GIVING BLACK BOSTON

An Intimate Portrait of Black Stewardship in Boston

APRIL 2015
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

2   Letter from NEBiP President Bithiah Carter  
3   Executive Summary  
4   Rooted in Civics: Boston’s Black Past  
6   The Diversity of Black Donors in Boston  
   Demographic Diversity  
   Donor Profiles: Cornerstone, Kinship, Sanctified  
   Overall Giving Behaviors  
12  Top Issues Facing Black Communities in Boston  
14  Black Donor Needs  
17  Boston’s Unique Advantage  
   Boston is Easy to Meet but Hard to Know  
   A Black Agenda  
   Broader Recommendations  
22  About the Author: Ange-Marie Hancock, PhD  
22  Appendix 1: Resources for Further Reading  
23  Appendix 2: Methodology  
24  Acknowledgements
Dear Friends and Colleagues,

New England’s Black community is like no other. Its rich heritage is entangled in the intrigue and earliest history of the United States. Whether through immigration, internal migration, slavery, or servitude, we landed here with purpose, and have been philanthropic from the start. At New England Blacks in Philanthropy (NEBiP), where our mission is to inform, reform and transform philanthropic giving in the Black community, we embarked on an evidence-based approach to understanding the motivations, desires and patterns of Black philanthropy. We are now pleased to present to you the results of our first study, Giving Black: Boston.

Our report makes several recommendations for meeting the needs of Black donors who, in the opinion of many, have not been fully tapped as a philanthropic resource. Although in the past we have served as an affinity group for grant makers, our research suggests that our future lies in serving the full Black philanthropic community. Our study focuses on self-identified Black donors. This is not a study of the general Black community, but rather how Blacks in Boston give philanthropically.

NEBiP is deeply grateful for the work of Commonwealth of Massachusetts Secretary of Labor Ronald Walker, Adina Astor, and our friends at Next Street Financial, LLC, who assisted us in creating our strategic framework that moved us beyond the professional association network. As NEBiP expands its services as a convener, researcher, and advisor, we invite you to join us in meeting the philanthropic needs of the community.

Now is the time to strengthen the focus on Black philanthropy in Boston and other cities in New England. We hasten to acknowledge the wide variety of efforts already underway in this regard. Entities like Roxbury Trust, Grove Hall Trust, and the Black Philanthropy Fund are becoming creative forces in the local Black philanthropic community. And while they are all intended to benefit individuals and organizations working to transform and empower the Black community, lingering questions about motivations, desires, and patterns persist. We believe that our Giving Black: Boston report provides important baseline answers, and will allow us to make significant progress in addressing these issues.

We thank all the participants of the research -- 300 people gave of their time, talent and treasure to engage and support this effort. Thank you Ify Mora, from the Barr Foundation, for the seed funding and envisioning a germ of an idea. Thank you Bridgit Brown for your hours and hours of work on this project. Most of all, we thank Dr. Ange-Marie Hancock of the University of Southern California, a partner and colleague who authored this report and helped us to see that we are clearly on the right path, and Dr. Alandra Washington of the W.K. Kellogg Foundation for her support of this transformational work.

Sincerely,
Bithiah Carter,
President, NEBiP

WHAT IS A 21ST CENTURY APPROACH TO THE REALITY OF BLACK PHILANTHROPY?

Giving Black: Boston identifies two calls for action by the Black philanthropic community and its allies.

1. Individual Black donors seeking to develop a particular strategy for their giving can compare their own personal commitments with answers to three key questions, found on page 13.

2. Boston collectively needs a virtual Black public square, a “Black Boston Common,” that can meet multiple needs of donors, institutional funders, non-profit organizations and advocates for innovative solutions to top issues facing Black communities in Boston. That public square should create multi-sector “epistemic communities” to collectively learn and comprehensively understand the complexities of giving in a way that generates the power to move solutions forward. NEBiP looks forward to working with you, the reader, to make this vision a reality.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY
SEPARATING THE MYTHS FROM THE REALITIES OF BLACK PHILANTHROPY

Over the past three decades, Black philanthropy has slowly crept into the social consciousness of American philanthropy. Nationally, Emmett Carson, CEO of Silicon Valley Community Foundation, helped usher in new thoughts about philanthropy to debunk the myth of the one-dimensional philanthropist (1993). Locally, Ron Ancrum’s research, The Black Giving Survey, (2000) served as one of the first efforts to understand patterns and motivations of Black philanthropy in Boston. More recently, Our Public Spirit, a collaborative research study funded by the Kellogg Foundation in 2007, sought to explore the nuances of philanthropy in Boston among women of Black and Chinese American descent, respectively.

Now, Giving Black: Boston presents for the first time a wide-ranging, comprehensive exploration of Black philanthropic giving across income level, profession, and ethnic background, as well as the intended sector for giving. We know from extensive prior research listed above that Blacks are philanthropic, but deeper questions persist: WHO is making financial donations? WHAT organizations or causes do they fund? HOW do they make decisions about their giving? The three composite donor profiles described in Giving Black: Boston (Cornerstone, Kinship, and Sanctified) are foundational in NEBiP’s efforts to begin to answer those questions, which will in turn help us in establishing better partnerships to create a balanced, holistic approach to funding successful, impactful endeavors for not just Black communities, but for all communities.

The economic diversity of the Black community in Boston is but one of the significant factors in examining the future of civic life in New England. Approximately 26% of the survey respondents earn less than the 2013 median household income for the Boston metropolitan area ($72,907). However, 41% of respondents reported an annual household income more than twice the median (approximately $146,000). While the latter might not “feel” rich, given their family and other financial obligations, this significant percentage, when combined with interview and focus group participants who are similarly situated, means that this study has data from 100 high income Blacks in Boston, a first of its kind. This attention to high income Blacks should not be interpreted as “overlooking” smaller-dollar donors – the power of crowdfunding continues to rise. However, this selection of individuals may be capable of larger donations in the long run, representing an untapped resource for funding. As well, younger donors may also transition into this category as educational commitments (professional school loans, children’s educational expenses) subside over time.

Further, Giving Black: Boston begins to shed light on the myths versus the realities of Black philanthropic giving. For example, although many of the respondents shared the stereotypical view that most Black philanthropy revolves around the church, we found that many (48%) neither attend nor give to church regularly. Among the types of donors determined to be consistent with the data, Cornerstone and Kinship donors account for approximately 55% of the sample variance, while Sanctified donors account for less than 25%. Black donors give to a wide variety of entities and for a healthy cross-section of purposes.

Another illuminating finding was the general perception of many respondents that their philanthropy is undervalued in terms of its potential impact. Numerous study participants expressed sincere interest in being more strategic about their giving, and were honest about the barriers they saw among their peers to leverage their giving for greater impact. While traditional social and civic organizations in the Black community have emphasized philanthropic giving in time, talent, and treasure, transition to a 21st century understanding of Black philanthropy has been difficult for Black community and mainstream philanthropic institutions alike due to the lack of requisite research and tracking of outcomes.

TRUE OR FALSE?

While a majority of Giving Black: Boston survey respondents do not attend church regularly, they believe Black churches are the primary recipients of Black charitable donations. Is most Black philanthropy directed to churches?

(Answer on page 10)
“Boston’s Unique”

- that was the repeated mantra of many Giving Black: Boston respondents. But what does this mean? And what does it have to do with the civic and philanthropic makeup of Boston?

Civically speaking, Boston’s Black community has long and entangled roots in the social and philanthropic fabric of the city – this is unique. Ever since the Massachusetts Legislature banned slavery in 1780, the Beacon Hill community of Boston became a safe haven for Blacks and even a stop on the historic Underground Railroad. Within this beloved safe haven a Black community took root and flourished in the city’s social and physical infrastructure. In 1798, Primus Hall, the son of the founder of Prince Hall Freemasonry, established a school for African American children in his Beacon Hill home. By extension, a group of residents belonging to a circle of worshippers formed a committee in 1805 to build a house of worship on their own and for their own. They relied on donations and the will of the circle to build the structure. In 1806, through generous donations and human will, Black Bostonians built the oldest Black church edifice in America, known today as the African Meeting House in which “the first-floor pews were reserved for all those benevolently disposed to the African…” Many of these first-floor pew seat holders saw their contribution to the meeting house as an investment in the cornerstones of the great American society conceived of at the time, where every man had a right to liberty and justice. The funds for both the school and the meetinghouse were secured through a Black philanthropic effort that helped to attract newcomers to the city.

As Boston’s Black community converged around the African Meeting House, more newcomers like the outspoken anti-slavery activist, writer and entrepreneur David Walker arrived. Born a free Black man in Wilmington, North Carolina, Walker moved to Boston in 1825 and became immersed in the social activities of the community. He was a merchant and a member of the Prince Hall organization of Freemasonry. In 1829, he penned one of the most scathing and provocative critiques against slavery of the time, David Walker’s Appeal … to the Coloured Citizens of the World. As an entrepreneur, Walker gave freely of his time, talent and treasure to the community during his short tenure in the city. Walker was widely known for his kinship with various members of Boston’s Black community despite his Southern roots.
Maria Miller Stewart, a protégé of Walker, was kindly disposed to the Black experience, too. Born in Hartford, Connecticut in 1832, Stewart was the first American woman to speak to an integrated audience of Black and white men and women in the United States. She advocated for women’s rights and believed that God had a special covenant with Black people. She spoke from the pulpit of the African Meeting House and was met with unkind regards by Black ministers who disagreed with her position as a woman and a public intellectual. Many of her articles were published in The Liberator, one of the nation’s first anti-slavery newspapers. She eventually left Boston, but her work and contributions continued. Each year, in fact, on December 17, the Episcopal Church of the United States venerates Miller as a Saint. She was a sanctified giver.

Migration from points south was not the only feature of Black Bostonians nearly 200 years ago. Sailing ships from Cape Verde landed in New Bedford, carrying sailors and indentured servants from the archipelago off of Atlantic coast of Africa. Abolitionist Frederick Douglass also began his life as a free man in New Bedford after escaping slavery in 1838. Like Walker and Miller, Douglass contributed to the common goal of the Black community then -- the abolition of slavery. After rising to become a world famous abolitionist, Douglass became, among other things, US Ambassador to a free and independent Haiti and the first African American to be nominated for Vice President of the United States.

Other historic Black leaders also emerged out of Boston’s social fabric. Born in Great Barrington, scholar, activist and co-founder of the NAACP, W.E.B. Du Bois was the first Black person to receive a PhD from Harvard, awarded in 1895. Son of West Indian immigrants Malcolm X spent his teenaged years in Boston’s Roxbury neighborhood during World War II. Southern-born Martin Luther King, Jr., studied at Boston University under the great Black liberation theologian Howard Thurman, the first Black Chaplin of Marsh Chapel. Like their ancestors, Giving Black: Boston’s study participants hailed from all over the Boston metropolitan area and reflected this wide diversity of origin and education. What bonds these diverse respondents with these historic figures is their participation in the civic and philanthropic landscape in Boston.
THE DIVERSITY OF BLACK DONORS IN BOSTON

The roots of Boston’s Black community are clearly deep and entwined with the civic and philanthropic roots of the city. Giving Black: Boston’s participants mirrored the diversity of the Black community in Boston. The tables below illustrate the tremendous ethnic, economic, educational, and gender diversity of the Giving Black: Boston study participants. This ethnic diversity is higher than in several national studies. The respondents to the survey mirror the relatively higher levels of education among Bostonians despite enumerated concerns about educational access and equity for the Black community. Interview and focus group respondents who were younger and closer to having just completed their education or those with young children all indicated education expenses (their own student loans, children’s tuition or extracurricular expenses) were time limited but non-negotiable expenditures as a limitation on their charitable giving. In the interviews and focus groups, many agreed that the needs of both immediate and extended families also limit their ability to give more at this time, something discussed in greater depth later in this section.

Among Survey Participants:

ETHNIC DIVERSITY
- African American
- Caribbean / West Indian
- Mixed Race
- African
- Afro-Latino

EDUCATIONAL DIVERSITY
- High School Diploma (HS)
- Associate Degree (AA)
- Bachelor’s Degree (BA)
- Master’s Degree (MA; MBA; etc.)
- Terminal Professional Degree (PhD, JD, MD)

ECONOMIC DIVERSITY
- Less than $39,999
- $40,000 - $79,999
- $80,000 - $119,999
- $120,000 - $159,999
- $160,000 - $199,999
- $200,000 - $249,999
- More than $250,000
DONOR PROFILES

In addition to these traditional forms of diversity, respondents live primarily in “Mostly White” neighborhoods (39%), followed by “Mostly Black” (32%) and “Mixed/No Majority” neighborhoods in and around the city of Boston. Survey respondents in particular hailed from all over the greater Boston area, with 37% from the city of Boston and 62% from a wide variety of surrounding areas, as the below dot map illustrates.

GENDER DIVERSITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION OF RESPONDENTS

- City of Boston: 37%
- Surrounding Cities: 63%

FACTOID

80% of survey respondents reported that they spend an average of 31% of their discretionary income to support extended family members or friends in need. This represents both the most frequent expense among survey respondents and the highest percentage spent on any category, including donations/tithes to churches.
From this rich data pool, three Black donor “types” or orientations emerged as helpful tools for understanding the wide diversity within the Black community in Boston. Each orientation is supported by strong trends in all of the data and they are discussed here in order of their relative explanatory value among the data. Together the three composite profiles account for more than 75% of the variation among participants. For more information on the principal components analysis and other methodologies used, please see Appendix Two.

The Cornerstone Donor

Cornerstone donors are motivated to give to causes they believe will support the gradual improvement of society. While cornerstone donors supported causes like education as part of their giving, several in interviews and focus groups noted the importance of the arts in their civic and philanthropic work. Though there have been concerns about engaging younger professionals in the arts overall – for example, the Wallace Foundation’s study of four arts organizations in the Boston (2011) – our study found consistent interest among all three generations of Black donors interviewed – Millennials, Generation X, and Baby Boomers. Giving Black: Boston, however, focused not on participation in arts programs, but on charitable involvement with such programs – board membership, financial support, pro bono services offered in support of such organizations, etc. While these donors supported the arts, they did so in ways that reflected their unique interests rather than engaging in the same behaviors. For example, say, Former Governor of Massachusetts Deval Patrick and Bennie Wiley each talked about art, but one did so as a budding collector and patron of up and coming artists, while the other talked about having served as a board member of the Boston Children’s Museum, which provides arts activities for children. Essence talked about her love of dance and its potential as a path to opportunity for young people in underserved communities as one reason for joining the board of a nonprofit, while Aziza focused on the way in which the arts can serve as a corrective for the misrepresentations of Blacks in mainstream society. Though none of these respondents listed artistic equity as one of the top issues facing the Black community (perhaps unsurprisingly), they did not let that deter them from pursuing their philanthropic interests as part of an overall portfolio of civic activities. For more on the top issues facing Black communities in Boston, please see page (xx; insert after layout).

Donors are more likely to engage in cornerstone giving as their educations and incomes rise. Those currently in this category are less likely to live in predominantly Black or people of color neighborhoods. One particular need for cornerstone donors is proper stewardship by organizations seeking their support, a finding covered in the Broader Recommendations section.

The Kinship Donor

Some donors tie their giving directly to the particular needs of the Black community. Kinship Donors’ orientation is frequently driven by their belief that their personal outcomes are bound up with the broader fate of the Black community in general, a concept former Harvard professor Michael Dawson calls “linked fate.” It is important to note that kinship givers also have higher levels of education, comparatively speaking, but neighborhood composition and income are far less important in this particular donor profile.
Kinship donors were more likely to have very strong opinions about where their donations should be directed, compared to the overall study population. As the table below of the survey population illustrates, while 55% of respondents think it is “extremely” or “very” important that their donations be directed exclusively to organizations serving the Black community, a nontrivial 36% state that it is neither important nor unimportant. Moreover, in response to a separate question these same respondents have a relatively weak sense of “linked fate” with the broader Black community (45% contend that what happens to their fellow Blacks only “somewhat” affects them).

The Sanctified Donor

For centuries independent Black churches and denominations in the United States have been the only organization truly dedicated to the uplift of Black Americans. Survey respondents overwhelmingly (74%) believe that predominantly Black churches generate the most financial donations in Boston. Interestingly, 48% of survey respondents do not attend a religious institution regularly. The 52% who do attend some type of church regularly, whose giving isn’t already explained by Cornerstone or Kinship donors, can be potentially classified as Sanctified Donors. Among survey respondents, sanctified donors are almost exclusively driven by their religiosity – their regular participation in religious services. It helps explain the origins of their giving as well as their decision rules for future giving. Interview and focus group participants also shared the role that faith plays in their giving. Marie discussed how she acquired her focus on poverty through the Catholic Church’s emphasis on charity for the poor when she was a child in Dorchester. Malik explained that he carries small bills with him everywhere because his Muslim faith requires him to give to the poor whenever he is asked. Karl renewed his participation in the Catholic Church following the birth of his children, whom he wanted to raise Catholic. While all of the Sanctified Donors are motivated by their faith to give, they again employ a variety of strategies. For Marie, the path included a prominent position as the first Haitian American member of Massachusetts’ state legislature. Karl gives his time as well as his money at mass each week. This strategic variety is important to a comprehensive understanding of Black giving in Boston, even though this donor orientation was the smallest of the significant principal components in the analysis.
Overall Giving Behavior

Because this is snapshot (one-time) data, it cannot tell us whether sanctified or cornerstone strategies are either shrinking or growing among Black donors. It provides instead rich baseline data from which Black philanthropy can be tracked going forward. Two tables below illustrate a broad diversity of interests in giving. However, the percentage of discretionary income allocated to each sector varied significantly. For example, while similar numbers of respondents gave to churches and educational efforts, the average percentage of discretionary income allocated to each varied—25% for the church versus 17% for educational organizations. Indeed, direct service agencies (like women’s shelters or health clinics), educational institutions, and the arts were all closely ranked in terms of how much discretionary income was allocated to each by those who gave (18%, 17%, and 16%, respectively), followed by advocacy (e.g., for an anti-police brutality campaign) and campaign donations (tied at 13%). However, advocacy and electoral contributions vary markedly in terms of how many people chose to allocate any of their disposable income in either fashion (77 versus 136). We suspect, however, the proximity of the survey’s release to Boston’s recent mayoral election, may have skewed the number of donors to electoral campaigns, so interpretations of need between categories must be placed in context.

The three donor orientations and the overall donor behaviors documented here provide food for thought to current Black donors seeking to craft a strategy for their giving in the future. The categories of giving help to identify areas that receive comparatively lower percentages of disposable dollars, reflecting areas where the need might be greater as well. As donors review these types, they can reflect upon which description might best fit their personal priorities.

Number of People Who Gave Any Amount in 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Church or Religious Institution</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Direct Service Agencies (e.g., women’s shelter or health clinic)</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Electoral Campaigns (e.g., mayoral or senate elections)</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Extended Family Members / Friends in Need</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E Advocacy or Policy Research (e.g., an anti-police brutality campaign)</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F Educational Institutions (e.g., donations to Alma Mater, Scholarship Funds)</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G Arts &amp; Culture (e.g., art museums, Boston symphony, etc.)</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average Percentage of Disposable Income Dollars Allocated in 2014 to:

A Church / Religious Institutions
B Direct Service Agencies (e.g., women’s shelter or health clinic)
C Electoral Campaigns (e.g., mayoral or senate elections)
D Extended Family Members / Friends in Need
E Advocacy or Policy Research (e.g., an anti-police brutality campaign)
F Educational Institutions (e.g., donations to Alma Mater, Scholarship Funds)
G Arts & Culture (e.g., art museums, Boston symphony, etc.)
Donors seeking to develop a particular strategy for their giving can compare their own personal commitments with answers to three questions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUESTION</th>
<th>CORNERSTONE</th>
<th>KINSHIP</th>
<th>SANCTIFIED</th>
<th>OTHER?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What motivates your desire to give money?</td>
<td>General betterment of society</td>
<td>Empowering the Black Community (or a subset of the Black Community)</td>
<td>Living out my faith</td>
<td>Creating a personal legacy; teaching my children it’s important; etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would you prefer to develop expertise in a single sector (e.g. the arts or health) or would you prefer to give to multiple sectors?</td>
<td>One sector (two if part of a couple), multiple organizations in that sector</td>
<td>One community, multiple sectors to help that community</td>
<td>Give to a trusted religious institution for their use as they see fit.</td>
<td>Children’s school or sports team fundraising; Alma mater only, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is it important that donating your time get factored into how much money you can give?</td>
<td>Yes - I am getting to the point where my time is more precious than my money.</td>
<td>My time and money are equally valuable - whatever the community needs, I’m in.</td>
<td>I do what is asked of me by the guidelines of my faith and/or religious institution.</td>
<td>My time is given instead of my money at this point in my life</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although kinship donors were the only donors who explicitly focused on the top issues facing Black communities in Boston, everyone had a clear response when asked to list the top concerns. We turn next to understanding the needs of Blacks in Boston and where philanthropy — individual or institutional — can play a role in meeting the needs of donors and the broader community alike.

**Identifiable Need**

Intentional efforts to leverage power by building smart coalitions of Black donors, organizations, institutional funders and policy practitioners into issue-based epistemic communities.
While Boston’s Black community features those who are new to the area and those with multi-generational histories, the 300 participants in our study agreed that familiar issues like economic and educational equity are the most pressing for the Black community. The online survey asked respondents to rank-order issue categories facing Black Bostonians in order of their importance with the following results:

**MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES FACING THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN BOSTON**

1. **ECONOMIC EQUITY**
   - Livable Wages, Eradicating Poverty, Affordable Housing

2. **EDUCATIONAL EQUITY**
   - Closing the Achievement Gap, Ending the School to Prison Pipeline

3-4 (TIE) **HEALTH EQUITY**
   - Access to Care, Parity in Research Funding

5. **ENVIRONMENTAL EQUITY**
   - Protecting Health through Toxic Waste Regulation, Equal Access to “Green” Jobs

6. **ARTS EQUITY**
   - Support for Black Culture and Arts, Programs for Black in the Arts

7. **GLBTQ EQUITY**
   - Gay and Lesbian Rights

8. **OTHER**

An open answer question asked of all 300+ respondents (survey, focus group, and in-depth interview participants) reflects a similar consensus about the types of issues that require attention for the Black community to thrive in Boston.

While the summary data flips the two top categories – education becomes the most frequently mentioned issue, with economic issues second – the top three (economic equity, educational equity and health equity) remain the same. However, the most important fourth issue, shifts to crime, violence, and/or criminal justice reform once all of the data is considered. The survey period began several months before the deaths of Michael Brown and Eric Garner and the meteoric rise of #BlackLivesMatter in public consciousness. The need for attention to police brutality and profiling was also a topic of discussion in one of the focus groups that occurred after the summer protests in Ferguson and elsewhere in the United States. How those events are connected to Boston is discussed later in this section.

Focus group and interview respondents with lifelong histories in Boston and those who arrived as adults agreed that these contemporary issue rankings are remarkably consistent with issues that have historically afflicted Boston’s Black community and other economically disadvantaged groups of color. They also agreed that there was no one epistemic community with the power to move the needle on these issues once and for all. An epistemic community is a like-minded network of concerned professionals whose authoritative claim to consensual knowledge provides them with a unique source of power in decision-making contexts.

GIVING BLACK: BOSTON SOUGHT TO DIVE DEEPER TO DISCOVER THE ANSWERS TO MORE PRESSING QUESTIONS:
Many would stop here and focus on the commonalities in order a particular strategy moving forward. However, stopping the analysis here to simply acknowledge that these issues have certain kinds of “universality” can lead to complacency in continuing an ongoing strategy, or justifying a “colorblind” strategy in order to avoid difficult conversations about the connections between race and poverty inside and outside the Black community.

Among the focus groups and interview respondents, there were mixed opinions about the effectiveness of current solutions and the need for new solutions that tie directly to the civic fabric of Boston. One focus group participant answered the funding question bluntly: Boston is not “resource poor.” The issue of being “resource poor” was reflected in one consistent challenge that faces all sectors, including nonprofit organizations focused on members of the Black community, their funders, and Black donors seeking out effective organizations: the lack of a clear communications network or clearinghouse of curated information about the innovative and effective organizations that are capable of addressing the needs reflected in the discussion of the issues.

Although online vetting via GuideStar and Charity Navigator provide some information based on IRS 990’s, most supporters of this recommendation argued that a) they are seeking curation – that is, some amount of Black community relevant information and effectiveness evidence, and b) this service should be Boston-specific. Two of three donor focus groups featured broad support for this exact idea in principle.

Identifiable Need
Connecting effective and innovative organizations with donors who have both access to significant resources and high standards for effectiveness through a virtual, curated clearinghouse featuring organizations that attend to the needs of Black residents of Boston in each of the top categories identified as pressing issues, providing donors with a “one-stop shop” of information and vetting services.

ARE THESE HISTORICAL CONTINUITIES IN THE TOP ISSUES CATEGORY AS A RESULT OF UNDERFUNDING OF KNOWN EFFECTIVE SOLUTIONS?

DO THESE HISTORICAL CONTINUITIES REFLECT THE NEED FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT INTO NEW SOLUTIONS?

WHAT IS THE PHILANTHROPIC CALL TO ACTION TO ADDRESS THESE ISSUES?
The finding that Boston needs multi-sector epistemic communities for each of the top four issues (Educational Equity, Economic Equity, Health Equity and Criminal Justice/Public Safety Reform) facing the Black community is connected to two distinct concerns raised across all elements of the data regarding the needs of donors. One barrier is poor donor stewardship. One interview participant described the experience of making a leadership gift to her husband’s alma mater, only to receive a solicitation in the mail the following year asking for just $25. In addition to poor stewardship, younger donors who give at lower levels right now also described the urge to be strategic so that they can increase their giving once their familial and career start-up obligations lessen and they enter their peak earning years. However they expressed a need to learn more about being strategic donors. For both sets of donors, proper stewardship is a key need.

**Identifiable Need**

**Proper stewardship and education regarding the collective giving habits of Black donors.**

Moreover, *Giving Black: Boston* participants ranked several priorities clearly based on the survey, focus group, and interview results. As noted Black donors in Boston are seeking curated information about the top issues facing the Black community. One important element of that information concerns effective organizations that are attacking the issues at hand.

Focus group respondents and interview subjects tended to agree that Boston is like any other locality – there are organizations that have a great track record of effectiveness, and organizations that do not. Like many other contemporary donors, Black donors reported needing two types of information regarding organizations in the Boston landscape in order to better pool their resources and reward success rather than facilitate failure.

1. They wanted information about innovative strategies used by organizations that were actually effective in moving the needle on the top four issues.

2. They seek transformative evidence of success that goes beyond the typical reports of meals served, mammograms provided or students tutored.

**Identifiable Need**

**Curated information and reliable metrics to assess organizations’ potential impact.**

While this kind of evidence is important and part of the standard in philanthropy, non-profit organizations working in Black communities also face the challenge of deciding how precisely to respond when a relative paucity of dollars are accompanied by time-consuming demands for reporting.

Another important element of the donor needs discussion surrounds education. At the national level, charitable giving ranks relatively low among Blacks in terms of attention to improving knowledge and later increasing allocations to this spending bucket. In the *Giving Black: Boston* study, however, survey respondents and focus group participants in particular were very interested in increasing their knowledge about charitable giving.

**FACTOID**

One key advantage of establishing an epistemic community surrounding each topic includes the opportunity to collaboratively establish metrics that speak to Boston’s specific context and allow donors, funders, and non-profit organizations to agree upon consistently rigorous metrics that can transcend a single grant report and/or a single funding source.
I think there has to be an appreciation that significant resources have been poured into these neighborhoods over time. One of two things has to be true: either we funded initiatives that weren't effective - so we didn’t nail the methodology, we didn’t know exactly what to do...or we did some, or many, or all the right things, but not to the degree required to produce the change that we wanted to see...and so there’s a cumulative effect that we may experience in time, but we haven’t gotten there yet.

– anonymous philanthropist interview.
Donor education can include sessions that are both online and face-to-face kinds of efforts.

One focus group agreed that a webinar series regarding financial literacy and its connections to charitable giving with examples that target different levels of income would be helpful. A series of donor education workshops would provide tailored information that speaks to the full diversity of the Black community in Boston, including those who are younger, have new families, are first-generation college graduates, etc. The mere discussion of being more strategic actually convinced another focus group participant that she would like to spend 2015 becoming more strategic instead of using her previous “give, give, give” strategy somewhat indiscriminately.

**Identifiable Need**

Online videos or webinars with real-life donors explaining how they make funding decisions, craft budgets to meet their goals of increasing their philanthropy, or strategies they use to immerse themselves in a particular issue landscape.

**ITEMS THAT DONORS ARE INTERESTED IN LEARNING ABOUT:**

**CHARITABLE GIVING’S OVERALL PLACE IN GENERAL WEALTH MANAGEMENT**

In relation to retirement saving, paying for kids’ tuition, etc.

**DIFFERENT TYPES OF CHARITABLE GIVING**

Setting up a foundation, donor advised fund, or giving circle.

**CREATING A STRATEGIC PHILANTHROPIC PLAN**

Budgeting tips, reflection questions to decide what you value.
David Walker, Maria Stewart and Frederick Douglass all contributed to the history of Black public intellectuals in Boston, a tradition that continues today at the many educational institutions in the Boston area. One important civic organization that makes Boston unique today is The Partnership, a merger of two organizations founded in the 1970s to address the racial tensions following the integration of the Boston Public Schools. The Partnership is an organization whose mission is to develop professionals of color, increase their representation in Boston area businesses and institutions, enhance opportunities for advancement and influence, and extend the region’s economic competitiveness.

While The Partnership is not specifically focused on Blacks, the interview subjects and focus group participants who had gone through The Partnership’s leadership training described stronger connections to the Boston civic landscape than those who had not. For example, they understood both the general Boston civic and social landscape, including philanthropy’s role in supporting the Boston Symphony Orchestra, Mass General Hospital and the Red Sox Foundation, which harnesses the power of the “Red Sox Nation” to support children and families, and their personal role in leveraging such participation to increase attention to the needs of Black communities in Boston. Of course, one is more likely to give to organizations that make the ask, and alumni of The Partnership were more comfortable disclosing their own giving strategies and discussing the good, bad and ugly of the solicitations they received.

The Partnership is, of course, but one valuable social resource in Boston’s Black civic landscape. Boston’s unique group of “Black Brahmins” – wealthy black families with two centuries of civic engagement history – are still an active part of the community, including some 5th and 6th generation Bostonians. Civic engagement among working and middle-class members of the Black community was also well represented by interview and focus group participants who described their activities in institutions like the Roxbury Trust Fund, Freedom House, and the Black Ministerial Alliance. While most survey respondents had not donated to longstanding organizations like the Boston chapters of the NAACP or Urban League in the past year by a 2-to-1 margin, several study participants were willing to be the “younger members” of local chapters affiliated with well-known 20th century national civic organizations. Some of those organizations, like The Links (an all-female professional organization and giving circle) and Delta Sigma Theta sorority were repeatedly mentioned, as was active participation in predominantly Black-serving religious denominations like the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church.
BOSTON IS
EASY TO MEET BUT HARD TO KNOW

These long historical roots are both a benefit and a challenge for newer arrivals to Boston. In 2013, Commonwealth magazine documented the limited inroads people of color have made into the upper echelons of civic leadership. For those who arrived to go to college, came back after professional school or arrived as working adults, Boston presents some challenges in “finding one’s tribe.” Essence, who came to Boston after college and returned after law school, said, “I was really happy to move back to Boston as a grown up, and I have to say that, the lifestyle, the people, and the culture [were] not cold as I was led to expect. There was a bit of a weird, sort of, learning curve in that, I feel like Boston is a lot more parochial than other places. If you didn’t grow up here, if you don’t have a personal history, which stems from your family, etcetera, it can be a little tough to, sort of, break in.” In a similar vein, Rahsaan generated full agreement among his fellow focus group participants, noting, “When you look at cities like Chicago and Detroit and New York and DC, the power, the strength, the resilience, the capital of the Black community in those cities seems a little more viable and vibrant than it does here in Boston and I just feel like Black folks in Boston is [sic] just beat down.”

While native Bostonians were quick to defend their town, they also acknowledged the “ebb and flow” of how accommodating Boston is to newcomers. One Massachusetts native acknowledged the lure of living elsewhere, “...I’ve been really wrestling with this right now because I’m in the process of applying for my residency program and thinking about, ‘do I really want to completely, even though ironically I am from Massachusetts... It doesn’t feel very free here to me. It just really doesn’t. I don’t know. Especially in medicine too [Boston’s] like a healthcare mecca but it doesn’t feel very free here.” While this ambivalence is precisely the inspiration for civic organizations like The Partnership, the threat of a “brain drain” continues to represent an opportunity for important and sometimes challenging conversations about making sure even the Black civic and social landscape is accessible to everyone.

One of the challenges facing the Boston’s Black community are the opportunities for meaningful connection across a diverse array of identities. Giving Black: Boston participants collectively shared three ways in which the opportunities for meaningful civic connections are reduced. First, the vast diversity of the Black community in Boston is an incredible benefit to its overall civic fabric, but it also presents a challenge for activities like mayoral elections where consensus is necessary because numbers matter. Moreover the opportunity for building cohesive strength in the community also applies to civic strength more broadly, as Rahsaan noted in his response to another participant’s ambivalence about Boston: “I think because there are so many divisions within the Black community in Boston: Haitians, Jamaican, all of the West Indies and people from Africa...how do we get to that collective consciousness? What it means to be Black in Boston? What is my history of coming here for law school versus your history of growing up in a suburb of Boston versus [someone else’s] history of growing up in Boston and then somebody from the Caribbean and their experience?”

In an entirely separate focus group, Richard and Courtney agreed that there were bridges to be drawn across this divide despite the fact that Richard was born and raised in Boston and Courtney emigrated from Jamaica to Boston as an adult.

Identifiable Need
Meaningful opportunities to convene across different identities – Boston natives and transplants; those in the professional class and those workin in non-profit and social service agencies.
“[The challenges aren’t] endemic to Boston. It’s just, that’s the business we’re in, and we have to accept that, and be happy warriors to continue to fight this fight ‘cause it’s that important.”

– anonymous philanthropist interview
Another challenge mentioned in the focus groups and interviews is the paucity of the Black public sphere in Boston. While meaningful conversations are held annually on Martha’s Vineyard, for example, the media landscape has changed significantly in Boston, a situation that several focus group participants noted limits the ability of the Black community to connect to the local issues facing Bostonians. Survey respondents indicated that they use both “mainstream” and Black-oriented television, newspapers, and internet sites for their news, with the highest percentage using Black-oriented radio (55%). However recent consolidations in the Boston media market have limited the choice of local radio stations that would feature Boston-specific information that builds bonds within the Black community specifically. As one respondent put it, WBUR or WGBH might cover Black-specific stories, but they would not do it every day and would not answer the kinds of questions members of the Black community in Boston might have about the topic. Making sure to reach all of the Black community in Boston through smart usage of social media and other mass media channels is also a necessity to keep them informed about what is happening locally.

As the philanthropist quoted above illustrates, these issues are actually not unique to Boston. The final elements of the diversity within the Black community in Boston that need a special kind of attention will involve “difficult conversations.” Focus group participants and interview subjects both discussed tensions arising around the intersections of class and generation within the Boston’s Black community. In a variety of contexts respondents repeatedly alluded to generational tensions, including demands that younger generations “do it like we did,” and refusals to cede ground or provide a hand up to younger generational leaders on the rise. Respondents warned of repercussions in the wake of both Ferguson and the release of an ACLU report regarding the “stop and frisk” policies of the Boston police department, and their implications for Black donors. Courtney spoke specifically about the community he has lived and worked in since arriving from Jamaica at 18: “Young people...say to me, ‘Yo, you guys go to sleep well at night even though we live in hell’ basically. I think that we as philanthropists...there’s a crisis coming and I think the crisis is the rejection of [of us by those who are] 39 and younger.” Kim spoke of the pain surrounding the failed responses of many older power brokers in Boston’s Black community to a
compelling report about racial profiling: “One group that I teach law school students to teach are high school...I’m sure many of you know about the ACLU report, Black, Brown and Targeted: Who Gets Stopped by Boston Police... They were extremely hurt by our community’s response to it because they can’t escape this. And for them this is a really big issue...when we taught our high school students about this and talked about the report and looked at some of the articles pro and con in the [Boston] Globe and BPD’s response, they had a very, very different response than law students because they can’t escape it... they can’t escape their blackness, and where they are and how they get treated and they feel very disenfranchised about this issue in particular. And there were really powerful conversations about that report and how why are people, why isn’t the community upset about [it], for them, how we’re being treated.” While Boston has not recently had a “Ferguson” moment, it is clear that police practices are still an issue.

While Giving Black: Boston revealed that there is vast consensus about the issues facing Black communities in Boston, respondents are clear that there are comparatively few opportunities to have sustained, honest conversations about how to build the civic power necessary to address such issues once and for all. Based on these findings and other results presented in this report two broad, intertwined recommendations emerged:

Giving Black: Boston debunked the myths that all Black donors are kinship (primarily interested in Black causes) or sanctified (primarily interested in faith-based giving) donors. Moreover, in contrast to the persistent myth that Black communities are uniformly recipients and not donors, this study illustrated that Black donors have greater capacity to give than in decades past and should therefore play a key role in philanthropic leadership on such issues, beyond being a mere voice at the table. NEBiP looks forward to many future efforts and welcomes conversations throughout the region to build upon these findings and track outcomes.

**Identifiable Need**

**Meaningful cross-class, cross-generational conversations and coalitions within the Black community to create an actionable, comprehensive “Black agenda” for Boston.**

**RECOMMENDATIONS:**

1. The Black philanthropic community must expand its ability to give strategically by meeting the educational and stewardship needs of diverse Black donors. Empowering Black donors with strategies that will work for them to increase and leverage their giving is key to being counted rather than discounted.

2. Boston needs a “Black Public Square,” – whether virtual or spatial, where members of the Black community can connect across the axes of difference that are currently limiting the Black community’s ability to transition from a diversity game of “just faces in the room” to an equity game of “having the power to change policy and make decisions.”
About the Author

Ange-Marie Hancock is Associate Professor of Political Science and Gender Studies at the University of Southern California. Professor Hancock is the author of the award-winning *The Politics of Disgust and the Public Identity of the “Welfare Queen”* (2004, New York University Press) and a globally recognized scholar of the study of intersectionality – the study of the intersections of race, gender, class and sexuality politics and their impact on public policy. Her second book, *Solidarity Politics for Millennials: A Guide to Ending the Oppression Olympics* (2011, Palgrave Macmillan) focuses on the development of intersectional solidarity as a method of political engagement for individuals, groups and policy practitioners in U.S. politics. She previously taught at Yale University, Penn State University and the University of San Francisco.

*Giving Black: Boston* will join Dr. Hancock’s 2011 study, *Black Giving in Los Angeles*, as part of an ongoing project to examine Black philanthropy in cities around the country. Dr. Hancock currently serves on five boards: the Liberty Hill Foundation, Community Partners, the ACLU of Southern California, Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education (SCOPE-LA), and the Los Angeles African American Women’s Public Policy Institute (LAAWPPPI). She is hard at work on her next book, *Intersectionality: An Intellectual History* (2016, Oxford University Press).

Dr. Hancock has appeared in multiple media outlets, most recently “The Melissa Harris Perry Show” and “The Young Turks.” She has been quoted in the *New York Times*, *Forbes*, and on FoxNews.com. She received her Bachelor’s degree from New York University and her M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Prior to graduate school, Hancock worked for the National Basketball Association, where under the mentorship of NBA Hall of Famer and former Boston Celtic great Tom “Satch” Sanders she conducted the preliminary research and created the original business model for the Women’s National Basketball Association (WNBA).

APPENDIX 1:
FOR FURTHER READING


Mohl, Bruce and Colman Herman (2013). “No Seat at the Table” *Commonwealth Magazine*.


APPENDIX 2: DATA ANALYTICS

Demographics
In addition to the various demographic descriptions contained in the text, here are a few more details regarding study participants. They generally use either “mainstream” media (radio and television) or both Black-oriented and mainstream media (newspapers and websites). Black-oriented radio was the most popular Black media source. 51% of them would spend an extra hour per day with their family and friends, followed distantly by three responses: “Doing something else” (14%); “By myself” (13%); Doing community service in the Black Community (12%).

Methodology

Data Collection
13 90-minute interviews were conducted with Black Bostonians who are members of the donor community in Boston, beginning in December 2013 and concluding in May 2014. Survey research commenced in March 2014 and concluded in September 2014, resulting in 274 survey respondents (240 completed surveys). The third and final component of data analysis were three confirmatory focus groups held in Boston November 15-17, 2014, involving a total of 29 people. Focus Group 3 was unique because it featured three Black couples of different generations who were also at various stages of their relationships: one engaged, one couple married 12 years with young children, and one married over 20 years.

Data Analysis
All recorded data (interviews, focus groups) were transcribed by three research assistants then reviewed for error by the principal investigator. Participants were given the option of participating anonymously in the study at the conclusion of their participation in the study, as well as the option to decline to have their words used at all, again at the end of the study when they had a chance to reflect on the content of their comments. This strategy was approved by the Institutional Research Board of the University of Southern California.

Data was then analyzed using three software programs: Stata, Dedoose, and Microsoft Excel. Principal Components, the statistical analysis that guided the development of the composite donor profiles, is designed to take a large set of observations and classify them into distinct (uncorrelated) components while retaining as much of the original information as possible. The three composite profiles thus do not correspond to specific numbers of donors among the 300 involved in the study, and examples drawn from interviews and focus groups are illustrative of the composite rather than intended to classify a particular respondent as one “type or another.”

Footnotes
1 Visit “Emancipation in Massachusetts” at SlaveNorth.com
2 The Prudential Research Report sample listed only 9% who identified as Caribbean/West Indian ethnicity. It did not report participants who reported African, Mixed, or Afro-Latino identities (2014).
3 These relatively higher levels of education and income are also not surprising given the pool of email addresses the survey attempted to reach and also the ways in which online surveys tend to reach populations with greater levels of social capital than the general Black population.
4 While many researchers count this financial support as part of a broad definition of philanthropy, the Giving Black: Boston participants overwhelmingly believed that family financial support is simply “something you’re supposed to do.” 73% of survey respondents and all but 1 of 29 focus group members agreed that while philanthropy is a family activity passed on across generations, support of extended family is not philanthropy.
5 Interview subjects also included four people of diverse ethnic descent (of 13), 30% of the interview sample.
6 The results of the principal components analysis suggest that cornerstone giving explains the most variance, followed by kinship giving. Together they explain 55% of the variance, while only 25% of the variance is explained by sanctified giving, which is why we listed sanctified giving last in the report.
7 The giving behaviors illustrated in these tables resonate with Prudential’s 2013 national survey, which found that Blacks have similar financial priorities to their non-Black counterparts, but on average have MORE of them.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Barr Foundation
Ethnica
Grove Hall Trust
Menin Black
Nexus Alliance
Our Public Spirit Giving Circle
Roxbury Trust
W.K. Kellogg Foundation
Young Black Women Society

Individuals
Ron Ancrum
Marilyn Anderson Chase
Aaron Arzu
Essence Arzu
Malik Aziz
Sabrina Beason
Bruce Bickerstaff
Donna Bivens
Jody Bolhuis
Pat Bonner-DuVal
Matthew Border, IV
Bridgit Brown
Wayne Budd
Laura Coholan
Jamison Collier
Lisa Cook
Angela Coombs
Karl Coicou
Michele Courton Brown
Sharon Davis
Pam Everhart
Deb Farrar Parkman
Newell Flathers
Carmen Fields
Robyn Gibson
Paul Goodnight
James Granberry
Ken Granderson
Renae Gray
Courtney Grey
Rahsaan Hall
Curdina Hill
Raymond Hammond
Andrew Hoffman
Imari Paris Jefferies
James Jennings
Patricia Keenan
Ify Mora
Makeeba McCreary
Michelle Larkins
Jessica Law
Ashley Melin
Karl McLaurin
Kim McLaurin
Lori Nelson
Deval Patrick
Larry Pierce
Colette Phillips
Emmett Price
Nicole Price
Anthony Richards
Aziza Robinson-Goodnight
Jeri Robinson
Nancy Rousseau
George Russell
Katrina Shaw
Klare Shaw
Greg Shell
Jaye Smith
Kandis Smith
Justin Springer
Charles Stith
Marie St. Fleur
Janie Ward
Richard Ward
Alandra Washington
Benaree Wiley
Damian Wilmot
Yndia Wilmot
Over 300 anonymous survey respondents

Several participants and supporters opted to remain anonymous; we thank them as well – their names and organizations are intentionally absent from the acknowledgement list.