

funding social movements

the new world
foundation perspective



“Aren’t we privileged to live in a time when everything is at stake, and when our efforts make a difference in the eternal contest between the forces of togetherness and division, between justice and exploitation.”

—activist “Granny D” Haddock,
on her 93rd birthday

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There has been a lot of discussion in philanthropic circles lately about funding social movements. Perhaps the topic is provoked by the perilous times we live in, as we seek more positive responses to the politics of fear and force that dominate our nation and the world. Or perhaps funders are looking again at social movements because the multiple constituencies and issue areas we fund seem to need the integration, engagement and synergy that movements create.

In any case, the topic hits close to home for The New World Foundation, which over a 50 year history has defined its core mission as funding the movement building process. It presents us with the timely challenge of trying to explain what our foundation means by “movement” and its building process, what we have learned from our experience, and how we read social movements today.

This piece is one version of a conversation we hope to continue with colleagues and grantees in the field. It covers several aspects of our thinking thus far:

- I. Social Movements for What? Is There a Guiding Vision?
- II. Why Are Social Movements Critical to Social Change?
- III. The Movement Building Process: Stages, Streams, Spectrums
 - Stage 1: Building Movement Infrastructure
 - Stage 2: Building Identity and Intention
 - Stage 3: Social Combustion—the Movement Moment
 - Stage 4: Consolidation or Dissipation?
- IV. Where Are We Now? (Can We Wait?)
- V. Movement Dynamics and Funding Approaches

I. Social Movements for What? Is There a Guiding Vision?

The American activist and movement teacher Miles Horton used to say: you make the road by walking. That’s probably why there are no short cuts. You can, however, use a map. The map is made of our past experience, our collective analysis, and our shared values—all of which are rather new, given the brief history of universally democratic movements, but nonetheless offer valuable guides.

We know that most of our struggles strive for what Franklin Roosevelt called “the four freedoms:” freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, freedom from fear. We know that democratic rights and social justice are essential

The vision has clear ideals: democracy and justice, peace and freedom, liberty and equality, solidarity and community... respect for each other, respect for nature and the earth.

conditions of each other. We know that our own organizations have to embody the change they seek or they will only mimic those they oppose. The Brazilians say, we need to confront vertical power structures with horizontal organizing—they call it a struggle against social exclusion.

We also know that almost all movement agendas represent an effort to close the enormous gaps in wealth, health, privilege and power that are rapidly growing wider in the era of globalization. Even more specifically, we see that most of our issue agendas represent these core demands:

- that our society's resources—natural, intellectual, economic, cultural—be distributed to benefit all members of society and future generations;
- that corporations be held responsible for the social and ecological costs of their production;
- that governments regulate economic practices and enforce protections to workers, consumers, and the environment;
- that public capital, our tax dollars, be used to serve the public good in a process that is governed by and accountable to enfranchised communities;
- that basic human needs, from water to education to medicine, require public and non-profit sectors that are driven by social outcomes, not market imperatives;
- that universal human rights require both democratic nation-states and a new body of international law and governance.

Across the world, the values embedded in these demands are expressed in many different idioms and traditions, but the guiding vision is not hard to recognize. The vision has clear ideals: democracy and justice, peace and freedom, liberty and equality, solidarity and community, decency and dignity for all—respect for each other, respect for the generations, respect for nature and the earth. Yet it is only when people embrace these ideals in action that the words truly come to life and take on deep meaning.

We live in a time without a clear alternative to global capitalism or superpower politics, but a time when the questions have been posed and new answers are being invented. So while we know that hunger can't wait and that the planet cannot tolerate indefinite abuse, we are learning that these answers will have to be formed through practicing what we preach.

The building of social movements gives us rich opportunities for practice. For at the heart of every social movement are the people who suffer injustice, who organize to oppose it, and who must transform themselves, their organizations and society in order to succeed. And when successful, social movements can produce extraordinary leaps of human progress, even in the most daunting times.

It isn't hard to imagine the scenario, a social movement in full bloom: There would be a massive outpouring of grassroots activism focused on a galvanizing cause, like racial equality, abolishing sweatshops, or ending an unjust war. We would see this mobilization springing from many sources; it would have many faces, leaders and modes of action. We would feel the moral imperative that makes a deep injustice suddenly visible and compelling in public opinion and policy centers. We would sense a common vision of a better society—and expect the movement to produce structural changes in law, politics, and culture that move society toward this vision.

But for all their decisive power, social movements seem to have long cycles, only episodically erupting to win significant victories and create new terrain for democracy and justice. Are movements really critical to social change? What determines when and where they arise? Can we wait?

II. Why Are Social Movements Critical to Social Change?

In another time of harsh inequities, Frederick Douglass explained the need for social action quite succinctly: power concedes nothing without a demand. Social movements have become strong, sometimes irresistible forces because they assert the demands of ordinary people independently of established government and corporate power.

Many Americans have seen such movements produce entire eras of social progress, from the CIO and New Deal of the 1930s, to the Civil Rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s. Many have experienced a sea change in social consciousness through more recent movement struggles for women's rights, sexual equality, and the environment. Across the world, millions more people have had parallel experiences in national independence movements to end colonialism and extraordinary democracy movements against dictatorships.



The building of such a countervailing popular force seems crucial in America today, in this period of conservative ascendance and assault. We see the gains of past social movements rapidly disappearing, as lawmakers dismantle federal entitlement programs, surrender the tax base to the rich, and indenture future generations to austerity and debt. The ideals of civil liberty and social equality seem fundamentally forsaken as the US government pursues superpower fantasies abroad and the criminalization of the

poor and foreign born at home. The concept of government by the people seems a receding dream as the vote is devalued and even defied, as political parties become telemarketing firms, and as multinational corporations dominate not only the American definition of “national interest,” but stand beyond the reach of national governments around the world.

In these difficult times, there are few places from which people can lift their voices and assert collective strength except through their own organizations and activism. And there are few ways to act on a scale commensurate with government and corporate power—to act locally and globally at the same time, to move regions, states, or nations—except through inclusive social movements that grow independently of the prevailing order.

Where is movement activism today?

From the WTO demonstrations in Seattle to the worldwide millions protesting the War on Iraq, we have seen first hand the incredible potential of popular mobilizations—and we saw globalization turned on its head. But we are still far from reaching a “movement moment” that would equate with the 1963 March on Washington, Gandhi at the Salt Marches, the sit-down strikes that founded the CIO, or the mass strikes and boycotts that brought down apartheid.

Our current mobilizations show the immense spirit and latent power of mass action, but also show that we have not yet achieved the infrastructure, or the financing, to integrate, escalate and sustain that activism in a social movement mode.

Hopefully, we are looking at social movements in formation,

which is very different than movements in full bloom and different than episodic mobilizations or spontaneous protests.*

Social movements are not built overnight, but in stages. They require strong anchor organizations, grassroots organizing, strategic alliances and networks among multiple constituencies. They need to generate new agendas and vision, foster many layers of leadership, and enlarge power for social change through focused and sustained mass action from the local level to the centers of power.

III. The Movement Building Process: Stages, Streams and Spectrums

While it is hard to predict exactly when and where a social movement will reach critical mass, it isn’t so difficult to see the ingredients that are already present when it does. Most movements have a life cycle with several stages. Most movements have multiple streams or constituencies that converge to build common strength and goals, a synergy that is more than the sum of disparate parts. Most social movements engage a spectrum of support from a militant wing to a broader, more moderate center.

And the core social groups and leaders building a movement also construct a distinctive internal culture and style of action, meaning that movements may engage power and public opinion in different ways, leverage different forms of influence, and produce different kinds of change.

So while all movements are about changing power relationships—and therefore are also shaped by the nature of their opposition— there can be considerable variation as well as overlap in their strategies, goals and rhythms. Some movement methods are rooted in direct action and civil disobedience, some are electorally focused, some rely on ethical teachings; some movement goals seek a pivotal governance or constitutional shift, some move a social policy platform, some re-invent cultural norms—and many movements mix

* It seems important to us to understand the building process that underlies fully formed movements and to distinguish this process from many ways we commonly use the term “movement”—as more than a campaign mobilization, or the label that a set of institutions acquired in an earlier period of activism, or a single issue or identity group, or a distant hope for future developments, or even just the presence of grassroots activism.

most of these approaches over their life cycle.

For example, the contemporary women's movement has in two or three generations reformed fundamental aspects of the family, the workforce, law and culture—on an increasingly global scale—by redefining social roles and rights, but without leading feminists yet occupying high offices in government or business. In contrast, most leaders of independence and democracy movements actually become the next government. In further contrast, the emerging environmental movement has yet to transform our fossil fuel economy, but its resonant message has dramatically changed how a great many people, approaching a majority in industrial societies, understand the problems and choices we face.

It should also be acknowledged that social movements are not only built by progressives, or around values of democracy and justice. People power can also be galvanized to defend traditional hierarchies

and cultures, and can be quite effectively cultivated by the powerful in any system. Indeed, the current ascendance of the right-wing Republican Party has rested very heavily on its ability to organize a dormant base of Christian fundamentalists into a political action crusade around “family values”—then allying this grassroots force with more traditional free market elites.

New World's attention is focused on the countervailing forces: movement builders seeking social, economic and environmental justice in a multicultural democracy. This doesn't mean that we have discovered any sure-fire formulas, or any easy answers, but we do believe in an essential truth of progressive social change: that the people who suffer injustice are crucial to overcoming it. And while the movement building process on our side has never been very neat or simple, we have identified four distinct stages that help us evaluate movement development and the tasks at hand.

Stage One: Building Movement Infrastructure

Every movement grows through an infrastructure of organizing centers, institutions and networks. At the core, there is usually a new constituency or mass base of activists with the most at stake: African-American congregations and student groups in the southern civil rights movement, Latino and Asian immigrant communities in the current fight against sweatshops, South Africa's Black workers in the struggle against apartheid.

As this core base is activated, it forms new organizations and

transforms existing organizations to serve as anchors for broader organizing. New organizing also starts to generate internal grapevines, circuit riders, networks, and strategy circles. Anchor organizations and issue campaigns begin to enlist allies in the existing institutions of civil society: churches, unions, schools, advocacy groups, service agencies, and elected officials.

As the organizational infrastructure strengthens in density, movements gain capacity to link multiple streams of activism and leadership across institutional sectors and also across regions, ethnicities, and generations. And as these early networks broaden and deepen, movements also begin to expand the spectrum of public opinion favorable to their cause and to multiply their own lines of communication.

Taking the South African example a bit further: while the student led Soweto Uprising in 1976 signaled a new era of mobilization in the struggle against apartheid, it was the building of Black labor unions and federations over the next ten years that created well structured resistance capacity of working men and women, located in key sectors of the economy. At the same time, political activists built broad based civic associations in the major Black townships, with strong youth participation. By 1986, new Black unions were actively linked with township civic associations through the United Democratic Front, which also linked them with the anti-apartheid churches, with a small sector of liberal and radical whites, with the ANC underground and in exile, and with an international solidarity campaign.

The breadth of this movement depended on the breadth of infrastructural pieces available to be knit together. The knitting itself was deliberate, difficult, and demanded whole new levels of leadership, consciousness and collaboration—the stage where movements acquire direction and momentum.

Stage Two: Building Identity and Intention

Movements require organizational and communication infrastructures, but these alone don't seem sufficient to ignite a full-blown movement moment. Movements need to create more than civic participation, they need to generate activism with the stamina, focus and intensity to challenge existing power structures and give new urgency to social change. To reach this phase, movements require consciousness-raising activities that begin to define “the prize” or vision that guides participation forward, deepens commitment to the cause, and exposes the power structure.

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In the Southern civil rights movement, for instance, the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955-56 was a seminal victory but just a beginning step toward the much greater mission of ending Jim Crow segregation. That would take another ten years of lunch-counter sit-ins, freedom rides, court battles and street battles, mass marches, mass arrests, beatings, bombings and assassinations, teach-ins and voter education, grassroots and institutional fundraising, labor and religious alliances, a free Black press, national and international media coverage, Federal legislation, and on occasion, Federal troops.

So the second stage of movement building needs to be more explicit. In this phase, movement-oriented organizations work hard to promote collaboration over fragmentation among constituent groups, to develop an integrated social agenda instead of a laundry list of special issues, and to sustain the escalation of goals and targets over one-shot successes.

The inherent tensions between growing broad and deep will escalate as well: creating new levels of work while keeping the infrastructure strong at home, reaching broader allies without diluting the core goals, respecting cultural diversity and ideological pluralism while maintaining a sense of common cause, struggling constructively around the priority of base building vs. alliance building.

This is a critical phase in the formation of movement leadership. Despite competing ambitions and inevitable factions, leaders gain stature by their ability to remain tied to their core base, to resist cooptation by partial gains, to withstand backlash and repression, to be accountable to their organizations, to put collective advance

ahead of personal prominence. They also gain stature by the ability to think strategically (“How do we get to the next level of power?”), beyond merely symbolic or tactical victories (“How do we get tomorrow’s headline?”).

In this phase, leadership expands both vertically and horizontally across the many layers and streams of organizing, from the grassroots to the movement centers. And quite inspirationally, successful movements do attract, test and forge great leaders—those who become the heroes of history like Martin Luther King or Nelson Mandela—and many, many more on the frontlines, known only by their peers.

Stage Three: Social Combustion—The Movement Moment

If the movement building process gets this far, the opportunities for take-off greatly expand. In the course of mass activism, there is usually a moment of social combustion producing new, spontaneous waves of mobilization that exceed the organizational infrastructure and often outstrip the leadership as well. This moment—really a series of moments happening in many places all at once—is what we usually associate with the term social movement.

At its best, the experience is transformational and collective. It produces a profound shift of moral legitimacy in the society, it expands democratic terrain, it raises social expectations, and it changes the parameters of social conscience, consciousness and courage. People speak truth to power. What seemed almost impossible in one generation seems inevitable to the next: apartheid is defeated, Jim Crow is dismantled, the Berlin Wall falls, slavery is abolished, juntas go on trial, the sun sets on the British Empire, women vote.

At their apex, movements appear to be all mobilization, which is probably why so many attempts are made to shortcut the building process and go straight to the barricades. But within a genuine movement moment, one should be able to perceive a broad spectrum of support from the front lines to the mainstream, across generations, and even into sectors of the most powerful. One should perceive the deep reach of activism from the pinnacles of power to the most local bases.

The sense of community should be stronger, the density of civil society should be richer, political issues should become more compelling, if also more contentious. A new culture should be visible and audible. It might even be argued that there isn’t a movement if it doesn’t have its own music, its own anthems, and young people who can sing every word, standing on the front lines.

In their fullest forms, social movements change our concepts of possibility and nature—of what is possible in the human condition, and what is natural to life on the planet.

Stage Four: Consolidation or Dissipation

Movements flow—and ebb. It is very difficult to sustain high levels of civic energy indefinitely. Vested power interests regroup, usually through reform or repression, or both. Maybe that’s why Thomas Jefferson proposed having a revolution every 30 years. But movements don’t just die, they generally either dissipate their power or consolidate it.



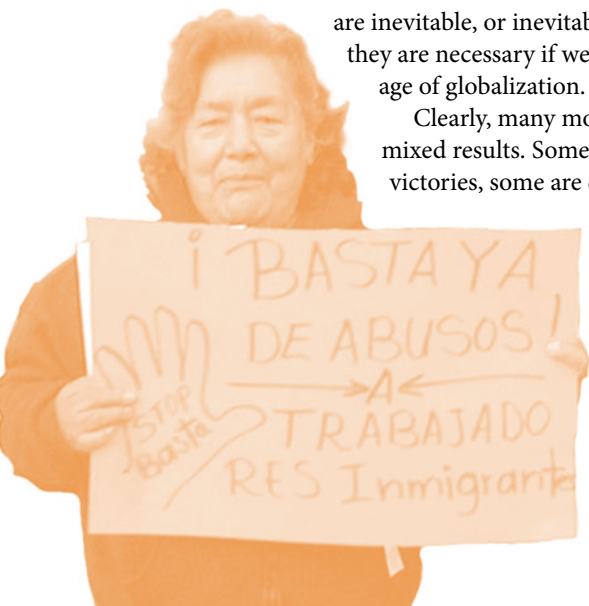
Dissipation looks like exhaustion—perhaps more often, the center is satisfied with modest reform, leadership is co-opted into elite circles, and the bottom is sold out. Consolidation, on the other hand, usually amounts to structural change: new organizations and institutions are built, new laws and instruments of power are exercised, the tensions between militant and moderate change remain alive. In the best case, the worldview of a generation has been shaped and a next generation, just behind it, has been seeded.

And then, we have to think about the movement building process starting over again, around the next set of social needs or goals, around future generations of activists. In the US, the consolidation of the New Deal set a context for the 1960s movements to build on and extend, by adding racial and gender equality to the standard of government responsibility, and by challenging the war economy. The dissipation of those movements in the 1970s, and the resurgence of right wing movement building over the past two decades, leaves us in a very different place.

Of course, actual experience (unlike hindsight and history) is never really so tidy. The four stages we use to look at social movements are in practice more fluid than distinct—they flow into each other, overlap, diverge, plateau then leap ahead, and are always uneven. The process itself is as conflicted and consuming as it is inspiring and transformational. And certainly, movement building can regress as well as progress, critical opportunities can be lost, leaders can be lost and mislead, competition can undo collaboration, egos can overwhelm ideals. And the powerful who are challenged do not sit back: repression and genocide can freeze a society for decades and generations.

We don't have the view that progressive social movements are inevitable, or inevitably successful—only the view that they are necessary if we are to make better societies in the age of globalization.

Clearly, many movements go full cycle and have mixed results. Some are confined to single issue victories, some are contained within a city, state or region. Yet we believe that even when movements don't reach their fullest potentials, the movement building process remains crucial to educating its members, enlarging civil society, and keeping a vision of justice alive for succeeding generations.



IV. Where Are We Now? (Can We Wait?)

As a social justice funder that has focused primarily on the US over the past 50 years, New World's perspective is that most of this country is in the first stage: rebuilding an infrastructure of organizations, leaders and networks in the destructive wake of federal devolution, corporate globalization and a renewed drive to empire in US foreign policy.

The social movements of the past have left important institutional legacies—and we still call them the labor movement and the civil rights movement, the anti-war movement and the women's movement—but in reality, these causes are starting over in terms of dynamic base building, meaningful alliances, and a pro-active agenda.

As social justice forces regroup, a critical breakthrough is occurring with the revitalization of the service sector unions and vibrant organizing among new immigrants. Progressive unions are also adding organizational capacity to growing alliances with religious, campus and community partners. Many of these community partners themselves represent a next generation of grassroots organizing, which is strongly centered in working class, people of color and immigrant constituencies.

The issues are familiar: environmental justice, health care access, affordable housing, quality jobs, education access, the criminal injustice system, guns vs. butter, but there are some new intersections with very broad issues like environmental health, sustainable economic development, and perhaps most critically, the tax base to sustain the public sector and social programs. In some places, notably California, but also a string of metropolitan centers where labor and community alliances are forming, we are beginning to see more intentional and strategic movement building activity across all these sectors, and perhaps progress toward a next stage.

Who's Ebbing and Who's Flowing?

Curiously (or optimistically), while progressive movement activism is resurfacing at the grassroots, the social movement in the US that may well be passing its peak is the fundamentalist crusade of right-wing Republicanism. That is not to say that the Christian Right cannot be mobilized effectively as a swing voting block, or that its zeal is diminished. And certainly the current Administration is relentlessly

consolidating its narrow victories into sweeping institutional changes in the judiciary, government regulation, trade policy and the tax/debt structure. We do know that without a coherent or mature opposition, power will expand its terrain at will.

Nonetheless, the Republican's fundamentalist base may well have reached the limits of influence with a majority of Americans around social values. And the Administration may well be over-reaching, not only in its international ambitions, but in its abrogation of domestic programs to an agenda of privatization and cowboy corporatism. These scorched earth strategies, and the vacuums of government they create, are at least producing fertile opportunities for democratic movement building.

Much of that scorched earth is in the Third World, where social movements are an assumed form of empowerment. New World's grantmaking experience with global movements is a response to the new realities: successful social movements need global

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dimensions, not only to confront the problems, but also to envision the solutions. Our current global programs in the environmental justice and worker justice arenas are both directed at the multinational corporations and free trade policies ravaging the Global South.

These movement building efforts are generally at Stage One or Two in their home countries, although Brazil offers the example of a movement arriving at a critical juncture of power, and South Africa the example of the post-apartheid struggle between consolidation and dissipation.

What is particularly heartening, however, are the global networks emerging across grassroots groups that are adding to overall capacity and creating a process for the formation of multinational movements: around food safety, the ownership of water, oil and toxics, child labor, free trade zones, militarism and peace, to name a few.

And in most of these places, unlike the US, issues do not develop in silos, with special interest identities, but as part of a larger vision of human rights and social justice that is self-evident and widely shared, if far from fruition.

More than once, we have asked: can we wait for new movements to mature? Aren't we losing too much ground right now? And we remind ourselves to look back at all the social engineering fixes of the 20th century that left people just as disempowered, all the mobilizations that spoke only to the converted. There are certainly imminent dangers that demand immediate responses, but even the

most defensive battles can be fought in ways which enlarge capacity and engage new activists.

And there are certainly easier ways than movement organizing to get a seat at the tables of power, but not if the goal is turning the tables—changing the purposes of power and empowering the people to hold it.

V. Movement Dynamics and Funding Approaches

If New World's experience tells us anything, it is that funding social movements is a long term investment that requires some concrete analysis and willingness to take risks. Our own check list for movement grantmaking includes:

- Understand what stage movement development is in. Looking at the first stage of infrastructure development, some of the questions we ask include: is there a base being organized? Are leaders indigenous and accountable to a base—are they the tip of the iceberg or just a floating ice pack?
- Fund across organizational partners and peer networks, in geographic or issue clusters, rather than funding isolated models or autonomous intermediaries. We ask: does an organization measure its gains by itself or by the movement around it? Does it promote a culture of collaboration? Does our funding promote mutuality or division?
- Avoid narrow issue silos and rigid program areas, which often reward special interest advocates but punish base-building around a broad, multi-issue empowerment agenda.
- When funding issue campaigns and mobilizations, look for the opportunities to build long term infrastructure—leadership development, staff training, exchanges among peer organizations, research and policy capacity, media outreach, etc.—that are embedded in these short term projects. As one activist put it, “fund rain barrels to capture the passing storm.”
- Look at lines of accountability in organizations and grantee collaborations, so that funding does not impose leadership or partners on grassroots groups. The point was brought home by a grantee in Mexico that asked for travel money to go to the US and

international conferences—so they could choose who to partner with, rather than be “chosen” by whichever American group had the US funding to identify and visit them.

- In assessing collaborations, look at the relative costs of collaboration for each partner, including qualitative costs like: who is bridging the cultural divides, who is risking resources or credibility, who's accruing the new capacity. In funding collaborations, also consider funding the partner groups directly around their costs, such as lost staff time, travel, and competing program needs.
- Fund internal organizational efforts to increase sustainability and capacity. General support and long term grants are key, as are supplemental grants for technical assistance, management training, leadership transmission, sabbaticals and education, evaluation, alternative fundraising... Look at how and whether an organization is able to move toward a next level of work.
- Move the grantmaking focus along the movement cycle: where grassroots grow, fund anchor organizations; where anchors grow, fund organizational capacity building; where capacity is shared, fund networks; where scope and scale enlarge, fund new partners; when the movement arrives, fund a stream or a spectrum; when the moment passes, fund implementation and the next generation.
- Even a small funder can use a movement framework to help the “missing pieces” gain the visibility and capacity needed to become coalition partners and movement leaders—through a women's leadership program, a youth project, a Black-Latino dialogue, a labor-community joint venture, a do-or-die campaign, an exchange or mentoring program, or maybe just the airfare to attend a regional conference.
- Whether our money is large or small, we can all join with other funders to reduce redundant demands on grantees, expand complementary grantmaking, and build our shared knowledge base.

About The New World Foundation and Opportunities For Partnership

The New World Foundation is turning 50 years old, and one of the most important things we've learned over the years is that we need to join forces to make a difference. Having grown from a private foundation to a public charity, we combine New World's resources with other foundations, family funds and donors to build strategic grantmaking programs.

Our current grantmaking is structured into three funds. The budget for each fund is raised through collaborating funders with New World providing core support, fiscal sponsorship, staffing and overhead costs.

The Phoenix Fund for Workers & Communities supports worker organizing for economic justice and human rights in the US and Mexico, funding labor-community alliances and immigrant worker centers that promote fair labor standards, economic policy reform, and civic participation.

The Global Environmental Health & Justice Fund supports environmental justice activism in the US and in the global South, supporting poor communities in the fight for healthy environments, community empowerment, corporate accountability, effective government regulation, and sustainable economic practices.

FUSE: The Fund for Unity, Sustainability and Effectiveness is a new donor collaborative that supports movement sustainability and organizational capacity building. While there are two distinct FUSE grantmaking programs, one focusing on internal development



and the other on communication strategies, both grants programs combine resources in several current projects

FUSE: The Regeneration Grants Program is aimed at helping established organizations and emerging movements reach the next levels of scope, scale and sustainability. The Fund will begin work with current grantees and their allies around five priorities: creating political action vehicles, deepening skills for collaboration, extending outreach to broader constituencies, growing the next generation of leadership, and diversifying funding streams.

FUSE: The Media and Communications Grants Program has evolved from NWF's longstanding Media Fund. This program supports the development of intra-movement media and communication networks, deploying progressive media resources that enable movement organizations to establish broader public identities, discover shared values, learn from best practices, and forge a common public policy agenda.

Special Projects and Programs: In addition to the grants made from its core funds, New World's discretionary grantmaking is responsive to timely opportunities to promote political participation and the visibility of peace and justice issues.

We also founded and continue to sponsor the *Alston-Bannerman Fellows Program*, providing sabbaticals to veteran activists of color in the U.S. To help nurture the next generation in progressive philanthropy, we sponsor and house a national network of young donors and program officers, *Emerging Practitioners in Philanthropy (EPIP)*.

Past special projects have included *Take Action Awards* for youth activists and *The Harold Fleming Award* for civil rights leadership. In the 1990s, New World also sponsored the development of the *21st Century Foundation*, which works with African-American donors to promote community activism.

New World is proud to have participated in some of the most significant progressive advances of the past fifty years. We welcome donors and foundations who would like to join us in nurturing the important movements of the future.



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