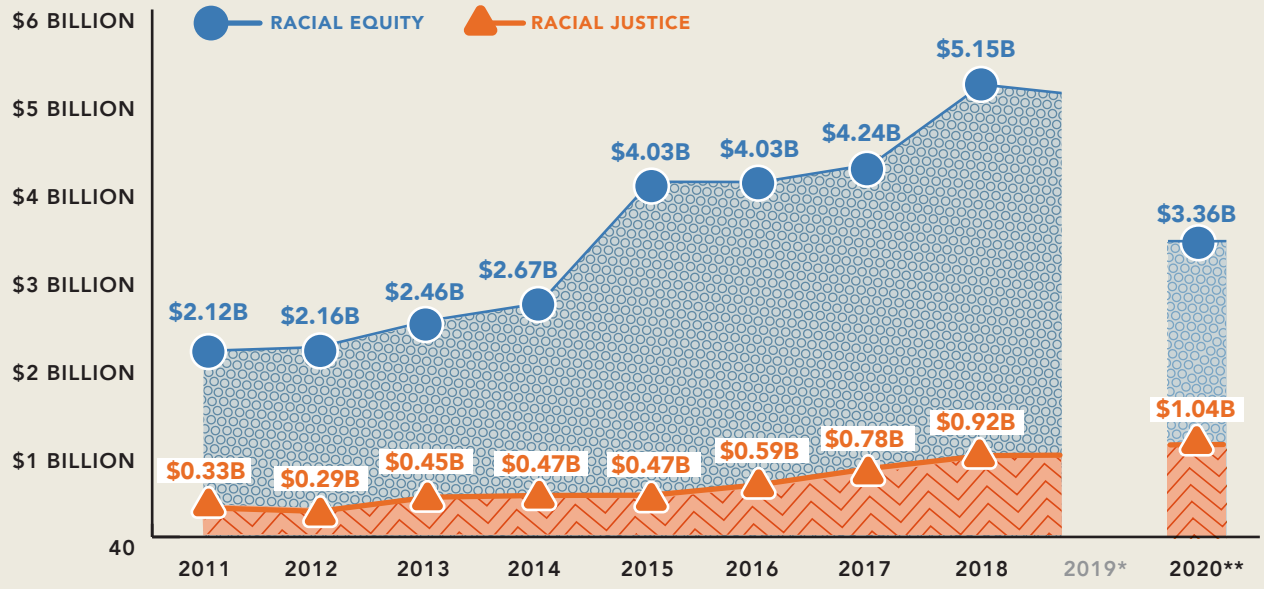
2. This report looks not only at 2020, but also at funding from 2011–2018, allowing for **analysis of trends over time**.

3. This report **distinguishes between funding for racial equity and funding for racial justice**, as shown in the table below.

RACIAL EQUITY	RACIAL JUSTICE
Analyzes data and information about race and ethnicity	Understands and acknowledges racial history
Understands disparities and the reasons they exist	Creates a shared affirmative vision of a fair and inclusive society
Looks at structural root causes of problems	Focuses explicitly on building civic, cultural, economic, and political power by those most impacted
Names race explicitly when talking about problems and solutions	Emphasizes transformative solutions that impact multiple systems

Funding for racial equity was consistently 5 to 10 times as large as funding for racial justice from 2011 to 2018, but both grew steadily during that period.

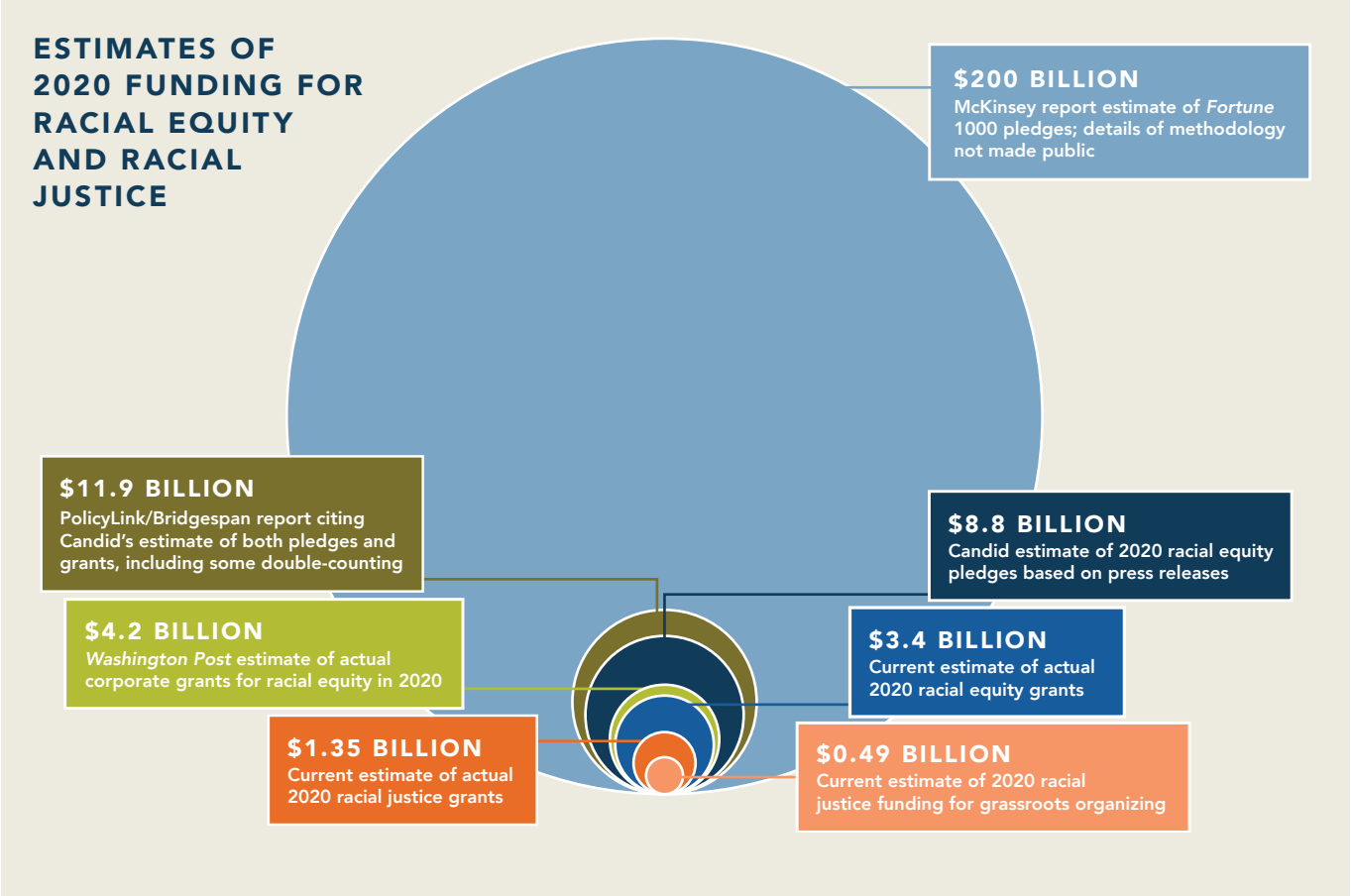
RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE GRANTMAKING, 2011–2018 & 2020



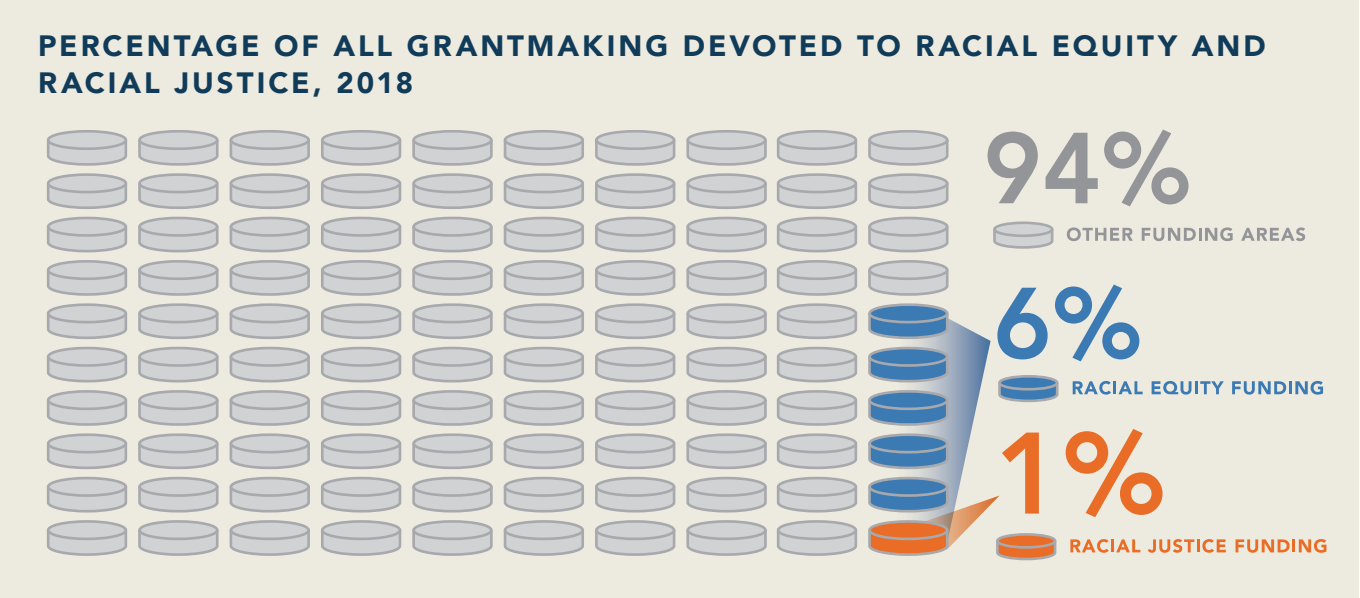
* Candid has not completed its coding of 2019 grantmaking.

** Preliminary analysis from PRE based on what Candid has collected. Candid has not completed its coding of 2020 grantmaking.

In 2020, funding for racial equity reached $3.4 billion, and funding for racial justice reached $1.07 billion. While these figures are preliminary and likely underestimates, previous estimates of the scale of racial justice giving in 2020 were exaggerated and inaccurate due to incomplete data, double counting, and inclusion of commitments for broad multiyear pledges and internal corporate spending.

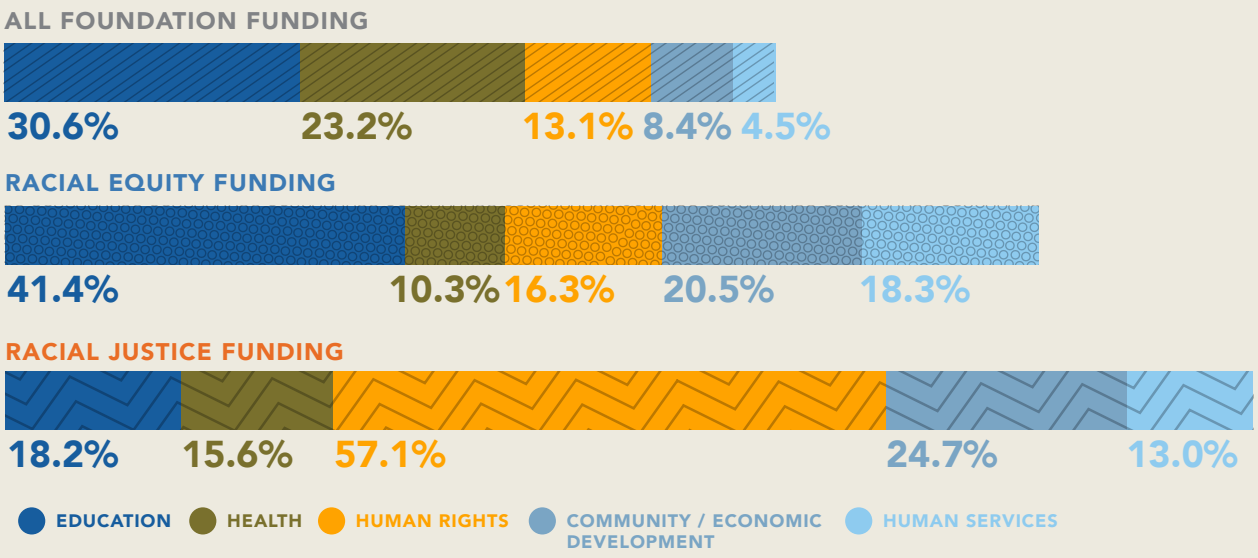


Even with the growth in funding, for every dollar awarded by foundations for work in the United States in 2018, only 6 cents went to racial equity work and only a penny to racial justice work.



The top subject area funded for racial equity was education—the same as the top subject area funded for foundation funding overall—while the majority of racial justice funding was focused on human rights. Even with the relatively large portion of racial equity funding devoted to education, only 8 percent of the total of $108 billion in education funding for 2015–2018.

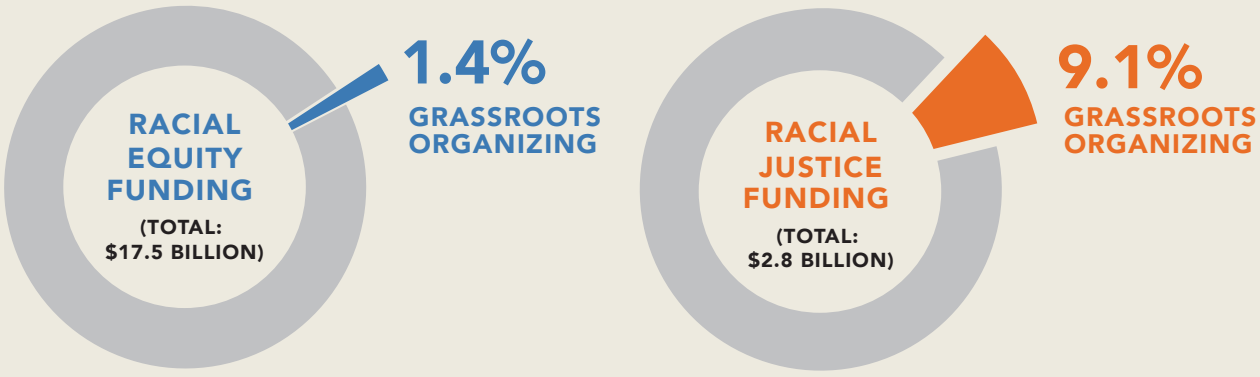
PERCENTAGE OF FUNDING DEVOTED TO TOP SUBJECT AREAS, 2015–2018



NOTE: Percentages add up to more than 100 percent as the Candid taxonomy allows grants to be coded with more than one subject area.

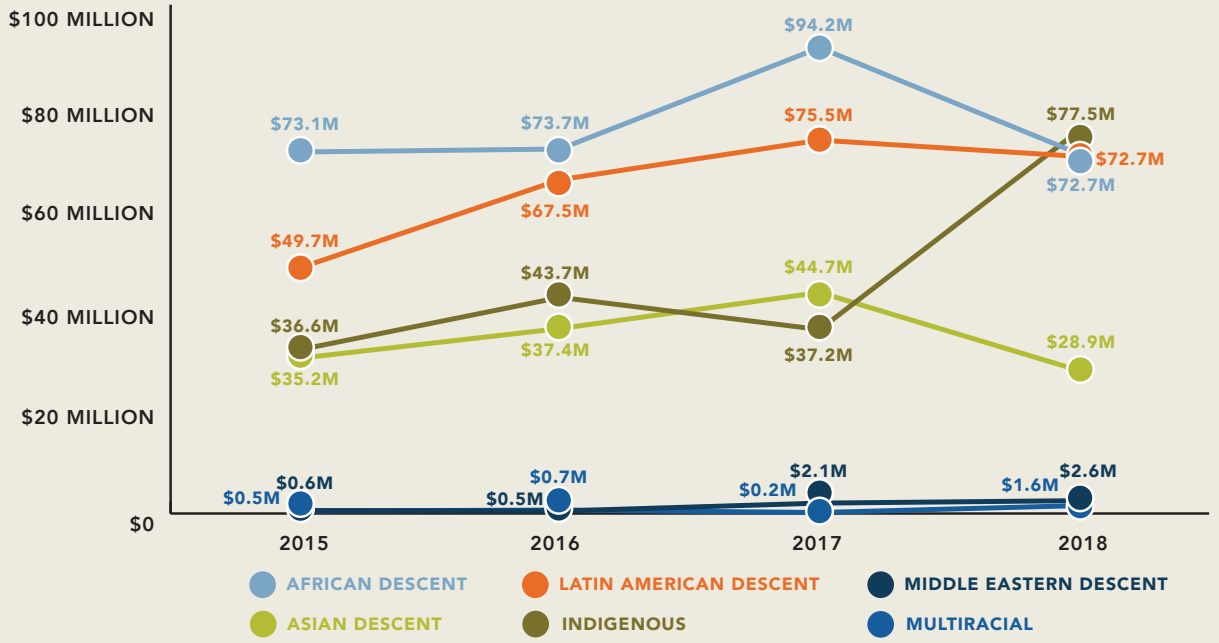
Funding for grassroots organizing for racial equity and justice fluctuated from year to year, but never exceeded $88.4 million and constituted only about 9.1% of racial justice funding and only 1.4% of racial equity funding. Preliminary data indicate that funding for grassroots organizing was even lower in 2020, both as a percentage of the total and in raw dollar amounts.

PERCENTAGE OF FUNDING DEVOTED TO GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING, 2015–2018



Most funding for racial equity and racial justice was devoted to communities of color broadly. Funding for communities of specific racial/ethnic groups fluctuated from year to year, but no specific community ever received more than $100 million in racial justice funding.

RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP, 2015–2018*



*NOTE: Language for each racial/ethnic group is kept in the precise language Candid uses to track funding for specific populations for accuracy, rather than PRE's preferred terminology.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Devote More Resources to Racial Equity and Racial Justice. Foundations and corporations should increase funding for racial equity and racial justice work that is led by those communities most impacted and still receiving far less than they need.

Sustain Funding for Racial Equity and Racial Justice. Grantmakers should ensure that their racial equity and justice funding is set up for sustainable impact, both within their institutions and for movements, by establishing long-term horizons and giving multiyear general operating support for racial justice groups.

Engage Communities of Color and Movements in Strategy and Funding Decisions. Funders should develop systems and mechanisms to maximize the participation, input, and leadership of communities of color and movements in the design and fulfillment of their strategic thinking and grantmaking priorities.

Fund Transformational Change Beyond an Equity Framework. Funders should assess their grantmaking using the rubrics for racial equity and racial justice. If your portfolio is exclusively or primarily focused on racial equity, then develop a complementary racial justice strategy to support organizations building power of communities of color and working for long-term systemic change.

Improve Data About Racial Equity and Racial Justice Grantmaking. Report on grants in a timely and transparent manner, providing grants-level detail that uses clear and explicit definitions of racial equity and racial justice. Philanthropy-serving organizations and research organizations should support this work by adopting and disseminating clear definitions of racial equity grants and racial justice grants. Engage grantees in determining the data collection that will be the most useful.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the summer of 2020, tens of millions took to the streets in what became the largest mass mobilization in U.S. history, quickly spreading around the globe. Demands for racial justice were front and center as this movement, anchored by Black community organizations and activists, stood up against racist police killings and the pervasive structural discrimination and violence that are costing Black, Indigenous, Latinx, and Asian/Pacific Islander people their homes, jobs, and lives. The COVID-19 pandemic only exacerbated these inequities, throwing the nation's systemic failures into stark relief.

The philanthropic response in this country initially appeared to meet the energy of the streets — swift, courageous, and loud. Hundreds of foundations and corporations released statements supporting the Black Lives Matter movement. Many pledged resources toward tackling racial injustice — pledges that were captured in breathless headlines touting an influx of money to Black organizations and other causes.

For years prior to the mobilizations of 2020, organizers had been calling for more precise definitions of racial equity and racial justice to guard against the conflation of racial justice, racial equity, and diversity and inclusion work. The Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity (PRE) codified those distinctions in *Grantmaking with a Racial Justice Lens: A Practical Guide*[1] and provided multiple tools and recommendations for grantmakers to strengthen grantmaking and increase racial justice funding; the most important of these distinctions involves the relationship between working on improved outcomes within existing systems (equity), and building community power to fight for deep transformation of major systems (justice).

[1] Sen, Rinku, and Villarosa, Lori. *Grantmaking with a Racial Justice Lens: A Practical Guide*. Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity, 2019.

RACIAL EQUITY

The original guide describes four important features of a racial equity lens:

- Analyzes data and information about race and ethnicity
- Understands disparities and the reasons they exist
- Looks at structural root causes of problems
- Names race explicitly when talking about problems and solutions

RACIAL JUSTICE

A racial justice lens adds four more critical elements:

- Understands and acknowledges racial history
- Creates a shared affirmative vision of a fair and inclusive society
- Focuses explicitly on building civic, cultural, economic, and political power by those most impacted
- Emphasizes transformative solutions that impact multiple systems

In 2016, PRE partnered with Race Forward to update *Short Changed: Foundation Giving and Communities of Color*.[2] Initial work revealed significant challenges with the way grants data were reported and coded (see *The Story Behind the Methodology*, pp. 29–30).

The findings in *Mismatched* come from PRE's yearlong analysis of the comprehensive funding data collected by Candid, an organization that gathers data from private foundations, public charities that award grants to other nonprofits (sometimes called public foundations or intermediaries), and corporations, in the U.S. and globally.[3] This report's findings are also based on the development of new search criteria to identify grants specifically for racial equity and for racial justice.

In 2020, PRE discovered problems related to criteria that Candid initially posted on their Funding for Racial Equity page[4] in 2019. We then began collaborating with Candid on a process to get feedback from stakeholders and establish criteria for both racial equity and racial justice grants that would offer a more accurate picture of what has been, and is now, being funded.

For this process, PRE and Candid developed revised criteria for a **data set of racial equity grants** tied to the broader definition of racial equity that much of mainstream philanthropy and corporations use. This data set includes any grants that explicitly reference communities of color or grants that were awarded to organizations that are explicit about serving various communities of color as part of their mission. It also includes grant descriptions that mention the word "race" plus at least one of a range of terms such as "access," "opportunity," "inclusion," and "disparities."

Within this data set of racial equity grants, we applied a more rigorous definition for identifying a **subset of racial justice grants**, including

[2] Pittz, Will, and Sen, Rinku. *Short Changed: Foundation Giving and Communities of Color*. Applied Research Center, 2004.

[3] This analysis, drawn from Candid's comprehensive database, differs from previous PRE reports that used Foundation Center's FC 1000 statistics on 1,000 of the largest grantmakers. This larger data set was made possible by Candid's use of autoclassification. The data, compiled from IRS Forms 990 and 990-PF, information reported to Candid through its Electronic Reporting Program, and other public sources, are coded according to Candid's Philanthropy Classification System.

[4] For revised and more recent information from Candid's Funding for Racial Equity page, see https://candid.org/explore-issues/racial-equity, including FAQ regarding their description of this process.

search terms such as "power," "advocacy," and "justice." (For a full accounting, please see *Methodology*, pp. 26–36.)

In *Mismatched*, PRE examines trends, contradictions, and divergences in funding for racial equity and racial justice efforts over the past decade, focusing primarily on the years 2015 through 2018 and for 2020. The 2015–2018 period was selected because they are the most recent years for which comprehensive and consistent data are available; we included some preliminary analysis of 2020 as well, given the historic nature of that year for racial justice movements and racial justice funding — although the data are not yet complete and all findings remain tentative.

We found steady growth in funding for these issues over the last five years, but also significant mismatches between the needs of movement organizations and the responses of philanthropists. Measuring the real size, depth, and effectiveness of this funding provides philanthropy the necessary context to assess its actual impact and resolve contradictions that impede more fundamental change.

OUR FINDINGS: GETTING CLOSER, BUT NOT CLOSE ENOUGH

There is good news. Funding for both racial equity and racial justice have been rising since at least 2011, with substantial jumps in 2015 and, initial data indicate, in 2020. Outside of these jumps, funding increased at a slower but steady pace. Grassroots organizing for equity and justice grew exponentially during this time, logging significant legislative, regulatory, and narrative victories. Existing organizations became institutions and activists formed new organizations across the country. From Ferguson on, millions of Americans made their way to their first protest.

Philanthropy stepped up too, but not to the degree or in the direction warranted by this profound, nationwide call for racial justice.

A mismatch notes either a mischaracterization of philanthropic responses or a gap between those and movement needs. **We have identified at least five mismatches:**

MISMATCHES

1

Funding for racial equity and justice remains a small portion of overall foundation funding — not commensurate with the scale of racial disparities or the demands of racial justice movements.

Funding for racial equity reached nearly $5.8 billion in 2018, and funding for racial justice was about $925 million that year. These figures reflect a steady rise since 2011. Even so, only 6 cents of every philanthropic dollar is devoted to racial equity, and only 1 cent toward racial justice.

Annual funding for specific communities of color is even lower. Funding for people of African descent and people of Latin American descent fluctuated between $500 million and $994 million, and funding for Indigenous peoples and people of Asian descent ranged between $175 million and $500 million annually. But none

of these groups surpassed the $1 billion mark over the four-year period of 2015–2018. Funding for people of Middle Eastern descent and for multiracial people fluctuated at lower levels, never exceeding $36 million.

The ratio improves in looking at specific subjects, but not by much. Between 2015 and 2018:

- → **14.3 percent of community and economic development funding was for racial equity and only 1.7 percent for racial justice.**
- → **8 percent of education funding was for racial equity and only 0.4 percent for racial justice.**
- → **3.2 percent of environmental funding was for racial equity and only 0.6 percent for racial justice.**
- → **2.6 percent of health funding was for equity work, with only 0.4 percent for racial justice.**

The top 20 funders of racial justice work accounted for 60 percent of all racial justice funding (nearly $1.64 billion of the almost $2.8 billion of racial justice funding in 2015–2018). In the context of thousands of funders that support racial justice, the work is reliant on a small group of funders for a large portion of funding. Overreliance on a small number of funders makes groups vulnerable to having their work derailed by changing foundation interests.

2 The rise in funding for racial equity was portrayed as an overnight occurrence, but in fact there has been a slow but steady growth in the scale of funding and the number of funders engaged in racial equity.

False projections of the size and effect of a 2020 funding surge in relation to prior years erase the role of a racial justice ecosystem that has grown since 1992. Even under the loosest definition of racial justice, the actual distribution of foundation and corporate funds to organizations building power and working toward transformational goals is far smaller than 2020 headlines would indicate.

There likely was indeed a significant increase in foundation and corporate racial equity giving in 2020. However, counter to the impression created by the headlines, this was not a sudden outpouring of financial support. In fact, in every year from 2015 through 2018 there were 16,000 to 18,000 racial equity grantmakers reporting to Candid. A robust ecosystem of racial justice groups pressed for and received a growing number of grants in this period. Yet, predictably, the trends also follow a "spike and level" pattern that has occurred after other flashpoints, notably the uprisings in Los Angeles in 1992 and Ferguson in 2014.

While resources for both racial equity and racial justice have clearly been rising, their volume in 2020 has been wildly overstated. One example: As early as July

2020, Candid reported that it had identified "22 percent more funding for racial equity in 2020, to date, than we have for the ***previous nine years combined***"[5] (emphasis added). This assertion came from comparing past grants, reported according to one set of specific and narrow racial justice criteria, to 2020 descriptions drawn from the broadest interpretation of racial equity or racial justice — an interpretation based on the notions of corporate donors, mainstream funders, and headline writers.

As of summer 2021, Candid had identified more than $8.8 billion in pledges for racial equity work in 2020, but only about $3.4 billion in actual grants awarded by foundations and corporations. That would make the confirmed grants awarded for racial equity only 3.3 percent of total foundation and corporate giving for 2020, based on Giving USA projections.[6]

The notion that this funding was flat or shrinking until the uprisings of 2020 inspired a dramatic rise in grantmaking gives a false impression of how movements take shape. And getting these numbers wrong creates unrealistic expectations of organizations that have not been adequately resourced, rendering them vulnerable to right-wing narratives about communities of color as undeserving "takers." Furthermore, if funders erroneously believe that racial justice work is well funded, they are likely to invest where there appears to be greater need, leaving spaces of actual need ignored.

3 Co-optation of movement language is widespread and used to advance projects that are often not responsive to movement's call.

Predominantly white organizations[7] are often happy to use movement language to walk through foundation doors opened by Black, Brown and Indigenous activists. They frequently raise money for their own diversity and inclusion efforts, focused on improving their own racial composition, rather than on building power with or in communities of color. While opening access for people of color to the resources of white organizations may sound appealing, this kind of funding can cast leaders and organizations of color in the role of contractors helping white organizations fulfill grant requirements, rather than as grantees receiving resources for their own strategies.

Corporations are similarly prone to using the words "equity" and "justice" to advance their own operations, marketing, or other interests that are only tangentially, if at all, related to racial equity and racial justice.

In June 2020, Facebook issued a press release that announced its commitment "to advancing equity and racial justice by investing in the Black community, elevating

[5] Koob, Anna. What Does Candid's Grants Data Say About Funding for Racial Equity in the United States? *Candid*, July 24, 2020.

[6] *Giving USA: The Annual Report on Philanthropy for the Year 2020* (2021). Chicago: Giving USA Foundation.

[7] By predominantly white, we mean grantseekers whose decision-makers are majority white, which, depending on the organization's structure, could mean board members or executive staff. We do not conflate this definition with having a white CEO — there are organizations with CEOs of color that operate without a racial justice commitment. We also exempt from this discussion white groups that deliberately organize other white people to participate in racial justice struggles.

Black voices, directly funding racial justice organizations, and building a more diverse and inclusive workforce."[8] The post went on to detail more than $1.1 billion in commitments for racial equity. However, the vast majority was accounted for by a commitment to spend at least $1 billion on Black and diverse suppliers, including facilities, construction, and marketing agencies. The remaining $100 million, less than 10 percent, was to be devoted to Black-owned small businesses, Black creators, and nonprofits serving Black communities — some of it cash grants and some in-kind grants for ad credits.

Many other corporate press releases were similar: sweeping language around racial justice and supporting movements for transformative change, accompanied by incremental actions focused on short-term needs. Investments are often directed toward internal diversity efforts, or toward marketing mortgages and other products to Black and Brown communities, rather than to external community grants.[9]

Combined with slow and vague reporting of grants, this co-optation of language contributed to a narrative that greatly exaggerated the scale of racial justice funding in 2020.

4 Wealthy, white donors impose their own priorities, rather than supporting the priorities of movements.

Many philanthropists start their own racial equity efforts with a belief that they have better solutions than those embraced by activists.

More than a third of the top 20 racial equity recipients were founded by white billionaires or large corporations advancing their own theories of change in mostly Black, Brown, and Indigenous communities, often independent of or in direct opposition to calls from racial justice movement leaders. For example, education funding is driven by a small number of large funders, such as the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation[10] and the Walton Family Foundation.[11] Strengthening curricular standards, increasing teacher accountability, and expanding charter schools are not priorities that have emerged from grassroots organizations led by and for communities of color.[12,13] They are priorities that have been established by a small group of multibillion-dollar, predominantly white philanthropic institutions, based on their own interpretation of research on education outcomes. This has led to the development of an extensive infrastructure for education advocacy focused on highly specific priorities, often with minimal or no input from community organizations led by and for communities of color.

[8] Facebook. *Where We Stand: Actions We're Taking to Advance Racial Justice in Our Company and on Our Platform*. June 21, 2020.

[9] Based on PRE's ongoing direct tracking and analysis of news stories and press releases of corporate giving with the terms "racial equity" or "racial justice" from Google Alerts, Philanthropy News Digest releases, and direct emails from July 2020 through July 2021.

[10] Strauss, Valerie. Let's Review How Bill and Melinda Gates Spent Billions of Dollars to Change Public Education. *The Washington Post*, May 5, 2021.

[11] Strauss, Valerie. The "Walmartization" of Public Education. *The Washington Post*, March 16, 2016.

[12] Herold, Benjamin. At Ford Foundation, a Harsh Critique of Urban School Closures. *Chalkbeat Philadelphia*, March 31, 2011.

[13] Ravitz, Diane. The Dark History of School Choice. *The New York Review of Books*, January 14, 2021.

Meanwhile, other issues that organizers and communities consider essential go underfunded. For example, voting rights are a high priority for communities and movement organizations, yet protecting and expanding the franchise received only 2.5 percent of all racial justice funding in 2015–2018.

5 Funding for racial justice, grassroots organizing, and movement-oriented work remains low.

Most funding to address racial disparities has fallen within a racial equity framework, focusing on increasing opportunities and meeting short-term needs rather than long-term movement building, systems change, or grassroots organizing. Funding for racial justice has consistently been low — only 10 percent to 20 percent of the scale of the larger racial equity set, and barely 1 percent of all funding.

Funding for grassroots organizing in both the set of racial equity grants and the subset of racial justice grants is particularly tiny. Given the importance of grassroots organizing for changing power relations and winning enduring change, these numbers indicate a lack of clarity among philanthropists about the role of organizing:

- → **Funding for grassroots organizing among the racial equity set of grants totaled only $276.1 million, making up about 1.3 percent of total racial equity funding for 2015–2018.**
- → **In total, $252.3 million was devoted to grassroots organizing for the racial justice subset of grants, making up about 9.1 percent of total racial justice funding for 2015–2018.**
- → **Funding for grassroots organizing for racial equity and racial justice reached $46.9 million in 2020. However, this is lower than the total annual amount of funding for these types of grassroots organizing from 2015 through 2018, in terms of both raw dollars and the percentage of the total.** This preliminary data indicates that much of the large increase in overall funding for racial equity in 2020 did not reach grassroots groups and movement organizations led by and for communities of color.
- → **Within specific Black, Latinx, APA, and Native American communities, the funding for grassroots organizing totaled approximately 1 percent of the total funding for that community for 2015–2018.**

In short, foundations too frequently answer the movement's call for deep, structural change with support for shallow, individual-level change.

PHOTO: LORI VILLAROSA

OUR RECOMMENDATIONS

For more impact, PRE recommends that funders sustain and build on investments in the racial justice ecosystem, recognizing the deep capacity, strategic strength, and leadership that is driving transformational change not only for Black, Brown, and Indigenous communities, but for all. Long-term change operations with justice-oriented goals don't have the resources to match their potential, and they simply need more.

Greater precision and standardization are also necessary to guide grant classifications. The process of conducting this analysis revealed multiple problems with the ways in which foundations, and in turn Candid, collected and coded data related to communities of color and support for racial equity and racial justice work. As we've noted, the lack of precision creates the conditions for fundamental mismatches between what movements require and what funders provide. PRE recommends that philanthropy require and produce precise data, starting with clear and standard definitions of categories, without passing an undue burden onto grantees. Our recommendations also include advice for grantmakers, philanthropy-serving organizations (PSOs), and research institutions on improving clarity, data collection, and accountability.

There is hope. Philanthropists and activists have been working together to create new models that can bolster and sustain the critical work of racial equity and racial justice. Numerous foundations have established participatory grantmaking modes, or taken major leaps in the level of risk and change they are willing to support. Funders must continue to build on the efforts of new players, follow the leadership of movements,

and learn from the examples of change agents who are calling for deeper transformation and opening a path for many more to join the journey.

To address the mismatches identified in this report, we recommend the following:

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. **DEVOTE MORE RESOURCES TO RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE.** Foundations and corporations should increase funding for racial equity and racial justice work that is led by those communities most impacted and still receiving far less than they need.

2. **SUSTAIN FUNDING FOR RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE.** Grantmakers should ensure that their racial equity and justice funding is set up for sustainable impact, both within their institutions and for movements, by establishing long-term horizons and giving multiyear general operating support for racial justice groups.

3. **ENGAGE COMMUNITIES OF COLOR AND MOVEMENTS IN STRATEGY AND FUNDING DECISIONS.** Funders should develop systems and mechanisms to maximize the participation, input, and leadership of communities of color and movements in the design and fulfillment of their strategic thinking and grantmaking priorities.

4. **FUND TRANSFORMATIONAL CHANGE BEYOND AN EQUITY FRAMEWORK.** Funders should assess their grantmaking using the rubrics for racial equity and racial justice. If your portfolio is exclusively or primarily focused on racial equity, then develop a complementary racial justice strategy to support organizations building the power of communities of color and working for long-term systemic change.

5. **IMPROVE DATA ABOUT RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE GRANTMAKING.** Report on grants in a timely and transparent manner, providing grants-level detail that uses clear and explicit definitions of racial equity and racial justice. Philanthropy-serving organizations and research organizations should support this work by adopting and disseminating clear definitions of racial equity grants and racial justice grants. Engage grantees in determining the data collection that will be the most useful.

More detailed recommendations for different kinds of organizations are listed in *Recommendations for Improving Racial Equity and Racial Justice Funding and Data* (pp. 75–84).

HISTORY AND CONTEXT

> ***Surges in donor interest can lead one to conclude that the movement is being adequately supported. The reality is much more sobering. Without large, multiyear commitments to system change, donor interest produces boom-and-busts, centers discrete projects and events, and seeks to secure "lowest hanging" victories. This is the social justice equivalent of a sugar high.***
>
> ***This type of episodic donor interest impacts the efficacy of the field by elevating the most "fundable" projects and leaders, and producing incentives to align around a particular set of strategies endorsed by donors, not the base.***
>
> **— MAURICE MITCHELL, WORKING FAMILIES PARTY**

After a year of protest, pandemic, and political momentum in 2020, a sea change in U.S.-based grantmaking for racial issues appeared to be underway. Small family foundations, mainstream and progressive national foundations, and corporations of all kinds pledged significant financial support that seemed to prioritize racial equity and racial justice. Headlines hyped these promises as a dramatic response from philanthropy to the uprisings against police brutality and widespread calls for true racial justice — popular activism on a massive scale that continued into the new year.

While there will likely be an increase in philanthropic support for racial equity work in 2020, and there has already been an increase in foundation funding for racial justice work in 2020,including Black community-based organizations and institutions, important questions arise about its size, its direction, and the true impact of these pledges on progress toward enduring racial justice. Who were the funders? How much have they given? What groups were receiving the windfalls, and do they work on racial equity, racial justice, both, or neither? To what extent have the many corporate pledges to support Black life actually materialized?

HOW WE GOT TO THIS PLACE

Months of pandemic-related loss of jobs, childcare, health, and life shaped the size, depth, and tone of a call for a profound racial reckoning in 2020. Still, like movement moments that came before, this one was rooted in a long lineage.

MOVEMENT'S TRANSFORMATIONAL CALL AND IMPACT

The current racial justice ecosystem, built in part on investments that followed the 1992 Los Angeles uprising, has moved philanthropy to address racial discrimination and segregation. The infrastructure of base-building organizations, coalitions, intermediaries such as technical assistance providers and training centers, researchers, foundations, and PSOs all contribute to tactics in organizing, policymaking, civic engagement, narrative change, and, most recently, a resurgence of mutual aid efforts in communities in need.

The police and vigilante killings of Ahmaud Arbery, Breonna Taylor, and George Floyd, combined with COVID-19's disproportionately lethal impact on Black, Native American, Latinx, Pacific Islander, and Southeast Asian communities, compelled everyday people in the summer of 2020 to rise up against the bare-knuckled brutality of American racism and risk their lives to articulate one clear vision: When Black lives matter, everyone's life matters. In all 50 states, as many as 26 million people took to the streets at more than 7,750 protests to protect Black lives, rights, and dignity. On every continent, people demonstrated against local and global police killings — in Berlin, Johannesburg, Guadalajara, London, Paris, São Paulo, Sydney, Tel Aviv, Tokyo, and many others — even McMurdo Station in Antarctica.

In mobilizing this Black-led vision of human rights for all, racial justice changemakers built networks of extraordinary scale to build necessary power and establish strategic alignment. One method used was the 2016 Movement for Black Lives policy platform, the Vision for Black Lives, a massive effort involving hundreds of organizations across the nation. The call to action that emerged was to invest "in the education, health and safety of Black people, instead of investments in the criminalizing, caging and harming of Black people." From climate change and immigrant rights to housing, voting rights, and an end to mass policing, the demands of this Black-led movement for racial equity and racial justice have remained a beacon to all people fighting for human rights around the globe.

The call in 2020 to "defund the police," though framed by some as a radical departure from earlier demands, has been articulated by movement leaders as a timely expression of longstanding goals. It was a response to the historic pattern of anti-Black structural racism and violent white supremacy in America, not a new demand in response to recent anti-Black violence. It was a call echoed across diverse communities and by hundreds of organizations.

And this call to action generated significant success. *The Washington Post*[14] found that some cities with more intense protests did decrease their spending on policing. The city council in Austin, Texas, for example, passed a major cut to the city's law enforcement budget and is now

[14] Ferrer, Joshua, and Nguy, Joyce. Did Last Year's Black Lives Matter Protests Push Cities to Defund Police? Yes and No. *The Washington Post*, June 1, 2021.

reallocating those dollars to housing programs. More than 20 other major U.S. cities have joined this trend, redirecting a portion of police funding to health services, workforce development programs, and other human needs.

Despite barriers, the mass call to divest from deadly policing also created the context for the almost unheard of arrest, indictment, and conviction of Derek Chauvin, the Minneapolis officer who killed George Floyd. Similar calls for reparations and COVID-19 relief have found recent voice in policy through the proposed Breathe Act, as well as in journalism and popular culture. These fights, whether for political power or citizenship rights, represent direct challenges to state-sponsored racial hierarchy and structural racism.

Philanthropy has always shifted in response to concentrated movement activity, but the direction in which it shifts depends a great deal on the strength and power of the movement's infrastructure prior to the moment of crisis. The rise of funding for racial equity and racial justice reflects the strength of an ecosystem built since 1992 that extends far beyond spikes, flashpoints, and "movement moments." This ecosystem of organizations, platforms, and outlets has been on a trajectory of calculated growth that is the direct result of strategic visions and interventions by leading social movement changemakers. These changemakers understood that power building and organizing that generate transformative policy changes have always come first, and that philanthropy's job is to listen deeply and to follow.

In the late 1980s, organizations of color collaborated to create the modern environmental justice movement, challenging mainstream environmentalists to at least acknowledge race and class issues. After 9/11, the movement added Muslim, Arab, and South Asian communities to the list of organizing imperatives and seeded new racial analysis in the immigrant rights movement, which was deeply affected by rising xenophobia after 9/11. In the 2000s, the Applied Research Center (now Race Forward), the Kirwan Institute, and many other organizations created new ways of talking about how discriminatory institutions combine forces to create compounding damage. The entire field of narrative change emerged out of needs and possibilities that movement leaders identified and innovated, starting in the late 2000s and expanding, with very few resources, into the next decade.

To the degree that grantmaking for racial equity and justice has grown, we can thank the tireless efforts of movement organizations and philanthropic allies. However, also in keeping with historic patterns, the responses of even well-meaning donors failed to match the visions, needs,

> ***Too often, philanthropy is caught in a game of chase with the next "hot issue" — but we need long-term investments in strategies that build power for our movements, and power that allows us to be resilient in the face of the attacks that are inevitable when we begin to win. Our infrastructure is woefully under-resourced for the fights that are here now and the fights that are ahead, and that, in large part, can be attributed to a fickleness in philanthropy that chases issues as opposed to investing in power-building infrastructure that can win, and keep winning.***
>
> — ALICIA GARZA, PRINCIPAL, BLACK FUTURES LAB

PHOTO: SHAWN ESCOFFERY

and demands of the very social movements that supposedly inspired funders to respond at all.

THE LONGSTANDING MISMATCH BETWEEN RACIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT DEMANDS AND GRANTMAKERS' RESPONSES

Five years after young Black people in Ferguson, Missouri, responded to the murder of unarmed Black teenager Michael Brown with a popular uprising that spread to become the largest and most sustained protest movement in U.S. history, that city's Black communities have still not garnered the investment those protests demanded. While Starbucks and other corporations responded to the moment of crisis by investing millions of development dollars that ended up in whiter and wealthier parts of the city, Black neighborhoods across Ferguson remain sites of wanton disinvestment.[15] These neighborhoods are buoyed only by the creative and committed activism led by those inspired by the uprisings of 2014.

Much of the giving that followed focused on meeting immediate needs. The United Way of Greater St. Louis distributed food and supplies and offered other crisis response services. It also raised about $2.35 million and received a $1 million contract from St. Louis County. Teach for America also received significant resources to expand educational opportunities to low-income students. National Black-led networks were seeded and grassroots organizations rooted in Black communities of Ferguson and surrounding locales were temporarily

> ***The main thing about transformative change versus mitigation work is that it requires funders to really trust in movement leaders, and let us pilot and experiment and innovate. And it has to be OK to not succeed but, instead, to learn, or to have something take much longer than funders think it should.***
>
> **— KRIS HAYASHI, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, TRANSGENDER LAW CENTER**

[15] Jan, Tracy. The Forgotten Ferguson. *The Washington Post*, June 21, 2018.

PHOTO: ROBYN BECK/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

and minimally resourced. However, their longstanding fights for municipal divestment from the brutal policing system that caused Brown's murder, and investment in community supports led by residents that build power for long-haul change, were not supported.

This mismatch in what racial justice movements demand and what funders understand as the primary modalities for change is an old and unsettling pattern. All too often, this pattern has destabilized community-based efforts to move beyond diversity, equity, and inclusion reforms like educational access and job opportunity and to refocus on root causes and long-term systemic change. As the data show, grantmakers' responses to the killing of Trayvon Martin and the burgeoning Black Lives Matter movement did include seeding new Black-led protest and organizations, but the scale of that funding has been far outpaced by funding for services designed to shrink (but not eliminate) racial disparities or for narrow, short-term reforms.

Racial justice movements watched this play out when young Native American activists brought the historic struggle of Indigenous people into the present and captured the global spotlight by protesting the construction of the Dakota Access and Keystone XL pipelines. These fights were about more than discrete projects; they were about Indigenous people battling government and big business to wrest power from a corporate oil economy and demand climate justice. Native Americans also work on many issues other than the environment — voting, health, education, housing, and employment come immediately to mind, all largely ignored by mainstream philanthropy. The movement for Indigenous rights and political sovereignty continues to need far more than it receives: One report found that only 0.4 percent of foundation giving is focused on Native American and Alaska Native communities.[16,17]

Surges in funding at key moments in time aren't enough to win lasting and transformative change. Eventually, and often quite quickly, investments recede or fail to keep up with growth so that a larger pie also has to feed more people. Soon, grantees are back to scraping by even as their field grows rapidly, while white billionaires operationalize their own solutions using their own funds *and* the additional donors to whom they have disproportionate access.

[16] Native Americans in Philanthropy. *Native Americans Are 2% of the U.S. Population but Receive 0.4% of Philanthropic Dollars*. November 17, 2020.

[17] Native Americans in Philanthropy and Candid. *Investing in Native Communities: Philanthropic Funding for Native American Communities and Causes*. 2019.

CONSERVATIVE PHILANTHROPIC RESPONSE

While there have been noteworthy, even unprecedented, levels of funding to organizations of color for both racial equity and racial justice work, the funding patterns reflect a historic cycle of crisis giving and conservative backlash, followed by centrists questioning the pace, volume, and value of giving to racial equity and justice. This cycle is both predictable and dangerous.

Conservative backlash to momentum gained by racial justice movements is a historic pattern. In the wake of organizing, protest, and even rioting, philanthropy and government jump in with well-intentioned crisis funding that creates a spike in giving. That funding lasts until the backlash hits. Then, the inevitable conservative demonization and mainstream accommodation of that backlash undermine movement goals, allowing grantmakers to moderate or even reverse their commitments. This pattern leaves the movement unable to realize its potential and further vulnerable to attack.

An analysis of data compiled by the Center for Strategic and International Studies[18] reveals that the surge in incidents of domestic terror driven by white supremacist, anti-Muslim, and anti-government extremists on the far right is presenting the greatest threat of domestic terrorism in decades. This threat has had deadly consequences. In 2019, hate crimes rose to their highest level since the FBI began collecting that data in the 1990s. In 2020, a report by the California Department of Justice[19] showed that hate crimes in that state rose 31 percent, with Black people remaining the most targeted and hate crimes against Asian Americans more than doubling. In January 2021, four people were killed and more than 50 injured when Trump supporters stormed the U.S. Capitol. That rampage continued a five-year string of injurious or fatal escalations by right-wing actors, one that has been aided by a vast digital infrastructure through which these extremists radicalize, organize, and fund their activities.

The backlash plays out not only online and in the streets, but also in the legislatures and the courts. Republicans have responded to the growing success and scale of racial justice movements by proposing bills in more than two dozen states to eliminate discussions in schools about race, racism, and racial justice. They've used these bills to launch a conservative campaign against critical race theory (CRT), the academic framework for examining how racism is embedded in U.S. laws and institutions. In September 2020, then President Donald Trump signed an executive order preventing government agencies from implementing training on implicit bias and diversity. And in

[18] O'Harrow Jr., Robert, Tran, Andrew Ba, and Hawkins, Derek. The Rise of Domestic Extremism in America. *The Washington Post*, April 12, 2021.

[19] Bonta, Rob. *Hate Crime in California 2020*. California Department of Justice, 2021.

May 2021, when the Biden administration's Small Business Administration COVID-19 relief package attempted to push applications for restaurant relief from those facing gender and racial bias — women and people of color — to the front of the line because they had been effectively excluded from the first pandemic stimulus package, conservatives sued and the courts ruled it a violation of the Constitution's equal treatment protections.

While their language is new, conservatives for centuries have sought to control the narrative on race and racism by framing racial justice as extreme, as political correctness, as illegal. And as is often the case when the origins of supposed grassroots conservative efforts are uncovered, there are clear lines connecting attacks on CRT to staunch conservative philanthropists.[20] The Philanthropy Roundtable and numerous conservative news outlets have directly challenged funding aimed at advancing racial equity and racial justice as racist itself.[21,22]

This, too, is not new: Early philanthropic work to support a structural racism analysis was attacked as being "racist." The Roundtable, whose members include the conservative foundation that funded the writing of *The Bell Curve*, fought against affirmative action, supported the dismantling of the social safety net throughout the 1990s, and recently mounted a coordinated campaign aimed at using the language of diversity to undermine the principles of equity and justice.[23]

The Philanthropy Roundtable's major funders actually include some of the same foundations that are seeking to advance racial equity and even racial justice, giving its claims and campaigns even greater legitimacy in some spaces. Similarly, numerous PSOs and other conveners seeking bipartisan framing have featured the Roundtable in their conferences. Such co-optation of the language of diversity or inclusion to detract from an explicit focus on racial dynamics and impacts may thwart the rise of real efforts toward equity and justice.

[20] Kamola, Isaac. Where Does the Bizarre Hysteria About "Critical Race Theory" Come From? Follow the Money! *Inside Higher Ed*, June 3, 2021. In a high-profile 2021 case, conservative megadonor Walter Hussman Jr. lobbied to deny Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Nikole Hannah-Jones, author of the landmark 1619 Project, a tenured professorship at the University of North Carolina Hussman School of Journalism and Media (so named in 2019, in recognition of a $25 million gift to the university from Hussman and his family).

[21] Schambra, William A. Philanthropy's Jeremiah Wright Problem. *Chronicle of Philanthropy*, May 15, 2008.

[22] Schaefer Riley, Naomi. The Woke Threat to Philanthropy. *The Wall Street Journal*, July 16, 2021.

[23] Ghate, Debi. True Diversity: Celebrating the Rich Identities That Make Us Each Unique. *The Philanthropy Roundtable*, June 23, 2021.

ALIGNED GIVING GETS GREAT RESULTS

When racial justice work is well supported by an allied philanthropic ecosystem, the results can be wildly transformative.

One powerful example is the way the voting rights group Fair Fight, founded by Stacey Abrams, raised and donated almost $3 million to strengthen the get-out-the-vote apparatus of a network of grassroots organizations. Focused funding was one reason Black women and allies were able to organize Georgia's Black, Latinx, and Asian Democratic voters, through a combination of 501(c)3 and (c)4 work, to carry the state in 2020.

Foundations have made new commitments that are responding to many aspects of

> ***Philanthropy is increasingly confronting questions of money, power, and racial justice. This is a step in the right direction, and a necessary one to advance racial and economic justice and eradicate systematic racism and white supremacy. But more internal conversations about racial justice, public statements, and an increase in racial justice funding have not necessarily translated into more funding for movement building and for community-led organizations on the frontlines organizing communities, building power, and disrupting systems that exclude and criminalize communities of color. In this moment, where systematic racism and injustice have been exposed by the pandemic, the philanthropic sector faces an unprecedented opportunity to move this country closer to its unrealized values of freedom and justice for all, including immigrants and refugees, by funding community organizations that are building power in communities of color and are led by those directly impacted by injustice.***
>
> **— CRISTINA JIMENEZ, CO-FOUNDER, UNITED WE DREAM**

movement calls. These are just a few examples across the range of funder types nationally:

- **SOLIDAIRE**, a network of net-worth individuals that prioritizes working in partnership with movements, calls itself "a bold alternative to the risk-averse and slow-moving philanthropic mainstream." Solidaire's Janisha R. Gabriel Movement Protection Fund provided over $3 million to support urgent needs of movement leaders facing increased surveillance and violence.
- **THE KATALY FOUNDATION** aims to "redistribute and redefine wealth in a way that leads to transformation, abundance and regeneration" for communities of color. Its 2020 Rapid Response Fund made general support grants of $50,000 to $100,000 to organizations at the frontlines of racial justice and feminist issues. It also allocated $50 million plus staffing support to launch the Environmental Justice Resourcing Collective, a fund designed by frontline movement leaders — all women of color — who direct its strategy and investments.
- **THE DEMOCRACY FRONTLINES FUND** was established by activists, in collaboration with the Libra Foundation, to drive funders toward a slate of 10 Black-led organizations building Black community power to defund prisons and policing and to protect and expand democracy. A brain trust of "accountable movement advisors," mostly Black and other women of color, shaped the slate of organizations, which includes Black Voters Matter, the Black Futures Lab, State Voices, and the National Black Food & Justice Alliance.
- **THE HORNING FAMILY FUND** launched its Racial Justice Initiative to provide sustained funding to Black-led organizing and advocacy efforts in the Washington, DC, region that "build power, transform systems, and achieve racial justice and equity." The fund has committed $5 million over the coming decade for groups to apply for five-year grants ranging from

PHOTO: NEW VIRGINIA MAJORITY

$25,000 to $100,000 per year. Open processes are increasingly rare.

→ **THE MACARTHUR FOUNDATION** in July 2021 announced a $125 million Equitable Recovery Initiative; $80 million of that is devoted to advance racial and ethnic justice with an emphasis on combating anti-Black racism, bolstering Indigenous self-determination, and addressing the public health and housing disparities that have widened during the pandemic. The portion for the racial justice field includes explicit support for reparations through grants to the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America and the Institute of the Black World 21st Century. MacArthur funded the initiative with dollars raised through social impact bonds.

In the Findings section (pp. 37–74), we can see how far most of philanthropy is from these game-changing approaches.

METHODOLOGY

OVERVIEW OF METHODOLOGY

The analysis in this report was conducted by the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity (PRE), drawing on grants data from Candid, an organization that gathers data about nonprofits and philanthropic grantmaking in the U.S. and globally. Candid collects data from private foundations of all sizes, public charities that award grants to other nonprofits (sometimes called public foundations or intermediaries), and corporations. More recently, Candid has begun to collect data from high-net-worth individuals and government grants, but grants from these sources are excluded from the analysis for this report, which seeks to provide a comprehensive analysis of grantmaking for racial justice and racial equity by institutional funders.[24]

Candid's grants data are compiled from the IRS information returns required of all nonprofits and private foundations (IRS Form 990 and Form 990-PF, respectively), information reported directly to Candid through its electronic reporting program,[25] and other resources, such as annual reports, grantmaker websites, news articles, and press releases.

Grants data are coded according to Candid's Philanthropy Classification System (PCS), which consists of several facets: subject, population served, support strategy, transaction type, organization type, and geographic area served. Candid uses various "autocoding" methods and some manual review to assign codes to organizations and grants. For more detailed information about these methods, see this web page.

This report is based on PRE's yearlong analysis of Candid's comprehensive funding database and the development of new search criteria to identify grants specifically for racial equity and for racial justice. In 2020, PRE discovered problems related to criteria that Candid initially posted on their Funding for Racial Equity page[26] in 2019. We then began collaborating with Candid on a process to get feedback from stakeholders and establish criteria for both racial equity and racial justice grants that would offer a more accurate picture of what has been, and is now, being funded.

For this process, PRE and Candid developed revised criteria for a **data set of racial equity grants** tied to the broader definition of racial equity that much of mainstream philanthropy and corporations use. This data set includes any grants that explicitly reference communities of color or grants that were awarded to organizations that are explicit about serving various communities of

[24] Since the analysis that follows draws from Candid's comprehensive database of grants, it is different from previous PRE reports that drew from the Foundation Center's FC 1000, which only explored the grantmaking of 1,000 of the largest foundations. This report draws from a much larger and broader set of foundations; therefore the totals and percentages may not match previous reports. This larger data set was made possible by Candid's use of autoclassification.

[25] More than 900 funder partners globally share their grants data directly with Candid, which also has gathered data from public sources on almost 6,000 additional funders who support racial equity work. Please contact Candid at egrants@candid.org to learn how to directly contribute data.

[26] For revised and more recent information from Candid's Funding for Racial Equity page, see https://candid.org/explore-issues/racial-equity, including FAQ regarding their description of this process.

color as part of their mission. It also includes grant descriptions that mention the word "race" plus at least one of a range of terms such as "access," "opportunity," "inclusion," and "disparities."

Within this data set of racial equity grants, we applied a more rigorous definition for identifying a **subset of racial justice grants**, including search terms such as "power," "advocacy," and "justice."

RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE — AN IMPORTANT DISTINCTION

Longstanding tensions driven by unequal relations of power have shaped debates over how racial equity and racial justice are defined and who does the defining, and there has often been little shared understanding of these terms across the philanthropic field. While they are related concepts, racial equity and racial justice are not the same. Over the last three years, organizers have called for more precise definitions, in part reacting to the conflation of equity with diversity and inclusion work. That conflation has muddied the distinction between aiming for change within existing systems and aiming to transform those systems as a whole.

In 2019, PRE named these distinctions and provided tools for improvement in *Grantmaking with a Racial Justice Lens: A Practical Guide*:[27]

RACIAL EQUITY

The original guide describes four important features of a racial equity lens:

- Analyzes data and information about race and ethnicity
- Understands disparities and the reasons they exist
- Looks at structural root causes of problems
- Names race explicitly when talking about problems and solutions

RACIAL JUSTICE

A racial justice lens adds four more critical elements:

- Understands and acknowledges racial history
- Creates a shared affirmative vision of a fair and inclusive society
- Focuses explicitly on building civic, cultural, economic, and political power by those most impacted
- Emphasizes transformative solutions that impact multiple systems

Racial equity focuses on the prevention of harm and the redistribution of benefits within existing systems. Racial equity projects don't usually attempt to transform the systems that generate suffering, but they do address the unfair distribution of pain. Ensuring that as many people of color as possible have collective access to the systems that produce education, employment, housing, and a clean environment is vital.

Racial justice includes these elements, but adds dimensions of power building and transformative goals, explicitly seeking to generate enough power among

[27] Sen, Rinku, and Villarosa, Lori. *Grantmaking with a Racial Justice Lens: A Practical Guide*. Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity, 2019.

PHOTO: SHAWN ESCOFFERY

disenfranchised people to change the fundamental rules of society. Power building includes recruitment, leadership development, popular education, alliance building, strategic communications, and a huge variety of pressure tactics, from protests to lawsuits. To "change the fundamental rules" means that a core dynamic of the system is fixed, added, or removed, shifting the balance of power between the community and key institutions such as government and business. Power building can even include service provision and the arts — two sectors traditionally separated from civic power in philanthropy — if they are clearly and effectively attached to racial justice goals and strategies.

In a resilient ecosystem, leaders operating in a web of self-determining organizations can sequence and connect racial equity and racial justice efforts. For example, health equity strategies can distribute vaccine access more fairly (equity) while organizers also campaign for universal healthcare (justice). A group can raise money to pay bail to reduce harm (equity) while pressing legislators to outlaw the cash bail system (justice). People can advocate for the denial of permits for polluting industries in communities of color (equity) to build a base for future campaigns that replace polluting industries with sustainable ones (justice). The closer to the ground one gets, the more likely that many groups will be doing both equity and justice work through varied activities and programs. Sometimes, this ecosystem is literally saving people's lives so they can fight another day.

But here is a crucial point: Without power building either within or adjacent, racial equity efforts will always have to negotiate within the limitations of current systems.

In this companion to *Grantmaking with a Racial Justice Lens*, PRE examines trends, contradictions, and divergences in racial equity and racial justice funding over the past decade, with an emphasis on the past five years. We hope that these insights will help philanthropy align more comprehensively with the actual needs of popular movements, rather than imposing their own priorities.

WHY THIS REPORT FOCUSES ON DATA FROM 2015–2018 AND 2020

Our analysis centers primarily on Candid grants data for the years 2015 through 2018. We used

a four-year period to account for any year-specific variances, such as a large multiyear grant being awarded and counted in a single year. We chose 2015–2018 for three reasons:

1. **Those are the most recent years of completely coded grants.**
2. **Increasing automation allowed Candid to code grants from a much larger number of foundations beginning in 2015, making that year a natural starting point for analysis of a large but consistent data set.[28]**
3. **The period represents a turning point in the national discourse on police brutality following the Ferguson uprising.[29]**

Candid's grants data are generally not complete for a specific calendar year until a full two years later due to the lag in reporting, particularly for those institutions whose information is culled solely from tax return documents. Given that constraint, this report excludes data from 2019, which was not complete. But the unprecedented nature of 2020's global crises — the pandemic, threats to democracy, heightened racism and racist attacks — and the danger of misrepresenting philanthropy's response in this critical moment warranted seeking as much insight as possible into the year's grantmaking. The 2020 findings are still preliminary and subject to change. Nonetheless, our analysis indicates that prior projections of how much money actually flowed to racial equity and racial justice — based largely on announcements of pledges — were largely exaggerated.

Finally, to provide a longer-term view of racial equity and racial justice funding, our report does feature a brief and caveated analysis going back to 2011. We caution, however, that some of the longitudinal picture is skewed by Candid's shift to autoclassification, resulting in a much larger overall data set beginning in 2015.

THE STORY BEHIND THE METHODOLOGY

This report builds on *Short Changed: Foundation Giving and Communities of Color*,[30] the seminal 2004 publication by Race Forward (then the Applied Research Center). The authors defined the emerging field of racial equity grantmaking, showed the woefully tiny portions of all philanthropy that reached communities of color, and revealed the even smaller amounts devoted to racial equity work.

In 2016, PRE partnered with Race Forward to update *Short Changed*. Initial work revealed significant data challenges. We started by collecting data from Candid (then known as Foundation Center, prior to merging with GuideStar to form Candid) for the years 2006 through 2015. Analysis of those data revealed many grants "designated for communities of color" were not specifically for racial equity and racial justice work. In some cases, the classification included grants broadly designated for a laundry list of populations, including all communities of color, low-income communities, and sometimes more identities. These large grants were assigned in full to specific communities of color if they were mentioned at all in a grant description, even if little or none of

[28] Candid's grants data collection for years 2015–2018 is relatively complete. Still, in some cases grants data for these years may be added as Candid uncovers new sources and corrects processing issues.

[29] The years 2015 to 2018 represent the period following the murders of Eric Garner, Tamir Rice, and Michael Brown — with the murder of Brown in particular drawing national attention due to the uprisings in Ferguson. As such, it was a time when grantmakers were likely to or should have been paying attention to how they deployed their resources to combat systemic racism. Automation allowed the size of the data set to jump from 15,000 grantmakers in 2011 to more than 60,000 in 2014. While the number of grantmakers did increase over time, most of the rapid increase in the number of funders in the data set is due to Candid's shift to automating data processing.

[30] Pittz, Will, and Sen, Rinku. *Short Changed: Foundation Giving and Communities of Color*. Applied Research Center, Spring 2004).

the money in question may have been focused on these populations.[31] These challenges made it impossible to update *Short Changed* in 2016 without addressing the underlying coding issues.

The findings in *Mismatched* come from PRE's yearlong analysis of Candid's grantmaking data, a significantly different data set than was used when *Short Changed* was written.[32]

Concerns and challenges related to how grantmaking data are coded are longstanding — particularly with regard to racial equity. As a core partner of the CHANGE Philanthropy coalition, PRE has worked with other PSOs to influence Candid's taxonomy for years, and that work continues through the CHANGE Philanthropy Research Working Group, of which PRE is a member. Candid, PRE, and other CHANGE partners have all long encouraged foundations to collect and report better data in a more complete and timely manner.

Before 2018, Candid's closest proxy for identifying race-related grantmaking was funding designated for communities of color, determined based on a recipient's target population or on self-reported grant descriptions to entities such as Candid or in IRS 990 filings.[33] In 2019, Candid created a website to track racial equity funding, news, and research reports. To define racial equity, Candid independently pulled data based on criteria developed by PRE for *What Does Philanthropy Need to Know to Prioritize Racial Justice?* [34] and then included additional search terms of its own. This model was used retroactively to code grants from 2011 through 2019 as "racial equity" grants for Candid's racial equity resource page and accompanying maps tool. The criteria for identifying these grants were quite narrow, more similar to the parameters for the racial justice subset of data in this report than to the larger set of racial equity grants.

In 2020, in response to the murder of George Floyd and subsequent uprisings for racial justice, Candid relaunched and added features to its racial equity website. Its goal was to make timely data freely accessible to those who needed it. Candid began tracking public pledges based on press releases and public announcements. As pledges came in response to these events, all were coded so that they would automatically be counted as racial equity funding — whereas earlier grantmaking, which had already been awarded and had verifiable details, had been held to a stricter standard. Coded in that way, the surge in racial equity grantmaking seemed greater than it may have been.

Candid's tracking of pledges based on press releases — and the shift to autoclassification before that — were a response to a longstanding need for more timely and reliable data. Previously, it took even longer than two years to begin to have a reliable picture of grantmaking for specific issues and populations, making it difficult for both funders and movement leaders to assess and respond to gaps in resources. Candid and other philanthropic research and data organizations face a challenging conundrum: On the one hand, both funders and movement leaders need timely data; on the other, tools for speedy data analysis such as autoclassification and culling of press releases for pledges carry the risk of decreasing the overall quality and accuracy of data. This conundrum around data reporting is particularly challenging in a media environment where clickbait headlines are likely to erase necessary subtleties.

[31] For example, in 2015, the Ford Foundation awarded a 13.5-year grant totaling $74.2 million to the National Academy of Sciences, intended for "the Ford Fellowships Program for predoctoral, dissertation and postdoctoral fellowships." The program aims to increase racial and ethnic diversity in science faculty, but was not exclusively designated for any particular community of color. Still, the entire grant was coded as designated for "People of Asian descent; People of African descent; People of Latin American descent; Alaskan Natives; American Indians; Native Hawaiians; and Pacific Islanders." In truth, only a fraction of that grant actually benefited each of these populations.

[32] The analysis for this report draws from Candid's comprehensive database of grants and is different from previous PRE reports that drew from the Foundation Center's FC 1000, which only explored the grantmaking of 1,000 of the largest foundations. Since this report draws from a much larger and broader set of foundations, the totals and percentages may not match previous reports. This larger data set was made possible by Candid's use of autoclassification.

[33] The sole exceptions here are the handful of articles and infographics Candid produced around specific subject areas that often drew from criteria laid out by PRE and others.

[34] Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity. *What Does Philanthropy Need to Know to Prioritize Racial Justice?* Washington, DC, 2017.

VAGUE PRESS RELEASES, INCOMPLETE DATA, AND MISLEADING HEADLINES DISTORTED THE PICTURE OF 2020 GIVING

In the summer of 2020, Candid — and others — observed the flurry of press releases announcing racial equity pledges and recognized the historic importance of the moment. Candid attempted to capture data in real time, tracking the amount pledged for philanthropic initiatives in each press release with the maximum level of detail that each announcement allowed.

Many of these announcements highlighted racial injustice and specifically named the protests around the murder of George Floyd as part of the impetus for new and strengthened institutional commitments. A statement from Apple read, in part, "To stand together, we must stand up for one another, and recognize the fear, hurt, and outrage rightly provoked by the senseless killing of George Floyd and a much longer history of racism."[35] Since then, Apple has awarded more than $60 million through its Racial Equity and Justice Initiative, much of it focused on supporting a learning hub for historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) and for investing in minority-owned businesses. These efforts are laudable and important, but are only loosely related to the racial justice mobilization actions of 2020. Those protests served as an initial impetus for many corporations to take action around racial equity, but few corporations made commitments to directly support frontline movements for racial justice.

Across multiple press releases, several themes emerged:

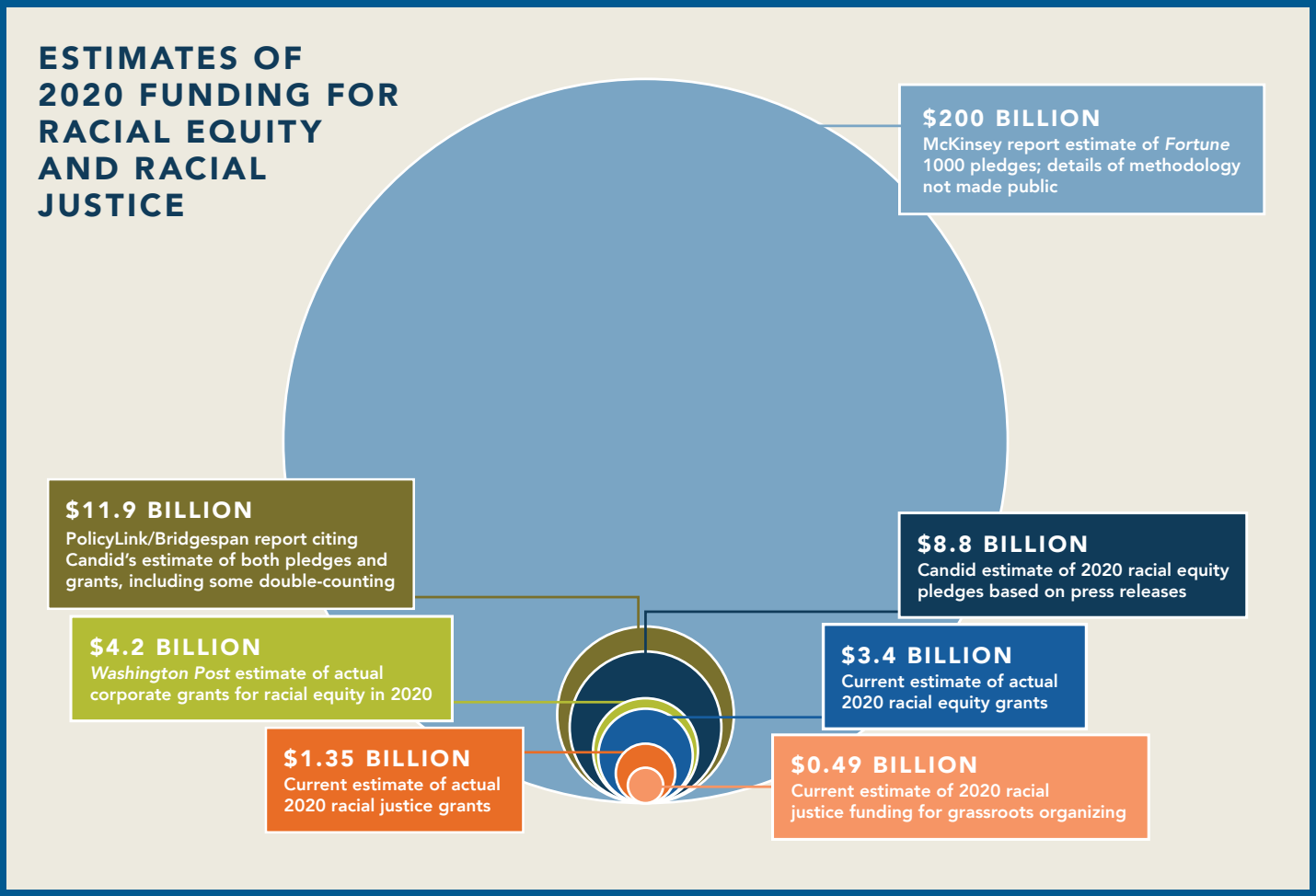
- Many corporate press releases combined internal commitments with external grantmaking pledges — often without specifying how much was being allocated for each. This led to headlines touting multibillion-dollar giving, even though in many cases the vast majority of dollars committed was for spending on diversifying suppliers or hiring, not grants.
- Many public pledges were for multiple years — an indication of long-term commitment that is laudable, but which led to inaccurate comparisons when 2020 pledges for multiple years were compared to single-year funding amounts of prior years.
- Press releases and other corporate announcements in 2020 often expressed support for racial justice protests, but the dollars committed were more often focused on minority-owned businesses and education access, which, while valuable to mitigate racial inequity, was not the call from activists and racial justice movement organizers.

[35] Apple. *Apple Launches Major New Racial Equity and Justice Initiative Projects to Challenge Systemic Racism, Advance Racial Equity Nationwide*. January 13, 2021.

Much of the news coverage in 2020 created the impression that billions of dollars flowed to Black-led nonprofits for racial equity work that year. *The Wall Street Journal*, for example, published an article in September with the headline, "At Nonprofits Focusing on Blacks, Donations Soared in Wake of George Floyd Protests."[36] The article reported that "the $6.5 billion committed to achieving racial equity this year is nearly double the $3.3 billion raised for that purpose in the prior eight years combined, according to Candid. … Many of the grants are going specifically to nonprofits with Black leaders." That "commitment" was vastly overstated and mischaracterized.

Our best estimate, based on the data available to date on actual grants (excluding pledges), is that foundations and corporations awarded about $1.2 billion focused on racial equity in Black communities. That constitutes a 50 percent increase so far over prior years based on incomplete data — but not by the several orders of magnitude often reported over the past year.

So how was the increase in giving for racial justice — and for Black communities in particular — so dramatically distorted? The answer, in short, is this: A confluence of vague press releases, incomplete data, and media hype led to an exaggerated and deeply inaccurate story.



[36] Morris, Betsy. At Nonprofits Focusing on Blacks, Donations Soared in Wake of George Floyd Protests. *The Wall Street Journal*, September 19, 2020.

SOURCE	AMOUNT	NOTES
McKinsey Report Estimate of *Fortune* 1000 Pledges	**$200 Billion**	McKinsey has not shared detailed data supporting this estimate, but this number far exceeds any other similar estimate. It includes internal corporate spending commitments related to racial equity (e.g., diversifying hiring) as well as multiyear pledges to award external community grants.
PolicyLink/Bridgespan Group Report: Funding Racial Equity to Win	**$11.9 Billion**	This $11.9 billion estimate is a citation of Candid's estimate of pledges and grants, some of which were double-counted.
Candid Estimate of 2020 Racial Equity Pledges	**$8.8 Billion**	This $8.8 billion estimate is based on press releases announcing pledges to racial equity. It does not include grants awarded, which Candid also tracks.
***Washington Post* Estimate**	**$4.2 Billion**	*Washington Post* estimate of actual corporate grants for racial equity in 2020
Current Estimate of Actual Racial Equity Grants Awarded in 2020	**$3.4 Billion**	This estimate is based on preliminary grants-level data collected by Candid for actual grants awarded in 2020. It is an underestimate, since many funders have not yet reported data.
Current Estimate of Actual Racial Justice Grants Awarded in 2020	**$1.35 Billion**	This estimate is based on preliminary grants-level data collected by Candid for actual grants awarded in 2020. It is an underestimate, since many funders have not yet reported data.
Current Estimate of Racial Justice Funding Devoted to Grassroots Organizing in 2020	**$0.49 Billion**	Of confirmed grants awarded for racial justice in 2020, less than 4 percent was devoted to grassroots organizing.

VAGUE PRESS RELEASES

In June 2020, Facebook issued a press release that announced its commitment "to advancing equity and racial justice by investing in the Black community, elevating Black voices, directly funding racial justice organizations, and building a more diverse and inclusive workforce."[37] The release went on to detail more than $1.1 billion in commitments for racial equity. However, the vast majority was accounted for by a commitment to spend at least $1 billion on Black and diverse suppliers, including facilities, construction, and marketing agencies. The remaining $100 million was to be devoted to Black-owned small businesses, Black creators, and nonprofits serving Black communities — some of it cash grants and some in-kind grants for ad credits. Facebook did not specify the details of specific grant recipients.

That same month, Microsoft made pledges of more than $929 million for racial equity — but the vast majority of that, more than $875 million, was for internal commitments such as increasing spending on Black-owned suppliers. The $56.5 million commitment for external grants to nonprofits was for five years[38] — meaning that the annual commitment would be, on average, about $11 million.

While lacking in some details, Facebook and Microsoft at least clearly distinguished between the amounts committed for internal diversity

[37] Facebook. *Where We Stand: Actions We're Taking to Advance Racial Justice in Our Company and on Our Platform*. June 21, 2020.

[38] Humphries, Fred. *Our Annual Report: "Racial Equity Initiative: Strengthening Our Communities."* Microsoft, June 9, 2021.

work and the amount committed for external community grants. Many corporations did not make this distinction, announcing only a single, large-dollar amount for both internal and external commitments. This made it even more challenging for Candid and other organizations to accurately track the amount pledged for racial equity grants without inflating the total.

More recent research and reporting have found that the bulk of corporate pledges announced in 2020 were in fact devoted to internal commitments. On August 23, 2021, *The Washington Post* published an article based on their own corporate giving research showing that more than 90 percent of the $49.5 billion in racial equity commitments made by the top 50 public companies and their foundations after George Floyd's murder were "allocated to loans or investments they could stand to profit from, more than half in the form of mortgages."[39]

DOUBLE COUNTING AND DECEPTIVE DATA

The inflation of total dollar commitments has been exacerbated in recent months as funders have begun to provide more detailed information on actual grants awarded in 2020. Information on grants is added to Candid's database without removing or reducing the initial pledge amount, since it is difficult to attribute grants to specific pledges with any systematic accuracy. This leads to grants and pledges being double-counted in Candid's data, unless one takes care to not include both sets of data in the same query.[40]

A recent PolicyLink/Bridgespan report[41] cited the misleading figure of $11.9 billion in racial equity funding commitments in 2020 — a figure that includes both $8.8 billion in pledges and $3.1 billion in grants, some of which were double-counted across the two categories. Another frequently cited report, from McKinsey & Co., provided no methodology to explain its $200 billion estimate of pledges by *Fortune* 1000 companies in support of racial equity.[42] The report neglected to describe supporting details for this estimate, but it presumably includes many of the internal commitments related to diverse suppliers and hiring practices that led to a figure higher, by several orders of magnitude, than any other estimates of actual giving.

Moreover, since most pledges were not allocated to a specific grant recipient, Candid labeled unspecified pledges as for "George Floyd Protests 2020." This reinforced the false impression that funds were specifically pledged for the racial justice movements and organizations related to the protests, even though the bulk of announced pledges were for internal spending commitments, or for grants to increase education access for Black communities and other communities of color.

Finally, there were challenges around capturing and communicating the exact nature and parameters of racial equity funding and racial justice funding for both 2020 and for prior-year comparisons. In one initial post on 2020 racial equity pledges, Candid reported that racial equity funding had totaled $3.3 billion from 2011 through 2019 —indicating that the pledges of just one month had exceeded the prior funding of nine years.[43]

[39] Jan, Tracy, McGregor, Jena, and Hoyer, Meghan. Corporate America's $50 Billion Promise. *The Washington Post*, August 23, 2021.

[40] For analysis purposes, Candid recommends that grants and pledges be considered separately. In response to stakeholder feedback in October 2020, Candid has begun to disaggregate grants from pledges on its own racial equity web page.

[41] McAfee, Michael, Kirschenbaum, Josh, Lanzerotti, Laura, Seldon, Willa, Sakaue, Lyell, and Daniels, Cora. *Moving from Intention to Impact: Funding Racial Equity to Win*. PolicyLink and Bridgespan Group, 2021.

[42] Fitzhugh, Earl, Julien, JP, Noel, Nick, and Stewart, Shelley. *It's Time for a New Approach to Racial Equity*. McKinsey & Co., December 2, 2020.

[43] Koob, Anna. What Does Candid's Grants Data Say About Funding for Racial Equity in the United States? *Candid*, July 24, 2020.

PHOTO: SHAWN ESCOFFERY

However, this figure for 2011–2019 was based on a strict definition of racial equity funding focused on systemic change and power building taken from a 2017 PRE infographic that Candid used to establish the search parameters — parameters more akin to those used for racial ***justice*** funding in this report. While many of the 2020 pledges used the language of racial justice, racial equity was the actual purpose of most pledges — focusing on economic development and education access, for example, rather than on grassroots movement building for transformation. In other words, in many assessments of the scale of 2020 racial equity funding commitments, there was both an underestimate of prior funding and an inflation of 2020 funding.

MISLEADING HEADLINES

Across all of these press releases, data reports, and headlines, there was often a mismatch between words and reality. Press releases spoke of the importance of the movement for racial justice and of billions of dollars in commitments, but much of the resources committed were devoted to internal corporate efforts, not to supporting communities or movements. Data compilers such as Candid were reporting on pledges committed for "George Floyd Protests 2020" while the vast majority of these promised investments had, at best, a tangential relationship to those protests.

In contrast, we have identified only $49 million in racial justice funding devoted to grassroots organizing in 2020. Similarly, the Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation reported that it raised a total of $90 million in 2020[44] — including not only donations from foundations and corporations, but from all sources, including individuals, who gave, on average, $30.76. With the limited data available, these two figures are perhaps the best gauges of the total dollar amount that grassroots organizations and Black-led movement building received in 2020. The $49 million awarded for grassroots racial justice organizing was a new high, as was the amount donated to Black Lives Matter, but the increases were not of the vast order of magnitude reported in many outlets.

The pledges for racial equity in 2020 were promised in the billions, but the grants awarded to Black-led movement building still tally only in the millions.

[44] Associated Press. Black Lives Matter Foundation Raised Over $90 Million in 2020. *MarketWatch*, February 23, 2021.

PHOTO: SHAWN ESCOFFERY

In October 2020, PRE convened stakeholders from racial justice movements, community and private foundations, and relevant PSOs, along with Candid staff, to clarify criteria for mapping racial equity grantmaking. PRE and Candid then worked together to adjust the criteria used to determine racial equity and racial justice grantmaking, resulting in the new model of a racial equity data set and a subset of racial justice data, as used in this report.

PRE and Candid began to recode grants going back to 2011 that had been previously coded as serving communities of color. Then, the team analyzed these grants to create the two data sets for this report: the racial equity grants data set, and a subset of racial justice grants.

The racial equity set broadly captures most grants designated for communities of color. To be included in the racial equity set, the grant had to 1) be designated for communities of color, 2) focus on racial and ethnic minority rights, or 3) otherwise mention racial equity in the description. Importantly, these three criteria more clearly reflect how racial equity work is often referenced in mainstream philanthropy. While much more general than best practices or a definition that would be driven by movement leaders, it was necessary to use a slightly looser definition given that Candid had been classifying 2020 pledges by this definition.

The racial justice subset within the racial equity set captured grants for challenging systems that perpetuate white supremacy and racism. To create this subset, we filtered the racial equity set for grants and organizations focused on social rights, economic justice, environmental justice, voter rights, and grassroots organizing. We also included grants that specifically mentioned racial justice or upending systemic racism. Thus, the racial justice subset contains racial equity grants that also meet the racial justice criteria.

Drawing on our knowledge of the field and in some cases checking against grant descriptions and websites, PRE collaborated closely with Candid over several iterations of reviewing grants lists, refining criteria, and re-running grants lists using adjusted filters to identify gaps or inaccuracies. This joint effort is intended to develop more accurate data on Candid's racial equity website.

FINDINGS

> ***I believe budgets are moral documents. Budgets say more about our values than any statement, blog post, or tweet. The same can be said of funding. Racial justice isn't an outcome of a true democracy — it is our greatest driver. Funders who care about protecting our ability to win real-world change must support the organizations and leaders driving this work: following their lead, funding their work at scale, and providing them freedom to pivot and autonomy over their budgets.***
>
> — RASHAD ROBINSON, PRESIDENT, COLOR OF CHANGE

Reviewing Candid's data on foundation and corporate giving by examining the racial equity set and the racial justice subset, we determined the trajectory of racial equity and racial justice funding, asking:

- → What and who is being funded?
- → How much of the funding goes to grassroots organizing?
- → Who are the top funders supporting the work?
- → How have funders responded to calls for general operating support?

As noted in the methodology section, the set of racial equity funding includes nearly all grantmaking with an intentional focus on communities of color, including scholarship programs for, funding for services to, and grants to support businesses owned by people of color. The subset of racial justice funding identifies groups within the racial equity set whose work also builds power in communities of color and aims to transform systems.

OVERALL TRENDS: FIVE MISMATCHES BETWEEN FUNDING AND MOVEMENTS

Our analysis of Candid's data has revealed key insights that should shape ongoing efforts by foundations committed to long-term investment for racial equity and racial justice.

There is good news. Funding for both racial equity and racial justice have been rising since at least 2011, with substantial jumps in 2015 and, perhaps, in 2020 based on initial data. Outside of these jumps, funding increased at a slower but steady pace. Grassroots organizing for

equity and justice grew exponentially during this time, logging significant legislative, regulatory, and narrative victories. Existing organizations became institutions, and activists formed new organizations across the country. From Ferguson on, millions of Americans made their way to their first protest. Philanthropy stepped up as well, but not to the degree or in the direction warranted by this profound, nationwide call for racial justice.

A mismatch notes either a mischaracterization of philanthropic responses or a gap between those and movement needs. **We have identified at least five mismatches:**

MISMATCHES

1 Funding for racial equity and justice remains a small portion of overall foundation funding — not commensurate with the scale of racial disparities or the demands of racial justice movements.

Funding for racial equity reached nearly $5.8 billion in 2018, and funding for racial justice was about $925 million that year. These figures reflect a steady rise since 2011. Even so, only 6 cents of every philanthropic dollar is devoted to racial equity, and only 1 cent toward racial justice.

Annual funding for specific communities of color is even lower. Funding for people of African descent and people of Latin American descent fluctuated between $500 million and $994 million, and funding for Indigenous peoples and people of Asian descent ranged between $175 million and $500 million annually. But none of these groups surpassed the $1 billion mark over the four-year period of 2015–2018. Funding for people of Middle Eastern descent and for multiracial people fluctuated at lower levels, never exceeding $36 million.

The ratio varies and in some cases improves when looking at funding for specific subjects, but it is still a low percentage. Between 2015 and 2018:

- → **14.3 percent of community and economic development funding was for racial equity and only 1.7 percent for racial justice.**
- → **8 percent of education funding was for racial equity and only 0.4 percent for racial justice.**
- → **3.2 percent of environmental funding was for racial equity and only 0.6 percent for racial justice.**
- → **2.6 percent of health funding was for equity work, with only 0.4 percent for racial justice.**

The top 20 funders of racial justice work accounted for 60 percent of all racial justice funding (nearly $1.64 billion of the almost $2.8 billion of racial justice funding in 2015–2018). In the context of thousands of funders that support racial

justice, the work is reliant on a small group of funders for a large portion of funding. Overreliance on a small number of funders makes groups vulnerable to having their work derailed by changing foundation interests.

2 The rise in funding for racial equity was portrayed as an overnight occurrence, but in fact there has been a slow but steady growth in the scale of funding and the number of funders engaged in racial equity.

False projections of the size and effect of a 2020 funding surge in relation to prior years erase the role of a racial justice ecosystem that has grown since 1992. Even under the loosest definition of racial justice, the actual distribution of foundation and corporate funds to organizations building power and working toward transformational goals is far smaller than 2020 headlines would indicate.

There likely was indeed a significant increase in foundation and corporate racial equity giving in 2020. However, counter to the impression created by the headlines, this was not a sudden outpouring of financial support. In fact, in every year from 2015 through 2018 there were 16,000 to 18,000 racial equity grantmakers reporting to Candid. A robust ecosystem of racial justice groups pressed for and received a growing number of grants in this period. Yet, predictably, the trends also follow a "spike and level" pattern that has occurred after other flashpoints, notably the uprisings in Los Angeles in 1992 and Ferguson in 2014.

While resources for both racial equity and racial justice have clearly been rising, their volume in 2020 has been wildly overstated. One example: As early as July 2020, Candid reported that it had identified "22 percent more funding for racial equity in 2020, to date, than we have for the ***previous nine years combined***"[45] (emphasis added). This assertion came from comparing past grants, reported according to one set of specific and narrow racial justice criteria, to 2020 descriptions drawn from the broadest interpretation of racial equity or racial justice — an interpretation based on the notions of corporate donors, mainstream funders, and headline writers.

As of summer 2021, Candid had identified more than $8.8 billion in pledges for racial equity work in 2020, but only about $3.4 billion in actual grants awarded by foundations and corporations. That would make the confirmed grants awarded for racial equity only 3.3 percent of total foundation and corporate giving for 2020, based on Giving USA projections.[46]

The notion that this funding was flat or shrinking until the uprisings of 2020 inspired a dramatic rise in grantmaking gives a false impression of how movements take shape. And getting these numbers wrong creates unrealistic expectations of organizations that have not been adequately resourced, rendering them vulnerable to right-wing narratives about communities of color as undeserving "takers." Furthermore, if funders erroneously believe that racial justice work is well funded, they are likely to invest where there appears to be greater need, leaving spaces of actual need ignored.

[45] Koob, Anna. What Does Candid's Grants Data Say About Funding for Racial Equity in the United States? *Candid*, July 24, 2020.

[46] *Giving USA: The Annual Report on Philanthropy for the Year 2020* (2021). Chicago: Giving USA Foundation.

3 Co-optation of movement language is widespread and used to advance projects that are often not responsive to movement's call.

Predominantly white organizations are often happy to use movement language to walk through foundation doors opened by Black, Brown, and Indigenous activists. They frequently raise money for their own diversity and inclusion efforts, focused on improving their own racial composition, rather than on building power with or in communities of color. While opening access for people of color to the resources of white organizations may sound appealing, this kind of funding can cast leaders and organizations of color in the role of contractors helping white organizations fulfill grant requirements, rather than as grantees receiving resources for their own strategies.

Corporations are similarly prone to using the words "equity" and "justice" to advance their own operations, marketing, or other interests that are only tangentially, if at all, related to racial equity and racial justice.

In June 2020, Facebook issued a press release that announced its commitment "to advancing equity and racial justice by investing in the Black community, elevating Black voices, directly funding racial justice organizations, and building a more diverse and inclusive workforce."[47] The post went on to detail more than $1.1 billion in commitments for racial equity. However, the vast majority was accounted for by a commitment to spend at least $1 billion on Black and diverse suppliers, including facilities, construction, and marketing agencies. The remaining $100 million, less than 10 percent, was to be devoted to Black-owned small businesses, Black creators, and nonprofits serving Black communities — some of it cash grants and some in-kind grants for ad credits.

Many other corporate press releases were similar: sweeping language around racial justice and supporting movements for transformative change, accompanied by incremental actions focused on short-term needs. Investments are often directed toward internal diversity efforts, or toward marketing mortgages and other products to Black and Brown communities, rather than to external community grants.[48]

Combined with slow and vague reporting of grants, this co-optation of language contributed to a narrative that greatly exaggerated the scale of racial justice funding in 2020.

4 Wealthy, white donors impose their own priorities, rather than supporting the priorities of movements.

Many philanthropists start their own racial equity efforts with a belief that they have better solutions than those embraced by activists.

[47] Facebook. *Where We Stand: Actions We're Taking to Advance Racial Justice in Our Company and on Our Platform*. June 21, 2020.

[48] Based on PRE's ongoing direct tracking and analysis of news stories and press releases of corporate giving with the terms "racial equity" or "racial justice" from Google Alerts, Philanthropy News Digest releases, and direct emails from July 2020 through July 2021.

More than a third of the top 20 racial equity recipients were founded by white billionaires or large corporations advancing their own theories of change in mostly Black, Brown, and Indigenous communities, often independent of or in direct opposition to calls from racial justice movement leaders. For example, education funding is driven by a small number of large funders, such as the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation[49] and the Walton Family Foundation.[50] Strengthening curricular standards, increasing teacher accountability, and expanding charter schools are not priorities that have emerged from grassroots organizations led by and for communities of color.[51, 52] They are priorities that have been established by a small group of multibillion-dollar, predominantly white philanthropic institutions, based on their own interpretation of research on education outcomes. This has led to the development of an extensive infrastructure for education advocacy focused on highly specific priorities, often with minimal or no input from community organizations led by and for communities of color.

Meanwhile, other issues that organizers and communities consider essential go underfunded. For example, voting rights are a high priority for communities and movement organizations, yet protecting and expanding the franchise received only 2.5 percent of all racial justice funding in 2015–2018.

5 Funding for racial justice, grassroots organizing, and movement-oriented work remains low.

Most funding to address racial disparities has fallen within a racial equity framework, focusing on increasing opportunities and meeting short-term needs rather than long-term movement building, systems change, or grassroots organizing. Funding for racial justice has consistently been low — only 10 percent to 20 percent of the scale of the larger racial equity set, and barely 1 percent of all funding.

Funding for grassroots organizing in both the set of racial equity grants and the subset of racial justice grants is particularly tiny. Given the importance of grassroots organizing for changing power relations and winning enduring change, these numbers indicate a lack of clarity among philanthropists about the role of organizing:

- → **Funding for grassroots organizing among the racial equity set of grants totaled only $276.1 million, making up about 1.3 percent of total racial equity funding for 2015–2018.**
- → **In total, $252.3 million was devoted to grassroots organizing for the racial justice subset of grants, making up about 9.1 percent of total racial justice funding for 2015–2018.**

[49] Strauss, Valerie. Let's Review How Bill and Melinda Gates Spent Billions of Dollars to Change Public Education. *The Washington Post*, May 5, 2021.

[50] Strauss, Valerie. The "Walmartization" of Public Education. *The Washington Post*, March 16, 2016.

[51] Herold, Benjamin. At Ford Foundation, a Harsh Critique of Urban School Closures. *Chalkbeat Philadelphia*, March 31, 2011.

[52] Ravitz, Diane. The Dark History of School Choice. *The New York Review of Books*, January 14, 2021.

→ **Funding for grassroots organizing for racial equity and racial justice reached $46.9 million in 2020. However, this is lower than the total annual amount of funding for these types of grassroots organizing from 2015 through 2018, in terms of both raw dollars and the percentage of the total.** This preliminary data indicates that much of the large increase in overall funding for racial equity in 2020 did not reach grassroots groups and movement organizations led by and for communities of color.

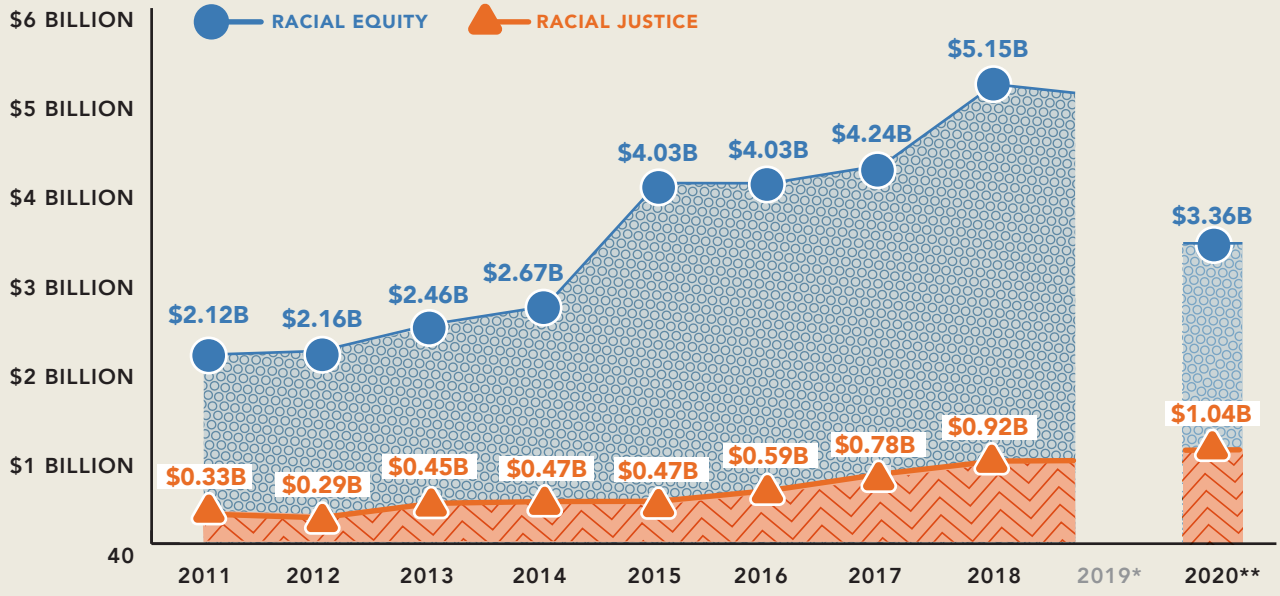
→ **Within specific Black, Latinx, APA, and Native American communities, the funding for grassroots organizing totaled approximately 1 percent of the total funding for that community for 2015–2018.**

In short, foundations too frequently answer the movement's call for deep, structural change with support for shallow, individual-level change.

HOW FUNDING FOR RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE HAS CHANGED SINCE 2011

Prior to 2020, foundation funding for racial equity was incrementally increasing, from $2.4 billion in 2011 to a high of $5.8 billion in 2018. However, grantmaking in general increased dramatically during the same period. As such, the percentage of grant dollars earmarked for

RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE GRANTMAKING, 2011–2018



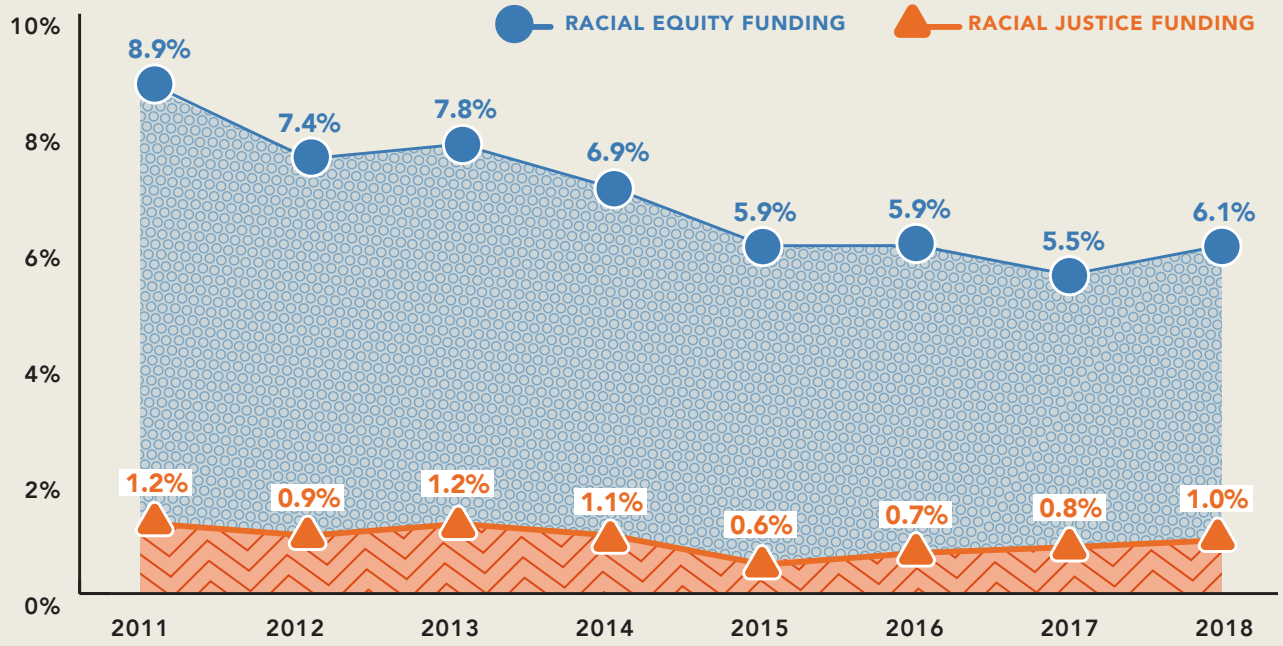
* Candid has not completed its coding of 2019 grantmaking.

** Preliminary analysis from PRE based on what Candid has collected. Candid has not completed its coding of 2020 grantmaking.

Data for 2020 are based on preliminary data submitted early to Candid, which reflect only a portion of the full data set of grants that it collects and codes annually. Final figures will likely be significantly higher. Data for 2020 presented in this report include only confirmed grants awarded in 2020, not pledges.

racial equity work did not grow at the same pace. In fact, that percentage actually dipped 2.7 points between 2011 and 2018. It only once surpassed 8 percent of all grantmaking, peaking at 8.9 percent in 2011 — a time when fewer funders were in Candid's database. (For more details, please see the *Methodology* section, pp. 26–36.)

PERCENTAGE OF ALL GRANTMAKING DEVOTED TO RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE, 2011–2018



Racial justice grantmaking also nearly tripled — from $330.9 million in 2011 to $925.7 million in 2018. However, it consistently accounted for 1 percent or less of all grantmaking, peaking at 1.2 percent in 2011 and 2013.

The number of funders investing in this work also increased during this period. The number of grantmakers investing in racial equity work quintupled, from 3,369 funders in 2011 to 18,272 funders in 2018. Meanwhile, the number of grantmakers investing in racial justice grew more than fivefold, from 470 funders in 2011 to 2,753 funders in 2018.

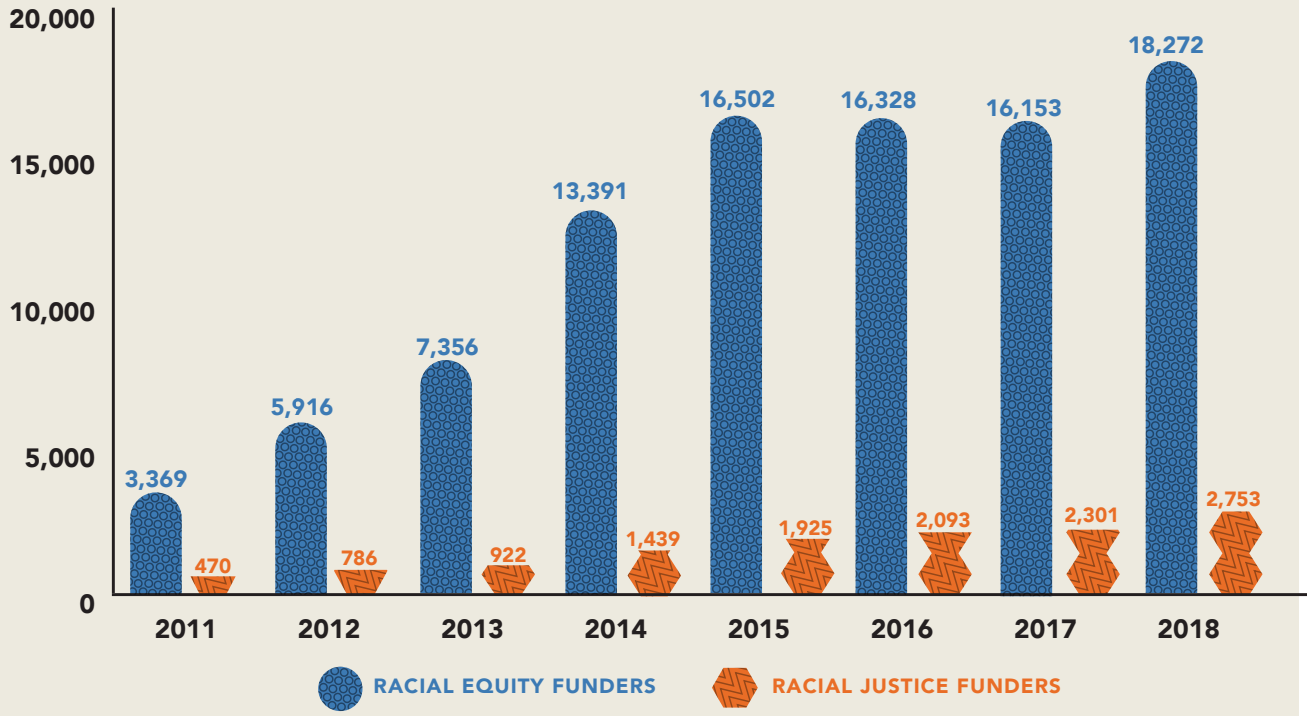
A DEEPER DIVE — WHAT HAPPENED BETWEEN 2015 AND 2018?

Foundation funding for racial equity held steady at about $5 billion for three years, from 2015 through 2017, and then increased to almost $5.8 billion in 2018. From 2015 through 2018, racial justice funding increased steadily, nearly doubling from $474.5 million in 2015 to $925.7 billion by 2018.

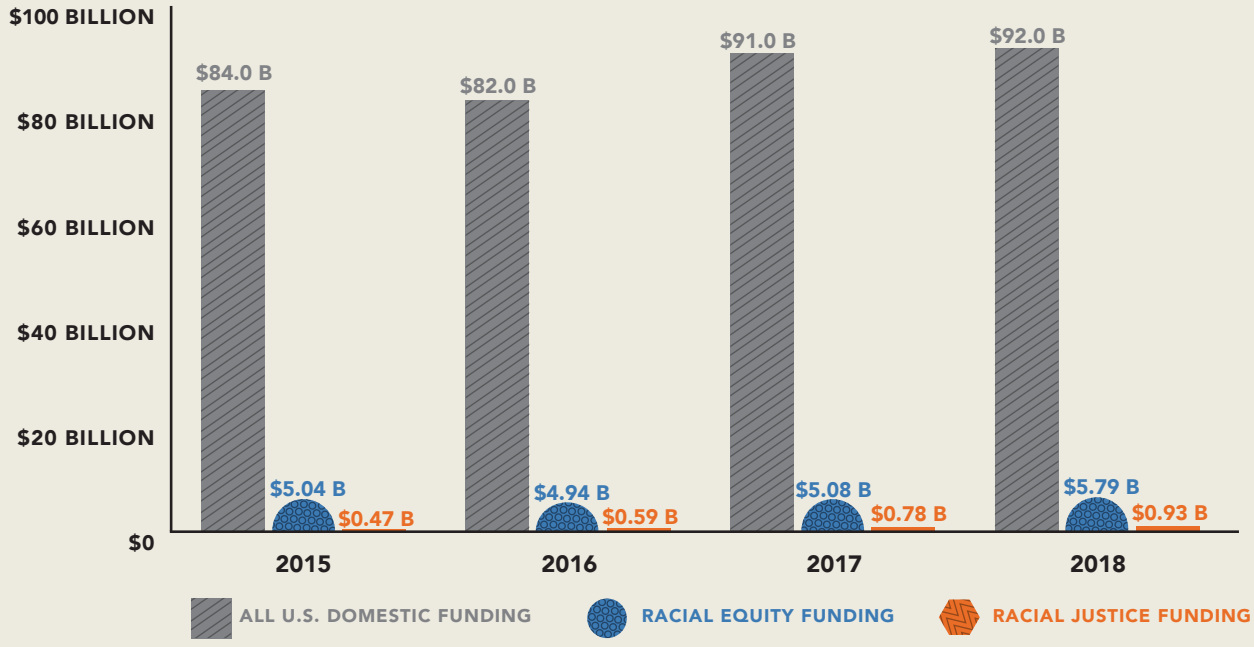
While the funding increased, the share of foundation giving devoted to racial equity and racial justice stayed fairly steady. Even with

Data for 2020 are based on preliminary data submitted early to Candid, which reflect only a portion of the full data set of grants that it collects and codes annually. Final figures will likely be significantly higher. Data for 2020 presented in this report include only confirmed grants awarded in 2020, not pledges.

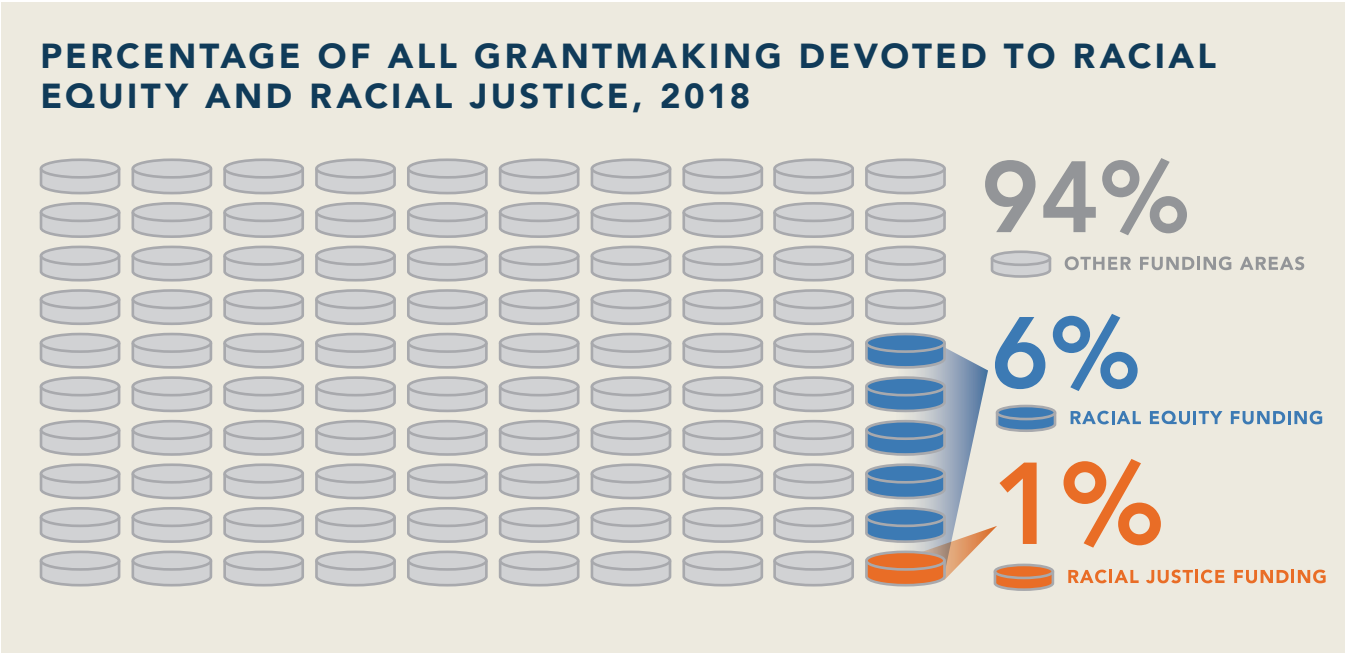
NUMBER OF GRANTMAKERS INVESTING IN RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE, 2011–2018



ALL U.S. DOMESTIC GRANTMAKING VS. RACIAL EQUITY VS. RACIAL JUSTICE GRANTMAKING, 2015–2018



the increases, for every dollar awarded by foundations for work in the United States in 2018, only 6 cents went to racial equity work and only a penny to racial justice work.



WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING IN 2020?

As noted in the special section *Vague Press Releases, Incomplete Data, and Misleading Headlines Distorted the Picture of 2020 Giving* (pp. 31–36), the majority of public pledges for racial equity and justice in 2020 cannot be traced to specific grant recipients — and much of it was not even awarded in 2020.

While Candid identified more than $8.8 billion in pledges for racial equity work in 2020, as of summer 2021 it had identified only about $3.4 billion in actual grants awarded by foundations and corporations — a 30 percent decrease compared to the $5.8 billion of racial equity funding in 2018, though many funders had not yet submitted their 2020 grants data to Candid. It is likely that when reporting on 2020 funding is complete, the total dollars devoted to racial equity will show an increase over prior years, but less than that implied by initial estimated summaries of pledges drawn from press releases and newspaper headlines. This preliminary figure for racial equity funding is about 3.3 percent of Giving USA's estimate of total foundation and corporate giving for 2020.[53]

As in prior years, the amount of confirmed grant dollars devoted to racial justice was smaller: $1.04 billion. This is a 12 percent increase from the $926 million of racial justice funding in 2018, even though a significant portion of 2020 grants have yet to be collected. It is likely that when reporting on funding for 2020 is complete, the total dollars devoted to racial justice will represent an even larger increase over prior years — perhaps as much as double — but less by far than the eightfold increase implied by initial estimated summaries of pledges. This preliminary figure for racial justice funding is slightly less than one percent of Giving USA's estimate of total foundation and corporate giving for 2020.[53]

[53] *Giving USA: The Annual Report on Philanthropy for the Year 2020* (2021). Chicago: Giving USA Foundation.

Data for 2020 are based on preliminary data submitted early to Candid, which reflect only a portion of the full data set of grants that it collects and codes annually. Final figures will likely be significantly higher. Data for 2020 presented in this report include only confirmed grants awarded in 2020, not pledges.

> ***We have seen too many funders — white corporate wealth — who have deployed some of their billions to "ed reform" in the name of civil rights and racial equity, referencing the decades-long racial disparities in educational outcomes as their righteous motivation. It is insufficient to leverage racial disparity data to in turn bankroll what are first and foremost new school management models borrowed from the corporate sector, designed by white elites, even if they are staffed by non-white champions of racial equity seeking refuge from traditional school districts slower to innovate. Merely enrolling Black and Brown students does not qualify as racial equity.***
>
> ***Racial equity — especially in education — requires more than optics, more than the demographics of who you serve, more than who you say your "consumers" are, more than the "demand" of thousands of frustrated parents of color. It requires repairing harm, not doing more harm, and owning any harm you do despite your best efforts. It requires being committed to raising the floor along with the ceiling.***
>
> **— MAISIE CHIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AND CO-FOUNDER, CADRE**

WHAT WAS BEING FUNDED?

Between 2015 and 2018, examining what is being funded under racial equity by subject area generally reflects foundation funding overall. Forty-one percent of the total over four years — $8.6 billion — was devoted to education issues, including scholarships and support for charter schools and universities. Nearly $4.3 billion, or about 20 percent, went to community and economic development. About 18 percent ($3.8 billion) was devoted to human services. One type of funding diverged from foundation funding overall: About 16 percent, or $3.4 billion, was devoted to human rights. In contrast, human rights funding makes up only 5 percent of foundation funding overall.

What's being funded for racial justice diverges much more sharply from overall foundation funding. Most notably, nearly 57 percent of racial justice funding was for human rights work — 10 times that of foundation funding in general devoted to human rights. Community and economic development, public affairs, and public safety all received about 25 percent of racial justice funding — much larger percentages than these categories saw for racial equity funding or funding overall. In contrast, education received a much smaller share of racial justice funding than it received for overall foundation funding or for racial equity funding.

The large amount of racial equity funding devoted to education was largely driven by three types of grant support: 1) scholarships for students of color, such as those provided through the Hispanic Scholarship Fund and the United Negro College Fund; 2) direct services and education for students of color, ranging from afterschool programs to HBCUs; and 3)

policy advocacy and development of curricular standards, teacher accountability, and charter schools, with the goal of improving education outcomes for communities of color. Much of the funding across all three of these areas was not categorized as racial justice, which is why education grants make up a much smaller portion of racial justice funding than of racial equity funding. Although scholarships, HBCUs, and afterschool programs do not generally work toward systemic change, they have all been critical vehicles for creating pathways of opportunity for young people of color.

The third type of grant described above is unique in that it is largely driven by a small number of large funders, such as the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation[54] and the Walton Family Foundation.[55] Strengthening curricular standards, increasing teacher accountability, and expanding charter schools are not priorities that have emerged from grassroots organizations led by and for communities of color.[56,57] They are priorities that have been established by a small group of multibillion-dollar, predominantly white philanthropic institutions, based on their own interpretation of research on education outcomes. This has led to the development of an extensive infrastructure for education advocacy focused on highly specific priorities, often with minimal or no input from community organizations led by and for communities of color.

Even with the relatively large portion of racial equity funding devoted to education, only 8 percent of the total of $108 billion in education funding for 2015–2018 was for racial equity.

Similar dynamics are at work in the different levels of funding for racial justice as compared to funding for racial equity in categories such as community and economic development or human services. A notable portion of racial equity funding was devoted to organizations such as Harlem Children's Zone or Year Up, which provide vital services or work to create economic opportunity for people of color. While these organizations do critical, impactful work, they largely focus on systems reform or mitigating negative impacts of existing structures, and so are not included in racial justice funding.

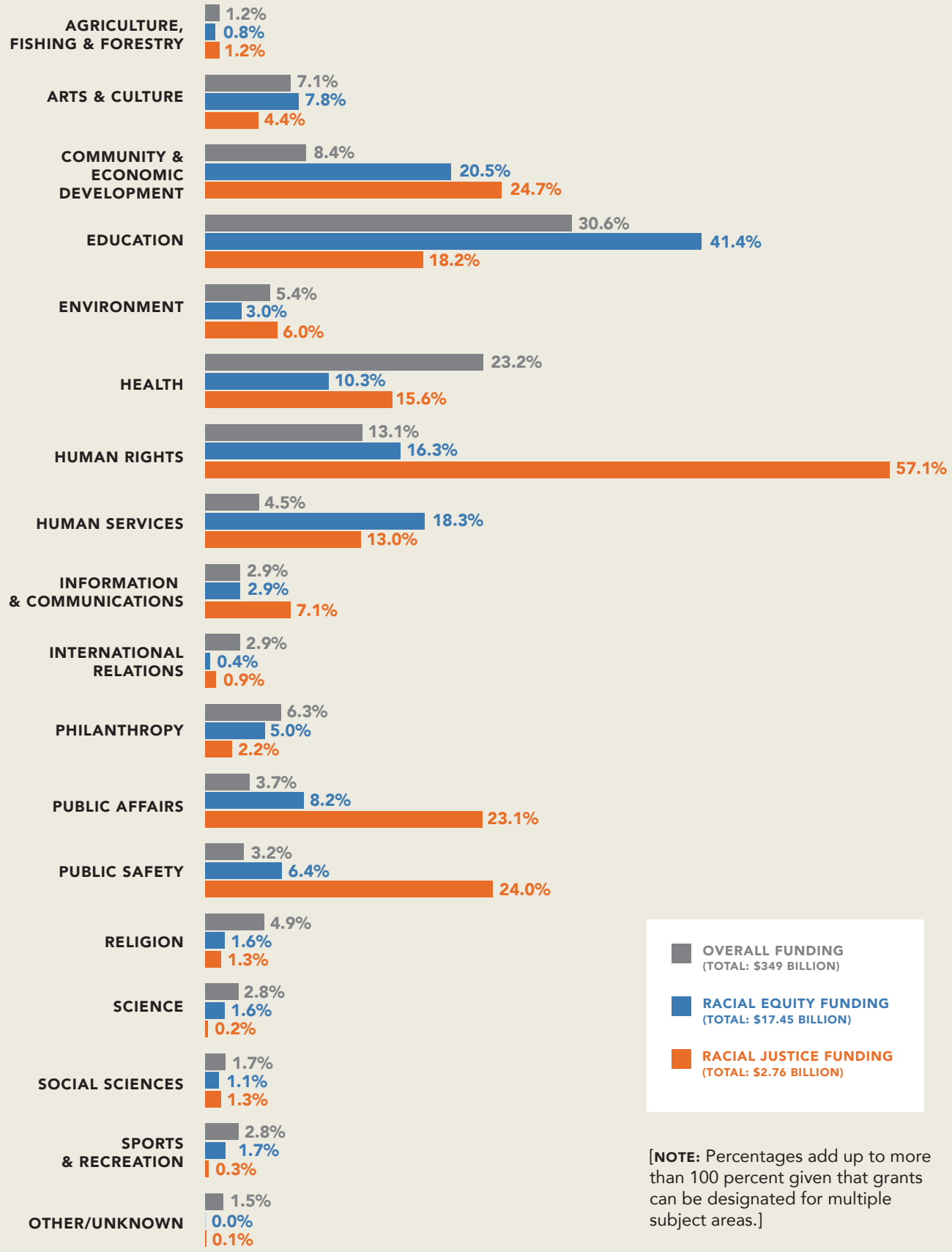
[54] Strauss, Valerie. Let's Review How Bill and Melinda Gates Spent Billions of Dollars to Change Public Education. *The Washington Post*, May 5, 2021.

[55] Strauss, Valerie. The "Walmartization" of Public Education. *The Washington Post*, March 16, 2016.

[56] Herold, Benjamin. At Ford Foundation, a Harsh Critique of Urban School Closures. *Chalkbeat Philadelphia*, March 31, 2011.

[57] Ravitz, Diane. The Dark History of School Choice. *The New York Review of Books*, January 14, 2021.

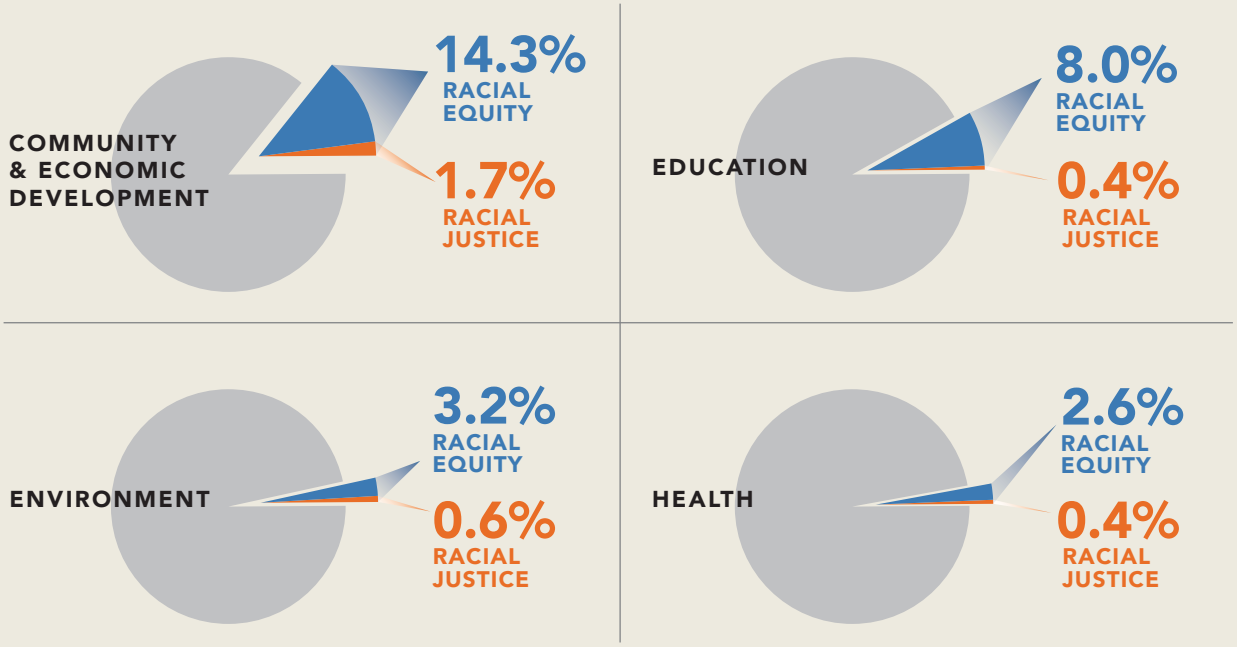
PERCENTAGE OF FUNDING DEVOTED TO SPECIFIC SUBJECT AREAS, 2015–2018



[**NOTE:** Percentages add up to more than 100 percent given that grants can be designated for multiple subject areas.]

Even though education or community and economic development captured the largest shares of racial equity funding, the reverse is not true. Racial equity projects comprised only tiny portions of overall funding in these subject areas. For example, of more than $108 billion in foundation funding devoted to education in 2015–2018, only 8 percent was for racial equity and less than a half percent was for racial justice.

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL FUNDING FOR KEY SUBJECT AREAS DEVOTED TO RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE, 2015–2018



WHAT WAS FUNDED IN 2020?

In 2020, human rights was the most funded subject area in racial equity for the first time, accounting for $1.6 billion or nearly half of total funding for the year.

Funding for community and economic development also surpassed education, capturing nearly $1 billion or 28.5 percent of racial equity funding that year. Much of this increase is attributable to corporations new to racial equity funding awarding grants for small-business development and workforce development in communities of color.

While education received a lower share than in prior years, it continued to capture a large amount of funding — more than $800 million, or nearly 25 percent of racial equity funding for the year.

As in prior years, human rights captured the largest share of racial justice funding — $631 million, or about 61 percent of the total for 2020. This was almost exactly the same as the share of racial justice funding devoted to human rights in 2015–2018.

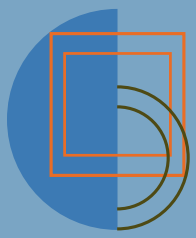
As was the case in 2015–2018, community and economic development was the second

Data for 2020 are based on preliminary data submitted early to Candid, which reflect only a portion of the full data set of grants that it collects and codes annually. Final figures will likely be significantly higher. Data for 2020 presented in this report include only confirmed grants awarded in 2020, not pledges.

most-funded issue area for racial justice funding, capturing almost 25 percent of the year's total.

Racial justice funding for the environment saw a notable increase in 2020, capturing more than $215 million, or about 20 percent of the year's total. About half of racial justice funding for the environment in 2020 is attributable to a handful of large grants awarded by the Bezos Earth Fund for environmental justice.

Data for 2020 are based on preliminary data submitted early to Candid, which reflect only a portion of the full data set of grants that it collects and codes annually. Final figures will likely be significantly higher. Data for 2020 presented in this report include only confirmed grants awarded in 2020, not pledges.



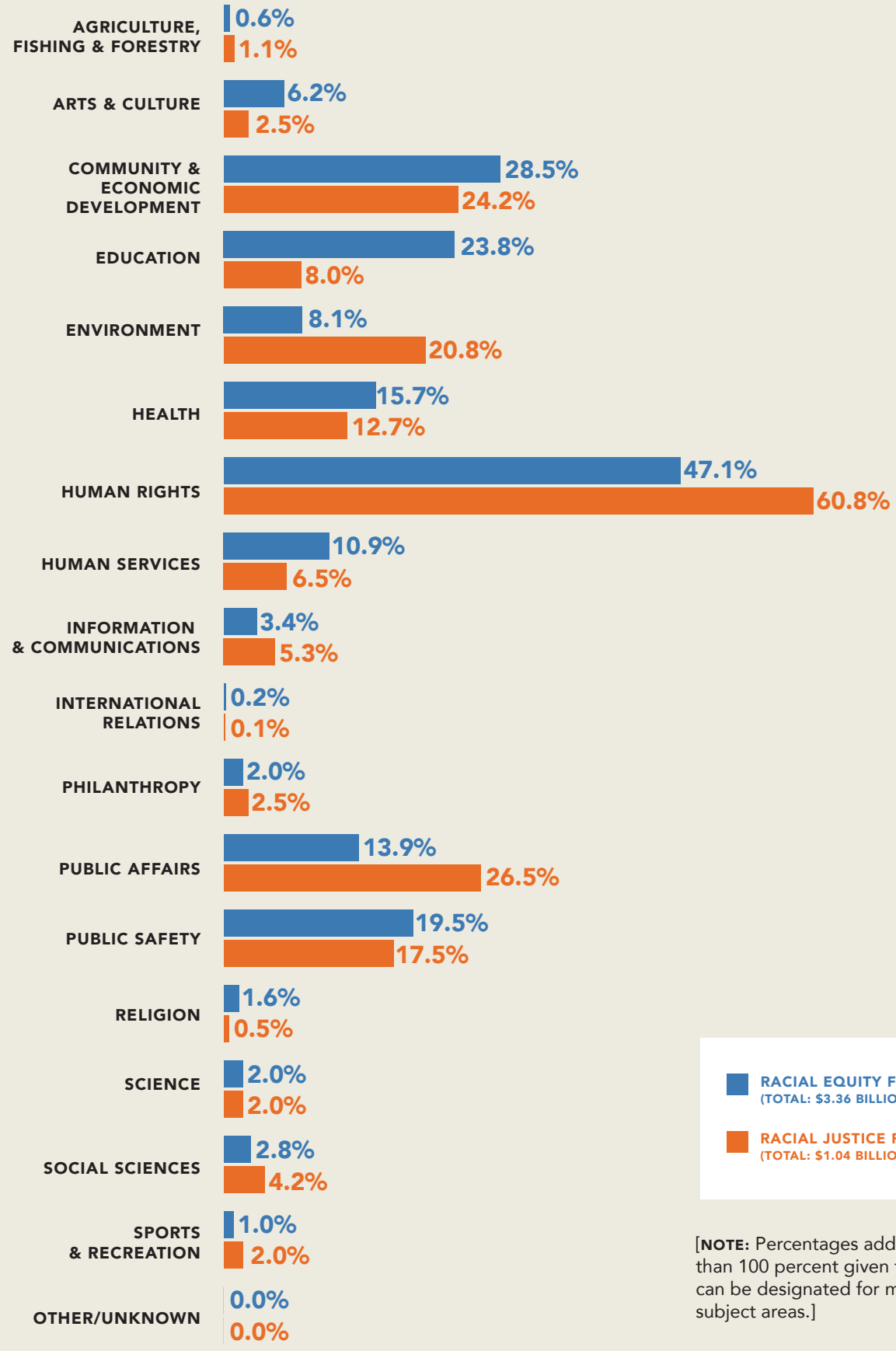
ZOOMING IN ON SPECIFIC SUBJECT AREAS

ALIGNING THE PHILANTHROPY CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM WITH MOVEMENT PRIORITIES

The Philanthropy Classification System (PCS) classifies foundation funding by various categories, including subject area. In the analysis for and development of this report, we sought to assess how foundation funding aligned with the priorities of leading racial justice groups. For some issues, the current data set allowed for the easy analysis of current funding levels. For example, in the area of voting rights — a top priority for many racial justice organizations — the PCS identifies grants for a sub-issue of "human rights" labeled "voter rights." Over 2015–2018, funding for voter rights constituted about 1.8 percent of racial justice funding and less than half of 1 percent of racial equity funding. Considering the high priority of voting rights for racial justice movements, these percentages and dollar amounts are quite small — a mismatch between the priorities of the movement and the philanthropic response.

For other issues, we found that there was not only a mismatch in the substance of funding, but also in the data classification system itself. For example, many racial justice movement organizations have called for the abolition or massive overhaul of prisons, police, and other criminal justice systems that have systematically criminalized Black people, immigrants, and communities of color. The current PCS does not reflect this movement priority in any cohesive or trackable way. Grants related to abolition of policing and prisons are categorized across a range of subjects: "prison alternatives," "rehabilitation of offenders," "community policing," "due process," "police agencies," and "immigration law." None of these terms reflect movement priorities for abolition, and many capture funding for expanding policing as well as for reducing policing — rendering the categories far less useful for meaningful analysis.

PERCENTAGE OF FUNDING DEVOTED TO SPECIFIC SUBJECT AREAS, 2020



[**NOTE:** Percentages add up to more than 100 percent given that grants can be designated for multiple subject areas.]

CASE IN POINT: RACIAL JUSTICE AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL SECTOR

In 1991, the National People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit gathered organizers, scholars, and funders from every state in the country and from Canada, Mexico, and Central and South America. The summit reflected growing racial justice leadership, formations, and collaborative infrastructure, such as the Indigenous Environmental Network (formed just earlier that year); the Southwest Organizing Project; and Black organizations, such as the Gulf Coast Tenants Organization, that had been fighting to clean up poisoned communities throughout the southern U.S. Together, they called for new levels of investment from both philanthropy and the Group of 10 conservation and environmental organizations. They created a new language and analysis of "environmental racism" and "environmental justice." The organizations involved in the first summit, and many more that emerged in later years, have racked up major policy victories including green development, stopping expansion of the fossil fuel industry, and setting new pollution standards.

Despite this track record among groups of color, investments in predominantly white organizations with less connection to communities outpace grants to Black or people of color-led groups. Yet, in the environment and other issues, a pattern continues: A large portion of new investment is going to predominantly white organizations to diversify their own ranks in the name of racial equity. While change in these mainstream organizations is important, the assumption that diversifying them would build power for communities of color may be faulty.

Since 1990, internal change among the Group of 10/Big Green has been uneven at best. Research from Northwestern University showed that half of philanthropic funding for climate issues goes to just 20 national organizations.[58] The Solutions Project conducted further analysis, and found that 90 percent of those organizations are led by white people, and 80 percent by men.[59] Investments in organizations of color have helped them to expand the constituency fighting climate change, win significant victories even in conservative states, and successfully campaign for the appointment of the first Native American and first woman as Secretary of the Interior.

[58] DeBacker, Lois R., and Patterson, Jacqueline. Environmental Funders: The Problem Isn't Just Diversity, It's Access to Money. *Inside Philanthropy*, April 6, 2021.

[59] Ibid.

WHO WAS FUNDED FOR RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE WORK?

For both racial equity funding and racial justice funding, a notable portion of grant dollars is devoted to the top 20 grant recipients:

- → **The top 20 racial equity grantees received 12 percent of all racial equity funding.**
- → **The top 20 racial justice subset of grantees received 22 percent of all racial justice funding,**

Not surprisingly, given the much larger amount of funding for racial equity, the amounts awarded for the top set of racial equity recipients were notably larger than the amounts awarded for top racial justice recipients. Only the top two recipients of the subset of racial justice funding received enough dollars to also be included in the top 20 racial equity set.

This list includes a number of regranting intermediaries and fiscal sponsors. That money is redistributed to organizations, but assessing the size of those grants is beyond the scope of this investigation. It's safe to assume that much of those grants are distributed to smaller organizations working on racial justice.

The different compositions of racial equity funding and racial justice funding are also evident in the lists of top grant recipients. The top racial equity recipients include economic development programs, charter schools, scholarship funds, youth development programs, and one HBCU. Several of these organizations have annual revenues in the hundreds of millions of dollars. In contrast, the top grant recipients of racial justice funding are primarily national and local grassroots organizing groups, and intermediaries that fund grassroots organizing. Outside of regranting organizations, the top racial justice grant recipients generally had smaller budgets than their racial equity counterparts. For example, UnidosUS had revenue of about $40 million and Make the Road New York had annual revenue of $30 million or less in recent years; the National Domestic Workers Alliance had annual revenue of only $12 million in recent years.

One of the most troubling and telling facts is that more than a third of the top 20 racial equity recipients were founded by white billionaires or large corporations advancing their own theories of change in mostly Black and Brown communities, often independent of or in direct opposition to calls from racial justice movement leaders. These seven top recipient organizations founded by wealthy donors and corporations collectively captured about 5 percent of racial equity funding from 2015 through 2018. In contrast, only two of the top 20 organizations (UnidosUS and Equal Justice Initiative) were initially founded by and for people of color — and combined, they received only 0.7 percent of the total.

Most of these organizations focus on education, and many focus specifically on education reform or support for charter schools. Racial equity and justice organizations that work on education have largely rejected charter schools, which are often tied to school closures and the defunding of widely accessible public schools. For example, the NewSchools Venture Fund (also known as New Schools Fund)

was founded in 1998 by social entrepreneur Kim Smith and venture capitalists John Doerr and Brook Byers, whose goals include support for new charter schools. Charter school experiments have proven to be an abject failure[60,61] that turn public schools into corporate profit machines, yet large portions of school districts have embraced charters, especially after natural and other disasters. New Orleans went all charter after Hurricane Katrina, and now posts D or F scores for nearly half of the schools. Two-thirds of Ohio's charter schools received D or F grades in 2019, and the biggest charter school corporation in the state declared bankruptcy after taking in $1 billion in public dollars with falsified enrollment figures.[62] There is no reason that efforts to expand charter schools should be at the top of a racial equity or racial justice grantee list.

These data points indicate the degree of inequitable access that persists in philanthropy. Funders are more likely to fund organizations founded by white leaders, other funders and donors, and people and institutions of considerable resources — even when the substance of the work is focused on racial equity and supporting under-resourced communities of color.

Outside of the organizations founded by wealthy investors and groups founded by and for communities of color, other top recipients have more mixed origins.

Even among the seven organizations founded by wealthy white donors in recent decades, some have developed strong leadership within communities of color, while others continue to be primarily led by white people and driven by wealthy investors and corporate funders. Regardless, the trend toward funding racial equity groups founded by white business leaders with little expertise in the issues indicates that people of color are still often not being placed at the center of funding decisions around racial equity. Moreover, the outsized funding for priorities such as charter schools and curriculum reform has derailed and distorted the priorities articulated by leaders of movements for racial justice and racial equity. Billions of dollars continue to flow to charter schools and education reform in the name of racial equity despite being driven almost entirely by wealthy white donors and their institutions.

[60] Ravitch, Diane. The New York Times Is Spreading Charter School Lies. *Jacobin*, November 30, 2019.

[61] Herold, Benjamin. At Ford Foundation, a Harsh Critique of Urban School Closures. *Chalkbeat Philadelphia*, March 31, 2011.

[62] Pogue, James. The GOP's Biggest Charter School Experiment Just Imploded. *Mother Jones*, March/April 2018.

TOP 20 GRANTEES **RACIAL EQUITY** FUNDING, 2015–2018

1	Hispanic Scholarship Fund	$452,860,319
2	Charter School Growth Fund	$289,785,904
3	Harlem Children's Zone	$230,730,592
4	New Schools Fund	$192,920,711
5	National Museum of African American History & Culture	$168,180,734
6	Year Up	$134,879,604
7	Spelman College	$107,585,543
8	The KIPP Foundation	$100,275,666
9	Success Academy Charter Schools	$95,002,618
10	National Academy of Sciences	$85,476,667
11	United Negro College Fund	$83,878,437
12	Making Waves Foundation	$81,623,750
13	Center for Popular Democracy	$78,712,554
14	UnidosUS	$75,835,657
15	Indian Community School Inc.	$63,664,107
16	Southern Poverty Law Center	$61,971,902
17	Kipp Bay Area Schools	$61,658,770
18	Vera Institute of Justice	$60,411,671
19	Equal Justice Initiative	$59,529,545
20	Immigrant Legal Resource Center	$59,135,638

Since racial justice grants are a subset of racial equity grants, some grant recipients appear on both lists. Some grant recipients, such as Center for Popular Democracy or UnidosUS, appear on both lists with different amounts; that's because some grants to these organizations were coded as racial justice, but others were not, depending on the grant description.

TOP 20 GRANTEES **RACIAL JUSTICE** FUNDING, 2015–2018

1	Vera Institute of Justice	$60,411,671
2	Equal Justice Initiative	$59,529,545
3	PolicyLink	$48,387,485
4	Community Change	$47,157,887
5	NEO Philanthropy	$42,783,791
6	Groundswell Fund	$39,017,367
7	Borealis Philanthropy	$38,807,671
8	Asian Americans Advancing Justice — Los Angeles	$31,103,128
9	Tides Center	$29,591,331
10	Make the Road New York	$24,601,022
11	National Domestic Workers Alliance	$23,784,495
12	People's Action Institute	$20,690,795
13	UnidosUS	$20,015,914
14	National Immigration Law Center	$19,329,841
15	Partnership for Working Families	$19,276,400
16	Leadership Conference Education Fund	$18,944,864
17	Liberty Hill Foundation	$18,873,663
18	Democracy Collaborative Foundation	$18,097,908
19	Center for Popular Democracy	$17,425,061
20	Advocates for Youth	$17,351,540

GROUNDED GIVING — THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RIGHT KIND OF INTERMEDIARY

Grantmaking for racial equity and racial justice must make building power within communities of color to advance systemic change its primary goal, with the vast amount of funding in the service of this goal, as defined by those most impacted. It must not take at face value the applications that use the words but don't advance the work. Grantmaking for racial equity and racial justice is most successful when grounded in the places, policy changes, and people from the field, not from philanthropy. Intermediaries — public charities that award grants to other nonprofits — play a key role in getting money to smaller and emerging organizations. They are often started to meet the needs of communities of color, women, regions, or communities with less support, allowing donors with shared interests to actively center movement needs. The most helpful intermediaries are typically in closer relationship and alignment with the field and more willing to make investments that others may view as risky.

Both long-term general support funding for existing organizations and robust startup funding for emerging groups are necessary to bolster Black, Indigenous, Latinx, Arab, and Asian American and Pacific Islander communities — and their organizations — to be self-determining. A commitment to racial justice requires funders to ask, listen, and align with the direction and strategy of movements for lasting change. Those movements will always include organizing and protest that shift private, public, and corporate grantmaking.

The surge of funding to Black organizations in particular that occurred in 2020 followed decades of disinvestment interrupted by important but small, temporary bumps after movement moments or severe attacks. The impact of that disinvestment endures. Funders can ameliorate it by adopting more rigorous standards and goals that will in turn increase sustainable support for transformative organizations and the solutions they create.

Below are six examples of grounded giving to build power for racial justice.

1. SOUTHERN POWER FUND

As the nation was reeling from the coronavirus pandemic and the murder of George Floyd, four organizations, each with decades in the struggle for Black liberation (Alternate Roots, Highlander Research and Education Center, Project South, and Southerners on New Ground) launched the Southern Power Fund, challenging donors to raise $10 million in 90 days. The fund raised more than $14 million and enlisted nonprofits closest to the problems to figure out how to disperse the money. Most of the roughly 250 grants distributed to grassroots groups in the South were for $40,000, and those modest sums made a big difference. "It gets the money out of the

> ***In a reality where only 4 percent of philanthropic dollars come to the largest geographic region of the United States, a region where the largest concentration of Black people live — the U.S. South, the giving bump that some felt in 2020 is only beginning to fill the equity deficit that has been centuries in the making. If we see giving as an opportunity to build the capacity of southern organizations that are the tip of the spear and cream of the crop, saving any semblance of democracy in this country again and again, it is of critical importance to give like we want these communities and organizations to win.***
>
> **— ASH-LEE WOODARD HENDERSON, CO-EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, HIGHLANDER RESEARCH AND EDUCATION CENTER**

hands of institutional philanthropy and into the hands of people who actually know what is happening and are doing the work," says Ash-Lee Henderson, co-executive director of Highlander.[63]

2. ELECTORAL JUSTICE VOTER FUND

The Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation and the Movement for Black Lives (M4BL) received an influx of donations and philanthropic grants in 2020. Both regranted to chapters and issued an open call for applicants. The foundation gave more than $21 million to affiliated chapters and other Black-led community organizations, and throughout the pandemic made cash relief grants of $1,000 to individuals. The M4BL has launched the Electoral Justice Voter Fund, which will make $75,000 grants to 12 Black-led organizations that are fighting to expand democracy.

3. NATIONAL URBAN INDIAN FAMILY COALITION

In 2003, the executive directors of 12 urban Indian centers founded the National Urban Indian Family Coalition (NUIFC) so that they could learn and advocate together for the good of their communities. The coalition now includes over 40 centers across 22 states. While these are all broad social service organizations, they regularly engage in civic education and advocacy on issues of poverty, housing, and health — both accessing existing systems and fighting for transformation. In 2017, the NUIFC began regranting for civic engagement; its giving rose dramatically the following year with a large investment from the Wallace H. Coulter Foundation, followed by several others. The coalition has regranted about $3 million since 2018.

4. THE AAPI CIVIC ENGAGEMENT FUND

The AAPI Civic Engagement Fund started in 2013 to "foster a culture of civic participation within AAPI communities by supporting the growth of AAPI groups as organizational movement and power building leaders that achieve specific policy, systems, and transformational change."[64] Although Asian Americans are politically active and often progressive, they receive very little dedicated funding. As intermediaries were emerging in other communities, EunSook Lee, the former executive director of the progressive National Korean American Service & Education Consortium, collected pledges from the Carnegie Corporation

[63] Palmer, Stacy, and Parks, Dan. Billions to Fight Poverty; Funds for Racial Justice; Giving Is Strong but Uneven. *Philanthropy This Week*, June 26, 2021.

[64] Asian American and Pacific Islander Civic Engagement Fund. *Mission*. n.d.

PHOTO: SAINTATEE SUÁREZ

of New York, Coulter Foundation, Ford Foundation, and Evelyn and Walter Haas Jr. Fund to start the AAPI Civic Engagement Fund, which has granted just under $19 million across the country to date. Asian Americans Advancing Justice–Atlanta, a fund grantee, helped organize the unprecedented turnout of Asian American voters in Georgia — more than 80 percent of those eligible — for the primary and general elections in 2020 and the state's pivotal Senate runoffs in January 2021.[65]

5. THE PILLARS FUND

Since 2010, the Pillars Fund has invested more than $6 million to support American Muslim institutions, leaders, and storytellers whose work advances equity and inclusion. The fund raises money largely from individual donors, and has an open application process. In addition to local civic engagement and community organizing, it also funds artists and content creators, and hosts community events for education and discussion.

6. THE CONTIGO FUND

The Contigo Fund was founded in 2016 by the Arcus Foundation and several other national progressive foundations in response to the Pulse massacre that year, which took the lives of 49 people, most of them Latinx and part of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) community. Contigo established a community advisory board made up of leaders from the groups most affected by the massacre, including immigrants, LGBTQ people, people of color, and survivors of the shooting. Using a participatory model and a strong intersectional racial justice analysis, this diverse group drives all of Contigo's grantmaking. Since its founding, Contigo has given out more than $2.2 million in grants, helping seed and grow grassroots groups led by and for LGBTQ people and people of color, strengthen the leadership of LGBTQ people of color, and win concrete policy victories — including making Orlando, Florida, the first sanctuary city in the U.S. South.

[65] Kass, Arielle. Asian American Voting Grows in Georgia, and with It, Political Power. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, July 2, 2021.

PHOTO: NEW VIRGINIA MAJORITY

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT WHO WAS FUNDED IN 2020?

For both racial equity funding and racial justice funding, the top 20 grant recipients in 2020 received even larger portions of total funding than in prior years. About 28 percent of all racial equity funding was devoted to the top 20 grant recipients, and about 44 percent of all racial justice funding was devoted to the top 20 grant recipients.

There were notable differences in the 2020 top grantee lists compared to prior years.

For the first time, both lists included several intermediaries focused on environmental justice. The top racial equity grantees also included several philanthropic funds established by financial institutions to support community programs. This reflects a trend in 2020 of banks establishing or contributing to affiliated philanthropic institutions for the purpose of supporting racial equity programs.

Data for 2020 are based on preliminary data submitted early to Candid, which reflect only a portion of the full data set of grants that it collects and codes annually. Final figures will likely be significantly higher. Data for 2020 presented in this report include only confirmed grants awarded in 2020, not pledges.

TOP 21 GRANTEES **RACIAL EQUITY** FUNDING, 2020

1	National Urban League	$137,089,641
2	Opportunity Finance Network	$101,000,000
3	Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors	$59,935,000
4	Local Initiatives Support Corporation	$58,352,077
5	Student Freedom Initiative Inc.	$50,000,000
6	Equal Justice Initiative	$46,168,570
7	Climate and Clean Energy Equity Fund	$44,975,000
8	The Solutions Project	$44,090,000
9	Hive Fund for Climate and Gender Justice	$43,000,000
10	Howard University	$42,360,428
11	Farmworker Housing Development Corporation	$40,355,498
12	LeMoyne-Owen College	$40,000,000
12	CornerSquare Community Capital	$40,000,000
14	Meharry Medical College	$35,571,000
15	Tides Center	$33,322,763
16	Community Change	$33,261,750
17	Ally Charitable Foundation	$30,000,000
18	The Morehouse School of Medicine Inc.	$27,925,000
19	National Bankers Association	$25,000,000
19	Citi Foundation	$25,000,000
19	Clear Vision Impact Fund LLC	$25,000,000

Since racial justice grants are a subset of racial equity grants, some grant recipients appear on both lists. Data for 2020 are based on preliminary data submitted early to Candid, which reflect only a portion of the full data set of grants that it collects and codes annually. Final figures will likely be significantly higher. Data for 2020 presented in this report include only confirmed grants awarded in 2020, not pledges.

TOP 20 GRANTEES **RACIAL JUSTICE** FUNDING, 2020

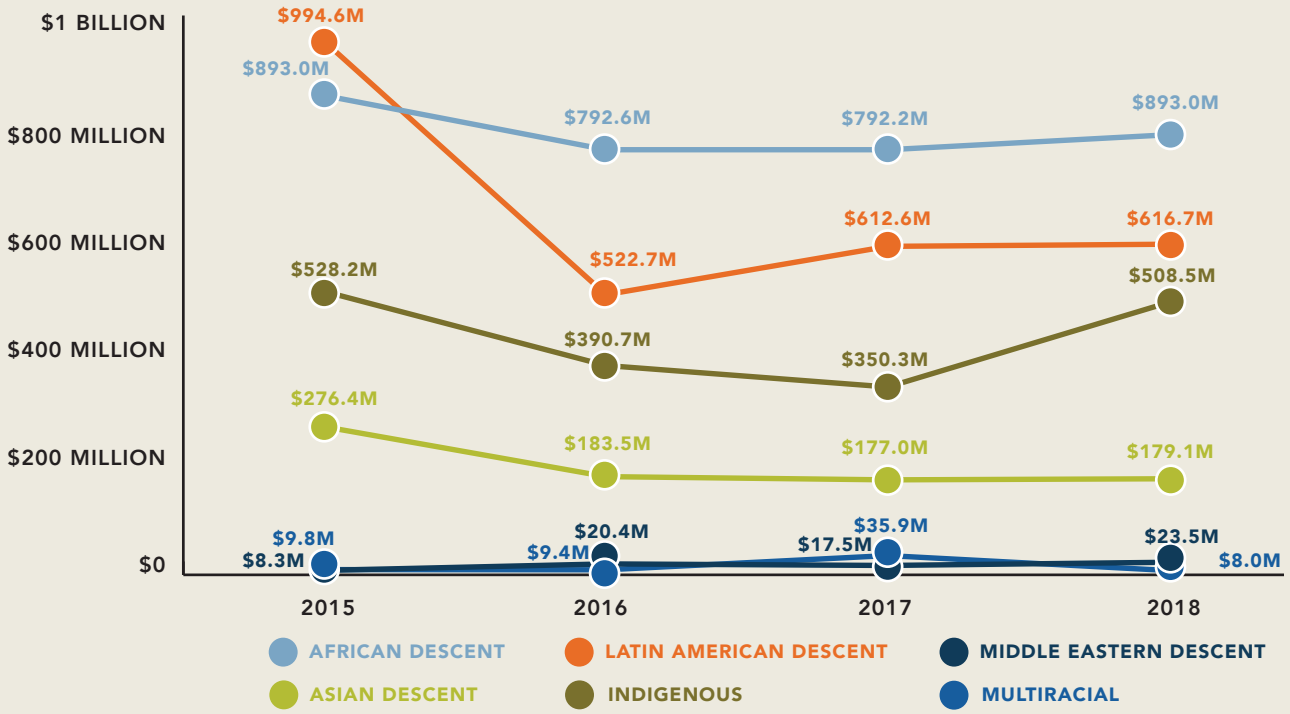
1	Equal Justice Initiative	$46,168,570
2	Climate and Clean Energy Equity Fund	$44,975,000
3	The Solutions Project	$44,090,000
4	Hive Fund for Climate and Gender Justice	$43,000,000
5	Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors	$39,970,000
6	Community Change	$33,261,750
7	Borealis Philanthropy	$21,566,000
8	Solidaire Network Inc.	$20,540,000
9	Windward Fund	$19,600,000
10	NEO Philanthropy	$18,049,500
11	Duke University	$16,000,000
12	PolicyLink	$15,355,240
13	Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey	$15,000,000
14	Tides Center	$14,655,843
15	Leadership Conference Education Fund	$11,800,000
16	Movement Strategy Center	$11,285,949
17	People's Action Institute	$11,225,500
18	National Immigration Law Center	$10,995,000
19	National Native American Boarding School Healing Coalition	$10,000,000
20	Boston University Center for Antiracist Research	$10,000,000

HOW DOES FUNDING BREAK DOWN BY RACIAL AND ETHNIC GROUP?

For both racial equity and racial justice funding from 2015 through 2018, the largest portion of dollars was categorized as being devoted to unspecified populations, without a focus on a specific racial or ethnic group.

For racial equity funding, about $12.1 billion, or about 60 percent of the $20.2 billion total awarded in 2015–2018, was devoted to unspecified populations. Annual funding for specific communities of color, such as people of African descent, people of Latin American descent, Indigenous peoples, and people of Asian descent, fluctuated between $175 million and $994 million, but none of these groups

RACIAL EQUITY FUNDING BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP, 2015–2018*



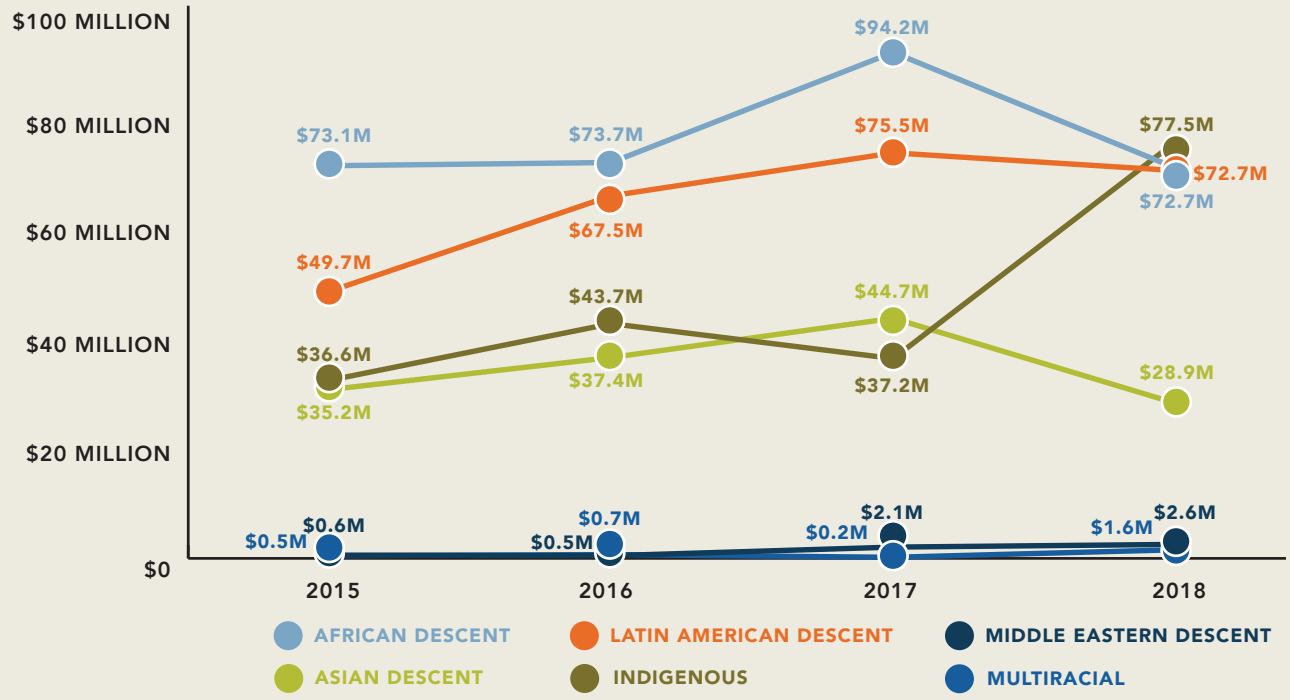
YEAR	AFRICAN DESCENT	ASIAN DESCENT	INDIGENOUS PEOPLES	LATIN AMERICAN DESCENT	MIDDLE EASTERN DESCENT	MULTIRACIAL
2015	$893.0 Million	$276.4 Million	$528.2 Million	$994.6 Million	$8.3 Million	$9.8 Million
2016	$792.6 Million	$183.5 Million	$390.7 Million	$522.7 Million	$20.4 Million	$9.4 Million
2017	$792.2 Million	$177.0 Million	$350.3 Million	$612.6 Million	$17.5 Million	$35.9 Million
2018	$820.0 Million	$179.1 Million	$508.5 Million	$616.7 Million	$23.5 Million	$8.0 Million

*NOTE: Language for each racial/ethnic group is kept in the precise language Candid uses to track funding for specific populations for accuracy, rather than PRE's preferred terminology.

surpassed the $1 billion mark over the four-year period. Funding for people of Middle Eastern descent and for multiracial people fluctuated at lower levels, never exceeding $36 million.

In the case of racial justice, about $1.8 billion, or approximately two-thirds of the $2.8 billion awarded in 2015–2018, was for unspecified populations. Racial justice funding for specific communities of color fluctuated over the four-year period, with no specific group ever receiving more than $100 million in annual funding.

RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING BY RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP, 2015–2018*



YEAR	AFRICAN DESCENT	ASIAN DESCENT	INDIGENOUS PEOPLES	LATIN AMERICAN DESCENT	MIDDLE EASTERN DESCENT	MULTIRACIAL
2015	$73.1 Million	$35.2 Million	$36.6 Million	$49.7 Million	$0.6 Million	$0.5 Million
2016	$73.7 Million	$37.4 Million	$43.7 Million	$67.5 Million	$0.5 Million	$0.7 Million
2017	$94.2 Million	$44.7 Million	$37.2 Million	$75.5 Million	$2.1 Million	$0.2 Million
2018	$72.7 Million	$28.9 Million	$77.5 Million	$72.2 Million	$2.6 Million	$1.6 Million

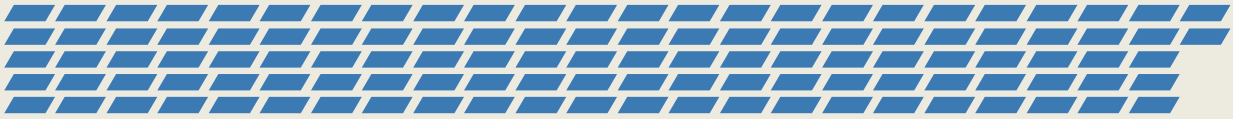
*NOTE: Language for each racial/ethnic group is kept in the precise language Candid uses to track funding for specific populations for accuracy, rather than PRE's preferred terminology.

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT 2020?

In 2020, racial equity funding specifically focused on Black communities reached almost $1.2 billion, nearly 50 percent more than the approximately $800 million reported annually in 2015–2018.

Racial justice funding specifically focused on Black communities reached $164 million in 2020, about 1.8 times greater than the $91 million annual average for 2015–2018.

FUNDING FOR BLACK COMMUNITIES, 2020



$1.17B RACIAL EQUITY FUNDING FOR BLACK COMMUNITIES, 2020

$0.16B RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING FOR BLACK COMMUNITIES, 2020

HOW MUCH OF THE FUNDING IS GOING TO GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING?

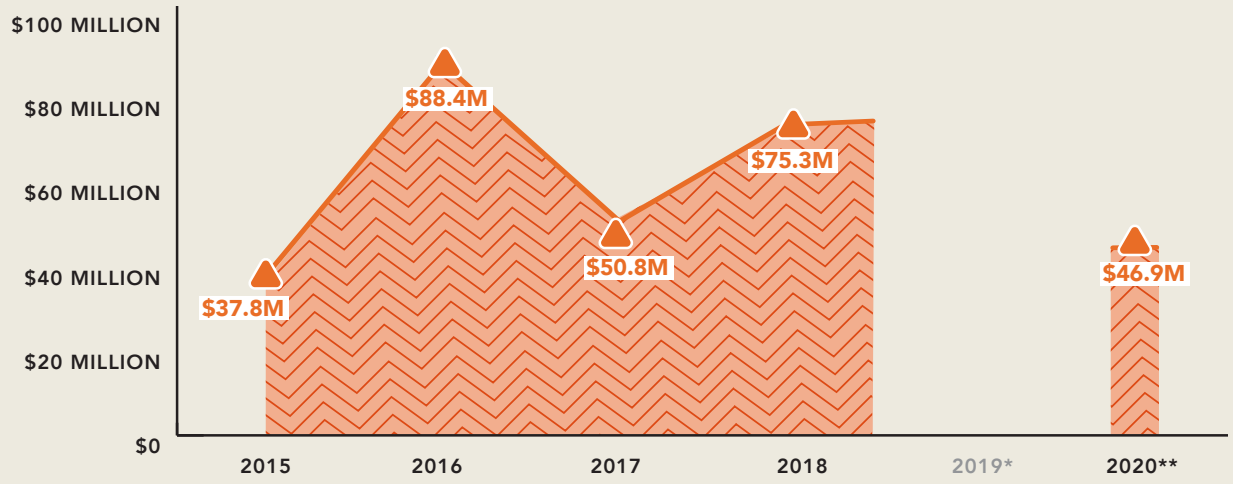
Funding for grassroots organizing for racial equity and racial justice ranged between $37.8 million and $88.4 million over the course of 2015-2018, with a notable spike in 2016. (Note that all racial equity grants that were coded as the strategy of grassroots organizing were automatically coded as racial justice; as a result, the dollar amounts of funding for grassroots organizing for racial equity and racial justice are the same year to year.)

In total, $252.3 million was devoted to grassroots organizing for racial equity and justice over the course of the four-year period. This constitutes 9.1 percent of racial justice funding and 1.4 percent of the larger racial equity funding grants set.

Within the limitations of the Philanthropy Classification System (see sidebar: *Aligning the Philanthropy Classification System with Movement Priorities*, p. 50), funding for grassroots organizing is one of the more useful tools available for assessing the amount of funding flowing to movement organizations led by and for communities of color. With only 1.4 percent of racial equity funding and 9.1 percent of racial justice funding devoted to grassroots organizing, it is clear that only a small fraction of grant dollars are reaching movement-oriented work led by and for communities most affected by racism and racial injustice.

Data for 2020 are based on preliminary data submitted early to Candid, which reflect only a portion of the full data set of grants that it collects and codes annually. Final figures will likely be significantly higher. Data for 2020 presented in this report include only confirmed grants awarded in 2020, not pledges.

FUNDING FOR GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING FOR RACIAL JUSTICE, 2015–2018 AND 2020



* Candid has not completed its coding of 2019 grantmaking.

** Preliminary analysis from PRE based on what Candid has collected. Candid has not completed its coding of 2020 grantmaking.

PERCENTAGE OF RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING DEVOTED TO GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING, 2015–2018

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT FUNDING FOR RACIAL JUSTICE GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING IN VARIOUS COMMUNITIES OF COLOR?

It is also worth noting that funding for racial justice grassroots organizing as a portion of all funding for various communities of color is low. As the charts and tables indicate:

→ **Within specific Black, Latinx, Asian, and Native American communities, the funding for racial justice grassroots organizing comprised approximately 1 percent of the total funding for that community for 2015–2018.**

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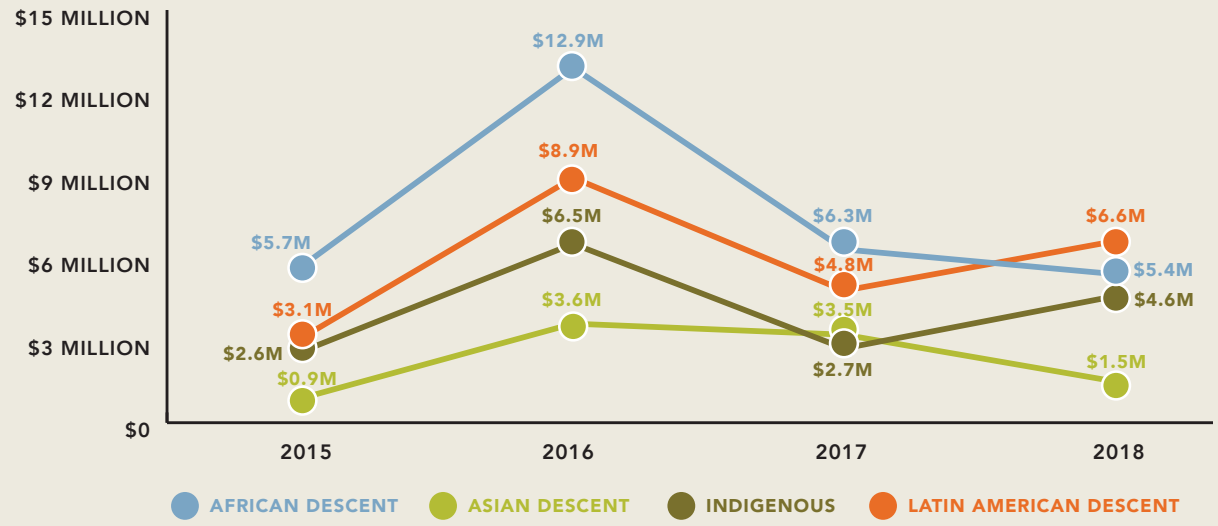
FUNDING FOR GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING FOR RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE BY GROUP, 2015–2018*



PERCENTAGE OF FUNDING FOR SPECIFIC RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUPS DEVOTED TO GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING, 2015–2018

YEAR	AFRICAN DESCENT	ASIAN DESCENT	INDIGENOUS PEOPLES	LATIN AMERICAN DESCENT
2015	0.7%	0.4%	0.5%	0.3%
2016	1.9%	2.3%	1.5%	1.9%
2017	0.9%	1.9%	0.6%	0.9%
2018	0.6%	0.7%	0.8%	1.1%

*NOTE: Language for each racial/ethnic group is kept in the precise language Candid uses to track funding for specific populations for accuracy, rather than PRE's preferred terminology.

- → Funding for racial justice grassroots organizing in Black, Latinx, and Native American communities never exceeded 2 percent of the total funding for that community in a given year between 2015 and 2018.
- → Funding for racial justice grassroots organizing in Asian communities peaked at 2.3 percent in 2016. However, the total amount awarded for racial justice grassroots organizing for Asian communities in 2016 ($3.2 million) was less than what was awarded for racial justice grassroots organizing in Black, Latinx, or Native American communities.
- → In general, the total funding for racial justice grassroots organizing was lowest for Asian communities, except in 2017 when funding for racial justice grassroots organizing in Native American communities was lower.

Data for 2020 are based on preliminary data submitted early to Candid, which reflect only a portion of the full data set of grants that it collects and codes annually. Final figures will likely be significantly higher. Data for 2020 presented in this report include only confirmed grants awarded in 2020, not pledges.

- → **Overall, despite an uptick in funding in 2016, there is no clear trend in funding for racial justice grassroots organizing for Black, Latinx, Asian, and Native American communities; it appeared to fluctuate erratically, as opposed to consistently growing.**
- → **After Ferguson in 2014, in spite of increased attention to the role and impact of Black organizers and the growing Black Lives Matter movement, funding for racial justice organizing in Black communities was lower in 2018 than it was in 2015 (both in terms of total dollar amount and percentage of all funding for Black communities).**

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT FUNDING FOR GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING IN 2020?

Based on the data available, funding for grassroots organizing for racial equity and racial justice reached more than $46.9 million in 2020. This is lower than the total annual amount of funding for these types of grassroots organizing from 2015 through 2018, in raw dollars and the percentage of the total. These preliminary data indicate that much of the large increase in overall funding for racial equity in 2020 did not reach grassroots groups and movement organizations led by and for communities of color.

PERCENTAGE OF RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING DEVOTED TO GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING, 2020

Data for 2020 are based on preliminary data submitted early to Candid, which reflect only a portion of the full data set of grants that it collects and codes annually. Final figures will likely be significantly higher. Data for 2020 presented in this report include only confirmed grants awarded in 2020, not pledges.

WHO ARE THE FUNDERS SUPPORTING RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE?

Between 2015 and 2018, the top 10 funders of racial equity work (reflecting the broadest definition of the term) accounted for about one-third of racial equity funding (about $6.6 billion).

During that same time period, the top 20 funders of racial justice work accounted for nearly 60 percent of all racial justice funding (nearly $1.64 billion), meaning that racial justice work was far more reliant on a smaller group of funders for a much larger portion of funding. This indicates a lack of engagement by a wider range of funders in racial justice work and a potential danger for racial justice movement organizations in lacking a truly diverse and sustainable funding base.

WHO WERE THE TOP RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDERS IN 2020?

It In 2020, funding for racial equity was even more top-heavy than in prior years; the top 20 funders provided 64 percent of all racial equity funding for the year. Racial justice funding saw similar sourcing, with the top 20 funders accounting for more than 82 percent of the total. A handful of large funders — including some corporations — awarded racial equity grants for the first time, increasing the overall percentage of funding coming from the top 20. A number of funders that consistently award smaller total amounts for racial equity and racial justice may not yet have reported their grants to Candid; once these grants are collected and tabulated, racial equity funding for 2020 may be less concentrated among the top funders.

Four of the top 20 racial equity funders in 2020 were corporate funders, while only two corporate funders appeared on the list for 2015–2018. Despite the rise in corporate funding in 2020, only one corporate funder appeared on the list of top 20 funders for racial justice.

WHAT KINDS OF FUNDERS GAVE RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING?

As is the case for foundation funding overall, the largest portion of funding for both racial equity and racial justice from 2015 through 2018 was provided by private foundations.

Racial justice funding was even more reliant on private foundation dollars, which constituted about 77% of the total. Corporate funders and community foundations made up a particularly small share of racial justice funding — only 1.8 percent and 5.4 percent, respectively, for the four-year period of 2015–2018.

Data for 2020 are based on preliminary data submitted early to Candid, which reflect only a portion of the full data set of grants that it collects and codes annually. Final figures will likely be significantly higher. Data for 2020 presented in this report include only confirmed grants awarded in 2020, not pledges.

TOP 20 FUNDERS OF **RACIAL EQUITY** WORK, 2015–2018

1	Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation	$878,681,621
2	Ford Foundation	$798,899,744
3	Silicon Valley Community Foundation	$605,263,405
4	W.K. Kellogg Foundation	$538,365,961
5	Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift Fund	$401,851,581
6	The California Endowment	$308,067,119
7	Walton Family Foundation	$293,088,522
8	NoVo Foundation	$289,431,656
9	United Negro College Fund Inc.	$220,558,231
10	Lilly Endowment Inc.	$216,849,365
11	The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation	$185,761,488
12	The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation	$178,923,785
13	Ascendium Education Group	$157,322,072
14	The JPB Foundation	$149,596,367
15	New York Community Trust aka Community Funds Inc.	$149,408,248
16	Schwab Charitable	$146,794,497
17	The James Irvine Foundation	$139,297,400
18	Scully Memorial Foundation	$133,925,000
19	Wells Fargo Foundation	$121,207,912
20	Community Foundation of Greater Memphis	$116,465,585

TOP 20 FUNDERS OF **RACIAL JUSTICE** WORK, 2015–2018

1	Ford Foundation	$487,441,939
2	NoVo Foundation	$215,589,788
3	The California Endowment	$177,026,889
4	W.K. Kellogg Foundation	$172,702,511
5	New Venture Fund	$64,867,025
6	The JPB Foundation	$48,400,400
7	The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation	$42,466,830
8	The James Irvine Foundation	$40,785,000
9	The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation	$40,293,448
10	Foundation to Promote Open Society	$39,639,862
11	Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation	$35,202,296
12	The Nathan Cummings Foundation	$34,671,500
13	Marguerite Casey Foundation	$34,583,900
14	NEO Philanthropy Inc.	$34,024,320
15	Tides Foundation	$33,335,297
16	Silicon Valley Community Foundation	$32,240,690
17	Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift Fund	$28,363,059
18	John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation	$27,770,000
19	San Francisco Foundation	$27,166,980
20	The Susan Thompson Buffett Foundation	$25,914,749

TOP 20 FUNDERS OF **RACIAL EQUITY** WORK, 2020

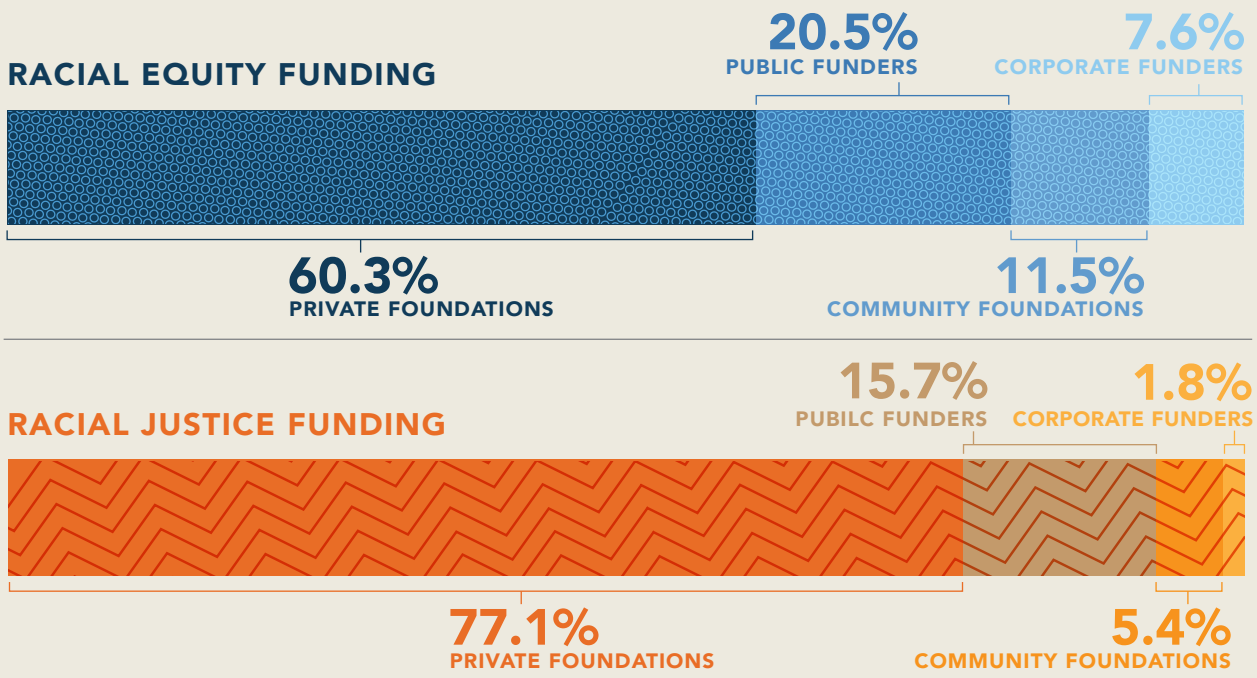
1	Ford Foundation	$439,262,416
2	Lilly Endowment Inc.	$179,667,642
3	The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation	$175,421,488
4	Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation	$143,196,438
5	Bezos Earth Fund	$141,000,000
6	The JPB Foundation	$120,196,000
7	Twitter for Good	$101,000,000
8	Bloomberg Philanthropies Inc.	$100,800,000
9	The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation	$92,604,000
10	The James Irvine Foundation	$92,131,000
11	The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation	$79,878,037
12	John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation	$65,835,789
13	The David and Lucile Packard Foundation	$64,835,361
14	The California Endowment	$62,475,699
15	Oregon Community Foundation	$56,584,064
16	Square	$50,000,000
17	Fund II Foundation	$50,000,000
18	StartSmall LLC	$48,971,200
19	Abbvie Foundation	$46,500,000
20	Community Foundation of Greater Memphis	$41,690,791

Data for 2020 are based on preliminary data submitted early to Candid, which reflect only a portion of the full data set of grants that it collects and codes annually. Final figures will likely be significantly higher. Data for 2020 presented in this report include only confirmed grants awarded in 2020, not pledges.

TOP 20 FUNDERS OF **RACIAL JUSTICE** WORK, 2020

1	Ford Foundation	$210,056,826
2	Bezos Earth Fund	$129,000,000
3	The JPB Foundation	$95,000,000
4	The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation	$62,266,524
5	The David and Lucile Packard Foundation	$53,546,792
6	The California Endowment	$43,439,396
7	The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation	$38,001,774
8	The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation	$31,954,200
9	W.K. Kellogg Foundation	$30,434,422
10	Amalgamated Charitable Foundation Inc	$22,471,863
11	StartSmall LLC	$22,250,000
12	John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation	$17,263,500
13	The Duke Endowment	$16,844,000
14	The Libra Foundation	$16,790,000
15	The James Irvine Foundation	$16,705,000
16	The Kendeda Fund	$10,000,000
17	Nellie Mae Education Foundation	$8,472,250
18	Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation	$7,951,358
19	Seattle Foundation	$6,336,157
20	Meyer Memorial Trust	$4,677,855

PERCENTAGE OF FUNDING FOR RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE BY FUNDER TYPE, 2015–2018



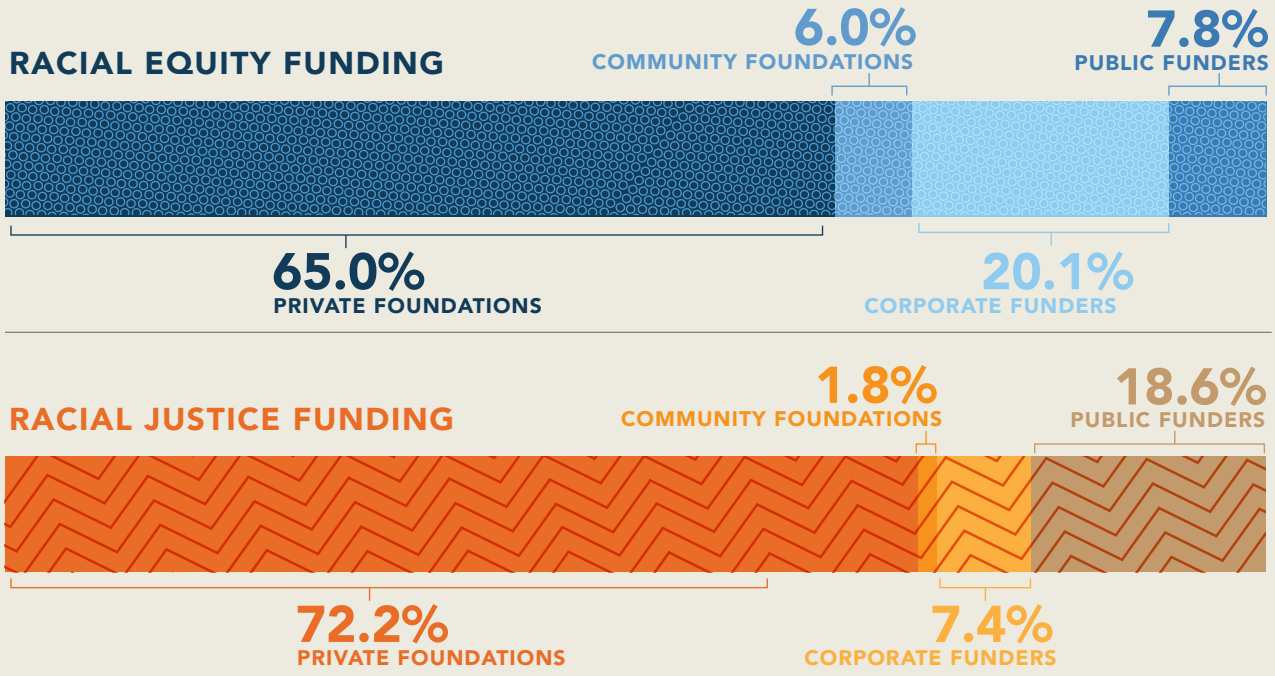
TYPE OF FUNDER	RACIAL EQUITY FUNDING	% OF TOTAL	RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING	% OF TOTAL
Community Foundations	$1.9 Billion	11.5%	$151.4 Million	5.4%
Corporate Funders	$1.3 Billion	7.6%	$49.7 Million	1.8%
Private Foundations	$9.9 Billion	60.3%	$2.1 Billion	77.1%
Public Funders	$3.4 Billion	20.5%	$436.5 Million	15.7%

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT THE KINDS OF FUNDERS WHO GAVE RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING IN 2020?

As in 2015–2018, the largest share of funding for both racial equity and racial justice was provided by private foundations, which awarded 65 percent of all racial equity dollars and 77 percent of all racial justice dollars.

Funding from corporate funders increased markedly, rising to account for a full fifth of racial equity funding in 2020 (in comparison to making up about 7 percent of racial equity funding for 2015–2018). Corporate funding also rose as a share of racial justice funding, increasing from just 1.8 percent in 2015–2018 to 7.4 percent of racial justice funding in 2020.

PERCENTAGE OF FUNDING FOR RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE BY FUNDER TYPE, 2020



TYPE OF FUNDER	RACIAL EQUITY FUNDING	% OF TOTAL	RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING	% OF TOTAL
Community Foundations	$203.4 Million	6.0%	$18.7 Million	1.8%
Corporate Funders	$676.9 Million	20.1%	$76.3 Million	7.4%
Private Foundations	$2.2 Billion	65.0%	$749.6 Million	72.2%
Public Funders	$296.3 Million	7.8%	$193.2 Million	18.6%

While this growth in corporate funding is notable, it is not nearly as large as might be guessed from initial corporate press releases. Candid's initial data on 2020 racial equity pledges indicated that corporations provided about $6.3 billion out of $8.8 billion in pledges (72 percent). While there was an increase in corporate giving for racial equity, preliminary data on actual grants awarded indicate that the leap was not nearly as large as initially estimated.

Community foundations and public foundations made up a smaller share of funding for racial equity and racial justice in 2020 when compared with 2015–2018. However, this decrease may in part be an artifact of the data available, with community foundations and public funders less likely to have reported grants data to Candid at this relatively early date.

WHAT ABOUT GIVING FROM INDIVIDUALS?

The data in this report focus on funding from foundations and corporations. However, giving from individuals consistently accounts for about three-quarters of all charitable giving in the United States — a far larger share than foundations or corporations provide.[66] Individual giving is much more difficult to track than giving by foundations, which are required to publicly report on all annual grantmaking in their IRS Form 990 or 990-PF disclosures.

Based on the limited data available, it is clear that individual donors provide a large portion of funding for racial equity and racial justice — perhaps the largest portion, as is the case with charitable giving in general. It is also clear that individual donors, from billionaires to grassroots donors who gave at modest levels but in large numbers, were an important part of the increase in giving for racial equity and justice in 2020.

Among the most prominent individual donors who gave for racial equity in 2020 was MacKenzie Scott, the novelist who helped found and develop Amazon and was previously married to Amazon founder Jeff Bezos. Currently the 21st-wealthiest individual in the world, Scott gave out more than $6 billion in 2020 directly to nonprofit organizations. Giving at this scale directly to nonprofits — rather than by establishing a private foundation — is a new trend in philanthropy, with donors like Scott at its forefront.

In response to individuals like Scott giving at a scale previously seen only from foundations and corporations, Candid has begun tracking high-dollar giving by individuals. This giving largely falls outside the scope of this report, but Candid's data collection allows for some preliminary analysis. Moved by the challenges of the pandemic and the racial justice uprisings, much of Scott's giving focused on addressing inequality, particularly racial inequity. Specifically, she gave more than $1.09 billion in 2020 for organizations focused on racial equity — an amount equal to about one-third of the $3.3 billion in confirmed foundation grants for racial equity in 2020 and a staggering amount for a single individual. Perhaps even more significant than the scale was the unrestricted nature of most of the grants — not simply core support, but also fully unrestricted in terms of timing. This was particularly critical for many of the racial justice organizations that received sudden influxes of other resources with time limitations and were concerned about not receiving renewals or finding funding from new sources.

Of Scott's 2020 giving, a smaller portion — $174 million — fits PRE's criteria for racial justice giving. This is equal to about 17 percent of the total of about $1.03 billion in confirmed racial justice grants from foundations and corporations that year.

In addition to Scott's giving, Candid has identified nearly $190 million in large-scale donations (ranging from $100,000 to $1 million each) awarded by individuals for racial equity. Of this amount, about $13 million was for racial justice.

Just as important as these large-scale donations are grassroots donations given by individuals, including many working-class and middle-

[66] Giving USA. *Giving USA 2020: Charitable Giving Showed Solid Growth, Climbing to $449.64 Billion in 2019, One of the Highest Years for Giving on Record*. June 16, 2020.

class donors. Among nonprofit fundraisers, a broad base of individuals giving at modest levels is considered one of the most reliable and sustainable revenue streams. In 2020, charitable donations of less than $250 rose by 15.3 percent, while "major gifts" (defined as donations of $1,000 or more) grew by only 10.6 percent.[67] Grassroots giving appears to have increased in 2020, playing an especially important role in philanthropic giving and mutual aid as individuals of modest financial means made donations to support pandemic relief, racial justice, and other urgent causes.[68]

And much of the energy driving this grassroots response can be traced to philanthropy coming from communities of color. In a national study conducted in the fall of 2020, analysis by the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy found that "Asian Americans and Black Americans were more likely to give to racial and social justice causes compared to their white counterparts."[69]

While we lack comprehensive data on small-dollar individual giving for racial justice, several racial justice organizations reported a significant increase in grassroots donations in the summer of 2020. The Black Lives Matter Foundation Network reported that it received a total of $90 million in donations in 2020;[70] the average amount donated on the organization's main fundraising platform was $30.76.

[67] Fundraising Effectiveness Project. *FEP Reports*. 2020.

[68] Schnalzer, Rachel. How 2020 Has Transformed Charitable Giving. *Los Angeles Times*, December 8, 2020.

[69] Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy. *Everyday Donors of Color: Diverse Philanthropy During Times of Change*. August 2021.

[70] Associated Press. Black Lives Matter Foundation Raised Over $90 Million in 2020. *MarketWatch*, February 23, 2021.

WHAT HAS BEEN THE RESPONSE TO CALLS FOR GENERAL OPERATING SUPPORT?

There has long been a call for general operating support from racial equity and racial justice grantees and movement leaders. In 2015–2018, such support ranged from 18 percent to 39 percent of total annual funding for both racial equity and racial justice. In 2017, 39 percent of racial justice funding was for general operating support, followed by 31 percent in 2018 — larger percentages than were given for racial equity operating support or in foundation funding overall. The recent rise in racial justice funding for general operating support may be a response from racial justice funders to recurring calls from movement organizations for flexible, unrestricted support from foundations for long-term goals.

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT GENERAL OPERATING SUPPORT IN 2020?

In 2020, about $800 million of racial equity funding was for general operating support — about 24 percent of the year's total, a modest increase over the 19 percent to 22 percent of racial equity funding devoted to general operating support in 2015–2018.

For racial justice funding in 2020, about $303 million was devoted to general operating support, or about 29 percent of the total for that year — significantly less than in 2017 or 2018.

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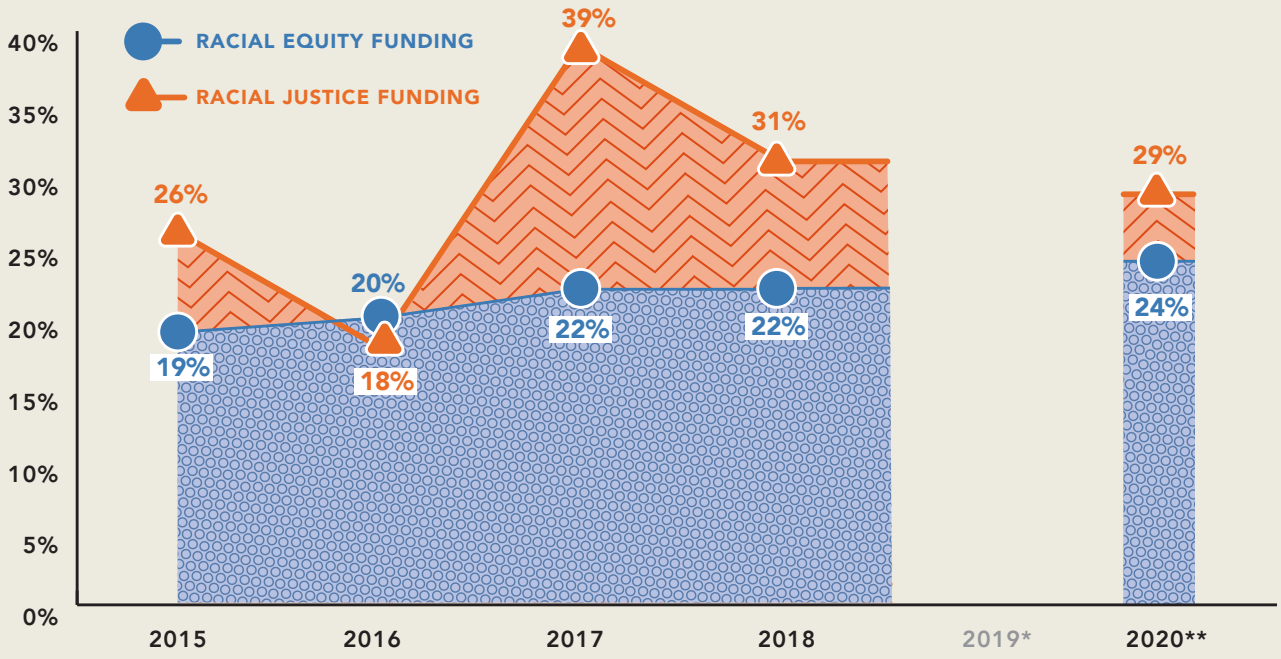
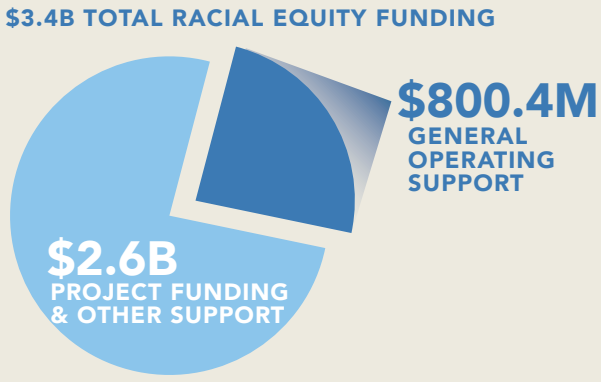
PERCENTAGE OF RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING DEVOTED TO GENERAL OPERATING SUPPORT, 2015–2018

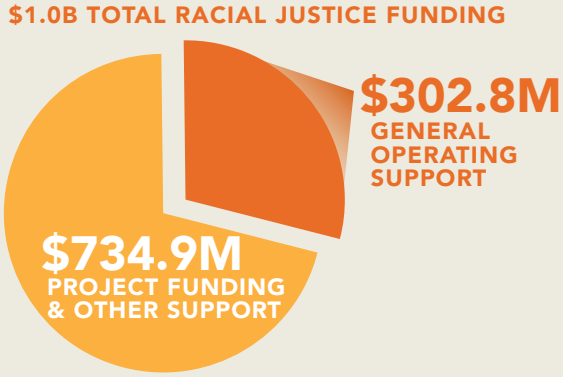


* Candid has not completed its coding of 2019 grantmaking.

** Preliminary analysis from PRE based on what Candid has collected. Candid has not completed its coding of 2020 grantmaking.

RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING BY TYPE OF SUPPORT, 2020





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RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVING RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING AND DATA

> ***After George Floyd's murder, people began to look at racialized branding and understand that the longstanding mascot fight was another facet of systemic racism. And that gave the opening for Native movement leaders and grassroots organizers — who had been fighting this issue for three decades — to join forces, create the social groundswell, and partner with investors to get the job done with the Washington football team.***
>
> ***But even after Standing Rock, which captured the world's attention and drove a rush of initial interest from a lot of foundations, funders are still not recognizing the level of investment that is really needed. Our organization is fortunate to have relationships with some of the bigger foundations, but even at the height of the mascot fight and racial "reckoning" attention, only one existing funder came forward to offer an additional $50K amid this monumental, ground-shifting win for Indian country.***
>
> ***And a lot of our partners, tribes and grassroots organizations that are doing really powerful work, aren't even being invited to have that seat at the table. Rather than creating barriers like, "We're not comfortable giving to tribes," or "We just don't quite know which organization to give to," philanthropy could be saying: "Wait a minute. Let's take a step back. Let's do the work to learn about the broader ecosystem. Let's take some risks."***
>
> — CRYSTAL ECHO HAWK, FOUNDER AND CEO, ILLUMINATIVE

For more impact, the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity (PRE) recommends that funders sustain and build on investments in the racial justice ecosystem, recognizing the deep capacity, strategic strength, and leadership that is driving transformational change not only for Black, Brown, and Indigenous communities, but for all. Long-term change operations with justice-oriented goals don't have the resources to match their potential, and they simply need more.

Greater precision and standardization are also necessary to guide grant classifications. The process of conducting this analysis revealed multiple problems with the ways in which foundations, and in turn Candid, collected and coded data related to communities of color

and support for racial equity and racial justice work. As we've noted, the lack of precision creates the conditions for fundamental mismatches between what movements require and what funders provide. PRE recommends that philanthropy require and produce precise data, starting with clear and standard definitions of categories, without passing an undue burden onto grantees. This section includes advice for grantmakers, philanthropy-serving organizations (PSOs), and research institutions on improving clarity, data collection, and accountability.

There is hope. Philanthropists and activists have been working together to create new models that can bolster and sustain the critical work of racial equity and racial justice. Numerous foundations have established participatory grantmaking modes, or taken major leaps in the level of risk and change they are willing to support.

To address the mismatches identified in this report, we recommend the following:

RECOMMENDATIONS

1

DEVOTE MORE RESOURCES TO RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE. ***Foundations and corporations should increase funding for racial equity and racial justice work that is led by those communities most impacted and still receiving far less than they need.***

We urge donors to maximize impact by sustaining and building on investments to the racial justice ecosystem, recognizing the deep capacity, strategic strength, and wise leadership that is driving transformational change not only for Black, Brown, and Indigenous communities, but for all communities. This impact could be even more powerful if fully capitalized at the level so many predominantly white organizations continue to enjoy, even within the racial equity sphere. Our first and overarching recommendation is that more foundations give more money to these causes, especially to grassroots organizing for both racial equity and racial justice.

2

SUSTAIN FUNDING FOR RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE. ***Grantmakers should ensure that their racial equity and racial justice funding is set up for sustainable impact, both within their institutions and for movements, by establishing long-term horizons and giving multiyear general operating support for racial justice groups.***

This report finds that funding for racial equity and racial justice did not balloon overnight, but rather has grown slowly and steadily, reflecting years-long work on the part of movement leaders and philanthropic advocates. This is in large part a good thing, because it means that the shift toward more funding for racial equity and racial justice is more likely to continue.

Funders, PSOs, and advocates all need to carry on this work to assure that funding for racial equity and racial justice is sustained by their institutions for the long term

— and that it is done in a way that supports the sustainability of movements as well. This may include the following action steps:

- → **Work to ensure that there is deep understanding and support for racial equity and justice across all stakeholders in your institution — including not only staff, but also trustees and donors.**
- → **Set up systems and accountability tools to integrate racial equity and justice into your institution's ongoing work.**
- → **Make specific institutional commitments for racial equity and racial justice with specific dollar amounts for each — ideally for a time frame of at least a decade.**
- → **Provide racial equity and racial justice grantees with general operating support.**
- → **Provide racial equity and racial justice grantees with multiyear grants.**
- → **Ask racial equity and racial justice grantees about what they need to grow their movements and their impact; provide them with capacity-building grants and resources as appropriate.**

3 ENGAGE COMMUNITIES OF COLOR AND MOVEMENTS IN STRATEGY AND FUNDING DECISIONS. *Funders should develop systems and mechanisms to maximize the participation, input, and leadership of communities of color and movements in the design and fulfillment of their strategic thinking and grantmaking priorities.*

Foundations are set up, by their nature, to be accountable to donors, not to movements. This is an essential mismatch at the root of all other mismatches. It is possible for philanthropic institutions to share and even let go of power — given time and openness. Moving toward greater input from community members and movement leaders is crucial to ensuring that philanthropy is truly supporting and advancing racial justice, rather than unintentionally undermining it.

Funders can be more intentional about holding themselves and each other accountable. There is no licensing board to which grantees can complain about undue donor influence, and taking complaints public can mean reprisals and reduced access to funding. This lack of accountability and feedback mechanisms contributes to vast racial disparities. It also weakens philanthropic strategy by cloaking key assumptions and rigging evaluations. Peer pressure is an important way of improving practice and raising the standard for how funders engage in communities. Accountability to a set of ethics and guiding principles would go a long way in building credibility and trust in the field.

Wherever your institution is in this process, take the next step to increase input and participation of movements and communities:

- → **Regularly listen to and learn from Black, Brown, and Indigenous activists, movement leaders, and organizations authentically grounded in their own communities to deepen your understanding of movement priorities and promising grassroots organizing strategies.**

- → **Engage activists, movement leaders, and organizations in providing input into funding strategies in a collaborative, non-extractive way that both compensates for time and energy and creates accountability so that funders explain the logic of their choices.**

- → **Establish movement accountability boards made up of movement leaders and community members to inform and guide your grantmaking. If possible, give this board decision-making power over grantmaking strategies and/or grants review processes.**

- → **Recruit movement leaders to serve on your boards of directors or trustees. Recruit not just one, but at least two or three people from various communities who bring additional types of expertise and perspective to minimize risks of tokenization. Provide resources and support to facilitate their onboarding.**

4 FUND TRANSFORMATIONAL CHANGE BEYOND AN EQUITY FRAMEWORK.

Funders should assess their grantmaking using the rubrics for racial equity and racial justice. If your portfolio is exclusively or primarily focused on racial equity, then develop a complementary racial justice strategy to support organizations building power of communities of color and working for long-term systemic change.

As this report shows, many funders' efforts to address racial disparities largely fall within a racial equity framework, focused on increasing access and fostering opportunities for communities of color, but with fewer or no dollars devoted to racial justice — to transformational change and building power. This is often the case even with funders that are using the language of racial justice.

Take the following action steps:

- → **Take a clear look at existing strategies and grants, especially if the language is ahead of the reality of your funding investments. Determine what needs to shift.**

→ Partner with other funders or utilize grounded intermediaries as a way to deepen your awareness and understanding of racial justice funding if you have primarily funded racial equity.

→ Be intentional about aligning your solutions and strategies with the level of change you are seeking to make — recognizing that while foundations often have loftier missions of deeper change, they attempt to make that change with incremental reform efforts that have less impact.

5

IMPROVE DATA ABOUT RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE GRANTMAKING.

→ Foundations and corporate funders should report on their grants[71] on a quarterly or annual basis and in a transparent manner, providing grants-level detail that uses clear and explicit definitions of racial equity and racial justice.

→ PSOs and research organizations should support this work by adopting and disseminating clear definitions of racial equity grants and racial justice grants.

→ Engage grantees in determining the data collection that will be the most useful.

ROLES FOR GRANTMAKERS, PSOS, AND RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS IN IMPROVING DATA

To improve the accuracy and significance of racial equity and racial justice data, PRE offers the following recommendations for grantmakers, PSOs, and research organizations.

Philanthropy as a whole must require and produce precise data, starting with clear and standard definitions of categories — and without passing an undue burden onto overtaxed grantee partners. At the very least, the greater share of racial equity and racial justice funding should be going to organizations led by and grounded in communities of color, rather than to predominantly white organizations to diversify their ranks.

Grantmakers should study and implement the guidelines for grantmaking practices described in *Grantmaking with a Racial Justice Lens*.[72]

We have identified specific steps different types of organizations can take to improve data, as follows:

[71] More than 900 funder partners globally share their grants data directly with Candid, which also has gathered data from public sources on almost 6,000 additional funders who support racial equity work. Please contact Candid at egrants@candid.org to learn how to directly contribute data.

[72] Sen, Rinku, and Villarosa, Lori. *Grantmaking with a Racial Justice Lens: A Practical Guide*. Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity, 2019.

GRANTMAKERS

WHAT NEEDS TO IMPROVE OR CHANGE?	STEPS TO IMPROVEMENT
GRANT DESCRIPTIONS	Provide clearer grant descriptions that accurately and honestly discuss who and what is being funded, and categorize it as racial equity or racial justice by virtue of the actual work instead of falling back on rhetoric. Incorporate percentages designated for the various communities of color if a grant is particularly large and complex. Be specific about which funds are going to which communities. Provide grants-level detail that uses clear and explicit definitions of racial equity and racial justice.
DATA SUBMISSION	Submit data, with detailed grant descriptions, at least annually.
SUPPORT TO RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS	Fund better data analysis and the improvements needed to track trends, gaps, and opportunities related to racial equity and racial justice grantmaking.

PHILANTHROPY-SERVING ORGANIZATIONS

WHAT NEEDS TO IMPROVE OR CHANGE?	STEPS TO IMPROVEMENT
EDUCATION OF MEMBERSHIP	Following this report, clearly distinguish between racial equity and racial justice grantmaking. Promote improved grant descriptions as outlined above.
RESEARCH AND REPORTING	Advocate for, support, and develop better racial equity and racial justice research within your organization's focus areas (e.g., arts grantmaking for racial justice, support for racial equity in the South). Undertake this analysis only through clear communication and collaboration with movement stakeholders and other partners with a strong understanding of racial equity and racial justice.

RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS

WHAT NEEDS TO IMPROVE OR CHANGE?	STEPS TO IMPROVEMENT
THE CANDID PHILANTHROPY CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM	Include explicit racial equity and racial justice codes — in addition to other new codes that reflect the way funders and movement leaders speak about the work. Deepen communication and collaboration with a diverse range of funders, PSOs, and racial justice movement organizations and leaders.
HOW GRANTS ARE DESIGNATED FOR VARIOUS COMMUNITIES	Segment grants that are broadly awarded to communities of color and prorate the appropriate portion to each of the various communities, rather than inflating numbers by assigning the total funding to each separate group.
DATA ON LEADERSHIP AND DIVERSITY OF GRANT RECIPIENTS	Add organizational leadership demographic codes to track how much funding is designated for organizations led by people of color. Add organizational focus codes to track how much funding is designated for organizations focused on communities of color (as opposed to those who serve, but are not explicitly focused on, communities of color).

INSIDE GAME: PLAYERS WORKING TO IMPROVE THE RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE DATA PICTURE IN PHILANTHROPY

The philanthropic infrastructure for racial equity and racial justice work has long urged foundations to gather more demographic data and be more transparent and timely about reporting those data. In fact, much of the early data that the field understood about giving to various racial and ethnic communities were analyzed, gathered, or reported on by the individual identity-based funder networks[73] or in collaboration through CHANGE Philanthropy.

Regional associations of grantmakers have also encouraged members to submit data fully and promptly. These organizations increasingly work on racial equity and racial justice, and it is likely that they will deepen their discussions

[73] Takagi, Tani, Yogi, Stan, Chakravartty, Shona, Oshima, Miyoko, and Yin, Monona. *Invisible and in Need: Philanthropic Giving to Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders*. Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy, December 1992.

and focus on the importance of more accurate data gathering and reporting. Similarly, issue-based funder networks have developed their own data analysis, either in partnership with Candid or by engaging independent researchers, examining a range of giving in their sectors and increasingly with a stronger racial equity and racial justice lens. One of these is the Human Rights Funders Network, which in 2021 added a more explicit racial justice component to its annual global giving report[74] for the first time, regarding 2018 giving.

Funders seeking more clarity or a space to dive into more detailed data or improve their own processes beyond this report should also look to the following partner organizations:

PEAK GRANTMAKING advocates that funders must look harder at the demographic data in their grantmaking portfolios. By indexing nonprofit grantees according to the demographics of their leaders, funders can then compare details to see whether, for instance, a funder is providing more general operating support or larger amounts of funding to nonprofits with white leaders. It expands on this in *Courage in Practice: 5 Principles for Peak Grantmaking*.[75]

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR RESPONSIVE PHILANTHROPY has been a key provider of research and advocacy encouraging philanthropy's giving to Black, Brown, and Indigenous communities. It frequently pushes sector leaders and researchers to be more explicit, deliberate, intersectional, and transparent about identifying their grants data to these communities.

CHANGE PHILANTHROPY hosts a Research Working Group of its partner organizations. In addition to supporting the research of those organizations, the group works to shift the focus of the philanthropic sector's data collection and analysis efforts to a more equitable and accountable standard that more accurately captures funding that centers the communities and causes championed by its partner organizations.

Each of the racial/ethnic community-focused PSOs have long been advocating for racial equity and racial justice funding, and for increased support specifically to projects that serve and are led by their constituencies. With the following efforts, each has also taken added measures to improve documentation of giving that is occurring:

ASIAN AMERICANS/PACIFIC ISLANDERS IN PHILANTHROPY (AAPIP) recently released *Seeking to Soar: Foundation Funding for Asian American & Pacific Islander Communities* — the first report since 2007 on this category of funding.[76]

[74] Ingulfson, Inga, Miller, Kellea, and Thomas, Rachel. *Advancing Human Rights — Annual Review of Global Foundation Grantmaking: 2018 Key Findings*. Candid and Human Rights Funders Network, 2021.

[75] PEAK Grantmaking. Courage in Practice: 5 Principles for Peak Grantmaking. 2019.

[76] Kan, Lyle Matthew. *Seeking to Soar: Foundation Funding for Asian American & Pacific Islander Communities*. Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy, March 2021.

ABFE: A BLACK PHILANTHROPIC PARTNERSHIP FOR BLACK COMMUNITIES has been directly researching and advocating for giving to Black-led social change organizations, and produced the report *The Case for Funding Black-Led Social Change — Redlining by Another Name: What the Data Says to Move from Rhetoric to Action*.[77]

HISPANICS IN PHILANTHROPY (HIP) worked with Candid to create Latinx Funders, an ongoing research project documenting the landscape of foundation funding in the Latinx community and tracking changes in its scale and priorities. It uses grants data to map the community issues addressed, funding strategies used, and regions served.

NATIVE AMERICANS IN PHILANTHROPY also worked with Candid to establish a report[78] and web portal, Investing in Native Communities, which contains funding data, research, historical context, and resources to help users share knowledge and visualize the landscape of such philanthropic funding.

FUNDERS FOR LGBTQ ISSUES' annual tracking report, collecting LGBTQ funding data directly, includes specifics on funding for LGBTQ communities of color. It also produces infographics[79] that spotlight foundation funding for those communities and an issue brief page on funding for LGBTQ communities of color more generally.[80]

And, of course, **CANDID** continually encourages funders to share their grants data more fully and promptly through Foundation Updater accounts.[81] Through GuideStar,[82] Candid also urges nonprofits to fill out organizational profiles that donors, researchers, and others can access. It has enlisted some of the leading foundations to emphasize for grantees the importance of documenting the racial and gender makeup of their board and staff in order to collect more complete demographic data and establish greater accountability.

[77] Emergent Pathways LLC. *The Case for Funding Black-Led Social Change — Redlining by Another Name: What the Data Says to Move from Rhetoric to Action*. ABFE: A Philanthropic Partnership for Black Communities, December 2019.

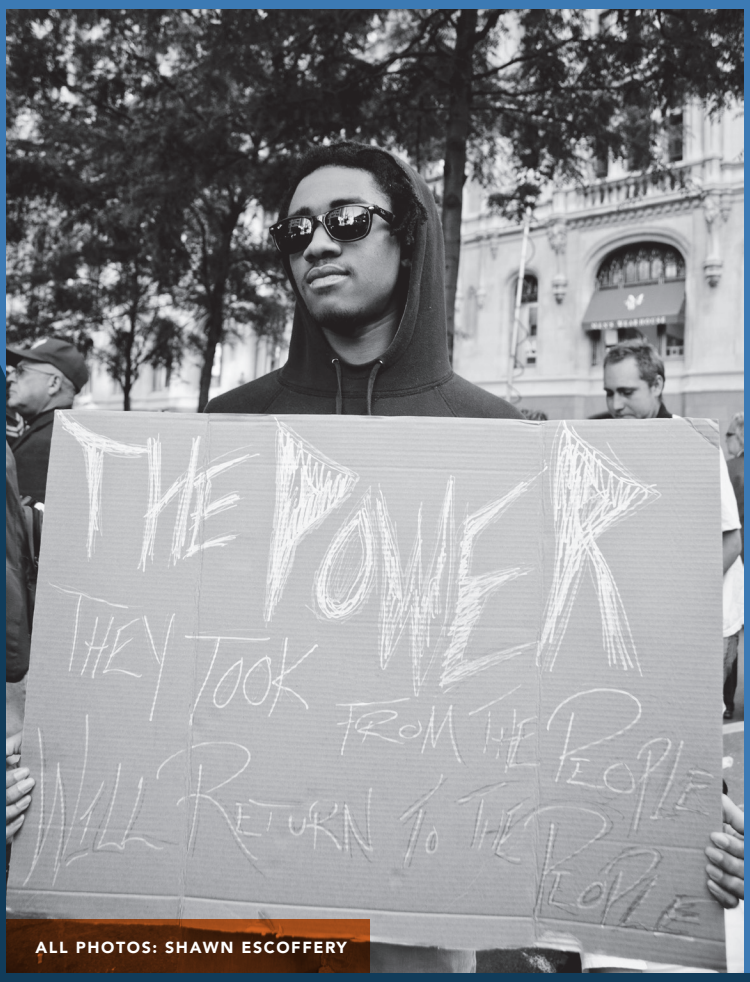
[78] Native Americans in Philanthropy and Candid. *Investing in Native Communities: Philanthropic Funding for Native American Communities and Causes*, 2019.

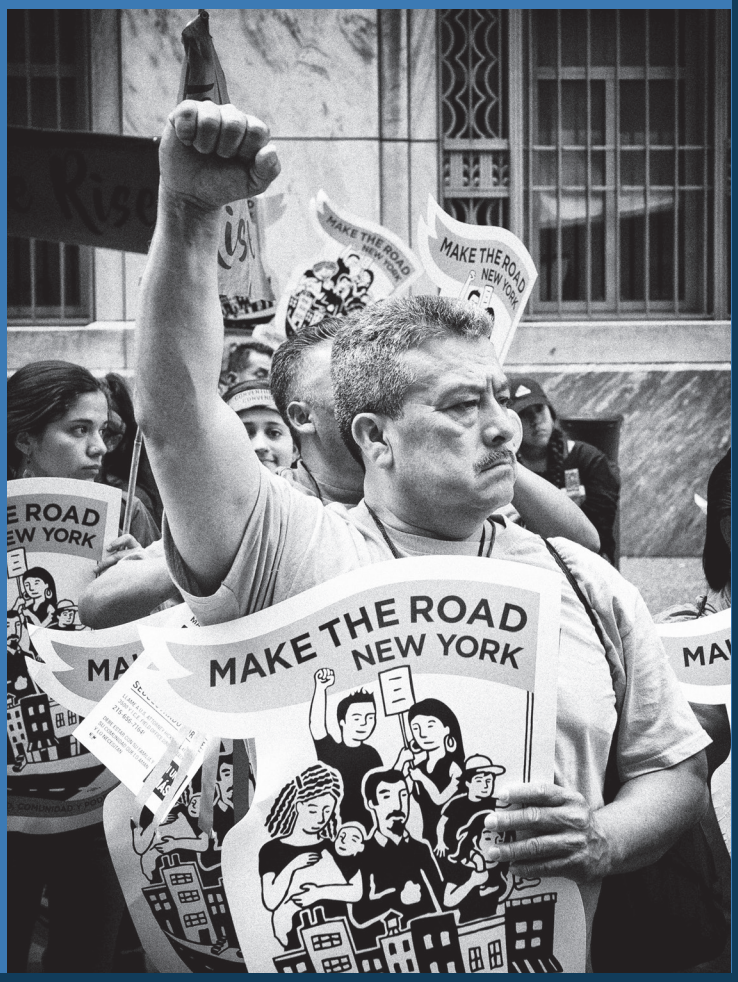
[79] Funders for LGBTQ Issues. *Research*, n.d.

[80] Funders for LGBTQ Issues. *People of Color*, n.d.

[81] Candid. *Share Your Grants Data*, 2021.

[82] GuideStar. *Reach Millions of Donors Through Your Online Profile*. 2021.





ALL PHOTOS: SHAWN ESCOFFERY

CONCLUSION

> ***Racial justice requires grassroots democracy, effective base building, leadership development, and movement building efforts based on principles of alignment, cooperation, and solidarity. It also requires the ability of grassroots residents and formations to determine how best to direct and mobilize resources for this work. If the goal of philanthropy is to advance racial justice, then we urge philanthropy not just to fund us in the short term, but to transfer stewardship of philanthropic resources into the hands of grassroots organizations and formations who are rooted and accountable to community, have a long-term vision for transformative change, and who are doing deep organizing. If philanthropy is to be in service of racial justice, you cannot just fund us — you have to trust us to lead.***
>
> **— DAWN PHILLIPS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, RIGHT TO THE CITY NETWORK**

Providing robust support to the racial equity and racial justice ecosystem means sticking with it even when its issues have passed from popular view. Movement organizations seek robust and stable budgets, bolstered by large, long-term, unrestricted general support grants that help them reach their full potential and make them less vulnerable to predatory forms of philanthropy. To be in true partnership with the field, funders will need to tap their highest reserves of humility, curiosity, and flexibility. The rise of both the racial justice ecosystem and philanthropy to support it over the last six years is encouraging. There is a long way to go, but there are many inspiring examples and dedicated helpers to fuel the next phase of changemaking.

It is a misconception that the uprisings of 2020 alone inspired an unprecedented outpouring of philanthropic support for the work of racial equity and racial justice. Still, the year was a high point of both pressure and response, and one that clearly demonstrated real potential for philanthropy as a partner in changemaking. Funders must continue to build on the efforts of new players, follow the leadership of movement, and learn from the examples of change agents who are calling for deeper transformation and opening a path for many more to join the journey.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We begin with the appreciation and recognition of all the countless racial justice activists who have lifted up their voices, laid their bodies on the line, demanded bolder shifts than others could even envision, and accelerated progress across decades.

More directly, we thank those racial justice practitioners, activists, grantmakers, and infrastructure partners who generously shared their experiences and insights, and all those who contributed their time, talent, and perspectives to this project and to the thinking that led to this project.

Many factors — the racial reckoning, global pandemic, intense political conflict, racist backlash against critical race theory and anti-racist trainings, and all the related activity of millions of people and countless funders wanting to positively respond — have made the past 18 months dramatic, not only for communities of color and activists but for our team of almost all Black and Brown and/or queer researchers, writers, editors, project manager, reviewers, designers, and administrators. Under no circumstance would we call a deep-dive data report "a labor of love" — culling through thousands of grants, charts, websites, or news articles to dissect, uncover, and correct codes that often were misassigned by autoclassification — but the project was one of dedication to getting it as right as we could because we understand the stakes. We know that those opposing racial justice have already twisted and distorted the work, attacked movement leaders' reputations, and threatened their lives. We know there can be ramifications of misinformation even among ally funders who might think enough has been done. And we know that the organizations working hard to advance racial justice each day are still doing so much with too little, and deserve to have a clearer accounting.

It is with this backdrop and commitment to ensure accuracy and ongoing understanding of the resource flow that this team of experienced senior

leaders came to this work across racial justice movement and philanthropic infrastructure, mobilizing activists and reviewers for input on an aggressive external timeline — warranting deep gratitude and acknowledgment for their dedication, their grounding and authenticity, and their excellence.

— LORI VILLAROSA, PRE FOUNDER AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, AND KALPANA KRISHNAMURTHY, PRE BOARD CHAIR

Mismatched: Philanthropy's Response to the Call for Justice was developed by the **Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity (PRE)** and draws on grants data provided by Candid and content from interviews and focus groups of racial justice organizers, advocates, philanthropic infrastructure organizations, funders, and other key stakeholders.

Mismatched: Philanthropy's Response to the Call for Racial Justice was written by **Malkia Devich Cyril**,[+83] **Lyle Matthew Kan**, **Ben Francisco Maulbeck**,[+] and **Lori Villarosa**. **Rinku Sen**[+] and **Makani Themba**[+] provided senior editing with their decades of movement and communications leadership.

This report would not be possible without the incredibly patient, thoughtful, and steadfast project management of **Linda Guinee**. Additional project support was provided by **Michael Quan**, **Parys Grigsby**, and **Aisha Horne**. Writing support, copyediting, and proofreading were provided by **Domenica Trevor** and **Chaitali Sen**. Design was provided by **Trevor Messersmith** of 80east Design. **Alexandra Rojas** and **Clinton Simon** of the Tides Center provided additional administrative support.

In 2016 and 2017, with project management by **Maggie Potapchuk**, PRE worked with **Dom Apollon**, **Terry Keleher**, and **Yirssi Bergman** from Race Forward to update *Short Changed: Foundation Giving and Communities of Color* and develop coding for PRE to track racial justice grants described for our 2017 infographic. Over the past year, **Lyle Matthew Kan**, **Lori Villarosa**, and **Ben Francisco Maulbeck** researched and analyzed data on racial equity and racial justice grantmaking, and identified data issues in the Candid database.

Among our colleagues at Candid, we want to particularly lift up the contributions of **Anna Koob**, director of research standards, and **Mantin Diomande**, research analyst, with whom we worked closely to address data and coding challenges. They worked tirelessly to make the continuous adjustments needed within Candid's system to ensure as much consistency as possible, and were always incredibly patient and generous with their time in providing updated data. We thank them for their commitment, which enabled this report to be completed.

We also acknowledge others at Candid who engaged with us across the full process, including **Reina Mukai**, **Michele Dilworth**, **Teleangé Thomas**, and **Cathleen Clerkin**. Importantly, we want to recognize the leadership of **Brad Smith** and **Lisa Philp** — in particular their openness to concerns, willingness to be responsive to the stakeholders' recommendations, and their investment of significant staff resources.

We appreciate the wisdom and generous time of reviewers **Chris Cardona** (Ford Foundation), **Janeen Comenote** (National Urban Indian

[83] A + denotes a PRE Senior Fellow. Rinku Sen is a former PRE Senior Fellow. The others marked are current PRE Senior Fellows. Lori Villarosa is Executive Director of PRE.

Family Coalition; PRE board member), **Satonya Fair** (PEAK Grantmaking), **Judy Hatcher** (Biodiversity Funders Group), **Julie Quiroz** (New Moon Collaborations; PRE board member), **Alex Tom** (Center for Empowered Politics; PRE board member), and **Nat Chioke Williams** (Hill-Snowdon Foundation; Black Social Change Funders Network).

Interviews and focus groups were conducted with activists from all ethnic and racial groups, genders, gender identities, and sexual orientations, and with grassroots organizers and leaders of local and national organizations working in a broad range of issue and policy areas across the United States to shape both the initial definitions outlined in *Grantmaking with a Racial Justice Lens: A Practical Guide* as well as the process and findings in this report. The following activists shared their time and insights with us through focus groups and interviews (with organizational identification from the time of their interviews): **Fahd Ahmed** (Desis Rising Up & Moving), **Maisie Chin** (CADRE), **Maria Smith Dautruche** (National Urban League), **Monica Dennis** (Black Lives Matter, Move to End Violence), **Crystal Echo Hawk** (IllumiNative) **John Echohawk** (Native American Rights Fund), **Marisa Franco** (Mijente), **Alicia Garza** (Black Futures Lab), **Laura Harris** (Americans for Indian Opportunity), **Kris Hayashi** (Transgender Law Center), **Soya Jung** (ChangeLab), **Terry Keleher** (Race Forward), **Allen Kwabena Frimpong***[84] (Movement Netlab), **Judith LeBlanc** (Native Organizers Alliance), **Cayden Mak** (18 Million Rising), **Maurice Mitchell** (Working Families Party), **Benjamin Ndugga-Kabuye** (Black Alliance for Just Immigration), **Minh Nguyen** (VAYLA New Orleans), **Simran Noor*** (Center for Social Inclusion), **Zachary Norris** (Ella Baker Center for Human Rights; Restore Oakland), **Jacqueline Pata*** (National Congress of American Indians), **Dawn Phillips** (Right to the City Network), **Rashad Robinson** (Color of Change), **Suman Raghunathan** (South Asian Americans Leading Together), **Sarath Suong** (Providence Youth Student Movement), **Catherine Tactaquin** (National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights), **Kelley Weigel*** (Western States Center), and **Ash-Lee Woodard Henderson** (Highlander Research and Education Center).

We held multiple stakeholder meetings across several years. In 2017, PRE convened a focus group to work on clarifying the definition and tracking of racial justice grantmaking. This focus group included **Dominique Apollon** (Race Forward), **Susan Batten** (ABFE: A Black Philanthropic Partnership), **Allen Kwabena Frimpong*** (Movement NetLab), **Carly Hare** (CHANGE Philanthropy), **Richard Healey*** (Grassroots Policy Project), **Jeanné Lewis** (National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy), **Terry Keleher** (Race Forward), **Kalpana Krishnamurthy** (Forward Together), **Lisa McGill** (LM Strategies Consulting), **Oronde Miller** (W.K. Kellogg Foundation), **Reina Mukai** (Candid – then Foundation Center), **Karen K. Narasaki** (civil and human rights leader/consultant), **Simran Noor*** (Center for Social Inclusion), **Maggie Potapchuk** (MP Associates), **Julie Quiroz*** (Movement Strategy), **Ryan Schlegel** (National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy), **Genise Singleton** (Kresge Foundation), **Alvin Starks** (Open Society Foundations), **Makani Themba** (Higher Ground Strategies), and **Marcus Walton*** (ABFE: A Black Philanthropic Partnership).

In 2020, PRE convened another group of activists and grantmakers to provide input on how to improve the data Candid was collecting on racial equity and racial justice grantmaking, including improving the filters for categorizing each. This convening

[84] Asterisk denotes that the person is no longer affiliated with the cited organization.

PHOTO: SHAWN ESCOFFERY

included **Ana Marie Argilagos** (Hispanics in Philanthropy; Candid board member), **Carly Bad Heart Bull** (Native Ways Federation), **Julia Beatty** (Black-Led Movement Fund; Communities Transforming Policing Fund at Borealis Philanthropy), **Chris Cardona** (Ford Foundation), **Satonya Fair** (PEAK Grantmaking), **James W. Head** (East Bay Community Foundation), **Charles Long** (Movement for Black Lives), **Erik Stegman** (Native Americans in Philanthropy), **Alex Tom** (Center for Empowered Politics; PRE board member), **Nat Chioke Williams** (Hill-Snowdon Foundation; Black Social Change Funders Network), and **Rev. Starsky Wilson** (Children's Defense Fund; National Center for Responsive Philanthropy board member), as well as PRE and Candid staff members.

We want to fully recognize the insights, path setting, challenges, wisdom, and clear critiques of philanthropy that have informed all of our work to date through PRE's former and current board members, other racial justice field leaders, committed foundation change agents, consultants, and philanthropic infrastructure partners whose ongoing work has shaped so many of these lessons as well.

We thank the funders who have supported PRE in this project's development or invested in our core work, including **Borealis Philanthropy**, **C.S. Mott Foundation**, **Robert Wood Johnson Foundation**, **Quixote Foundation**, and **MacKenzie Scott**, as well as the **W.K. Kellogg Foundation** and the **Ford Foundation** for much of the early research.

Photos were provided by **Shawn Escoffery**, **New Virginia Majority** and **Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence**.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

MALKIA DEVICH CYRIL is a writer, public speaker, and award-winning activist on issues of digital rights, narrative power, Black liberation, and collective grief, as well as the founding and former executive director of MediaJustice — a national hub boldly advancing racial justice, rights, and dignity in a digital age. In 2002, Devich Cyril helped coin the term "media justice," and in 2019 declared that one significant goal of the movement was to "fight for a future where we are all connected, represented, and free."

After more than 20 years of media justice leadership, Devich Cyril now serves as a Senior Fellow at MediaJustice and at the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity (PRE), and has appeared in various publications, including *The Atlantic*, *WIRED*, *TechCrunch*, *The Washington Post*, and *Truthout; We Will Not Cancel Us*, a book by adrienne maree brown; and *13TH*, the acclaimed documentary by director Ava DuVernay, among others.

LYLE MATTHEW KAN is an expert on trends, gaps, and opportunities in social justice grantmaking. His reports and infographics on the scale and character of LGBTQ and Asian American and Pacific Islander grantmaking have been cited by numerous academic journals, think tanks, NGOs, and government agencies, as well as news outlets, blogs, and other media. As a Senior Fellow at CHANGE Philanthropy, he currently leads the Diversity Among Philanthropic Professionals (DAPP) work to help the philanthropic community better understand its workforce and leadership.

Previously, he served as the interim vice president of programs at Asian Americans/ Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy (AAPIP) and as the vice president of research and communications at Funders for LGBTQ Issues, where he managed strategic partnerships and oversaw the organization's research efforts and communications and public policy work. He holds a bachelor of arts in individualized study from New York University's Gallatin School and a master of science in political sociology from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

BEN FRANCISCO MAULBECK is a Senior Fellow with PRE and a philanthropic consultant, writer, and leader for social justice. Previously, Ben served as president of Funders for LGBTQ Issues, the national network of LGBTQ funders and leading hub for research and training on LGBTQ grantmaking. During their eight years at Funders, Ben facilitated the launch of large-scale initiatives to increase resources for LGBTQ communities in the U.S. South and for transgender communities across

the country, helped found the Contigo Fund in response to the tragic Pulse shooting, and spearheaded a successful strategic plan to expand foundation funding for LGBTQ issues to $200 million.

Ben's other previous work includes service at Hispanics in Philanthropy, the Philadelphia Foundation, and the William Way LGBT Community Center. They hold a bachelor of arts from Swarthmore College and a master of public policy from the Harvard Kennedy School. They write magic realism and science fiction under the pen name Ben Francisco.

LORI VILLAROSA has been a pathbreaker at the intersection of racial justice and philanthropy for nearly 30 years, engaging with thousands of funders at the community, regional, national, and international levels to increase resources for efforts to combat systemic racism. As founder and executive director of PRE, she works with a diverse board of racial justice leaders and movement partners to significantly shift grantmaking practices through presentations, trainings, advising, and such PRE publications as the seminal *Grantmaking with a Racial Equity Lens* and the more recent *Grantmaking with a Racial Justice Lens: A Practical Guide*.

Before founding PRE, she was with the Mott Foundation for 12 years. There, she was instrumental in developing and managing the foundation's portfolio to explicitly address institutional and societal racism. She has served on multiple foundation boards and in different leadership roles with a number of philanthropy-serving organizations, including CHANGE Philanthropy and as a past board chair of AAPIP.

THE PHILANTHROPIC INITIATIVE FOR RACIAL EQUITY

The goal of the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity (PRE) is to increase the amount and effectiveness of resources aimed at combating institutional and structural racism in communities through capacity building, education, and convening of grantmakers and grantseekers.

PRE Is a project of Tides Center.

Devich Cyril, Malkia, Kan, Lyle Matthew, Maulbeck, Ben Francisco, and Villarosa, Lori. *Mismatched: Philanthropy's Response to the Call for Racial Justice*. Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity. 2021.

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