

**DPI-367:**  
**Philanthropy & Social Movements: Will the Revolution Be Funded?**  
**Harvard Kennedy School**  
**Professor Megan Ming Francis**  
**SPRING 2020**

## **I. COURSE OVERVIEW**

We are at a zenith of philanthropic giving. Foundation assets have grown to well over \$800 billion today. As a result, there has been an explosion in private charitable foundations and innovative donor initiatives. For the most part, philanthropy is celebrated. Individuals give away their wealth to worthy causes and help to steward significant social change. But this grandiose narrative belies a much more complicated story—especially as it pertains to the funding of progressive and conservative social movements. What happens when the interests of funders and grantees clash? This course will examine the history and future of philanthropy’s relationship with social movements. Some questions this course will take up include: What is philanthropy’s responsibility to supporting radical social movements? What are useful strategies for funders to confront their privilege in grantmaking? What does movement co-optation look like? How can grantees guard against the deleterious influence of well-meaning funders? To what extent can philanthropic investments remedy entrenched structural inequality? And what is the impact of funders on democratic governance?

## **II. COURSE GRADING & ASSIGNMENTS**

**You will be graded for the course based on the following criteria:**

- 15%** Class Participation (including class activities)
- 35%** 5 Weekly Writing Responses 400-500 words
- 15%** Autobiographical Professional Statement, 1000-1200 words
- 35%** Final Podcast Assignment

## **III. ONLINE PHILANTHROPY RESOURCES**

- Candid: <https://candid.org/>
- The Chronicle of Philanthropy: [www.philanthropy.com](http://www.philanthropy.com)
- Charity Navigator: [www.charitynavigator.org](http://www.charitynavigator.org)
- GiveWell: [www.givewell.org](http://www.givewell.org)
- Giving What We Can: [www.givingwhatwecan.org](http://www.givingwhatwecan.org)
- Independent Sector: [www.independentsector.org](http://www.independentsector.org)
- Lilly Family School of Philanthropy at Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis. [www.philanthropy.iupui.edu](http://www.philanthropy.iupui.edu)
- HistPhil: <https://histphil.org/>
- Inside Philanthropy: <http://www.insidephilanthropy.com/>

- Nonprofit Quarterly: <https://nonprofitquarterly.org/>
- Nonprofit AF Blog: <https://nonprofitaf.com/>
- How Matters: <http://www.how-matters.org/>
- Charities Aid Foundation: <https://www.cafonline.org/about-us/blog-home/giving-thought>
- Philanthropy News Digest: <http://philanthropynewsdigest.org/>
- National Committee on Responsive Philanthropy: <https://www.ncrp.org/>
- Nonprofit Law Blog” <http://www.nonprofitlawblog.com/>
- Center for Effective Philanthropy: <https://cep.org/>
- Funders for a Just Economy: <https://www.nfg.org/fje>

## IV. COURSE SCHEDULE

### Week 1: Philanthropy, Social Movements, and Democracy

#### History of Philanthropy

- Daniel Faber and Deborah McCarthy. *Foundations for Social Change: Critical Perspectives on Philanthropy and Popular Movements*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2005. Introduction and Chapter 1.
- Gara LaMarche, “Is Philanthropy Good for Democracy,” *The Atlantic*, October 30, 2014. <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2014/10/is-philanthropy-good-for-democracy/381996/>
- Hasan Minhaj, Patriot Act, Episode: “Why Billionaires Won’t Save Us”, Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mS9CFBIL0cg>

#### January 30: Philanthropy or Charity?

- Rob Reich, *Just Giving: Why Philanthropy is Failing Democracy and How it Can Do Better*, Chapter 2
- Darren Walker, *From Generosity to Justice: A New Gospel of Wealth*. Ford Foundation, 2019, pp 1-22. Complimentary download: <https://www.fordfoundation.org/ideas/ford-forum/the-future-of-philanthropy/from-generosity-to-justice/>
- Rodney Foxworth, “Philanthropy Will Not Save Us,” Medium post, July 30, 2018: <https://medium.com/justice-funders/philanthropy-will-not-save-us-a4de0ac596e2>
- Benjamin Soskis and Stanley Katz, “Examining the Past and Future of Foundation Philanthropy,” for the Hewlett Foundation. <http://www.hewlett.org/examining-past-future-foundation-philanthropy/>
- Peter Buffett, “The Charitable-Industrial Complex,” *The New York Times*, July 26, 2013. [https://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/27/opinion/the-charitable-industrial-complex.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/27/opinion/the-charitable-industrial-complex.html?_r=0)

## Weeks 2-3: Historical Social Movements and the Foundation Dance

### Civil Rights

- Megan Ming Francis, ‘The Price of Civil Rights: Black Politics, White Money, and Movement Capture.’ *Law and Society Review*, Vol. 53, Issue 1, March 2019.
- Maribel Morey, “Choosing between Financial Viability and a Political Voice: A History of the NAACP’s Tax Status,” *HistPhil*, November 26, 2018: <https://histphil.org/2018/11/26/choosing-between-financial-viability-and-a-political-voice/>
- Sean Dobson, “Freedom Funders and the Civil Rights Movement”:  
[https://www.ncrp.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Freedom\\_Funders\\_and\\_the\\_Civil\\_Rights\\_Movement-FINAL.pdf](https://www.ncrp.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Freedom_Funders_and_the_Civil_Rights_Movement-FINAL.pdf)

### Black Power

- Karen Ferguson, *Top Down: The Ford Foundation, Black Power, and the Reinvention of Racial Liberalism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Introduction & Chp 4
- Karen Ferguson, “The Perils of Liberal Philanthropy,” *The Jacobin Magazine*, November 2018. <https://jacobinmag.com/2018/11/black-lives-matter-ford-foundation-black-power-mcgeorge-bundy>

### Chicano Power

- Erica Kohl-Arenas. 2016. *The Self-Help Myth: How Philanthropy Fails to Alleviate Poverty*. University of California Press. Chapters 1 & 3.
- Benjamin Marquez. “Mexican-American Political Organizations and Philanthropy: Bankrolling a Social Movement.” *Social Service Review*, Vol. 77, No. 3 (September 2003), pp. 329-346.

## Week 4: The Conservative Rights Revolution

### Funding a Conservative Revolution

- Steven Teles, *The Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement*, Princeton University Press, Introduction and Chapters 3-4.
- Alexander Hertel-Fernandez, Theda Skocpol, and Jason Sclar, “When Political Mega-Donors Join Forces: How the Koch Network and the Democracy Alliance Influence Organized U.S. Politics on the Right and Left,” *Studies in American Political Development*, October 2018.
- Jane Mayer, “Covert Operations,” in *The New Yorker*, August 2010. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2010/08/30/covert-operations>

### Radical Feminism

- Andrea Smith, Introduction, in *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex*, Duke University Press, 2007.

- Alisa Bierria, “Communities Against Rape and Abuse” in *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded*.
- Tarana Burke, “The ‘Me Too’ Movement’s Success Took a Decade of Work, Not Just a Hashtag,” NBC News, December 31, 2019.
- AP article: “Women’s Foundation Launches Fund to Support MeToo Movement” <https://apnews.com/c07113f1a73047a589eedd1ef936fecb/Women's-foundation-launches-fund-to-support-MeToo-movement>
- Keeanga Yamahtta Taylor, “Think the Women’s March Wasn’t Radical Enough? Do Something About It: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jan/24/women-march-diversity-minorities-working-class>

## Week 5: Changing the World?

### Debates Over Modern Philanthropy

- Anand Giridharadas, *Winners Take All: The Elite Charade of Changing the World*, Prologue & Chapter 1
- Benjamin Soskis, “The Importance of Criticizing Philanthropy,” *The Atlantic*, May 12, 2014: <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2014/05/the-case-for-philanthropy-criticism/361951/>
- Karl Zinmeister, “The War on Philanthropy,” *The Wall Street Journal*, January 8, 2020. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-war-on-philanthropy-11578528352>
- Colin Moynihan, “Gifts Tied to Opioid Sales Invite a Question: Should Museums Vet Donors?” in *The New York Times*, December 1, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/01/arts/design/sackler-museum-donations-oxycotin-purdue-pharma.html>

### Lessons Learned & Developing A New Theory of Change

- Edgar Villanueva, *Decolonizing Wealth: Indigenous Wisdom to Heal Divides & Restore Balance*, Introduction
- Dorian O. Burton and Brian C.B. Barnes, “Paid in Full: How to Reorient Philanthropic Investments For Justice-Oriented Collective Action and Impact,” in *Stanford Social Innovation Review*: [https://ssir.org/articles/entry/paying\\_in\\_full#](https://ssir.org/articles/entry/paying_in_full#)
- Phil Buchanan, “Business Knows Best...Or Not,” The Center for Effective Philanthropy, January 14, 2020: <https://cep.org/looking-back-looking-forward-part-1-business-knows-best-or-not/>
- Allison Powell, Willa Seldon, and Nidhi Sahni, “Reimagining Institutional Philanthropy,” in *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, Spring 2019: [https://ssir.org/articles/entry/reimagining\\_institutional\\_philanthropy](https://ssir.org/articles/entry/reimagining_institutional_philanthropy)

## Week 6: The Education Reform Movement

### The Folly of Good Intentions

- Sarah Reckhow. 2012. *Follow the Money: How Foundation Dollars Change Public School Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Noliwe Rooks. 2017. *Cutting School: Privatization, Segregation, and the End of Public Education*, The New Press.
- Interview with Noliwe Rooks on book *Cutting School: Privatization, Segregation, and the End of Public Education*: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/answer-sheet/wp/2018/01/19/how-segrenomics-underpins-the-movement-to-privatize-public-education/>

### **The Education Con**

- Megan Tompkins-Strange. *Policy Patrons: Philanthropy, Education Reform, and the Politics of Influence*.
- Dale Russakoff, “Schooled,” in *The New Yorker*, May 12, 2014.
- Nick Hanauer, “Better Schools Won’t Fix America,” *The Atlantic*, July 2019: <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2019/07/education-isnt-enough/590611/>

### **Week 7: The Movement 4 Black Lives**

#### **Building #BlackLivesMatter**

- Kenneth Vogel and Sarah Wheaton, “Major Donors Consider Funding Black Lives Matter,” *Politico*, November 13, 2015: <https://www.politico.com/story/2015/11/major-donors-consider-funding-black-lives-matter-215814>
- Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, “Five Years Later, Do Black Lives Matter?” *Jacobin*, 2019. <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2019/09/black-lives-matter-laquan-mcdonald-mike-brown-eric-garner>
- Funders For Justice: <https://fundersforjustice.org/resourcing-movement-black-lives/>
- Solidaire Annual Report, 2016
- Read: Borealis, <https://borealisphilanthropy.org/grantmaking/black-led-movement-fund/>
- Way to Win, “Our Theory of Change”: <https://waytowin.us/theory>

#### **Podcast Tutorial**

- How to use Audacity for recording podcasts: <https://www.buzzsprout.com/blog/audacity-podcast-tutorial>
- NPR on resources for students: <https://www.npr.org/2018/11/15/662070097/starting-your-podcast-a-guide-for-students>
- New York Times, Teaching Students About Podcasting: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/19/learning/lesson-plans/project-audio-teaching-students-how-to-produce-their-own-podcasts.html>
- Lamont Multimedia Lab information: <https://library.harvard.edu/services-tools/lamont-multimedia-lab>
- SPEAKER: Clayton Scoble, Multimedia Specialist at Lamont Library

## Weeks 8-9: Criminal Justice Reform or Prison Abolition?

### Criminal Justice Reform

- “Bail Reform, Explained,” Vox Media: <https://www.vox.com/future-perfect/2018/10/17/17955306/bail-reform-criminal-justice-inequality>
- “Those Harmed by the Bail System Lead Grassroots Efforts to Fix It. Here’s How Grant Makers Can Help.” Katayoon Majd and Jennel Nesbitt, Chronicle of Philanthropy, July 17, 2019.
- Jane Mayer, New Koch, *The New Yorker*, January 2016: <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/01/25/new-koch>
- “Arnold Ventures Launches Diverse Partnership to Accelerate Pretrial Justice Reform”: <https://www.arnoldventures.org/newsroom/arnold-ventures-launches-diverse-partnership-to-accelerate-pretrial-justice-reform>
- “New Koch Funding for Criminal Justice Reform Keeps Coming” Inside Philanthropy: <https://www.insidephilanthropy.com/home/2019/10/2/new-koch-funding-for-criminal-justice-reform-keep-keeps-coming>
- Chloe Cockburn, “Philanthropists Must Invest in an Ecology of Change,” SSIR, June 25, 2018: [https://ssir.org/articles/entry/philanthropists\\_must\\_invest\\_in\\_an\\_ecology\\_of\\_change#](https://ssir.org/articles/entry/philanthropists_must_invest_in_an_ecology_of_change#)

### Abolition Visions

- Angela Davis, *Are Prisons Obsolete?* Chp. 1 “Prison Reform or Prison Abolition?”
- “The Case for Abolition,” Ruth Wilson Gilmore and James Kilgore, The Marshall Project, June 19, 2019: <https://www.themarshallproject.org/2019/06/19/the-case-for-abolition>
- “Is Prison Necessary? Ruth Wilson Gilmore Might Change Your Mind,” in *New York Times Magazine*, April 17, 2019: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/17/magazine/prison-abolition-ruth-wilson-gilmore.html>
- Required Podcast: Mariame Kaba on Justice in America Podcast with Josie Duffy Rice and Clint Smith: <https://theappeal.org/justice-in-america-episode-20-mariame-kaba-and-prison-abolition/>
- Dorothy E. Roberts, “Abolition Constitutionalism,” *Harvard Law Review*, Vol. 133, November 2019: <https://harvardlawreview.org/2019/11/abolition-constitutionalism/>
- Additional resource for future reading: <https://www.aaihs.org/prison-abolition-syllabus/>

### Case Study: Closing Rikers

- Background: Anakwa Dwamena, “Closing Rikers: Competing Visions for the Future of New York City’s Jails,” *The New York Review of Books*, October 2019: <https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2019/10/04/closing-rikers-competing-visions-for-the-future-of-new-york-citys-jails/>
- The Players: Raven Rokia and Ashoka Jegroo, “How the Push to Close Rikers Went from No Jails to New Jails,” *The Appeal*, May 29, 2018. <https://theappeal.org/how-the-push-to-close-rikers-went-from-no-jails-to-new-jails/>

- The Players: Darren Walker, “In Defense of Nuance,” September 19, 2019. <https://www.fordfoundation.org/ideas/equals-change-blog/posts/in-defense-of-nuance/>
- The Players: Insha Rahman, “Closing Rikers Island,” Vera Think Justice Blog, October 8, 2019: <https://www.vera.org/blog/closing-rikers-island>
- Jarrett Murphy, “Closing Rikers: The 10 Major Concerns that Emerged at the Public Hearing,” CityLimits, September 5, 2019: <https://citylimits.org/2019/09/05/closing-rikers-the-10-major-concerns-that-emerged-at-the-public-hearing/>
- The Result: Matthew Haag, “Rikers Would Close in Historic Plan to Remake NY Jail System,” *The New York Times*, October 16, 2019: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/16/nyregion/rikers-island-jail-closing.html?module=inline>
- The Result: #CLOSERikers Applauds City Council’s Historic Vote: <https://www.closerikersnow.org/media/closerikers-applauds-city-councils-historic-vote-to-close-rikers-and-shrink-new-york-citys-jails-system-further-cementing-new-york-city-as-the-most-decarcerated-major-city/>
- The Backlash: Hakim Bishara, “If They Build It, They Will Fill it” Hyperallergic, September 27, 2019: <https://hyperallergic.com/519794/if-they-build-it-they-will-fill-it-prison-abolitionists-protest-outside-the-ford-foundation/>

## **Week 10: Rethinking Philanthropy Through Movement Organizing After 9/11**

### **Uniting Workers**

- “The Workers Lab: The Union-Backed Accelerator helping to Disrupt Capitalism,” August 2018: <https://www.equaltimes.org/the-workers-lab-the-union-backed?lang=en#.Xh0Px1NKijg>
- “Americans Want to Believe Jobs are the Solution to Poverty. They’re Not.” <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/11/magazine/americans-jobs-poverty-homeless.html>
- “These 5 innovative projects are building worker power,” Fast Company: <https://www.fastcompany.com/90432483/these-5-innovative-projects-are-building-worker-power>
- Vanessa Daniel, “Philanthropist Bench Women of Color, the MVP’s of Social Change And We All Loose Out,” NYT, November 19, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/19/opinion/philanthropy-black-women.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share>
- Jennifer Ching, “People-Powered Grantmaking,” March 2019: <https://www.oldmoneynewsystem.net/blog/2019/3/15/people-powered-grantmaking-makes-lasting-change-possible>
- Carmen Rojas, “The Problems With Philanthropy, and What We Can Do To Fix Them.” Medium, November 13, 2019: <https://zora.medium.com/the-problems-with-philanthropy-and-what-we-can-do-to-fix-them-c7315aaf04cd>

## Muslim Organizing

- Kalia Abiade, “Beyond the Ban: Working in and with American Muslim Communities,” June 27, 2018: <https://cep.org/beyond-the-ban-working-in-and-with-american-muslim-communities/>
- Paul Sullivan, “A Fund to Support the Muslim American Community, Inside and Out,” NYT, May 24, 2019: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/24/your-money/pillars-fund-muslim-americans-support.html>
- Proteas Fund on Rapid Response Grantmaking: <https://www.proteusfund.org/10-lessons-learned-from-10-years-of-rtf-grantmaking-lesson-2/>
- Diala Shamas and Nermeen Arastu, *Mapping Muslims: NYPD Spying and its Impact on American Muslims*, CUNY CLEAR, Report, 2013: <https://www.law.cuny.edu/wp-content/uploads/page-assets/academics/clinics/immigration/clear/Mapping-Muslims.pdf>

## Week 11: Human Rights

### Ethical Dilemmas in Funding Human Rights

- Danny Sriskandarajah, “Why Restricting Foreign Funding of NGOs is Wrongheaded,” <https://www.alliancemagazine.org/blog/why-restricting-foreign-funding-of-ngos-is-wrongheaded/>
- Annalisa Merelli, “The Problem with the Gates Foundation’s Award to Narendra Modi,” Quartz: <https://qz.com/1714568/why-is-the-gates-foundations-award-to-narendra-modi-controversial/>
- Sabah Hamid, “Why I Resigned From the Gates Foundation,” NYT, September 26, 2019: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/26/opinion/modi-gates-award.html>
- Open Letter to Gates Foundation from South Asian Americans and Allies in Philanthropy: <https://medium.com/@southasiansinphilanthropy/open-letter-to-gates-foundation-from-south-asian-americans-and-allies-in-philanthropy-rescind-9861f7024782>
- Editorial Board, “Soros has created a superpower for democracy. But he could use some help.” The Washington Post, October 19, 2017: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/george-soros-has-created-a-superpower-for-liberal-democracy/2017/10/19/02463380-b43e-11e7-9e58-e6288544af98\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/george-soros-has-created-a-superpower-for-liberal-democracy/2017/10/19/02463380-b43e-11e7-9e58-e6288544af98_story.html)
- Susan Wolf Ditkoff and Abe Grindle, “Audacious Philanthropy,” in *Harvard Business Review*, Sept-Oct 2017: <https://hbr.org/2017/09/audacious-philanthropy>

### Human Rights Abroad

- Saskia Brechenmacher and Thomas Carothers, “Examining Civil Society Legitimacy,” Carnegie’s Civic Research Network, May 2018: <https://carnegieendowment.org/2018/05/02/examining-civil-society-legitimacy-pub-76211>
- Sharan Srinivas, “Defending Frontline Activists in South Africa,” OSF: <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/voices/defending-frontline-activists-in-south-africa>

- “Race Matters: Reflections on Employing a Racial Equity Lens to funding Human Rights Struggles.” *International Journal on Human Rights*, 2018: <https://sur.conectas.org/en/race-matters/>

## Week 12: What Works? Reimagining Philanthropy

### Radical Philanthropy?

- Erica Kohl-Arenas, “Can Philanthropy Ever Reduce Inequality?": <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/transformation/can-philanthropy-ever-reduce-inequality/>
- Carly Hare in *Generosity to Justice*, pp 95-106
- Anna Altman, “The Millennials Who Want to Get Rid of Their Class Privilege,” *The Washington Post*, March 2, 2020: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/magazine/2020/03/02/their-families-built-fortunes-these-millennials-are-trying-figure-out-how-undo-their-class-privilege/?arc404=true> (Links to an external site.)
- Jennifer Jordan, “Philanthropy Fails in its Approach to Inequality. Here’s a Way to Change It,” In *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 22, 2019: <https://www.inquirer.com/opinion/commentary/community-funds-philanthropy-donor-wealth-giving-project-20191122.html> (Links to an external site.)
- Gara LaMarche, “In Defense of Unstrategic Philanthropy,” December 17, 2019: <http://garalamarche.com/2019/12/in-defense-of-unstrategic-philanthropy/> (Links to an external site.)
- Erica Kohl-Arenas, “[The Presentation of Self in Philanthropic Life](#),” *Antipode*, 2017

### Philanthropy and COVID

- Julia Travers, “The Hardest Hit: Who is Supporting Communities of Color During COVID-19?” <https://www.insidephilanthropy.com/home/2020/4/2/the-hardest-hit-who-is-supporting-communities-of-color-during-covid-19>
- Carmen Rojas, “Philanthropy in the time of COVID-19,” <https://medium.com/@carmen.rojas.phd/philanthropy-in-the-time-of-covid-19-47bcb8ed7f5>
- Darren Walker, A Note From Home: <https://www.fordfoundation.org/ideas/equals-change-blog/posts/a-note-from-home/>
- Aaron Dorfman and Ellen Dorsey, “Now is the Time for Philanthropy to Give More, Not Less” <https://www.philanthropy.com/article/Now-Is-the-Time-for/248278>
- Libra Foundation Press Release: <https://www.thelibrafoundation.org/2020/04/the-libra-foundation-doubles-grantmaking-in-2020-including-their-latest-docket-22-million-to-social-justice-organizations/>