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Six Blind Men and One Elephant: Proposing an Integrative Framework to Advance Research and Practice in Justice Philanthropy

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There are growing calls that philanthropic foundations across the globe can and should advance diversity, equity, inclusion, and justice. Initial evidence indicates that foundations have indeed responded as evidenced by pledges to change practice, increased funding for racial justice, and the emergence of new networks to support equity and justice. However, there is also great skepticism about whether the field of foundations are, in fact, able to make lasting changes given numerous critiques of philanthropy and its structural limitations. In this article, we summarize these critiques that suggest factors that make institutional philanthropy resistant to calls for equity and justice. We posit that a core obstacle is a lack of conceptual coherence within and across academic and practitioner literature about the meanings of terms and their implications for practice. Therefore, we propose a transdisciplinary conceptual framework of justice philanthropy that integrates the fragmented literature on justice-related aspects of philanthropy emerging from different disciplinary traditions such as ethics, political theory and political science, social movement theory, geography, public administration, and community development.

Keywords: Justice Philanthropy, Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, Foundations

Introduction

Institutional philanthropy—the collection of nonprofit organizations that voluntarily distribute private wealth to other nonprofit and government organizations for the public good—has seen repeated calls to shift from charity to justice. These calls push philanthropic institutions, often referred to as foundations, to move "beyond merely assuring equal opportunity and diversity" (Dean-Coffey, 2018, p. 531) to address historical injustices that perpetuate injustice and inequity (Burton & Barnes, 2017; Villanueva, 2018; Walker, 2019). Burton and Barnes (2017) challenge foundations to stop being comfortable with "the mundane efforts of charity [and to start] righting the wrongs of history through justice-oriented giving" (n.p.).

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In response to the convergence of the COVID-19 pandemic, which highlighted systemic disparities, and the 2020 Racial Justice protests, foundations across the globe made new public commitments to address issues of equity and justice. Both events called out persistent differences in life outcomes by race, segregation and underrepresentation in government and professional social welfare and health care positions, and long standing inequalities in participation and engagement (Wright & Merritt, 2020). By July 2020, U.S. foundations had committed more than half a billion dollars to fund racial justice efforts and a year later more than 165 pledges (Daniels, 2020), valued at $10.8 billion, had been earmarked for racial equity (Candid, n.d.). In the UK, the Resources Racial Justice Fund was established to support organizations and grass roots groups working with people of color (POC) impacted by COVID-19 (Greater Manchester Centre for Voluntary Organisation, 2020). In addition to financial pledges, nine U.S. community foundations founded Nexus for Equity + Opportunity Nationwide (NEON) formed a network with a common set of goals and metrics to combat structural racism (Daniels, 2021). Philanthropic support organizations, such as the U.S. Council on Foundations (Council on Foundations, 2021) and the European Open Society Foundations have organized events and developed tools to bring a racial equity lens to foundation strategy and practice.

While there are growing calls that institutional philanthropy can and should advance diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) and justice and some evidence that the field has initially responded, there is great skepticism about whether institutional philanthropy is, in fact, able to make lasting changes (Beer et al., 2021). In this article, we summarize the numerous critiques of philanthropy and its inherent resistance to equity and justice (Reich, 2016). We also posit that a core obstacle is a lack of conceptual coherence within and across academic and practitioner literatures about the meanings of the numerous terms used to describe the various dimensions of equitable and just philanthropy. This confusion potentially delays implementation into practice and limits scholarship.

In many ways current calls for justice philanthropy resemble the parable from India where six blind men tried to address their curiosity of what an elephant was by touching the elephant. Each man touched the elephant in a different place. Of course, by touching only the tail or only the trunk or only the ear, each man came away with a very different picture of what the elephant was. Amidst the confusion, a wise man offered, "Perhaps if you put the parts together, you will see the truth" (Saxe, 1878, n.p.). While not pretending to be the 'wise man' or offering a single truth, by bringing together literature from multiple disciplines and professional practice, we offer a transdisciplinary conceptual framework of justice philanthropy that integrates the fragmented literature on justice-related aspects of philanthropy emerging from different disciplinary traditions such as ethics, political theory and political science, social movement theory, geography, public administration, and community development. We hope that an integrated conceptual framework that brings together the many parts of the elephant serves as a starting point for future theorizing and research and informs practice. A transdisciplinary framework also offers a path forward that addresses some of the critiques of institutional philanthropy.

Critiques of Institutional Philanthropy

Since the emergence of the general-purpose foundations in the early 20th century, there have been ongoing criticisms of institutional philanthropy and the roles that institutional philanthropy plays in perpetuating systemic inequities (Arnove, 1982; Reich, 2018). The modern foundation, particularly as originated in the U.S. in the early 20th century, is a unique institution (Reich, 2016). Foundations are characterized by broad and general purpose, seek social change by addressing the 'root causes' of social problems, exist in perpetuity, and are administered by an appointed, private, self-perpetuating board of trustees. Since the early 1900s critics have charged that foundations are a holding place for excess capital produced

through capitalism, which has often exploited workers and the environment in pursuit of capital. As such foundations have been complicit in perpetuating unequal social and economic outcomes among people and communities along racial lines (Arnove, 1982; Roelofs, 2003). Foundations are accused of providing limited funding for organizations led by people of color and serving the interests of communities of color (Barge et al., 2020; Greenlining Institute, 2006). In addition to differential outcomes, institutional philanthropy is inherently characterized by processes embedded in unequal power relationships (Villanueva, 2018) in which donors with resources hold power over beneficiaries and organizations with less financial and political capital (Ostrander & Schervish, 1990). Finally, foundations increasingly exert outsized power in the policy process (Reckhow, 2013). In the following section, we summarize three critiques that suggest that institutional philanthropy is inherently resistant to meaningful change that promotes equity and justice.

Philanthropy as Expression of Private Values

Philanthropy, private voluntary action for the public good (Payton & Moody, 2008), has long grappled with conflicting public/private pressures. An organization's publicness—not solely its legal designation as a public or private organization, is shaped by internal and environmental dimensions that make an organization more or less 'public' (Merritt, 2019; Moulton, 2009). Private foundations are endowed by resources from a single donor (individual, family, corporation, or a small pool of donors, such as Warren Buffet's contributions to the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.) In contrast, public foundations, such as the Silicon Valley Community Foundation, engage in on-going fundraising from many donors (the public) to grow their endowments. Both forms of foundations receive contributions that are incentivized through the tax structure and earn income on their endowments that is exempt from taxation (Colinvaux, 2018; Reich, 2018). The tax deduction comes with "a responsibility to use philanthropic funds wisely and effectively" (Frumkin, 2006, p. 71).

The publicness of private philanthropy may lead to expectations that philanthropic organizations be inclusive and seek equitable outcomes (Dean-Coffey, 2018). However, philanthropy lacks a legal mandate for equity as philanthropy is an inherently private action which reflects expressive outcomes. "Philanthropy allows donors to speak to the world about what they believe is valuable" (Frumkin, 2006, p. 152). Whereas the focus on private values is important as it stimulates and motivates giving, the outcomes of philanthropy driven by private values may or may not lead to addressing the most pressing public needs in an equitable manner. Donor-centered philanthropy that focuses on the one-way relationship in which donors have more choice and power in philanthropy than recipients has led to an exclusion of recipient groups from the philanthropic process and furthers inequities in philanthropic outcomes (Ostrander & Schervish, 1990).

As such, philanthropy tends to operate in absence of recipient or broader societal consent (Seibert, 2019). For instance, Reich (2018) noted that individuals in higher income brackets are less likely to donate money to the poor (e.g., for basic needs) but tend to prefer giving to education or arts and culture. Further, in a recent study Weinryb (2020) found that wealthy philanthropists engaged in funding human embryonic stem cell research were "essentially detached from the general public and specific concerns about patient communities [...], which raises questions about their legitimate engagement for public purposes at the expense of elite interests" (p. 1228). While the private expression of philanthropy inherently involves power differentials along wealth, these power differentials are often further widened by racial power. It is predominantly White donors who give and Black or other minority organizations who receive. Indeed, only 3.6% of foundation dollars go to nonprofits led by people of color (Greenlining Institute, 2006) and Echoing Green (2020) found a 20-million-dollar philanthropic funding gap between White- and Black-led organizations in their 2019 applicant pool.

Philanthropy Lacks Democratic Accountability

Whereas philanthropy is essential to a democratic society as it promotes pluralism, fosters democratic civic engagement, and contributes to building civil society (Payton & Moody, 2008; Ostrander, 2007), philanthropy itself is not democratic. Foundations shape societal attitudes and public policy (Arnove, 1982; Reckhow, 2013; Roelofs, 2003; Tompkins-Stange, 2020) yet philanthropic leaders are not democratically elected. Foundations offer limited opportunities for the public to shape their policy agendas and are subjected to limited government oversight (Barkan, 2013; Reckhow, 2013; Reich, 2018).

These criticisms are not new. In 1912, a Congressional Committee on Industrial Relations convened to study labor relations in the U.S. While the impetus was a series of violent confrontations between labor and management, the Commission also investigated large corporations' growing influence in American society (Arnove, 1982; Reich, 2016). Members of the Commission described the new foundations as 'menace to society' and 'deeply antidemocratic' because they were not accountable to anyone but a self-perpetuating board of trustees and could exercise their unlimited power in perpetuity. Barkan (2013) notes that philanthropic donors "have the resources to shape public policy but they have no accountability to the public or to the people directly affected by their programs" (p. 637). In 2006, the Gates Foundation's rapid growth in assets and their influence in shaping public education (particularly their funding support for small school initiatives and their policy work on the common core curriculum), prompted an editorial in the LA Times that sarcastically referred to Bill Gates as the "superintendent of schools." As Ravitch (2006) wrote:

> *With the ability to hand out more than $1 billion or more every year to U.S. educators without any external review, the Gates Foundation looms larger in the eyes of school leaders than even the U.S. Department of Education, which by comparison, has only about $20 million in discretionary funds. The department may have sticks, but the foundation has almost all the carrots. In light of the size of the foundation's endowment, Bill Gates is now the nation's superintendent of schools.*

In partial response to perceptions of lack of accountability, foundations often emphasize professionalization and rationalization. However, others argue that the 'veneer of rational decision making' that is supported by professional planning and decision-making locks the funder's values and assumptions into the process and closes opportunity for input and contestation (Beer et al., 2021). "Technocratic processes…render invisible the role of influence, persuasion and power within institutions (Beer et al., 2021, p. 66). Rational market-driven logic increases donor pressures for nonprofit recipients of philanthropy to be more effective by measuring inputs and outputs, tracking outcomes, and assessing performance (Eikenberry & Mirabella, 2018; Heckler, 2019). This trend towards 'measurable philanthropy' (Eikenberry & Mirabella, 2018) means that funds are only granted if organizations provide trackable metrics (Horvath & Powell, 2020). Whereas grant recipients "are attempting to conform to a marketplace dominated by race- and gender-blindness" (Heckler, drawing on Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Sue, 2010, p. 276), this approach hinders systematic change as it does not challenge foundations to critically reevaluate their own history and practices (Echoing Green, 2020).

Philanthropy as a Tool of Capitalism

Foundations are creatures of capitalism, created from wealth accumulation made possible by the capitalist system and associated exploitive labor and environmental practices that have long sustained racial injustices (Harvey et al., 2020; Reich, 2018; Roelofs, 2003). In proposing

a theory of the foundation, Schramm (2006) defines the purpose of the private foundation as "an institution of democratic capitalism [that] exists to strengthen and facilitate the mutually supporting American system of democratic pluralism and a free market economy" (p. 357). There are at least three consequences to the intertwining of capitalism and philanthropy.

First, because foundations emerge from the unequal accumulation of wealth, they are reluctant to directly address these injustices in ways that challenge the status quo (Dowie, 2002; Roelofs, 2003). Instead, philanthropy has traditionally responded to the dark sides of capitalism and excess wealth accumulation (such as poverty, crime, health disparities, and environmental crises) through charity—funding nonprofits to provide services and supporting market incentives (Faber & McCarthy, 2005). Second, to avoid social and political unrest, philanthropy has historically supported social change at the margins. At best philanthropy is "reformist rather than supporting any fundamental challenge to underlying structural causes of social injustice" (Ostrander et al., 2005, p. 43). Third, other scholars describe how philanthropy has sought to co-opt social change efforts when they have gone 'too far' in seeking radical change that would dramatically alter the status quo or change becomes too contentious (Francis, 2019; Kohl-Arenas, 2014; Roelofs, 2003). Francis (2019) described the power that the Garland Fund had over the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), moving the NAACP away from racial violence to education. In the end, private philanthropy can "operate like interest groups or private firms to buy influence over the goals and strategies" (Francis, 2019, p. 278) of groups working to address systemic inequalities. Critics suggest that such funding requirements are a form of 'philanthropic colonization' that limits access to foundation funding and constricts the activities of grantees (Villanueva, 2018).

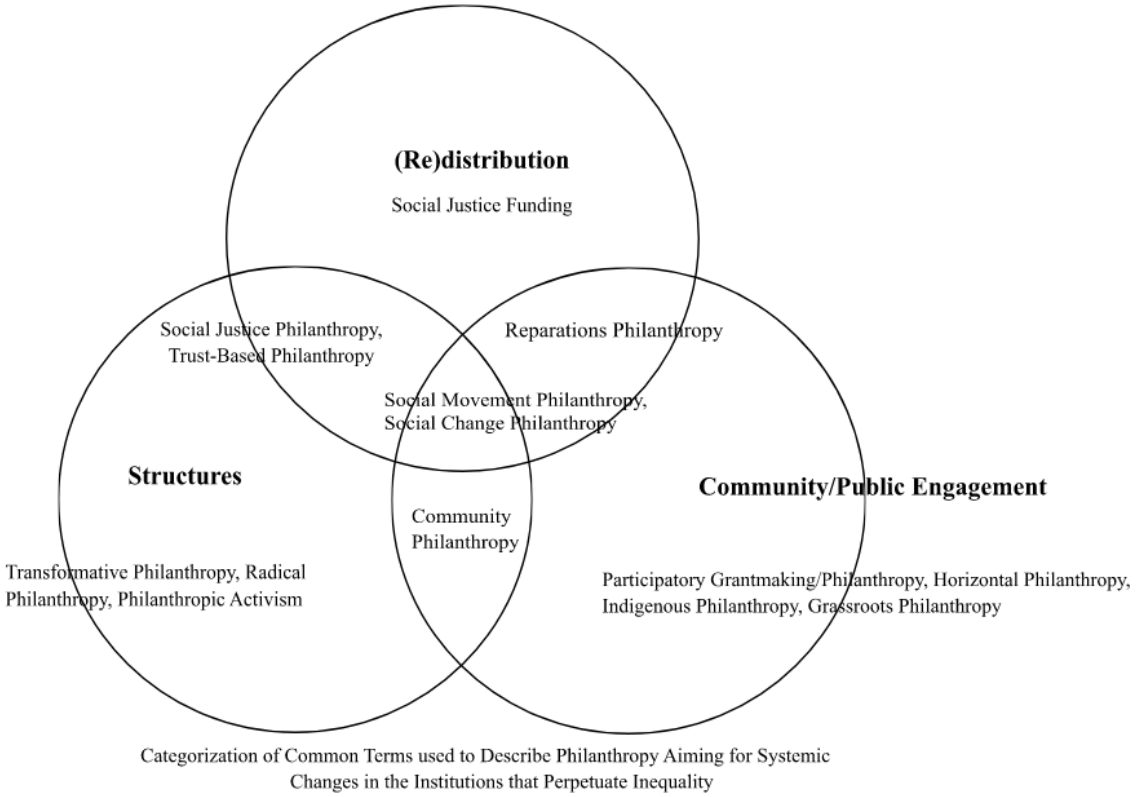
A Conceptual Framework of Justice Philanthropy

Building on the long standing and growing critiques of institutional philanthropy, which threaten the legitimacy of the field of institutional philanthropy, emerging language and associated practices offer the promise of something new: 'justice philanthropy'. However, as indicated in Figure 1, there are multiple terms and concepts being used that connect to issues of diversity, equity, inclusion, and justice (DEIJ) in philanthropy. These terms and concepts stem from multiple disciplinary angles including ethics, political theory and political science, social movement theory, geography, public administration, and community development and have emerged in research as well as in practice. Perhaps because of the transdisciplinary nature of this work, existing literature rarely makes connections between the different concepts, which leads to academic and practitioner confusion about what these terms mean and the implications for organizational practice.

To help remedy this confusion, we reviewed the definitions of core DEIJ-related terms in philanthropy research and practice (see the appendix for the citations associated with our review) and categorized them according to the primary mechanisms these concepts encapsulate to address systems of inequality. As Figure 1 demonstrates, the concepts center on structures, (re)distribution, and community/public engagement. Structures underscores efforts to remove or reimagine the institutions that systematically perpetuate inequality. (Re)distribution captures the allocation or reallocation of resources to compensate for prior disparate treatment. Community/public engagement represents efforts to leverage or maximize the experiences and expertise of people to address inequality.

In the following sections we begin by broadly defining the objectives of justice philanthropy. We then draw upon diverse scholarly traditions and the practitioner literature associated with these diverse terms to unpack the objectives and internal and external practices that are consistent with this complex phenomenon.

Figure 1. Categorization of Terms Used to Describe Philanthropy Aiming for Structural Changes in the Institutions that Perpetuate Inequality



Defining the Objectives of Justice Philanthropy

Despite the many differing terms used and practices implied, justice philanthropy is inherently a normative concept based on a shared value of 'human rights,' which provides strong ethical statements of rights and responsibility. Writing with respect to health, Braveman and Gruskin (2003) clearly argued, "Equity in health is an ethical value, inherently normative, grounded in the ethical principle of distributive justice and consonant with human rights principles" (p. 256). Similarly, in a rights-based approach to philanthropy, the recipient moves from "a supplicant in a position of gratitude" (Illingworth, 2020, p. 159) to a grantee asserting the cultural, economic, political, and social rights that all people have by virtue of being human. A rights-based approach imposes an obligation on those people and institutions who control and possess resources to achieve equitable and just outcomes.

From a moral perspective, Singer (1972) argued that the relatively wealthy have a moral responsibility to help the disadvantaged. From the South African 'ubuntu' philosophy, one's humanity is actualized through the act of giving in which the giver and recipient are mutual bearers of humanity (Mottiar & Ngcoya, 2016). While states are primarily obligated to protect human rights, there is increasing recognition that nonprofit and civil society organizations are also responsible for fulfilling those obligations (Illingworth, 2020). These responsibilities have been codified by international agreement and approved by nation states as part of the original Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Sustainable Development Goals

Since a responsibility to achieve equitable and just outcomes are two objectives fundamental to justice philanthropy, it is critical to define these two outcomes.

Equity

While philanthropy has no legal mandate for equitable outcomes and is often driven by private agendas, equity is a stated pillar of public administration (Frederickson, 1990) and other public service fields (Hart, 1974). Equity implies procedural fairness and fair distribution of public services (Frederickson, 1990; Guy & McCandless, 2012; Savas, 1978). Health scholars define equity as "the absence of systematic disparities…between social groups who have different levels of underlying social advantage/disadvantage" (Braveman & Gruskin, 2003, p. 254). Disadvantage refers to the absence of economic wealth, power, or prestige and accrues from one's status as being poor, female, and/or members of a disenfranchised racial, ethnic, or religious group (Braveman & Gruskin, 2003). Specifically related to philanthropy, Ashley (2014) described distributional equity as the fair distribution of philanthropic resources and proposed three dimensions of philanthropic equity across place: representation based upon a group's share of the population, standard of need, and merit. As Ashley's definition implies, unlike equality, equity rejects an 'egalitarian outcome' and requires allocations proportionate to 'differences.' Outcomes are thus equitable to the extent that they improve the conditions of the least advantaged—those who lack economic and political resources (Frederickson, 1990, p. 231).

Justice

Equity is an intermediate rather than end objective of justice philanthropy. The desired impact of justice philanthropy is justice: the eradication of the root causes of systemic inequality. While recent calls for justice philanthropy have largely emerged from practice (see, Burton & Barnes, 2017; Walker, 2019; Villanueva, 2018, for recent examples), justice as a goal of institutional philanthropy has been studied through critical and social movement perspectives for more than three decades (as examples see, Faber & McCarthy, 2005; Ostrander, 1995; Rabinowitz, 1990; Roelofs, 2003). As an outcome, justice philanthropy seeks fundamental change and system transformation in the economic, political, and social systems that promote inequality, rather than attending to the symptoms of the system's malfunctioning (Faber & McCarthy, 2005).

While equity and justice are outcomes, foundations also demonstrate equity and justice in their internal practices and their external relationships with community, suggesting that there are practices of justice philanthropy that distinguish it from 'traditional philanthropy.' While an exhaustive review of each dimension of justice philanthropy is outside of the scope of this article, we offer brief descriptions of each dimension.

Internal Work of Justice Philanthropy

Equity and justice are manifested not just in organizational outcomes but also in terms of internal procedures that promote procedural fairness (e.g., due process, equal protections, and civil rights) in hiring and internal decision-making processes (Frederickson, 1990; Gooden & Portillo, 2011; Guy & McCandless, 2012; Pitts, 2011). The terms diversity and inclusion largely refer to a set of management practices that focus on the internal culture and operations of the organization. As we describe below, inclusion and diversity are organizational practices that are critical to facilitating inclusive organizational conditions among diverse individuals (Bernstein et al., 2020). Over the last four decades regulative and normative pressures have led public and private organizations, including private foundations, to adopt diversity management programs, what Burton and Barnes (2017) refer to as the 'inputs and outputs' of internal philanthropic work. Diversity management literature proposes that diversity leads to increased productivity in the workplace (Lorbiecki & Jack, 2000) and positive organizational performance measures (such as innovation).

These practices have deep roots in business management (drawing upon such diverse disciplines as sociology, psychology, and social psychology). However, more relevant to the objectives of equity and justice, public administration scholars, drawing upon political theories of representative bureaucracies, focus on the effect of diversity in improving outcomes for service beneficiaries (see, Groeneveld and Meier, 2021, for a current review of the intellectual tradition of representative bureaucracy). However, diversity does not always lead to positive outcomes and is often dependent upon other management practices, such as recruitment as well as inclusion and reflection, what critical studies refer to as 'privilege work' (Scully et al., 2018).

Diversity

Diversity has been defined as "the representation in one social system, of people with distinctly different group affiliations of cultural significance" (Cox, 1994, p. 5). Diversity is based on identifiable characteristics of individuals, such as race, gender, class, physical ability, culture, nationality, religion, and sexual orientation, all of which provide status in organizations and society (Weisinger et al., 2016). Diversity is a particularly challenging issue in philanthropy, where leadership positions have long been dominated by White men (Mills, 2016) and diversity refers to not just the identifiable characteristics of staff and volunteers, but also donors.

Theories of representative bureaucracy describe two forms of diversity—compositional, which is often described as passive representation—and substantive or active representation (Guo & Musso, 2007). Compositional representation implies that the characteristics of staff (broadly inclusive of staff, board, and volunteers in the nonprofit context) are representative of the public and/or the communities that they serve. Substantive representation occurs when staff act in the interests of their constituents by setting goals, enacting policies, and taking actions that reflect the interests of their constituents (Guo & Musso, 2007).

While a growing body of research explores the connection between active and passive representation in public bureaucracies (Groeneveld & Meier, 2021; Meier, 2019), there are fewer studies that test the relationships between nonprofit diversity and organizational activities and outcomes (LeRoux, 2020). There is some evidence that representation may increase awareness of issues of diverse stakeholders (Brown, 2000), shape the services provided (Gittell et al., 2000), particularly commitment to social change efforts (LeRoux, 2009). Ostrower (2007) showed that as female representation on boards increases, women are more likely to be served. In a study of female representation on United Way boards, Dula (2022) found a positive relationship between female board members and funding for nonprofit organizations serving girls and women. LeRoux (2020) also found that board diversity is positively associated with financial growth and CEO perceptions of performance. But most important for issues of equity, LeRoux's (2020) interviews with nonprofit leaders suggests that increased board diversity leads to a larger field of information and more effective problem solving.

Drawing upon theories of social status, Groeneveld and Meier (2021) posited that similarity in background between staff and beneficiaries reduces the social distance between the two, which facilitates interaction and enhances the service experience. Similarly, early studies of social change philanthropy, drawing upon concepts from social movement theory, describe how when staff and donors are drawn from beneficiary communities, rather than being objects of social movements, more equitable and just outcomes for beneficiary communities emerge (Ostrander, 1995; Ostrander et al., 2005; Rabinowitz, 1990). In a study of the environmental justice movement, Faber and McCarthy (2005) observed that staff in progressive foundations came from activist backgrounds or held progressive values that represented beneficiary communities. Consistent with the theory of active representation, foundation staff from activist backgrounds were more likely to see their foundation roles as extensions of their

activist values and were willing to use their foundation positions to mobilize resources for progressive movements. Staff from beneficiary communities were also likely to listen to activists and allow grantees to identify funding needs and push for the adoption of practices that provide more control to grantees.

In addition, there is strong evidence that diversity is multidimensional (for example, race, gender, culture, religion, ability). Intersectionality along these multiple dimensions adds distance to any social relationship (Groeneveld & Meier, 2021; Ostrander, 1999). It is also important to note that substantive representation does not occur in the face of token representation but only when a critical mass of individuals from under-represented groups is part of the organization (Dula, 2022; Groeneveld & Meier, 2021; Ostrander, 1995).

Inclusion

Representative diversity alone does not necessarily produce positive organizational outcomes or positive outcomes for communities of interest. Representational diversity ignores the structural realities that limit discretion in organizations and the cross-group interactions that occur within organizations and communities (Weisinger et al., 2016). Research suggests that positive diversity outcomes are dependent upon inclusion (Bernstein et al., 2020).

Inclusion differs from diversity by focusing not only on the compositional mix of people, but on the process of incorporation into organizational processes and culture (Shore et al., 2011). There are two dimensions to inclusion (Mor Barak et al., 2016). The first is the degree to which organizational structure provides discretion to staff to make decisions. For passive representation to turn into active representation, staff need to have discretion over decisions that are directly linked to their values (Meier & Bohte, 2001; Sowa & Selden, 2003). The degree to which staff have (or perceive) the ability to make a decision in a particular context emerges from organizational rules, oversight and monitoring, or shared norms and culture. Second, inclusion is an emotional dimension of the workplace climate. In inclusive environments, individuals are treated as an insider, while encouraged to retain their 'uniqueness' (Shore et al., 2011).

Inclusion is achieved through increased contact and personal comfort across groups and practices that promote 'insider status,' access to sensitive information, broad participation in decision making, and having 'voice' (Bernstein et al., 2020). These practices—called generative interactions—enable individuals to adopt a shared group identity that transcends (but recognizes) individual differences. In general, a climate of inclusion is associated with improved employee commitment to the organization and enhanced work group performance (Brimhall, 2019). Classic studies of participatory work environments posit that inclusion in decision making alters people's values, their identities, and their sense of efficacy (Pateman, 1970; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). Brown (2000) found that boards that use inclusive practices are more likely to be sensitive to diversity issues. While inclusion is about creating internal conditions that move from 'me or us' to 'we,' as the intermediary between individual donor and beneficiary, foundations face barriers to creating inclusive environments. In addition, donor-centered models of philanthropy, particularly in public foundations, inherently limits staff and board discretion over funding decisions and gives elite donors increased control over their philanthropy (Ostrander, 2007).

Reflective Practices

In addition to changing management practices, as noted in our earlier discussion of the definitions of justice and equity, justice philanthropy is inherently based in a 'rights approach' to philanthropy. As a normative expectation, just philanthropy implies a shift in organizational and individual norms and beliefs. First, justice philanthropy inherently requires that philanthropic institutions acknowledge the role that organizations play in perpetuating

inequality (Scully et al., 2018) and commit to organizational missions and goals that align with equity and justice outcomes. Scholars of representative bureaucracy have posited that passive representation (staff diversity) is activated by organizational missions. When missions emphasize the value of supporting particular groups and causes, passive representation should lead to active representation (Keiser et al., 2002).

Justice philanthropy also requires mobilizing philanthropic elites (leaders, staff, and donors) as allies in the pursuit of equity and justice. Rooted in theories of social movements and critical race theory, by engaging others as allies in the cause, they become 'one of them,' reducing in-group outgroup polarization. Ally formation is also rooted in the notion of critical mass—that social change occurs when a small segment of a larger group can come together in a large enough group to overcome inertia and take action (Fredette & Sessler Bernstein, 2019). Ally formation is critical to achieving critical mass. Equity and justice efforts are mobilized most strongly when leaders, staff, and donors see their interests and concerns to be the same as those of the recipients and are able to closely identify with them (Ostrander & Schervish, 1990). Rather than being the 'subject of social movements,' they become an insider to the movement. In a case study of Haymarket Fund, donors had less interest and capacity to 'co-opt' movements because elites had been socialized and supported as activists (Ostrander, 1995).

Much of the DEI management literature focuses on staff and board members and some foundations are requiring implicit bias training for staff and leaders (Dorsey et al., 2020). However, justice philanthropy also involves engaging elite donors. The Raikes Foundation created the Impact-Driven Philanthropy Initiative that helps donors to give time and money more strategically in ways that advance equity and systems change. This has included investing in an ecosystem of donor support organizations and has launched the Giving Compass, an online platform that helps donors learn about issues and find organizations. These efforts provide a peer community that encourages elites to take responsibility for their advantage and offers a safe space to network and learn.

However, the process of fully mobilizing donors as allies requires not just a change in knowledge but also a change in values and beliefs as philanthropic elites come to understand their roles in creating and responding to inequities and injustices (Ostrander et al., 2005; Rabinowitz, 1990; Scully et al., 2018; Urschel, 2005) and their ethical responsibilities to support justice. Scully and colleagues (2018) described these shifts as occurring through reflective practices, 'privilege work.' They identified five steps in the process of 'privilege work': 1) discovering privilege and developing moral empathy for marginalized individuals and communities, 2) wrestling with the emotional conflict that fighting inequality produces, 3) partnering with marginalized communities, 4) publicly revealing their commitment to redistribution, and 5) practicing economic equity in their own work and community practices. Similarly, Urschel's (2005) case study of Resource Generation and interviews with its members (young women of wealth) described a four-step chronological process of moving elite donors from disempowerment to relinquishment. In the final stage, young elites were willing to give up their power and work with people from marginalized groups to return economic, social, and political power to marginalized communities.

External Practices of Justice Philanthropy

While the adoption of internal diversity and inclusion practices may be a necessary step in the movement towards justice philanthropy, shifts in internal practices and attitudes are not sufficient (Beer et al., 2021; Burton & Barnes, 2017; Lief, 2020) to address the broader concerns of the marketization of philanthropy and the lack of public accountability. Justice philanthropy is inherently distinguished by changes in community relationships and externally focused practices that seek to shift power from philanthropic organizations (and its decision makers) to marginalized communities through trust-based and participatory

practices, holding foundations accountable to the community for equitable outcomes, and leveraging the full means of philanthropic action within broader economic and policy systems.

Trust-Based Philanthropy

Trust-based philanthropy is an approach to grant making emerging from practice that seeks to open the grant making system to previously marginalized groups and address the inherent power imbalances between funders, nonprofits, and the communities they serve by reducing foundation control in the funder/grantee relationship. To retain control over the grant making process, foundation grants are often short-term and program specific and emerge from lengthy, formal application procedures (Buteau et al., 2020; Buteau & Chu, 2011). Consistent with the 'marketization' of philanthropy (Eikenberry & Mirabella, 2018) traditional grant making applications often favor those groups that 'know the lingo' and speak in 'White,' 'progressive' language (Ostrander, 1995). In addition, short-term restricted grants that do not fund operating expenses lead to lack of risk taking, inequitable hiring practices, and lack of investment in organizational capacity (Schubert & Boenigk, 2019) that disproportionately affect organizations led by people of color and grassroots organizations serving marginalized communities (Buteau et al., 2020; Dorsey et al., 2020).

Trust-based philanthropy seeks to create stronger and more equitable nonprofit communities through a variety of grant making techniques, such as multi-year unrestricted grants and streamlined applications and reporting processes. Trust-based philanthropy challenges the assumptions that some grant makers hold about the 'baseline' characteristics necessary for successful implementation—such as asset size—that inherently restrict the organizations that foundations are willing to fund (Dorsey et al., 2020). Trust-based grant making encourages honest and open communication (formal and informal) between grant makers and grantees (Hunnik et al., 2021) that provides more flexible funding and allows grantees to determine how to spend the funding (Dorsey et al., 2020). Finally, trust-based philanthropy moves away from reporting requirements that focus on oversight to metrics that center on grantee learning and improvement (Beer et al., 2021). Practices associated with trust-based philanthropy, such as unrestricted grantmaking, may improve the financial and programmatic performance of grantees (Hunnik et al., 2021). For example, a study of the Dutch People's Postcode Lottery found that unrestricted funding has been instrumental in encouraging innovation, flexibility, and collaboration (Wallace & Saxton, 2018).

Participatory Decision Making

Participatory philanthropy has deep roots in deliberative democracy and governance, community development and urban planning, and social work and community organizing (Gibson, 2018). Foundation grant making has often been top-down and centralized with the foundation leadership and professional staff setting funding priorities and making decisions about grant allocations. Participatory philanthropy opens the decision-making process along a continuum from seeking input on priorities and needs to involving communities in establishing the criteria for grant making to full participation in allowing affected communities to make decisions about the distribution of grants (Knight & Ruesga, 2013). Participatory grant making is based on the belief that participation is not just a means but an end in itself (Beer et al., 2021; Gibson, 2018; Knight & Ruesga, 2013) as those who are most affected should make the decisions that impact them (Beer et al., 2021). Participatory decision making contributes to better decisions as it increases knowledge about the assets and challenges of marginalized communities, creates community buy-in and agency, and promotes equitable and just processes in which marginalized communities gain control over processes that affect them (Beer et al., 2021; Gibson, 2018; Knight & Ruesga, 2013). Participatory philanthropy also seeks to build trust and connections within participating communities but also between grant makers and communities. This is particularly important as foundations have often been distrusted as elite outsider institutions by many marginalized communities. Studies of public

participation suggest that resident participation in issues that affect them produces positive outcomes for both individuals and service delivery systems. At the individual level, resident participation increases public awareness of issues, increases competence, enhances trust and commitment, and empowers participants through a greater sense of efficacy (Hardina, 2003; Julian et al., 1997; McDonnell, 2020; Pateman, 1970). There is also evidence that resident participation improves the efficiency and effectiveness of programs (Jakobsen et al., 2019) as residents are assumed to have more knowledge of community needs (McGinnis Johnson, 2016).

Flipped Accountability

Philanthropic institutions have few legal or structural requirements to account for their contributions to the 'public good' (Beer et al., 2021; Reich, 2018). Consistent with its roots in capitalism, market-based philanthropy increasingly describes grant making as an investment (Horvath & Powell, 2020). This trend towards measurable philanthropy requires tracking outcomes and assessing performance (Eikenberry & Mirabella, 2018; Heckler, 2019). However, partly to communicate their value to the public, foundations have adopted a variety of increasingly sophisticated strategic planning tools to guide decision making and evaluation requirements to ensure grantee compliance. Such technocratic responsibilities to accountability privilege the funders' values and expertise and displace accountability onto grantees (Beer et al., 2021). The choice of outcomes and foundation led evaluation practices may reinforce racism (Dean-Coffey, 2018). In current accountability relationships, the grantee is the agent responsible to the funder. This relationship does not allow the public to fundamentally challenge grant makers assumptions and choices nor hold the grant makers accountable to a 'public.' In addition, grant reporting, monitoring and evaluation practices co-opt the grantee and may push grantees away from movement building and organizing work.

Beer and colleagues (2021) proposed flipping this relationship such that the foundation is accountable to their constituents—those people experiencing inequities—and foundations are responsible for demonstrating that they are working in ways that are legitimate and valued by community members. Flipped accountability requires that foundations must make commitments to constituents about what the community can expect from the foundation, both in terms of outcomes and process, and foundations regularly interact with communities to gain feedback on foundation actions. This flip implies that the primary client for evaluation becomes the community and foundations are held accountable, rather than the reverse. Foundations' self-evaluation provides transparency and credibility of decisions about what is funded (Chelimsky, 2001). Flipped accountability also implies a commitment to the principles of equitable evaluation, which reorients evaluation from the individual causes of social challenges to the systemic drivers of inequity and embeds cultural competence into the evaluation process (Dean-Coffey, 2018; Dean-Coffey et al., 2014).

Leverage Multiple Tools for Systems Change

Grant making is often viewed as the primary tool of philanthropy (Reckhow, 2016) and the redistribution of philanthropic resources through more equitable grant making is often described as a key objective of justice philanthropy. While foundations may pursue change by funding organizations engaged in mobilizing and advocacy efforts, it is important to note that foundations have many other non-patronage methods at their disposal to support systemic change (Reckhow, 2016). A growing body of literature describes how foundations affect systems change through participation in the policy process, influencing the market, and facilitating grassroots collective action. Wichmann and Petersen (2013) viewed these non-patron efforts to change the political and economic structures that perpetuate injustices as a moral imperative.

Foundations (private and public) have long played important roles in the policy process (Arnove, 1982; Roelofs, 2003). In particular, the role of foundations in education policy has received a great deal of attention from foundations' influence on and recent success in promoting charter schools and the adoption of a federal core curriculum (Reckhow, 2013; Tompkins-Stange, 2020). Foundations increasingly work together to align agendas, support research, and advocate for shared policy platforms (Faber & McCarthy, 2005; Haddad & Reckhow, 2018; Reckhow, 2013). While such policy influence has been criticized as 'undemocratic,' particularly the growth of concerted foundation efforts, foundations committed to justice philanthropy may also foster community participation in the policy process by educating and mobilizing marginalized communities, including grassroots advocacy organizations (Mandeville, 2007; Wu, 2021) to identify issues and pursue policy change. Foundations create grassroots infrastructure for political activism through vertical integration and cluster-based funding (Faber & McCarthy, 2005). Vertically integrated funding supports capacity building by connecting local organizations to field level support organizations for research, legal and technical assistance. In contrast, cluster-based funding funds anchor organizations that play leadership roles to develop networks across geography, identity, or issue.

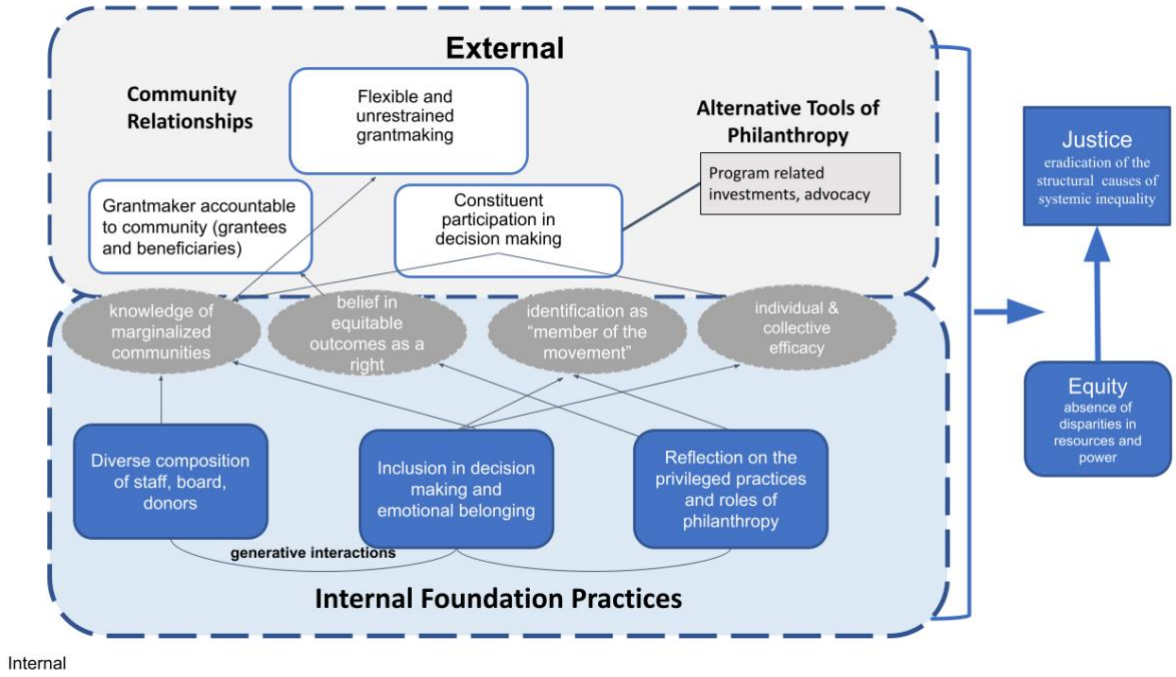
Finally, consistent with their roots in the capitalist economic system, foundations can also affect change in the economic system through their investment decisions that leverage large financial endowments. Foundations can use the power of their endowments invested in the stock market to promote justice by aligning their investment strategies with their foundation's mission and values, often referred to as mission-related investment. To align financial and social returns, in 2021 the Ford Foundation announced their decision to end investments in fossil fuels and instead invest in alternative and renewable energy opportunities (Ford Foundation, 2021).

Discussion: An Integrated Framework

Contrary to philanthropic efforts which seek to address the immediate symptoms of social and environmental issues (what is often described as charity), justice philanthropy seeks to address the 'drivers of the situation' by pursuing long-term structural changes in economic and political systems that perpetuate inequality, focusing on the reallocation of political and economic power. The pursuit of these societal outcomes involves changes in foundations' internal practices and their relationships with constituent communities and deploying diverse philanthropic tools. However, we have little empirical evidence to support the expectations that changes in foundation practices and relationships will lead to a redistribution of foundation resources and ultimately impact community outcomes.

While the theory of representative bureaucracy suggests relationships between representation by people of color and positive policy outcomes for communities of color, their relationships remain largely untested in institutional philanthropy. There is also limited research on the relationship between community relationships, such as participatory grantmaking, and distributional outcomes. In a study of community input into foundation grant making, McGinnis Johnson (2016) found that while community boards are more likely to make grants to less professionalized organizations, they are also more likely to fund older organizations, suggesting fewer differences in grant making between community and traditional boards than expected. Similarly, important questions remain about the distributional consequences of financial tools, such as program-related investments, and the effects of such market-based tools on advocacy and empowerment efforts (Berry, 2016; Eikenberry & Mirabella, 2018). And, as we noted earlier, critics have long questioned whose interests foundations are representing when they engage in the policy process.

Figure 2. An Integrated Framework of Justice Philanthropy



Part of the challenge facing practice and research is understanding how these practices connect and the causal mechanisms by which they lead to change. As we illustrated in Figure 1, the numerous terms in use currently exist as a laundry list; however, our review suggests many points of connection and interaction. Based on our review of the concepts, we offer an integrated framework of justice philanthropy as illustrated in Figure 2. In this figure, we posit interactions between foundation practices, community relationships, and societal impact. The posited relationships are illustrative and not exhaustive. For the purposes of proposing a framework, we also identify potential mechanisms that may offer conceptual insights into the processes that connect internal practices and community relationships with equitable and just outcomes. Below we identify questions about the interactions between practices, the processes that connect practice and outcomes, and the potentials for reshaping the field of institutional philanthropy.

First, our review of these diverse concepts suggests that justice philanthropy involves changes in both the internal operations of the foundation and its relationships with the 'community,' which includes both grantees and residents. While some foundations may pursue internal changes and others may change their relationships with communities, we posit that both are necessary to advance equitable and just outcomes.

For example, building relationships in marginalized communities requires cultural competency and integrity, which are reflected in organizational practices (Dean-Coffey et al., 2014), implying that a diverse staff is necessary for constituent participation to be successful. Similarly, as we raised in our discussion of advocacy as a tool for systemic change, unless foundation policy efforts are accompanied by constituent participation, it risks reinforcing the elite interests of foundations. Theoretically, important questions arise about which practices are self-reinforcing, such that the presence of one strengthens the effect of the other, statistically described as a moderating relationship. Or are these mediating relationships, where by one practice affects change in community through another? For example, does staff representation lead to more flexible grant making? The direction and interaction of these relationships requires further exploration, theorizing, and testing in order to guide practice.

Second, our review raises important questions about the processes by which action leads to redistribution of resources and system change that benefits marginalized communities. In the center of Figure 2, we illustrate several possible mechanisms that emerged from our review. There is a growing multidisciplinary body of research that describes the interactive processes by which diversity and inclusion may support more equitable outcomes for individuals in small groups and organizations (Bernstein et al., 2020). However, less is known about how such organizational practices lead to equitable and just outcomes for organizational 'outsiders'—marginalized residents and communities. Groeneveld and Meier (2021) drew upon social identity theory to posit that compositional representation might lead to positive outcomes for marginalized communities through identification directly through one's own identity as a member of a marginalized group and indirectly through interaction with a co-worker. Similarly, research from multiple disciplines, including political science and public administration, has found that employee and public participation leads to greater awareness and efficacy (McDonnell, 2020; Pateman, 1970). Based on studies of individual giving, we assume that awareness of need and efficacy lead to a greater distribution of resources to marginalized communities (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011). However, additional conceptualization is needed to understand these processes in foundations, particularly given their reliance upon elite donors. Scully and colleagues (2018) connected concepts of ally formation from critical race theory and social movement theory to make sense of how elites use their experiences as levers of change for marginalized groups. The careful development and application of theory to unpack these processes has the potential to advance practice.

Third, concern exists that despite language in support of racial justice, there will be few lasting changes in foundation practices (Beer et al., 2021; Mason, 2020). Change is hard and not all organizational change efforts are successful. It is quite possible that in some foundations the language of change may not match implementation. In some foundations, the language of racial justice may be easy to adopt but practices difficult to change. In other cases, particularly in public foundations that are reliant upon a broad pool of donors, racial justice may be controversial and it may be more risky for foundations to talk about racial justice than quietly adopt new practices. In such cases they may avoid the language and adopt practices that remain invisible to the broader public, including donors. Such disconnects between language and practice may further erode the legitimacy of institutional philanthropy and threaten the potential of justice philanthropy. Theories of organizational change (Greenwood & Hinings, 1996) and decoupling (Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2017) may provide some theoretical insights into why and when foundations change language and practice.

Finally, while individual foundations may move towards adopting the values and practices of justice philanthropy, questions remain about whether and how the *field* of institutional philanthropy will shift. Philanthropic support organizations, such as CFLeads, Giving Compass, Council on Foundations, Resources Racial Justice Fund, and the Open Society Foundations (to name just a few) are supporting a variety of educational opportunities and peer networks to support foundations' DEIJ efforts. Many of these efforts predate the racial justice movement of 2020. However, we have limited understanding of to what extent such top-down efforts are successful and which models of field support are effective. Similarly, there is evidence that foundations are increasingly acting together to advance social justice efforts. Haddad and Reckow (2018) observed that newer private foundations engaged in innovative practices such as advocacy philanthropy can impact older funders in adopting similar practices as older foundations aim to maintain relevancy and legitimacy. Those spillover effects from newer to older organizations have the potential to change institutional logics and, thus, magnify system change efforts. The concepts of institutional entrepreneurship and institutional reform, emerging from neo-institutional theory, often overlapping with social movement theory, may provide insights to help scholars and field leaders understand the process of field change.

Like the blind men touching the elephant, our efforts to unpack justice philanthropy led us to descriptions of heterogeneous values and practices. If viewed individually, we might continue to view the elephant in many ways and never realize the full potential of the whole. For practice, this loss of 'whole' risks the loss of identity of the movement towards justice, an inability to monitor how far we've come, and a means for broad participation in the movement. We also believe that an integrated framework provides a path forward to address existing critiques of philanthropy. While much of the study of equity has occurred outside of philanthropy, the justice philanthropy movement offers scholars the opportunity to better understand the complex relationships between foundation practice and outcomes, and why and when practice impacts individuals, organizations, and communities. Our description of an integrated framework may seem simplistic and ignore the complexities and challenges of shifting institutional philanthropy. This is not offered as a testable or complete model. Instead, we challenge scholars and practitioners to extend this framework to advance our understanding of how and when institutional philanthropy advances racial justice.

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Appendix. Common Terms Used to Describe Philanthropy Aiming for Structural Changes in the Institutions that Perpetuate Inequality

Terms in Use	Terms Introduced in Publication (listed chronologically)	Selected Definitions
Social Change Philanthropy	1990	1) is critical of the inequalities generated by capitalism; 2) seeks fundamental change and system transformation rather than amelioration of the symptoms of the system's malfunctioning; 3) concerns itself with power—who has it, how you get if you don't have it, and the connection between power and the democratic system, and how it can be equitably distributed; 4) relies upon a full range of policy tools including research and advocacy (Rabinowitz, 1990). Supports those who have been marginalized to take leadership in addressing systemic change (Urschel, 2005).
Social Movement Philanthropy	1995	1) funding of social movements and community organizing—form of active citizenship—to bring marginalized people together to address their own shared problems and have a say in important decisions that affect their lives; 2) models a democratic system based on collective ownership and control of resources, an equitable distribution of power and wealth; and freedom from oppressions of race, class, gender and sexual orientation through its own internal structure and grant making process (Ostrander, 1995, p. 199).
Indigenous Philanthropy	2002	From a development perspective, recognizes that the primary investors in society must come from within through participatory, citizen-led initiatives that strengthen civil society (Singh, 2002). Interpreted through a South African cultural context and the 'ubuntu' philosophy, "envisages an actualization of one's humanity through the act of giving in which the giver and recipient are mutual bearers of humanity…based on reciprocity and cooperation, they cast givers as equal in standing to recipients" (Mottiar & Ngcoya, 2016).
Social Justice Philanthropy	2003	"the practice of making contributions to nonprofit organizations that work for structural change and increase the opportunity of those who are less well-off politically, economically and socially" (Hunsaker & Hanzl, 2003, p. 6). "…gives voice to those who suffer" (Nickel & Eikenberry, 2009, p. 984).

Terms in Use	Terms Introduced in Publication (listed chronologically)	Selected Definitions
		Grant making for progressive social reform that seeks structural change and redistributes social, political, and economic power (Eikenberry & Mirabella, 2018).
Community Philanthropy	2004	The act of individual citizens and local institutions contributing money or goods, time and skills, to promote the well-being of local people and communities (European Foundation Centre, 2004). A form of, and a force for, locally driven development that strengthens community capacity and voice, builds trust, and most importantly, taps into and builds on local resources (Hodgson, 2016, 2020), which are pooled together to build and sustain a strong community (Doan, 2019).
Philanthropic Activism	2005	Collective form of philanthropic effort to organize funders and foundation officials and/or coordinate grant making practices in support of a specific movement and/or political agenda (Faber & McCarthy, 2005).
Social Justice Funding	2005	"Philanthropic support for advancing progressive social change, that is the redistribution of power and resources (economic, social, cultural, and/or political) in a more egalitarian manner" (Ostrander et al., 2005, p. 33).
Horizontal Philanthropy or Philanthropy of Community	2005	"help among and between the poor" that "reflects principles of altruism, reciprocity and co-operation" through "material exchanges—food, money and clothes" and nonmaterial exchanges "such as knowledge, physical/manual support and moral/emotional support" (Wilkinson-Maposa et al., 2005, p. 7)
Grassroots Philanthropy	2011	"… building the independent capacities of a broad base of citizens to engage with each other and take collective action…directed by people's own interpretations of root causes and the strategies that are required to address them" (Edwards, 2011, p. 481). "…allows ordinary people to self-organize and take their destiny into their own hands; and to develop the skills necessary for participation in the public sphere" (Atibil, 2014, p. 468).

Terms in Use	Terms Introduced in Publication (listed chronologically)	Selected Definitions
Participatory Grantmaking /Philanthropy	2018	Engages the community in the decision making of the grant maker. It ranges on a continuum from providing input into the needs of the community to seeking input on strategy and goals to ceding grantmaking cedes decision-making power about funding—including the strategy and criteria behind those decisions—to the very communities that funders aim to serve (Gibson, 2018).
Transformative Philanthropy	2018	Brings about long-term, lasting, and structural results in which the outcomes and impacts exceed the value of the initial gifts or investments (Goeke, 2021; Nickel, 2018).
Reparations Philanthropy	2018	seeks "…to fund in communities most harmed through historic extraction, and explicitly fund Black and Indigenous organizations driving actual reparations campaigns. But this alone is insufficient. We also invest in communities to reorient their relationship to capital, control their own assets and break dependence from the dominant, extractive economy" (Tanaka, 2018, n.p.).
Radical Philanthropy	2019	Targets the structures that perpetuate inequality and poverty, recognizes the centrality of the cumulative and interconnecting forces of free-market capitalism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and imperialism in making and maintaining global poverty, recognizes that poverty has other cross-cutting dimensions, including the intersectionality of race, class, and gender; seek to transform the institutions of the current economic system (Herro & Obeng-Odoom, 2019).
Trust-Based Philanthropy	2021	Addresses the inherent power imbalances between funders, nonprofits, and the communities they serve through multi-year unrestricted giving, streamlined applications and reporting, and relationships based on transparency, dialogue, and mutual learning (Hunnik et al., 2021).