Discussion Guide: Power imbalances in funding relationships

What are we learning about how philanthropy, INGOs, and civil society organizations shift away from traditional practices that are harmful and limiting?

In 2020 and early 2021, a team from the Aspen Institute's Aspen Planning and Evaluation Program conducted the fourth and final phase of an evaluation of the Hewlett Foundation’s Strategy to Support Local Family Planning and Reproductive Health Advocacy in Sub-Saharan Africa. The team invited Tian Johnson and Maaza Seyoum of the African Alliance, in collaboration with evaluation team member Rhonda Schlangen, to ground the evaluation in a reflection of the changing context in which the strategy was taking place. Johnson and Seyoum facilitated three reflection and discussion sessions with the evaluation team, drawing on a set of contemporary media and participants’ own professional and lived experiences.

Each session focused on a group of actors represented in the Hewlett strategy: philanthropy, international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), and civil society organizations. While the purpose of the sessions was to surface, explore, illuminate, and explore themes related to the evaluation, we believe the questions and related documents are relevant to other funders, INGOs, and civil society organizations grappling with questions about equity, power, and how to support meaningful and lasting change. This document presents the three discussion guides prepared for these discussions, slightly modified for a general audience.

Session I: Civil society organizations driving change in their relationships with INGOs and Funders
Session II: Transformation of INGO practices within the funder-INGO-CSO dynamic
Session III: Evolution of philanthropic support for civil society advocacy

Using this guide: We recommend first reviewing the selected readings and then organizing a group discussion of the guiding questions. The conversations can help teams draw on new and different insights and better understand the dynamics that affect their work.

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Session I. Civil society organizations driving change in their relationships with INGOs and Funders

This theme explores how civil society organizations in Africa are thinking about and advocating for changes on the part of philanthropy, INGOs, and other funding sources. CSOs may be unwilling or reluctant to advocate for such changes because CSO staff may be dependent on philanthropy for their livelihoods and for the organization’s continued existence. The status quo is also reinforced by persistent colonial mindsets in the donor-grantee relationship, grounded in the principles of white supremacy culture and nurtured by INGOs’ continued need for validation through their intermediary role.

Discussion questions

1. What changes are African CSOs advocating for, and how are they doing so?
2. Which CSOs are comfortable doing this? What contributes to some CSOs feeling more comfortable with this advocacy than others?
3. To which philanthropies are they making these demands?
4. To what degree does race influence if, when, and how CSOs speak out?
5. Finally, how is this advocacy resulting in more effective work on behalf of communities?

Pre-discussion reading

   EPIC Africa is a Senegal-based team with a mission of "enhancing philanthropic impact by filling critical data and capacity gaps in Africa's philanthropic market infrastructure." Their website states that they "help to propel African civil society organizations to higher standards of performance, accountability, and transparency while inspiring greater local legitimacy and support." This 2019 report summarizes their work surveying close to 400 CSOs from 46 countries on the continent. It provides a general overview of the organizations and then breaks down data on the CSOs' organizational capacity. All of the information is interesting, concisely presented, and worthy of review. However, the most relevant section for this discussion appears on page 19: TOP TEN TIPS FOR FUNDERS. Here, EPIC-Africa has aggregated the top ten recommendations made to potential funders by these 400 African CSOs.

   The International NGO Training and Research Centre’s report summarizes debates convened at the end of 2014 on global civil society sustainability issues. One interesting issue these debates explored was whether there is a difference between organic civil action and the work of formal civil society organizations. Whether formalization and international funding erode the legitimacy of CSOs appears to have been discussed at length and is summarized in this report with some memorable quotes. Also of interest: proposals (including case studies) for diversification of funding models and suggestions on initiating INGO-CSO relationships with exit plans in mind.
3. **How to be Anti-Racist in Aid** (2020 – Webinar)
   This discussion is critical as it provides the essential building blocks of the work around decolonization. Contextual examples of Haiti and Liberia are shared, and these threads run through the development aid/INGO/philanthropy landscape. Panelists spoke about the challenges raised by donor aid/support that does not focus adequately (at times, not at all) on structural change and the need always to highlight the historical and current role of white supremacy in maintaining the status quo. INGOs need to recognize that their "long history" in-country is a problem that speaks to ineffective local development and sustainability (and, by extension, their ownership of it) and not a success. The panelists also encourage the audience to recognize that all-white INGO/donor leadership is a sign of white supremacy culture. "If you are trying to tell your story using back people on the continent, you are supporting white supremacy culture."

4. **Are INGOs ready to give up power?** (2019 – Blogpost)

5. **Responses to 'Are INGOs ready to give up power?'** (2019 – Blog post responses)
   This blog post and the comment thread that follows – including perspectives from some global leaders – situate the questions on INGOs and power. They raise questions about the role of dignity in the development narrative, ask fundamental questions around power shifting vs. the taking of power, and finally, the relevance of INGOs in the absence of a clearly defined intention to meaningfully change the status quo. These readings mention the current and urgent need for diversified funding sources with a domestic focus to secure sustainability and agency.

6. **Five disempowering traits that international NGOs must drop** (2016 – Blogpost)
   This piece unpacks what the writer (Irüngū Houghton, currently Executive Director of Amnesty International) describes as the need for "new models of cross-border organizing based not on the hierarchies of foreign aid but peer-to-peer learning and collaboration between equal partners." These include reframing developmental relationships, particularly the continued positionality and privilege of INGOs in-country or as "middlemen" in the funding relationship. The second aspect reflects on the range of risks and safety that comes with INGOs operating in-country and how meaningful support for local leadership of the response can enhance legitimacy. The third trait is rooted in all others and speaks to the need to dismantle aged approaches to advocacy and support authentically local development and social transformation approaches. The fourth trait is the ongoing leadership of development space by Western (mainly white) people. Of course, examples abound, with only 4 percent of INGO CEOs being of African origin and, even then, drawn from the upper classes of their contexts. The fifth trait questions the impact of the big picture bureaucracy exposed by INGOs and, by extension shaping the donor/INGO funding approaches and eventually programming. The SDGs are mentioned here as a specific example of the futility of positioning development in broad silos with the expectation of meaningful transformation.

7. **Foreign Aid Is Having a Reckoning** – (2021 – Editorial Board Piece)
   This editorial board piece from the New York Times provides a well-written summary of many of the issues discussed in the fields of development, humanitarian assistance, and philanthropy for close to a decade. These include the importance of decentralizing decision-making, elevating voices from the Global South, recognizing the pernicious effects of white supremacy, and providing more direct and more flexible funding to grassroots organizations. What makes this piece most interesting is its reflection (bordering on real optimism) about the fact that that the convergence of the COVID-19 pandemic, the global reach of the Black Lives Matter movement in 2020, and the installment of the
new US administration might finally provide an opportunity for meaningful change if those in power are willing to capitalize on it.

8. **#PhilanthropySoWhite** (2021 – Webinar)
   This is a well-managed one-hour webinar facilitated by Edgar Villanueva (Senior Vice President of Programs and Advocacy at the Schott Foundation and author of Decolonizing Wealth) that brought together three white leaders of US-based philanthropic organizations to discuss their roles and responsibilities in dismantling white supremacy. The participants are Nick Donohue (President and CEO of the Nellie Mae Education Foundation), John Palfrey (President of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation), and Hilary Pennington (Executive Vice President of Programs at the Ford Foundation). Although this webinar is US-focused, the discussion is enlightening and unique in that Villanueva asks the panelists to reflect on their journey as white people of privilege and talk about what they have already done and can continue to do to bring change. This is a refreshing juxtaposition to the many discussions in which people of color or grant recipients are asked to advocate for change and find themselves repeating the same points they have made before. There were some excellent exchanges about recognizing privilege, ceding space, forgoing perfection, and accepting messiness as part of the process. At about 40:00, Hilary Pennington and John Palfrey (in response to a question about what they are hopeful about) discuss innovative models, which they think have begun to show real promise in terms of sharing power and decentralizing authority. Some additional points:
   - Nick Donohue (who was very honest about his bumpy journey) highlights *Paying Attention to White Culture and Privilege: A Missing Link to Advancing Racial Equity* as the first reading that pointed him in the right direction in terms of this work.
   - All three panelists refer to Edgar Villanueva’s book *(Decolonizing Wealth)* as a useful guide.
   - Edgar Villanueva refers to *Nick Donohue’s Medium page* as an honest reflection of the process of becoming more aware of issues of power and privilege.
Session II. Transformation of INGO practices within the funder-INGO-CSO dynamic

This theme explores if and how INGOs have transformed in relation to their work with local partners in a way that authentically shifts power. The conversation will reflect primarily on the readings and highlight some examples of where this transformation has happened to varying degrees, what conditions supported or spurred it, how both parties have experienced this, and if the experience of change has resulted in broader desire for more sustainable change by INGOs.

Discussion questions

1. Thinking about the readings and your experience with INGO-CSO relationships, are there examples of real transformation in the INGO practices towards a fundamentally different power relationship?
2. What are the top three barriers to transformation?
3. What are the top three incentives for transformation?
4. What has worked and should be amplified?

Pre-discussion reading

1. Fostering Equitable North-South Civil Society Partnerships: Voices from the South (2021 – Report)
   This is a brief report summarizing results from a 2020 survey of 609 civil society organizations (including 524 from Africa) that asked questions about the CSO’s relationships with INGOs and their hopes for change. Rights Co Lab implemented the survey as part of their Re-imagining International Non-Governmental Organisation (RINGO) project. RINGO is a "systems change initiative" set up to facilitate "transformational change in the global civil society sector." Deborah Doane (who wrote the blog post Are INGOs ready to give up power?) is a Rights Co Lab partner. The report presents findings from the survey, focusing on what the Global South CSOs had to say about their relationships with INGOs, particularly in relating to partnerships, collaborations, decision-making, and structures and practices. The report is clearly laid out and provides some stand-out quotes from CSOs that echo frustrations expressed about power imbalances with INGOs for the last decade. The final section of the report highlights perspectives from the CSOs on how INGOs could be re-imagined. Although the "re-imagine" section is disappointingly brief, this project is worth checking for further updates. Rights Co Lab intends to use this report as a basis to conduct further research and to develop a stakeholder engagement plan that will deliberate on issues of transformation in the INGO space.

2. An open letter to International NGOs who are looking to 'localize' their operations (2020 – Open Letter, via openDemocracy Blog)
   This very short letter was apparently "the product of a protracted, heated, angry and passionate discussion that took place on the #ShiftThePower WhatsApp group." It is a must-read because: 1) the unacceptable behaviors of INGOs are very clearly and concisely stated, and 2) it shows the strength
that comes in numbers. These organizations felt brave enough to put their anger "on paper" and identify themselves because they were not alone.

3. Are INGOs ready to give up power? (2019 – Blogpost, via Oxfam) and Responses to 'Are INGOs ready to give up power?' (2019 – Blog post responses, via Oxfam)

This blogpost and the comment thread that follows – including perspectives from some global leaders – situate the questions on INGOs and power, questions the role of dignity in the development narrative, asks fundamental questions around power shifting vs. the taking of power, and finally, the relevance of INGOs in the absence of a clearly defined intention to meaningfully change the status quo. These readings mention the current and urgent need for diversified funding sources with a domestic focus to secure sustainability and agency.


In this pointed piece, two academics (one Kenyan and one British) provide a scathing review of the history of "development" and NGOs in Africa. Worth reading for background to give a sense of the anger that is often bubbling under the surface when tension emerges in relationships between INGOs and CSOs.

5. Localization of Aid: Are INGOs Walking the Talk? (2017 – Report, via The Shifting the Power project)

"......we do need to acknowledge that in the absence of a cataclysmic external shock to the system, shifting the power is a long and negotiated process. The result is that power is shared, i.e., evenly distributed. We need to look beyond shifting power to a wealthy local elite or powerful local or national NGOs and look towards communities and crisis-affected people. There is always the possibility that a major shock will catalyze transformative change, but for now, the focus is on evolution...."

The research was commissioned by the six international organizations – ActionAid, CAFOD, Christian Aid, Concern, Oxfam and Tearfund, – working together in the Shifting the Power project, supporting 55 of their local and national NGO partners who share the vision and ambition of playing a leading role in decision-making and responding to crises in their countries and regions. This research aims to contribute to an ongoing effort, to build the future of increased localized humanitarian action. It draws on national research projects in the five countries of focus, as well as global research. It emphasizes the importance of sharing (i.e., distributed and networked) power within the humanitarian system. The report encourages INGOs to localize humanitarian response in a coherent, collective manner and in a way that is responsive to context, rather than leaving it to individual, ad hoc approaches that are at the mercy of project or program funding.


This report recognizes that since 2017, and certainly at present, a "generation of disruptors" is emerging. Some of the most often-cited challenges include:

- Increasingly dangerous, even hostile environments where services are needed
- Rapidly evolving changes in the behaviors and expectations of current and potential donors
- Disintermediation by technology that allows donors and other actors to bypass large INGOs
- Greater expectations for hard evidence of sustainable impact
- New political climates across many traditional donor nations
• Perceptions that many INGOs have become disconnected from the day-to-day realities on the ground
• Belief that INGOs may be undermining the development of local civil society institutions
• Greater competition for resources (people, money, public awareness)
• The growing impact of global climate change on vulnerable populations
• Properly formulating their organization’s strategic intent while building shared understanding of, commitment to, and alignment with the change
• Creating a strong sense of synergy among and across the senior leadership team

All these issues materially impact the organization's internal ability to shape the process of transformation, recognizing the vulnerability that is required for transformation to happen.

7. Five disempowering traits that international NGOs must drop (2016 – Blogpost)
This piece unpacks what the writer (Irungi Houghton, currently Executive Director of Amnesty International) describes as the need for "new models of cross-border organizing based not on the hierarchies of foreign aid but peer-to-peer learning and collaboration between equal partners." These include the reframing of developmental relationships, particularly the continued positionality and privilege of INGOs in-country or as "middlemen" in the funding relationship. The second aspect reflects on the range of risks and safety that comes with INGOs operating in-country and how meaningful support for local leadership of the response can enhance legitimacy. The third trait is rooted in all others and speaks to the need to dismantle aged approaches to advocacy and support truly local development and social transformation approaches. The fourth trait is the ongoing leadership of development space by Western (mainly white) people. Of course, examples abound, with only 4 percent of INGO CEOs being of African origin and, even then, drawn from the upper classes of their contexts. The fifth trait questions the impact of the big picture bureaucracy exposed by INGOs and, by extension shaping the donor/INGO funding approaches and eventually programming. The SDGs are mentioned here as a specific example of the futility of positioning development in broad silos with the expectation of meaningful transformation.

*These materials were included in the session 1 discussion; they are repeated in this session because they are again relevant to the topic and discussion questions.*
Session III. Evolution of philanthropic support for civil society advocacy

The conversation reflects primarily on the materials (reading, webinars, etc.) and highlights some examples of where the evolution of philanthropic support for civil society advocacy has been attempted, documented, and successful. We will also explore what conditions need to exist within and around philanthropies to accelerate this evolution.

Discussion questions

1. How are private philanthropies acting in ways that are helpful and harmful to civil society in Africa?
   a. What are the key differences between traditional (Western) philanthropies and African philanthropies?
   b. What are the key similarities?
2. What are the top three barriers to the evolution of philanthropies?
   a. What are the risks to philanthropic agencies who embrace or consider change?
3. What are the top three incentives for philanthropy to evolve?
   a. If so, how?
   b. If so, why?
   c. What has worked and should be amplified?
   d. How/who can act in ways to amplify those incentives and reduce barriers?

Pre-discussion reading

1. Darren Walker: How the head of the Ford Foundation wants to change philanthropy (60 Minutes, April 2021) [Transcript, 15 minutes]
   This CBS News piece provides a summary (including transcription) of an interview conducted by the US TV show 60 Minutes of Darren Walker, the Ford Foundation President. The discussion addresses recent shifts in the way Ford conducts its giving – changes that Walker and his team have encouraged since he became the foundation's President in 2013. Some themes of interest include the perils of inequality ("... the greatest harm to our democracy because inequality asphyxiates hope") and the difference between generosity and justice (the latter, according to Walker, includes an engagement by the donor on addressing systemic issues). They also discuss the Ford Foundation's Build program, which gives $1 billion in grants to non-profits and allows them to decide how to spend the money. Here, Walker touches on the fact that organizations need support for all of their "unexciting parts" to implement those meaningful projects that funders focus on.
   Note: the video is available via some TV providers here [https://www.cbsnews.com/news/darren-walker-ford-foundation-60-minutes-2021-04-04/] in addition, we were able to find a preview on YouTube: [https://youtu.be/8j-BKMohXel]
2. **Sharing Power and Curbing Racial Inequities: How Grant Makers Can Commit to Real Change a Year After Covid** (Article, The Chronicle of Philanthropy, March 2021) [Article, 30 minutes]

In this opinion piece, two leaders of the Council on Foundations, teamed up with the Executive Vice President of the Ford Foundation to encourage funders to build on the positive changes they had implemented to help non-profits survive the economic fallout from the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020. Their plea to funders is to see the year of the pandemic and racial reckoning as an opportunity to implement fundamental transformation, rather than snapped back to "normal" as the pandemic comes to an end in the United States. In this piece, the writers have consolidated asks from non-profits into five critical practices:
   i. Break out of the "non-profit starvation cycle."
   ii. Address inequities in society and our own institutions.
   iii. Share power with grantees and treat them as partners in change.
   iv. Play well with others.
   v. Focus our processes on learning and improvement.

In their descriptions of these practices, the writers include examples of funders providing positive examples of how this work can and should be done.

3. **#PhilanthropySoWhite** (Decolonizing Wealth Project, February 2021) [Video, 1 hour]

This is a well-managed one-hour webinar facilitated by Edgar Villanueva (Senior Vice President of Programs and Advocacy at the Schott Foundation and author of Decolonizing Wealth) that brought together three white leaders of US-based philanthropic organizations to discuss their roles and responsibilities in dismantling white supremacy. The participants are Nick Donohue (President and CEO of the Nellie Mae Education Foundation), John Palfrey (President of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation), and Hilary Pennington (Executive Vice President of Programs at the Ford Foundation). Although this webinar is US-focused, the discussion is enlightening and unique.

Villanueva asks the panelists to reflect on their journey as white people of privilege and talk about what they have already done and can continue to do to bring change. This is a refreshing juxtaposition to the many discussions in which people of color or grant recipients are asked to advocate for change and find themselves repeating the same points they have made before. There were some excellent exchanges about recognizing privilege, ceding space, forgoing perfection, and accepting messiness as part of the process. At about 40:00, Hilary Pennington and John Palfrey (in response to a question about what they are hopeful about) discuss innovative models, which they think have begun to show real promise in sharing power and decentralizing authority. Some additional points:

- Nick Donohue (who was very honest about his bumpy journey) highlights Paying Attention to White Culture and Privilege: A Missing Link to Advancing Racial Equity as the first reading that pointed him in the right direction in terms of this work.
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4. **Decolonization is a comfortable buzzword for the aid sector** (openDemocracy Blog – January 2021) [Blog post, 10 minutes]

In this provocative opinion piece, Themrise Khan (an independent researcher based in Pakistan), questions the use of the term "decolonization" to address the current (she might argue somewhat mild) attempts at power-shifting that are taking place in the aid sector. She questions the appropriateness of the term and argues that Northern funders and INGOs drive the process to keep themselves relevant while patting themselves on the back for their good intentions. She calls for
Note: On May 15, 2021, Khan posted a Twitter thread related to her opinion piece arguments, which might be of interest. We have pasted them here, verbatim:

- My biggest issue with #decolonization is that many of us in former colonized states, have moved beyond our histories of #colonialism. At least on a daily basis because we have created our own brand of it via our political and feudal elite.
- Our "poor" couldn't care less that we were colonized by the British or anyone else. Their issues are more pressing. Like basic services, rights, inflation, jobs. Our past doesn't haunt us as much as our present does. But somehow, the West (and others) just can't seem to move beyond what they call the "colonial legacy." Sure many countries are still reeling from its effects in different ways. But that doesn't mean that they cannot be self-reliant. Self-reliance is about equitable and logical planning. Not about #aid or borrowing money to survive.
- #Colonialism and as a result #decolonization is then a comfort zone – for the West to avoid answering the very real questions about their role in geopolitics, military warfare, oil, illegal occupation, genocide, etc. but yet making them seem as if they are invested in change for the South from accepting that there is much that we ourselves have done to prevent positive change post-independence in our countries because of the greed of our elite. It's easy for everyone to blame #colonialism for our problems.
- But #colonialism is not directly related to corruption, crumbling infrastructure, fiscal, economic and social collapse. It was always a thirst for wealth and power. At both ends.
- And if #decolonization really is the answer, why doesn't the North support #Palestine, or #Yemen, or #Kashmir or the #Uyghurs or #Libya or any other freedom struggle against occupation and injustice? Surely that is true decolonization? Why the silence there?
- If we want any level of change in #aid, #globaldev, #international cooperation, #development cooperation, call it what you like, we all have to collectively call out all our pasts and our presents. Not pick and choose what suits us and when.

The Landscape of Large-Scale Giving by African Philanthropists (The Bridgespan Group, June 2020) [Report, 1.5 hours]

This report posits that African philanthropy—charitable giving by Africans—seems "poised for lift-off." Half of the world's fastest-growing economies are African, and the number of wealthy Africans is also growing. While charitable giving has a long history on the continent (with some studies showing that the emerging middle classes are giving away roughly an astounding third of their earnings each month to support others), the past 30 years have seen the emergence of more formal philanthropy in Africa, with some of Africa's high-net-worth individuals engaging in extensive, structured giving, often through institutional foundations. For this report, The Bridgespan Group interviewed 28 individuals (from seven African countries and the United States) and studied 63 gifts of over $1 million made between 2010 and 2019. Three themes that stood out, and that they unpack, are:

1. African donors of large gifts give mainly within their own countries.
2. Most gifts by African donors go towards addressing basic needs.
   One quote that stood out to us on this point: "In society, there is often a close relationship between the business elites and political elites, which can make it difficult for business or philanthropies to support causes that are considered politically charged" said Audrey Elster, executive director of the RAITH Foundation in South Africa. Donors may be reticent to fund issues that could be viewed as political, such as social justice." (pg. 11)
African donors of large gifts give mainly to the public sector and their own operating foundations, with limited funding reaching NGOs.

This section (starting on pg. 13) was of particular interest. African foundations admitted that they would rather implement projects themselves, benefiting their personal brands rather than providing grants to African NGOs. The discussion about how African NGOs are perceived by African philanthropists is worrisome. For example:

- "Some interviewees also remarked that some donors don't have much trust in NGOs. African donors might choose to run operating foundations rather than engage in grant-making because they hold the perception that local NGOs have low accountability." (pg. 14)
- "Local donors are reticent to support NGOs engaging in political activities because it could harm their relations with the government," explained SIVIO Institute's Tendai Murisa." (pg. 14)

6. **Philanthropy is at a turning point. Here are 6 ways it could go** (World Economic Forum Newsletter, April 2019) [Blog post, 20 minutes]

In this opinion piece, Rhodri Davies (Head of Policy, Charities Aid Foundation) acknowledged that (even in 2019) it was already a difficult time for philanthropy, as it faced global challenges (ranging from climate change to shifting demographics) and intense questioning about its effectiveness, how it should be viewed in the wider context of global inequality, and whether it can remain legitimate within a democratic society. Davies put forth six suggestions for what could help philanthropy adapt to changing times. They were:

   i. Acknowledging how money is made
   ii. Embracing structural change
   iii. Democratizing philanthropy
   iv. Reflecting diversity
   v. Innovation and discovery
   vi. Transparency and openness

After describing these six areas, Davies ended on an optimistic note, stating that "if philanthropy can step up to the plate at this moment, its role as a positive force to shape our society can hopefully not only be retained but strengthened."

7. **Philanthrocapitalism and crimes of the powerful** (Politix - Revue des sciences sociales du politique, January 2018) [Journal article, 1.5 hours]

In this rather long but very thoughtful journal article, three sociology professors describe the notion of "philanthrocapitalism" (a global movement that purports to make philanthropy more effective by applying the market logic of the corporate sector to the charitable sector) and break down how and why it is a failure. In addition, they address the irony of globally renowned philanthropists (for example, Gates and Zuckerberg) being treated like deities above criticism from mere mortals (including activists, economists, journalists, and sociologists) when, 1) their contribution is minuscule compared to what wealthy nations spend on development aid, as well as what developing countries, from their own revenues, spend on their own healthcare and development, 2) they, through intimidation and creative accounting, continue to resist calls to increase transparency in the way they spend their philanthropic funds, and 3) in many cases, their policies and practices (both in business and philanthropy) exacerbate economic inequality.