CASE STUDY

Akonadi Foundation:
Movement Building – Locally with a Structural Racism Analysis

by Maggie Potapchuk

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leadership</th>
<th>Quinn Delaney, founder and president of the board</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Year Founded</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission</td>
<td>To support the development of powerful social change movements to eliminate structural racism and create a racially just society.</td>
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<td>Current Program Area</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arc Toward Justice Fund</td>
<td>– a vision of equity for youth of color in Oakland, with grants that work to end the patterns of harm and injustice generated by structural racism; and to advance solutions and opportunities that allow youth of color and their communities to thrive.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beloved Community Fund</td>
<td>– supports events that reclaim public space in Oakland, in order to affirm and celebrate the collective memory, shared histories, social identities and cultures of communities of color living in the city, as well as events that provide a platform to discuss pressing issues and struggles.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Staff Size</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Endowment Size</td>
<td>$25 million</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average Grant Size</td>
<td>Arc Toward Justice: $85,000 Beloved Community Fund: $5,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Geographic Area</td>
<td>Oakland, California</td>
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After eight years of giving to social change work anonymously through the Tides Foundation, Quinn Delaney and her husband Wayne Jordan realized that anonymity might be hindering the way they wanted to work with grantees and what they were hoping to achieve. "Doing site visits got us super hungry for a different connection," reflects Delaney. "It was really a desire to be closer to the ground, more engaged with the organizations and the leaders, seeing what they're doing and what we may contribute."

This recognition of the importance of relationships was a catalyst and then programmatically intrinsic to many key turning points along the way for the Akonadi Foundation, established in Oakland, California, in 2000 with a $2 million initial investment. Delaney, who is White, continues, "When we were thinking about starting the foundation, we were moved by all the things we had just seen and heard from all these leaders around the issues of race. And of course, my husband being African-American … we all have had different experiences with race, he in a different way than I, that was part of the personal coming into what is the prime lens and issue that is at the heart of what needs to be changed in our society."

Melanie Cervantes, who was the foundation's first staff member and is now a program officer, provides additional context for the foundation's initial focus on race. "Akonadi grew out of the experience our board had intentionally supporting youth of color organizing that was using a race lens in powerful and innovative ways," she recalls. This was in 2000 when young people were leading the fight against Proposition 21 [the Juvenile Crime Initiative] in California, which was seeking to criminalize youth of color. "What was most noteworthy about the opposition to this draconian legislation was that young people of color became politically engaged in this campaign to a degree that has not been seen since."

Witnessing how the youth of color protesting used the race lens in powerful and innovative ways, Delaney and Jordan were convinced that the new Akonadi Foundation should focus explicitly on racial justice. Beth Rosales, who staffed their anonymous donor-advised fund, expresses her reaction to the mission: "Quinn and Wayne's decision to focus on racial justice blew my mind and everyone else's minds. It was an incredible leap politically, especially for the philanthropic field. They wanted to acknowledge and recognize the racial justice work that many grantees were engaged in – hoping to lift a very important issue that warranted expanded discourse around the nation and funding in philanthropic circles."
Knowing they did not have all the answers, Delaney and Jordan launched Akonadi with a series of brown bag lunches to begin an open discussion with the field. They simply started the conversation with no predetermined framework; as Delaney puts it, “We are starting a foundation on racial justice and we aren’t really sure of our direction – please tell us your ideas.” From the beginning, they welcomed ideas, lessons and directions from community leaders and grassroots activists about what was necessary to support their work in the Bay Area. The centrality of this relationship-based approach is reflected in the foundation’s original mission, which was to “work with others to eliminate racism, with a particular focus on structural and institutional racism. It has sought partners who work within an analytical framework that defines and addresses the underpinnings of institutional racism.” These partners included not only grantees and colleagues, but also movement-building organizations nationally and locally, as well as issue-based organizations working on structural change.

In the 14 years since its birth, Akonadi Foundation has emerged as one of the very few foundations in the U.S. that explicitly integrates a racial justice framework into its grantmaking. Rooted in this focus on race and relationships, Akonadi Foundation has a unique story to tell and lessons to share.

**Akonadi’s Journey**

Delaney and Jordan's understanding of how to best address racism has evolved through their grantmaking experiences in communities of color. By the time Akonadi was formed, their analysis was explicitly centered on an understanding that racism is institutionalized; and they were committed to advancing racial justice approaches. As the organization’s only board members, Delaney and Jordan wrestled with the challenge of using an institutional racism framework – struggling with the question, “How can a small family foundation effectively address a complex insidious issue with a relatively small investment?” As Delaney says, “We were clear we were not focused on diversity training, and it wasn’t about people across races getting along with each other. But it wasn’t structural racism either.” Delaney was exposed to the concept of structural racism through her interactions with John A. Powell who, at the time, was director of the Kirwan Institute on Race and Ethnicity at Ohio State University and a fellow Tides Foundation board member.

Akonadi made a deep investment in learning about structural racism throughout its early years. In 2003, Akonadi engaged a consultant to discuss definitions of structural racism with thought leaders from labor, faith organizations and nonprofits, and to advise the foundation on grant strategy. Also, around 2005, a book club was started – first internally and then later with peer funders – as a space to explore ideas about structural racism. Though somewhat theoretical, the meetings helped increase participants’ comfort levels in talking about the concept of structural racism and deepened their understanding of how it manifests locally and nationally. Cervantes shares that the book club “played a critical role in developing our analysis and refining our practice around grantmaking to impact structural racism.” This institutional learning process led to shifts in Akonadi’s framework for grantmaking. These shifts emphasizing social movements as the primary vehicle for addressing structural racism are reflected in Akonadi’s revised mission statement adopted in 2007 to “support the development of powerful social change movements to eliminate structural racism and create a racially just society.”

**The Akonadi movement-building framework consists of:**

- making racial justice an explicit and direct focus;
- providing long-term investments in organizations that are developing or advancing an analysis of structural racism and that are committed to proactive racial justice action;
- encouraging local innovation and success;
- helping people come together to share how they think, talk and strategize about racial justice;
- supporting the interconnected strategies of building power, shaping policy and transforming culture; and
- nurturing cross-generational leadership.

This framework broadened the scope of Akonadi’s funding and clarified the purposes of local and national grantmaking. To put the movement-building framework into practice, three new funds were designed: Building a Movement (BAM), Race and Place (RAP), and Strategic Opportunity Support (SOS).

Through the RAP Fund, Akonadi played a convening role, bringing together local grantees in Oakland to talk, think and strategize about racial justice. The fact that Delaney and Cervantes knew the organizational landscape from their own backgrounds in community organizing, cultural work and progressive political campaigns was a great advantage. As Roger Kim, former director of Asian Pacific Environmental Network, shares, “One of key strengths of the foundation, Quinn and Melanie in particular, is their intimate knowledge of their grantees and the work, as well as the political and economic context in which the work that
takes place – they know who the players are, the issues, the organizations and the ecosystem. They know movement-building players and issues we faced, as well as the political context and obstacles that we confronted.”

**Building Movement Capacity for Structural Change**

Akonadi puts community-organizing groups at the heart of its movement-building framework not only because organizing is an effective strategy, but also because organizing groups value and involve those most impacted by racism. Around 2008, Akonadi began exploring what supports needed to be in place for community organizing to be robust and sustained. Capacity-building funding and ecosystem grantmaking emerged as two key strategies that would strengthen and sustain both racial justice organizations and the movements they supported.

**Capacity-building Funding**

Building grantees’ capacity to work on structural racism has been core to advancing Akonadi’s movement-building framework. With support from The California Endowment, Akonadi invested $875,000 in capacity building between 2010 and 2012. Fifteen RAP grantees received an average of $15,000 each for a capacity-building project of their choice, and they participated in six facilitated, learning-community meetings. The funded projects ranged from communications messaging work, to fund development, to community meetings.

Nikki Fortunato Bas, executive director of East Bay Alliance for a Sustainable Economy (EBASE), received one of the early grants. She explains how it helped EBASE deepen its racial justice commitment and integrate it more explicitly in all operations of the organization; it was “developing protocols to put racial justice into practice and institutionalize it within our organization.”

In 2012, Akonadi established the Race and Place capacity-building fund’s movement-building grants to build social-movement capacity by nurturing alliance-building and addressing systemic issues. Seed money was provided for multiple organizations to come together to jointly develop strategy and create a space for learning, exchange and mutual support. For example, Californians United for a Responsible Budget (CURB) wanted to incorporate grassroots organizing into its efforts to reduce the prison population. With a capacity-building grant from Akonadi, CURB joined forces with A New Way of Life, an organization of formerly incarcerated people, and Critical Resistance, a membership organization with a mix of formerly incarcerated adults and other activists. The three organizations built a statewide collaboration that included sharing best practices, connecting with other sectors like public education teachers, and developing a shared strategic communications plan, which included online advocacy.

**Ecosystem Grantmaking**

With its movement-building framework, Akonadi funds grantees by using a variety of strategies, including policy advocacy, research, cultural work and training. To build capacity at the movement level, the first step, as Cervantes shared, was “shifting the board’s conversation from only evaluating each grantee organization’s achievement on particular outcomes, to evaluating the organizations and the portfolio as a whole with a filter on how the grantees’ work is connected and working toward collective impact.” The key strategic questions then became “What is needed to build a movement?” and “What role could the foundation play in supporting it?” The board and staff began discussing these questions in 2008. Delaney realized what had been missing, as they reviewed their grantmaking portfolio with a movement-building lens: “the interrelatedness of both issues and approaches … Understanding how, for example, education issues are tied to housing issues, and are tied to transportation issues, and are tied to jobs. Which is all obvious; but when we were doing our grantmaking, we weren’t thinking of it in that way.”

Based on their experience applying these questions in Akonadi’s grantmaking, in 2011 the foundation adopted a definition of “ecosystem grantmaking”:

Understanding the importance of the diverse web of relationships among communities, organizations and political formations that Akonadi supports. Much like a healthy ecosystem in nature, successful movement building requires a range of intersecting approaches through a set of distinct stages over a sustained period of time. Three of the most salient aspects of an ecosystem are diversity, interconnectedness and relationship to the larger environment.

Julie Quiroz, a former Akonadi consultant, explains the framework further. “Ecosystem grantmaking is not like traditional grantmaking that focuses narrowly on providing individual support to organizations,” says Quiroz. “Rather, it is an understanding of the landscape you and your partners are operating in, and how you are collectively making an impact.” Building upon the core strategy of community organizing, an ecosystem grantmaker then identifies complementary organizations that are aligned and supportive of the organizing campaign. Funding an ecosystem of strategies with support for organizing at the core helps consolidate power in the community while also connecting grantees to emerging regional and national infrastructure. This approach may also align local organizing campaigns with a broader strategy or national campaign.

Ecosystem grantmaking differs from what is commonly referred to in philanthropy as “strategic grantmaking.” Whereas “strategic grantmaking” is driven by a set of outcomes predetermined by a funder, ecosystem grantmaking is informed by community-level strategies.
and motivated by a long-term vision to build movements that can achieve long-term social change. In ecosystem grantmaking, community organizing is the core strategy to develop traction and infrastructure to lead to transformational change.

**Bringing It Home to Oakland**

In early 2012, as Akonadi embarked on a new strategic-planning process, Delaney recalls her frustration at that time with the ongoing entrenched and systemic racism in Oakland: “We had been working on funding national alliances, and work here in Oakland, and patting ourselves on the back for working on structural racism while at the same time communities in Oakland were suffering,” shares Delaney. “The amount of violence in communities of color was huge; police intervention was forceful and traumatic; the expulsion rate of students of color was astronomical. We felt a great dissonance between our supposed great work and the reality of people’s lives in our own community. We felt called to work in our own city to address the very real and overwhelming issues of racial injustice right here.”

The statistics were appalling. Homicides in Oakland were on the rise with most of the victims being Black males. From 2002-2007, 557 people were murdered in Oakland, the state’s second highest homicide rate after Compton. And while Black youth comprised only 29.3 percent of the total Oakland school-aged youth population, they made up 78.6 percent of the total arrests for low-level offenses. Also, East Oakland’s high school dropout rate hovers at 40 percent, and 44 percent of adults over 25 don’t have a high school diploma.

Reflecting on this state of affairs and conscious of their small size and reach, in 2012 Akonadi embarked on a new phase of grantmaking that is much more locally focused. Described by one interviewee as “figuring out how to come home,” Akonadi redefined its grantmaking to solely focus “time, energy and resources on making the promise of racial justice a reality for young people of color in Oakland.” In the new theory of change, the foundation’s commitment to Oakland is reframed with a vision of structural and cultural transformation that includes changing the perception of youth of color and the policies that target them.

Two new grant portfolios launched in September 2013 reflect this intent. The Arc Toward Justice Fund was created to “achieve equity for youth of color in Oakland … which will include deep shifts in the perception of youth of color, and the policies and practices that impact them.” The Beloved Community Fund was established to “affirm and celebrate the collective memory, shared histories, social identities and cultures of communities of color living in Oakland.”

Akonadi Foundation is now focusing all its funding and capacity building support to achieve racial equity for youth of color specifically at the intersection of criminal justice and education. A sampling of the current grant portfolio provides examples of how Akonadi is putting its new priorities into practice, including grants that

- advocate for equitable implementation of a new Local Control Funding Formula to create more equitable funding for school districts.
- develop intergenerational dialogues to support low-income Asian youth to heal from personal trauma, and campaign for change in Oakland Unified School District.
- create opportunities at school sites to shift attitudes of adults, and create new cultural norms built on restorative justice practices.
- engage young men in media production as part of organizing against policy proposals that criminalize youth, such as youth curfews.

Having evolved as a funder in tandem with the youth of color community organizing field, Akonadi now has a better understanding of what it may take to transform policies, practices and culture. Jackie Byers, director of the Black Organizing Project, observes that Akonadi’s “process is consistent with their vision, from the questions they ask during the application to the explicit focus on racial justice and movement building. They are willing to put real

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investment into community organizing, which speaks to their ongoing commitment to leadership coming from those most impacted by the systems we are trying to change.”

**Lessons Learned**

Akonadi Foundation’s 14-year history holds many lessons for funders looking to make the greatest impact on eliminating structural racism with limited dollars. Some of those lessons are offered here.

**Be explicit about structural racism analysis – starting with the application process.**

Grantees may not always use the language of structural racism, even though they may indeed be employing strategies to address root causes. Akonadi is interested in analysis that is shaped by people most impacted by racism rather than using a funder-created framework to steer the due diligence process. For this reason, the foundation added questions to its grant application to help grantees articulate their structural racism analyses, such as “How does your organization think about/talk about structural racism and racial justice movement-building? (i.e., How do you see racism structuring resources/policies? How do the structures of racism engage/impact different race/ethnic groups differently?)”

Grantees are also asked questions when their grants end, such as

**▲** What were your organization’s racial justice movement-building goals, and what was your progress toward them?

**▲** Did your organization make any changes to your internal structure, processes or practices that helped it to better reflect your racial justice analysis?

**▲** Please provide at least one example of how your organization used a structural racism analysis and/or a racial justice movement-building approach in an effective or enlightening way.

Asking these questions sets in motion a process for grantees to have internal discussions if needed, to better define their structural racism analysis and how it plays out in their work. As Mari Ryono, former Mobilize the Immigrant Vote (MIV) coordinating director, describes, “I remember Akonadi asking explicit questions for grantees to break down their racial justice theory. This was one of the most positive things, especially for a POC [people of color] racial justice organization like MIV which clearly comes with an analysis of racism but may not have broken down all aspects of our theory. This process helped us tighten our way of talking about structural racism in our daily work.” Akonadi continues to develop its questions for grantees in the application process and site visits.

**Integrate processes for the foundation to intentionally learn from the community, specifically on how the foundation can add value.**

When supporting movement-building work, it is crucial to be well-informed, especially to ensure that the foundation is meeting community needs, and listening for how it can be a catalyst or strengthen the work happening in the community.

In the Akonadi Foundation’s first strategic-planning process, the interviews and focus groups included the usual suspects: organizational leaders, academics and current grantees. In the second one, they expanded and deepened their process – conducting more than 90 conversations with individual leaders and organizations to learn the trends and potential opportunities. The process informed whether their theory of change reflected what was happening on the ground. This engagement process also included strategic-thinking sessions with grantees, community and system leaders.

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The principle of listening closely to the community extends into Akonadi’s developing approach to evaluation. In its new grantmaking program, Arc Toward Justice Fund, Akonadi is working with grantees to collectively identify baseline data to track, such as graduation rates, decreases in violence, and decreases in contact with police and the juvenile justice system. Delaney shares an important realization for her regarding the evaluation process. “The biggest aha for me was realizing what to evaluate, and the importance of relationship between and among organizations and leaders.”
of the role of cultural work.

Akonadi’s new strategic plan notes, “This comprehensive approach will require the shifting of public and private resources from punitive strategies to new systems and ladders of opportunity, as well as resourcing the forms of cultural expression, and individual and collective healing work needed to address the acute and accumulated impacts of trauma experienced by youth of color in Oakland.”

In addition, Akonadi’s theory of change now includes an indicator of success, “shifting the cultural norms and narrative about race.” Culture plays a role, as Cervantes says, in “where we can make a difference in how the organization progresses. The cultural work really impacts and pushes forward the policy and practice piece so there is sustainability and greater depth.”

Taj James, executive director of Movement Strategy Center and one of the consultants in the foundation’s recent strategic planning process, observes: “People will resist focusing on structural issues if they don’t have a cultural understanding of racism within and how it plays out in systems. Akonadi recognizes how culture shapes the perception of young people of color. They are asking ‘What are the strategies to shift the perceptions that influence how voters perceive youth of color? How policymakers, police officers, teachers behave toward youth of color?’” James also notes the importance of Akonadi intentionally including art, culture, and creativity for identity development, resistance and self-representation in communities of color as a specific grantmaking component.

For a foundation implementing racial justice grantmaking, it is important to align policies and practices with the organization’s racial equity values.

While Akonadi’s structure of a two-member board is not considered a best practice, having a small board and staff has allowed this foundation the latitude to adopt a structural racism analysis without facing the resistance to examining the complex dynamics of racism that is more common in larger foundations. Because Akonadi has been focused on equity issues since its formation, the question of aligning policies and practices with a racial equity framework never specifically came up for the foundation. For example, the foundation always had staff of color. In 2005, Akonadi also changed its investing firm to one that is socially responsible, diverse in investment approach and aligned with the organization’s values.

Nevertheless, organizational values are sometimes easier to implement outside the walls of an institution than internally, especially when it comes to racial equity. For Akonadi, their decision-making process is evolving from hierarchical or positional power decision-making to more of a consensus decision-making model. Recently there has been growing recognition within the foundation that the decision-making process must be assessed in the context of the board and staff racial demographics – a White woman president and staff who are women of color.

Delaney offers some thoughtful reflections on these internal dynamics. “We were able to approach some of the assumptions and culture in a way we were all able to see it and understand it,” she shares. “Prior to this [most recent strategic planning] process, I’m not sure we lived our values as an institution. We had a diverse workforce, but that is not all at the same time. It was a White professional culture in the office … I don’t know that we were truly, until very recently, walking our talk.” Though it is slow-going, the board and staff are now more aware of each other’s differences, and this recent work has led to more transparency and thoughtfulness on how the team works together.

Conclusion

The experience of Akonadi suggests that foundations can be most effective when they know how to balance the changing roles required of them in movement building – when to be a catalyst, supporter, messenger or silent partner. Akonadi continues to figure out that balance, which requires thoughtfulness and respect for grantees, as well as being well-informed by stakeholders.

As a small foundation with limited resources, the vision that the Akonadi Foundation and its grantees share can
only be achieved if more foundations develop a systemic, intersectional and root-cause analysis of racism in grantmaking. Beyond its own grantmaking, Akonadi Foundation has played an important leadership role with funders locally by helping establish the Bay Area Justice Funders Network in 2008. Akonadi provided the initial staffing, office space and seed money to support this network. There are now more than 125 people attending meetings, with an active programmatic schedule.

Speaking to the field of philanthropy, Cervantes points out, “We need to create deep partnerships with folks on the ground, to hear what they see as necessary to support their work. This practice of deep listening is a tool that informs our actions and is something that we as a field are underutilizing – particularly because we all want to have deep impact in the world.” From Akonadi’s perspective, funders are not just along for the ride – their actions and roles need to be thoughtful and aligned in order to support long-term change on complex issues. Says Delaney, “I think their work. This practice of deep listening is a tool that informs our actions and is something that we as a field are underutilizing – particularly because we all want to have deep impact in the world.” From Akonadi’s perspective, funders are not just along for the ride – their actions and roles need to be thoughtful and aligned in order to support long-term change on complex issues. Says Delaney, “I think it requires the realization around what it can take for real change and realizing that one campaign alone is not going to change everything, partly because everything is structural and interwoven.”

**Endnotes**

1. Akonadi means “the oracle goddess of justice” in Ghana.
3. Ibid.
4. Akonadi Foundation Strategic Plan. n.d.
7. In 2009, the Akonadi Foundation responds to the killing of Oscar Grant by a BART police officer in Oakland by creating the Oscar Grant Fund. The Oscar Grant Fund supports urgent local organizing and addresses an immediate need to tell stories about structural racism; educate the media; and challenge the prevailing narrative, one that was far more focused on property damage during protests rather than violence against people of color.
8. “Building A Movement (BAM) is a national grantmaking program that focuses on deepening an understanding of structural racism; disseminating an explicit racial justice theory; and advancing strategic action toward racial justice. Race and Place [RAP] is a local grantmaking program [that] focuses on inspiring and informing racial justice movement-building by elevating innovative place-based racial justice efforts, beginning with our hometown of Oakland. Strategic Opportunity Support (SOS) seeks to encourage innovation in racial justice movement-building by providing small one-time grants to timely efforts as they emerge on a local, regional and national level. SOS grantmaking focuses on organizations we believe can provide leadership in racial justice movement-building.” Memo to Racial Justice Funders group. re: Assessing Movement Building – Recent Experience. Akonadi Foundation, 2008.
15. Ibid.
17. Ibid.