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Developing a Racial Justice Framework for U.S. Private Philanthropy

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Table of Contents

Contents

Personal Statement

In 2020, the United States experienced a racial reckoning following the killings of several African Americans who lost their lives to police brutality. That moment, marked by the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement, set a period of collective reflection and mourning, forcing individuals and organizations to grapple (some for the first time) with their role in perpetuating racial inequality. Such events left me with a profound mark. As an Afro-Brazilian women, I felt angered and compelled by these events. They triggered longstanding struggles around my own racial identity and the complexities of being a person of color in the United States.

I moved to the U.S. in my early 20s and ever since have struggled with the country's constructs of race and identity. I was often posed the question: 'what are you?', relating to my visible multi-racial background and over time learned how to navigate the spaces of privilege and oppression offered by this position. During the Summer of 2020 this already shattered navigation system broke. The events of 2020 became deeply emotional at a personal level and a widely discussed topic in my professional space. As an employee of a large U.S. private Foundation working in international development, I saw a sudden shift of cautious, if not fully absent, conversations about race in philanthropy be replaced by an urge to identify solutions. Colleagues reached out offering support and asking for guidance, and my organization committed a large sum of funding towards racial justice for the first time. We (institutions and individuals) entered a process of self-reflection, and as a result for the past three years I have been working alongside peers in several efforts to live up to our institutional and personal commitments.

This research takes place at the intersection of my personal and professional commitments to racial justice and seeks to investigate how philanthropy and development can acknowledge past harms and reimagine its role. In this review, as well as in my life and work, I invite an open discussion about race. This research is both biased and informed by my experiences as an immigrant in the United States, my privilege and access working for a wealthy philanthropic institution, my perspective as a practitioner that conducted nonprofit interventions in the Global North and the Global South, and the many identities that shape me.

Executive Summary

Over the past few years, the international development sector has been experiencing an awakening regarding the impacts of colonialism in the field. Calls for anti-colonial practices, cultural competency, and enhanced attention to imbalanced power dynamics have become increasingly prevalent, but despite this shift, the field still shows resistance to explore and intentionally address the role of race. This resistance which often presents as a color-blindness perpetuates harm, enable patterns of oppression, and limits our ability to promote lasting change in the sector. In this project, I use the literature review to investigate how race has shaped development and draw from the knowledge of international development scholars to understand why the topic has been neglected. Further, I explore the impacts of race on the design of development interventions, organizational structuring, and funding allocation. I conclude the literature review with proposed alternatives that envisions to consider a racial lens to shift power and tackle inequalities. Building on this information, I narrow the research to look at a set of organizations within private philanthropy and seek to understand how their practices and behaviors are informed by racial dynamics. To conclude this research, I combine

the findings of the literature review and interviews with international development practitioners to develop a racial justice framework that aims to ensure that development programs of private Foundations incorporate a racial justice lens into their work so they can foster interventions that are more equitable, effective, and nondiscriminatory.

Literature Review

The Power of Imagination: Creating Race

Race is a social construct. According to Kendi (2019), the first global power to build the idea of race was the Portuguese monarchy in the 1400s. The concept, still unnamed, was created by the biographer Gomes de Zurara to praise Prince Henry the Navigator and give moral justification for his sponsoring of transatlantic slave-trading voyages to West Africa. The idea of race is thus born of a desire to defend the lucrative commerce of human lives and to give transatlantic slavery the optics of liberation. It was not until the 1600s that the term race started gaining relevance and took its modern shape. First seen in a 1481 hunting poem by French poet Jacques de Brézé, the term *race* was used as a way to distinguish different groups of dogs, and it was only in 1606 that its first definition appeared in a dictionary drawing distinctions between different groups of people (Kendi, 2019). The designation was later adopted by European Enlightenment philosophers and naturalists who started to categorize the world and classify humans based on observable physical traits, appearance, or characteristics (NMAAHC, n.d). Scientific racism in the nineteenth century provided further legitimacy for these distinctions, embedding the idea of group hierarchies that eulogized Europeans while casting Africans and other colonized peoples as biologically inferior (Kothari, 2006). Coates (2015) explains this process of hierarchization by stating that race is not the father, but the

child of racism, and the process of naming “the people” has never been a matter of genealogy and physiognomy so much as one of hierarchy (Coates, 2015; p.6). Race is consequently a product of racism, deeply associated with the constructions of ‘whiteness’ and slavery and rooted in the desire of Europeans to legitimize the conquest and exploitation of other groups (Kothari, 2006). While biological classifications of race have been entirely discredited, race still exists as a social construction that gives or denies access to benefits and privileges (NMAAHC, n.d.). As shared by Wilkerson, what people look like, or rather, the race they have been assigned or are perceived to belong to, is the invisible cue to their caste and an important determinant of where people are expected to live, work, belong, and the services they can access (Wilkerson, 2020; p. 18).

The Racist Origins of the Development Field

In investigating the relationship between race and development, da Silva argues that racialized discourses are not only inherent to development but also a condition for its existence (da Silva, 2014). This argument is supported by authors such as White who claims that the language of development is rooted in the colonial encounter (White, 2002) and Wilson (2011) who contends that the historical and conceptual roots of the idea of development are intimately related to the consolidation of constructions of ‘race’ in the periods of slavery and colonialism (Wilson, 2011; p.316).

Race is thus a social construction intrinsically connected to colonialism that influences and provides foundational grounding for development. For Shilliam (2014), modern world development, as a set of practices and discourses, has always been and continues to be defined by the hierarchical ordering and re-ordering of humanity into racially-delineated groups. The

author argues that modern world development began with and grew out of the Atlantic slave trade because this period marked the beginning of interconnectedness between societies and made possible the drafting of racial hierarchies that would create Whiteness and determine the direction of European involvement in the non-Atlantic world (Shilliam, 2014).

With the debunking of ideas around biological racial superiority that permeated the nineteenth century and its banishment from vocabularies by the 1940s, Development (along with race) evolved and started to take a more familiar shape. Constructs of race were replaced by the creation of a narrative of civilization, and culture and ethnicity became the new explanation as to why some people had more power than others. It was during this period, defined as European imperialism, that a new discourse of superiority dividing Western Europe from the rest of the world was created. The idea of "west and the rest" coined by Stuart Hall exemplifies the period and speaks to the otherization created by Europeans to legitimize their superiority and justify conquest and exploitation (Kothari, 2006). It is in this context that binaries of civilized versus uncivilized started to surface claiming Europeans as morally (instead of biologically) superior, and other non-white cultures as barbaric and primitive. This shift allowed for two new frames to take place, that of the "civilizing mission" and of the "white men's burden." Under these frames, White Western Europeans who self-proclaimed as paragons of society would be responsible for civilizing other nations creating an updated moral argument for colonial expansion (Shilliam, 2014). It is essential to pay attention to this period as these discourses have determined the purpose of international development and continue to guide the sector (Da Silva, 2014). As noted by White (2002), development rests fundamentally on notions of difference, between here and there, now and then, us and them, developed and

developing (White, 2002; p.413). For Kothari (2006), such dichotomies are also evident in the distinctions between 'first' and 'third' worlds, and are foundational to relations of international aid, institutions of development, and discourses of intervention. Development then becomes a racialized project drawing upon a colonial fantasy to rationalize the intervention of some groups over others (Kothari, 2006).

The most recent iteration of development evolves from the abovementioned binaries. As categorizations of civilized versus uncivilized became unacceptable, new sanitized terms started taking place to create more polite terminology that tried to distance the sector from racialized language despite perpetuating the same racialized ideas (Kothari, 2006). Along with the evolution of language, post-colonialism and the era of the Cold War reshaped the development sector, moving its moral prerogative from a frame of educating the uncivilized to that of modernizing societies. During the Cold War, anti-colonial movements and the USSR threat to European and United States hegemony influenced this shift, and a new movement that centered nations in the Global North (along with its capitalist and neo-liberal ideas) as the paragons of progress was established (Shilliam, 2014). In this updated context, colonialism gave way to political and economic influence and established development as an unspoken tool for dominant countries to pursue their geopolitical agendas (White, 2002).

Following the Cold War, development continued to distance itself from racial language. While the moral imperative for aid and international development persisted, concerns with poverty, welfare, and social betterment through improved infrastructure became the focus of the field (Kothari, 2006). Despite this attempt to distance itself from race, racialized undertones remained concealed in development terminology, and of such terms, perhaps the most

prominent are references to *culture* and *ethnicity* as implicit substitutions (Kothari, 2006; Shilliam, 2014; White, 2002). As Kothari suggests, to think about *race* in development today requires thinking about other, newer racialized formations that have come to the fore. The ascription of people and places as "developed" or "undeveloped" has been re-figured over time, becoming more complex and less binary (Kothari, 2006; p.14).

Silence Around Race

If race plays such an important role in the formation of development, it then begs the question of why the topic has not been more prominent in the field. In 2006, *Progress in Development Studies* started exploring race and racism in a collection of papers and its staff editorial invited development scholars to produce more rigorous discussions of "race" and racism in the sector (Kothari, 2006b; p.6). Thirteen years later Patel's evidence showed that the field failed to accept that invitation. In 2020, the author conducted a systematic review and content analysis of development papers to identify the prevalence of race in development scholarship. Specifically, Patel surveyed 9280 papers published across six popular development journals between 2007 to 2020 and found that only 32 of those (0.34%) mentioned the terms *race*, *racial* or *racism* in the paper title, keywords, or abstract. And of these 32 papers, 17 belonged to the same journal (Patel, 2020; p. 1471). This neglect can be attributed to the intertwined and inseparable relationship between race, racism, and colonialism to development scholarship. An overlook defined by White as a determining silence that both masks and marks the centrality of race to the development project (White, 2002; p.408).

For Crewe and Fernando (2006), while there is widespread agreement that structures of inequality can be serious obstacles to developmental goals, some inequalities appear to be

taken more seriously than others. The authors dispute that while development agencies embraced gender, often making it a core piece of their mandates, race has yet to be recognized, confronted, and challenged (Crewe & Fernando, 2006.; p.40-41). White (2002) adds that the contrast between race and gender is striking when one looks at development studies and its products. Investments in gender analysis at the institutional and programmatic level can often be observed and monitored across the sector whilst race is rarely even mentioned in development studies. For the author, talking about race in development is like breaking a taboo, and the hiddenness of race in development makes seeking to discuss it a bit like breaking a code (White, 2002; p.407, 408).

The unwillingness of the sector to talk about race does not have a single explanation but can be divided into four main categories that includes the lack of clear definitions for race and racism in the international context (Crewe & Fernando, 2006); the use of sanitized language in development to avoid racial discussions (Kothari, 2006); the implicit nobility on which the sector is built (White, 2002; Wilson, 2011); and the discomfort of White practitioners about what conversations about race may reveal (Kagal & Latchford, 2020; Pailey, 2019).

When looking at the first challenge, Winant suggests that our ability to recognize race operates like second nature but suddenly disappears when it is time to define race or delineate its principles (Winant, 1994). This avoidance of definitions is true for the development field, and part of the struggle to engage in such discussions lies in a fear that speaking about race may reconfirm or resurface a debate about its validity (White, 2002). As discussed in the first portion of this review, there is conclusive evidence that classifications of race are social constructions without biological validation and formulated to create social hierarchies that give justification

for the dominance of some groups over others (Kendi, 2019; Kothari, 2006; Shilliam, 2014; White, 2002). But while understanding the origins of race may be simple, how can one define it without running the risk of being accused of racism? For Crewe & Fernando (2006), the most conceptually useful way to describe groups of people is to use their own socially constructed categories, and while there is often a level of agreement within nations about what those are, an international classification of race is still lacking. Defining race is a task complicated enough within one country, and becomes a massive challenge in an industry that involves multiple countries, each with their own forms of racism and inequalities (Crewe & Fernando, 2006; p. 43).

The task is complex, and while no clear definition of race in the context of development was identified in this research, a potential path may be available in Critical race theory (CRT), a theoretical perspective that denies race from an essentialist (natural, biological) perspective while recognizing the reality of its effects in the formation of groups and identities and its presence across our dominant institutions. CRT provides language to understand that despite being made up and often denied, race (and racism) are persistent constructs that continues to influence life in society (Jung et all, 2022). One of the significant concepts informed by this theory is that of 'antiracism', a term coined by Ibram X. Kendi who argues that neutrality is not possible when talking about racism and that the opposite of 'racist' is not 'not racist', but 'antiracist'. For Kendi, racist is a descriptive term, not a pejorative one, meaning that racist and antiracist are not fixed identities, and that people and institutions can be racist at one minute and antiracist in the next. The author adds that what we say or do about race, in each moment, determines what – not who - we are (Kendi, 2019; p.9-10). This concept is relevant because it

gives people not only license, but also a mandate to talk about race, an idea surfaced by Omi and Winant 33 years before when they proposed that the identification of racial projects does not need to imply racism. Bringing this idea into the development sphere, White argues that development could become a racial project that recognizes and battles racist ideas instead of reproducing them (White, 2002).

When we look at the second challenge, which refers to development's use of sanitized terminology to discuss race, Kothari observes that while it is not difficult to identify colonial genealogies of development the real challenge lies in understanding how these colonial narratives have been recycled and reformulated in contemporary discourses and practices of development. The author argues that as the narratives that distinguish between people evolved and moved from referring to *biology*, *nature*, or *types of bodies* to terms such as *culture*, *indigenous*, *tradition,* and *ethnicity* it became harder to highlight their racialized nature and their impact in post-colonial development (Kothari, 2006; p.12-13).

This tendency of the field to use euphemistic language to conceal race adds to a vast vocabulary and seems to be employed as an attempt to avoid controversy. Examples of such terminology in development discourse include designations such as "tribalism", "ethnicity", "tradition", "religion" and "culture" (White, 2002; p. 408) but is not limited to it. Binaries of urban/rural, modern/traditional, and productive/unproductive structured modernization theory (Wilson, 2011), while geographical dichotomies of "First" and "Third" worlds were replaced by those of development/ underdevelopment, and more recently by differentiations between 'Global North' and 'Global South' (Pailey, 2020). In this vast dictionary of hidden meanings, seemingly harmless denominations such as expertise, expatriates, and progress also

carry racialized undertones that reveals the colonial inheritance of contemporary development (Crewe & Fernando, 2006). Special notice can be given to discussions of diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) which received increased attention and investment from the sector in the past few years. Despite its potential to lift the topic of race, discussions of DEI are oftentimes exclusionary of race and used as an instrument to support superficial and performative shifts while maintaining the status quo. Until recently, these explorations focused almost exclusively on gender diversity and often served as a tool to avoid an honest self-assessment relating to how this field perpetuates racism (Bruce-Raeburn, 2019). As Kothari proposes, in a globalized world with more complex racialized communities, to think about race in development requires thinking about newer racialized formations that have come to the fore (Kothari, 2006; p.14).

The third challenge that contributes to keeping race a taboo relates to the nobility implicit in the language that frames international development and aid (Kothari, 2006). Development carries an assumption of charity, empathy, humanitarianism, and justice (Lester, 2002 as seen in Kothari, 2006). This presumption of goodness is founded in the civilizing mission of colonial times and was reinscribed under the mandate of poverty alleviation that was attributed to development after the Cold War (Shilliam, 2014). Contradictory, this “war on poverty” seems to ignore color, and while many agree about the correlations between poverty and race, public examinations that explore such intersections are still waiting to be translated into research (White, 2002).

As Crewe & Fernando contends, race has yet to be recognized, confronted, and challenged partly because racism comes from within and between the development agencies themselves (Crewe & Fernando, 2006). The uncontested morality and color blindness of the

field serves to maintain a White-dominated space where agents are comfortable in their roles as saviors and blissfully distanced of past oppression (White, 2002; Wilson, 2011). As Kagal & Latchford (2020) observes, "underdevelopment" is often considered as a natural and endemic feature of the global South and is rarely associated to the appropriation, enslavement, exploitation, unfair taxation, unequal trade, and extraction promoted by those entrusted to bring progress. In this process, the conditions for such 'underdevelopment' remain ignored and the development sector becomes complicit to a racist project that re-writes history to benefit the holders of knowledge and power (Kagal & Latchford, 2020). Returning to White's remarks about the silence on race, it becomes clear that this silence allows Western practitioners to consolidate their dominance while avoiding accountability for the powers, privileges and inequalities that continue to flow from whiteness (Pailey, 2019; p.732).

Why Talk About Race?

So far, I made various historical connections between development, race, and colonialism, but despite this intertwined relationship it would be simplistic to reduce development to a racial project. As Kagal & Latchford notes, the term *development* itself is highly contested and while some use it to refer largely to the 'industry' of aid agencies, government ministries, and non-government organizations (NGOs), others define the development industry as comprising a set of regimes for the production of power/knowledge (White 2006 as seen in Kagal & Latchford, 2020; p.12). For White (2002), while development likes to present itself as philanthropy, its implications in global power relations acquired after the Cold War are beyond question. The sector carries a transformative power in its directive of building infrastructure, institutions, capacity, and knowledge production, and is an important

tool for countries to disseminate their ideological and economic agendas and establish their political influence (White, 2002). In its current iteration, development's power lies precisely in its capacity to enlist others to its own agenda while avoiding domination or brute force (White, 2002; p.410), and while it is true that the industry is primarily inspired by global capitalism and the geopolitical interests of (mostly Western) dominant states, the field has relative autonomy in projects to address poverty, welfare, and inequality (White, 2002). So, if the system evolved, why then should we talk about race?

In the post-Cold War era, the international development sector was expanded, and a large number of NGOs were created. By the 1990s, ideas associating the field to concepts of charity, humanitarianism, and philanthropy were consolidated opening the space for donors to exert increased influence on the international agenda of the so called 'under-developed' countries (Wilson, 2011). This expansion ignored race and the colonial roots of the field forming representations that reproduced the process of 'otherization' fashioned by European imperialism (Kothari, 2006). While narratives of a 'civilizing mission' permeated development, it was during this post-Cold War context that the 'third world' became synonymous to poverty and images depicting non-Whites as starving, helpless victims became widely adopted by the sector. Such images, commonly portrayed by a starving Black child, originate from the Ethiopian Famine of 1984–85 and served to associate Africa and Asia to poverty, disease, and overpopulation while legitimizing international development interventions. (Kothari, 2006; Wilson, 2011).

By creating such representations, the field reinforced binaries that justified its necessity as well as its potential shortcomings. With this narrative, Western development practitioners

were necessary to save the victims in the third world, and just in case this project of progress failed to deliver, such defeat could be explained by the deficiency and backwardness of these populations (Kothari, 2006; White, 2002; Wilson, 2011). Kothari exposes evidence that this is a racial project because a different treatment was conferred to development challenges in Eastern Europe, which are attributed to its ties with communism instead of perceptions of cultural deficiencies (Kothari, 2006). In this revised version of development, White Western Europeans and North Americans were (and still largely are) perceived as the holders of the knowledge and solutions for problems of the passive and unreliable beneficiaries in the South. (Kothari, 2006; Pailey, 2020; White, 2002; Wilson, 2011). These representations became so dominant in the sector that Crewe & Fernando defined them as *rituals* that set the field's status quo and structures its social order, practices, and behaviors (Crewe & Fernando, 2006).

These rituals reinforce binaries that historically have been privileging Western (and mostly White) practitioners, who are centered in development and hold power in visible and invisible ways. For instance, Western practitioners dominate high-level positions in the sector and get to set agendas for the Global South while sitting in Northern-based institutions. When they get to live in Africa, Asia, and South America and have the opportunity to get closer to the populations they serve they usually do so as expatriates, a temporary and privileged form of migration that gives them special conditions for living abroad. Such privileges include access to high-level positions, facilitated visa processes, and considerable financial benefits, among other advantages that limits their exposure from the challenges experienced by the very populations they are supposed to support (Crewe & Fernando, 2006; Kagal and Latchford, 2020; Kothari, 2006; White, 2002). This centering on Whiteness also gives Western development agents an

often unacknowledged and unconscious assumption of superiority and expertise (Kothari, 2006; p. 15) that grants them access to high paying jobs and decision-making spaces, reinforcing the white gaze that endorses the idea that white is always right, and West is always best. (Pailey, 2020; p.733)

This role playing and assumption of expertise is often accepted and replicated by people in the Global South. That happens because even in places where a belief in White superiority is not present, the power held by Western practitioners through its access to technology, decision-making spaces, and funding confers them power (Crewe & Fernando, 2006; Mona & Worku, 2020). There is a clear understanding that Western practitioners can determine the directions in which money will flow and which programs will be implemented, and while this power is usually held by Whites, it can cross perceptions of race and be attributed to Black or Brown individuals as long as they are linked to northern agencies (Crewe & Fernando, 2006; Khan, 2011; and Kothari, 2006). This access comes with a set of complexities because unlike their White expatriate peers, practitioners with roots in the Global South working for international development organizations in the North tend to get their identities interrogated from both sides. They may feel their credentials judged by their colleagues in the North and in parallel have their allegiances questioned by peers in the South. This access, which has the power to be restorative, can instead become frustrating, isolating, and dis-empowering, serving as a tool to perpetuate stereotypes (Crewe & Fernando, 2006; Kagal & Latchford, 2020; Khan, 2011; and Kothari, 2006).

Relating to the invisible ways that the West is centered, Euro-Americans have greater access to technologies such as fast internet connection, modern equipment, and software

licenses; locality, exemplified by their proximity to cities like New York, Washington D.C., and London which houses large donor organizations and establishes the time zones for the sector; and the advantage over language, which can be observed not only in the way that colonial languages such as English, French, and Spanish dominate the industry, but also in linguistic dominance over knowledge production (Crewe & Fernando, 2006; Kothari, 2006). Language access can be a particularly flagrant show of inequality as non-native English speakers must go through additional steps to access and produce literature, understand jargon, or apply for proposals drafted in their second language. For non-English speakers the already limited access may only occur through external consultants who have their own biases (Crewe & Fernando, 2006; Kothari, 2006).

As we can see, the binaries that evolved from racial hierarchies and colonialism still holds a central place in development guiding our mandates, practices, and perceptions (Kagal, 2020; Patel, 2020). And while it is true that race, as the social construction that it is, can be experienced differently in each country context, the continuous dominance of racial foundations make a compelling case to explore the impacts of race in development's representations, funding, organizational structures, practices and behaviors, and program design. Such investigation will allow the field to probe its assumptions and evaluate its priorities and operations from a better-informed space (Kothari, 2006; White, 2002). As Kothari notes, other social science disciplines such as geography, sociology, anthropology, and cultural studies already engaged in this debate (Kothari, 2006; p.10), and while the conversation about race in development remains cautious and limited, the topic seems to be receiving increased attention

following calls for racial justice reform that gained visibility after the Black Lives Matter protests of 2020 in the United States (Villarosa, 2018).

Reimagining development

There is common ground among the scholars in this literature that breaking the silence and confronting the taboo that surrounds race is the first step in reimagining development. This uncovering should be followed by the decentering of Whiteness and a shift of power that moves influence and resources to the Global South (Crewe & Fernando, 2006; Kagal & Latchford, 2020; Kothari, 2006; Pailey, 2019; Wilson, 2011). Authors such as Kagal & Latchford (2020) and Wilson (2011) add that for a successful exploration of race it is necessary that the field employ an intersectional approach that connects the relationships between race, gender, and poverty.

The term *intersectionality* is rooted in Black feminist thought and was first coined in 1989 by legal scholar and critical race theorist Professor Kimberlé Crenshaw. Crenshaw defined intersectionality as a tool to contextualize the specific ways African American women were being subjected to both sex and race discrimination, and the barriers they faced when trying to recognize these overlapping experiences of inequality (Kagal & Latchford, 2020; p. 15). For White (2002), when we look at development as a process of racial formation it is important to include other dimensions of identity such as gender, age, and class since they are composite identities that are experienced in distinct but simultaneously ways (White, 2002).

When applied to the field of international development, intersectionality offers us language to reflect on how multiple experiences of oppression interact. The term broadens our possibilities to disrupt the complex ways in which inequalities and oppression are manifested

and enables practitioners to design interventions that respond to people's challenges holistically (Kagal & Latchford, 2020; White, 2002). Despite its benefits, the sector's roots in neo-liberal economy reduces intersectionality to gender discussions and blocks conversations about the root causes of underdevelopment and the use of reparations as a solution (Kagal & Latchford, 2020).

The de-centering of Whiteness is another topic widely explored by authors concerned with race in development. This involves a series of practical questions that organizations need to grapple with in order to acknowledge development's racialized history and the damage it has caused. Within such questions lays the uncomfortable exploration of who benefits from unequal relations of power, engagement in the national agendas, and representation that reinforce narratives of victimization (Kagal & Latchford, 2020). For Crewe & Fernando (2006), this de-centering involves reversing exclusionary rituals of development by creating spaces for discussions of racism, investing on language accessibility, promoting geographical equity, and giving partners in the Global South control over budgets, planning, and evaluation processes (Crewe & Fernando, 2006). The process also comprises an interrogation of positionality so practitioners and organizations can question the reasons why they do this work, how their biases inform it, and how they see themselves (Kagal & Latchford, 2020). Knowledge production plays a part in this puzzle too, and a reconceptualization of what acceptable research and academic rigor means becomes essential to move academia from an exclusionary and elitist single story to a space where multiple forms of expertise, guided by the scholarship of black and indigenous peoples are accepted and celebrated (Kagal & Latchford, 2020; Patel, 2020).

Various alternatives could supplement this list, yet it becomes clear that only after such explorations, will it be possible to move conversations about race in development beyond a historical framing of decolonization and towards an intersectional and practical anti-racist approach that opens the possibility for power-sharing that builds strategies for reparation, accountability, and transparency (Kagal & Latchford, 2020; Patel, 2020). Such an approach relies heavily on a shift of power from the Global North to the Global South and will require listening to and providing true power to minoritized communities, questioning elitism and privileges in organizations, and training staff on the racial history of the international development sector to mitigate past harms and pay off an 'ancestral debt' owed to exploited countries in the Global South (Spivak, 2017 as seen in Kagal & Latchford, 2020; p. 25).

Conclusion

In this literature review, I discussed the role that race and colonialism played in the foundation of international development exploring how representations of racial hierarchy have evolved within the sector and the implications for its contemporary format. What I found is that although the topic of race is deeply connected to the structuring of the industry and the establishment of its practices there is a clear neglect of the subject as well as intentional efforts to de-racialize the field and prevent explorations of these critical issues. In this research, I presented a set of reasons that may explain the fear of the field to uptake racial discussions including, but not limited to the lack of clear definitions for race and racism in the international context, the use of sanitized language in development to avoid racial discussions, the claims of nobility on which the sector is built, and the discomfort of White practitioners about what conversations about race may reveal. Additionally, I indicated various ways in which race has

been affecting development's mandates, practices, and representations and concluded with potential alternatives for reimagining development using a restorative and anti-racist lens. Talking about race is not an easy task, and in doing so one must confront personal assumptions, fear, and privileges. This may be particularly conflicting in a field built in the premise of improving lives. Still, minimizing or ignoring the existence of racialized dynamics in development only serves the perpetuation of racial hierarchies and limits the industry's potential to create comprehensive solutions to its most pressing problems.

Introduction to Community and Context

What is philanthropy?

If development is the goal, philanthropy is a powerful means to achieve it. The term philanthropy evolved over time and is often synonymous to *charity*, *aid*, and *giving*. In its current iteration, philanthropy tends to reflect western ideas and can be understood as the use of private resources for public purposes (Daly, 2012; Phillips & Jung, 2016 as cited in Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, 2020). While philanthropy is broader than international development, with countries and cultures showcasing long traditions of philanthropic giving, its current iteration has deep connections to it. The significant relationship between international development and philanthropy is influenced by factors such as economic growth, increase in private wealth accumulation, and persistence of social and economic inequalities (Johnson, 2018; p.12).

In the United States, meaningful philanthropic investments in development can be traced to the 1920s when the Rockefeller Foundation made contributions for the establishment of the League of Nations (Moran & Stone, 2016). Additionally, the two decades following the

Cold War established philanthropy as an important actor in development, a trend resulting from representations of the Global South as unsteady geographies (Shilliam, 2014). As the Global South became closely associated to issues of poverty, famine, and diseases, philanthropic organizations started investing in solutions for these issues. Institutions such as private foundations and non-profits multiplied during this period, and by the 2000s investments in global development, population, and reproductive health scaled up. Such investments conferred philanthropic organizations a perceived status of expertise and enabled them to influence global agendas and activities. (Moran & Stone, 2016).

Philanthropic activities manifest in diverse ways and may include financial and non-financial contributions. Such activities have been monitored by the Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy since 2017 through a report designed to capture cross-border philanthropic contributions globally. The report, titled Global Philanthropy Tracker (GPT) was last released in 2020 and shows that during 2018 the 47 economies included in the review contributed a combined 175 billion dollars through official development assistance (ODA), and another 68 billion dollars in private foreign assistance such as philanthropy. Of this number, most contributions flowed from high-income economies with the United States leading the charts in both categories and giving USD 34 billion through ODA and USD 48 billion through private philanthropy (Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, 2020). These investments are meaningful and portray the high volume of philanthropic flows moving from the Global North to the Global South even if they only represent a drop in the bucket of the GDP of high-income countries (Kilby, 2021).

Global philanthropic resources are heavily invested in education, global health, and poverty alleviation, and are primarily infused in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. This multibillion-dollar industry is exercised via activities such as monetary contributions, volunteering, and advocacy, and 90 percent of its institutions self-identify as independent or family foundations (Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, 2020; Johnson, 2018). The United States alone reported a total of 1,812,815 registered nonprofits in the country. The number drops to a still staggering figure of 126,389 when we only account for private and community foundations (Candid, 2022). This predominance of American philanthropy is present in museums, universities, and infrastructure across the world, penetrating and setting the tone for philanthropy's systems, norms, and behaviors (Kilby, 2021).

Considering the relevance of U.S. philanthropy, this study will focus on a subset of private foundations head-quartered in that country. Foundations can be distinguished in three main categories: independent or family foundations, corporate foundations, and operating foundations. Independent or family foundations were selected because they are responsible for most activities relating to international development and represent 30.8 billion dollars of all the globally focused grant dollars disbursed between 2016 and 2019. Their investments spread through every major region and 188 specific countries, but the largest share of funding focused on Sub-Saharan Africa (25.1%) and Asia & Pacific (17.7%). Their priorities center on health, economic and community development, environment, and human rights. These foundations prioritize interventions for specific populations and primarily address the needs of children and youth, women and girls, and individuals living with HIV/ AIDS. Their funds are aligned with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and are primarily disbursed to organizations

headquartered in the United States (60.9%) that often serve as intermediaries regranting to projects in the Global South. Perhaps one of their most interesting characteristics is that their money is extremely concentrated. Almost two-thirds of the globally focused grants that took place between 2016 and 2019 were disbursed by ten foundations (Lawrence, 2022).

There is often a tension within foundations between aspiring to transparency and wishing to safeguard the privacy and security of their financial information (Johnson, 2018). Some of these organizations share their data publicly but most receive little scrutiny other than the tax reporting required by the U.S. tax service. These organizations are usually perceived either as a benign institution that raises above political and economic interests, or as a block of privileged elites set to influence global interests (Moran & Stone, 2016). For instance, Mona & Worku (2020) argue that philanthropy has always existed at the intersection of capitalism and racial injustice, perpetuating the same social and economic ills that it promises to fix. For the authors, philanthropy gives the wealthiest people and institutions the ability to dictate funding priorities and move wealth while avoiding taxes and looking good (Mona & Worku, 2020). The authors give voice to an increased questioning of the purpose of philanthropic institutions and their role in perpetuating racism and inequality.

A note on race in the United States

The racial formation of the United States is a long and complex theme that deserves a study on its own. The topic is explored in further detail and powerful narratives by authors such as Kendi (2016 and 2019) and Wilkerson (2010 and 2020), among many others who give light to the subject. Even thou it is hard to provide a short description of race in the United States, it is fair to state that race is deeply embedded in the institutions, structures, and systems that

formed American Society. This statement is supported by critical race theory, a cross-disciplinary framework started on the 1970s that explores how the United States is shaped by notions of race and ethnicity (Delgado & Stefancic, 2023).

Race is a reality that molds the daily interactions of those living in the United States in hidden and explicit ways. The topic has been consistently lifted by social movements fighting for racial justice and equality in the country and their sustained efforts made a response to acts of police brutality and other types of discrimination possible. Thanks to their ongoing advocacy the stories of Ahmaud Arbery, Breonna Taylor, and George Floyd gained considerable visibility in 2020 sparking protests across the country. Videos showing the lethal use of force by police and white vigilantes against African Americans were released creating public outrage and giving the Black Lives Matter movement (BLM) a national platform to denounce the pervasive ways in which racism operates in the country. Several media sources refer to this period as the Summer of racial reckoning (Chang et. all, 2020; McLaughlin, 2020), an awakening that led to a quick spread of protests that solidified the uptake and relevance of the Black Lives Matter movement and became the largest social movement in U.S. history in a matter of months (Buchanan et. all, 2020). While movements across the globe have called for an exploration of race in international development prior to the summer of 2020, the American experience has pushed individuals and organizations, including private foundations, to share their position on race and engage in an exercise of self-reflection (Jung et. all, 2022). This study explores this moment and seeks to understand how commitments made by U.S. private philanthropy can leverage discussions about the role of race in international development.

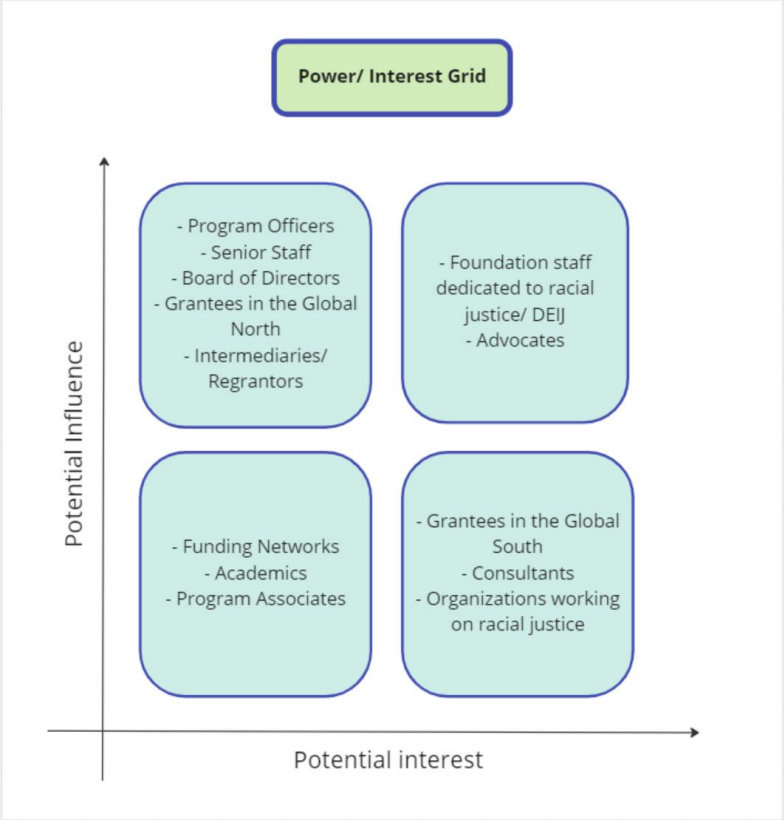
Stakeholder Analysis

As discussed in the community and context section, this project will focus on family foundations, a subgroup of the various actors that compose the philanthropic sector. To define which foundations to include in this study I looked at the top ten U.S. Foundations which combined were responsible for 64% of all the global giving between 2016 and 2019 (Lawrence, 2022). After consideration, I decided to limit the scope of this project to four Foundations within that list. Combined, these organizations awarded more than 3.36 billion dollars distributed across more than seven thousand grants primarily dedicated to health, environment, human rights, and economic and community development. It is worth noting that I intentionally excluded the organization ranking first, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF), given its considerable higher size, assets, and giving. During 2016 and 2019, BMGF represented 45.4% of the global giving, making its contributions more than twice the size of all of the other top nine Foundations combined. Other reasons taken into consideration for the choosing of organizations include the incidence of racial justice commitments, availability of public data, and potential access to staff.

Given their potential for impact, select staff and beneficiaries from the four Foundations were selected as the primary stakeholders for this project. The group was divided into four categories and mapped according to their level of influence and interest in this work. The two primary stakeholders are program officers embedded in Foundations and their grantees. Program officers often represent institutions and can help determine the direction of funding and strategic priorities within these organizations. Their understanding of the role of race in international development and uptake of a racial justice lens has the potential to tackle power

imbalances and counter practices that perpetuate inequality. These actors often interact with organizations who represent the communities Foundations intends to serve. These representing organizations are usually called grantee organizations and they are responsible for developing and implementing the interventions that will benefit the ultimate beneficiaries of a given project. Other actors are also relevant and may impact the design and uptake of racial justice discussions within a Foundation. The table below details the stakeholders:

Stakeholder Map			
Decision Makers	**Influencers**	**Beneficiaries**	**Implementing partners**
Funders (U.S. private philanthropy): - Program Officers - Program Associates - Board of Directors - Staff dedicated to racial justice/ DEIJ - Senior staff	- Academia - Consultants - Funding Networks - Advocates - Organizations working on Racial Justice - Grantees in the Global North	- Grantees in the Global South - Organizations working on Racial Justice	- Intermediaries/ Regrantors - Consultants - Organizations working on Racial Justice



Engagement with a set of stakeholders will be necessary for the development of a tool to encourage the uptake of racial discussions and racial justice interventions. The chart below details which stakeholders will be approached and their relationship with the project, including incentives, motivations, and risks:

Stakeholder Engagement				
Type of Stakeholder	**Name of person/ org and short description**	**Relationship to Project**	**Incentives, Motivations, Risks**	**How to Engage**
Decision-maker	**Foundations (up to 4)** People: 1. Engage 1-2 program officers	Primary Stakeholder. Can inform the project	Incentives: Learning, share successes, discuss challenges Motivations: Alignment with recent commitments Risks: Limited capacity,	- Frequency: 1-3 times: - Request information - Conduct interviews

		Has the power to implement changes	Hesitancy in sharing, Lack of available data	- Inform and seek feedback
Beneficiary	**Grantees in the Global South (up to 4)** People: Leadership	Primary Stakeholder Main beneficiary Can apply pressure on decision-makers	<u>Incentives:</u> Learning, understand directions of the field <u>Motivations:</u> Potential increase in funding, tap on power imbalances, shifts in practices <u>Risks:</u> Limited capacity, Hesitancy in sharing, Lack of available data	- Frequency: 1-3 times: - Request information - Conduct interviews - Inform and seek feedback
Beneficiary/ Influencer	**Organization working on Racial Justice globally** Officer	Primary Stakeholder Main beneficiary Can apply pressure on decision-makers Can influence the field	<u>Incentives:</u> Learning, understand directions of the field <u>Motivations:</u> Potential increase in funding, tap on power imbalances, shifts in practices <u>Risks:</u> Limited capacity, Hesitancy in sharing, Lack of available data	- Frequency: 2 times: - Request information - Conduct interview with 1 staff
Implementing partner	**Intermediary / Regranters**	Can apply pressure on decision-makers Can influence the field	<u>Incentives:</u> Learning, understand directions of the field <u>Motivations:</u> tap on power imbalances, shifts in practices <u>Risks:</u> Limited capacity, Hesitancy in sharing, Lack of available data	- Frequency: 2 times: - Request information - Conduct interview
Influencers/ Implementing partners	**Funders Network**	Influencers. Are dedicated to build the field and can provide relevant	<u>Incentives:</u> Share learnings and opportunities <u>Motivations:</u> Increase network of supporters for the field	- Frequency: 2 times: - Request information

		information and networks	Risks: Limited capacity, Lack of interest	- Conduct interview
Influencer	**Consultants**	Influencers Have available data Are dedicated to build the field and can provide relevant information	Incentives: Share learnings and opportunities Motivations: Potential to attract new clients Risks: Limited capacity, Expectation of remuneration	- Frequency: 1 - Desk review - Conduct interviews

Needs Assessment

To better understand the needs of philanthropic organizations relating to racial justice, I performed semi-structured interviews with a sample of development practitioners and conducted desk research of published materials in the topic. The two techniques were employed to find existing resources and determine the usefulness of the implementation of a racial justice framework in private philanthropy. Additionally, the research process was designed to identify potential gaps and to understand barriers that prevent the sector from furthering this topic. Below is a summary of the methodology and results of each approach:

Methodology

Semi-structured interviews: Key-informant interviews were undertaken with a sample of foundation staff, their grantees, and consultants. All interviews were conducted in English and transcribed to identify helpful comments and recurring themes. The purpose of the interviews was to gather insight on the usefulness of a racial justice framework oriented towards international development. Additionally, the interviews sought to understand existing efforts

and major roadblocks in this arena. Thirteen interviews were conducted between March 1st through April 17th of 2022. Respondents were based in Africa, Latin America, and North America and held decision-making roles in their institutions. Most of the respondents were womXn, and although no direct inquiries were made about perceived race or ethnical alignment, three of the respondents self-identified as White, six self-identified as Black, one self-identified as Asian, and three didn't self-identify. The interviews lasted between 30 to 90 minutes and only one interviewee didn't provide consent to recording. To promote open sharing, the respondents were assured that their comments would remain anonymous and collated with similar themes. Transcripts of the interviews were saved in a secured server and analyzed using the Zoom transcription tool or manual recordings. A questionnaire was designed to guide the interviews and gather respondent's' opinions on:

- Their experiences with race and racism in international development
- Their perceived relevance of race in international development
- Their level of engagement in discussions about race and racial justice
- Their commitments to race and racial justice work
- Their perceived barriers for conducting race and racial justice discussions
- Their barriers they perceive for the incorporation of a racial justice lens/ framework
- Their aspirations for international development resources and interventions

Desk research: Between February 10th and March 22nd of 2023, I conducted a content analysis to identify perceived challenges and proposed solutions to address racial justice in

private philanthropy. This analysis included a review of the following publicly available materials:

- 10 Racial justice and racial equity frameworks, toolkits, guides, and assessments produced by and/ or targeted for U.S. philanthropic institutions.
- 5 Reports and evaluations discussing racial justice and racial equity in philanthropy.
- 18 Racial justice literature in various formats produced by the primary stakeholders.
- Various news articles that refer to racial justice in philanthropy and development.

This methodology was used due to the limited amount of academically produced reviews available in the subject, the cross-disciplinary nature of the work, and its potential for supporting the development of an intervention. The review of racial equity materials was included due to the limited sample of materials targeting solely racial justice.

Limitations: Despite its contributions, this study is limited in that it only includes interviews with a sample of private foundation staff, their grantees, and consultants, leaving out a range of perspectives from other development practitioners. Additionally, the exclusion of professionals outside of leadership positions may ignore important nuances in equity and power dynamics. Future research should expand this line of inquiry to incorporate other segments of the field, more organization that vary in size and level of contribution, and an increased number of geographies. Demographic variables might also impact the findings and future research should further explore practitioners' perceived race, gender, socioeconomics, and location. Finally, the findings are qualitative and subject to the researcher bias in thinking, positionality, and networks.

Results and Lessons of interviews

During the interviews, respondents shared a willingness to speak openly. The questions were answered directly and although there were variations in responses common themes emerged. Below I discuss main lessons from the interview and desk research and flag differences between the two when appropriate:

1. Concepts of DEI and Racial Justice do not resonate in the international sphere:

   While the desk review recommended the use of intentional language that confronts power, addresses historic harm, and speaks to the root causes of racism, the interviews revealed that development practitioners think that DEI and Racial justice concepts are U.S. centric and do not resonate in international spaces. Critiques of the DEI framework includes the lack of intersectionality and too much attention given to definitions. Multiple respondents reported similar feelings that a lot of time is wasted in trying to create frames and definitions for DEI instead of focusing on power shifting. This point also clashes with the desk research which revealed that philanthropic sources are very focused on terminology and emphasize the need for organizations to create shared language and shared meaning within their institutions.

   While all respondents mentioned that aspects of DEI, and particularly diversity, are relevant to their work, there was significant consensus in that the frame doesn't address the intersectional identities and needs of beneficiaries. One respondent noted that despite the deficiencies of DEI, the frame still plays an important role in helping organizations to identify, acknowledge, and address their weaknesses.

Racial justice concepts generated a similar reaction. Respondents shared a common feeling that ideas around racial justice focus on the U.S. experience and are not as engaging in the Global South. Many respondents mentioned that they would like to understand how to approach race and racism in ways that are relevant to the regions where they operate and a few suggested embedding this topic in discussions about economic exclusion, extractivism, and migration since they are more reflective of what is experienced in the Global South.

Respondents with programs in Latin America seemed more receptive to the idea of contextualized racial justice frameworks, including a potential regional framework, but respondents with a strong presence in African countries proposed that framings around decolonization, access, and power imbalances may offer better entry-points for the subject. It is important to note that although most respondents felt that a racial justice framework is not applicable to African countries, they also reported the importance of embedding discussions of race within the other approaches.

2. <u>Fear of unintended consequences and imbalanced power dynamics prevent open discussions:</u>

Some respondents expressed hesitation in adopting a racial justice lens to their work. For this group, discussions about race need to be purpose driven, actionable, and mindful of potential harm. Respondents embedded in African countries shared that although they see race shaping interactions in the development arena there are power dynamics that prevent open conversations. Several respondents mentioned that simply calling out race or racism may have unintended consequences that risks their funding

and networks. This group also highlighted that practitioners who believe in the importance of racial discussions often dismiss the topic due to White sensitivity and the fear of losing funding and networks. A respondent made an analogy to cases of violence against women: *"When a woman is beaten, even when she has marks and bruises, she may say that everything is fine. It's similar with racism in the Black African countries. A lot of people believe that Blackness left following the dismantling of the colonies, but the [racial] dynamics persist, and just like in a domestic violence case it is hard to recognize the issue and name it."*

When asked about whether a racial justice framework would be useful, a few respondents noted the necessity to acknowledge unintentional harm and the limitations of private funding. They highlighted that private philanthropy is only a subset of the international development ecosystem and most of the development revenue comes from state agencies, corporate funders, and bilaterals. They feel that these funders are not engaged in this conversation and for this reason they prefer to approach race using concealed and non-controversial terminology. A respondent contextualized this issue by sharing that a gender lens has evolved because the rhetoric for gender has more receptivity than that of race. Promoting women's well-being isn't controversial but just intentionally calling out race can create harmful ripple effects.

3. <u>Solutions need to be intersectional:</u>

Both the interviews and desk review highlighted the need to promote intersectional and holistic solutions when discussing racial justice. International development is a space where people experience multiple layers of oppression (poverty,

violence, displacement, etc.) and unless conversations recognize multiple identities, they will remain distant and insufficient. The desk review addressed the need for consistent and long-term investments for racial justice work at the individual, interpersonal, organizational, and systemic levels. When discussing long-term giving, the Bridgespan framework noted that 90 percent of their projects that led to lasting change spanned for over 20 years and took approximately 45 years (median) to achieve success (Batten, et. all, 2020). This shows that prioritizing sustained funding is essential if organizations that are truly invested in the dismantling of the centuries of oppression this work is set to address.

With interview respondents, particular attention was given to the intersections of race with gender, colonialism, and socioeconomics. When speaking about the relationship to gender, several respondents spoke about the need for feminist movements, and especially White feminists to recognize their privilege and embrace a racial intersection. A few respondents discussed the prioritization of White womanhood on the drafting of gender agendas and stated that White women need to interrogate, recognize, and address their privilege and role in reproducing racism. Regarding the colonial perspective, respondents often reported a belief that race and colonialism are deeply connected and that racial justice and de-colonial approaches should be complementary.

4. <u>White saviorism and the perceived goodness of development are barriers for progress:</u>

Multiple respondents see the perceived goodness of the development field as a core barrier for open discussions. Black respondents were particularly keen in pointing

that the field remains divided by an us-vs-them mentality that centers and prioritize Whiteness. Respondents mentioned that it is challenging to have honest conversations about the deficiencies of the development sector or to call out harmful practices because there is an underlying notion that people working in the sector want to do good. While respondents recognize that often people do have good intentions, the lack of cultural (including racial) competency and humility from development practitioners prevents the field from crafting lasting solutions.

A set of respondents shared views that the field needs to let go of a White savior mentality and exercise humility to recognize the complexity of development issues. Updated definitions about the role and scope of development are necessary and people need to be realistic about the prospects of small interventions saving lives. Reformed views of the purpose of development that shift the narrative from (usually White) actors in Euro American spaces need to give room for solutions developed by the people closest to the issues. For this change to happen, funders and grantees need to be culturally prepared and cognizant of racial dynamics.

5. <u>Internal discussions about Racial Justice are valuable for practitioners and can trigger institutional shifts:</u>

During the interviews, respondents shared that their engagement in conversations about racial justice increased in recent years. Some respondents who have been exposed to race-related discussions celebrated the increased visibility of race and shared that the isolation and silos they experienced in the past are less evident now. A respondent shared that the waves created by the BLM protests in 2020 forced

the sector to center race and speak more candidly, giving a number of development practitioners strength to voice their long-held beliefs that the international development is racist in its origin, evolution, and has a structure that allows racism to be maintained.

Such assumptions are confirmed in the desk review, and several reports noted that the BLM protests following Floyd's death triggered a call that goes beyond identifying racial justice as a priority. The events forced philanthropic institutions to reckon with the role they play not just in solving or aggravating social problems, but in the very questioning of its structure. The consequence of the BLM Movement in the U.S. lifted the issue of race from clustered conversations to collective and intentional discussions. A set of respondents shared that although their international teams were attuned to diversity for decades, the language for racial justice only became prevalent after Floyd. Similarly, a respondent in Latin America noted that Floyd and the BLM movement in the U.S. made afro-descendent movements in their country more visible. It is worth noting that some respondents see the post BLM uptake of racial justice as confirmation of the inequal visibility in the field. This group questions why calls for racial reforms born in the African diaspora have been dismissed. They also note that while the BLM movement and the death of Floyd are important events, those are not single defining moments. The impacts of Floyd and BLM in philanthropy follow years of advocacy across the globe and are the result of multiple struggles.

When talking about commitments and activities, most of the funders reported that their organizations engaged in internal trainings and team discussions about race

recently. They shared that externally facilitated conversations provided a space for reflection, candid conversation, and the establishment of common language. Some grantee organizations made a similar investment, and one in particular shared that their funder's willingness to shift resources from DEI to racial justice created an important baseline to discuss past institutional harm and values. A respondent who serves as an intermediary shared that joining the anti-racism training offered by her organization gave her more grounding and expertise to unveil power dynamics and engage both funders and grantees in this topic. This collective grounding has been improving dynamics within institutions, and some respondents shared that they secured/ promoted targeted funding for racial justice following these discussions.

Even respondents who described race as disconnected of their context reported seeing value in internal conversations. A respondent shared that a country office team found conversations about race increasingly relevant despite their original assumption that the topic wouldn't resonate. Another respondent mentioned that while they are still cautious about approaching donors in these conversations, they have been conducting internal work and plan on keep doing so if sustainable funding streams are identified. Several respondents shared that the conversations were uncomfortable but necessary.

6. <u>Institutional investments in learning, power shifting, and power building can provide a pathway for racial justice:</u>

The concept of power shifting was referenced often in materials and interviews. This showed up as calls for philanthropy to confront the power dynamics and structural

racism that informs existing policies and practices in the field. Materials consistently called for organizational commitments and alignment to advance racial justice priorities. They also urged organizations to develop processes to advance individual and institutional growth in this area. Some materials made specific observations about the role of leadership, noting that a strong structure of governance and the appropriate messaging from leaders can either advance or stall this work. Seven domains of institutional change were identified, they are: culture, evaluation and learning, grantmaking, investments, communications, operations, and leadership and governance.

When addressing power shifting, discrepancies were found between the interviews and desk research about the need to explicitly acknowledge race, but whether or not philanthropy decides to use language that centers communities of color, a set of central recommendations resonated with both groups, they are:

a. The need to give organizations closest to the work access to funding that is flexible, long-term, and unrestricted.
b. The need to reduce philanthropy's influence in setting agendas and priorities and to center communities and organizations closest to the work as the main drivers.
c. The need to reduce bureaucracies, barriers, and burdens on grantmaking and reporting processes.
d. The need to intentionally support movement leaders and grassroots organizations, including by engaging these actors in the designing of grantmaking processes, priorities, and network building.

e. The commitment of major new money towards racial justice work that is experimental, creative, and embraces failure.

On operations, the analysis suggest that funders need to reevaluate the way they offer support, noting that strategic or thematic support may limit power building and intersectionality. Materials called for funding sources that dismantle silos and take into consideration the multiple identities and systems of oppression that affect individuals. As the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity notes, complete racial justice requires seeing communities of color fully, and realizing that their experiences are further shaped by other parts of their identities (Sen & Villarosa, 2019; p.32).

Power shifting and power building also tackled the need for increased representation. Interviews and the content analysis addressed the need for investment on the leadership of people of color at the senior staff and board levels and suggested the creation of more opportunities for Black people to access positions of power as a way to recognize and counter the historical inequity and disenfranchisement experienced by this particular group. Overall, there were calls made for the implementation of inclusive policies in hiring, evaluation, compensation, contracting of vendors and consultants, expansion of grantmaking networks, and investing of endowments. Several materials and respondents acknowledge that representation should not be seen as a final goal, and that even as organizations diversify their demographics, questions about power shifting and building should remain alive.

Finally, the content analysis consistently spoke to the need to redefine impact to ensure the sustainability of and long-term investment in this work. Materials raised the need for a reevaluation of the idea of impact that considers the needs and perspectives of Black people and other communities of color. Frontline's equity footprint framework suggests that foundations must look to grantees and community leaders when framing issues and defining success. Any burden of data collection placed on grantees should be done with a) grantee advisement and input and b) appropriate compensation or funding for grantees. Similarly, equity considerations should be baked into the process of defining the issue or problem, and learning should happen in partnership with grantees and stakeholders to build transparency about a foundation's approach and progress (Frontline Solutions, 2019; p.14-16).

7. <u>The centrality of race in international development was more evident to Black practitioners:</u>

During the interviews, respondents who self-identified as Black were more likely, and nearly unanimous, in describing the international development sector as a racialized space. For this set of respondents, the role of race was evident early in their careers. A respondent shared that her first experience working for field research in an African country was marked by deeply racialized interactions and power imbalances from the outset. Similar perceptions of power imbalance and poor cultural competency were reiterated often and exemplified in the respondents' observations of inappropriate representation, compensation, and access to people of color, and particularly to Blacks Africans to spaces of power.

In the recognition of past harm, a Black respondent shared that these racial dynamics are so pervasive and intricated in the international development structure that she too ended up reproducing them. Another respondent affirmed the belief that the development field is a racist space by sharing that her experiences working through African countries, the Americas, and the Caribbean have all been marked by White (and usually Anglo-Saxon) people in positions of power and people of color (particularly dark-skinned people) on positions of servitude or fully excluded from decision-making spaces. For this respondent, the lack cultural qualification from White practitioners is a big concern and the dismissal of race creates a gap that makes design, funding, and implementation exclusionary.

This set of respondents also spoke about their difficulty in navigating the development space. They shared that over the years they have made attempts to lift the issue of race in their work, but often found themselves in need of compartmentalize their identities and operate in performative ways to be perceived as non-threatening. Multiple respondents mentioned that the field remain siloed, preventing connections and creating barriers for people to engage in authentic conversations about race. A respondent with experience in a variety of development institutions across four continents stated that there are unwritten systems in place that keep Black people out of certain positions and geographies. For the respondent, positions outside of main development hubs like Geneva and New York are often marked by discrimination.

A few other themes appeared with fewer consistency but are worth noting. They are:

- Privilege and elitism within Global South institutions and spaces of influence: A few respondents shared concern about reproducing power imbalances within Global South institutions. A respondent mentioned that while representation is important, understanding a country context is necessary to avoid a shift of power from foreign actors to local elites. Some participants also raised the issue in the form of recognizing privilege and the various dimensions of oppression.
- Consistent funding that embraces risks and creativity: A few respondents noted that dismantling the array of issues associated to historical racism take time and sustained effort. For conversations to flourish, a consistent flow of funding that embraces risks and creativity is needed. Additionally, organizations need to consider legacy and be honest about their openness to deconstruct their legacy and traditional approaches.
- Healing spaces: A respondent noted that this work cannot be compartmentalized and must be carefully crafted to avoid recreating this trauma and pain. Solutions should also account for individual healing in addition to the shifts on practices. As noted by the respondent, this is deep work that tackles the undoing of a millennium of oppression and discrimination.
- Monitoring and evaluation: There is a need for investment in good documentation and classification that is not constrained to U.S. centric definitions of DEI and racial justice.
- Narrative and field building: Philanthropy needs to better communicate their vision and commitments for racial justice.
- The role of funders networks and collaborative spaces: While a few frameworks recommended the establishment of donor collaborations there were important

considerations made about the purpose of such spaces. Convenings and the use of philanthropic intermediaries must center the needs, priorities, and demands of communities closest to the work. Spaces can and should be used for collaborative learning and the leveraging of influence and resources, but they also should exercise caution to avoid replicating extractive practices.

- Geography: Only one funder explicitly addressed the commitment to pursue racial equity locally, nationally, and globally, contextualizing the effects of colonialism. Overall, organizations provide U.S.-centric perspectives and solutions to approach this work.

Conclusion

This work is complex and evolving. Although the appropriate level of engagement for an organization will depend on a variety of factors, a set of solutions appeared consistently in the findings and may offer good entry-points for this work. For instance, both methodologies demonstrated that practitioners see the dismantling of imbalanced power dynamics as a core component of this work. This can be done through self-reflection, the shift of harmful practices, and investment in power building. Additionally, private philanthropy can address cultural (and racial) competency and discuss how the perceived goodness of the field and White Saviorism gets in the way of healing.

Even the largest point of tension which relates to the use of intentional racial justice terminology versus a push for broader language agrees on the fundamental idea that communities closest to the work need to be centered. This research reveals that these conversations are uncomfortable and lack clarity, direction, and a full uptake, but it also shows that organizations which subscribed to this work are willing to invest in their staff to foster

learning and promote institutional change. Taking the findings into consideration, I propose an intervention that builds the structure for this change and advance institutional alignment, learning, and power shifting. Private philanthropy staff exerts great influence, and their knowledge and networks can provide direction for an institution and its areas of operation. By connecting staff with a racial justice agenda and inviting them to use a racial justice lens to design and implement their work, organizations can start to redefine their practices in a more equitable and racially conscious manner.

Theory of Change

Background

Based on the findings shared in the needs assessment and literature review, this theory of change proposes that private philanthropy, and particularly private foundations, interested in promoting racial justice work make investments towards internal learning, discussion spaces, and the shift of practices within their institutions. Combined, these interventions can create a strong structure that enables philanthropy staff to understand the context and impact of race in their work. By gaining this understanding, staff – who often represents and influence institutions - can consider the value of adopting a racial justice lens and advocate for a shift of practices that promote power shifting and power building that centers communities closer to the work. Given the complexities of acknowledging and addressing racial dynamics in international development, as well as the multiple layers of this effort, this theory of change proposes the use of a framework.

A framework is a supporting structure in which something can be built. It can be a piece of art, a house, or a set of systems, ideas, and beliefs used for planning and decision-making.

Creating frameworks helps individuals and organizations to understand problems, identify answers, and build structures that promote solutions (Frameworks Institute, n.d.). While there are several ways to define frameworks within business structures, in the philanthropic space frameworks are associated with strategic planning and can serve as a roadmap and a tool for assessing progress. Additionally, frameworks help organizations pinpoint the root causes of barriers and can help them to identify their gaps in solving difficult problems (Atlassian, n.d.).

Here, a framework is offered as a grounding structure that can support organizations to recognize their capacity and priorities while comparing pathways taken by the sector. The framework offers shortcuts for philanthropic organizations to make sense of the role of race in their international development programs, communicate their needs and priorities, and build solutions that fit their context.

Description

The goal of the Racial Justice Framework for U.S. Private Philanthropy is to ensure that development programs of private Foundations based in the Global North incorporate a racial justice lens into their work. This change would move organizations and their staff from a baseline where race is ignored or little acknowledged to a place where race, alongside other core intersectional identities, is intentionally centered in all aspects of an institution's work. This goal is relevant because it addresses missing links in philanthropic interventions and opens the space for the dismantling of patterns of oppression and imbalanced power dynamics. The ultimate purpose behind this work is to promote a more just, equitable, and effective international development space that fulfills its promise of improving people's lives.

To achieve this goal, the framework proposes the undertaking of a series of activities that starts with internal learning and reflection and culminates in a shift in practices and the influencing of the broader filed. Four objectives are proposed in support of this goal, the first two – grounding and learning – are internally focused and envision to give institutions the baseline knowledge to enter this work and engage in meaningful discussions. After institutions are clear about their commitments, understands the context, and have a chance to reflect on their practices, the second set of objectives – power shifting and power building - can take place. The second set of objectives are externally focused and offer an opportunity for institutions to act on their learnings and influence peers and the field to engage with and invest on racial justice. Objectives are described as:

1. Grounding: This objective envisions to promote a clear articulation of racial justice priorities and aspirations for an organization. The grounding piece will focus on individuals within an institution to ensure that all staff understands the racial justice commitments in place and have an opportunity to provide input and align their activities to the organization's priorities. This step serves as a space to conduct assessments and evaluations that will determine the baseline for the work and can be used to identify early adopters to champion this endeavor.
2. Learning: This objective is ongoing and has three internal aspects. First, it presents an opportunity for organizations to build common language and align on important definitions through the training of staff. This is a chance to make the case for this racial justice and provide staff with information that helps participants to understand the context for this work and acquire a baseline knowledge. Second, this

objective acknowledges individual needs and prevents potential harm by providing optional spaces for staff to deepen their learning and work on personal challenges that may taint their full engagement. Third, this objective seeks to create spaces for discussions and sharing so staff can become more comfortable delving into discussions and calling out inappropriate behaviors and practices.

3. Power shifting: This objective seeks to promote the shift and dismantling of practices that perpetuate imbalanced power dynamics. After common language and a baseline knowledge are in place, organizations should take action to align their practices, in special their grantmaking practices, to center racial justice.
4. Power building: This objective seeks to build the power and capacity of communities closer to the work. During this stage, institutions will share their learnings, make investments, and influence peer donors and the broader field to make shifts towards the promotion of racial justice.

Each objective has a set of proposed activities to support its realization. The activities are further described in the framework description section.

Assumptions

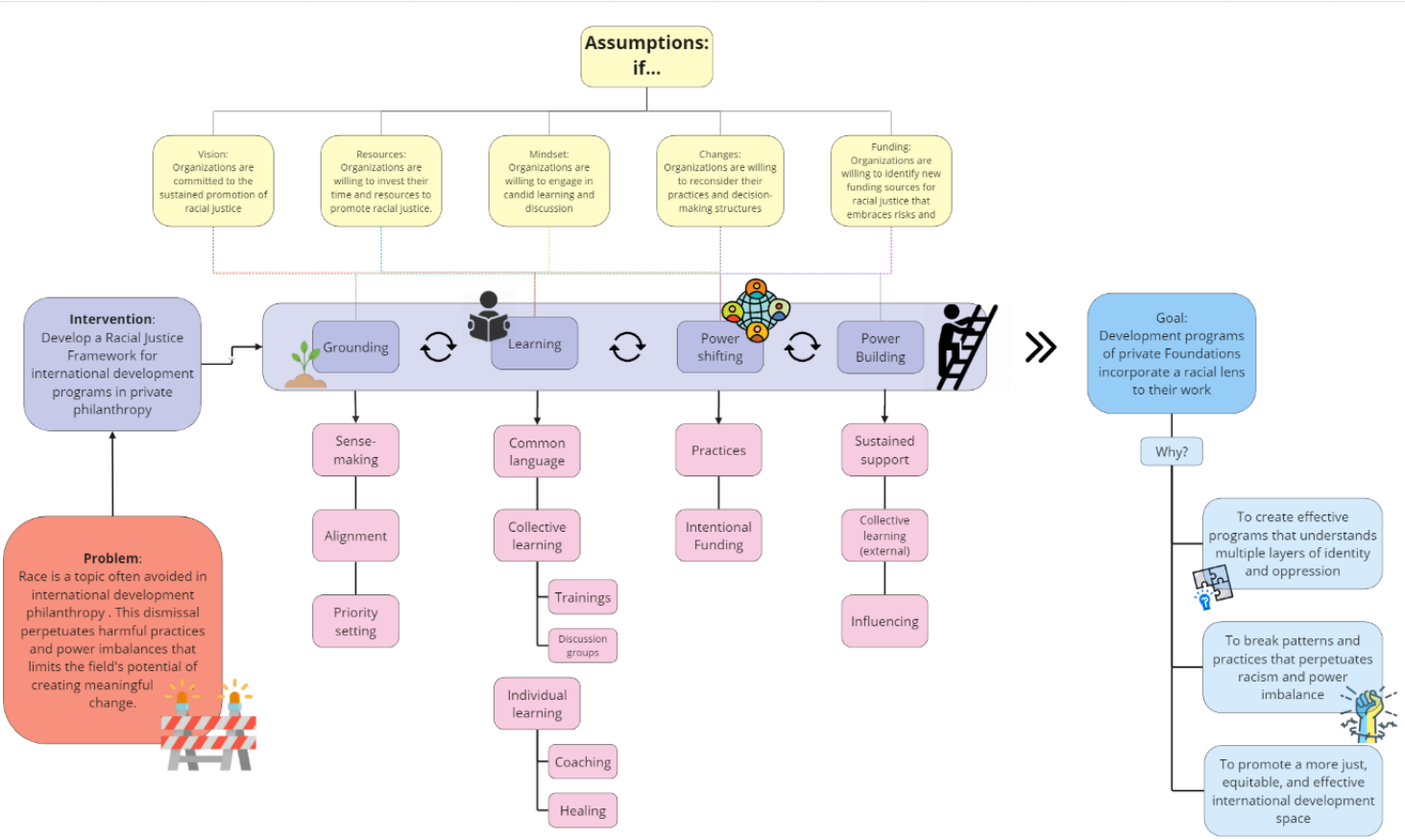
The framework is built on the assumption that this set of philanthropic organizations, and in particular their staff working in international development programs, are:

1. Committed to the sustained promotion of racial justice.
2. Willing to invest their time and resources to promote racial justice.

3. Willing to engage in candid learning and discussion about the relationship between race and international development within and outside of their institutions.
4. Willing to reconsider their practices and decision-making structures, especially those pertaining to grantmaking.
5. Willing to identify new funding sources for racial justice work that embraces risks and experimentation.

Visual

The figure below is a visual representation of the theory of change:



Framework Description

Talking about race in most contexts presents a challenge. This is especially cumbersome in the international development space where considerations about geography, culture, and intersectional identities are at play. As an attempt to tackle these complex issues, this framework proposes that private philanthropy make investments towards internal learning, discussion spaces, and the shift of practices within institutions to create the groundwork for necessary for the dismantling of patterns of oppression long reproduced by international development.

Goals

The ideas in this framework seek to move organizations and their representatives from disregarding the impact of race in their everyday practices and decision-making to an active consideration of race that places this important identity piece as a core component of organizational structuring and strategic planning. The goal of the framework is to ensure that development programs of private Foundations based in the Global North incorporate a racial justice lens into their work. Internally, the framework proposes embedding learning pathways into programs through workshops, training, coaching, and spaces for reflection. Externally, it focuses on influencing and securing funding for learning spaces that engage grantees, peer funders, and the broader field in a reflection of the practices and purposes that guide the sector. While priorities will vary according to the size and commitments of each organization, interventions will tap into internal and external facing activities, as well as individual and collective engagements.

While the target audience of this framework are private philanthropy organizations based in the Global North, this work intends to benefit the full ecosystem with a particular aim of improving the opportunities and conditions of organizations based and operating in the Global South. The framework will be disseminated for public use and ongoing iteration, and although a baseline of 24 months is proposed, aspects of the plan should be incorporated into the organization's practices and budgets for the long term. Sustainability is also a consideration, and the onboarding of new staff and changes over time are anticipated. Staff participation and buy-in are fundamental pieces of this work and determining for its success. Finally, given the intricacy of the proposed change, the goal includes a mix of proposed interventions at the individual and structural level that engage both key personnel as well as a broader range of participants.

Activities

Based on the objectives discussed in the theory of change, the following activities are proposed:

1. Grounding:
    a. Confirm leadership support (including financial support) for this work. While a full plan doesn't need to be in place at first, organizations need to have a vision of what they would like to accomplish and what they are willing to invest. This vision will be refined with the support of staff and receive iterations over time, but the initial commitment will flag to staff the commitments that the organization is willing to take and the initial scope of the work.

b. Communicate the overall vision and first set of activities to staff. Share the learning nature of this process and invite input and participation. Clearly articulate expectations and build flexibility in existing work demands so staff can incorporate this additional lens into their work. Discuss capacity issues, competing priorities, and reasons that may prevent participation.
c. Watch out for early adopters and engage them as champions for this work. Compensate this group for their additional role and consider embedding this activity as an official part of their function.
d. Conduct an organizational assessment to understand staff familiarity with the issue, existing needs, and concerns. This should preferably be outsourced to an organization familiar with racial justice work and organizational change to ensure confidentiality and participation. Make sure to include input from a set of grantees and peers to identify any discrepancies between internal and external priorities.
e. While an assessment and planning are in place, offer trainings to build baseline knowledge.
f. Create a draft plan based on the assessment findings and input received. Disseminate findings and the plan for commenting and hold facilitated spaces for discussion. These spaces are intended to create alignment and priority setting. Hold a mix of all-inclusive and small-group discussions. Important decisions should be articulated transparently in large spaces, and small groups can be used for deeper discussion.

2. Learning: Learning should start halfway through the grounding process as one will inform the other. While specific trainings will vary according to organization size and geography, the following formats are recommended:
    a. Collective learning:
        - [Required] Trainings, workshops, and lectures
        - [Optional] Discussion groups:
            - Expert-facilitated discussion groups with clear guardrails.
            - Opportunities to share learnings and make commitments.
            - Collect, share, and address common dissent
    b. Individual [all optional]:
        - Facilitation
        - Coaching
        - Opportunities to share personal dissent
        - Offer tools for personal healing in advance (such as self-care practices, psychological support, meditation, etc.)
3. Power shifting:
    a. Self-reflection: Early in the process organizations can engage with a list of questions about their intentions and practices. The questions should include all aspects of an organization including but not limited to purpose, positionality, privilege, bias, geography, staff (including leadership) composition, equity in salaries and benefits, hiring practices, language justice, access to funding, power dynamics, relationship building, how to identify vendors and consultants. I

recommend looking at Kagal & Latchford (2020) and Sen & Villarosa (2019) a more extensive list of questions.

b. Communicate intentions and shift practices: As the learning progresses, organizations should start to disseminate what they learned and how they would like to engage externally. This is an opportunity to invite input from grantees about what practices they would like to shift and how they would like to engage in this conversation. Anonymous input conducted by an external firm is recommended for external input.
c. Revisit priorities: As the learning progress and the organization establish common language and align, they should revisit their priorities. This activity serves both to confirm the vision as well as to share learnings, successes, and failures.
d. Intentional and long-term funding for power shifting should be identified and announced externally to confirm the organization's commitment to its vision.
e. Learnings from failures should be highlighted on an occasional basis to reinforce the idea that this work is complex and welcomes risk and experimentation.

4. Power building:
    - Learning opportunities for grantees and the ecosystem: Grantee organizations interested in engaging in this work should be able to apply for funding to conduct internal learning and determine which pieces of this work they would like to prioritize. This activity ensures that the field engages with the various concepts and tools to dismantle inequities without forcing

concepts and frameworks that may not resonate in some geographies. While it is important to center race and encourage organizations to question its role, not all spaces will feel comfortable using this language. At times, race will be embedded in discussions about colonization, power shifting, or representation. The debate is more important than the nomenclature and although efforts should be made to demystify talks about race in development, the definitions shouldn't get in the way of the work.

- Multi-actor discussion spaces: Expert-facilitated spaces should be provided to create a habit of healthy discussion between grantees and funders around this subject. This space should be funded by philanthropy, but the learning agenda should be determined by grantees centering their experiences, input, needs, and interest.
- Influencing: It is important to acknowledge that private philanthropy is only a small piece of the ecosystem. Organizations engaged in this work should include the influencing of official development assistance and corporate philanthropy as a part of their long-term goals.
- Harm prevention: Grantee organizations engaging in this work should receive assistance to create tools to mitigate risks and prevent ostracism. Unless organizations trust the space and have guarantees that their funding won't be compromised based on their sharing conversations will remain superficial and inconsistent.

- Funding and sustained support: Funding and sustained support is embedded in several of the elements discussed above. A new line of long-term funding that welcomes risk and experimentation should be offered for organizations willing to incorporate this line of work.

Partners

This work will rely heavily on staff participation and the networks of organizations. Externally, philanthropic institutions should engage with consultants, facilitators, and evaluators versed in racial justice practices for the learning activities. Preferably the contracted organizations should have ties with the communities served by the philanthropies and a deep knowledge of these contexts. In geographies where this field of work is nascent, organizations can pursue collaborators working on topics such as colonization, diversity, and social change who may offer alternatives for the joint development of a curriculum that is culturally relevant. Where applicable, philanthropies can tap into their networks of peer funders to build the appropriate skills in a manner that leverages local knowledge. Whenever possible, partnerships should avoid the use of intermediaries to support local power building and network diversification. Similarly, the use of predominantly white organizations to carry out racial justice work has to be contingent on rigorous criteria as this sort of support may contribute to harm and create negative impacts such as lower credibility of the project, draining the capacity of leaders and organizations of color.

While private philanthropy often make use of their connections, this work encourages broadening networks and conducting well disseminated and transparent selection processes such as calls for proposals. A mix of consultants may be required for this work, and while the

organization's pool of champions may support selecting the appropriate partners, organizations should create a position(s) that specifically works towards the coordination of the various pieces of this work. Since this work can be sensitive, organizations should be versed in legal language related to this work, as well as skilled facilitation that can manage harm prevention. Before exposing staff and partners to trainings, HR and legal departments should provide consultants with relevant information and boundaries, and the organization should establish a set of values to be carried across engagements.

Incentives for participation in this work include:

- For all:
    - Learning (cultural competency, facilitation, communication, organizational effectiveness, and improvement)
    - Opportunity to redefine the field and its practices and systems
    - Opportunity to engage in meaningful and candid discussions
    - Relationship building
- For staff in philanthropic organizations:
    - Organizational mandate
    - Opportunities for personal and professional development
    - Opportunities for internal and external collaboration
    - Investment in developing more meaningful and transparent relationships
- For grantees
    - Potential access to funding
    - Opportunities for personal and professional development

    - Investment in developing more meaningful and transparent relationships
- For consultants and organizations working in the racial justice space:
    - Conduct work that furthers their mission
    - Funding

Sustainability

Sustainability is a strong component of this work and was mentioned often during the needs assessment stage. Sustainability relates both to philanthropy's ability to commit a line of funding that embraces risks and experimentation over the long-term, as well as the organization's ability to engage their staff and remain focused on these priorities for the long term. The establishment of a regular funding pool is the first step to mitigating risk. A report from Bridgespan shows that 90% of their lasting changes took more than 20 years, and a medium of 45 years, to occur. When entering this space, organizations must recognize that countering hundreds of years of oppression is an investment for the long run. In this spirit, they should commit to long-term initiatives and where possible create endowments to guarantee the perpetuity of this work. Similarly, staff should be properly compensated for this work and capacity should be created in an organization's budget and job descriptions for meaningful engagement. This will mitigate burnout and compassion fatigue while also serving as an accountability mechanism. By making clear commitments on resources, organizations send a message across the field about their seriousness in addressing the issue. This messaging has ripple effects in influencing the participation of other actors and promoting a baseline for trust.

Another strong component of sustainability is consistent communication and the reassessment of priorities. This work is relatively new and generates confusion and skepticism.

Consistent checkpoints should be set in place for organizations to showcase their learnings and transparently share how they plan to course-correct. Similar to consistent funding, this ongoing channel of communication serves as a tool to build trust and confirms to the fields the thoughtfulness of an investment.

Finally, this work is built on the willingness of individuals. As such it's important to look at people holistically, embracing the opinions, fears, and traumas that may be triggered by this work. Promoting this racial justice work must include spaces for reflection, learning, sharing, and healing. This work should focus on promoting constructive alternatives to move forward and cannot be stuck on blame. This is not to say that organizations and individuals should not acknowledge and address the harm perpetuated as this is an important part of this process, but it means that as the harm is addressed, alternatives for rebuilding together should also be proposed. This reimagining is fundamental for sustainability as it creates new standards.

Evaluation

Several sources discussed the challenges of categorizing racial justice work and measuring its impact. Since this framework can be subject to external factors attribution toward the goal will not be linear and results will not be able to offer conclusions. For such reasons, the evaluation will be based on observable results from staff development, shifts in systems and practices, and the progression of funding. The evaluation will be conducted using the following methods:

Outcome	Assessment/ Evaluation methods	Metrics
Objective 1: Grounding		
Organizational commitment	▪ Leadership makes explicit commitments to center racial justice ▪ New funding streams over 3+ years are created and increase over time ▪ Organization budget for staff time, training, and external engagement	▪ Track # of external communications disseminated ▪ Track funding ▪ Track organizational expenses ▪ Track job descriptions ▪ Track strategy materials for occurrence of new priorities
Staff commitment and alignment	▪ Conduct staff survey to assess alignment and understanding of issue ▪ Observation: Staff conduct racial justice-related thinking to their work ▪ Observation: Staff develops common language and definitions	▪ 80% of staff respond to survey; alignment and understanding increases over time ▪ Increased # of meetings to discuss application of priorities

		▪ Common language and definitions appear more often in public materials ▪ Decrease in questioning of/ resistance towards definitions and purpose
Objective 2: Learning		
Establish baseline knowledge	▪ Questionnaire to assess level of knowledge before and after trainings ▪ Survey staff to assess their learning priorities	▪ Survey shows that staff values trainings ▪ Survey shows occurrence of learning ▪ Learning priorities progresses to more complex topics over time
Internal engagement	▪ Observation: Staff participation	▪ 80% of staff participate on required trainings ▪ 60% of staff participate in discussions ▪ At least 30% of staff uptake optional

		individual learning activities such as trainings and coaching
External engagement	▪ Learnings are shared periodically with optional commenting from grantees and partners	▪ Monitor external engagement
Objective 3: Power shifting		
Self-reflection	▪ Questionnaire to assess purposes and practices ▪ Discussion groups are conducted	▪ 70% staff response on questionnaire ▪ At least 30% of staff actively participate in discussions
Shift on practices	▪ Conduct survey about perceptions of power imbalance with staff ▪ Conduct survey about perceptions of power imbalance with external partners	▪ Three surveys are conducted at the beginning, middle, and the end of trainings to assess evolution over time

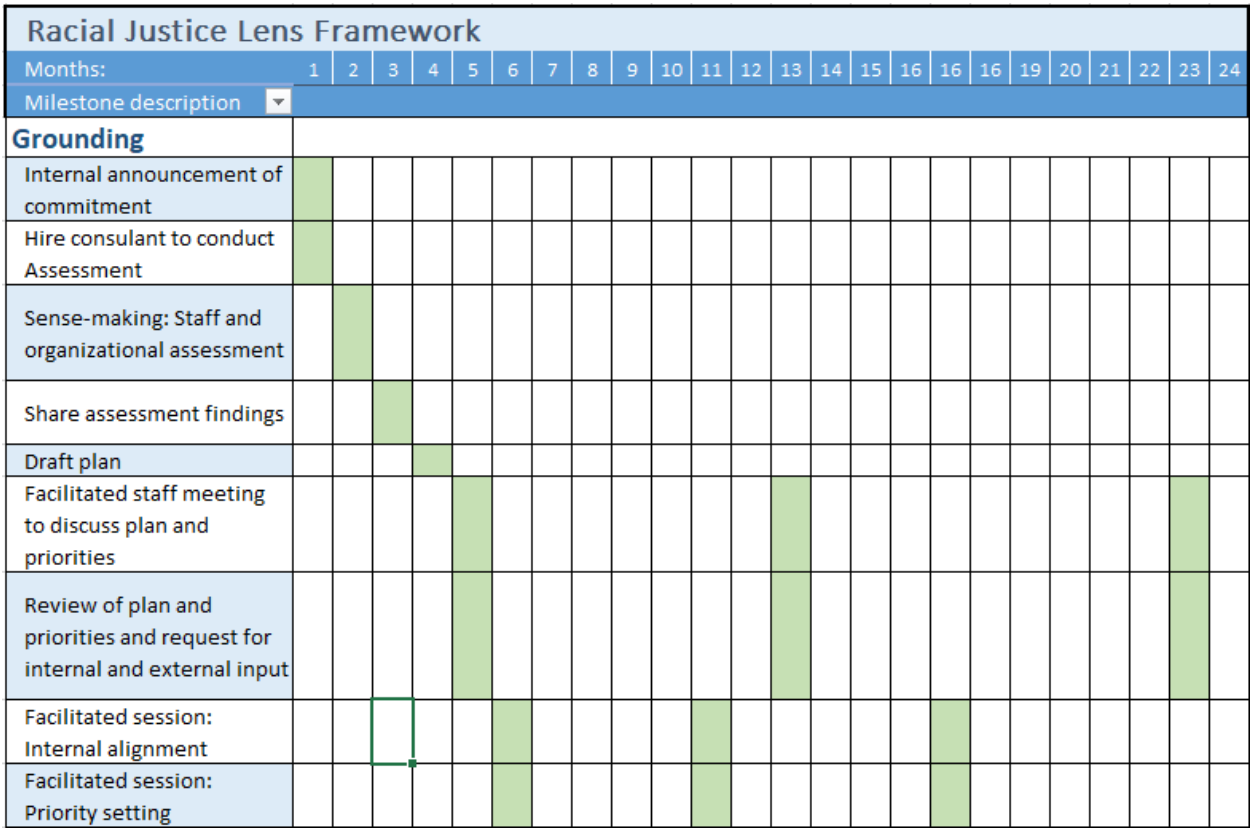
	▪ Organizations rates practices against racial justice priorities ▪ Discussion groups are conducted to discuss power shifting	▪ Occurrence of power imbalance decline over time ▪ Practices increasingly align with priorities over time ▪ At least 30% of staff actively participate in discussions
Shift on funding	▪ Monitoring of funding distribution	▪ At least 20% of an organization funding is shifted to the Global South. Trends will be compared to peer funders when possible
Sustainable support	▪ Pilot grants will be offered for learning and experimental work	▪ Reports will be used to track the results
Objective 4: Power Building		
Sharing (Field discussions)	▪ Discussion groups are conducted to discuss power shifting	▪ Monitor actions following engagement

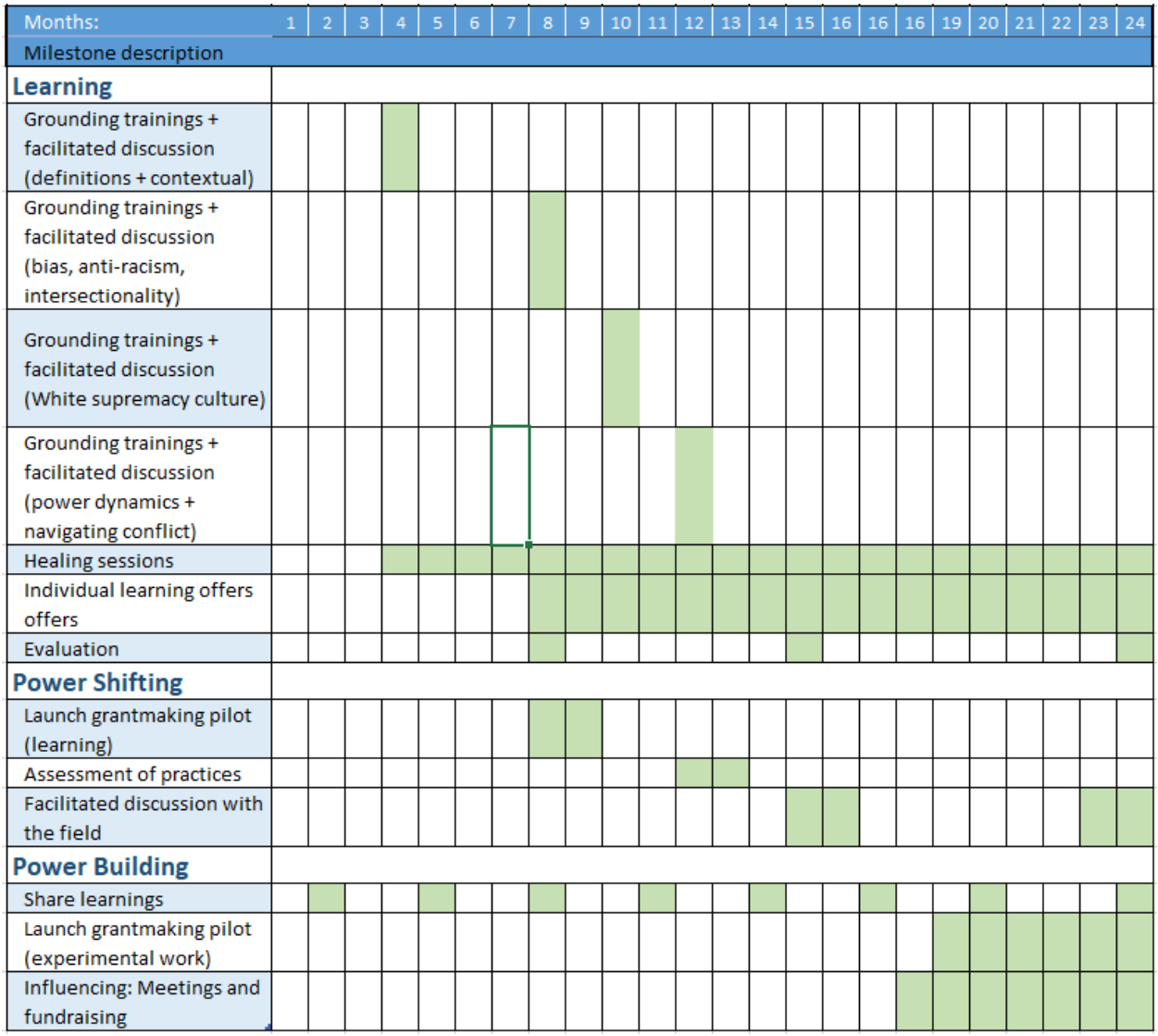
Influence	▪ Learnings will be shared through publications	▪ Monitor views

Implementation

Timeline

Implementation will take at least 24 months. This timeline includes a 12-month period for staff training, alignment, prioritization, followed by the launch of externally faced activities, including two lines of pilot grantmaking and actions to foster power shifting and power building. The plan includes several opportunities to share learnings and invite input. Additionally, core milestones trigger plan revisions and staff realignment.





Capacity

Successful implementation of this work anticipates staff engagement. As mentioned above, organizations should fund staff time to actively participate in interventions. Internally, the work will also need a coordinator with a time percentage that is reflective of the organization's size, geographical scope, and level of funding. At a minimum, a part-time coordinator should be secured to conduct the following activities:

- Curriculum development

- Identify new learning offers
- Contracting and consultant engagement
- Grantmaking
- Outreach
- Budget management
- Feedback monitoring and coordination
- Disseminate learning
- Cross-departmental collaboration
- Recruitment (as needed)
- Scheduling

Externally, a set of skilled facilitators, consultants, coaches, and trainers will be recruited to conduct assessments and learning sessions. All partners should have prior experience working with racial justice or power shifting. Organizations with lived experience in the communities where an organization work should be prioritized. If feasible, organizations can also engage an external counsel composed of experts and grantees to provide input on the processes. External counsel members should be compensated for their time. Other resources include overhead covering space and utilities, office supplies, costs to cover meetings, a grantmaking budget, and travel costs for staff and counsel.

Funding

The table below includes estimated funding costs for the implementation of a framework covering up to 20 staff. The average size of international development programs

among the research sample ranged between 4 to 18 members, while the total staff size for the sample ranged from 120 – 1,500 staff members. The cost estimates were based on Google searches for the average fees charged by U.S. organizations conducting racial justice work.

Racial Justice Framework budget (USD)				
Activity	**Cost**	**Frequency**	**Total**	**Rationale**
Program coordinator	$ 150,000.00	2	$ 150,000.00	Yearly salary for part-time staff
External counsel	$ 200.00	60	$ 60,000.00	Compensation to engage 5 council members over 60h
Staff compensation	$ 100.00	120	$ 240,000.00	Compensation for 20 staff members (embedded in salary costs). Assuming an engagement of up to 10h month per staff
Training (internal)	$ 5,000.00	10	$ 50,000.00	Cost for externally facilitated training. Assuming 10 trainings
Facilitation	$ 150.00	50	$ 7,500.00	10 discussion groups
Consulting	$ 150.00	100	$ 15,000.00	100h to cover assessments and evaluations
Coaching	$ 300.00	10	$ 60,000.00	Hourly rate. Assuming 10h/ staff for up to 20 staff members
Harm reduction	$ 200.00	20	$ 80,000.00	Hourly rate. Assuming 20h/staff for up to 20 staff members
Grantmaking (pilot for training)	$ 50,000.00	5	$ 250,000.00	Pilot grants to cover training and facilitation for up to 5 organizations

Grantmaking	$ 50,000.00	5	$ 250,000.00	Pilot grants for up to 5 organizations to cover experimental work
Travel	$ 15,000.00	20	$ 300,000.00	Estimated amount per trip. Assuming a total of 20 trips between coordinator, counsel members, and grantees
Office Supplies and equipment	$ 20,000.00	1	$ 20,000.00	
Meeting expenses	$ 1,000.00	20	$ 20,000.00	Venue and catering
Marketing and communications	$ 20,000.00	1	$ 20,000.00	Costs associated to the dissemination of findings
		Overhead	**$ 228,375.00**	15% overhead rate
		Total:	**$ 1,750,875.00**	

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