

ENGAGING BLACK
PHILANTHROPISTS IN
DONOR-ADVISED
FUNDS

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Table of Contents

Executive Summary.....	3
Introduction	6
Institutional Context	9
Significance of the Problem of Practice	11
The Historical Roots of Black Philanthropy	12
A Culture of Giving in the Black Community	15
Conceptual Framework.....	19
Research Questions	23
Study Design/Methods	24
Limitations	28
Data Analysis and Findings.....	28
Recommendations.....	50
Conclusion.....	64
References	67
Appendix A	73
Appendix B	74
Appendix C	75
Appendix D	76
Appendix E	77
Appendix F	78

Executive Summary

This quality improvement study focused on diversifying the donor base of Community Foundation of Greater Memphis, the largest community foundation in the Mid-South. Specifically, the foundation seeks to increase the number of Black donors who hold donor-advised funds at the foundation. Donor-advised funds, which account for a majority of the foundation's impressive portfolio, afford multiple benefits to individual philanthropists but are held mostly by White donors, with only 4% of donors identifying as Black. In order to live up to the organization's name and mission, the organization must ensure that charitable giving through donor-advised funds represent the diverse population of the Memphis community. In a city whose population is 65.8% African American (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018), these donor-advised funds—the largest amount distributed annually by any institution in the city—are unlikely to address the interests of the majority of the population of Memphis.

This study was a mixed methods quality improvement project designed to unearth the perceptions of current and prospective Black donors that may influence participation in the foundations' donor-advised funds. Two online surveys were provided, one to current donors of the foundation regardless of race and one to prospective Black donors. The current donors were then disaggregated by race for additional comparison. A voluntary response sampling method was employed with both groups. Both surveys asked respondents who identified as Black/African American to participate in an additional one-on-one interview with the principle investigator. Three current donors and thirteen prospective donors were interviewed.

The overarching research question for this study is: How can the Community Foundation encourage more participation by Black donors in community giving, specifically through donor-advised funds? Three additional questions were employed to gather data from donors and prospective donors (see below). Findings from the surveys and one-on-one interviews revealed a difference in perspectives of the Community Foundation between current and prospective

Black donors, though both groups provided recommendations for improvement. Current Black donors reported high belongingness, racial affirmation, and value, while prospective donors were more skeptical of the foundation. Using three guiding research questions, the findings include:

Research Question 1: How does racial identity impact a Black donor’s decision about becoming a donor at Community Foundation of Memphis?

- *Finding 1: Racial identity is extremely salient to Black donors in Memphis as it relates to their charitable contributions.*

Research Question 2: How do existing and prospective Black donors view the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis in the context of identity-congruency?

- *Finding 2a: A misalignment of identity-congruence exists due to the foundation’s lack of diversity on staff and board*
- *Finding 2b: Black donors want an explicit commitment to racial uplift*
- *Finding 2c: Outreach to and engagement of prospective Black donors is not strategic*

Research Question 3: What key factors of identity motivate or demotivate a Black donor to invest in donor-advised funds at the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis?

- *Finding 3a: Black prospective donors expect donor education embedded in the foundation’s engagement strategies*
- *Finding 3b: Prospective donors lack clarity on value proposition of donor-advised funds*
- *Finding 3c: Prospective donors are concerned with autonomy and power dynamics*

Seven recommendations emerged from the findings:

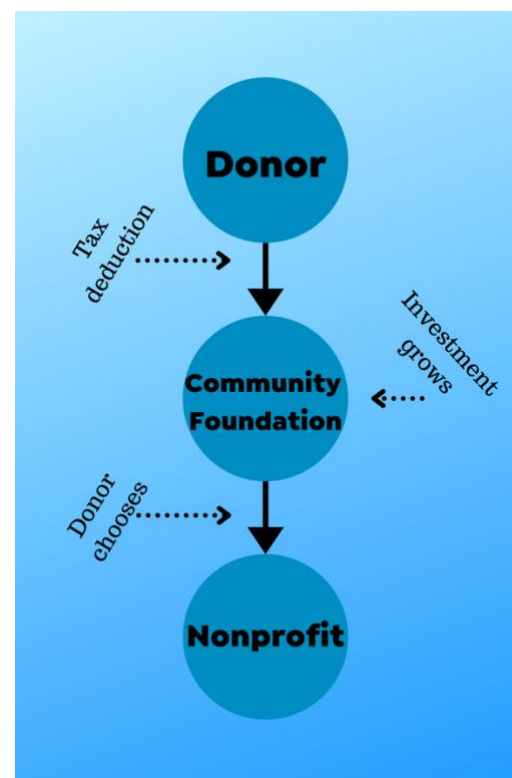
- Use external communications to focus on racial uplift efforts to ensure identity-congruence and representation of the diverse priorities of donors
- Continue to diversify the foundation's board, staff, and vendors
- Create identity-based giving circles that empower Black donors to focus collectively on causes that are most meaningful to them
- Develop a strategic plan for outreach to and engagement of the Black community, focusing on existing networks such as churches and social organizations
- Create a more robust donor education program that emphasizes important community issues, underserved communities, and innovative solutions employed by nonprofits
- Reframe the foundation's value proposition to speak to diverse audiences, mapping out the processes and benefits of creating a donor-advised fund
- Further democratize the granting process, allowing more community input into the decision-making process for grants outside of donor-advised funds

Though this study is intended for the board and staff leadership at the Community Foundation, the challenge of diversity is one faced by community foundations across the United States. This research can hopefully serve the broader national conversations about race, diversity, and philanthropy.

Introduction

Community foundations are nonprofit organizations that have long served as a repository of charitable capital from donors to address community issues. The concept of pooled charitable resources dates back to 1914 when the Cleveland Foundation was created as the first community foundation (Mazany & Perry, 2013). Donor-advised funds, an outgrowth of the pooled resource model that allowed donors to hold charitable funds at a community foundation, became increasingly popular for philanthropists in the 1930s, though federal regulations around donor-advised funds were not implemented until 1969 (Osili, et al., 2020). Modern community foundations act as the intermediary between donors and nonprofits, serving as both the financial manager of donors' charitable investments and as a "matchmaker" between individual donors and nonprofits. The foundations act like a bank, earning interest from their donor-advised funds to be directed at the behest of the donor, or to grant additional capital for collective community initiatives (Esposito & Besana, 2018).

Using a funding intermediary rather than making a direct gift to a nonprofit may seem counterintuitive, but the benefits for donors can be great. Through donor-advised funds, donors make an irrevocable, tax deductible financial gift to a community foundation. The donation is invested in financial markets to grow the fund. The return on investment potentially allows for the funds to provide donations to nonprofit organizations in perpetuity, allowing for a longer legacy for the donor than a simple one-time gift. The donor advises the foundation on where the funds should be allocated, though they also rely on the



foundation for education about community issues and advocacy of particular high-impact nonprofits or initiatives. In addition to the tax deduction and the ability to direct funds to their charities of choice, donors also enjoy the benefits of low administrative costs, advisory services, and, if desired, anonymity (Osili, et al., 2020).

Though the private foundations of tech billionaires like Bill Gates and Mark Zuckerberg receive the lion's share of press coverage in the United States, community foundations are one of the fastest growing and most quickly evolving philanthropic institutions in the country (Carson, 2014). Grants from donor-advised funds totaled \$23.4 billion in 2018, the highest ever recorded at the time. Meanwhile, the number of donor-advised funds in the United States has tripled since 2014 (Osili, et al., 2020). Community foundations have been able to offer new funding streams to nonprofit organizations through the expanded donor-advised funds while leveraging corporate, individual, and government funds for collective action. The modern community foundation is now no longer only a repository for wealthy donors' charitable funds but a convener, capacity builder, and provider of resources for the communities.

The community foundation business model's elasticity isn't simply required for self-preservation, though competition is increasing as donor-advised funds have become more popular in identity-based foundations, commercial gift funds, United Ways, and universities (Carson, 2014). The institutions must constantly respond to the shifting definition of "community" that relies less on geography than on the collective identity of a population (Mazany & Perry, 2013; Carson, 2014). Community foundations must now define who their "communities" are, as the traditional "all for one and one for all" mantra may have become too simplistic in a world marked by rapidly shifting demographics, priorities, and economic disparities. The fluidity of demographics and geographies as well as the complexity of modern social issues can make strategic long-term visioning for community foundations seem like a moving target. Community foundations have begun to purposefully address these shifts through

segmentation of donors and engaging in more community dialogue, offering themselves as a convener of important discussions around community needs and solutions (Esposito & Besena, 2018). Hearing from the community is, after all, the best way to determine what that community needs.

Government safety net programs have historically been a main source of support for the United States' most marginalized communities, but expectations about private philanthropies' role in supporting communities have increased exponentially in recent decades as government support continues to evaporate (Graddy & Morgan, 2006). Asset building will always be a priority for community foundations, but studies have shown that the roles community foundations play expand as they mature, especially in this quickly changing environment. At some point in a community foundation's life cycle, the priorities begin to transcend asset size to focus on community impact (Mazany & Perry, 2013). In the last two decades, this evolution has gained traction. Rather than an organic natural step in the life cycle of a community foundation, transcendence into a community hub and philanthropic leader is now fundamental to its continued existence. Because of the dexterity of the business model and the catalyzing ability it has to bring together multiple stakeholders, community foundations have the opportunity to be models of co-creation, democratized giving, innovation, and responsiveness (Carson, 2014). No longer are community foundations constrained by one instrument of philanthropy, whether that be donor-advised funds or general grantmaking. Instead, community foundations are incorporating multiple methods of donor engagement through small giving circles, general grantmaking, managing endowments and scholarship funds, and traditional donor-advised funds (Mazany & Perry, 2013).

Institutional Context

The year 1968 was not a positive one for Memphis, TN. The sanitation strike and subsequent assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. at the Lorraine Motel sparked widespread civil unrest in the city. Downtown stores were looted, police used teargas on nonviolent protesters, and martial law ruled as 4000 national guard troops rolled into Memphis in tanks to return order to the city (Carson, 1986). When the dust settled, Memphis was in need of rebuilding. In response, a collective of corporate leaders, calling themselves Future Memphis, established the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis in 1969. The intent was to pool charitable dollars from multiple corporate entities and individuals to create a larger, more coordinated response to the city's biggest challenges. The foundation was built on a one million dollar grant from pharmaceutical magnate Abe Plough (Sells, 2019).

Community Foundation of Greater Memphis has grown into the largest grantmaking organization in Tennessee, serving as the repository and distribution hub for charitable capital from nearly 1000 Mid-South donors (Community Foundation of Greater Memphis, n.d.). Since its creation, Community Foundation has helped to establish the Memphis and Shelby County Airport Authority, fought for annexation of land for Memphis' growth, established the Sexual Assault Resource Fund, and purchased the land for what is now the Shelby County Greenline (Sells, 2019). The foundation now holds nearly half a billion dollars in assets. In 2020, the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis provided 6,972 grants to 1,898 distinct nonprofits totaling \$163 million (Community Foundation of Greater Memphis, n.d.).

The Community Foundation of Greater Memphis is most known for its vast number of donor-advised funds, but the organization has expanded its services to be responsive to changing trends in philanthropy. The foundation is also mindful of the changing behaviors of a new generation of donors. With online giving and corporate matching gifts on the rise and wealthy donors becoming more likely to give away their charitable gifts within their lifetime, the

Community Foundation of Greater Memphis Programs

- Donor-advised funds
- Donor services
- GIVE365 giving circle
- LIVEGIVEmidsouth.org
- Mid-South COVID-19 Regional Response Fund
- Nonprofit Capacity Building Fund
- Scholarship funds
- Endowment services for nonprofits

shifts were inevitable. GIVE365, one of the foundation's newest initiatives, asks community members to pledge \$365 per year (or \$1 per day) to a giving circle that funds nonprofit projects throughout the Mid-South. The GIVE365 program is an entry point for new donors but also a new way of giving through the foundation. The foundation has democratized the grantmaking process with GIVE365, allowing members to determine the giving priorities annually for the fund and vote on which community projects to support (Community Foundation of Greater Memphis, n.d.).

Additionally, the foundation launched

LIVEGIVEmidsouth, a first-of-its-kind online resource that provides community data and nonprofit profiles to help donors better understand the region's community challenges and the nonprofits that are working to address them (Luther, 2019). The foundation has also expanded its community grantmaking to be more responsive to community voice, developing new funding streams such as the MLK50 grant in 2018, which provided financial support to organizations fulfilling Dr. King, Jr.'s legacy (Sells, 2019).

Community Foundation of Greater Memphis' evolution aligns closely with national research. Though the number of donor-advised funds has grown exponentially in the last decade, community foundations face growing calls to evolve beyond the traditional financial-transactional model (Mazany & Perry, 2013). The flexibility of the community foundation business model has proven to be its greatest strength throughout the decades, evolving from a way for banks to handle charitable bequests to becoming drivers of collective action (Carson, 2014). Community foundations as entities are now expected to serve as a repository of donor-

advised funds while also being the hub for “community diversity, ideas, discussion, and engagement” (Mazany & Perry, 2013, p. 14). This paradigm shift from one of a more simplified financial and grantmaking institution to an inclusive, community-led hub of social innovation is still evolving (Esposito & Besena, 2018; Hodgson, et al., 2012). Grantmaking will continue to take center stage, but expectations for community foundations to model the way in progressive thought and action in the philanthropic sector are high.

Significance of the Problem of Practice

The original design of the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis was to fund initiatives to rebuild the city after the violence and unrest following Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.’s assassination, but Memphis never fully recovered from the events of 1968. Even still, Memphis has yet to fully escape the shadow of its history as a hub of the slave trade, with repercussions of slavery, inequity, and discrimination obvious in the demographic data that reveals the Black community’s poverty rate, homeownership, and median household income far below those of White Memphians (see table below). While many Whites accumulated wealth over the generations since the Civil War, Black Memphians have faced many barriers such as housing, employment, and banking discrimination that slowed wealth accumulation in the Black community, perpetuated by systems that cause generational poverty to continue (Shapiro, et. al, 2013). The income chasm between races is wide, with only 9% of Non-Hispanic Whites living below the poverty line compared

to 26% of Non-Hispanic Blacks (Delevega, 2020). Though poverty is a challenge in all demographics in Memphis, the growth of the city has been

Tennessee					
	Overall	Non-Hispanic White	Non-Hispanic Black	Latino or Hispanic	Asian
Population Size (in thousands)	6,829	5,006	1,140	389	123
Median Household Income	\$56,071	\$60,678	\$40,768	\$46,126	\$85,209
Overall Poverty Rate	13.9%	11.2%	21.5%	23.6%	9.4%
Child (Under 18) Poverty Rate	19.7%	14.0%	30.9%	31.9%	8.4%
Poverty Rate for People 18-64	12.9%	11.1%	18.5%	18.5%	9.9%
Poverty Rate for People 65+	9.7%	8.6%	17.4%	13.5%	7.6%

Delevega, 2020

hampered due to the policies and systemic issues causing a disproportionate number of Memphians to remain in poverty.

With Non-Hispanic White Memphians more easily accumulating wealth through the generations, the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis is unsurprisingly funded mostly by wealthy White donors. Only 4% of the donor-advised funds are held by Black donors, according to Amy Beth Dudley, Director of Donor Services at Community Foundation of Greater Memphis (A. Dudley, personal communication, April 1, 2020). Survey data revealed that some White donors had donor-advised funds above \$1,000,000 at the foundation, but the largest account held by a Black donor was under \$250,000. The scant representation of Black donors could impact where funds flow and to which organizations. In a city whose population is 65.8% African American (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018), these donor-advised funds—the largest amount distributed annually by any institution in the city—are unlikely to address the interests of the majority of the population of Memphis. Funding is needed to address policy change, discrimination in housing and the workplace, and other factors that impact and are prioritized by people of color. As evidenced by the history of philanthropy overlooking or suppressing Black priorities and needs, donor-advised funds held by Black Memphians could divert needed resources to the causes most aligned to their concerns.

The Historical Roots of Black Philanthropy

While opposition to slavery grew as our nation matured, the dignity of slaves and former slaves was rarely a concern by White leaders in Colonial times. General apathy prevailed regarding the well-being, rights, and humanity of Black people, and freed men were consistently dehumanized and considered “less than” by the culture of America, both in the South and the North (Smith & Bradford, 1999). Freed slaves created churches in the North both as houses of worship and, more covertly, as providers of mutual aid (Holloman, et al., 2003). The mutual aid

societies helped fund the Underground Railroad, support economic mobility for freed slaves, and educate Black children who were unable to attend schools (Smith & Bradford, 1999; Jackson, 2001). In the South, slaves were prohibited from attending church services without supervision by White men to prevent slave revolts, squelching most efforts to coordinate mutual aid.

The first mutual aid society, Free African Society of Philadelphia, was created in 1778 by Absalom Jones and Richard Allen, two freed slaves who were disenchanted by the continuing discrimination and lack of support from the Methodist church (Holloman, et al., 2003). Mutual aid organizations and Black churches were focused on proactive support and action rather than reactive giving (Jackson, 2001). Personal wealth accumulation was de-emphasized in favor of collective action and mutual aid, which are still hallmarks of many Black churches and modern day descendants of mutual aid societies such as the NAACP and Urban League (Gasman, 2001; Leak & Reid, 2010).

The post-civil war era saw the rise of millionaire industrialists like Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, which led to our nation's institutionalized philanthropic giving practices. Carnegie's *Gospel of Wealth* promoted philanthropic giving as a moral act, but like other White philanthropists of the time, rarely was there a prioritization of aid to the Black community (Carnegie, 1901; Jackson, 2001). As White philanthropists began pouring an unprecedented amount of money into their charitable pursuits, the repercussions to Black mutual aid societies and other forms of giving were widely felt. Giving priorities became more widely dictated by White interests (Jackson, 2001), and support organizations became heavily dependent on White wealth to support their missions. Carnegie, for example, invested \$56 million in building free libraries across the country, a foreign concept at the time. Though this effort may seem valiant, the reality for Black Americans was that access to public facilities like libraries was restricted for non-Whites. As White-led nonprofits like the American Red Cross and the YMCA became

heavily reliant on major donors, fundraising became more and more formalized, diverting money away from Black causes and less formalized mutual aid societies.

Northern philanthropic institutions and wealthy philanthropists were often accused of using their vast resources as a form of social control (Shreshtha & McKinley-Floyd, 2008). Though several notable White philanthropists supported “education” for freed slaves, the motivation often seemed more self-serving than charitable. As industry grew, so, too, did the need for capable workers in factories, and skilled Blacks could fill the void. Investments in industrial education for Black Americans far outweighed gifts for other types of education, and the result may have provided jobs to freed slaves and their descendants but often maintained the racially organized status quo of the time (Leak & Reid, 2010).

Black churches and mutual aid societies were weakened by the inordinate power of White philanthropy, but they continued to mobilize support and advocate for civil rights and socioeconomic uplift. Though slavery technically ended after the civil war, the economic, cultural, and physical damage to Black Americans continued in many forms like generational poverty, redlining, lynchings, and segregation, to name a few. Black churches had renewed prominence during the 1960s when they played the role of conveners and organizers for the civil rights movement (Holloman, et al., 2003). Black ministers helped to direct funding and other support to social improvement organizations, civil rights activist movements, and fraternal organizations, further cementing the church as the epicenter for giving (Smith & Bradford, 1999). In response to claims that United Ways didn’t provide a fair share to Black causes, mutual aid societies in the form of Black United Funds also emerged as an alternative to traditionally formal, White philanthropic institutions (Carter & Marx, 2008).

Black donors give a larger percentage of disposable income to charitable endeavors than any other group in the United States, but historical context partially explains why that giving

often bypasses the formal structures maintained by White dominant institutions (Drezner, 2009). Our nation's legacy is marred by marginalization and dehumanization of non-White citizens, one that has had a profound impact on the way giving in the Black community manifests itself today. Black culture is often deeply cohesive with a shared sense of mutual responsibility to combat the discrimination and injustice that continues to undermine our national belief in equality (Smith & Bradford, 1999). It is no wonder, then, that institutional trust has become a key factor in where Black philanthropists give (Shreshtha & McKinley-Floyd, 2008). Many formal institutions merely maintained the status quo rather than disrupting it during key moments like the end of slavery and the civil rights movement, and White philanthropy undermined much of the financial strength that mutual aid societies and the church were building.

A Culture of Giving in the Black Community

Until the civil rights era, the culture of giving in the Black community was mostly overlooked by philanthropic institutions grounded in traditionally Anglo-Saxon models of philanthropy. Even today, the networks of philanthropic social and service organizations often go unnoticed by white dominant philanthropic institutions and nonprofits (Gasman, 2002). This oversight has potentially cost the charitable sector billions in contributions, as Black donors are just as likely to make charitable contributions as White donors (Jackson, 2001) and are slowly becoming a larger percentage of major donors in the United States. To discuss philanthropy in a more modern and inclusive way, the concept of philanthropy has become broader and more detached from the concepts of institutional giving, tax deductions, and other technical concepts that narrow the definition. No longer is philanthropy only viewed through the lens of formality, wealth, and processes (Duran, 2001). Small contributions from ordinary Americans outside the 1% have helped elect Presidents and empower movements like Black Lives Matter. The lexicon

of philanthropy has also widened to include pro bono services and volunteerism, two practices already embraced by Black churches and social organizations (Drezner, 2009).

The literature suggests that increasing the number of Black donors with donor-advised funds is more challenging than might be expected, as historical context, identity, and giving behaviors are mitigating factors in a Black philanthropist's decision to give. Though Black Americans give more of their disposable income than any other group, Black philanthropy often has its own cultural practices (see below) and is approached differently than White philanthropy (Drezner, 2009). Conversely, a deficit in representative leadership in foundations may be exacerbating the divide between white and black philanthropists. Only 3% of philanthropic organizations in the United States are led by African American CEOs, and only 10% of foundation employees are African American (Killkenny, 2018).

Though no group's giving practices are monolithic, themes emerge when studying the Black community's relationship to the modern concept of philanthropy. Mutual responsibility is a pervasive cultural theme that harkens to the mutual aid societies formed at our nation's beginnings. Family is a concept that often has a more inclusive definition in the Black community than others. During slavery, families were separated and often never saw one another again. With generations of biological family ties broken, Black slaves and freedmen redefined what family meant (Smith & Bradford, 1999). Relatives, friends, neighbors, church members, and sometimes even strangers became family, and the feelings of responsibility are often rooted in shared struggle rather than DNA. Giving directly to other people in your "family" became commonplace rather than through the formal institutions that often reprioritized giving in the interests of wealthy White donors (Smith & Bradford, 1999; Shreshtha & McKinley-Floyd, 2008). Giving also took more indirect forms as well. Volunteering and pro bono services have often replaced institutional giving. For example, when Black businesses connect to distributors or negotiate reasonable rents, Black professionals have often become a resource for pro bono

services to help the businesses navigate the tricky and often biased waters of building a business (Smith & Bradford, 1999; Conley, 2000).

The second important theme is charitable giving's connection to the church. Like giving practices, Black churches are not monolithic, but historical data reveals themes throughout history that have a direct impact on how the church interfaces with communities and philanthropic institutions. As you may recall, the Black church has often served as a substitute for formal philanthropic institutions, especially in times of great social change such as the end of slavery and the civil rights era. Unlike many White dominant institutions, the Black church is often a bastion of racial pride and solidarity thanks to its role as community organizer and supporter (Holloman, et al., 2003). Just like a board of trustees or executive director of a formal philanthropic institution may serve as the gatekeeper for nonprofit organizations, the minister is a key player in how congregants give, as they are the ultimate giver of authority and legitimacy to a charitable cause (Holloman, et. al., 2003; Jackson, 2001; Gasman, 2001). Ministers provide messages of racial pride and unity while mandating that congregants help one another and those outside of the church. A personal appeal to and intentional relationship building with the minister is normally an informal requirement before charitable organizations are recognized as legitimate. Gift giving is, after all, about relationships at its core (Klein, et al., 2015). Though ministers have great power in determining to whom congregants will give, they are often not asked, especially by institutions with a formal fundraising component (Holloman, et al., 2003). Modern giving has become less of a symbol of religious participation by younger generations, but more than 75% of giving by Black Americans was funneled through the church in 2004 (Shreshtha & McKinley-Floyd, 2008). That's no small amount.

The broader concepts of kinship and community tie heavily into the church's role in Black giving, but other structures have emerged that also express and encourage Black identity (Banks, 2009). Affiliation with social communities allow Black Americans to stay connected to

their history and their identity while enjoying freedom from cultural suppression in white dominant spaces. Mutual aid and support is a philosophy grounded in the history of Black oppression that frames many social communities. Social communities often emphasize activism, volunteerism, and charitable giving as part of their programming and guiding principles. For example, Black fraternities and sororities have been important players in funding research on hypertension and voter education drives, two important issues that impact Black Americans (Gasman, 2001). Another example would be family reunions, which typically include a giving component to a designated charity. A culture of giving is embedded in other social communities like Links, Inc. and Jack & Jill, which are normally associated with Black individuals of higher wealth (Banks, 2019).

Racial uplift is a theme that frames giving from a historical, contextual, and self-help perspective. Built on the foundation of overcoming oppression, the priorities of racial uplift have evolved through the generations as new forms of oppression emerged to replace those of the past. Mutual aid societies of the past focused on slavery and segregation, while modern structures focus on addressing community concerns like police reform and equitable education (Gasman, 2001). The millennial generation is focused more on racial uplift than previous generations, prioritizing socioeconomic development efforts along with the more traditional patterns of giving to education and healthcare (Drezner, 2009). Black millennials' career aspirations are more likely to be framed by the concept of racial uplift than their predecessors, as many specifically note racial uplift as part of their professional goals and a factor in choosing their career paths (Jackson, 2001).

Institutional giving may be less trusted, but formal structures do exist that have overcome distrust through strategic relationship development (Gasman, 2001) and have served as examples of successful fundraising in Black communities without the blessing of the church, though they certainly benefitted from the church's culture of giving. The United Negro College

Fund (UNCF) has successfully engaged a Pre-Alumni Council in volunteering and fundraising thanks to its intentional programming. Not only do the council members view community service as a social motivator, the programming offers them the ability to learn more about UNCF and understand why the organization needs to exist. Drezner (2009) found that the council's volunteer involvement not only served as a way to affirm participants' social identities but was also an education tool to imbue the historical and cultural relevance of the fund, leading to pro-social behaviors such as long-term giving of time and money.

The Smithsonian's Museum of African American History is also an exemplar in fundraising in the Black community (Banks, 2019). The Smithsonian and their fundraising consultants were able to nurture Black identity while developing a robust marketing strategy to identify potential donors. While White donors were shown to be more apathetic than Black philanthropists to the creation of the museum, Black donors earmarked their gifts specifically to the museum, whereas White donors were more likely to give a general donation to the Smithsonian family of museums. Prospect research identified potential Black donors, and the language of marketing materials reinforced the worthiness of the museum and the importance of Black identity and history. Benefits such as naming rights and printed donation levels were also seen as key to bringing in donors such as Oprah Winfrey.

Conceptual Framework

The motivations behind charitable giving are far more complex than simply "because it is the right thing to do." Numerous options exist for a person to "do good" in the world, but the question remains as to why a person may give to one charity and not the other, and what personal benefits the person receives in the process of giving. In essence, giving is fundamentally linked to our identities, whether it be our family, community, or individual identities (Aaker & Akutsu, 2009). Giving is an identity-affirming action to ourselves but also

signals key facets of our identity to our social in-groups. Most of us feel positively when contributing to charity because it reaffirms our humanity and agency, authenticating our self-perception as being fundamentally good. But giving isn't simply about the good feeling we get. Our giving also allows us to associate ourselves with causes or organizations that are congruent with how we want others to view us, establishing a social identity that links us to a cause while telling the world we are good (Klein, et al., 2015).

Because identity plays an important role in giving, Identity-Based Motivation theory (IBM) provides the foundation for this study. Grounding the work in IBM allows the research to consistently re-center the action or inaction by prospective donors at the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis on the Black identity. The theory, developed by Oyserman (2009), suggests that individuals will more likely engage in behaviors that are congruent with their identity than those that do not. Under the IBM theory, every choice is linked to identity, though most are not explicitly obvious. Empirical studies using the IBM model have mostly focused on school performance outcomes (Oyserman & Destin, 2010), health outcomes (Oyserman, et. al, 2007) and consumer spending (Oyserman, 2009), but Aaker and Akutsu (2009) provided initial research evidence to support the IBM theory's application in charitable giving.

Broader identities such as a person's gender, culture, and minority status tend to be significantly more salient in the IBM model than other identities. Under the IBM theory, broader identities, such as identifying as Black, are more likely to be situationally cued than other narrower identities (Oyserman, 2009). If Oyserman's theory is correct, a situation in which a Black donor will decide whether or not to give to the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis will most likely be determined at least in part by the prospective donor's racial identity. Creating the appropriate context by the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis will determine cognition and action (Oyserman, 2009). Oyserman (2015) suggests that cueing a

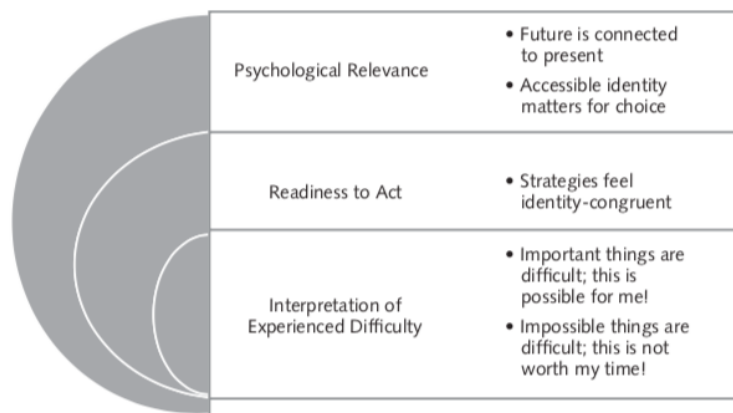
donor’s identity—be it gender, race, or other broad category—and contextualizing the gift gives the decision more meaning to the donor and allows the choice to be more identity-congruent.

The IBM theory suggests that how we envision our future selves is as important as our current identities. The question we may subconsciously ask is, “Will my future self be happy with the decision I am about to make?” In making choices, we determine whether that decision would be most congruent with both our current *and* future selves (Klein, et al., 2015). The decision is not about right or wrong; rather, the decision is often (but not always) contingent upon who we believe we are and who we want to become. This is why a college student may refrain from drinking at a fun fraternity party because a DUI could be a detriment to his future identity as a lawyer, or why a person chooses an unpaid internship over a paid position that offers less opportunities to grow into a management position. Making decisions based on our predicted future identities develops early in life, with humans developing the ability make decisions based on a future identity beginning around age 5 (Oyserman, 2015).

IBM theory includes three main ingredients: psychological relevance, readiness to act, and a person’s interpretation of experienced difficulty (Oyserman, 2015). When a person is faced with a choice, Oyserman suggests that the decision will immediately trigger one or more identities in a person that seem most relevant to the task at hand. The identity cues are often subtle and unconscious

without the person realizing that a relevant identity has been evoked but that is most accessible in the moment (Oyserman, 2009). For example, when

faced with a solicitation from a fundraising professional from a racial justice organization, a



Oyserman, 2015

person will conjure an identity that seems most relevant for decision-making. Despite the fact that the individual may also identify as “lawyer,” “Memphian,” and “athletic,” the Black identity will be the most salient and accessible at the time of decision making. The person being asked for the gift may not explicitly think, “I am Black,” but their identity as a Black individual subconsciously plays a key role in how they respond.

Once an identity is triggered in the moment, our minds quickly assess whether an action would be identity-congruent (Oyserman, 2009). The identity allows a person to contextualize the decision and assign meaning more quickly. Determining whether an action is identity-congruent is contingent upon the various facets of our identity that has been conjured in that instance. The norms, values, and goals incorporated into a particular identity are often deciding factors in how a person will respond. For example, when faced with an opportunity to volunteer at Planned Parenthood, would a pro-life advocate find the volunteer position to be aligned with their identity? Probably not. On the flip side, when faced with the opportunity to participate in a women’s march on Washington, D.C., a pro-choice advocate would be more likely to participate because the protest would be identity-congruent under multiple identities such as “activist,” “pro-choice advocate,” or more prominent in the IBM theory, “woman.” Even in situations where race and gender are not the primary identity triggered, a person who identifies as an “ally” may make a contribution to an LGBTQ+ advocacy organization or Black Lives Matter fund.

The final piece of IBM is goal attainability, or a person’s perception of the difficulty that may be experienced in attaining a particular goal. Though an action may be identity-congruent, the ease of difficulty matters in whether a person decides to take an action. Volunteering for an animal rescue organization may be identity congruent to a person who identifies as a “dog person,” but seeing only White volunteers on the organization’s website may dissuade the potential volunteer from participating. Even if the volunteer program is majority Black, what

matters is the *perception* of the ease of applying, not how easy applying actually is (Oyserman, 2008). In short, perception is reality when the time comes to make a decision.

Other identity-based theories have been applied to motivations in charitable giving, but rarely do they specifically take into account the very specific context of Black history and its influence on identity. IBM is one of the few motivation theories that can be applied to charitable giving practices while acknowledging that Black identity has a stronger influence than other identities. IBM takes account not only of identity-triggering external influences but also the malleability and multiplicity of identities. Also important are the perceived barriers that may demotivate people from acting even if the potential act is identity-congruent.

Research Questions

The overarching research question for this study is: How can the Community Foundation encourage more participation by Black donors in community giving through donor-advised funds? By providing Identity-Based Motivation as the foundation on which I have built the research, the intent is to identify and address the key factors of donor identity that may persuade or dissuade Black donors from choosing to open a fund with the foundation. To find out, I will address the following questions:

- How does racial identity impact a Black donor's decision about becoming a donor at Community Foundation of Memphis?
- How do existing and prospective Black donors view the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis in the context of identity-congruency?
- What key factors of identity motivate or demotivate a Black donor to invest in donor-advised funds at the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis?

I connected each of the questions to a component of IBM theory. The first question addressed whether racial identity is a prominent part of the decision-making process to open a fund. The second question addressed whether the funds are perceived as identity-congruent. The third question assessed the perceived difficulty of setting up a donor-advised fund at the Community Foundation.

Study Design/Methods

The voices of the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis' current and prospective Black donors are the crux of the study design and methodology. Ensuring that a robust number of community members had the opportunity to speak directly to the problem of practice was of primary concern when designing this project. This study is a mixed methods quality improvement project designed to unearth perceptions of current and prospective Black donors that may influence participation in the foundations' donor-advised funds. Two online surveys were provided, one to current donors of the foundation regardless of race (See Appendix A and B) and one to prospective Black donors (See Appendix C, D, and E). A voluntary response sampling method was employed with both groups. Both surveys asked respondents who identified as Black/African American to participate in an additional one-on-one interview with the principle investigator (See Appendix F). Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the format for the interviews pivoted from in-person to online using the Zoom meeting platform.

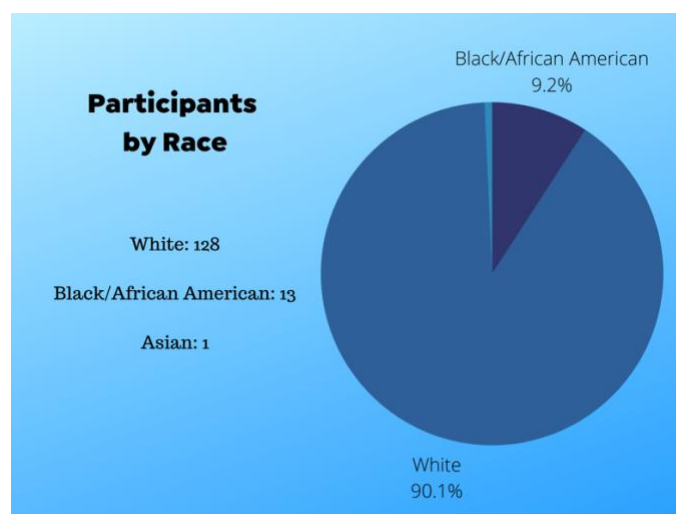
Phase 1: Existing Donors

A survey was created for all existing donors at the foundation, regardless of race, for comparison. Before sending the survey, Community Foundation of Greater Memphis notified all of their current donor-advised fund account holders via email that independent research was being conducted and that they would receive a set of surveys via email in 5-7 business days.

The survey was sent to 966 donor-advised fund account holders with 171 responses (a 17.7% response rate).

For phase 1, survey questions (see Appendices B and C) were developed for current donors, regardless of race. The survey included:

1. *Demographic information about participants*
2. *Identity and giving:* Donors were asked to complete questions that assessed the impact of racial identity on their giving practices.
3. *Perceptions of the Community Foundation:* Donors were asked to provide information regarding their current perceptions of the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis. This survey tool was adapted to include questions tailored to the three components of identity-based motivation: psychological relevance, readiness to act, and interpretation of experienced difficulty (Oyserman, 2015).
4. *Request for interview participation:* Black donors were asked to volunteer an additional one-hour interview with the researcher. A \$50 donation was made in their name to the charity of their choice.



Five of the 13 Black respondents included their contact information for the follow-up interview, and three completed the one-on-one interview with the principle investigator.

Phase 2: Prospective Black Donors

An additional survey was created for prospective Black donors. The Director of Development of Community Foundation of Greater Memphis emailed 26 prospects with an explanation of the survey and a link to participate. Within three weeks, the survey was only completed by seven of those prospects with four agreeing to a one-hour interview. To increase the sample size, the Community Foundation recommended leveraging their relationship with New Memphis, the local leadership institute for business and nonprofit leaders, to acquire additional responses from their alumni. New Memphis alumni tend to be higher wealth individuals and are racially diverse. The survey was sent to Black alumni of New Memphis via email by the CEO of New Memphis. The survey (see Appendices C, D, and E) received an additional 75 responses. For the prospective Black donors, the survey included:

1. *Demographic information about participants*
2. *Identity and giving:* Donors were asked to complete questions that assessed the impact of racial identity on their giving practices.
5. *Perceptions of the Community Foundation:* Donors were asked to provide information regarding their current perceptions of the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis. This survey tool was adapted to include questions tailored to the three components of identity-based motivation: psychological relevance, readiness to act, and interpretation of experienced difficulty (Oyserman, 2015).

6. *Request for interview participation:* Participants were asked to volunteer an additional one-hour interview with the researcher. A \$50 donation was made to the charity of their choice in exchange for their time.

Each survey asked respondents to participate in an additional one-on-one interview with the researcher. Twenty-six participants responded that they would participate and thirteen prospective donors completed the one-on-one interview with the principle investigator in addition to the three current donors.

Phase 3: One-On-One Interviews

Sixteen current ($n = 3$) and prospective ($n = 13$) Black donors to the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis participated in a one-on-one interview on Zoom. The length of the interviews ranged from 30 minutes to 60 minutes depending on the interviewee's responses. All interviews were recorded on Zoom. Because participants in the interviews provided both negative and positive feedback about the foundation as well as personal details about their identities, only the principle investigator has access to the names of the participants and their individual responses. The recordings are stored in a secured platform via Zoom.com. Only aggregate information is provided in this report.

Participants were provided with five open-ended questions, three of which aligned with the three key components of Identity-Based Motivation theory. After all of the interviews were completed, each interview was coded for themes using the transcript provided by Zoom. Once the themes were coded from the automatic transcripts provided by the Zoom platform, each of the themes were further coded based on the three components of IBM theory: psychological relevance, readiness to act, and interpretation of experienced difficulty. Specific quotes were also highlighted in the transcripts that provided further explanation of specific themes.

Limitations

There were several limitations which may serve as threats to the internal and external validity of the study. First, a White male conducted this study and wrote this quality improvement plan, meaning that some of the nuance and context of the Black experience could be lost in translation. The difference in race between principle investigator and the interviewees for the one-on-one interviews may have limited the candor of participants, especially considering the delicate nature of the discussions. Additionally, the COVID-19 pandemic created barriers with communication, which may have limited the number of responses, particularly with the one-on-one interviews. Finally, the interviews were conducted virtually via Zoom due to the pandemic, which may have limited participation by donors with less knowledge or access to the sophisticated Zoom technology.

Data Analysis and Findings

Research Question 1: How does racial identity impact Black donors' decisions regarding their charitable contributions?

The first research question seeks to ensure that Black identity is particularly salient when making decisions about charitable contributions. As theorized in the IBM model, particular identities are evoked in the moment of choice, and racial identity bears more weight than other narrower identities such as “lawyer” or “donor.”

Finding 1: Racial identity is extremely salient to Black donors in Memphis as it relates to their charitable contributions.

In the surveys provided to existing donors of the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis and prospective Black donors, participants were asked to provide their thoughts on the statement, “My racial identity informs my decisions on the type of organizations to which I

give my charitable gifts.” As expected, current and prospective Black donors agreed with this statement much more than White donors. Only 18.18% of White donors “always,” “often,” or “somewhat” agreed with this statement while 91.66% of current Black donors “always,” “often,” or “somewhat” agreed. Like the current Black donors, 89.05% of prospective donors “always,” “often,” or “somewhat” agreed with the statement.

Statement: My racial identity informs my decisions on the type of organizations to which I give my charitable gifts.			
	Current White Donors	Current Black Donors	Prospective Black Donors
Always	1.65%	33.33%	13.70%
Often	3.31%	33.33%	38.36%
Sometimes	13.22%	25%	36.99%
Neutral	18.18%	0%	2.74%
Rarely	18.18%	0%	4.11%
Not at all	45.45%	8.33%	4.11%

In the survey provided to prospective Black donors, participants were asked to rate the statement, “When faced with a new opportunity, my response is informed by my racial identity.” An overwhelming majority of current Black donors (91.66%) and Black prospective donors (89.05%) answered “always,” “often,” or “sometimes.” Conversely, only 18.18% of White donors responded “always,” “often,” or “sometimes.” IBM posits that a choice elicits identities consciously or subconsciously that seem relevant in the moment (Oyserman, 2015). “Choices are often identity-based but linkage to identity is not necessarily explicit or obvious (Oyserman, 2009, p. 250).” In the case of the survey respondents and the participants in the one-on-one interviews, the Black identity was particularly prominent. One could attest that in participating in

the study, the respondents' Black identity was "primed," making it more salient. Research suggests that identities tend to be malleable, and specific identities can be externally triggered through "priming," or mentioning a particular identity (Klein, et al., 2015). Based on the responses of many of the interviewees in the one-on-one interviews, the Black identity would most likely be elicited in the moment of choice regardless of the priming that occurred during the interviews.

In the one-on-one interviews, the participants were asked, "How does your identity as a Black donor impact where you decide to contribute your charitable donations?" All of the participants acknowledged that their Black identity informed their giving practices and was important in their decision-making process regarding their giving practices. Some comments included:

- "[My Black identity] has a huge impact on where I give my money, my time, etc...As a Black man, my worldview is shaped by my brown skin so I'm really concerned with organizations that support my community. So it's really important that I feel like organizations I support also support those who look like me."
- "I think it would be rare for me to give to an organization that isn't focused on or led by people of color."
- "I try to support the causes that are integral to the Black community...barriers to equality and specifically barriers in the Black community, whether that be education, whether it be access to health care."
- "I think [Black identity is] a large factor, and I am usually prone to donate to organizations that are specifically focused on people of color."

Many respondents triangulated their Black identity, charitable gift giving habits, and personal experiences together when responding to the question. Two respondents discussed

the racial discrimination their families faced when they were children, while two other respondents discussed how they are reminded of their own childhood in lower income or working class Black neighborhoods and the financial and educational barriers that kept their families from thriving. One respondent said, “When anybody asks me for a donation, I immediately think in my mind, ‘Is this for Black people? Is this *authentically* for Black people?’ This is the most important for me personally because, yeah, I’m Black. I wasn’t raised poor, and I got a decent education so I haven’t lived like a lot of the folks that nonprofits purport to help, but I know what being Black is like and I know that we have been marginalized for four hundred years. So yeah, when someone wants my money, the first thing I wonder is how this helps Black people. How does this ballet serve Black folk? How does your literacy program help Black folk?” Another respondent stated: “I think of the issues that impacted me and where I felt like support would have greatly benefited either me personally or benefited the community that I grew up in. So I think knowing that personal experience kind of also drives what I believe to be many of our solutions.”

Research Question 2: How do existing and prospective Black donors view the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis in the context of identity-congruency?

The next research question is more specific to the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis than identity and giving in general. Once an identity has been triggered in the moment of decision-making, the decider will process whether the action would be congruent to the most prominent identity that has been triggered (Oyserman, 2015). Black prospective donors in Memphis have thousands of potential options about where they can give their charitable contributions, and, according to Oyserman’s theory, they are most likely to give based on the psychological relevance of the charity of their choice. Community Foundation of Greater Memphis is not just one option to give but has multiple competitors with similar business models. Christian Community Foundation and Community Foundation of Northwest Mississippi

also have similar models with donor-advised funds as a core component. Slingshot, a poverty-fighting social impact fund, pools resources to support organizations that specifically focus on poverty reduction. Community Foundation has to be psychologically relevant to prospective donors but also feel *more* congruent than the other similar organizations in the Mid-South area.

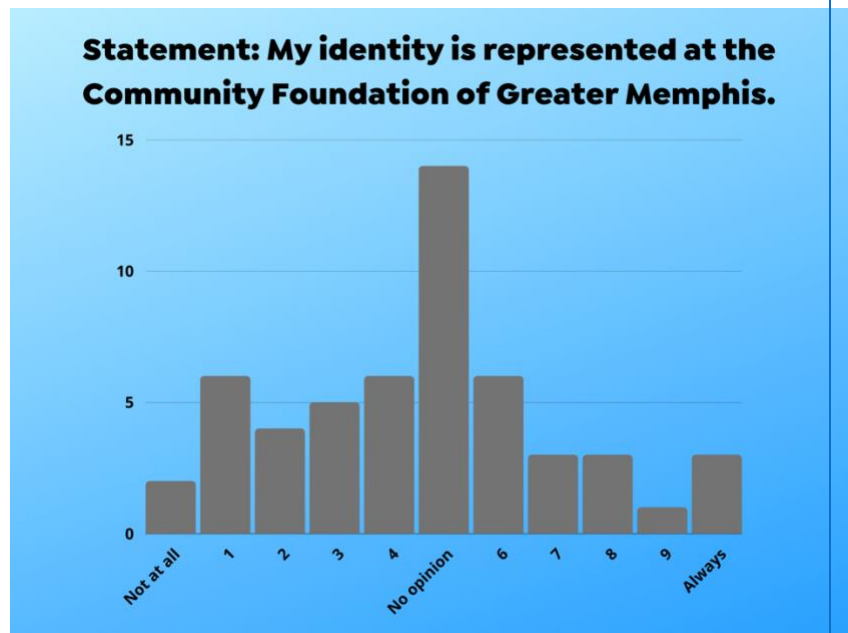
Finding 2a: There is a misalignment of identity-congruence with the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis due to its lack of diversity of staff and board.

Identities are highly sensitive to situational cues, and social identities are linked to social groups (Oyserman, 2009). In the case of Community Foundation of Greater Memphis, participants in this study consistently mentioned the lack of diversity of the staff and board of the foundation. Black identity is both a personal and a social identity, and both are particularly important in the IBM model. As humans, we search for membership in communities that share similar identities. The lack of Black staff and board members appears to cause participation with the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis to feel identity-incongruent for many prospective donors in this study. Though I didn't include staff and board diversity questions in either online surveys presented to current and prospective donors, the issue emerged as a key challenge to engage new Black donors at the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis in the one-on-one interviews. Nearly all of the participants in the interviews mentioned the lack of diversity of the staff without a prompt or priming, and more than half mentioned the lack of board diversity. Some of the comments included:

- “I don't think there's much...racial diversity of the Community Foundation, or maybe a junior person or so, right? How does that happen in Memphis, you know? The foundation hasn't had anyone who looks like me in a meaningful role in a very long time.”

- “I’d be more likely to give there if I felt like there was at least one Black person with some power there. Right now, there’s not. I can’t give until I see someone like me making decisions. Are they willing to share power? That’s the big question here.”
- “Honestly, what concerns me about the Community Foundation is just the lack of people of color in donor-facing roles. I think that’s important for me to see that.”

In the survey to prospective donors, participants were asked to rate the statement, “My identity is represented at the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis” on a scale of 0 to 10, 0 being “not at all” and 10 being “always.” The responses were decidedly mixed with a mean of 4.64 and a standard deviation of 2.48. Of the 55 respondents to the question, 43% gave a more negative rating, 26% gave a neutral rating, and 33% gave a more favorable rating.



The problem with diversity extends to Community Foundation of Greater Memphis’ competitors, too. Some of the respondents commented on the lack of diversity in other similar institutions:

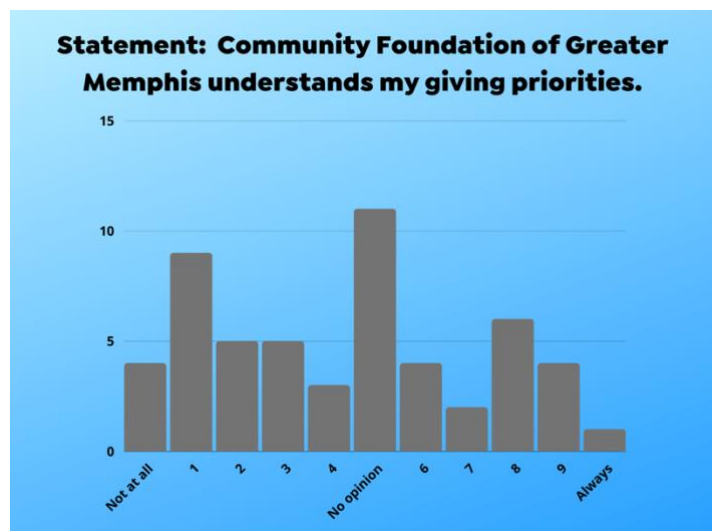
- “[Competing organization]...telling me how to help Black people out of poverty. And not all Black people are in poverty...Have you listened to any Black people about what they need? Poor Black people don’t need to be data points; they need you to see them and hear them.”

- “[Competing organization] is too White and too evangelical. There’s no diversity, and they are tone deaf when it comes to Black people.”
- “Looking at [competing organization]’s board of directors was all I needed to see. I walked away. At least Community Foundation’s board is a little more diverse than them.”

Finding 2b: Black donors want an explicit commitment to racial uplift

Black philanthropy is anchored in cause identification and its marketing channels (Shreshtha & McKinley-Floyd, 2008). If people give at least partially due to their identity and self-schemas, as research has suggested, the Community Foundation would benefit from ensuring that the connection between the foundation’s work and the identities of potential donors are explicit (Aaker & Akatsu, 2009). Studies have shown that the strategic acculturation of donors that articulates and nurtures Black identity is a successful way of engaging and retaining Black donors to causes (Banks, 2019). Black donors reported that they do not see their priorities represented in the communication channels the foundation employs, including the website, annual report, and news reports.

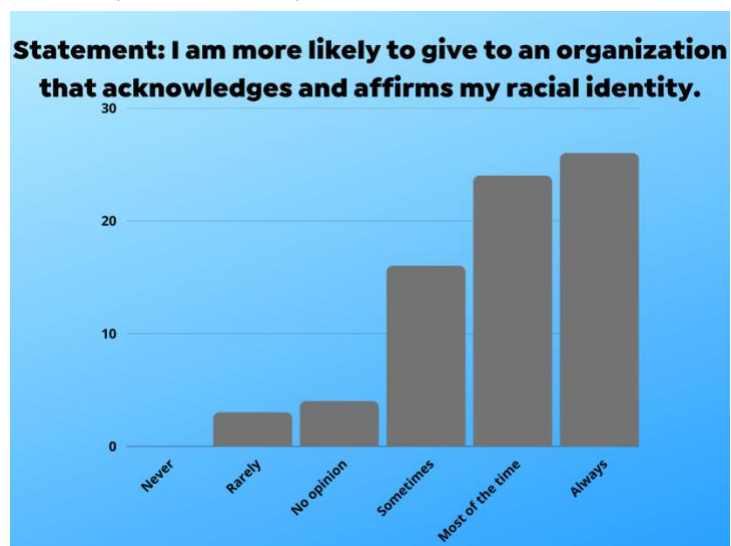
In the survey for prospective Black donors, participants were asked to respond to the following statement, “Community Foundation of Greater Memphis understands my giving priorities” with 0 being “not at all” and 10 being “always.” Of the 54 respondents, 48% gave a less favorable rating, 20% gave a neutral response, and 31% gave more favorable responses. With a mean of



4.31 and a standard deviation of 2.86, the prospective donors' perceptions of the foundations' understanding of giving priorities skewed negative.

In another question on the survey, prospective Black donors were asked to rate the statement, "Community Foundation of Greater Memphis uplifts my race." While more than half answered "neutral/no opinion," there was a fairly even distribution across all answers. However, in another question that asked the respondents to rate the statement, "I am more likely to give to an organization that acknowledges and affirms my racial identity," responses were more

aligned. Nearly all, or 90.27% responded that affirmation of racial identity "sometimes," "often," or "always" impacted their giving. Therefore, it is clear that Black prospective donors want an organization that uplifts their race, and the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis is not perceived as doing so.



In the one-on-one interviews, participants elaborated on their desire to see more opportunities for Black donors. A majority mentioned that they give to causes that align with their values and commitment to racial uplift, including organizations like the NAACP, National Civil Rights Museum, and BRIDGES, Inc. GIVE365, the giving circle for donors to fund local community organizations, was generally well-received by the interviewees, but many stated that a more defined giving circle specifically for racial uplift and led by the Black community would be a better entryway for new donors. Providing the opportunity to donate to an identity-based giving circle allows people to better symbolize who they are and may become (Oysterman, 2009). As part of IBM theory, "people prefer choices that signal connection to important in-

groups and avoid connection with important out-groups (Oyserman, 2009, p. 257).” In this case, the symbolism of the donor’s consumption choice would have additional identity-congruence compared to a broader giving circle like GIVE365. GIVE365 may elicit the more narrow identities of “donor” or “good person” but still may not be identity-congruent to those prospective donors whose Black identity takes precedence in decision-making. One respondent said, “I emailed [former staff member] at the Community Foundation and said, ‘Look, we need to get a black giving circle in Memphis ASAP.’ GIVE365 is great. I’m part of it, but you really would pull in more black millennial philanthropists through a giving circle that is formed around identity.”

Some interviewees pointed to the MLK50 grants and the Mid-South COVID-19 Regional Response Fund as “good starts” to the work. One prospective Black donor said, “The [Mid-South COVID-19 Regional Response Fund] was created and African American-led organizations got money. I sent [CEO Bob Fockler] an email and said, ‘Hey, I heard you gave some money to Black people. Yes!’” Another prospective donor said, “When I saw that they had given most of the money from the [Mid-South COVID-19 Regional Response Fund] to Black-led nonprofits, I was impressed. They never did anything like that before. There was clearly intentionality around it. And they named it—they put it on their website. They didn’t try to hide that it was for Black people.”

Donors with donor-advised funds have the ability to give to whatever charity they want, and several interviewees want to see more stories about how racial equity work is funded by donors. The interviewees noted that gifts to organizations like Black Lives Matter are often not highlighted in promotional materials nor are they as public as the other granting initiatives of Community Foundation of Greater Memphis. The other grantmaking that Community Foundation of Greater Memphis offers seems to serve as the public signal of their commitment or lack of commitment to racial uplift. Five of the thirteen prospective donors indicated that these public grants were one way to incorporate new Black donors into the organization as a

first step towards a donor-advised fund. Interviewees were generally optimistic that some of the newer initiatives were a step in the right direction, but they were still concerned with who was making the decisions. One interviewee stated, “When I saw that the theme for [GIVE365] was for Black-led nonprofits, I was like, ‘yeah!’ I had been asked to sign up before but didn’t. I looked at the announcement and thought maybe my time was now to, you know, become a donor there. Then I was looking around the GIVE365 page and saw this committee. Man! I was like, ‘Is this who is making the decisions?’ The picture on the website—or maybe it was Facebook or something—was a room full of White people with, like, two Black people. Made me take a step back.”

Some of the other comments included:

- “I looked at their website and couldn’t find anything like an equity statement or anything. If you’re not stating it publicly, I guess that’s easier on you because no one can hold you accountable for what you haven’t promised publicly.”
- “You can’t be a community foundation if the community isn’t making the decisions and there aren’t pathways for Black communities to get more involved...I would be much more likely long-term to set up a fund if I was involved in something that I felt like was ‘for me and by me’ sooner than later.”
- “I think there’s a lot of work [that] needs to be done in Community Foundation in terms of strategy and commitment. So, for example, not just kind of dipping your toe in but really kind of being committed to this audience.”

Finding 2c: Outreach to and engagement of prospective Black donors is not strategic

I interviewed key staff of Community Foundation of Greater Memphis on January 20, 2021, to ask about their strategy in recruiting Black donors. When asked if there was a specific strategy for recruiting and retaining Black donors, the staff admitted that they had a broader

recruitment strategy that did not segment audiences. They also do not currently actively recruit through Black social groups or churches. Based on the data provided in the one-on-one interviews and the literature review, institutional trust will remain low in the Black community towards the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis until a new strategy is defined specifically for recruiting new Black donors. Prospective donors expressed concern that the foundation wasn't reaching out to them or was "casting a wide net" expecting it to appeal to all audiences.

Black identity is both a social and personal identity that is rooted in the history of mutual aid, kinship, and community. Mutual aid and support were vitally important during the darkest moments in our nation's history, times when white apathy and white oppression required Black Americans to support one another as the only means for survival. The sense of membership to formal and informal structures in the Black community are now symbolic of the past but also necessary for the present when racial discrimination is still very much alive, as evidenced by the murder of George Floyd and disparities in healthcare for people of color during the COVID-19 pandemic. Black giving is instilled from a very early age as part of membership in the Black identity (Holloman, et al., 2003), though formal institutional giving is not as recurrent a theme as the informal tradition of giving back (Smith & Bradford, 1999). Giving is also a foundational philosophy of Black social organizations, fraternal organizations, churches, and family gatherings. Oyserman (2009) wrote, "The membership component of a social identity is about membership—the knowledge that one is or may become a member of a particular group. The beliefs component of a social identity focuses on beliefs about the group's place in the world and how the group engages the world. This includes beliefs about how permeable group boundaries are, how much being a member of that group carries with it permanent (essentialized) or impermanent characteristics, how the groups one is a member of fit into

broader society, and how members of these groups act, what they believe in, what their goals and values are, and the strategies they use to attain these goals.” (p.252)

In the one-on-one interviews, both current donors and prospective donors expressed the need for more outreach and engagement with the Black community that develops inroads through existing formal structures such as the church and social organizations like Links, Inc. As revealed in the next section, institutional trust is high for existing Black donors at the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis, but the goal, according to the interviewees, is to add legitimacy to the foundation through those existing institutions in the Black community while leveraging the existing donors to serve as recruiters. Building relationships is key to fundraising but especially important when engaging with audiences that may have low institutional trust due to historic inequities and de-prioritization of Black concerns by philanthropy as a whole (Gasman, 2001). “So much in Memphis is based on trusting relationships,” said one interviewee. Another prospective donor responded this way:

Principle Investigator: What advice would you provide the Community Foundation regarding the diversity and inclusion efforts for engaging new donors of color?

Interviewee: Create authentic friendships that are diverse.

Principle Investigator: Do you believe that is lacking now?

Interviewee: Extremely. Yes.

In the interviews, many participants acknowledged that information about the Community Foundation and donor-advised funds were limited in the community, and lack of awareness was a hinderance to engaging new Black donors. All three interviewees who already held donor-advised funds at the foundation said that they had set up an account because of a referral from a friend or colleague. Those without donor-advised funds did not know what a donor-advised fund was, knew because of word of mouth, or knew through their work in the financial field. Those already working in finance had a markedly better understanding of donor-advised funds.

One interviewee provided this feedback: “I’m a first generation giver through a donor-advised fund, and so it’s through some relationships that I have that convinced me that maybe I should consider something beyond those individual donations. These were natural relationships through either a social connection or perhaps a professional connection. Being a part of a group of like-minded people is important for me.” Another respondent mentioned the importance of hearing from a well-respected member of the Memphis community, Maxine Smith. “I remember one time Maxine Smith called me about the Community Foundation and said, ‘You know, I set up my scholarship fund at the Community Foundation so I want you to be aware of that. And I want you to put money into it. I think that was a good thing because Maxine has such a high profile. And the fact that she chose the Community Foundation to establish the endowment added a lot of credibility.’”

In addition to personal connections, being present in Black spaces was an important theme in the interviews. Not only did participants repeatedly mention “authenticity” in relationships with the foundation, they stressed that the foundation must be actively involved with Black institutions to overcome the perception of a transactional relationship. The interviews

revealed three groups as key gatekeepers to the Black community, and these groups aligned nearly perfectly with the literature (see chart).

Organization	Mentioned by Interviewees	Percentage
Churches	12	75%
Social organizations	10	62.5%
Fraternities and sororities	7	43.75%

Though giving decreased in the late 1980’s as an expression of religious faith, the church still serves as a driving force behind many initiatives in the community and a convener of Black communities across the United States (Jackson, 2001). In the interviews, younger participants were less likely to acknowledge the church as an important player in recruiting new Black donors, as only one person below 50 years of age made reference to the church. Nearly all of

those aged 50+ mentioned the church as an important place to start. One respondent said, “I still think the church is a primary driver. So many of the [community programs] are connected to the church.”

Social organizations were also mentioned as important entry points into the community. Often, social organizations like Jack & Jill and Links, Inc. are overlooked by formal philanthropy, as they often tend to be more siloed and covert than White organizations like Carnival Memphis (Gasman, 2001). These organizations have been in existence for years, providing opportunities for more socioeconomically advantaged members of the community to stay connected (Banks, 2019). Most major Black social organizations have a long-standing philanthropic component that includes both volunteerism and financial contributions. As one interviewee stated, “If the Community Foundation thinks that African Americans are new philanthropists, they have the game all wrong.”

Finally, fraternities and sororities are important social institutions that include lifetime membership and a commitment by members to continue their philanthropic efforts for the rest of their lives (Jackson, 2001). Like the church, fraternities and sororities instill a sense of moral obligation in their members to continue to support the Black community through giving of time and resources, often focusing on funding more academic causes such as medical research that impacts the Black community (Gasman, 2001). Various studies have shown that HBCUs and Black fraternal organizations use education as a way of instilling pride and moral obligation into students. For example, the United Negro College Fund National Alumni Pre-Council, consisting mostly of college-aged fraternity and sorority members, use programming and education as a way of helping participants understand the organization’s purpose and mission (Drezner, 2009). Though the participants are college-aged, the education component, as described in the next section, is an important part of ingratiating Black donors into charitable organizations.

Research Question 3: What key factors of identity motivate or demotivate a Black donor to invest in donor-advised funds at the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis?

Establishing pathways to identity-congruence is only half the battle in ensuring that new communities see themselves in the work of the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis. When a person is faced with a choice, they also use their identity as a sensemaking tool in both the social and non-social world to determine if their intended goal can be accomplished in an identity-congruent way (Oyserman, 2009). Despite an identity being primed, the human brain will often overlook possibilities for action because of perceived—or misperceived—barriers to success. Accessible identities shape how difficulty is interpreted, serving as a signal that a goal can or cannot be achieved (Oyserman, 2015). Note that the *interpretation* of difficulty is far more important than the *actual* difficulty of an action. In the case of creating a donor-advised fund, interviewees identified important perceived barriers to goal achievement: lack of donor education, confusion about decision-making power, and understanding the value proposition and impact of donor-advised funds.

Finding 3a: Black prospective donors expect donor education to be embedded in engagement strategies

In an interview the several staff members of the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis on January 20, 2021, the staff reported that the main source of new donors was through White financial advisors. No intentional effort had been made to reach out to Black investment firms, though the staff acknowledged knowing several. The staff reported that the new donors through the referrals from White firms did not necessarily understand how donor-advised funds worked, nor did they care. Formal donor education events are infrequent at the foundation and not normally well attended by the account holders.

This information is diametrically opposed to the qualitative data collected in the interview process, as a majority of the Black current and prospective donors expected a robust donor education program as part of their investment in donor-advised funds at the foundation. More than two-thirds of the participants in the interviews mentioned the need for donor education during the initial intake process as well as expecting ongoing advisory services. One interviewee noted, “I would think ideally on the front end, I would need or prefer to have some type of education about the organizations that are out there that are even, you know, available. Basically all the prospects out there, all the nonprofits that are there looking for funds. And I'm kind of looking at in this scenario, looking at the Community Foundation as kind of the intermediary who helps me, you know, decipher all of that and provide information that I can analyze myself.”

Community Foundation of Greater Memphis launched LIVEGIVEmidsouth in 2013. The LIVEGIVEmidsouth platform serves as a repository for information about community challenges and the nonprofits working to address those challenges. The system is intended, among other uses, to serve as a donor education tool. Donors can input a cause or topic, and the database will provide comprehensive information about every organization that addresses the cause. The database now has more than 450 nonprofits listed. Though this is one mechanism that Community Foundation of Greater Memphis is utilizing to better educate their donors, the platform doesn't have the “personal touch” that many prospective donors are wanting. None of the current or prospective donors who were interviewed mentioned LIVEGIVEmidsouth as a resource for deciding where their charitable contributions should go.

Part of the responsibility the interviewees believed that the Community Foundation held was ensuring that the donor education included uplifting black-led organizations that are doing good work. “Because I think sometimes that's hard for donors, you know, to know who's really moving the needle and who's not,” said one participant in the interviews. “And it comes off as

paternalistic, like when I was at [competing organization]. One of my complaints there was that we were kind of funding the same people, and it's very relationship driven and very paternalistic, and so that was less interesting to me.” Focusing on specific organizations that already have name recognition in the community was less interesting than highlighting specific community issues or organizations that are doing good work that can be uplifted by the foundation. “I have probably served on 15 boards during my last 20 years, and so I know that it can be harder for organizations who really are in the community to raise money. It can be harder for people that are not part of certain networks to raise money. Those people tend to look like me.”

The desires of the interviewees for donor education aligns with research about the evolution of community foundations nationally as they become guides and coaches for donors (Carson, 2014). Community foundations' evolution will continue to move away from a sole focus on building charitable assets to being a knowledge broker, a collaborator of community experts, a neutral convener of solutions-oriented community leaders, and a valuable source of highlighting program efficiencies and innovation (Mazany & Perry, 2013). National leaders in the community foundation network have pushed for donor engagement to move from a static process to a shared space for learning and co-experimentation, often through giving circles (Carson, 2014.) In doing this, community foundations must be far more responsive to diversity concerns, as learning about community issues must include different voices from various segments of the Memphis community (Diaz & Shaw, 2002). One interviewee summed it up best by saying, “A lot of people in my circle who would be good candidates for donor-advised funds, you know, looking for more value added than a passthrough. They want more connection, more alignment of interests. [Competitor organization] really just wanted to be a passthrough like in the old days. They aren't interested in being innovative and transformative really. I mean, they are just like, 'we're going to be a passthrough, take a fee, and that's it'. I've always thought [community foundations] shouldn't be passthroughs. They should be catalysts, catalysts for

good work. To be an inducer. To be the place that pushes people to know things and understand things better so they can change what's wrong in Memphis. Community Foundation has, what? Five hundred million dollars? Now, they don't control all of those dollars, but donors will listen to them. You could do a lot of good.”

Finding 3b: Prospective donors lack clarity on value proposition of donor-advised funds

Several unexpected revelations emerged from the initial survey with current donors. In analyzing the disaggregated data between current White and Black donors, there were not significant differences between the responses based on race regarding satisfaction, belongingness, and trust. Current Black and White donors reported a mean response of 2.73 and 2.68 out of 10 (1 being the highest), respectively, in their experience setting up their donor-advised funds. What's most notable is that Black donors rated the experience slightly higher on average than White donors on a Likert scale. Additional questions revealed similar positive, aligned perspectives of current Black and White donors.

In another question, current donors were asked about their sense of belongingness at the foundation. Nearly 42% of Black donors responded that they “always” feel a sense of belonging, with an additional 17% saying they “often” felt a sense of belongingness. Conversely, White donors answered the same question with a 13% response rate for “always” feeling a sense of belongingness, while 41% responded “often”. Based on these figures, a majority of current Black donors not only feel a strong sense of belongingness at the foundation, but they also rate their belongingness slightly higher on average than their White counterparts.

A similar question was asked in the survey to current donors about feeling acknowledged and affirmed. The results were similar to the previous question about belongingness, with 42% of current Black donors responding that they “always” feel acknowledged and affirmed by the foundation, compared to 20% of White respondents. The

White respondents were more likely to choose “often” (35%) than Black donors (17%). White respondents chose “neutral/no opinion” (27%) more frequently compared to Black respondents (8%).

The survey also revealed that current Black and White donors had similar views about the value of a donor-advised fund. In response to the statement, “Setting up a donor-advised fund is better than giving directly to nonprofit organizations,” a quarter of both Black and White current donors answered “always.” Around 30% of White donors responded “often” and another 24% responded “sometimes.” Black donors responded “often” 33% of the time, and they chose “sometimes” 42% of the time. Only one White respondent chose “rarely,” and neither Black nor White donors responded “not at all.”

Prospective donors had different perspectives. More than half of the 13 prospective donors in the interview process were unsure of what donor-advised funds were, and those who did either knew someone with an account or were in a financial profession. An example of this was when an interviewee struggled with the value proposition, or what makes a company or service attractive to a potential client, of a donor-advised fund despite generally understanding how they work. “I say this with a large ignorance of Community Foundation, the model. So this is not meant to be critical. I’m just really trying to understand what the value add is.” One interviewee said, “People need to know about DAFs [donor advised-funds]. Why they are good. Why they matter. I think there's a unique opportunity for this education around, like, what is the Community Foundation? How does it work? How do I get involved? What is there for me to do?” Another interviewee provided this feedback: “And so obviously I'm a Black woman and I don't know anybody that has a donor advised fund. I'm actually--some of my friends are in a finance group and really talk to each other about personal biases and how we want to save up and everything. And it's just like donor-advised funds have never really even been mentioned.”

Responses to the survey provided to prospective Black donors also yielded trepidation around the value of donor-advised funds. In rating the statement “I can name the benefits of creating a donor-advised fund at the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis” on a scale of 1 to 10 (10 being the highest degree of confidence), the mean response was 4.68 with a standard deviation of 2.71. In responding to the statement “Setting up a donor-advised fund at the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis is better than giving directly to nonprofits”, the mean response was 4.48 with a standard deviation of 2.71. One interviewee stated, “I get that you can give in perpetuity because the investments yield a profit that you can then give away. That’s great. What I don’t get is what else? All I get is a relationship with Community Foundation and not the organizations that I am passionate about.”

Numerous participants in the interview expressed concern that having a donor-advised fund would disconnect them from the nonprofits they wanted to support, or that they wouldn’t see the impact as directly as when they give directly to organizations. More than half of interviewees who did not currently hold funds mentioned the concern that Community Foundation of Greater Memphis as an intermediary might hinder a relationship with their charities of choice. “I have heard that nonprofits don’t even know you made a donation to them if you do it through the Community Foundation. I want to hear from the places I’m giving,” said one prospective donor. Another said, “I’ve given directly to organizations, and they tell me what they did with my money. Sometimes I hear from direct beneficiaries of my donation. I know my money is well spent. If I do it through the Community Foundation, I don’t know if my money did anything good. Do I just get a thank you letter and that’s it?”

Finding 3c: Prospective donors are concerned about autonomy and power dynamics

The interviews with prospective donors revealed that many are concerned about their own autonomy as donors. More than half of the participants were unclear about how much

direction they would be able to provide for their fund, aligning with the number of interviewees who did not fundamentally understand how a donor-advised fund worked. “Do I get to decide where the money goes?” one interviewee asked me. “I could just give directly and avoid any hassle.” The participants in the interviews often conflated donor-advised funds with the public grants that Community Foundation of Greater Memphis provides. To be clear, committees are used only for the public granting process, while individual donors determine where money is spent from their personal donor-advised funds. This concern by the interviewees of “decision by committee” linked directly to the staff and board diversity as well as concern for the limited diversity of GIVE365 donors. Several of the interviewees believed that the more public granting programs such as the MLK50 grants and the lack of representative diversity on committees that determine who gets funded may skew perceptions on whether a person with a donor-advised fund has control over their investment. One-third of the interviewees expressed concern that grant decisions that directly impact the Black community in Memphis are decided by committees that may be majority White. One prospective donor said, “As an African American, if I'm going to give to an organization, I have to feel that they have knowledge of the African [American] community and that they have leadership from the African American community. Do they ever convene the African American community? Do they have relationships within that community that, you know, address community problem solving? So I kind of think, you know, you tend to want to invest where you know organizations kind of understand those issues. I can't say with certainty that the people deciding the grants do.”

In addition to the confusion regarding the public granting process versus donor-advised funds, prospective donors also expressed concern that the staff of Community Foundation would either not be receptive to their giving priorities or would try to sway them. This concern ties back to the prospective donor's lack of clarity in the process of setting up a donor-advised fund. At the meeting with Community Foundation of Greater Memphis on January 20,

2021, Caroline Kuebler, Director of Development, described the intake process with new donors. She reiterated that donors can elect to send their donations to any 501(c)3 organization in good standing with the IRS, with the exception of any nonprofit listed as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center. She also stated that most new donors already know where they want to send their donations, but she will help anyone looking for support. Sutton Mora, Chief Operations Officer for Community Foundation of Greater Memphis, also noted that the board does have “variance power” that allows them to override any donor-advised grant, but this power has never been used.

In contrast, the three current Black donors that I interviewed provided mostly positive feedback about their experiences. In fact, all of the fund holders stated that having a donor-advised fund helped them to feel *more* autonomy and power, not less. One current donor stated, “You know when you set up a fund, you sit in a room with others who have funds. You know you can speak more clearly and directly because of your fund. You're sitting there as an equal...You're not asking for, you know, special designation. You're not there as a courtesy for, you know, inclusion. You're there as an equal and certainly by virtue of that, your voice is less restrained.” Another participant said, “I've got skin in the game. I feel good because I direct where my money goes. On the flip side, I like it when Community Foundation contacts me about some initiative I haven't heard of because, well, it makes me feel more connected to bigger collective work that I'm normally not a part of. Like, for example, the—what is it called?—COVID-19 Fund? That was great. I wouldn't have even known how to give to that fund, but I got the updates and saw where the money was going and that I was a part of some of the relief in the community. I felt like my money went farther.”

Recommendations

Diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts have emerged as a key priority and challenge for nonprofit organizations in recent years (Thomas-Breitfeld & Kunreuther, 2017). Thanks in part to diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts recently becoming cultural and political flashpoints in the media as well as the shifting demographics of the United States (Guzman, 2020), the conversation has only intensified in the nonprofit community as leaders seek to solve the riddle of developing a diverse, representative organization. Though diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts have emerged as a focus for nonprofit organizations in the United States, the efforts to diversify their boards of directors, staff, and donors in many nonprofits are often unsuccessful (Thomas-Breitfeld & Kunreuther, 2017). While many diversity initiatives publicly celebrate underrepresented groups, the initiatives do nothing to change traditionally marginalized groups' status within organizations (Weisinger, et. al, 2016).

There is no precise roadmap to diversifying a donor base at a community foundation, but the literature and interviews can provide some guidance on best practices for moving forward. The recommendations below may seem somewhat vague, but they should be regarded as the first step in a long-term process. *Because the voices of Black Memphians have been historically underrepresented in decision-making at the foundation, any next steps to the diversification efforts, specifically as it relates to Black donors, should be guided by Black community members.* I have intentionally left many of the recommendations in the abstract, as further decisions and feedback should be provided by members of the Black community. As a White principle investigator, I am unable to articulate the Black experience and the many nuances outside of the research and the voices of the survey and interview participants.

An important component to the recruitment pre-work is that the organization's board and staff leadership must reckon with the historical organizational context that may have led to homogeneity of stakeholders like board members and donors (Weisinger, et al., 2016). An

acknowledgement of environment, history, and culture carries importance. Contextual conditions should be understood to avoid a solution that may not take into account mediating and moderating factors that might influence the outcome of the recruitment process (Daley, 2002). Board members', current donors', and staff's stereotypes regarding the values, attributes, and concerns of minority groups may also have contributed to the heterogeneity and should be addressed before launching any recruitment effort (Weisinger, et al., 2016). Any next steps should not be made in a silo; rather, the foundation's leadership should ensure that all decisions made at the foundation moving forward are made by representatives that reflect the diversity of the Memphis community.

A successful commitment to diversifying the foundation's donor base includes both a commitment to diversity as well as inclusion. Though diversity and inclusion are often conflated terms, the diversity of an organization is contingent upon the leadership's commitment to inclusion (Fredette, et. al, 2016). Homogeneity risks blind spots in the organization's decision-making, especially when the board, staff, committee, and donor composition do not reflect the constituents served (Mervenne, 2020). The organization's commitment extends beyond simply diversity for diversity's sake but a commitment to sharing power and voice in the name of truly living up to the foundation's role as a community hub.

A heterogenous organization does not necessarily represent an inclusive organization (Brown, 2002). Inclusion is also conflated with assimilation, which leads to a potentially hollow celebration of differences while expecting the new stakeholders to live in agreement with current policies, norms, and priorities (Fredette, et. al, 2016). The cultural shift should include a commitment to viewing conflict as honorable (Weisinger, et. al, 2016), although the inclusion of differing opinions and viewpoints could alienate the class elite that may dominate the decision-making processes, resulting in a loss of fundraising and long-term board members (Daley, 2002). Tokenized stakeholders may be subconsciously viewed by the dominant leaders of the

organization as not having full membership, and the existing minority stakeholders may not feel as though they can speak up (Brown, 2002). Without an increase in influence by previously marginalized participants, organizational effectiveness decreases (Fredette, et. al, 2016). Differing opinions, which may be a new and uncomfortable change for long-standing stakeholders of the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis, may lead to the slowing of governance processes, yet these new conversations unearth topics that have been taken-for-granted in the past but have an overall impact on the organization's quality of engagement of marginalized groups (Fredette & Sessler-Bernstein, 2019).

The change process itself has shown to be difficult and time-consuming. A study by Fredette and Sessler-Bernstein (2019) revealed that organizational commitment to diversity and inclusion often lead to a period of performance decline in the organization as stakeholders and leadership acclimates to the new conditions of increased constructive conflict and shifted priorities. The acceleration of organizational effectiveness normally only occurs after an extended period of deceleration, which could test the patience and commitment of the board, staff, and donors or prompt a hasty determination that the diversity efforts have failed. *The foundation must make a full commitment to the effort in the long-term, even as the leadership will know that this period of growth will not be easy or comfortable and may result in lost revenue from some donors.*

Research shows that an intentional, systematic recruitment strategy has a positive association to increased sensitivity to diversity and inclusion (Brown, 2002). Before an organization begins a recruitment effort to increase diversity of its members, several structures and activities may be important to develop to ensure that recruitment is organized and logical, such as a targeted recruitment plan and the development of new ad hoc task forces. Targeted and segmented recruitment, as opposed to an approach in the spirit of "throwing a wide net," is the best choice based on the feedback provided by the interviewees.

Identifying key leadership in the work of diversifying the organization can be an effective first step in systematizing recruitment efforts. For example, studies have revealed that diversity task forces have been positively associated with more effective recruitment efforts. A diversity task force could be developed to work on examining and potentially remedying internal cultural practices and establishing new norms (Brown, 2002) or developing recommendations for next steps for the below recommendations. In developing a functionally inclusive organization, the question that may be posed by leadership is, “What are our sacred cows, and should they remain sacred (Daley, 2002)?” Leadership can explore what sanctions for differing opinions exist in the culture of the organization and work to remove barriers that may prevent alternative viewpoints from being expressed as decisions are made (Daley & Angula, 1994). The exploration should also determine if incentives exist to motivate minority members to voice differing opinions (Daley, 2002).

Studies suggest that specific goals and timelines for diversity initiatives correlate to more positive outcomes (Daley, 2002). Board and staff leadership should create specific diversity goals, assign the responsibility to a person or committee, and develop a timeline for achieving those goals. Evaluation is also an important component to this, though additional research is needed in evaluating factors such as social exclusion (Barraket, 2005). The organization can use balanced scorecards and climate/belongingness assessments as evaluative tools (Doyle, 2019).

Below are the recommendations based on the findings from the study:

Recommendation 1: Use external communications to lift up Black donor priorities

Communications were a consistent theme in the interviews with prospective donors. The foundation should use communications channels as a way of uplifting Black donors and their priorities. “Lean into the causes we care about,” said one interviewee. “I know they are

scared to mention Black Lives Matter because of some of their donors.” Several participants expressed concern that Black donors and relevant funding focus areas were rarely featured in the foundation’s communications. Three mentioned competitors and other nonprofits’ communications that were considered “tone deaf” as they attempted to speak to Black funder priorities, though Community Foundation of Greater Memphis was not named as “tone deaf.” “Paying very close attention to wording is very important and critical,” said one participant. Lack of authenticity, mentioned by several interviewees, was connected to the “tone deafness” of other competitors’ communications. “We can tell when you’re pandering to us.”

Because gift giving is an extremely salient part of Black identity, Community Foundation of Greater Memphis should ensure that Black donor priorities are lifted up in communications, as the communications are likely to trigger the Black identity and assist in facilitating identity-congruence (Oyserman, 2009). One way to influence decision-making in IBM theory is to frame what identity means in context (Oyerman, 2015). In this case, the foundation should frame issues in context of how they either hurt or lift up the Black community. Without the contextual framing, Black donors may suspect that the communicator is not speaking directly to them. Interviewees mentioned feeling connected to issues such as policy work around equity issues, anti-racism work, support of Black businesses, voter engagement, education, healthcare access, and housing. Imbuing meaning through the lens of Black identity in all communications, or at least segmented communications, is an important part of creating a positive connection between a person’s identity and the foundation’s work. Most of these issues align with themes in the literature, but they are rarely reflected in Community Foundation’s communications, said one interviewee. “Community Foundation needs a point of view on racial justice, racial equity issues, things that affect Black people. I felt like their response to the marches and murders of Black people [in 2020] was tepid at best. They had the opportunity to set the tone. I was

waiting for a fund to be created or some education about racial justice, but that never happened.”

Black donors need to see themselves reflected in the communications, especially when institutional trust is low by non-donors or prospective donors (Gasman, 2002; Aaker & Akatsu, 2009). In reviewing the website, a majority of photos used showed Black children and adults as service recipients or nonprofit workers, while most pictures featured White donors. Only two photos clearly showed Black donors. Priming audiences to see themselves as donors increases the likelihood of receiving a donation from them (Kessler & Milkman, 2018). One interviewee said, “I think a lot of times there's this deficit narrative around Black people. Like, [Black] people don't give and Black people don't tip at restaurants. It's a similar...situation and I don't necessarily think that that's true. I think that there's a way to cultivate Black donors that is very different than other groups of donors and so just being able to kind of plug into that being transparent, paying attention to wording and messaging.”

A plan to communicate the organizational shifts to external stakeholders should be developed in tandem with the diversity efforts. This should be included in a strategic recruitment plan (see Recommendation 4). Alignment of and communicating shared visions and the steps to organizational change should be transparent, and organizations can affirm their commitments in press releases and other external communications (Grad, 2020; Mervenne, 2020). An explicit acknowledgement of previous issues with diversity and inclusion are also recommended to show stakeholders that the organizations is “doing the work” required before recruiting begins (Bernstein, et al., 2019).

Recommendation 2: Diversify board, staff, and vendors

Research has shown that complex grantmaking requires diversity (Boesso, 2019). The benefits of a diverse organization are many, though the positive outcomes often overshadow the

complex implementation of a diversity initiative. Research shows that greater diversity in nonprofit leadership leads to increased donors and volunteers as well as a more talented workforce (Kim & Mason, 2018). Diversity also encourages innovation and creativity (Brown, 2002) while mitigating the effects of groupthink (Grad, 2020). Adequately ethno-racially diverse nonprofits more often show improvements in fiduciary performance, stakeholder engagement, and organizational responsiveness (Fredette & Sessler-Bernstein, 2019). What is sometimes overlooked in the literature is that achieving a diverse, representative staff and board is a complex process that includes a prodigious organizational commitment, intentionality, and patience *before* recruiting diverse board and staff members can even begin.

Diversity was cited by a majority of prospective donors as a major barrier to becoming a donor to the foundation. Of the sixteen staff members listed on the foundation's website, six were Black, representing 37.5% of the staff. Interviewees' concerns about staff diversity were often connected to power dynamics and decision-making authority. In reviewing the staff positions, none of the six Black staff members are in leadership roles, nor would they have significant influence in the strategic direction of the organization. In reviewing the board of directors on the organization's website, 8 of 22 board members were Black, representing 36% of the board of directors. The racial diversity may be higher than some of their competitors, but the foundation has not yet achieved true demographic representation in a city that is almost 69% Black.

In late 2019, Community Foundation of Greater Memphis took part in an 8-month learning cohort with Beloved Community, a racial justice organization based in New Orleans. As part of the cohort, Community Foundation of Greater Memphis created a plan of action to diversify their staff and rethink their policies to be more inclusive. The pandemic slowed the foundation's ability to enact the workplan, though leadership stated that they are still committed to the work, especially as it relates to the 2019-2022 strategic plan. Research suggests that the

change process itself is difficult and time-consuming. A study by Fredette and Sessler-Bernstein (2019) revealed that organizational commitment to diversity and inclusion often lead to a period of performance decline as organizations acclimate to the new climate of increased constructive conflict and shifted priorities. The acceleration of board and staff effectiveness normally only occurs after the extended period of deceleration. Community Foundation should continue its effort to diversify its board, staff, and vendors to be more reflective of the community with the knowledge that this effort will be arduous and temporarily lead to a slowing of work and decision-making.

One promising practice that has been incorporated into other community foundations is creating an intern/fellows program that specifically recruits from marginalized communities. Both Chicago Community Trust and San Francisco Foundation pair interns with program officers to bring new Black talent into their organization and philanthropy in general. Community Foundation of Greater Memphis can create new ad hoc structures and positions that can maintain or increase diversity (Diaz, et al., 2002) and develop a talent pool of trained professionals that could serve as the next permanent staff members of the foundation. The interns/fellows could also serve as recruiters for new communities or prospective donors.

Recommendation 3: Create identity-based giving circles

Identity-congruence with potential Black donors could be further remedied by the addition of identity-based giving circles. Giving circles are commonplace in Black social organizations like Jack & Jill, family reunions, and fraternities and sororities. Much like GIVE365 is meant to build a new base of donors, identity-based giving circles have shown to incite enthusiasm and participation in other markets. St. Paul Foundation, often cited as an exemplar for diversity efforts in community foundation networks, has three diversity funds directed by racially and ethnically diverse community leaders (Diaz & Shaw, 2002). The Community

Foundation for Mississippi has recently developed an LGBTQ+ fund in partnership with several prominent LGBTQ+ leaders that now has its own website. By allowing the opportunity for a giving circle, Community Foundation of Greater Memphis will help foster identity-congruence for prospective Black donors while also building institutional trust that can later be leveraged when approaching donors about a donor-advised fund. Those with existing relationships with organizations are more likely to give repeatedly, so a giving circle is an entry point for longer-term investments in the foundation (Drezner, 2009). One note to the foundation is that the contributions given to an identity-based giving circle should be invested in a firm that also fosters identity-congruence with Black donors. A Black investment firm or Black financial institution should be considered when establishing the fund.

To provide feedback on starting an identity-based giving circle, one interviewee had already mapped out a plan. “So start with an [ad hoc] advisory board,” the interviewee stated. “So...you have your board of directors, but I think you start with an advisory board with the specific purpose of engaging African Americans. So definitely, starting with someone from clergy, or someone from church; that is huge in the African American community; lawyers and doctors, people that are influential people that have been engaged, so maybe there are members of the foundation. Right now there are Black people that will be willing to work with the foundation on this.”

Recommendation 4: Create a strategic plan for outreach to the Black community

The number one reason why people give is because they were asked (Lui & Aacker, 2008). The literature and feedback from interviewees align and provide a pathway towards more strategic outreach to the Black community, and it begins with a recruitment strategy. However, this work is two-fold. Community Foundation of Greater Memphis must strategically build authentic relationships with new groups while fostering an environment where those

groups feel a sense of membership and belonging. As one interviewee stated, “[Community Foundation of Greater Memphis] need[s] to find a true focus and effort and energy around bringing more people of color into the fold so it’s not just kind of being like a ‘one-and-done’ but it’s just really being more integrated into the experience itself.” The appropriate ambassador should also be identified for the groups. The foundation can ask board members, committee members, and GIVE365 donors to serve as ambassadors. Feedback from interviewees and research suggest that the foundation should work to build new, authentic relationships with the following groups:

- Black churches
- Social organizations like Links, Inc. and Jack & Jill
- Black fraternities and sororities
- Black investment firms and financial advisors

Based on the feedback of the interviewees, the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis should not simply reach out but foster a sense of community and belonging *before* prospects become donors. One interviewee recommended that outreach even start with children in grade school, educating them about nonprofits and charitable giving. To build institutional trust, both functional and social inclusion should be prioritized within the Community Foundation.

Research suggests that organizations limit their success unless they implement both functionally inclusive and socially inclusive practices before recruitment begins. To be clear, the practices mentioned below extend beyond formal policies and focus instead on the *behaviors* of the organization. Inclusion is not merely a checklist of activities and rules but a true collective paradigm shift (Bernstein and Bilimoria, 2013). Diversity is more easily quantifiable than inclusion and often used as the sole metric for success (Weisinger, et al., 2016.), yet instituting more inclusive governance practices before recruitment has a powerful impact on success. Inclusion accounts for more than a person’s presence and includes a person’s self-efficacy,

sense of belonging, and congruence of value systems with the rest of the organization (Bernstein and Bilimoria, 2013). Fredette and Krause (2016) define success for organizations and their boards as an “inclusion breakthrough,” a “powerful transformation of an organization’s culture to one in which every individual is valued as a vital component of an organization’s success and competitive advantage (p. 295).” Inclusion is an active process, and even with a “breakthrough,” the work continues indefinitely and must be embedded in the practices and culture of the organization (Barraket, 2005). Board and staff members, especially those in the majority or the class elite, should remain vigilantly attentive to the significance of a person’s cultural identity and how it may inform their viewpoints (Bernstein & Bilimoria, 2013).

Inclusion can be divided into two parts: functional inclusion and social inclusion (Fredette, et al., 2016). Functional inclusion is the purposeful co-creation of structures and culture with a diverse group of decision-makers. A functionally inclusive advisory board, giving circle, or board of directors allows each member to exercise personal influence in the co-creation of strategy and policy in the organization. Minority members serve as both co-creators and as legitimizers of the organization’s decisions to external constituents.

Social inclusion, on the other hand, extends beyond decision-making power and prioritizes the interrelationships and authentic bonds between members (Fredette, et al., 2016). In a socially inclusive environment, board members, staff members, and donors are intentionally engaged in socialization processes such as retreats, donor events, and new donor orientations to build bonds and trust between members. Socialization and acculturation processes are more effective when a person identifies as a member of the culture of the organization (Daley & Angulo, 1994). Donor events could also be combined with donor education opportunities.

Outside of the groups listed above, Community Foundation of Greater Memphis can recruit individuals through events that are centered around the Black community. One

participant stated, “I would love the Community Foundation to kind of rethink some of their events: where they are, how they occur. You know, I've been to Community Foundation events before and I may be the only person of color in the room. I mean, I think that those type of things are creating barriers for engaging the Black community. So what does it look like for us to create events that are really centered around engaging with the Black community?” Some ideas that were mentioned by interviewees included partnering with event planner Cynthia Daniels, offering a pop-up “give-a-thon” for a particular cause, and hosting an event at the Southern Heritage Classic.

Recommendation 5: Create a more robust donor education program

An organization’s programming has a direct impact on its donations, as it creates connections between the organization’s mission and the interests of the donor (Drezner, 2009). Educational opportunities through the foundation can be seen as donor education for existing donors and as engagement opportunities for new community members to participate in Community Foundation activities. As the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis moves from its asset-building phase to its evolution as a hub for community innovation and social change, positioning the organization as a “knowledge broker” will help diversify audiences. The foundation also has the responsibility of fostering a culture of philanthropy in the community, which can be done partially by serving as an awareness-builder for complex community issues (Mazany & Perry, 2013).

Interviewees seemed disinterested in donor education events that focus on larger organizations that already had brand awareness. Instead, most were particularly interested in learning about the specific needs of multiple communities in Memphis, hearing from community leaders, learning about innovative strategies for addressing community need, unearthing the complexities and systemic roots of community issues, and large initiatives that are having a

collective impact. Prospective donors also expect the foundation staff to provide resources about these topics during the intake process as they create a donor-advised fund. Many of the prospective donors were interested in finding new organizations as opposed to, as one interviewee said, “the same ones that have been around fifty years and have done nothing but market themselves well.”

Recommendation 6: Reframe the foundation’s value proposition to speak to diverse audiences

In the interviews with prospective Black donors, many struggled to understand the value proposition, or the benefits associated with a brand or service, of a donor-advised fund. As the principle investigator, I was unfortunately not able to provide them with additional information during the interviews. There were questions about the entirety of the donor-advised fund concept, from intake and onboarding to processes for releasing funds to who controlled the funds. The foundation should convene a group of Black prospective donors to continue to identify key pieces of donor-advised funds that speak to Black audiences. Based on the surveys and interviews, current Black donors are satisfied with their experiences as a donor-advised fund account holder, expressing feelings of equality and power. How can the foundation dispel misunderstandings about donor-advised funds while also more effectively communicating the positive experiences of Black donors in an identity-congruent way?

One concrete way to mitigate some of the misunderstandings about donor-advised funds is to create additional materials that explicitly provide the pathway to setting up a donor-advised fund. Messaging should also include the benefits to potential donors such as tax deductions, donor autonomy, and the ability to grow the donation in order to give to an organization in perpetuity. Because interviewees stated the importance of messaging, the materials should be

co-created by the various communities that the Community Foundation seeks to recruit, whether it be the Black community, Latinx community, LGBTQ+ community, or others.

Recommendation 7: Further democratize the granting process

“The processes for evaluating, assessing, and distributing funds are always embedded with biases in the people in those committee groups,” said one interviewee. Though donor-advised funds are controlled directly by the donor, the public grant process serves as a general barrier to participation for some Black donors. Because the public grants and giving circles like GIVE365 serve as an entryway to long-term engagement through donor-advised funds, the foundation should have a particular interest in ensuring that communities served by grants are also represented in the grantmaking decision process. Across the country, more progressive foundations are engaging marginalized people in distribution of funds, whether it be gathering feedback to frame the grantmaking process or allowing community members to make the decisions for their own communities (Herro & Obeng-Odoom, 2019). Community Foundation of Greater Memphis would be an exemplar in the Memphis philanthropic community by being the first organization to allow marginalized communities to make their own decisions about funding.

Community foundations across the country are rethinking the power dynamics within their organizations as they consistently redefine what the meaning of “community” is. Community foundations have traditionally been built on the whims and priorities of wealthy White donors, which only perpetuates the historical imbalance created by Andrew Carnegie and other philanthropists in the 19th century. Yes, wealthy White donors have helped to establish the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis as the largest in the state and region, but a shift to democratizing all or some of their public grants would serve as a model to other foundations *and* instill a sense of ownership in the multiple communities that comprise Memphis and the Mid-South.

Those who hold donor-advised funds have control over their own charitable gifts through the foundation, but the public grantmaking programs were consistently shown to be barriers to further participation by Black donors due to the demographics of grant committees and which organizations are funded. Many interviewees praised the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis for ensuring that a majority of organizations funded by the Mid-South COVID-19 Regional Response Fund were led by people of color. The foundation should create specific norms around grantmaking, including representative leadership on committees and targeted goals for which organizations are funded. The foundation should create specific targets in the public grantmaking programs to fund a particular number of Black-led organizations or organizations that serve communities of color. Based on feedback from many of the interviewees, committees should extend beyond the “usual suspects” like board members and include representatives of communities to be served by the grants. Low wealth individuals, not just those with donor-advised funds, should be included. In some instances, low wealth participants should be paid for their time or offered other benefits such as bus passes or childcare to encourage participation.

Conclusion

This quality improvement study focused on diversifying the donor base of Community Foundation of Greater Memphis to ensure that the funding priorities of Black Memphians are better represented. The overarching research question for this study is: How can the Community Foundation encourage more participation by Black donors in community giving through donor-advised funds? The findings and subsequent recommendations from this study will support Community Foundation of Greater Memphis’ board and staff leadership to strategically plan for further engaging a more diverse donor base in the Memphis area. The findings revealed that racial identity is particularly salient among current and prospective Black donors of the foundation. Diversity of staff and board was a key barrier to participation for many

prospective donors, and the prospective donors expect an explicit commitment to racial uplift by the foundation as well as robust donor education. Additionally, the foundation lacked a formal strategy to recruit and retain Black donors. Prospective donors lacked clarity on the value proposition of donor-advised funds, specifically how the benefits of a donor-advised fund outweighed giving directly to a nonprofit. Finally, prospective donors were concerned with autonomy and power dynamics, which serves as another barrier to participation.

Recommendations for the foundation include:

- Use external communications to focus on racial uplift efforts to ensure identity-congruence and representation of the diverse priorities of donors
- Continue to diversify the foundation's board, staff, and vendors
- Create identity-based giving circles that empowers Black donors to focus collectively on causes that are most meaningful to them
- Develop a strategic plan for outreach to and engagement of the Black community, focusing on existing networks such as churches and social organizations
- Create a more robust donor education program, focusing on important community issues, underserved communities, and innovative solutions employed by nonprofits
- Reframe the foundation's value proposition to speak to diverse audiences, mapping out the processes and benefits of creating a donor-advised funds
- Further democratize the granting process, allowing more community input into the decision-making process for grants outside of donor-advised funds.

A more robust understanding of the historical and cultural context combined with the candid feedback from participants in this study can serve the Community Foundation of Greater

Memphis and other local philanthropic institutions. Though every city is demographically different, this study design could be replicated in other areas by community foundations as a means of eliciting community feedback about diversity efforts. This quality improvement project could also provide useful information to other fundraising organizations, especially in a city as demographically diverse as Memphis.

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Appendix A

Demographic Survey (Part A)

Audience: Existing Community Foundation Donors

4 items

For each question check the box which is most appropriate for you.

1. Racial Identity

- American Indian or Alaska Native
- White
- African American/Black
- Asian
- Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
- Mixed Race
- Other

2. Ethnicity

- Hispanic or Latino origin
- Not Hispanic or Latino

3. Age

- 21-30
- 31-40
- 41-50
- 51-60
- 60+

4. What is the balance of your donor-advised fund at Community Foundation of Greater

Memphis?

- \$5000-\$9999
- \$10,000-\$24,999
- \$25,000-\$49,999
- \$50,000-\$99,999
- \$100,000-\$249,999
- \$250,000-\$499,999
- \$500,000-\$999,999
- \$1,000,000 +

Appendix B

Giving to the Community Foundation (Part B)

Audience: Existing Community Foundation Donors

8 items

Likert Scale

Perceptions of Community Foundation (Section B)

Rate the following statements based on your personal perspective:

0=not at all, 10=very much so

- 1) When I initially set up my fund at Community Foundation of Greater Memphis, I understood how a donor advised fund worked.
- 2) Community Foundation of Greater Memphis understands my giving priorities.
- 3) The Community Foundation of Greater Memphis reflects my identity.
- 4) My racial identity informs my decisions on the type of organizations I give my charitable gifts.
- 5) When I think of Community Foundation of Greater Memphis, I feel a sense of belonging.
- 6) Community Foundation of Greater Memphis acknowledges and affirms me.
- 7) Setting up a donor advised fund at Community Foundation is better than giving directly to nonprofit organizations.
- 8) I trust the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis.

Appendix C

Demographic Survey (Part A)

Audience: Community Foundation Donor Prospect List

3 items

For each question check the box which is most appropriate for you.

1. Racial Identity

- American Indian or Alaska Native
- White
- African American/Black
- Asian American
- Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
- Mixed Race
- Other

2. Ethnicity

- Hispanic or Latino origin
- Not Hispanic or Latino

3. Age

- 21-30
- 31-40
- 41-50
- 51-60
- 60+

Appendix D

Identity and Giving

Audience: Community Foundation Donor Prospect List

4 items

Likert Scale

Participants will be asked to rate the following statements based on their personal perspective:

0=not at all, 10=very much so

- 1) My racial identity informs my decisions on the type of organizations I give my charitable gifts.
- 2) When faced with a new opportunity, my response is informed by my racial identity.
- 3) I am more likely to give to an organization that acknowledges and affirms my racial identity.
- 4) Community Foundation of Greater Memphis uplifts my race.

Appendix E

Giving to the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis (Part C)

Audience: Community Foundation Donor Prospect List

6 items

Likert Scale

Rate the following statements based on your personal perspective:

0=not at all, 10=very much so

- 1) I can name the benefits of creating a donor advised fund at the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis.
- 2) Community Foundation of Greater Memphis understands my giving priorities.
- 3) The Community Foundation of Greater Memphis reflects my identity.
- 4) When I think of Community Foundation of Greater Memphis, I feel a sense of belonging.
- 5) Community Foundation of Greater Memphis acknowledges and affirms me.
- 6) Setting up a donor advised fund at Community Foundation is better than giving directly to nonprofit organizations.

Appendix F

Interview Protocol

Introduction

Good morning/afternoon/evening, my name is Kevin Dean, and I am the principle investigator for this study. I appreciate your time and commitment to this project. I am asking you to share your experiences as both an Black donor and as a prospective donor to the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis. My role is to gather the information that you provide based on the questions I provide. I encourage you to be as candid as possible in your responses.

There are no wrong answers. Please feel free to share your perspective even if it may differ from what others might say. Keep in mind that I'm interested in listening to anything that you are willing to share.

Please be advised that although I will take every precaution to maintain confidentiality of the data, the nature of focus groups prevents us from guaranteeing confidentiality. I would like to remind participants to respect the privacy of your fellow participants and not repeat what is said in the focus group to others.

Today's interview will be recorded on Zoom. We are recording the session because people often say very helpful things in these discussions and I can't write fast enough to record it all down. While we may address each other by first name here, your names will not be used in any of our reports. These recordings will be used for the research study.

Before we start today, I would like to give you a chance to ask any questions about the study before we start today.

[pause]

Are we ready to begin?

[pause]

Today's interview will ask you to share your experiences. You've been identified as a prospective donor/current donor for the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis. We are interested in hearing about your experiences as an Black donor in general as well as your specific experiences with Community Foundation of Greater Memphis.

Questions:

1. How does your Black identity impact where you decide to contribute your charitable donations?
2. Can you describe what a positive donor experience would look like if you contributed to Community Foundation of Greater Memphis?
3. What would de-motivate you from or cause a barrier to creating a donor-advised fund at Community Foundation of Greater Memphis?

4. What impact, if any, do you think your contribution would make to a donor-advised fund at Community Foundation of Greater Memphis?
5. Do you have any additional feedback for the foundation as it works to diversify its donor base?