TOWARD POWER-SHIFTING SOLIDARITY WITH BLACK-LED CHANGE

The State of Philanthropic Investments & Transformative Invitations to Advance Racial Justice in Minnesota & Beyond

A PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE **BLACK COLLECTIVE FOUNDATION MN** AND THE **CENTER FOR EVALUATION INNOVATION**

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE **PHILANTHROPIC INITIATIVE FOR RACIAL EQUITY**

BLACK COLLECTIVE FOUNDATION MN

CENTER FOR EVALUATION INNOVATION

Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity

LETTER FROM CO-FOUNDERS, BLACK COLLECTIVE FOUNDATION MN

Dear Reader,

This May of 2023, we commemorate the historic uprising for racial justice that was ignited right here in Minnesota and swiftly spread around the world. While almost three years have passed, the call still reverberates—and the need remains—for transformational change that honors the sacredness and dignity of Black life and advances the full possibilities of our dreams.

We believe power-shifting solidarity with Black-led change is the way. In the spring 2023 issue of *Nonprofit Quarterly*, we shared the story of the birth, evolution, and vision of the Black Collective Foundation MN, our state's first Black community foundation:

> ***In the middle of the uprising, the three of us reached out to one another to consider how we could move the philanthropic sector beyond momentary sympathy into accountability, solidarity, and transformation.***
>
> ***It felt as if our connection was destined. We were building off of the work of previous generations of Black people. Our community, past and present, had paved the way for our power to be rooted in, multiply, and inspire a movement for new philanthropy. It was an intergenerational meeting of hearts and minds, all fully present and active in our communities and leading in the sector of philanthropy.***
>
> ***We put forward a vision of a loving world in which each of us and our families could be safe and could live with hope, dignity, and prosperity. And the Philanthropic Collective to Combat Anti-Blackness and Realize Racial Justice—now, the Black Collective Foundation MN—was born.***[1]

When we embarked on this research journey, we asked, "How much greater can philanthropy be?" Since our beginning, we've cast forth a sustaining vision for work that is rooted in a long history of aspiration and "calling," a new model of philanthropy where Black people are seen, respected, supported, and heard. As reflected in the Bold and Courageous Joint Statement that follows, a critical component of shifting power is truth telling to courageously confront the sophisticated ways anti-Blackness shows up in our society—including within the philanthropic sector. Along with truth telling, the acts of accountability and solidarity are required to move us beyond temporary solutions to systems-change imperatives that usher in measurable, transformational change.

This requires that each of us fully commit in the *being* of the work. We must dare to confront the discomfort and thrill of the new world we want to bring in, and explore how we embody it from wherever we live, love, and lead.

Today, we share our first research publication, one that unapologetically centers Black-led change: the social, political, and economic change led by diverse groups of Black people that results in the well-being of Black communities and often benefits all people. While Black-led change continues to prove its impact and necessity, we are witnesses to the ways Black-led change has been targeted, under-resourced, and under-recognized. But we can bring in a new day. And three years after a world-changing uprising for racial justice, we invite you to engage in power-shifting solidarity and use the learnings of this research to take meaningful action, amplify, and invest in Black-led change for the genius work that it is so that it reaches its full capacity of impact for good.

— **REPA MEKHA, CHANDA SMITH BAKER, AND LULETE MOLA**
BLACK COLLECTIVE FOUNDATION MN

[1] Lulete Mola, Repa Mekha, and Chanda Smith Baker, "Toward a New Philanthropy: Advancing the Genius of Black-Led Change," *Nonprofit Quarterly* (2023, May 11), https://nonprofitquarterly.org/toward-a-new-philanthropy-advancing-the-genius-of-black-led-change/toward-a-new-philanthropy-advancing-the-genius-of-black-led-change

Amid the 2020 uprising for racial justice, we called on philanthropic institutions to sign on to the following bold and courageous joint statement in order to demonstrate solidarity with the movement and to inspire public accountability of institutional philanthropy, past, present, and future. The intention is for it to act as a living agreement that will continue to inspire and invoke action long after it has been signed.

SOME TRUTHS RIGHT NOW

We are living through a historic community uprising, with national and international solidarity, in response to the murder of Mr. George Floyd. Mr. Floyd was a Black man—a father, a brother, a neighbor, a friend—whose life was cut short after Derek Chauvin, a Minneapolis police officer, pressed his knee on his neck for nearly nine minutes until he could no longer breathe. Three additional officers restrained Mr. Floyd and prevented bystanders from helping.

There can be no doubt that George Floyd's horrific death is a result of individual decisions on the parts of the four former officers involved and a consequence of foundational anti-Black racism and centuries of enslaved labor. This anti-Black racism saw Mr. Floyd as less than human. We must be as precise as possible. Euphemisms and vagueness mask and minimize the harsh reality that Minnesota is a state with some of the worst racial disparities in the nation in education, health, economic status, and overall well-being.

The death of George Floyd comes on the heels of the murders of Ahmaud Arbery of Georgia, Breonna Taylor of Kentucky, and too many more Black lives unjustly taken across the country. Today, we are unified in declaring that Black lives matter. We believe that all Black lives matter, including the lives of Black men, Black women, Black lives across gender and sexual identities, Black lives living with disabilities, and Black lives in cities, suburbs, and rural towns across the country.

WE MUST ASK OURSELVES: HOW CAN WE DO BETTER AND HOLD OURSELVES ACCOUNTABLE TO THE COMMUNITIES WE SAY WE SERVE?

We do not forget that we are living through the global climate crisis, growing income and wealth disparity, and the COVID-19 pandemic, just three of multiple issues disproportionately impacting Black people, Indigenous people, and people of color at the intersections of identities pushed to the margins. We recognize we are on Indigenous land, home of the Dakota and Ojibwe people, and honor the Native people for their strong solidarity while recognizing the distinct impact of this most recent demonstration of racial injustice on Indigenous and people of color.

Our community is rising, led by Black community members, through organizing, protest, and strategic movement-building for policy and systems change, love, and solidarity. We witnessed some righteous and productive protesting that came out of this community. Our statement here is rooted in and builds upon what our community has expressed. While our views here have been presented many times before by community voices, it is new, and long overdue, that a philanthropic coalition would make a public statement specifically condemning anti-Blackness, anti-Black police violence, and racism. We are willing to speak boldly and unequivocally because this can no longer be deferred, soft-pedaled, or ignored by the philanthropic and nonprofit community in Minnesota, a sector where white people are over-represented, especially in positions of leadership and high visibility.

And yet we know that statements from philanthropic leaders like this one will ring hollow if we do nothing else to combat the systemic issues and culture of white supremacy that got us here in the first place. Therefore, we commit to centering

Black voices, knowledge, and activism in this pursuit of justice.

The criminal justice system is only one of many systems that have failed Black people. After all, racism shows up in every aspect of our communities: in our homes, social networks, educational institutions, workplaces, places of faith, and government. We recognize that racism is both blatant and systematic, affecting the quality of life for Black people, Indigenous people, and people of color from the moment they are born. Our vision for racial equity is one where life outcomes are not determined by the color of a person's skin or the zip code of their birth, and where every person has exactly what they need to thrive.

PHILANTHROPY'S RESPONSIBILITY, ACCOUNTABILITY, AND ACTION

Philanthropy is meant to contribute to the greater good, greater access for disenfranchised communities and groups. Yet the field of philanthropy has not done enough to clearly name, disrupt, and eliminate racism.

The desire to give is a universal, human impulse. And within this generosity, philanthropy has sought to address community needs and societal ills. Martin Luther King, Jr., once said, "Philanthropy is commendable, but it must not cause the philanthropist to overlook the circumstances of economic injustice which make philanthropy necessary." Guided by this wisdom, as we recognize the progress created by philanthropy, we must also examine the ways in which some philanthropic practices have historically perpetuated anti-Blackness and racism—and those instances and institutions that still do so today. By naming this complicated truth, we can acknowledge the ways in which institutional philanthropy has caused to harm to Black people, Indigenous people, and communities of color. We are committed to facing this reality as we continue to learn and adapt to improve our processes in practice, policy, and fund disbursement.

We also acknowledge there is work to be done with foundation staff and donors: donor-advised funds, boards, individuals of wealth—to alter the purpose of philanthropy from one of charity to transformation. We see this moment and its aftermath as an opportunity to take more powerful actions to realize our commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion and begin to expand our frame to justice in its most transformational form.

We understand that philanthropy can perpetuate socioeconomic disparities. We must ask ourselves: How can we do better and hold ourselves accountable to the communities we say we serve? The bigger question in regard to identifying our role and opportunity to support communities seeking justice is, What can philanthropy be? With the resources, influence, and positionality as cross-sector connectors, we have the opportunity to build, yield, and share power to elevate the voices of the most impacted people of systemic inequity.

We commit to transforming into practitioners who hold philanthropy accountable to the community by learning what it means to embrace the duty and opportunity to realize equity. We need to be willing to step out and be at the forefront of having these conversations and commit to take meaningful action in addition to signing on to this solidarity statement. At minimum, we are committed to engaging in critical internal work to change systems, practices, and policies within organizations, the field, and society. Finally, as a collective, we are committing meaningful investments in the short and long term to support Black movement, infrastructure, leadership, and responsive efforts, along with investments to serve the needs of Indigenous and people of color. We are committed to continuing this dialogue.

We understand that this requires philanthropy to stretch in ways that are new, uncomfortable, and innovative, and it requires us to engage in a full re-imagination of our institutions, policies, and practices. Those of us who are signing onto this statement call on additional philanthropic partners to join our movement for a more equitable, inclusive, and just world.

We can move forward in a radically different manner in pursuit of a society in which Black people, Indigenous people, people of color, and all people are served and protected by any and all systems intended for community safety and well-being. We need ongoing reckoning, repair, and healing.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS & ABOUT THE AUTHORS

We appreciate the many people who contributed to the research for this report. We thank the Black community leaders and philanthropy practitioners who are committed to racial justice for sharing their insights and wisdom with us. We also thank Dr. Vidhya Shaker for her contributions to this research, Domenica Trevor for her copyediting, and Trevor Messersmith for designing this report.

THE BLACK COLLECTIVE FOUNDATION MN

The Black Collective Foundation MN is working to create a thriving ecosystem of Black-led social, political, and economic change in Minnesota and beyond. The Collective engages in culturally grounded grantmaking, research, asset building, and convenings to advance the power, interests, and well-being of Black communities. The Collective also works to transform the philanthropic field to be in power-shifting solidarity to realize the promise of racial justice.

The vision of the Collective is to advance the genius of Black-led change and build a community where all Black people are holistically well, living in dignity and prosperity.

LULETE MOLA is co-founder and first president of the Black Collective Foundation MN. She leads the Collective in building infrastructure, practicing creative and innovative resource disbursement, growing assets, and expanding Black philanthropic power to advance a new model of philanthropy.

CHANDA SMITH BAKER is co-founder of the Black Collective Foundation MN. Chanda has proven success in leading complex organizations and is recognized for her entrepreneurial strategic leadership, creating and implementing innovative strategies that engage stakeholders with a focus on advancing racial equity and broadening social impact.

REPA MEKHA is co-founder of the Black Collective Foundation and president & CEO of Nexus Community Partners. Repa has over 30 years of experience in community-based leadership, community capacity building, asset- and wealth-building strategies, organizational leadership and development, and systems-change work.

THE CENTER FOR EVALUATION INNOVATION (CEI)

The Center for Evaluation Innovation's mission is to partner with philanthropy to provide changemakers the space and resources needed to advance racial justice and create an equitable future.

CEI partners with philanthropy on strategy, learning, and evaluation efforts that are intended to advance racial equity and justice. We lead evaluation projects, consult with foundations on strategy and learning, and support field building through convening, organizing, and research.

DR. CHERA REID *(she/hers)* is co-executive director of the Center for Evaluation Innovation. She has worked in the social sector for over two decades, anchored by a commitment to thriving Black people and communities.

DR. ALBERTINA LOPEZ *(she/hers)* is senior associate at the Center for Evaluation Innovation. She leads and supports projects in CEI's evaluation portfolio and field-building work, applying her knowledge and skills in justice-oriented evaluation and research, organizational development and learning, and inclusive facilitation.

THE PHILANTHROPIC INITIATIVE FOR RACIAL EQUITY (PRE)

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

PRE has directly engaged thousands of foundation representatives (including program staff, management, board members, and individual donors) in discussions of racial equity and racial justice, particularly in order to increase their investments in Black- and Brown-led efforts building power and transformative change. PRE is a fiscally sponsored project of the Tides Center.

LORI VILLAROSA *(she/hers)* is the founder and executive director of the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity, bringing more than three decades of pathbreaking leadership at the intersection of racial justice and philanthropy. Through PRE, she works with a diverse board of racial justice leaders and other movement partners to significantly shift grantmaking strategies and practices.

BEN FRANCISCO MAULBECK *(they/them)* is a PRE senior fellow and a consultant, writer, and leader for social change. Their work includes eight years of service as president of Funders for LGBTQ Issues as well as leadership roles at the Freeman Foundation, Hispanics in Philanthropy, and several grassroots Latinx, LGBTQ, and HIV/AIDS organizations.

LYLE MATTHEW KAN *(he/him)* is the principal research consultant for PRE and an expert on trends, gaps, and opportunities in social justice philanthropy. He has held senior leadership roles at Asian American/Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy, CHANGE Philanthropy, Funders for LGBTQ Issues, and Stonewall Community Foundation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Minnesota has a vibrant history of Black people living in close-knit, diverse communities. In and around the Twin Cities in particular, arts and cultural centers, family-owned small businesses, and houses of worship dot the landscape, providing a visual reminder of the beauty of the African Diaspora and how its many people remain resilient and hopeful despite systemic inequality and persistent racism. Amid this landscape, Black changemakers have long been organizing and building community power—work that positioned them to galvanize the 2020 global uprising for racial justice in response to the murder of George Floyd.

Across philanthropy, foundations and donors sought to respond to the moment. Foundation leaders and staff reflected internally, wondering how they might go above and beyond previous annual giving. Grantmakers pledged to direct new or increased funding to racial equity and racial justice efforts. Some coupled those pledges with promises to pursue internal learning journeys toward what it would take to become long-term stewards in service to racial justice. Philanthropy recognized its position as a powerful set of institutions and structures.

Black leaders working within philanthropy and in their communities were reaching out to one another for emotional and strategic support, asking what they could do together to energize and guide field transformation. Part of what emerged from these efforts was the Black Collective Foundation MN. Co-founded by Repa Mekha, Lulete Mola, and Chanda Smith Baker, the state's first Black community foundation is advancing "the genius of Black-led change" with a mission "to build Black philanthropic power to strengthen the ecosystem of Black-led social, political, and economic change in Minnesota and beyond."

WHAT WILL IT TAKE FOR INSTITUTIONAL PHILANTHROPY IN MN AND BEYOND TO MOVE AT THE SPEED OF COURAGE AND INVEST WHOLLY IN BLACK LIVES?

In the spring of 2022, the Collective and the Center for Evaluation Innovation (CEI) formed a partnership to consider how to build power-shifting solidarity with Black people and communities across Minnesota. **Our intent is to expand and deepen philanthropy—which at its roots is about love for humankind—that is in power-shifting solidarity with Black-led change and communities.** To do this, we first needed to better understand our points of alignment and divergence. We needed to consider what philanthropic institution staff believe is possible, what will motivate courageous action, and how to support those who have made commitments to stay the course.

This report, and the research that informs it, considers that strategic question by analyzing and integrating multiple perspectives. We reviewed philanthropic literature, interviewed Black community leaders, and facilitated three focus groups with foundation leaders and staff who are committed to racial equity in Minnesota. In the fall of 2022, we invited the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity to collaborate by analyzing and sharing data that would add to our respective local and national understanding of the state of racial equity and racial justice grantmaking.

The questions guiding the Collective and the CEI for this study were:

1. **How do communities of Black changemakers define racial justice for Black people, anti-Blackness, and Black-led Change?**
2. **What is the landscape of Minnesota's racial equity and racial justice grantmaking and practices? To what extent does that align with how Black changemakers define racial justice?**
3. **How can we shift the Minnesota philanthropic gaze so institutions are accountable to Black changemakers?**

We collectively seek to answer: **What will it take for institutional philanthropy in Minnesota and beyond to move at the speed of courage and invest wholly in Black lives?**

PRE GRANTMAKING DATA SNAPSHOT FOR RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE IN MINNESOTA

The murder of George Floyd was a turning point for mobilizations for racial justice across the nation and the world. Foundations and corporations across the country released statements expressing solidarity with the movement and announcing pledges to support racial justice and communities of color. This, in turn, led to headlines like one from the *Wall Street Journal*: "At Nonprofits Focusing on Blacks, Donations Soared in Wake of George Floyd Protests." This misleading coverage was based on exaggerated claims and inaccurate data, often including internal corporate spending related to diversity and vague commitments for future funding.

In this context, the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity (PRE) produced *Mismatched: Philanthropy's Response to the Call for Racial Justice*. While prior reporting primarily drew on information available from public pledges and press releases, *Mismatched*, published in 2021, rigorously examined confirmed grants awarded for racial equity and racial justice work. With *Mismatched*—and an updated analysis this year based on more recent data—PRE found that while funding for racial equity increased in 2020, the increase was much more incremental than had been previously reported. **And while funding focused specifically on Black communities rose sharply in 2020, it still was only 1.6% of institutional funding nationally and only 0.6% of funding in Minnesota.** An even smaller fraction was devoted to the Black-led grassroots groups leading the uprisings for racial justice in 2020 and beyond. In short: Despite pledges totaling billions for "racial justice," the tally of dollars received by Black-led social change organizations measured only in the millions.

And, predictably, the exaggerations of philanthropic support for Black-led social change work have moved from possibly performative, opportunistic—or even benignly mistaken—to those that are clearly much more heavily tied to attacks on the mechanisms seeking to rectify racial injustice—part of a broader assault on critical race theory, trans youth, and perceived "wokeness." These false stories came as many organizations began to see the initial support they received in 2020 coming to an end, funders declining to renew it, and a dropoff to the influx of new supporters. There is a real

danger that these inaccurate reports are convincing philanthropy that it has overcorrected its historic underinvestment in communities of color and racial justice work.

Over the past three years, funding for racial equity and racial justice did rise—both nationally and in Minnesota. But the overwhelming majority of dollars overall did not go to racial justice or to Black-led movement building; instead, they supported a broad range of strategies that were largely laudable, but lacked any in-depth analysis of systemic racism or structural change. And in the time that has passed since the murder of George Floyd and the uprising it inspired, the overall picture of what philanthropy did—and did not do—in support of racial justice has become clearer. The data indicate that there is an opening for a deeper, longer-term shift toward greater investment in transformational racial justice. This possibility is of particular importance in Minnesota—the second-largest state for philanthropic giving in the Midwest.

PRE's analysis of funding for racial equity and racial justice in 2018–2021 found the following to be true in Minnesota:

- → In recent years, **less than 4% of funding for Minnesota nonprofits was focused on racial equity, and only about 0.5% was focused on racial justice.**
- → Racial equity and racial justice funding did rise, incrementally, in 2020; racial justice continued to account for a small fraction of funding.
- → Funding for Black communities in Minnesota also increased, **but didn't keep pace with national trends.**
- → **Racial equity funding was more likely to focus on economic development,** and top funders provided the vast majority of that support.
- → **The state's top 20 grant recipients received a larger share of racial equity funding,** and racial justice funding was even more heavily weighted toward the top grantees.
- → Several new organizations appeared among the top 20 grantees in 2020–2021; some of these grants had a strong analysis of structural racism and elements of deeper community engagement.
- → Several major people of color-led organizations saw significant increases in funding in 2020–2021—as did intermediaries, **potentially reflecting an effort to channel more funding to these organizations through local social justice intermediaries.**
- → Nevertheless—and true to a pattern that held across the nation—**Minnesota, the epicenter of the racial justice uprisings in 2020, saw only a tiny fraction of foundation funding actually invested in Black-led social change organizations.**

OUR WORKING DEFINITIONS

RACIAL JUSTICE

A definition by the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity aligns with what we heard in our interviews:

> *A **racial justice** lens brings into view the confrontation of power, the redistribution of resources, and the systemic transformation necessary for real change. Justice requires*

> ***urgent fundamental changes that reposition communities of color in relation to power and resources, which includes being able to challenge and shape the many institutions that determine a community's conditions.***

As defined by the Black changemakers we interviewed, racial justice for Black people must include healing, restoration, reparations, and transformation as key components, and encompass the past, present, and future:

- **PAST:** Requires the admission of and apology for historical and ongoing wrongdoing and harm by those who have profited intergenerationally from that wrongdoing and harm.
- **PRESENT:** Involves their making amends by ensuring the current ability among Black people and peoples to express their needs, feelings, and thoughts individually and collectively without fear of punishment, and by ensuring their current access to the means by which they individually and collectively develop their potential, their capacities, and their agency.
- **FUTURE:** Calls for the application and exercise among Black people and peoples of those resources developed to change the structural and systemic conditions that they experience and to shape the future.

ANTI-BLACKNESS

We offer two definitions for anti-Blackness that frame it in different dimensions:

- Reflecting an interpersonal level, the first originates in the Movement for Black Lives (M4BL) and honors the specificity of anti-Black racism and dimensions of white supremacy while leaving room for the possibility of interrelated experiences of racism within white supremacy. Anti-Black racism is the "term used to specifically describe the unique discrimination, violence, and harms imposed on and impacting Black people specifically."
- The Collective uses a second definition, inspired by an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* that frames anti-Blackness at a systemic level: "a theoretical framework that illuminates society's inability to recognize our humanity—the disdain, disregard, and disgust for our existence."

BLACK-LED CHANGE

We note two definitions. One, by the Collective, defines it broadly:

> ***Black-led change is social, political, and economic change led by diverse groups of Black people. It centers the power, interests, and well-being of Black communities and often benefits all people. Black-led change has a conscious politic and a commitment for outcomes that center the interests of Black people. The Black-led approach to change acknowledges the distinct ways Black people are impacted by issues because of anti-Black racism and solutions are rooted in Black culture and practices. Black-led change works in partnership with people most impacted by the issues at hand. It is rooted in cultural practice across generations and the diaspora; it reflects the inherent dignity and vision of Black people. While Black-led change continues to prove its impact and necessity, historically, Black-led change has been targeted, under-resourced, and under-recognized.***

The Association of Black Foundation Executives: A Philanthropic Partnership for Black Communities provides an understanding of Black-led change within an organizational context:

> ***Black-led change organizations are those with predominantly Black board and executive leadership, staff, and constituents and whose primary organizational purpose is to work to build the political, economic, and social power of the Black community. So, "Black-led" is about the demographic makeup and racial identity of the leadership as well as a political purpose of building power to ensure that the Black community thrives.***

INVITATIONS TO POWER-SHIFTING SOLIDARITY WITH BLACK PEOPLE AND COMMUNITIES IN MINNESOTA

While written in the present tense and informed by community and philanthropic leaders, these visions for Black futures have been dreamed of and contested for generations. We are leading with invitations in recognition of your agency to choose to be in practice with us in building the organizations, culture, community, and world we urgently need.

1 TRUST, DEFEND, AND RECOGNIZE BLACK LEADERS.

Black leaders are critical to the work of transforming systems toward justice. Philanthropy must trust these leaders, recognizing the ways that they move between groups and networks to make a way, often while their efforts are underinvested. We must protect and defend Black leaders who regularly are subject to anti-Blackness, whose manifestation can range from subtle microaggressions to blatant, open-air racism. Black leadership is necessary for our movements and for organizational transformation.

We see a signal in PRE's Data Snapshot that Minnesota philanthropy can build on: Most racial justice grants were distributed to organizations led by people of color. Trust is necessary, full stop, if Black community leaders are to be in relationship with philanthropy in ways that support everyone to advance their missions. But Black community leaders are wary of the vulnerability that can come when trust is not coupled with support for ongoing learning and realistic expectations. Systems change is not quick and linear; grantmaking requires long-term investment and commitment to be in relationship. Three years from the 2020 uprising for racial justice, Black leaders spoke of the need for opportunities to come together and reflect on what has been learned and refine or shift their strategies.

2 EMBRACE THE DUAL NEEDS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND HEALING JUSTICE.

Black community leaders spoke of racial capitalism, the mutual dependence of capitalism and racism, as necessary to

interrogate racial justice efforts; the racial wealth gap is understood and present. But they also recognize that economic development alone is part of, and not the whole, of what it takes to create racial justice.

Philanthropic leaders reflected on what could be keeping Minnesota foundations from interrogating racial capitalism as a practice norm. Funders spoke of the need to normalize language that has been read as risky in "mixed company" because it could upset white donors and/or board members: "We need to be intentional about saying 'Black-led work' and 'anti-Blackness.'" And they spoke to the desire for a widened aperture on what is required to advance power-shifting solidarity with Black community leaders. Expanding the aperture would hold necessary economic development efforts and widen to include repair and healing, which is grounded in justice for whole communities, including in the following ways as articulated by the Healing Justice Foundation:

- → Honor families and communities.
- → Provide urgent and sustainable healing support.
- → Address the direct and collateral consequences of racism and its intersection with other forms of oppression.
- → Provide education and training that builds community power.

MEET BLACK PEOPLE AT THEIR INTERSECTIONS & ACKNOWLEDGE THE FORCE OF ANTI-BLACKNESS.

The racial hierarchy in the United States, long over-reliant on a Black-white binary, requires us to speak directly about anti-Blackness if we are to advance racial justice. Black community leaders and foundation staff widely acknowledged anti-Blackness as a known force and something that largely is not spoken about in predominantly white spaces. Most Black changemakers we interviewed aligned their understanding of anti-Blackness with definition, grounded in specificity, originating with the MBL. While this be the case, we recognize the inherently intersectional and international nature of oppression—and the need for correspondingly intersectional and international movements for collective, adaptive action.

Community leaders encourage philanthropy to educate the field on anti-Blackness and to struggle with why it isn't spoken as explicitly as it might be. Across focus groups and interviews, foundation leaders agreed that anti-Blackness largely is not in the lexicon of colleagues and peers: "We use the term BIPOC so much. … What are we really talking about? It is about anti-Blackness." The term can lump all people of color together as one group of intended grantee partners, inadvertently creating competition. Black community leaders want to work toward collective liberation. Meeting Black people and communities at their intersections will require us to make the pie bigger, approaching our work with abundance rather than scarcity.

SUPPORT SPACES OF RESPITE AND COMMUNITY BUILDING FOR BLACK CHANGEMAKERS IN PHILANTHROPY.

Black practitioners in Minnesota philanthropy are toggling between and among communities—an effort that has long been required for Black people in the workplace. These practitioners often do triple work—playing critical roles in their homes and cultural communities; leading organizational change around justice,

equity, diversity, and inclusion; while also performing their primary role—and all the while subject to institutional environments that can range from the inhospitable to the toxic. The additional labor, intellectual and emotional, often is without commensurate titles and compensation. Unsurprisingly, Black leaders and practitioners described themselves as exhausted.

Minnesota can lead the way in demonstrating to the country what it takes to ensure its leaders are well. The Collective's Rooting series and Nexus Community Partners' Sabbatical Program are creating spaces for respite and restoration, as well as more and new ways of celebrating and supporting these leaders. We encourage learning across these growing bodies of work so that a shared picture of the ways Minnesota philanthropy is showing up for its Black leaders can emerge and drive further investment.

INVEST IN RACIAL JUSTICE AT THE SPEED OF COURAGE.

Black community leaders in Minnesota are courageously showing up for racial justice, seeking fundamental changes to the ways power and resources are distributed. The historic uprising of 2020, which began in our state, demonstrates what is possible when we unite in power-shifting solidarity. We witnessed numerous private-sector and philanthropic organizations commit to redress past harms, name plans for organizational learning, and publicly pledge financial support to Black communities and Black-led change.

Philanthropy in Minnesota—exemplified in the multimillion-dollar investments by the Bush and Pohlad Family foundations—has begun responding to this urgent call. As noted in the PRE Data Snapshot, in 2021 racial equity funding increased by approximately 13% against the average of the previous three years and racial justice funding increased by nearly a quarter compared to the average of the three previous years. However, for these kinds of efforts to have long-term impact, this must be the beginning of courageous investments. Systemic inequities are years in the making, and it takes time to shift to new ways of being and doing. We urge all of Minnesota philanthropy to invest in Black lives year-round and long term, in service to thriving people and communities.

INTRODUCTION

"Our collective thought is better than any singular approach. And I've seen more of that: people getting more connected to really thinking through, trying to figure out things, and moving as a group or as a collective rather than trying to figure it out by themselves. That gives me hope."

— BLACK COMMUNITY LEADER IN MINNESOTA

Minnesota has a vibrant history of Black people living in close-knit, diverse communities. These communities are U.S.-born and immigrant, richly varied in language and culture. In and around the Twin Cities in particular, arts and cultural centers, family-owned small businesses, and houses of worship dot the landscape, providing a visual reminder of the beauty of the African Diaspora and how its many people remain resilient and hopeful despite systemic inequality and persistent racism. Amid this landscape, Black changemakers have long been organizing and building community power—work that positioned them to galvanize the 2020 global uprising for racial justice in response to the murder of George Floyd. And this uprising has created a generational opening. The world is watching to see who we will be and what we will do in response to calls for societal transformation toward a just, multiracial democracy where all Black people are holistically well, living in dignity and prosperity. We are living the histories that will one day be written about this time.

WHAT WILL IT TAKE FOR INSTITUTIONAL PHILANTHROPY IN MINNESOTA TO INVEST WHOLLY IN BLACK LIVES?

Across philanthropy, foundations and donors sought to respond to the moment. Foundation leaders and staff reflected internally, wondering how they might go above and beyond previous annual giving. Grantmakers publicly pledged to direct new or increased funding to racial equity and racial justice efforts and organizations. Some coupled those pledges with promises to pursue learning journeys as an organization, considering what it would take to become long-term stewards in service to racial justice. Philanthropy recognized its position as a powerful set of institutions and structures.

Black leaders working within philanthropy and in their communities were reaching out to one another for emotional and strategic support, building on existing relationships and asking what they could do together to energize and guide field transformation. Part of what emerged from these courageous efforts was the visionary work that led to Minnesota's first Black community foundation. Co-founded by Repa Mekha, Lulete Mola, and Chanda Smith Baker, the Black Collective Foundation MN is advancing "the genius

of Black-led change" with a mission "to build Black philanthropic power to strengthen the ecosystem of Black-led social, political, and economic change in Minnesota and beyond."

As the Collective developed its strategic direction and priorities, the co-founders and growing community of partners sought to learn more holistically about the landscape in Minnesota. Guided by a shared desire to transform philanthropy in service to racial justice, in the spring of 2022 the Collective and the Center for Evaluation Innovation (CEI) formed a partnership to consider how to build power-shifting solidarity with Black people and communities across the state. Our intent is to expand and deepen philanthropy—which at its roots is about love for humankind—that is in power-shifting solidarity with Black-led change and communities. In order to do this, we first needed to understand better our points of alignment and divergence. We needed to consider what philanthropic institution staff believe is possible, how we can motivate courageous action, and how to support those who already have made commitments in staying the course.

We collectively seek to answer: **What will it take for institutional philanthropy in Minnesota and beyond to move at the speed of courage and invest wholly in Black lives?**

This report, and the research that informs it, considers that strategic question by analyzing and integrating multiple perspectives. We reviewed philanthropic literature, conducted interviews with Black organizers and community leaders, and facilitated three focus groups with foundation leaders and staff who are committed to racial equity in Minnesota. In the fall of 2022, we invited the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity (PRE) to collaborate by analyzing and sharing data that would add to our respective local and national understanding of the state of racial equity and racial justice grantmaking.

The questions guiding the Collective and the CEI for this study were:

1. **How do communities of Black changemakers define racial justice for Black people, anti-Blackness, and Black-Led change?**
2. **What is the landscape of Minnesota's racial equity and racial justice grantmaking and practices? To what extent does that align with how Black changemakers define racial justice?**
3. **How can we shift the Minnesota philanthropic gaze so institutions are accountable to Black changemakers?**

In the following sections, you will see a snapshot of racial equity and racial justice grantmaking in Minnesota and across the nation that provides insight into the landscape of recent foundation practices. Then you will read five calls to power-shifting solidarity that integrate our research insights with calls to action. **Our intent is for this document to be accessible and actionable. Thank you for asking how you can show up for racial justice in Minnesota.**

GRANTMAKING DATA SNAPSHOT FOR RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE IN MINNESOTA

BY LYLE MATTHEW KAN, BEN FRANCISCO MAULBECK, AND LORI VILLAROSA, PHILANTHROPIC INITIATIVE FOR RACIAL EQUITY

CONTEXT

The murder of George Floyd was not only a catalyst for the uprisings for racial justice in Minnesota; it was also a historic turning point for mobilizations for racial justice across the nation and the world. Foundations and corporations across the country released statements expressing solidarity with the movement and announcing pledges to support racial justice and communities of color. This, in turn, led to headlines like one from the *Wall Street Journal*: "At Nonprofits Focusing on Blacks, Donations Soared in Wake of George Floyd Protests."[2] This misleading coverage was based on exaggerated claims and inaccurate data, often including internal corporate spending related to diversity and vague commitments for funding in future years.

In this context, the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity researched and published ***Mismatched: Philanthropy's Response to the Call for Racial Justice***.[3] While prior reporting primarily drew on information available from public pledges and press releases, *Mismatched*, published in 2021, provided a rigorous analysis of confirmed grants awarded for racial equity and racial justice work. *Mismatched*—and an updated analysis conducted by PRE this year based on more recent data—found that while funding for racial equity increased in 2020, the increase was much more incremental than had been previously reported. Nationally, only about 6% of foundation and corporate dollars were devoted to racial equity in 2020. Moreover, the vast majority of funding for racial equity was focused on education (including scholarships), economic opportunity, and other human services. Funding focused specifically on Black communities rose sharply in 2020, but still was only 1.6% of institutional funding for the year. An even smaller fraction was devoted to the Black-led grassroots groups leading the historic uprisings for racial justice in 2020 and beyond. In short: while foundations and corporations issued pledges totaling billions for "racial justice," the tally of dollars received by Black-led social change organizations measured only in the millions.

The exaggerations of philanthropic support for Black-led social change work have moved from possibly performative, opportunistic—or even benignly mistaken—to those that are clearly much more heavily tied to calculated attacks on the mechanisms seeking to rectify racial injustice, from understanding history and current systemic

[2] Betsy Morris, "At Nonprofits Focusing on Blacks, Donations Soared in Wake of George Floyd Protests," *Wall Street Journal* (September 19, 2020), available online at https://www.wsj.com/articles/at-nonprofits-focusing-on-blacks-donations-soared-in-wake-of-george-floyd-protests-11600542001

[3] Malkia Devich Cyril, Lyle Matthew Kan, Ben Francisco Maulbeck, and Lori Villarosa, *Mismatched: Philanthropy's Response to the Call for Racial Justice* (Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity, September 2021), https://racialequity.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/PRE_Mismatched_PR_141.pdf

racism to basic democratic rights, such as voting. For example, in the spring of 2023, when Silicon Valley Bank became the largest bank to collapse since the 2008 financial crisis, lies about the bank donating $73 million to Black Lives Matter "and related organizations" were spread on Fox News and by conservative politicians who used a database that was developed by a conservative think tank.[4] The reality was that Silicon Valley Bank donated zero dollars to Black Lives Matter and the investments the think tank misleadingly tied to BLM included anything remotely connected to a huge range of social programs—many having nothing to do with Black communities, much less BLM. Some conservative news outlets directly contrasted layoffs and ripple effects to the false donations. To fabricate amounts and blame the bank's fall on "wokeness" plays into both long-standing racist tropes and the more specific and dangerous current narrative that demonizes important work being done to advance a more inclusive and equitable multiracial democracy. These baseless exaggerations are, predictably, a part of broader attacks on critical race theory, trans youth, and perceived "wokeness."

THERE IS A REAL DANGER

that these false reports are convincing philanthropy that it has overcorrected its historic underinvestment in communities of color and racial justice work.

These stories came at the same time many racial justice organizations have been fearing a cliff as the initial support they received in 2020 comes to an end, funders are not renewing, and the influx of new supporters seems to have ebbed. There is a real danger that these false reports are convincing philanthropy that it has overcorrected its historic underinvestment in communities of color and racial justice work.

Funding for racial equity and racial justice did rise—both nationally and, as shown in this analysis, in Minnesota. But the overwhelming majority of dollars did not go to racial justice or to Black-led movement building; instead they supported a broad range of strategies, from scholarships to economic development programs—largely laudable but nevertheless lacking any in-depth analysis of systemic racism or structural change.

Three years after the murder of George Floyd, the overall picture of what philanthropy did—and did not do—in support of racial justice has become clearer. The data indicate that while gaps remain, there is currently an opening for a deeper, longer-term shift toward greater investment in transformational racial justice. This possibility is of particular importance in Minnesota—the second-largest state for philanthropic giving in the Midwest—where foundations give out over $4 billion annually. The state also has had a long history of racial justice leadership, made more visible and galvanized in reaction to the tragic killing of Black residents by police, such as Jamar Clark in 2015 and Philando Castile in 2016. Of course the further activation following George Floyd's murder, and the attention of the nation and world, raised both the need and opportunity to meet the moment. While funders have begun to shift their practices, they must commit to long-term, sustained support for Black, Brown, and Indigenous movement leaders in order to truly shift toward racial justice.

METHODOLOGY

This analysis was conducted by the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity, drawing on grants data from Candid, an organization that gathers data about nonprofits and philanthropic grantmaking in the United States and globally. The findings are based on PRE's analysis of Candid's comprehensive funding database and the development of new search criteria to identify grants specifically for racial equity and for racial justice. PRE and Candid developed

[4] Madison Czopek, "Claim that Silicon Valley Bank Donated $73 Million to Black Lives Matter Is Unsupported," PolitiFact (March 22, 2023), https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2023/mar/22/facebook-posts/claim-silicon-valley-bank-donated-73-million-black/

criteria for racial equity grants that are tied to the broader definition of racial equity widely used by corporations and much of mainstream philanthropy. This includes any grants that explicitly reference communities of color or grants that were awarded to organizations that are explicit about serving various communities of color as part of their mission. It also includes grant descriptions that mention the word "race" plus at least one of a range of terms such as "access," "opportunity," "inclusion," and "disparities." Within this data set of racial equity grants, we applied a more rigorous definition for identifying a subset of racial justice grants, including search terms such as "power," "advocacy," and "justice."

Our analysis centers primarily on Candid grants data for the years 2018 through 2021, because covering a four-year period helps to account for any year-specific variances, such as a large multiyear grant being awarded and counted in a single year. We chose 2018–2021 principally because those are the most recent years with completely and partially coded grants data and because the period represents a turning point in the national and local discourse on racial justice following the murder of George Floyd.

Note that Candid's data sets for 2018 and 2019 are nearly complete, while the data sets for 2020 and 2021 are still being compiled. As of the writing of this report, Candid estimates that it has nearly two-thirds of all 2020 data and slightly less than a quarter of 2021 data. As such, all figures for those years should be considered preliminary estimates.

To partially compensate for some of the gaps in Candid's 2020 and 2021 grantmaking data, PRE secured missing grantmaking data for 2020 from top funders including the McKnight Foundation, the Minneapolis Foundation, and Otto Bremer Trust. Some of these grants data were initially missing because some funders, such as McKnight, issued extensions of existing grants in 2020 to minimize burdens on grantees. Technically these were not new grants, and so were not reported to Candid, but PRE added these dollar amounts to our analysis wherever possible to capture the full picture of grant dollars flowing for racial equity. (Note that since these additional data were incorporated late in the research process, they are included in all analyses of top funders, funder type, and overall annual totals, but not in data related to grant recipients, such as top grantee lists and focus populations.) Supplementing Candid's data with additional grantmaking information from some of the top funders in the region helps advance a fuller funding picture given the top-heavy nature of grantmaking for racial equity and racial justice funding. In 2018–2019, more than half of racial equity funding in Minnesota came from the top 20 funders and nearly two-thirds came from the top 50 funders. For more, see *Appendix: Grantmaking Data Methodology* at the end of this section.

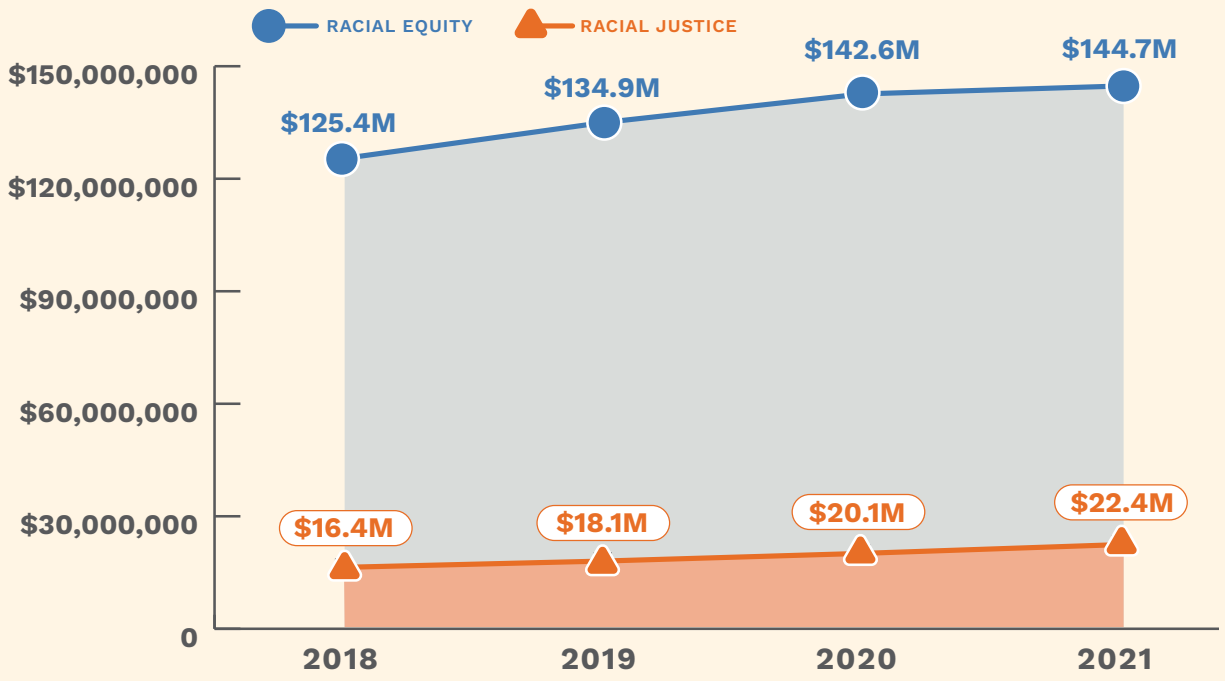
FUNDING FOR RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE BY YEAR, 2018–2021

FUNDING FOR RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE IN MINNESOTA ROSE INCREMENTALLY IN 2020

Foundation and corporate funding for racial equity in Minnesota rose from $125 million in 2018 to nearly $143 million in 2020—an increase of more than 14%. While an increase of $18 million is significant, it is significantly less substantial than portrayed in many media reports: Total philanthropic support for Minnesota has hovered around $15 billion in recent years, and $18 million accounts for only 0.12% of that giving. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that racial equity funding in Minnesota increased by a larger percentage than racial equity funding nationally.

Similarly, funding for racial justice in Minnesota rose from $16.4 million in 2018 to just over $20 million in 2020—a 23% increase. Funding for racial justice in the state grew at about double the rate for racial equity, potentially a positive indicator that more funders in Minnesota are beginning to

FUNDING FOR RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE BY YEAR IN MINNESOTA, 2018–2021



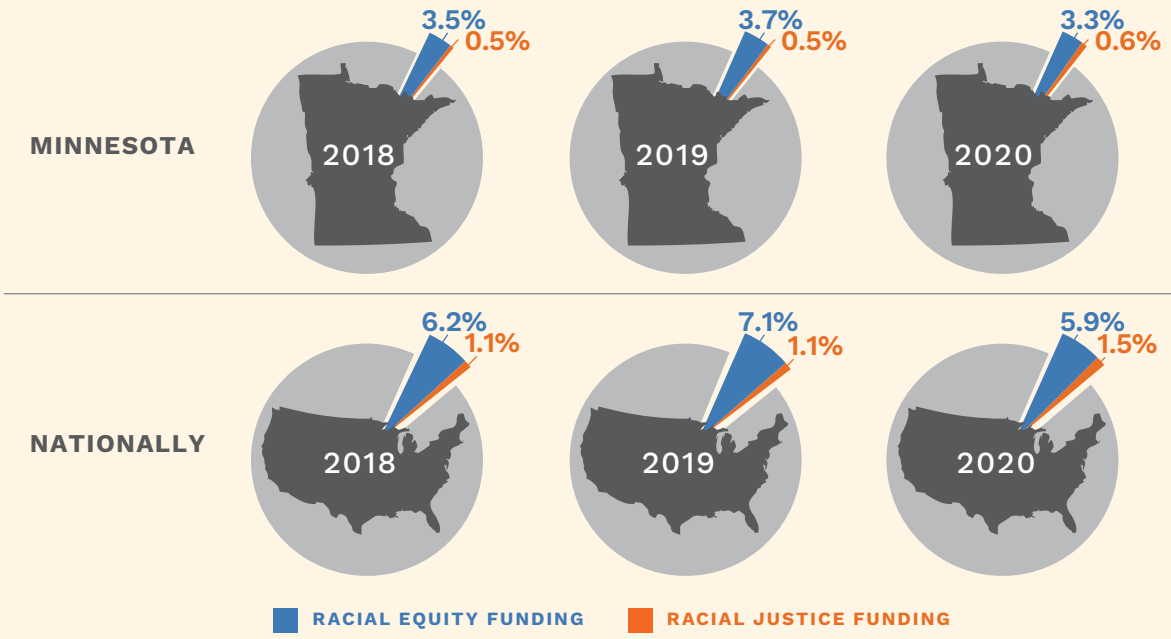
integrate a power analysis into their grantmaking. Even in 2020, however, funding for racial justice accounted for only about 14% of funding for racial equity more broadly, confirming that most grantmakers are still focused on strategies that do not include a strong analysis of power, systemic racism, and structural change.

Notably, while preliminary 2021 data include only 30% to 40% of likely funders, confirmed grants for racial equity have already reached nearly $145 million, and grants for racial justice have reached $22.5 million. It appears likely that more complete data will eventually show an even sharper rise in both racial equity and racial justice funding in 2021 than in 2020. That means that some funders took well over a year to respond to the 2020 calls for increased action around racial justice from philanthropy.

This slower response may reflect institutional resistance or hesitation to making the big organizational shifts required to meaningfully address racial justice. Foundations tend to be slow-moving institutions, and executive- and board-level leaders in particular are often reluctant to respond to calls for change. On the other hand, it could also indicate that Minnesota funders took time to thoughtfully integrate racial equity and racial justice into their ongoing grantmaking, which could lead to a more sustained increase rather than an abrupt, one-time spike in funding.

Looking beyond the time frame of this data set, the Bush Foundation committed $100 million to seed two community trust funds to address wealth gaps caused by long-standing, historic racial injustice. The trust funds will be administered by two organizations with deep histories of working in Black and Indigenous communities: Nexus Community Partners and NDN Collective. These significant grants technically fall in Candid's 2022 data set. Assuming other funding generally remains stable, an additional $100 million would lead to a 70% increase in racial equity funding in 2022. Major new commitments like these could help move Minnesota's philanthropic sector toward a meaningful, sustainable reckoning with racial justice.

RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING, AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL FUNDING

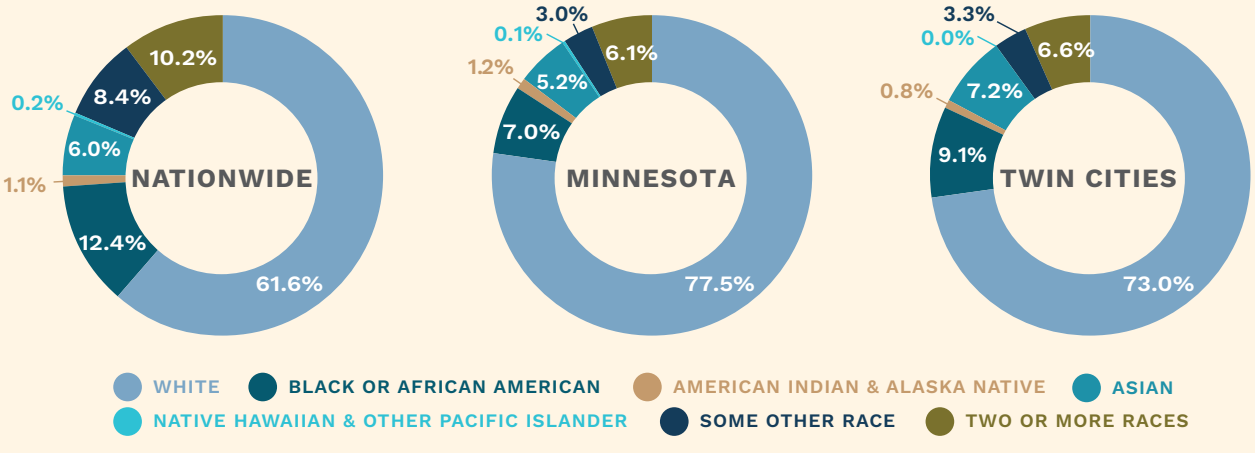


RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING, AS A PERCENTAGE OF MINNESOTA FUNDING 2018–2020, BY ETHNIC GROUP

YEAR	PEOPLE OF AFRICAN DESCENT		PEOPLE OF ASIAN DESCENT		PEOPLE OF INDIGENOUS DESCENT		PEOPLE OF LATIN AMERICAN DESCENT		PEOPLE OF MIDDLE EASTERN DESCENT	
2018	0.4%	<0.1%	0.2%	<0.1%	0.7%	0.1%	0.2%	<0.1%	<0.1%	<0.1%
2019	0.4%	<0.1%	0.2%	<0.1%	0.7%	<0.1%	0.3%	<0.1%	<0.1%	<0.1%
2020	0.6%	0.1%	0.2%	<0.1%	0.5%	<0.1%	0.3%	<0.1%	<0.1%	<0.1%

RACIAL EQUITY FUNDING RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING

2020 US CENSUS DATA ON RACE AND ETHNICITY, AT THE LOCAL, STATE, AND NATIONAL LEVEL



RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE ACCOUNTED FOR A SMALL FRACTION OF MINNESOTA FUNDING

In 2018–2019, foundations awarded about $3.5 billion to all grant recipients in Minnesota. **That means that less than 4% of funding for Minnesota nonprofits was focused on racial equity, and only about 0.5% was focused on racial justice.** These percentages are even smaller than at the national level, where 6% of all grant dollars was focused on racial equity and 1% was focused on racial justice.

IN 2018–2019, LESS THAN 4% OF FUNDING FOR MINNESOTA NONPROFITS WAS FOCUSED ON RACIAL EQUITY, AND ONLY ABOUT 0.5% WAS FOCUSED ON RACIAL JUSTICE.

Complete estimates of total foundation and corporate funding for Minnesota in 2020 is not yet available, so it is not yet possible to calculate the percentage of funding devoted to racial equity and justice for that year. The preceding charts show what the percentage would be if giving levels remained largely static.

FUNDING FOR BLACK COMMUNITIES IN MINNESOTA INCREASES, BUT DOESN'T KEEP PACE WITH NATIONAL TRENDS

In the aftermath of the murder of George Floyd and nationwide uprisings for racial justice, both racial equity and racial justice funding for Black communities increased in Minnesota in 2020. Racial equity funding increased by 55% between 2019 and 2020; racial justice funding for Black communities increased by 142%. By comparison, racial equity funding for Black communities nationally increased 119% between 2019 and 2020; racial justice funding nationally increased by 460%. So while funding increased for Black communities in Minnesota in the wake of George Floyd's murder, it did not increase as dramatically as it did elsewhere in the country.

As of the 2020 U.S. Census, Black people accounted for 7% of Minnesota's population and 9.1% of the Twin Cities' population. But even at its 2020 peak, racial equity funding for Black communities only accounted for approximately 0.6% of all funding for Minnesota. This figure is alarmingly low considering existing racial disparities that indicate transformation needed at the systems level throughout the state. For example, Minnesota and the Twin Cities have one of the largest income inequality gaps in the country—with the median Black family in the Twin Cities earning less than half what the median white family earns. Statewide, the Black unemployment rate is twice that of the white unemployment rate; in the Twin Cities, the Black unemployment rate is three times that of the white unemployment rate.

Racial equity funding for Asian communities in Minnesota increased by 10% between 2019 and 2020; racial justice funding for Asian communities increased by 122%. Nationally, racial equity funding for Asian communities decreased by 10% and racial justice funding increased by 2% between 2019 and 2020. The preliminary findings for 2021, the year in which the media paid increased attention to the ongoing violence facing Asian American and Pacific Islander communities, show a decrease in racial equity funding for Asian communities in Minnesota in contrast to an increase in racial justice funding for Asian communities in the state. This is consistent with the figures nationally, and may be due to incomplete 2021 data.

Racial equity funding for Indigenous communities in Minnesota decreased by 26% between 2019 and 2020, and racial justice funding for Indigenous people in the state increased by 34% between 2019 and 2020. Nationally, racial equity funding for Indigenous communities increased by 2% and racial justice funding increased by 55% between 2019 and 2020.

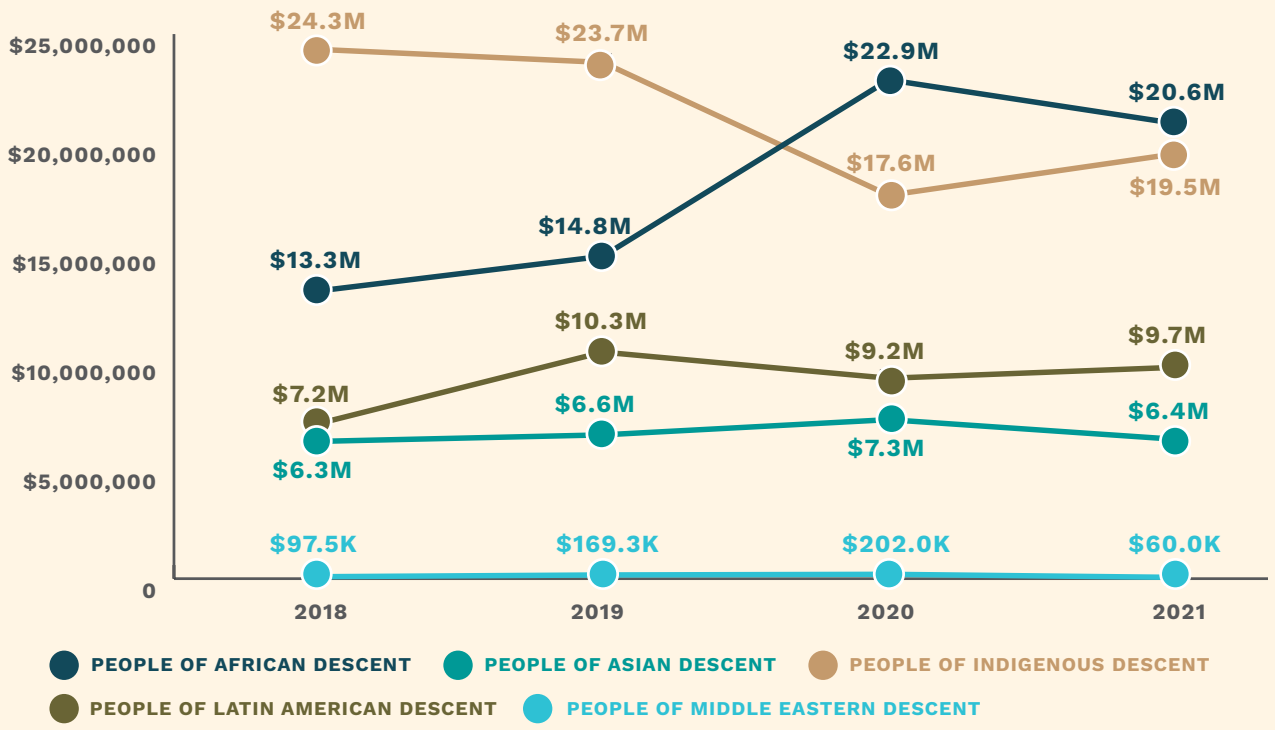
Racial equity funding for people in Minnesota's Latinx communities decreased by 11% between 2019 and 2020; racial justice funding for Latinx

communities decreased by 38%. Nationally, there were increases instead of decreases: Racial equity funding for Latinx communities nationally increased by 12% and racial justice funding increased by 33% between 2019 and 2020.

There was very little funding for people of Middle Eastern descent between 2018 and 2021—with most years reporting $0 in racial justice funding for people of Middle Eastern descent.

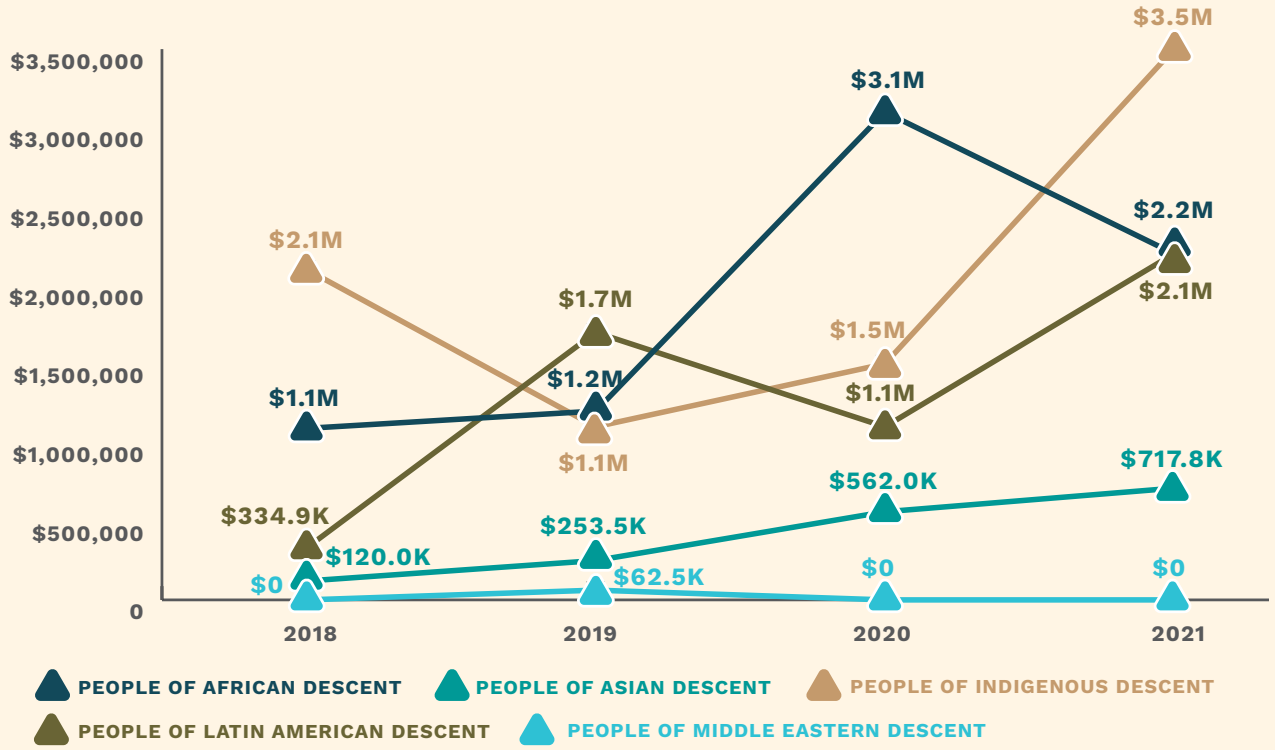
While racial equity funding for Indigenous and Latinx communities saw decreases between 2019 and 2020, this may be due to the data collection for those years being incomplete. Data for 2020 2021 are incomplete, and the funding designated for various communities in 2020 and 2021 could increase.

RACIAL EQUITY FUNDING BY ETHNIC GROUP IN MINNESOTA, BY YEAR



YEAR	PEOPLE OF AFRICAN DESCENT	PEOPLE OF ASIAN DESCENT	PEOPLE OF INDIGENOUS DESCENT	PEOPLE OF LATIN AMERICAN DESCENT	PEOPLE OF MIDDLE EASTERN DESCENT
2018	$13,283,215	$6,268,093	$24,305,542	$7,165,975	$97,500
2019	$14,805,865	$6,634,940	$23,716,491	$10,355,352	$169,300
2020	$22,976,005	$7,295,722	$17,581,571	$9,260,747	$202,000
2021	$20,589,161	$6,387,043	$19,509,914	$9,704,244	$60,000

RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING BY ETHNIC GROUP IN MINNESOTA, BY YEAR



YEAR	PEOPLE OF AFRICAN DESCENT	PEOPLE OF ASIAN DESCENT	PEOPLE OF INDIGENOUS DESCENT	PEOPLE OF LATIN AMERICAN DESCENT	PEOPLE OF MIDDLE EASTERN DESCENT
2018	$1,098,185	$120,000	$2,100,821	$334,908	$0
2019	$1,283,455	$253,500	$1,126,837	$1,771,372	$62,500
2020	$3,110,955	$562,000	$1,511,989	$1,092,743	$0
2021	$2,216,419	$717,750	$3,517,500	$2,158,557	$0

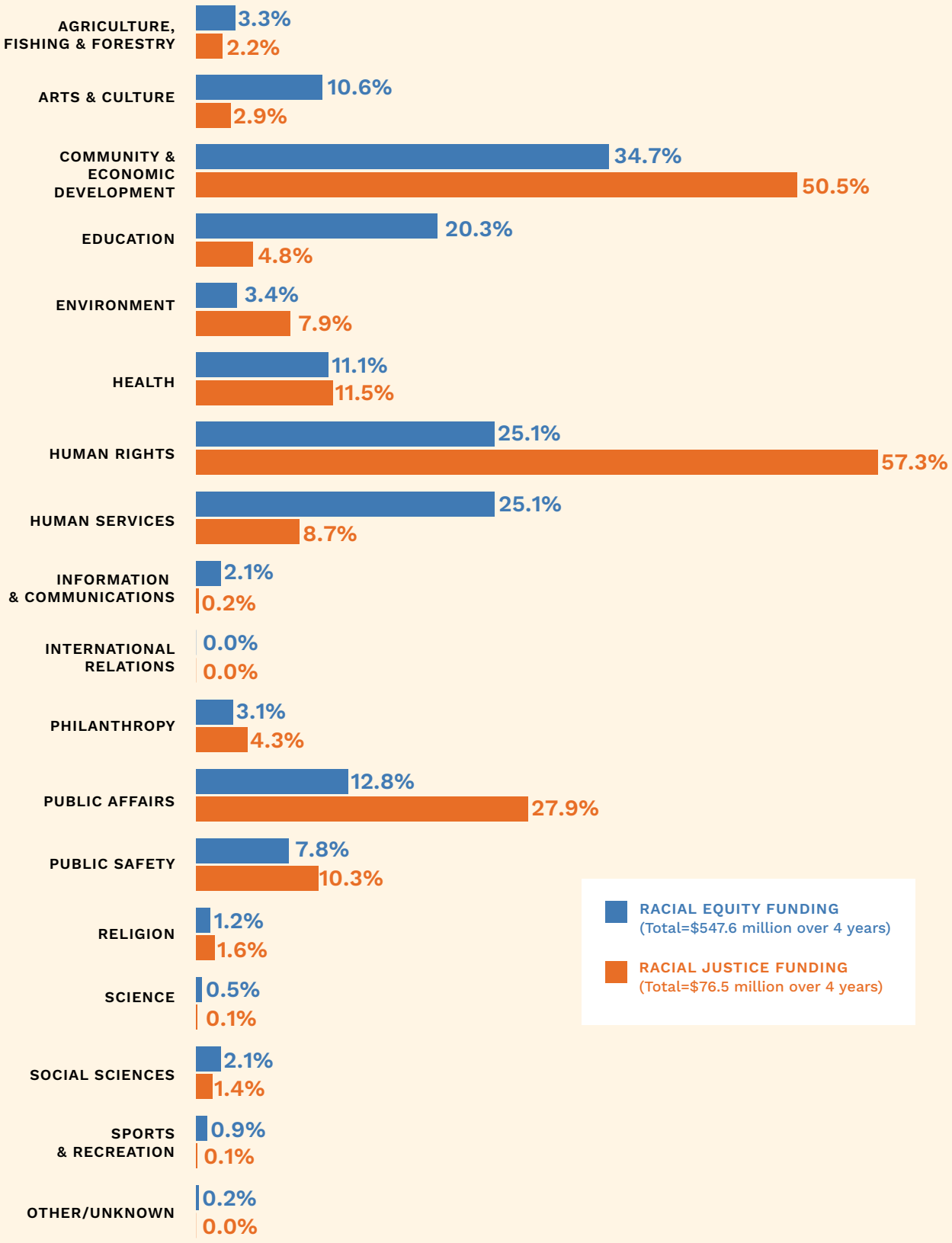
FUNDING FOR RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE BY SUBJECT AREA

IN MINNESOTA, RACIAL EQUITY FUNDING MORE LIKELY TO FOCUS ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Looking at funding for racial equity in Minnesota by subject area, community and economic development was the most well-funded issue, accounting for nearly half of total grant dollars over 2018–2021. That's a much larger share than at the national level, where only about one-quarter of racial equity grant dollars were focused on community and economic development.

Other issue areas receiving high shares of funding for racial equity in Minnesota included human services (39%), human rights (34%), and education (26%). Compared to the national picture of racial

RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING BY SUBJECT AREA IN MINNESOTA, 2018–2021



equity funding, Minnesota funding was more heavily skewed toward human services and had a lower share devoted to human rights.

The heavier focus on economic development and human services in Minnesota may reflect funders' frequent attraction to programs that address the economic needs and disparities faced by communities of color, but without engaging more deeply around the structures and systems that create those disparities. Economic development and human services have undeniable value, but are insufficient to create lasting change if funders do not also include a power analysis in their grantmaking.

As it was at the national level, the most well-funded subject area within racial justice funding for Minnesota was human rights, making up 88% of grant dollars.

TOP 20 GRANT RECIPIENTS

The top 20 grant recipients received a larger share of racial equity funding for Minnesota: 32% of the total in 2018–2019 and 36% of the total in 2020–2021. This is more top-heavy than racial equity funding nationally, where the top 20 recipients received 28% of racial equity funding in 2020.

Several new organizations appeared among the top 20 grant recipients in 2020–2021, including several multimillion-dollar mainstream institutions: University of Minnesota (the top grant recipient, at over $17 million), the Minneapolis Foundation, YMCA of Metropolitan Minneapolis, and Local Initiatives Service Corp. This parallels a trend reported in *Mismatched*: large, mainstream institutions have been among the most significant beneficiaries of the recent increase in racial equity funding from foundations.

Some of these grants to mainstream institutions had a strong analysis of structural racism and included elements of deeper community engagement. For example, the largest grant to the University of Minnesota was for $5 million from Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Minnesota Foundation to launch the Center for Antiracism Research for Health Equity, which is developing education and training programs on health inequities and structural racism and bringing together community leaders and policymakers to have conversations about racism and health inequities. Other grants to the university were more broadly focused on diversity, ranging from research on the health impact of stress eating among African American couples to scholarships for students of color. These wide-ranging grants are representative of the large variation in racial equity grants for large mainstream institutions.

Several major people of color-led organizations also saw significant increases in funding in 2020–2021: Nexus Community Partners, Penumbra Theatre Company, and Latino Economic Development Center. Nexus and other intermediaries, such as Headwaters Foundation for Justice, saw notable increases in 2020–2021, potentially reflecting an effort by funders to channel more funding to grassroots, people of color-led organizations through local social justice intermediaries.

Racial justice funding in Minnesota was even more heavily weighted toward the top grantees than was racial equity funding. The top racial justice grant recipients received the majority of funding over the course of 2018–2021. The top 20 grant recipients received about 79% of total racial justice funding in 2018–2019 and about 72% in 2020–2021. Minnesota racial justice funding is also even more heavily weighted toward the top grantees than it is nationally, where the top 20 grant recipients received about 44% of funding in 2020.

The list of top racial justice grant recipients has a larger share of organizations led by and for communities of color, including grassroots groups such as Black Visions Collective, Inquilinxs Unidxs por Justicia, and Oyate Hotanin. Other than the University of Minnesota, the top grant recipient for racial justice in 2020–2021 was Nexus Community Partners, which serves as the fiscal home for a range of racial justice programs, including the Black Collective Foundation MN and a number of initiatives to build the wealth and power of communities of color.

TOP 20 RACIAL EQUITY GRANTEES IN MINNESOTA, 2018–2019

1	Northside Achievement Zone	$9,106,450
2	Hope Academy	$7,560,370
3	ISAIAH	$6,233,933
4	College Possible	$5,464,423
5	Nexus Community Partners	$5,372,170
6	Center for Economic Inclusion	$5,273,327
7	International Institute of Minnesota	$4,864,512
8	Comunidades Latinas Unidas en Servicio	$4,591,304
9	Metropolitan Economic Development Association	$4,256,500
10	Way to Grow	$3,476,865
11	Twin Cities R!SE	$3,272,865
12	Neighborhood Development Center	$3,078,590
13	Urban Ventures Leadership Foundation	$2,896,874
14	Pangea World Theater	$2,668,603
15	Cristo Rey Jesuit High School–Twin Cities	$2,663,930
16	Juxtaposition Arts	$2,600,024
17	Penumbra Theatre Company	$2,503,013
18	Neighborhood House	$2,493,566
19	Appetite for Change	$2,476,326
20	Propel Nonprofits	$2,398,778

TOP 20 RACIAL EQUITY GRANTEES IN MINNESOTA, 2020–2021

1	University of Minnesota / Regents of the University of Minnesota / University of Minnesota Foundation	$17,472,991
2	Nexus Community Partners	$11,517,767
3	Minneapolis Foundation	$6,828,000
4	Penumbra Theatre Company	$5,428,318
5	YMCA of Metropolitan Minneapolis, North Community Branch	$5,000,000
6	Neighborhood Development Center	$4,400,577
7	Family Housing Fund	$4,125,000
8	The Link	$3,742,936
9	Comunidades Latinas Unidas en Servicio	$3,741,901
10	Northside Economic Opportunity Network	$3,607,892
11	Local Initiatives Support Corp.	$3,350,000
12	Headwaters Foundation for Justice	$3,271,792
13	Northside Achievement Zone	$3,246,442
14	Amherst H. Wilder Foundation	$3,203,649
15	Juxtaposition Arts	$2,877,117
16	Pillsbury United Communities	$2,841,000
17	Latino Economic Development Center	$2,674,650
18	International Institute of Minnesota	$2,409,518
19	Coalition of Asian American Leaders	$2,395,125
20	Propel Nonprofits	$2,388,000

TOP 20 RACIAL JUSTICE GRANTEES IN MINNESOTA, 2018–2019

1	ISAIAH	$6,233,933
2	Center for Economic Inclusion	$5,273,327
3	Nexus Community Partners	$3,822,170
4	Headwaters Foundation for Justice	$2,390,902
5	TakeAction Minnesota Education Fund	$2,255,031
6	Inquilinxs Unidxs por Justicia	$1,056,146
7	MPD150/Voices for Racial Justice	$1,026,496
8	Honor the Earth	$782,000
9	Land Stewardship Project	$680,000
10	Native Governance Center	$553,050
11	Northside Achievement Zone	$404,000
12	Women's Foundation of Minnesota	$375,000
13	Cornerstone Advocacy Service	$300,000
14	Center for American Progress	$300,000
15	Ananya Dance Theatre	$300,000
16	Division of Indian Work	$300,000
17	Jewish Community Action	$285,000
18	Protect Minnesota	$260,000
19	People's Action Institute	$250,000
20	Comunidades Organizando el Poder y la Accion Latina	$217,976

TOP 20 RACIAL JUSTICE GRANTEES IN MINNESOTA, 2020–2021

1	University of Minnesota / Regents of the University of Minnesota / University of Minnesota Foundation	$5,301,500
2	Nexus Community Partners	$4,967,767
3	Headwaters Foundation for Justice	$3,271,792
4	Center for Economic Inclusion	$1,714,565
5	Native Governance Center	$1,475,200
6	Pillsbury United Communities	$1,460,500
7	ISAIAH	$1,321,529
8	MPD150/Voices for Racial Justice	$1,095,275
9	Black Visions Collective	$1,015,331
10	Land Stewardship Project	$1,005,000
11	Inquilinxs Unidxs por Justicia	$966,000
12	Centro de Trabajadores Unidos en la Lucha	$820,500
13	TakeAction Minnesota Education Fund	$690,000
14	Healing Justice Foundation	$667,500
15	Oyate Hotanin	$458,000
16	Climate and Clean Energy Equity Fund	$450,000
17	Native American Community Development Institute	$400,000
18	Borealis Philanthropy	$400,000
19	Honor the Earth	$350,300
20	Community Dental Care	$350,000

The top racial justice grant recipients also include several organizations focused on economic development in communities of color and environmental justice organizations.

Notably, the top racial justice grant recipients include only a handful of organizations that played a leading role in the 2020 uprisings in response to the murder of George Floyd. One of the more prominent of these organizations, Black Visions Collective, received about $1 million from foundations and corporations in 2020–2021. (Note that Black Visions did receive about $30 million, mostly from individual donors across the nation outside the scope of this analysis; see sidebar *What About Giving From Individual Donors?*.) While many early estimates and reports implied or estimated that foundations and corporations were donating billions to support the racial justice uprisings of 2020, only a tiny fraction of funding actually went to Black-led social change organizations. It's telling that this pattern holds true even in foundation funding for Minnesota, the epicenter of the racial justice uprisings in 2020.

TOP FUNDERS

The top funders of racial equity in Minnesota provided the vast majority of funding, accounting for 57% of funding in 2018–2019 and 80% in 2020–2021. This is more top-heavy than racial equity funding was at the national level.

Several local Minnesota foundations made significant increases in their racial equity funding in 2020–2021. The Saint Paul & Minnesota Foundation and the Bush Foundation more than doubled their total dollars devoted to racial equity, and funders such as the McKnight Foundation and the Otto Bremer Trust also made large increases. Leading national funders also increased their racial equity investments in Minnesota in 2020–2021, with the Ford, Andrew W. Mellon, and Robert Wood Johnson foundations all making multimillion-dollar increases.

A pair of marked changes in the top funder list for 2020–2021 were the addition of corporate funders Target and UnitedHealth and the increase in funding from Blue Cross and Blue Shield, which roughly doubled its racial equity grantmaking.

Note that with its recent $100 million commitment to establishing two trust funds for Black and Indigenous communities, the Bush Foundation will be the top racial equity funder for Minnesota in 2022—likely giving out more than double the amount granted by any other single funder.

Racial justice funding was even more top-heavy than racial equity funding. The top funders for racial justice in Minnesota provided about 82% of funding in 2018–2019 and 89% of funding in 2020–2021. The largest racial justice funder in 2020–2021 was the Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Minnesota Foundation, almost entirely due to a single $5 million grant to the University of Minnesota. The fact that a funder can claim the top funding spot with a single large grant is an indication that the total pool of funding for racial justice in Minnesota remains quite small.

TOP 20 RACIAL EQUITY FUNDERS IN MINNESOTA, 2018–2019

1	McKnight Foundation	$18,935,000
2	Greater Twin Cities United Way	$15,288,879
3	Minneapolis Foundation	$15,243,705
4	Saint Paul & Minnesota Foundation	$14,299,325
5	Bush Foundation	$13,778,409
6	Otto Bremer Trust	$12,814,475
7	Northwest Area Foundation	$7,877,331
8	Pohlad Family Foundation	$7,360,750
9	Ford Foundation	$6,867,500
10	Andrew W. Mellon Foundation	$5,315,556
11	Cargill Foundation	$3,831,000
12	Blandin Foundation	$3,814,170
13	Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Minnesota Foundation	$3,701,273
14	Margaret A. Cargill Philanthropies	$3,522,209
15	Kresge Foundation	$3,387,404
16	F. R. Bigelow Foundation	$2,843,000
17	NoVo Foundation	$2,775,000
18	New Venture Fund	$2,340,480
19	Best Buy Foundation	$2,215,640
20	W. K. Kellogg Foundation	$2,138,205

TOP 20 RACIAL EQUITY FUNDERS IN MINNESOTA, 2020–2021

1	Saint Paul & Minnesota Foundation	$33,015,446
2	Bush Foundation	$30,667,638
3	Otto Bremer Trust	$25,760,865
4	McKnight Foundation	$25,061,000
5	Minneapolis Foundation	$16,837,771
6	Ford Foundation	$14,401,091
7	Target Foundation	$13,585,178
8	Northwest Area Foundation	$9,899,356
9	Andrew W. Mellon Foundation	$9,314,700
10	Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Minnesota Foundation	$7,579,951
11	Richard M. Schulze Family Foundation	$7,548,692
12	Robert Wood Johnson Foundation	$6,643,465
13	UnitedHealth Group Incorporated Contributions Program	$5,000,000
14	Blandin Foundation	$4,935,955
15	GHR Foundation	$4,596,049
16	Kresge Foundation	$4,079,750
17	W. K. Kellogg Foundation	$3,776,917
18	Thrivent Financial for Lutherans	$3,511,000
19	Bezos Day One Fund	$2,500,000
20	Best Buy Foundation	$2,265,500

TOP 20 RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDERS IN MINNESOTA, 2018–2019

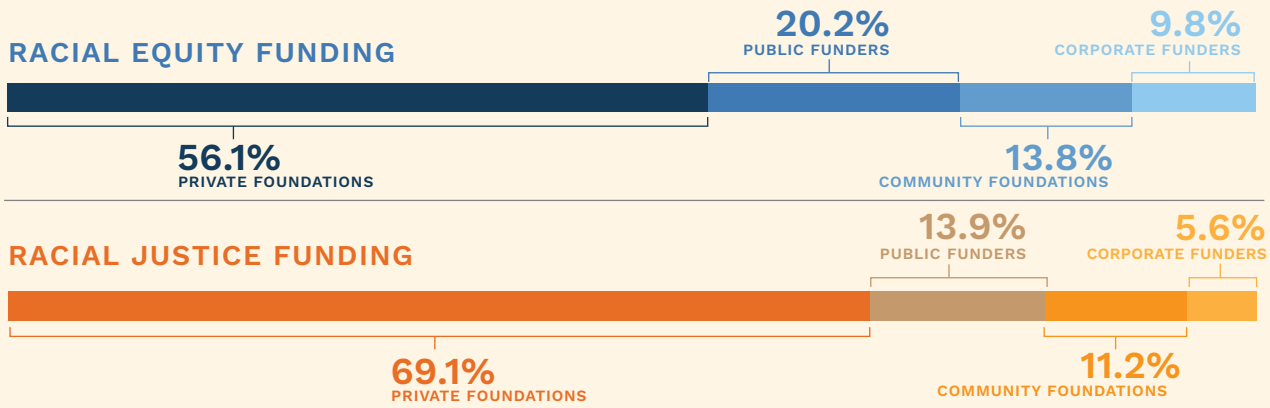
1	Ford Foundation	$6,517,500
2	McKnight Foundation	$4,435,000
3	Bush Foundation	$2,705,523
4	Minneapolis Foundation	$2,388,295
5	New Venture Fund	$1,817,980
6	Saint Paul & Minnesota Foundation	$1,354,341
7	Kendeda Fund	$1,226,666
8	Northwest Area Foundation	$900,000
9	Otto Bremer Trust	$870,235
10	Kresge Foundation	$853,571
11	W.K. Kellogg Foundation	$750,000
12	Surdna Foundation	$590,000
13	Pohlad Family Foundation	$575,000
14	Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Minnesota Foundation	$567,500
15	TakeAction Minnesota Education Fund	$536,283
16	Joyce Foundation	$470,000
17	Nathan Cummings Foundation	$425,000
18	JPMorgan Chase & Co. Contributions Program	$400,000
19	Greater Twin Cities United Way	$360,250
20	Foundation to Promote Open Society	$350,000

TOP 20 RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDERS IN MINNESOTA, 2020–2021

1	Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Minnesota Foundation	$5,350,000
2	McKnight Foundation	$4,520,000
3	Ford Foundation	$4,256,091
4	Bush Foundation	$3,418,667
5	Northwest Area Foundation	$2,950,356
6	Minneapolis Foundation	$2,594,484
7	Otto Bremer Trust	$2,335,000
8	GHR Foundation	$1,928,000
9	Saint Paul & Minnesota Foundation	$1,547,180
10	Blandin Foundation	$1,445,675
11	Kresge Foundation	$1,039,750
12	Thrivent Financial for Lutherans	$870,000
13	W. K. Kellogg Foundation	$816,667
14	Charles Stewart Mott Foundation	$800,000
15	Opus Foundation	$780,000
16	StartSmall LLC	$750,000
17	Headwaters Foundation for Justice	$705,000
18	Robert Wood Johnson Foundation	$600,000
19	JPB Foundation	$550,000
20	Best Buy Foundation	$470,000

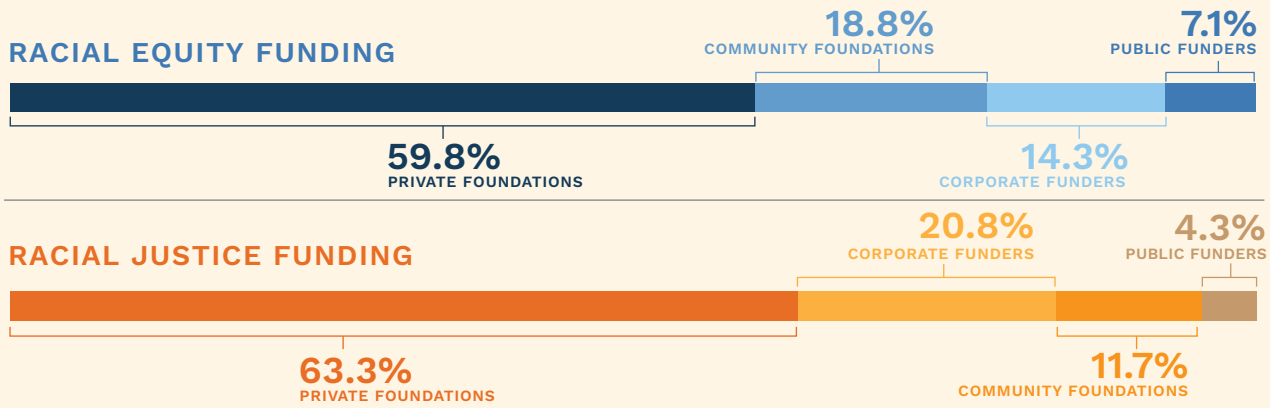
FUNDING BY FUNDER TYPE

RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING IN MINNESOTA BY FUNDER TYPE, 2018–2019



TYPE OF FUNDER	RACIAL EQUITY FUNDING	% OF TOTAL	RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING	% OF TOTAL
Community Foundations	$36,046,646	13.8%	$4,214,700	11.2%
Corporate Funders	$25,634,155	9.8%	$1,605,815	5.6%
Private Foundations	$146,065,038	56.1%	$23,792,212	69.1%
Public Funders	$52,623,594	20.2%	$4,829,977	13.9%

RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING IN MINNESOTA BY FUNDER TYPE, 2020–2021



TYPE OF FUNDER	RACIAL EQUITY FUNDING	% OF TOTAL	RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING	% OF TOTAL
Community Foundations	$54,064,460	18.8%	$4,981,795	11.7%
Corporate Funders	$40,977,758	14.3%	$8,835,893	20.8%
Private Foundations	$171,945,920	59.8%	$26,912,906	63.3%
Public Funders	$20,377,707	7.1%	$1,813,677	4.3%

MINNESOTA-BASED FUNDERS DROVE THE INCREASE

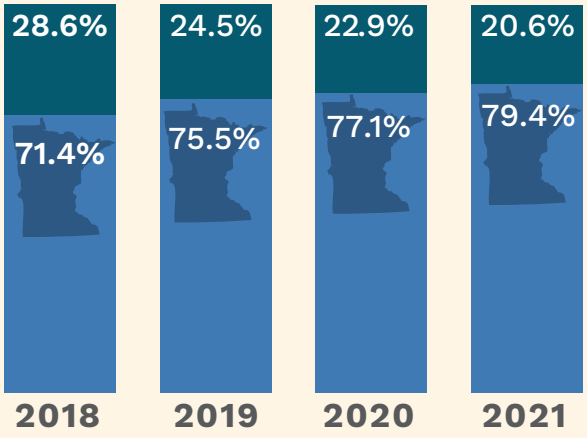
More than three-quarters of racial equity funding for Minnesota (76.0%) was awarded by Minnesota-based funders. That percentage has steadily increased and helped drive increases in racial equity grantmaking.

By comparison, funders outside of Minnesota have consistently accounted for a larger share of racial justice funding. Closer to half of racial justice grantmaking for Minnesota (59.2%) was awarded by Minnesota-based funders, with the other half coming from funders outside of Minnesota. The percentage of racial justice funding coming from Minnesota-based funders has increased steadily since 2018.

In general, the racial equity funding from outside the state has been relatively stable—ranging from $30 million to $35 million a year. The same can be said for racial justice funding from outside of the state—usually around $7 million to $8 million a year. The shifts in racial equity and racial justice funding have largely been driven by funders inside the state.

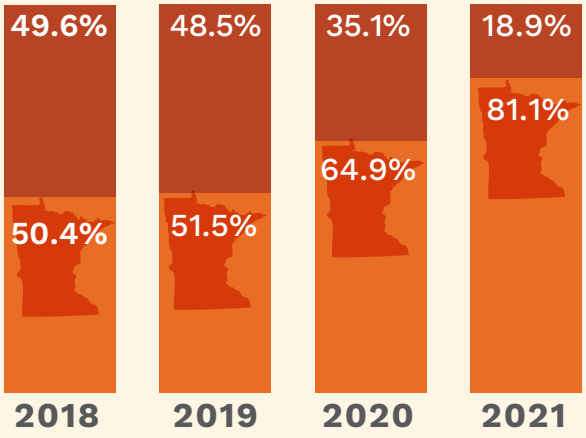
SOURCE OF RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING IN MINNESOTA, 2018–2021

RACIAL EQUITY FUNDING



	MINNESOTA GRANTMAKERS	OUTSIDE GRANTMAKERS
2018	71.4%	28.6%
2019	75.5%	24.5%
2020	77.1%	22.9%
2021	79.4%	20.6%

RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING



	MINNESOTA GRANTMAKERS	OUTSIDE GRANTMAKERS
2018	50.4%	49.6%
2019	51.5%	48.5%
2020	64.9%	35.1%
2021	81.1%	18.9%

WHAT ABOUT GIVING FROM INDIVIDUAL DONORS?

While the data we are reporting on throughout this snapshot focuses on support from institutional funders, donations from individuals consistently account for about three-quarters of charitable giving in the United States—a much larger share than foundations or corporations provide.[5]

Individual giving is more difficult to track than grantmaking by foundations, which are required to publicly report on all annual grants in IRS 990 or 990-PF forms. As a result, we do not have detailed data on individual giving for racial equity and racial justice in Minnesota or nationally.

The information we do have indicates that individual giving constitutes a significant portion of giving for racial equity and justice—likely larger than the amount provided by foundations. This includes both high-figure support from "megadonors" and grassroots giving in small amounts by many individuals.

The information we do have indicates that **individual giving constitutes a significant portion of giving for racial equity and justice**—likely larger than the amount provided by foundations.

The most prominent large-scale philanthropist of recent years has been MacKenzie Scott, the novelist who helped found and develop Amazon and was previously married to Amazon founder Jeff Bezos. Rather than establish a private foundation as many large donors do, Scott has given out donations personally and on an unprecedented scale. She made $6 billion in charitable donations in 2020, including $1.09 billion for racial equity. In Minnesota specifically in 2020 and 2021, Scott made donations totaling $15 million to three organizations: Greater Minnesota Housing Fund, Penumbra Theatre Company, and YWCA St. Paul.

Reports from racial equity nonprofits indicate that individual donors of more modest means also increased their giving in 2020. Two racial justice organizations in Minneapolis, Black Visions and Reclaim the Block, reported receiving about $30 million in donations since the uprisings in response to the murder of George Floyd. They have committed to redistributing a significant portion of these funds, and have given out more than $8.9 million to community members, nonprofit organizations, and other groups.[6]

At the national level, the Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation received about $90 million in 2020.[7] Similar to Black Visions, Black Lives Matter Global Network Foundation has committed to redistributing much of those funds and has reinvested $25 million in Black communities in a range of forms, from COVID relief funds for individuals to grants to BLM chapters and other Black-led frontline organizations.

[5] Giving USA, *Giving USA 2022: The Annual Report on Philanthropy for the Year 2021* (June 2022), available online at https://givingusa.org/

[6] Black Visions, *How Much Money Has Been Redistributed so Far?* (February 2021), https://www.blackvisionsmn.org/redistribution

[7] Associated Press, "Black Lives Matter Foundation Raised Over $90 Million in 2020," *MarketWatch* (February 23, 2021), available online at https://www.marketwatch.com/story/black-lives-matter-foundation-raised-over-90-million-in-2020-01614113337.

FUNDING FOR GENERAL OPERATING SUPPORT

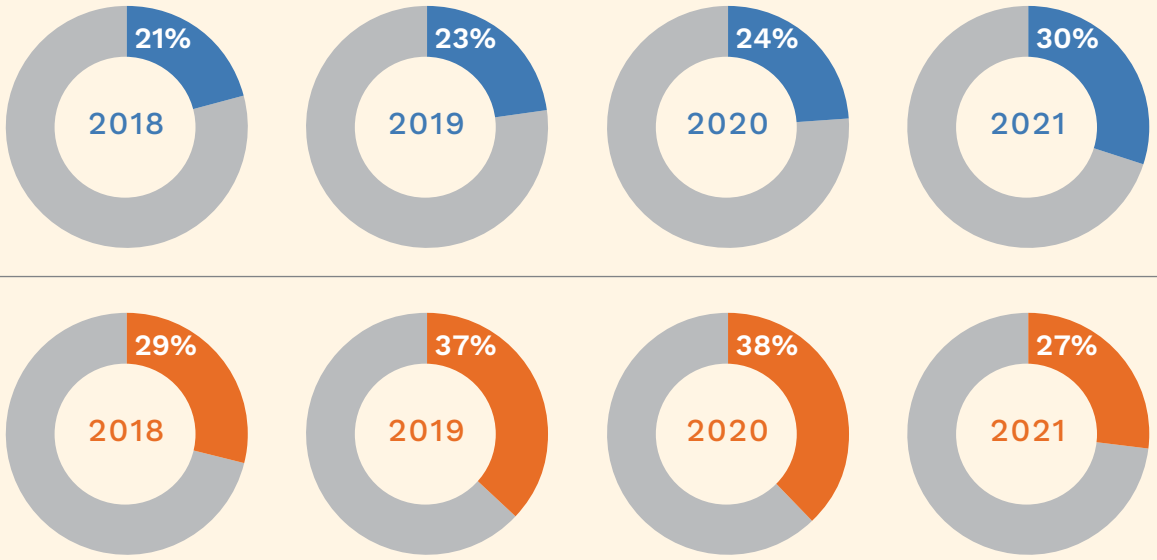
MORE GENERAL OPERATING SUPPORT IN MINNESOTA

In any given year, approximately 21% to 30% of racial equity funding in Minnesota was awarded in the form of general operating support. A higher percentage of racial justice funding in Minnesota was awarded in the form of general operating support—27% to 38%.

On average, a higher percentage of racial equity and racial justice funding in Minnesota was awarded in the form general operating support when compared to national numbers. Nationally, 20% to 24% of racial equity funding was awarded in the form of general operating support. Nationally, 22% to 30% of racial justice funding was awarded in the form of general operating support.

The higher degree of unrestricted funding in Minnesota may be indicative of more trust-based philanthropic practices in the state, more established Black-led social change and racial justice organizations, or a combination of both.

RACIAL EQUITY AND RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING DEVOTED TO GENERAL OPERATING SUPPORT IN MINNESOTA, 2018–2021



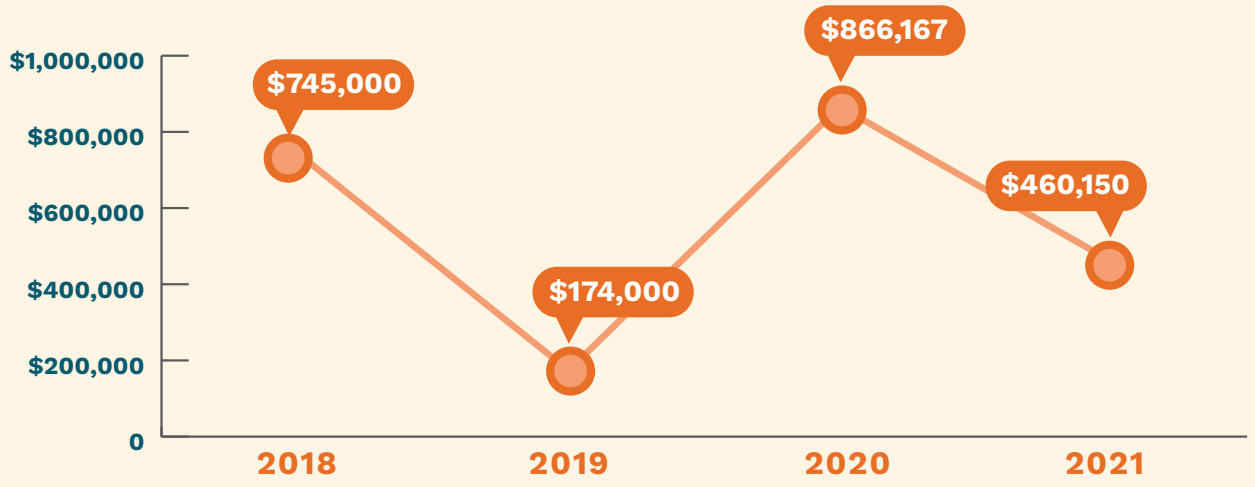
	RACIAL EQUITY FUNDING	% OF TOTAL	RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING	% OF TOTAL
2018	$26,616,422	21%	$4,708,663	29%
2019	$31,570,140	23%	$6,752,530	37%
2020	$27,552,581	24%	$6,459,166	38%
2021	$43,423,172	30%	$6,055,461	27%

FUNDING FOR GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING

FUNDING FOR GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING IS LOW, BUT HIGHER THAN THE NATIONAL AVERAGE

Racial justice funding for grassroots organizing in Minnesota fluctuated significantly between 2018 and 2021. At its peak in 2020, support for grassroots organizing accounted for 5.1% of all racial justice grantmaking in Minnesota. While that may seem low, it is higher than the 4% of racial justice grantmaking nationally allocated to grassroots organizing.

RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING FOR GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING IN MINNESOTA, 2018–2021



APPENDIX: GRANTMAKING DATA METHODOLOGY

The data analysis in this report, conducted by the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity, draws on grants data from Candid, an organization that gathers data about nonprofits and philanthropic grantmaking in the United States and globally.

Candid collects data from private foundations of all sizes, public charities that award grants to other nonprofits (sometimes called public foundations or intermediaries), and corporations. More recently, Candid has begun to collect data from high-net-worth individuals and government grants, but grants from these sources are excluded from the analysis for this report, which seeks to provide a comprehensive analysis of grantmaking for racial justice and racial equity by institutional funders.

Candid's grants data are compiled from the IRS returns required of all nonprofits and private foundations (IRS Form 990 and Form 990-PF, respectively), information reported directly to Candid through its electronic reporting program,[8] and other resources, such as annual reports, grantmaker websites, news articles, and press releases.

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

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

The findings from PRE are based on PRE's analysis of Candid's comprehensive funding database and the development of new search criteria to identify grants specifically for racial equity and for racial justice. The PRE- and Candid-developed criteria for racial equity grants are tied to the broader definition of racial equity that much of mainstream philanthropy and corporations use. This includes any grants that explicitly reference communities of color or grants that were awarded to organizations that are explicit about serving various communities of color as part of their mission. It also includes grant descriptions that mention the word "race" plus at least one of a range of terms, such as "access," "opportunity," "inclusion," and "disparities." Within this data set of racial equity grants, we applied a more rigorous definition for identifying a subset of racial justice grants, including search terms such as "power," "advocacy," and "justice."

Our analysis centers primarily on Candid grants data for the years 2018 through 2021, because covering a four-year period helps to account for any year-specific variances, such as a large multiyear grant being awarded and counted in a single year. Moreover, we chose 2018 through 2021 principally because those are the most recent years of completely and partially coded grants data and because the period represents a turning point in the national discourse on racial justice following the murder of George Floyd.

Note that Candid's data sets for 2018 and 2019 are nearly complete, while the data sets for 2020 and 2021 are still being compiled. As of the writing of this report, Candid estimates that they have nearly two-thirds of all 2020 data and slightly less than a quarter of 2021 data. As such, all figures for those years should be considered preliminary estimates.

To partially compensate for some of the gaps in Candid's 2020 and 2021 grantmaking data, PRE secured missing grantmaking data for 2020 and 2021 from top funders including the McKnight Foundation, the Minneapolis Foundation, and Otto Bremer Trust. Supplementing Candid's data with additional grantmaking information from some of the top funders in the region helps advance a fuller funding picture given the top-heavy nature of grantmaking for racial equity and racial justice funding. In 2018–2019, more than half of racial equity funding in Minnesota came from the top 20 funders and nearly two-thirds came from the top 50 funders.

The analysis for this report was narrowed to focus on funding specifically for the state of Minnesota. PRE examined all grants awarded to grant recipients located in Minnesota, and then removed grants for organizations and programs that were primarily focused on the national or regional level. (For example, Borealis Philanthropies is based in Minneapolis and manages several pooled funds that are largely national in scope; grants to Borealis were excluded from the data set unless they were specifically focused on Minnesota.) PRE also examined grants awarded to grant recipients based outside Minnesota but that the funder had indicated were intended to support work in Minnesota. These grants were included as well, and were prorated in cases where the grant supported work in multiple states.

WORKING DEFINITIONS FOR RACIAL JUSTICE FOR BLACK PEOPLE, ANTI-BLACKNESS, AND BLACK-LED CHANGE

Across the interviews that inform this report, Black community leaders named healing, restoration, reparations, and transformation as key parts of racial justice for Black people. They also named how it requires an apology for historical wrongdoing and harm, involves making amends by ensuring the current ability for Black people to express themselves without fear and to develop their full agency, and acknowledges the power of Black people to shape the future and change structural and systemic conditions.

Community leaders specified approaches to justice that go far into the repair of harm (reparations) and that draw from restorative and transformative traditions. As one leader shared:

> ***I feel like the reason why the justice system doesn't work is because it's kind of like a "one size fits all." I feel like I want...a transformative justice process... where the person who has been harmed or hurt can name that pain. The person or the system that cause[d] the pain can do an acknowledgment and accountability and then there can be some restoration. But the restoration is determined by the person who was harmed.***

There is a need for reparative action to be tailored to the specific harms Black people have and continue to endure. Justice, too, is an inherently relational process and requires not only that the person who was harmed be seen by the one(s) who caused that pain, but that person or system that caused the harm to admit to what they did and do what they can to make amends. Accountability is part of how repair and healing happen, and courage enables the necessary accountability.

The following working definitions emerged across our review of the literature and interviews with Black community leaders. We provide them here for ease of reference and expand on them in the invitations below.

RACIAL JUSTICE

We use a definition by the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity that aligns with what we heard in our interviews, and include observations from the Black changemakers we talked with that presented a more nuanced understanding when it came to racial justice for Black people:

The Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity shares that:

> ***a racial justice lens brings into view the confrontation of power, the redistribution of resources, and the systemic transformation necessary for real change. Justice requires urgent fundamental changes that reposition communities of color in relation to power and resources, which includes being able to challenge and shape the many institutions that determine a community's conditions.***[9]

Racial justice for Black people, as defined by the Black changemakers we interviewed, must include healing, restoration, reparations, and transformation as key components, and encompass the past, present, and future:

- **PAST:** Requires the admission of and apology for historical and ongoing wrongdoing and harm by those who have profited intergenerationally from that wrongdoing and harm.
- **PRESENT:** Involves their making amends by ensuring the current ability among Black people and peoples to express their needs, feelings, and thoughts individually and collectively without fear of punishment, and by ensuring their current access to the means by which they individually and collectively develop their potential, their capacities, and their agency.
- **FUTURE:** Calls for the application and exercise among Black people and peoples of those resources developed to change the structural and systemic conditions that they experience and to shape the future.

ANTI-BLACKNESS

We offer two definitions for anti-Blackness that frame it in different dimensions.

The first definition below, which originates in the Movement for Black Lives and which the Association of Black Foundation Executives: A Philanthropic Partnership for Black Communities (ABFE) has used, honors the specificity of anti-Black racism and dimensions of white supremacy while leaving room for the possibility of other, interrelated experiences and dimensions of racism within white supremacy. It reflects an interpersonal level:

> ***Anti-Black racism is the "term used to specifically describe the unique discrimination, violence, and harms imposed on and impacting Black people specifically."***[10]

The Black Collective Foundation MN uses the following second definition, inspired by an opinion article in the *New York Times*,[11] which frames anti-Blackness at a systemic level:

> ***"a theoretical framework that illuminates society's inability to recognize our humanity — the disdain, disregard and disgust for our existence."***

[9] Rinku Sen and Lori Villarosa, *Grantmaking with a Racial Justice Lens: A Practical Guide* (Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity, 2019), 9. https://racialequity.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/GWARJL_15.pdf

[10] Movement for Black Lives, *Glossary* (2020), para. 3. http://web.archive.org/web/20200109004008/https:/policy.m4bl.org/glossary/

[11] kihana miraya ross, "Call It What It Is: Anti-Blackness," *New York Times* (June 4, 2020) para. 5, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/04/opinion/george-floyd-anti-blackness.html

BLACK-LED CHANGE

We note two definitions.

One, by the Black Collective Foundation MN, defines it broadly:

> ***Black-led change is social, political, and economic change led by diverse groups of Black people. It centers the power, interests, and well-being of Black communities and often benefits all people. Black-led change has a conscious politic and a commitment for outcomes that center the interests of Black people. The Black-led approach to change acknowledges the distinct ways Black people are impacted by issues because of anti-Black racism and solutions are rooted in Black culture and practices. Black-led change works in partnership with people most impacted by the issues at hand. It is rooted in cultural practice across generations and the diaspora; it reflects the inherent dignity and vision of Black people. While Black-led change continues to prove its impact and necessity, historically, Black-led change has been targeted, under-resourced, and under-recognized.***
>
> ***People leading and people being served must identify as Black, African American, descendants of enslaved people in the U.S., African Immigrant, and/or a person of African descent.***
>
> ***Black-led change can be specific to a community within the larger Black community including culturally specific, gender specific, LGBTQ, youth/elders, centering Black people with disabilities, rural/urban and other geographical focus, or focused on centering people experiencing socioeconomic hardships.***
>
> ***Black-led change includes individuals, groups, organizations, families, businesses, faith leaders, artists, communities, and formations that make up the ecosystem of Black-led change utilizing their gifts and calling to engage with one another, set forth bold visions, and create long-lasting community change.***[12]

The ABFE provides an understanding within an organizational context:

> ***Black-led change organizations are those with predominantly Black board and executive leadership, staff, and constituents, and whose primary organizational purpose is to work to build the political, economic, and social power of the Black community. So, "Black-led" is about the demographic makeup and racial identity of the leadership as well as a political purpose of building power to ensure that the Black community thrives.***[13]

[12] Black Collective Foundation MN, *Black-Led Change Is Genius* (2022), paras. 1–2. https://www.minnesotablackcollectivefoundation.org/

[13] Emergent Pathways, *The Case for Funding Black-Led Social Change: Redlining By Another Name—What the Data Says to Move from Rhetoric to Action* (ABFE, A Philanthropic Partnership for Black Communities, December 2019), 4. https://p.issuelab.org/resource/the-case-for-funding-black-led-social-change.html

INVITATIONS TO POWER-SHIFTING SOLIDARITY WITH BLACK-LED CHANGE, PEOPLE, AND COMMUNITIES IN MINNESOTA

WE ARE ASKING:

What will it take for institutional philanthropy in Minnesota and beyond to move at the speed of courage and invest wholly in Black lives?

The previous sections provided a review and analysis of foundation grantmaking data over four years, 2018–2021. We highlighted local and national philanthropy's investment in racial equity and racial justice to provide a baseline understanding of our funding landscape to center Black lives as we usher in a new kind of philanthropy that is accountable and inspired to be in solidarity with Black-led change.

Black community leaders are calling on philanthropy to fully commit to the *being* of the work and do differently, not just better. Power-shifting solidarity means embracing shared accountability, showing up as learners, and changing at the speed of courage. When philanthropy and Black community leaders show up in power-shifting solidarity, our line of sight to create systems transformation is clear.

While the invitations to power-shifting solidarity that follow are written in the present tense and informed by community and philanthropic leaders, we recognize that these visions for Black futures have been dreamed of and contested for generations. We are leading with **invitations** in recognition of your agency to choose to be in practice **with us** in building the organizations, culture, community, and world we urgently need.

We appreciate the opportunity to share them with you.

INVITATION 1

TRUST, DEFEND, AND RECOGNIZE BLACK LEADERS.

Black leaders are critical to the work of transforming systems toward justice. Philanthropy must trust these leaders, recognizing the ways that they move between groups and networks to make a way, often while their efforts are underinvested.[14] We must protect and defend Black leaders who regularly are subject to anti-Blackness, whose manifestation can range from subtle microaggressions to blatant, open-air racism. Black leadership is necessary for our movements and for organizational transformation. We must ensure that the weathering,[15] or the effects of systemic oppression—including racism and classism—on the body do not cause our leaders to burn out and leave, or bring on untimely illness.

TRUST IS NECESSARY, FULL STOP,
if Black community leaders are to be in relationship with philanthropy in ways that support everyone to advance their missions.

We lift ABFE: A Philanthropic Partnership for Black Communities, which has long been unapologetically in support of Black lives and thriving Black communities. This affinity organization was co-founded by Black foundation leaders who experienced an unmet need while participating in general philanthropic sector networking via the Council on Foundations. Leaders such as the late Ambassador James A. Joseph were trailblazers in creating an organization specifically to support Black foundation staff.

We build on ABFE's definition of Black-led change and contextualize it in Minnesota. ABFE defines "Black-led organizations as groups with primarily a Black board, executive leadership, staff, and constituency. Black-led **social change** organizations are those that meet this definition and aim to build power in Black communities."[16]

This definition of Black-led is situated in an organizational context and requires two things to be true simultaneously: 1) the effort is led primarily by Black people, and 2) the primary mission is to build the political, economic, and/or social power of Black people to ensure Black people thrive. The need for coupling who leads and what the work is about was echoed across interviews with Black community leaders across the state.

To this coupling of 1) who is leading and 2) primary mission, Black changemakers in Minnesota expanded the view of what Black-led change is beyond the context of an organization, and underscored the need for trust as an operating principle to enable that change. Across

[14] Cheryl Dorsey, Jeff Bradach, and Peter Kim, *Racial Equity and Philanthropy: Disparities in Funding for Leaders of Color Leave Impact on the Table* (Bridgespan, May 2020), https://www.bridgespan.org/getmedia/05ad1f12-2419-4039-ac67-a45044f940ec/racial-equity-and-philanthropy.pdf

[15] Arline T. Geronimus, *Weathering: The Extraordinary Stress of Ordinary Life in an Unjust Society* (Hachette, 2023).

[16] ABFE and the Bridgespan Group, *Guiding a Giving Response to Anti-Black Injustice* (August 2020), 3. https://www.abfe.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/BRIDGESPAN-Report-Guiding-a-Giving-Response-to-Anti-Black-Injustice.pdf

"LET THE PEOPLE MOST IMPACTED LEAD THE WAY."

interviews, leaders spoke to complexities beyond what is comfortable in polite conversations, where reductive notions of race are common. They further emphasized a grounding within Black culture—including its diversities and in its intersections—as part of Black-led change. Speaking of grounding in history and culture, one leader remarked, "We don't have to be trained in it because it is us and it is what we do. What needs to happen is for it to be uplifted and to be invested in so it can grow and thrive." Another implored, "First of all, step aside and let the people who have the most experience say, 'this is the way forward.'" Several times we heard, "let the people most impacted lead the way. [They] should be in a position to set the tone given the context in which a lot of this racial injustice happens."

We see a signal in the PRE's Data Snapshot that Minnesota philanthropy can build on: Most racial justice grants were distributed to organizations led by people of color. Trust is necessary, full stop, if Black community leaders are to be in relationship with philanthropy in ways that support everyone to advance their missions. Trust is a means, not an end.

Black community leaders emphasized that while trust is a necessary means, they are wary of the vulnerability that can come when trust is not coupled with support for ongoing learning and realistic expectations about the pace of social change. Systems change requires years, if not decades. And because systems change is not quick and linear, grantmaking requires long-term investment and commitment to be in relationship. Leaders otherwise find themselves and their organizations subject to dilettante funder interests that can cause harm.

Black leaders also emphasized that it is not their work alone that will bring about a racially just democracy. We must work together and join in collective visioning and action. Black leaders are not all-knowing oracles. Philanthropy is not absent insight about what change requires. Organizing for collective dreaming is necessary, in part because, as one leader remarked, "Not every idea from my perspective about Black lives is a good idea." This leader went on to say,

> ***Our collective thought is better than any singular approach. And I've seen more of that: people getting more connected to really thinking through, trying to figure out things, and moving as a group or as a collective rather than trying to figure it out by themselves. That gives me hope. That's a positive thing.***

Black leaders spoke about the need for ongoing investment in spaces for their collective visioning and for learning together. They are calling for funded spaces to study what has been learned from past social movements in the global South, across the United States, and in

TRUST, DEFEND, AND RECOGNIZE BLACK LEADERS.

their home state. We are three years from the 2020 uprising for racial justice. Leaders need opportunities to come together and reflect on what has been learned and refine or shift their strategies.

The Collective's Community Builders practice is about harnessing the cultural philanthropic practices within the Black community, building Black power in the institutional philanthropic sector, and strengthening the ecosystem of Black-led change. It offers an 18-month opportunity for Black leaders to learn about philanthropy, design a grantmaking program, and put forth transformative solutions. Every Community Builder is compensated, valued for their expertise, and featured on the Collective website because we want our peers and partners to get to know their Black genius, to see these changemakers. Our team learns alongside Community Builders, as we believe talent is distributed evenly and seek to attune to the many places where transformative potential lives. With Community Builders, the Collective is practicing grantmaking that goes beyond industry-standard participatory approaches and into power-shifting practices.

HOW WE DO DIFFERENTLY:

1. **Fund Black leaders boldly and with urgency.** Engage in strategies such as examining a timetable from grant inquiry to grant award to review the time required for relationship-building and moving through the grantmaking process across organizational characteristics, including leader demographics and organizational budget. Ensure that the grantmaking process is not uniquely discriminatory and limiting for Black-led organizations.

2. **Invest in opportunities for collective visioning and learning that is grounded in Black culture.** Sponsor spaces for bold and creative thinking where Black leaders across organizations, sectors, and neighborhoods can come together. Ensure Black changemakers are leading and setting the agenda for the gatherings.

3. **Transfer decision-making power over resources in recognition of the unique expertise of Black leaders.** This includes racial justice, participatory grantmaking, and funding culturally led community foundations and intermediaries.

INVITATION 2

EMBRACE THE DUAL NEEDS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND HEALING JUSTICE.

Doing differently here is about fundamentally transforming practice on the levels of ideas, assumptions, and motivations. Black community leaders spoke of racial capitalism, the mutual dependence of capitalism and racism, as necessary to interrogate racial justice efforts. The economic system, and the wealth disparities it has produced and perpetuates, are in the room. The racial wealth gap is understood and present, and community leaders recognize that economic development alone is part of, and not the whole, of what it takes to create racial justice. One leader we interviewed shared a generational view of being able to accumulate wealth over time and how structures need to be in place to support the resilience of Black families amid unpredictable storms:

> ***One of the things that is big for me is being able to pass on inheritance to the next generation so that every generation is not having to come and restart. … It's like with every catastrophe [in Minnesota], all the Black people have lost this. It was the foreclosure crisis where people lost homes that they had paid for. And then, so that set them generations back … and now, with the pandemic. … It seems like every time we're having to restart, and that's hard. So we really have to find a way where we're making real investments and putting real structures in place.***

THE RACIAL WEALTH GAP IS UNDERSTOOD AND PRESENT, and community leaders recognize that economic development alone is part of, and not the whole, of what it takes to create racial justice.

Meanwhile, philanthropic leaders reflected on what could be keeping Minnesota foundations from interrogating racial capitalism as a practice norm. To nods of understanding, one practitioner said, "Minnesota centers white comfort. This needs to be disrupted." Others spoke about "Minnesota nice" as a cultural assumption, which alludes to being pleasant in service to avoiding conflict. As part of the work of doing differently, funders we interviewed spoke about the need to normalize language that has been read as risky in "mixed company" because it could upset white donors and/or board members: "We need to be intentional about saying 'Black-led work' and 'anti-Blackness.'"

Being specific about what anti-Blackness is and how it manifests is part of the way toward embracing the comprehensiveness required for transformation. When we cannot say "Black-led" or unpack the legacy and present impact of anti-Blackness, we leave opportunity to do differently on the table.

"WE REALLY HAVE TO FIND A WAY WHERE WE'RE MAKING REAL INVESTMENTS AND PUTTING REAL STRUCTURES IN PLACE."

Philanthropy leaders shared several examples of Black-led change that is being funded, and much of that work is in economic development. The PRE Data Snapshot found that 72% of racial justice funding was community and economic development. Loans and grants to small businesses have been a hallmark of these efforts. These leaders are very familiar with state and municipal racial disparity data on many indicators of quality of life, including housing affordability, access to healthcare, and education. Yet, as one philanthropic leader remarked,

> ***I don't think we are doing this well. What hit me was elimination of racial disparities. … Minnesota is enamored with numbers and the quantitative approach, which misses so many things here like repair, healing, and structures.***

Minnesota is recognized to be a wonderful place to live and often a place of opportunity—especially if you are white. And the philanthropic leaders in community with the Collective spoke to the desire for a widened aperture on what is required to advance power-shifting solidarity with Black community leaders. Expanding the aperture would hold necessary economic development efforts and widen to include repair and healing, which is grounded in justice for whole communities, including, in the following ways as articulated by the Healing Justice Foundation:

- → Honor families and communities.
- → Provide urgent and sustainable healing support.
- → Address the direct and collateral consequences of racism and its intersection with other forms of oppression.
- → Provide education and training that builds community power.

Healing is grounded in justice for whole communities.[17] As one Black community leader articulated:

> ***So my work is grounded in healing justice and particularly for our people, but particularly for Black folks. … Oftentimes, the work around racial justice and social justice sometimes is absent of the piece that's also about radical self-care. And I think about radical steps—radical because that is grounded also in community care.***

The accompanying narrative about Black people and communities in Minnesota will be one about resilient people who are visionaries and waymakers. The disparities data tell part of the story of who Black people are in Minnesota, and it is far from the whole story.

Indeed, the majority of the Collective's first wave of grants were in support of healing justice,

[17] Cara Page and Erica Woodland, *Healing Justice Lineages: Dreaming at the Crossroads of Liberation, Collective Care and Safety* (Random House, 2023).

EMBRACE THE DUAL NEEDS FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND HEALING JUSTICE.

culture, and fortifying relationships that support community-led change. When Community Builders led the way, the need for investing in healing, Black culture, and repair was clear. We need more truth-telling and healing in the sector, and Minnesota can model the way forward.

HOW WE DO DIFFERENTLY:

1. **Engage in individual and organizational reflections about your histories and harness the vibrant ecosystem of healing justice in the state.** Minnesota is home to somatic abolitionists such as Resmaa Menakem, whose work to heal historical and racialized trauma in all bodies is recognized across the nation as necessary and leading-edge. Minnesota-based organizations like the Healing Justice Foundation (HJF), founded by community healer and visionary Dr. Joi Lewis in March 2020, believes healing is the path to Black liberation. HJF recognizes the ways many Black people are working to change the systems that dehumanize them, experiencing retraumatization in the process. HJF centers healing justice as a necessary theory and practice to achieve racial justice and is making access to healing resources a central part of dismantling oppressive systems. Harness the vibrant ecosystem of healing justice in the state to learn from and invite in healing justice leaders who can support your organizational transformation.

2. **The sector often uses the term "true cost" to describe the actual funding needed to pursue a grant-funded project.** Many project grants fund below the true cost, or about 88 cents on the dollar.[18] Healing and repair efforts often are invisible. Add funding to grants to increase the visibility and support for healing justice, particularly in tandem with economic development.

3. **Philanthropy leaders named GroundBreak Coalition as a transformative initiative to watch.** GroundBreak brings together over 40 entities "to define a new paradigm for community development finance that finally addresses systemic racism; rights historical wrongs; closes racial gaps in income and wealth; and boldly meets the climate moment."[19] This group provides avenues for the many corporations, foundations, government agencies, and nonprofit organizations that made or renewed commitments to racial equity in the wake of the 2020 uprising for racial justice to make good on their promises.

[18] Norma Altshuler and Marissa Tirona, *Why Funders Should Pay for the True Costs of Nonprofits' Work—Not Just the Direct Project Expenses* (Bridgespan, September 4, 2019).

[19] GroundBreak Coalition, *The Moment* (n.d.), para. 6. https://groundbreakcoalition.org/

INVITATION 3

MEET BLACK PEOPLE AT THEIR INTERSECTIONS & ACKNOWLEDGE THE FORCE OF ANTI-BLACKNESS

The racial hierarchy in the United States, long over-reliant on a Black-white binary, requires us to speak directly about anti-Blackness if we are to advance racial justice. Black community leaders and foundation staff widely acknowledged anti-Blackness as a known force and something that largely is not spoken about in predominantly white spaces.

Through interviews with Black changemakers, it became clear that most aligned their understanding of anti-Blackness with the definition that originates with the Movement for Black Lives: "the unique discrimination, violence, and harms imposed on and impacting Black people specifically."[20] This definition, which has been used by ABFE as well, honors the specificity of anti-Black racism and dimensions of white supremacy while leaving room for the possibility of other, interrelated experiences and dimensions of racism within white supremacy. Worth noting is the absence of direct naming or treatment of anti-Blackness in philanthropic literature. Philanthropic and related gray literature tends to treat anti-Blackness the same as any systemic or structural racism.

WHEN WE APPROACH OUR WORK WITH ABUNDANCE RATHER THAN SCARCITY, we can more readily move toward addressing what is needed.

While this be the case, we recognize the inherently intersectional and international nature of oppression—and the need for correspondingly intersectional and international movements for collective, adaptive action. We honor the centuries of Black thought leaders—from Sojourner Truth and Anna Julia Cooper in the 19th century to the Combahee River Collective and bell hooks in the 20th century to Olúfẹ́mi Táíwò and Kimberlé Crenshaw in the 21st. Some bodies of literature and some organizing and activist groups nationally talk about anti-Blackness within the context of racial capitalism.

Throughout interviews, Black community leaders spoke about their multiple identities and how that must be seen and understood as intrinsic to their humanity. Many spoke about their connection to the Black diaspora, regardless of generational status in the United States, as part of what inspires their activism. There is a felt sense, heard here, of being connected to ongoing freedom struggles and power-building across the global South:

> ***I know we're talking about very specifically the Minnesota and likely the Minneapolis context, given the history that we've just recently gone through and still going through, but also being***

[20] Movement for Black Lives, *Glossary* (2020), para. 3. http://web.archive.org/web/20200109004008/https:/policy.m4bl.org/glossary/

"WHAT ARE WE REALLY TALKING ABOUT? IT IS ABOUT ANTI-BLACKNESS, AND WE HAVE TO PUSH ON THAT."

> ***very cognizant of how we as an African people …, how much we're connected to the African world more broadly. … It is the African world … that drives [me].***

Black changemakers reflected—with nuanced analysis—on how their communities are uniquely situated at the confluence of staggering levels of long-standing racial disparity and segregation rooted in anti-Blackness, while also rooted in anti-indigeneity and settler colonization and in anti-immigrant/refugee sentiment, xenophobia, imperialism, and Islamophobia. In Minnesota, these interrelated disparities and segregation levels—which all interview participants discussed—exist against a backdrop of staggering levels of corporate wealth, philanthropic foundations, and nonprofit organizations per capita, as well as a long-standing liberal tradition.

Community leaders encourage philanthropy to educate the field on anti-Blackness and to struggle with why it isn't spoken as explicitly as it might be, considering pervasive racial disparities in education, housing, health, and wealth. One leader offered this truth-telling and call to action:

> ***Blackness has a charge to it, cross-cut by issues of class, immigration status, etcetera. I think you all are just going to have to struggle with trying to get some of that nuance, to get a little bit.***

Moving in power-shifting solidarity with Black people and communities requires principled struggle, sitting with the reasons why anti-Blackness isn't spoken about widely.

Across focus groups and interviews, foundation leaders agreed that anti-Blackness largely is not in the lexicon of colleagues and peers. These leaders named "BIPOC"—Black, Indigenous, People of Color—as the most spoken way of describing people of color. This is flattening and does not lend to specificity or nuance. Summing up many sentiments, one philanthropy leader remarked: "We use the term BIPOC so much. We push to ask, what are we really talking about? It is about anti-Blackness, and we have to push on that." We tried to understand why anti-Blackness and Blackness are not more widely named. Some spoke to fear: "We get pushback from donors when we talk about Blackness because our larger donor advisors don't understand that unique systemic inequity, so they lump all BIPOC together."

Philanthropic leaders suggested that the term "BIPOC" has its place and its limits. One of the named limits is the way "lumping" all people of color together as one group of intended grantee partners can inadvertently create competition. Black community leaders want to work toward collective liberation. Meeting Black people and communities at their intersections will require us to make the

MEET BLACK PEOPLE AT THEIR INTERSECTIONS & ACKNOWLEDGE THE FORCE OF ANTI-BLACKNESS

pie bigger. When we approach our work with abundance rather than scarcity, we can more readily move toward addressing what is needed.

The Othering and Belonging Institute offers targeted universalism as an anchoring concept that can be of value because it moves beyond the binary trap of universal responses that can seem overly ambitious and targeted solutions that may seem unfair. Targeted universalism is about setting universal goals for many groups and using tailored strategies for each group to get there based on their unique contexts and experiences: a foundation can talk about having a universal goal related to housing and have different strategies about how to do that in a way that addresses the histories, contexts, and experiences of Black people along with other groups that want to move toward that universal goal.

HOW WE DO DIFFERENTLY:

1. **As the playwright Terrell Alvin McCraney has said, "You meet me at my intersections."**[21] To see our shared humanity, there is a need to name anti-Blackness and to not stop there.

2. **Black changemakers can call on philanthropy to sit without reticence and be specific about Black people and communities when their efforts are intended to be in partnership with and support those people and communities.**

3. **Philanthropy practitioners must embed intersectionality into funding strategies.** The Women's Foundation of Minnesota's report ***Equity in Design: Applying an Intersectional Equity Framework to Accelerate Change*** provides historical context and articulates philanthropic strategies at the intersection of gender, race, place, ethnicity, sovereignty, socioeconomic class, age, disability, LGBTQ+, immigration, and more.

[21] Terrell Alvin McCraney, *Theatre of Be Longing* (Othering and Belonging Conference, 2017). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xg_OvgOiFHI

INVITATION

4 SUPPORT SPACES OF RESPITE AND COMMUNITY BUILDING FOR BLACK CHANGEMAKERS IN PHILANTHROPY.

Black practitioners in Minnesota philanthropy are working inside foundations and are in and of community. They are toggling between and among communities—an effort that has long been required for Black people in the workplace. Many Black people working in Minnesota's institutional philanthropy are one of a few with a shared racial/ethnic background. These practitioners often do triple work—playing critical roles within their homes and cultural communities, leading organizational change around justice, equity, diversity, and inclusion, while also performing their primary role—and all the while subject to their institution's internal political and cultural environments, which can range from the inhospitable to the toxic. The additional labor, intellectual and emotional, often is without commensurate titles and compensation. Unsurprisingly, Black community leaders and philanthropy practitioners have described themselves as exhausted. They spoke to the right to be well and how generations of exhaustion continue to impact Black communities today:

> ***I also am very interested in, as we are fighting for our liberation and for our right to be connected to our humanity, that also may it include us being as well as possible. Will that mean that we can be free of diseases that have haunted us around high blood pressure and diabetes and oppression? Can't we also have that right? Can we also have gardens of food that's available and water and that our children can run free and that we can have rest? I think that we get to have both.***

MINNESOTA CAN LEAD THE WAY IN DEMONSTRATING TO THE COUNTRY WHAT IT TAKES TO ENSURE ITS LEADERS ARE WELL.

Philanthropy practitioners across racial groups know that Black changemaker well-being is an issue that needs addressing. They spoke about the relatively small number of Black foundation staff in Minnesota relative to the population of Black people, in the Twin Cities in particular. Nationally, we know that about 13% of philanthropy staff are Black. While they do not have state-level data readily available, practitioners believe Black staff and leaders are underrepresented. They named specific Black leaders whom they know and trust, and others echoed that high regard. Specifically, many philanthropy practitioners directly named the co-founders of the Black Collective Foundation MN—they are known community and organizational leaders.

"WE ARE FIGHTING FOR OUR LIBERATION AND FOR OUR RIGHT TO BE CONNECTED TO OUR HUMANITY, THAT INCLUDES US BEING AS WELL AS POSSIBLE.

Black changemakers are to be celebrated, and the work of racial justice requires us all. These leaders also need space for respite and restoration, places where they can connect with peers. The Collective and others are creating such spaces, as well as more and new ways of celebrating and supporting these leaders. Current initiatives include the Collective's efforts to strengthen the ecosystem of Black-led change, which are taking shape as the Rooting Social, an ongoing series curated for Black people working and leading in the philanthropic sector to connect, build, and strengthen relationships, break bread, and reflect with one another on what it takes to be well and work for a more just Minnesota. Nexus Community Partners, the second of the top 20 racial justice grantees in 2020–2021 as shared in PRE's Data Snapshot, soon will launch the Nexus Sabbatical Program, which begins with a powerful vision—"wellness, rest, and rejuvenation for BIPOC folks creating transformative change in their communities." Nexus recognizes that the people who are leading must heal and stay well so that they can continue guiding institutional and systems transformation. The Bush Foundation has long hosted the Bush Fellowship, a flexible $100,000 grant to leaders from all walks of life who seek a more just region. Fellowships are made at the individual level, and each Fellow has a plan for how the award will change or accelerate their desired career or life trajectory. The community desires more of these kinds of programs accessible and focused on Black-led changemakers.

Minnesota can lead the way in demonstrating to the country what it takes to ensure its leaders are well. We encourage learning across these growing bodies of work—the Collective's Rooting series, Nexus Sabbatical Program, and Bush Fellowship—so that a shared picture of the ways Minnesota philanthropy is showing up for its Black leaders can emerge and drive further investment. The examples profiled here are at the individual level, with the understanding that practitioners and leaders will be buoyed by their experiences and their visionary leadership will be returned to organizations and their communities.

4 SUPPORT SPACES OF RESPITE AND COMMUNITY BUILDING FOR BLACK CHANGEMAKERS IN PHILANTHROPY.

HOW WE DO DIFFERENTLY:

1. **Philanthropic organizations can invite and resource employee affinity groups so that colleagues who share lived experiences and/or identities have ongoing, protected sites of support.**

2. **Formal and informal workloads and responsibilities can be reviewed with an eye for where staff may be carrying more than that for which they are being compensated.** In the near term, foundation leaders can award bonuses to recognize staff contributions beyond their roles. For those doing ongoing work that began on special assignment, job titles and compensation can be revised.

3. **Skilled consultants and/or new salaried positions can be dedicated to long-term organizational transformation in service to racial justice.**

INVITATION 5

INVEST IN RACIAL JUSTICE AT THE SPEED OF COURAGE.

Black community leaders and organizers in Minnesota are courageously showing up for racial justice, seeking fundamental changes to the ways power and resources are distributed.

The historic uprising of 2020, which began in our state, demonstrates what is possible when we unite in power-shifting solidarity. We witnessed numerous private-sector and philanthropic organizations commit to redress past harms, name plans for organizational learning, and publicly pledge financial support to Black communities and Black-led change.

WE URGE ALL OF MINNESOTA PHILANTHROPY TO INVEST IN RACIAL JUSTICE AT THE SPEED OF COURAGE AND FOR THE LONG TERM.

Philanthropy in Minnesota has begun responding to this urgent call to invest in Black people. As noted in the PRE Data Snapshot, in 2021 racial equity funding increased by approximately 13% against the average of the previous three years. Racial justice funding increased by nearly a quarter compared to the average of the three previous years. This increase is promising, suggesting that Minnesota and national philanthropy were willing to bear witness as many called for institutional and systems transformation. These early returns allow us a point-in-time glimpse at what likely are the first wave of grants resulting from 2020 pledges to advance racial justice in Black and other communities of color.

We urge all of Minnesota philanthropy to invest in racial justice at the speed of courage and for the long term. Systemic inequities are years in the making, and it takes time to shift to new ways of being and doing. Black changemakers know that philanthropic funding can spike in the aftermath of violence, with a temporary upswell in resources. The funding, all too often, is one-time, short-term, and episodic. It's time to invest in Black lives year-round and long-term, in service to thriving people and communities. From the perspective of Black community leaders and from what we know about movement capture,[22] philanthropy has the power to drive what movements focus on:

> ***It's who you like. It's who you know. If they like you, if they know you, then they kind of give you the money. If they feel comfortable, if they're not threatened by you, they'll give you the money. ...And there's always a power dynamic, right? ... The fact that we have to do, like, these games or, like, these applications, these interviews for money that already righteously belongs to us. And then you want us to act a very certain way where we apply for that money. ... So I feel like white people really want Black people to act a very specific way in Minnesota. And if you do not act that way, if you're not in line ...,***

[22] Erica Kohl-Arenas and Megan Ming Francis, "Movement Capture and the Long Arc of the Black Freedom Struggle" (Histphil, July 14, 2020). https://histphil.org/2020/07/14/movement-capture-and-the-long-arc-of-the-black-freedom-struggle/

"BECAUSE THERE'S STILL THAT POWER DYNAMIC, THOUGH…IT'S NOT REALLY BLACK-LED BECAUSE THEY'RE THE ONES CONTROLLING THE POCKET."

> ***they're not funding you. Because there's still that power dynamic, though; they [might] give you the money … but it's not really Black-led because they're the ones controlling the pocket.***

In focus groups with Collective staff, those whose grantmaking focuses on racial justice are clear: we must hold the long view. These practitioners recognize that their organizations cannot simply make one grant and expect all barriers to be overcome and all transformative possibilities enacted. One practitioner shared how they are taking the long view by engaging a "group of grassroots organizers and leaders and ombudsmen to help us shape [their] racial justice work … who are actually helping make decisions, [set] strategy, [set] goals, and have decision-making power." This foundation is sharing power with Black communities to define what the long view should be and what it might take to get there. What's more is that the relationships they build can motivate more investment in Black communities and racial justice.

The philanthropy leaders and staff with whom we conducted focus groups shared promising efforts by the Bush Foundation and Pohlad Family Foundation. Bush followed through with its spring 2020 announcement to address historic racial injustice by seeding two trust funds dedicated to building wealth in Black and Indigenous communities. It granted $50 million each to NDN Collective and Nexus Community Partners, and trusts that these Indigenous- and Black-led organizations will develop and implement programs that provide individuals what they need. In direct response to the 2020 racial uprisings, Pohlad committed $25 million to address systemic racism by sharing decision-making power with and investing in communities that are rebuilding and recovering from the aftermath of George Floyd's murder, in solutions that reimagine public safety for Black communities, and in long-term transformation that focuses on systems-level change. Both examples highlight what is possible in what foundations can do. However, for these kinds of efforts to have long-term impact, this must be the beginning of courageous investments.

We can invest at the speed of courage while doing necessary, ongoing learning and reflecting. Some philanthropy staff lamented the timeworn apologia of "putting our own house in order first" as a barrier to action. Organizations can do their own learning work while investing urgently in work that is about Black people having access to thriving lives enabled by well-being and opportunity.

INVEST IN RACIAL JUSTICE AT THE SPEED OF COURAGE.

HOW WE DO DIFFERENTLY:

1. **Fund Black-led change like you want Black people and communities to thrive.** Direct unprecedented funding to Black-led change, including resourcing individual leaders, diverse kinds of social impact organizations and businesses, mutual aid efforts, and the ecosystem at large. Engage in game-changing funding strategies like general operating and multi-year giving, funding operating reserve and endowment building, and resourcing both systems change and direct service efforts.

2. **Examine your governing assumptions.** How does your organization define "risk?" Who pays and who benefits from this understanding of risk? Consider adopting a working definition of courage to undergird your efforts.

3. **Conduct an organizational self-assessment of how you are building, sharing, and wielding power.** *Power Moves*,[23] from the National Committee on Responsive Philanthropy, provides a detailed guide with templates to help you leverage the full power of your organization for equity and justice.

[23] National Committee on Responsive Philanthropy, *Amp Up Your Impact with Power Moves* (2022). https://mailchi.mp/6bddd6571c2d/power-moves

CLOSING THOUGHTS

Courage asks us to move beyond fear and engage in transformative actions.

Grantmakers can keep to the courageous commitments it made by building on the momentum that activated philanthropy in 2020—**racial justice will not be achieved in a one-, two-, or three-year funding cycle, but only with the long-term investment in Black communities.** For foundations that have been doing internal work, we invite you to do something courageous with your investments. Try something different and learn from it. We encourage you to galvanize momentum by sharing and discussing the invitations with colleagues in your organization and in your networks.

TOGETHER WE CAN FOLLOW THE GENIUS OF BLACK-LED CHANGE TO TRANSFORM SYSTEMS AND BUILD A COMMUNITY WHERE ALL BLACK PEOPLE ARE HOLISTICALLY WELL, LIVING IN DIGNITY AND PROSPERITY.

BLACK COLLECTIVE FOUNDATION MN

MNBLACKCF.ORG

MISSION

Build Black philanthropic power to strengthen the ecosystem of Black-led social, political, and economic change in Minnesota and beyond.

VISION

A community foundation that creates the conditions for a thriving ecosystem of Black-led change. Together, we can realize a Minnesota where Black people are holistically well, living in dignity and prosperity.

The Black Collective Foundation MN is the home for the genius of Black-led change. The spirit of the foundation and its commitment to Black-led change builds on a legacy of Black people resourcing and working to better our communities, not only within philanthropic institutions, but in our communities, every single day. This organization is the realization of the legacy of vision, philanthropy, and generosity in Black communities, bringing it from the shadows into the light.

The Black Collective Foundation MN was formed against the backdrop of the 2020 uprising for racial justice. The co-founders, rooted in community with influence in the sector of philanthropy, were called to harness the struggles and possibilities of the historical moment to move the sector beyond momentary sympathy and into accountability, solidarity, and transformation.

As the first Black community foundation in Minnesota, we are building Black philanthropic power and inspiring a new philanthropy for everyone. With this collective, we ask, 'How much greater can philanthropy be?' We are activating a shared vision that realizes the promise of racial justice and builds on the lives, dreams, and brilliance of Black people to create a world where each of us are holistically well, living in dignity and prosperity.

MNBLACKCF.ORG

EVALUATIONINNOVATION.ORG

RACIALEQUITY.ORG

BLACK COLLECTIVE FOUNDATION MN

CENTER FOR EVALUATION INNOVATION

PHILANTHROPIC INITIATIVE FOR RACIAL EQUITY

RECOMMENDED CITATIONS

Chera Reid, Albertina Lopez, Lulete Mola, Chanda Smith Baker, and Repa Mekha, *Toward Power-Shifting Solidarity with Black-Led Change*, Black Collective Foundation MN and Center for Evaluation Innovation (2023).

Ben Francisco Maulbeck, Lyle Matthew Kan, and Lori Villarosa, *Grantmaking Data Snapshot for Racial Equity and Racial Justice in Minnesota*, Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity (2023), in Chera Reid, Albertina Lopez, Lulete Mola, Chanda Smith Baker, and Repa Mekha, *Toward Power-Shifting Solidarity with Black-Led Change*, Black Collective Foundation MN and Center for Evaluation Innovation (2023), pp. 18–38.