

The History of Philanthropy in the United States from the Gilded Age to Present

Meeting Day/Times: Thursdays, 4:10-6:00 pm, 302 Fayerweather

Instructor: Micah McElroy

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Office Hours: Fridays, 4:00-6 pm, Brownie's Cafe, located in the basement of Fayerweather and Avery Halls. Please send me an email in advance if you would like to meet with me.

Course Description: In a period of inequality and a contracting welfare state, the conspicuous wealth of mega-donors such as Bill Gates, Mark Zuckerberg, and Jeff Bezos has renewed public interest in the role of philanthropy in American life and whether it is compatible with the nation's democratic ideals. While today's philanthropic fortunes are sizable, philanthropy has long been an important part of America's political and social history. Whether philanthropy supports or erodes democracy, moreover, has been a persistent quandary and source of contention. Using recent scholarship in history, sociology, and journalism, this course examines the formation and practice of modern philanthropy from the late 19th century to the early 21st century, with a particular focus on philanthropic foundations and their engagement with public policy, social movements, and the alleviation of poverty. By introducing students to historical debates about how Americans understood and realized their social obligations to each other, it aims to equip them with the ability to make public and academic contributions to contemporary discussions of philanthropy.

Organized in two parts (the past, the present), the course proceeds chronologically, beginning with how philanthropy diverged from charity during the late 19th century using Andrew Carnegie's "Wealth," followed by case studies of how early foundations engaged in public policy and Jim Crow. After discussing how foundations attempted to address poverty in the American South, the seminar reviews how foundations translated those experiences abroad via the Green Revolution. The course returns to the United States to survey philanthropic engagement with mid-century social movements, including the Civil Rights Movement and the Farmworkers Movement in California. Subsequent sections discuss how foundations identified and understood social problems, and how their social research fomented partisan debates about the place of philanthropy in American democracy. As part of these discussions, the course examines various state efforts to regulate philanthropy and whether such a task is possible--or desirable. Part 1 of the seminar concludes by examining philanthropy and its relationship to Black Power and the conservative movement. Part 2 enters contemporary discussions of philanthropy, familiarizing students with modern practices and debates in organized giving.

Topics include philanthrocapitalism, venture philanthropy, strategic philanthropy, and the donor-advised fund. We close in what is commonly called the “New Gilded Age” in which concern about wealth and income inequality has combined with renewed criticism of mega-philanthropy. The final week turns to broad questions of the ethics and democratic potential of philanthropy in the United States.

Prerequisites: Familiarity with the history of the United States from the 1890s to the present is desired.

Film Review (Extra Credit)	5% (extra credit)	Due February 27 at start of class
Paper Proposal	10%	Due March 12th at start of class
Field Review Paper – First Draft	10%	Due April 9th at start of class
Weekly Courseworks Posts	20%	Due Thursday morning by 10 am
In-Class Participation and Attendance	20%	
Op-Ed	5%	Due April 16th at start of class
Field Review Paper – Final Draft	35%	Due May 12th by midnight (Tuesday)

Participation: Participation is composed of in-class participation (20%) and reading responses (15%). In lieu of written exams, you are asked to participate in a shared study of the arguments of historians, the evaluation of historical documents, and oral discussion and debate with the goal of understanding each text's significance, persuasiveness, and relevance to contemporary problems. Your verbal and written participation--and those of your peers--is critical to the success of these goals. We will learn more about our texts and the history of philanthropy when each of us comes prepared having read all the assignments, contributes constructive questions and answers, and respond to the comments of our peers.

Discussion posts (20%): In order to prepare for a robust discussion and debate about the history of philanthropy, I ask that you post a brief reflection on the reading to the appropriate forum on Courseworks (20% of final grade) by 10 AM Thursday. Your post should be at minimum one paragraph long and no more than two paragraphs, or 100 to 400 words. All posts should follow this format: Minimum one paragraph and no more than two (or 100 to 400 words), include at least two questions that you would like to ask the class, and two keywords or concepts you found to be important from the texts. For full credit, posts must be completed and submitted online by 10:00 AM before class. I will read and grade these posts and return them to you in class the following week. Your grade will reflect the strength of your post's engagement with the assigned readings and with the themes of the course. I award more points to those reflections that use more than one reading, and which demonstrate comparisons or connections between texts or use multiple texts to answer an assigned question.

If you're having a hard time developing questions that can solicit opinions or answers from your peers, here are some suggestions: Questions can be **clarifying** (for example, questions aimed at helping you understand a scholar's argument or claims by gathering answers from your peers), **challenging** (for example, questions that challenge, contradict, or scrutinize a writer's claims or ideas which you'd like your peers to evaluate), or **expanding** (for example, questions that ask about the larger relevance of the text or place it in relation to other readings, puzzles or problems). We'll generate examples of good questions in our first week.

In-Class Participation (20%): Your active participation in the seminar is critical to the success of our shared exploration of philanthropy's history and its continuing relevance to today. You should come prepared having read all the assignments, arrive on time, and be willing to ask questions as relevant, and actively respond to the comments, puzzles, or questions posed by your peers. You should also be prepared to discuss your reading response and the questions you wrote in advance, as I may call upon you to present them to our seminar. I will be evaluating you on how proactive you are in contributing to our in-class conversation, your respect for your peers (meaning that you do not interrupt others, disagree politely, and do not minimize the contributions of your peers), and your ability to comment or pose additional questions to your peer's contributions in seminar. I also encourage you to speak, even if you believe your idea is

half-formed, as our seminar is meant to be a place for you to test out of new ideas, work out puzzles, and gather the feedback of your colleagues.

Written Assignments:

Op-Ed (5%): You'll write a 700 to 1100 word op-ed piece (about 1-2 pages), which should reflect on a contemporary debate, issue, or event pertaining to US philanthropy from a historical perspective. In writing your op-ed, you should think about how history can help the public better understand the present. You have a wide degree of creativity. For some ideas: You might comment on a contemporary issue, such as education, climate change, inequality, or so on, and how philanthropy ought to engage that issue. Or you might draft an op-ed that makes an argument about how philanthropy can "do better"--or how its critics are wrong. Or you might ponder recurrent questions in our course, such as: Can philanthropy foster democracy? How? Should it? In addition to reading the articles in our syllabus, I would strongly recommend reading op-eds and articles on philanthropy in periodicals such as *The Atlantic*, *The New York Times*, and *The Guardian*. Not only will these articles familiarize you with writing conventions, but they also help you identify contemporary events that you can write about in your op-ed. You should write your op-ed as if a public audience were to read it in a popular newspaper or magazine, which means avoiding jargon, wordiness, and the passive tense, while advancing a clear, informative argument. You'll upload and share your op-ed on a shared Google doc: . For more guidance on op-eds, see: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/25/opinion/tips-for-aspiring-op-ed-writers.html>

Field Review Paper (35%): You'll have the opportunity to delve deeper into one of our course's topics or themes, or to address a specific subject in the history of philanthropy in the United States that we will not have time or space to address. Your task is to write a **10-12 page review** of these chosen texts, placing them in conversation, and evaluating their relative strengths and weaknesses. In other words, you'll be writing a "state of the field" or a "historiography" of your chosen subject. The field review paper requires you to select five texts, three of which must be book-length, and asks you to identify each historian's argument, the evidence they employ, and what they contribute to our understanding of your selected topic and the broader history of philanthropy in the United States. Moreover, your paper should evaluate the relative strengths of each historian's text, helping your reader understand the limits of each historian's work as well as how historians might advance our understanding of your chosen subject through further study.

Don't worry if this assignment is unfamiliar to you: several times throughout the semester you will be able to get feedback on your proposed ideas as well as your first draft. You may also wish to use the resources available to you in the Columbia Writing Center.

Paper Proposal (10%): You will submit a two-to-three page prospectus in which you state the theme and text you have selected and explain your choices. You should also provide some indication of what you think the relationship is between your chosen texts: How are they in

historiographical conversation with each other? You might argue, for example, that your chosen texts reveal broad consensus on the topic, or that they indicate a progression of thought on a particular theme, or sharp differences about the origin or consequence of a particular historical event or moment. You do not need to read all of the texts, but you should have a basic understanding of each author's argument and contribution.

First Draft (10%): In your first draft, we will focus on (1) the clear articulation of your thesis regarding how your chosen texts address the theme and relate to one another; and (2) the organization of your argument. I will review, edit, and comment upon your draft and return it to you in time for you to revise and edit before the final version. **You may either submit a minimum of half of your essay (e.g. an introduction paragraph and five-six pages of body paragraphs) or an introduction paragraph and a detailed outline explaining what you will discuss in each paragraph.**

Movie Review (Extra Credit 5%): You will write a movie report for *Rosenwald*, using the readings from "Philanthropy and Jim Crow" in addition to any other readings in the course to analyze any issue presented in the film. You have the freedom to focus on any element of the film you wish, but you should write your review as if it were for a general audience and assess how well the film serves to educate the public about the history of philanthropy. **The movie report should be 4-5 double-spaced pages with most of the review engaging in analysis rather than a summary. The complete review is due on February 27.**

Class Policies: Students are required to arrive on time and unexplained tardiness or absence from seminar will diminish your final participation score. Consecutive tardiness or absences can result in a failing grade. In addition, cell phone devices are not permitted in seminar. Out of respect to Columbia's custodial workers and to minimize distraction, no food (excluding beverages) is allowed in the classroom. Please contact me if you require an exception. **Computers are fine, but only for drawing up course readings and taking notes.**

All written work must be typed, double spaced with one-inch margins, composed in Times New Roman 12-point font. All sources must be cited with footnotes using Chicago Style Citation. Guidance on how to compose citations can be found in Turabian's *A Manual for Writers*.

Drafts: I will review any draft given to me no later than two weeks before the deadline. I will not, however, tell you what grade you will receive based off of that draft, or promise you a particular grade should you make any of my suggested changes.

Deadlines: Students are expected to turn in all assignments completed and on time, which is at the beginning of class on the specified due date. In the case of lateness, students will be docked a half letter grade for each day an assignment is late, starting the day after it was due.

Academic Integrity: The intellectual venture in which we are all engaged requires of faculty and students alike the highest level of personal and academic integrity. As members of an academic community, each one of us bears the responsibility to participate in scholarly discourse and research in a manner characterized by intellectual honesty and scholarly integrity.

Scholarship, by its very nature, is an iterative process, with ideas and insights building one upon the other. Collaborative scholarship requires the study of other scholars' work, the free discussion of such work, and the explicit acknowledgement of those ideas in any work that inform our own. This exchange of ideas relies upon a mutual trust that sources, opinions, facts, and insights will be properly noted and carefully credited.

In practical terms, this means that, as students, you must be responsible for the full citations of others' ideas in all of your research papers and projects; you must be scrupulously honest when taking your examinations; you must always submit your own work and not that of another student, scholar, or internet agent.

Any breach of this intellectual responsibility is a breach of faith with the rest of our academic community. It undermines our shared intellectual culture, and it cannot be tolerated. Students failing to meet these responsibilities should anticipate being asked to leave Columbia.

Disability Accommodations: If you are a student with a disability and have an DS-certified 'Accommodation Letter' please come to my office hours to confirm your accommodation needs. If you believe that you might have a disability that requires accommodation, you should contact Disability Services at 212-854-2388 and disability@columbia.edu.

Academic Support Services:

The Writing Center provides writing support to undergraduate and graduate students. In one-on-one consultations and workshops, their consultants offer feedback and strategies to help you improve at every stage of your writing, from brainstorming to final drafts. Any registered Columbia or Barnard student may schedule an appointment with the writing center. You may find their help very useful for your literature review.

(<https://www.college.columbia.edu/core/uwp/writing-center>)

Required Textbooks

No textbooks are required for purchase. Please note that I will make scans of chapters from most of our readings and post them on Courseworks. I have also noted when particular readings are available for free through Columbia as electronic books. are not expected to read texts listed as “optional;” I have only listed them there should you wish to engage the subject further, either for your research or for seminar, but I will not require or expect you to have read them.

These texts are available via library course reserves at Butler should you wish to read a hard-copy: Karen Ferguson *Top Down*, Anand Giridharadas *Winners Take All*, Rob Reich et. al *Philanthropy in Democratic Societies*, Judith Sealander *Private Wealth and Public Life*, Olivier Zunz *Philanthropy in America*, Rob Reich *Just Giving*, Alice O'Connor *Social Science for What?*

January 23: Introduction [19 pages]

- Benjamin Soskis, “The Importance of Criticizing Philanthropy” *The Atlantic* (May 12, 2014) [5 pages]
- Peter Dobkin Hall, "A Historical Overview of Philanthropy, Voluntary Associations, and Nonprofit Organizations in the United States, 1600-2000" in *The Non-Profit Sector: A Research Handbook*. ed. Walter W. Powell and Richard Steinberg. (Yale University Press, 2006), 32-46 [14 pages]

Further Reading: Olivier Zunz, “Stanley N. Katz, “Where Did the Serious Study of Philanthropy Come From, Anyway?” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* (March 1999); Peter Dobkin Hall, “The Work of Many Hands: A Response to Stanley N. Katz on the Origins of the ‘Serious Study’ of Philanthropy,” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 28 (December 1999); Merle Curti, “The History of American Philanthropy as a Field of Research,” *The American Historical Review* 62 (Jan. 1957); *Philanthropic Foundations: New Scholarship, New Possibilities* ed., Ellen Condliffe Lagemann (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999).

January 30: From Charity to Philanthropy [117 pages]

- Robert Gross, “Giving in America: From Charity to Philanthropy” in *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History* ed. Lawrence J. Friedman and Mark McGarvie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) [25 pages]
- Olivier Zunz, “For the Improvement of Mankind” in *Philanthropy in America: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012) (36 pages)
- **Primary Source:** Andrew Carnegie, “Wealth” *The North American Review* (Vol. 148, Issue 391) (Boston: June 1889) (12 pages)

- **Primary Source:** W.E. Gladstone, “Mr. Carnegie’s ‘Gospel of Wealth’: A Review and a Recommendation” *Nineteenth Century* (November 1890) 677-693 (16 pages)
- **Primary Source:** Reverend Hugh Price Hughes, “Irresponsible Wealth” *Nineteenth Century* (December 1890) (10 pages)
(<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101065273474&view=1up&seq=904>)
- **Primary Source:** Washington Gladden, "Tainted Money" *Outlook* Vol. 52, Issue 22 (Nov 30, 1895)
- **Past to Present:** Future Perfect, “Gilded Rage” Vox. Podcast. (26 minutes) <
<https://www.iheart.com/podcast/358-future-perfect-30043683/episode/gilded-rage-43025619/>>

Further Reading: Robert H. Bremner, “Scientific Philanthropy” in *American Philanthropy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988) [14 pages]; William Jewett Tucker, "The Gospel of Wealth" *The Andover Review* (June, 1891), pages 631-645; Jeremy Beer, *The Philanthropic Revolution: An Alternative History of American Charity* (available electronically); Benjamin Soskis, *Both More and No More: The Historical Split Between Charity and Philanthropy* (<https://www.hudson.org/research/10723-both-more-and-no-more-the-historical-split-between-charity-and-philanthropy>); Peter Dobkin Hall, “‘A Bridge Founded upon Justice and Built of Human Hearts:’ Reflections on Philanthropy and Religion” in *Inventing the Nonprofit Sector and other Essays on Philanthropy, Voluntarism, and Nonprofit Organizations*; Ruth Crocker, *Mrs. Russell Sage: Women’s Activism and Philanthropy in Gilded Age and Progressive Era America*; David Nasaw, *Andrew Carnegie* (New York: Penguin, 2006); Brent Ruswick, *Almost Worthy: The Poor, Paupers, and the Science of Charity in America, 1877-1917*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013

February 6 Foundations and Public Policy in the Early Twentieth Century [168 pages]

- Judith Sealander, “Foundation Philanthropy and Public Policy Making in the Early-Twentieth Century United States” and “Foundations, the Rural Crisis, and the Birth of Publicly Funded Vocational Education,” “The Russell Sage Foundation and the Transformation of the Mother’s Pension” and “Conclusion” in *Private Wealth and Public Life: Foundation Philanthropy and the Reshaping of American Social Policy from the Progressive Era to the New Deal* [130 pages]
- Barry D. Karl, “Philanthropy, Policy Planning, and the Bureaucratization of the Democratic Ideal” *Dædalus*. Vol. 105, No. 4. Fall, 1976: 129-149. [20 pages]
- **Primary Source:** Henry S. Pritchett, “Should the Carnegie Foundation Be Suppressed?” *The North American Review* 201 (Apr., 1915) [13 pages]
(<https://www.jstor.org/stable/25108430>)

- **Past to Present:** Benjamin Soskis, "The Return of Hookworm and the Limits of Public Health Philanthropy" *HistPhil*. Sept. 18, 2017 [5 pages]
(<https://histphil.org/2017/09/18/the-return-of-hookworm-and-the-limits-of-public-health-philanthropy/>)

Further Reading: Barry D. Karl, "Philanthropy, Policy Planning, and the Bureaucratization of the Democratic Ideal" *Daedalus*. Vol. 105, No. 4. Fall, 1976: 129-149. [20 pages] Barry D. Karl and Stanley N. Katz, "Foundations and Ruling Class Elites" *Daedalus*, vol. 116 no. 1, (Winter 1987) [39 pages]; Jesse Tarbert, "Reconsidering Progressive Era Opposition to Foundation Activity: The Farm Demonstrating Project Controversy" *HistPhil* (August 8 2016)

February 13: Philanthropy and Jim Crow [136 pages]

- Anderson, James D. "Northern Foundations and the Shaping of Southern Black Rural Education, 1902-1935." *History of Education Quarterly* 18, no. 4 (1978) [22 pages]
- Eric Anderson and Alfred A. Moss Jr. *Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902-1930* (Columbia, MO.: University of Missouri Press, 1999), pages 1-12, 37-108, 191-218 [109 pages]
- **Primary Source:** W.E.B. DuBois "Negro Education" *The Crisis* Vol. 15, No. 4 (February, 1918), 173-178 [5 pages] (available via HathiTrust: <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044011044658;view=1up;seq=181>)
- *Rosenwald* Directed by Aviva Kempner (Los Angeles, 2015) [100 minutes]

Further Reading: Peter Max Ascoli, *Julius Rosewald: The Man Who Built Sears, Roebuck and Advanced the Cause of Black Education in the American South* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006); Lila Corwin Berman, "The Rosenwald Resurgence and its Limits" *HistPhil* (December 20, 2017) [2 pages]; Joan Malczewski, "Philanthropy and Progressive Era State Building through Agricultural Extension Work in the Jim Crow South" *History of Education Quarterly* Vol. 53, No. 4 (November 2013) [32 pages]; Maribel Morey, "Julius Rosenwald Was Not a Hero" *HistPhil* (June 30, 2017) [7 pages]; Maribel Morey, "Would Philanthropies Today Fund W.E.B. Du Bois's Encyclopedia Africana" *The Atlantic* (May 23, 2014); Joan Malczewski, "Foundations and Education Reform in the Jim Crow South" *HistPhil* (September 30, 2015) [3 pages]; Hasia R. Diner, "Julius Rosenwald: Repairing the World" (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017)

February 20: Foundations and the World [157 pages]

- Olivier Zunz, "From Humanitarianism to Cold War" and "American Philanthropy and the World's Communities" in *Philanthropy in America: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012) (137-168, 264-293) [60 pages]
- Tore C. Olsson, "Rockefeller Rural Development" and "Green Revolutions" in *Agrarian Crossings: Reformers and the Remaking of the US and Mexican Countryside*

(New Jersey, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017) (57 pages) [available electronically]

- Inderjeet Parmar, “‘The Big 3’ Foundations and American Global Order” *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, v. 74, iss. 4, (September 2015) [27 pages]

For Further Reading: Gary R. Hess, "Waging the Cold War in the Third World: The Foundations and the Challenges of Development" in *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History* ed. Lawrence J. Friedman and Mark McGarvie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) (319-341); Tiffany Willoughby-Herard, *Waste of a White Skin: the Carnegie Corporation and the Racial Logic of White Vulnerability* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015); David Nalley "The Politics of Self-Help: The Rockefeller Foundation, Philanthropy and the 'Long' Green Revolution" *Political Geography*, Vol. 49, November 2015: 51-63 (12 pages); David Rieff, "A Green Revolution for Africa?" *The New York Times* (Oct. 10, 2008) (6 pages); Volker R. Berghahn, "Philanthropy and Diplomacy in the 'American Century'" *Diplomatic History* Vol. 23, No. 3 (Summer 1999), 393-419.

February 27: Foundations and the Social Sciences [172 pages]

- Alice O'Connor, *Social Science for What? Philanthropy and the Social Question in a World Turned Rightside Up* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2007) [146 pages]
- Martin Bulmer "Support for Sociology in the 1920s: The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and the Beginnings of Modern, Large-Scale, Sociological Research in the University" *The American Sociologist*, Vol. 17 (1982) [7 pages]
- Donald Fisher, "The Role of Philanthropic Foundations in the Reproduction and Production of Hegemony: Rockefeller Foundations and the Social Sciences" *Sociology*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (May 1983) [19 pages]

Further Reading: Álvaro Morcillo Laiz “*La gran dama: Science Patronage, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Mexican Social Sciences in the 1940s*” *Journal of Latin American Studies* Vol. 51, Issue 4 (May 23, 2019); David C. Hammack and Stanton Wheeler, *Social Science in the Making: Essays on the Russell Sage Foundation, 1907-1972* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1995); Donald Fisher, *Fundamental Development of the Social Sciences: Rockefeller Philanthropy and the United States Social Science Research Council* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993); Mark Solovey, *Shaky Foundations: The Politics-Patronage-Social Science Nexus in Cold War America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2013)

March 5: Philanthropy and Social Movements after World War II [154 pages]

- Erica Kohl-Arenas, *The Self Help Myth: How Philanthropy Fails to Alleviate Poverty* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), pages 1-75, 171-190 [94 pages]

- Olivier Zunz, “Investing in Civil Rights” in *Philanthropy in America: A History* (New Jersey: Princeton, 2012) [30 pages]
- Megan Ming Francis, “The Price of Civil Rights: Black Lives, White Funding, and Movement Capture” *Law and Society Review* Vol. 53, No. 1 (2019) [34 pages]

March 12: Regulating Political Advocacy and Private Wealth [169 pages]

★ Proposal Due in Class ★

Read Zunz’s chapter, “In Search of a Nonprofit Sector” *after* reading Alice O’Connor’s “The Politics of Rich and Rich.”

- Olivier Zunz, “The Regulatory Compromise” and “In Search of a Nonprofit Sector” in *Philanthropy in America* [59 pages]
- Alice O’Connor, “The Politics of Rich and Rich: Postwar Investigations of Foundations and the Rise of the Philanthropic Right” In *American Capitalism: Social Thought and Political Economy in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Nelson Lichtenstein. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005. [20 pages]
- **Primary Source:** Final Report of the Select Committee to Investigate Foundations and Other Organizations (Cox Committee Report). U.S. House of Representatives, 82nd Congress, 2nd, Report No. 2514 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953). [18 pages]
- David Callahan, “Grandmasters,” “Leverage Points” and “Advocates” in *The Givers: Wealth, Power, and Philanthropy in a New Gilded Age* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2017) [82 pages]

Further Reading: Eleanor K. Taylor, “The Public Accountability of Charitable Trusts and Foundations: Historical Definition of the Problem in the United States,” *Social Service Review* 25 (Sept., 1951); Jane Meyers, *Dark Money: The Hidden History of the Billionaires Behind the Rise of the Radical Right* (Penguin Random House, 2016); Benjamin Soskis, “In Political Philanthropy, We Should All Fear the Dark,” *Chronicle of Philanthropy*, April 2016; Kristin A. Goss, “Policy Plutocrats: How America’s Wealthy Seek to Influence Governance” *PS, Political Science & Politics* (Jul. 2016); Steven M. Teles, *The Rise of the Conservative Legal Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008); Berry, Jeffrey M., and Kristin A. Goss. “Donors for Democracy? Philanthropy and the Challenges Facing America in the 21st Century.” *Interest Groups & Advocacy* 7(3) 2018.: 233-257; Leslie K. Finger, “Giving to Government: Foundation Grants to State Education Agencies” *HistPhil* (November 19, 2018) <https://histphil.org/2018/11/19/giving-to-government-foundation-grants-to-state-education-agencies/>; Pablo Eisenberg, “Grant Makers’ Aversion to Advocacy Ignores Lessons of History” *Chronicle of Philanthropy* 14.21 (2002)

March 19: Spring Break

March 26: Philanthropic Activism in the Later 20th Century [142 pages]

- Karen Ferguson, “Introduction,” “Developmental Separatism and Community Control” and “Black Power and the End of Community Action” and “The Best and the Brightest” in *Top-Down: The Ford Foundation, Black Power, and the Reinvention of Racial Liberalism* (2013) [126 pages] [available electronically]
- **Primary Source:** Ford Foundation, “The Ford Foundation Annual Report 1967”, pages 2-5. [3 pages] <<https://www.fordfound.org/media/2437/1967-annual-report.pdf>>
- Brook Kelly-Green and Luna Yasu, "Why Black Lives Matter to Philanthropy" *The Ford Foundation* (July 19, 2016) [2 pages]
- Alice O'Connor, "Bringing the Market Back In: Philanthropic Activism and Conservative Reform" in *Politics and Partnerships: The Role of Voluntary Associations in America's Political Past and Present* ed. Elisabeth S. Clemens and Dough Guthrie (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011) [13 pages]
- **Primary Source:** The Honorable William E. Simon, “Reaping the Whirlwind” *Philanthropy Monthly* 13 (January, 1980) [4 pages]
- **Past to Present:** Future Perfect, "He bought the law" *Vox* (Podcast): <https://www.vox.com/future-perfect/2019/5/29/18629799/federalist-society-brett-kavanaugh-olin-foundation-jane-mayer>

Optional: Alice O'Connor, “Foundations, Social Movements, and the Contradictions of Liberal Philanthropy” in *American Foundations: Roles and Contributions* (Brookings Institution: Washington, DC 2010), 328-346. [18 pages]

Further reading: Mario Fantini and Marilyn Gittell, “The Ocean Hill-Brownsville Experiment” *The Phi Delta Kappan* Vol. 50, No. 8 (April 1969) [4 pages]; Tom Adam Davies, “Black Power in Action: The Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation, Robert F. Kennedy, and the Politics of the Urban Crisis” *Journal of American History* Vol. 100, Issue 3 (December 2013), pages 736-760; Richard D. Kahlenberg, “A School Strike That Never Quite Ended” *The New York Times* (Nov. 17, 2018) <<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/17/opinion/teachers-strike-liberals-ocean-hill-brownsville.html>>; Clarence Taylor, “The Rise of Community Control” *Jacobin* (September 14, 2018) <<https://jacobinmag.com/2018/09/community-control-uft-integration-black-power>>; Karen Ferguson, "The Perils of Liberal Philanthropy" *Jacobin* (November, 26 2018) <<https://jacobinmag.com/2018/11/black-lives-matter-ford-foundation-black-power-mcgeorge-bundy>>

Part II: Contemporary Philanthropy

April 2: Entrepreneurial Giving [154 pages]

- **Primary Source:** Christine W. Letts, William P. Ryan, and Allen S. Grossman, “Virtuous Capital: What Foundations Can Learn from Venture Capitalists,” *Harvard Business Review* 75, no. 2 (March 1997), 36-44 [8 pages]
- **Primary Source:** Matthew Bishop and Michael Green, “The Age of Philanthrocapitalism,” “Carnegie’s Children,” “Billanthropy,” and “The Gospel of Wealth 2.0” in *Philanthrocapitalism: How Giving Can Save the World* (2010) (74 pages)
- **Primary Source:** “Steve Jobs, World’s Greatest Philanthropist” *Harvard Business Review* (September 2, 2011) <<https://hbr.org/2011/09/steve-jobs-worlds-greatest-phi.html> ([Links to an external site.](#))> [4 pages]
- Linsey McGoey, “Introduction: Winning Paradise Economically,” “TED Heads,” “Mandeville’s Bastards,” and “God’s Work” in *No Such Thing as a Free Gift: The Gates Foundation and the Price of Philanthropy* (New York: Verso, 2015) (84 pages)
- **Past to Present:** Benjamin Soskis, “Apple’s Newest Store and the Perverse Logic of Philanthro-Capitalism” *Boston Review* (May 21, 2019) [7 pages] <<http://bostonreview.net/class-inequality/benjamin-soskis-apples-newest-store-and-perverse-logic-philanthro-capitalism>

Further Reading: Kavita N. Ramdas with a response by Matthew Bishop and Michael Green, “Point-Counterpoint: Philanthrocapitalism” *Stanford Social Innovation Review* (Dec. 15, 2011) [3 pages]; Michael Edwards, *Just Another Emperor?: The Myths and Realities of Philanthrocapitalism* (Demos, 2008); Stephanie Strom, “What’s Wrong with Profit?” *The New York Times* (Nov. 13, 2006) <<https://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/13/us/13strom.html>>; David Bosworth, “The Cultural Contradictions of Philanthrocapitalism” *Soc* (2011) 48:382–388; Amy Schiller, “Is For-Profit the Future of Non-Profit?” *The Atlantic* (May 21, 2014); William Foster and Jeffrey Bradach, “Should Nonprofits Seek Profits?” *Harvard Business Review* (February 2005); Pablo Eisenberg, “The Public Loses Out When Charities Become Too Businesslike,” *Chronicle of Philanthropy* (6/10/04); Jo Littler, “The New Victorians? Celebrity Charity and the Demise of the Welfare State” *Celebrity Studies* Vol. 6, No. 4 (2015), 471–485; Pagan Kennedy, “The Enlightened M.B.A.” *The New York Times* (Nov. 7, 2004); Gary W. Jenkins, “Who’s Afraid of Philanthrocapitalism?” *Case Western Law Review* Vol. 61, Issue 3 (2011) [69 pages]; Dan Pallotta, “Steve Jobs, World’s Greatest Philanthropist” *Harvard Business Review* (September 2, 2011) <<https://hbr.org/2011/09/steve-jobs-worlds-greatest-phi.html>>; William MacAskill, “Want to make a difference? Don’t Work for a Charity” TEDxCambridgeUniversity (June 25, 2015).

April 9: Strategic and Disruptive Philanthropy [124 pages]

Strategic: (46 pages)

- **Primary Source:** Michael E. Porter and Mark R. Kramer "Philanthropy's New Agenda: Creating Value" *Harvard Business Review* (November-December, 1999) [19 pages]
- **Primary Source:** Paul Brest and Hal Harvey, "The Promise of Strategic Philanthropy" in *Money Well Spent: A Strategic Plan for Smart Giving* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2018) [20 pages]
- William Schambra, "The Problem of Strategic Philanthropy (According to Bill Schambra)" *Nonprofit Quarterly* (August 12, 2013) (<https://nonprofitquarterly.org/2013/08/12/the-problem-of-strategic-philanthropy/>) [3 pages]
- Hal Harvey, "Why I Regret Pushing Strategic Philanthropy" *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* (April 4, 2016) [4 pages]

Disruptive: (54 pages)

Primary Source: Sean Parker, "Philanthropy for Hackers" *The Wall Street Journal* (June 26, 2015) [5 pages]

- Aaron Horvath and Walter W. Powell, "Contributory or Disruptive: Do New Forms of Philanthropy Erode Democracy?" in *Philanthropy in Democratic Societies: History, Institutions, Values* ed. Rob Reich, Chiara Cordelli, and Lucy Bernholz (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 2016) [35 pages]
- Alena Semuels, "How Silicon Valley Has Disrupted Philanthropy" *The Atlantic* (July 25, 2018) [5 pages]
- Megan Tompkins-Stange, "Too big to fail: 'Big bet' philanthropy and constructive failure at the Gates Foundation." Greene, J. and McShane, M. (eds.), *Failure Up Close: How It Happens, Why It Happens, and What We Can Learn From It*. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield [9 pages]
- David Callahan, "Disrupters" in *The Givers: Wealth, Power, and Philanthropy in a New Gilded Age* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2017) [24 pages]

Optional: Stanley N. Katz, "What Does it Mean to Say That Philanthropy is 'Effective'?" *The Philanthropist's New Clothes*" *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 149, no. 2 (2005). (www.jstor.org/stable/4598921) [9 pages]

Further Reading on Strategic Philanthropy:

Stanley N. Katz, "What Does it Mean to Say That Philanthropy is 'Effective'?" *The Philanthropist's New Clothes* *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 149, no. 2 (2005): 123-131. www.jstor.org/stable/4598921; Megan Tompkins-Stange, *Policy Patrons: Philanthropy, Education Reform, and the Politics of Influence* (Cambridge: Harvard Education Press, 2016), pages 1-112 [112 pages]; Paul Brest, "Strategic Philanthropy and Its Discontents," *Stanford Social Innovation Review* (April 27, 2015) <https://ssir.org/up_for_debate/article/strategic_philanthropy_and_its_discontents>; Paul Brest, "A Decade of Outcome-Oriented Philanthropy" *Stanford Social Innovation Review* (Spring 2012), <https://ssir.org/articles/entry/a_decade_of_outcome_oriented_philanthropy#>; Niki Jagpal and Kevin Laskowski, *Real Results: Why Strategic Philanthropy is Social Justice Philanthropy* (National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, 2013).

Further Reading on Disruptive Philanthropy:

Vindu Goel, "Philanthropy in Silicon Valley: Big Bets on Big Ideas" *The New York Times* (Nov. 4, 2016) <<https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/06/giving/philanthropy-in-silicon-valley-big-bets-on-big-ideas.html>>; Larry Kramer, "Against 'Big Bets'" *Stanford Social Innovation Review* (Summer, 2017), 61-62; Alexa Cortes Culwell and Heather McLeod Grant, *The Giving Code: Silicon Valley Nonprofits and Philanthropy* [19 pages]; Peter deCourcy Hero, "Giving back the Silicon Valley way: Emerging patterns of a new philanthropy" in *New Directions for Philanthropic Fundraising* (2001) 47-58 (19 pages); Andrew Pollack, "Silicon Valley Fights its Stingy Image" *The New York Times* (Feb. 23, 1987), A12. [1 page]; Primary Source: Paul Rogers, Connie Skipitares, and Larry Slonaker, "Charity Grows, Evolves in Valley Venture Style" *The San Jose Mercury News* (June 20, 1999) [3 pages]; Johanna Goodman, "The Gospel of Wealth According to Marc Benioff" *Wired* (December 11, 2019) <https://www.wired.com/story/gospel-of-wealth-according-to-marc-benioff/?utm_source=twitter&utm_medium=social&utm_campaign=onsite-share&utm_brand=wired&utm_social-type=earned>; Benjamin Soskis, *Analyzing a Localized Giving Culture: The Case of Washington, DC* (Urban Institute: 2018), 1-11. (11 pages).

April 16: Puzzles of When and Where Philanthropy Should Occur [112 pages]

Op-Eds Due

- Ray D. Madoff, "When is Philanthropy?: How the Tax Code's Answer to This Question Has Given Rise to the Growth of Donor-Advised Funds and Why it's a Problem" in *Philanthropy in Democratic Societies: History, Institutions, Values* ed. Rob Reich, Chiara Cordelli, and Lucy Bernholz (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 2016) [35 pages]

- Lila Corwin Berman, "Donor Advised Funds in Historical Perspective" *Presented at the Washington, DC, Boston College Law School's Forum on Philanthropy and the Public Good* (October, 2016) [22 pages]
(<https://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1014&context=philanthropy-forum>)
- Ray D. Madoff, "Controlling Property: Transfers for Charitable or Other Purposes" in *Immortality and the Law: The Rising Power of the American Dead* (Sheridan Books, 2010), 86-118 [32 pages]
- **Primary Source:** Douglas Bartholomew, "The Battle for the Buck" *The Los Angeles Times* (Dec. 21, 1986) [15 pages]
- Peter Singer, "What Should A Billionaire Give -- and What Should You?" *The New York Times* (December 17, 2006) [20 pages]
- Angus Deaton, "The U.S. Can No Longer Hide From its Deep Poverty Problem" *The New York Times* (Jan. 24, 2018) [3 pages]
- **Optional:** Future Perfect, "Donors From Beyond the Grave" *Vox* Podcast (30 minutes) <<https://www.vox.com/future-perfect-podcast/2019/6/19/18629804/zombie-donors-on-the-loose>>
- **Optional:** Alena Semuels, "The 'Black Hole' That Sucks Up Silicon Valley's Money" *The Atlantic* (May 14, 2018) [10 pages]

Further reading: Chuck Brown, "Zombie Philanthropy: What I Learned About Donor-Advised Funds as a Foundation Insider" *Inside Philanthropy* (July 17, 2019); ; *This American Life* "Act One: Money for Nothing and Cows for Free" in "503: I Was Just Trying to Help" Podcast(<https://www.thisamericanlife.org/503/i-was-just-trying-to-help/act-one>); William A. Shambra, "Philanthropy's Misguided Focus on 'Root Causes,'" *Chronicle of Philanthropy* (June 28, 2007); Sophie Gilbert, "David Rubenstein's Patriotic Philanthropy" *The Atlantic* (Oct 29, 2014).

April 23: The Gospel of Wealth in the Second Gilded Age [142 pages]

- Darren Walker, "Towards a New Gospel of Wealth" *The Ford Foundation* (Oct. 1, 2015) [10 pages] <<https://www.fordfoundation.org/ideas/equals-change-blog/posts/toward-a-new-gospel-of-wealth/>>
- Bill and Melinda Gates, "Our 2018 Annual Letter" *The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation* (Feb. 13, 2018) <<https://www.gatesnotes.com/2018-Annual-Letter>>

- Anand Giridharadas, Chapter 1, 2, 4, and 5. in *Winners Take All: The Elite Charade of Changing the World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2018), pages 3-59, 129-200. [127 pages]
- Leon G. Cooperman to Senator Elizabeth A. Warren, Letter (October 30, 2019) <<https://fm.cnbc.com/applications/cnbc.com/resources/editorialfiles/2019/10/31/CoopermanLetter.pdf>> [5 pages]
- Patriot Act with Hasan Minhaj "Why Billionaires Won't Save Us" *Netflix* (Dec. 2, 2019) <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mS9CFBIL0cg>> [25 minutes long]

Further reading: Darren Walker, *From Generosity to Justice: A New Gospel of Wealth* (Ford Foundation, 2019) <<https://www.fordfoundation.org/ideas/ford-forum/the-future-of-philanthropy/from-generosity-to-justice/>>; Amy Schiller, "What Happens When Only Billionaires Give to Charity?" *The Washington Post* (December 3, 2019) <<https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/12/03/what-happens-when-only-rich-people-give-charity/>>; Farhad Manjoo, "Why Jeff Bezos Should Push for Nobody to Get as Rich as Jeff Bezos" *The New York Times*. Sept. 19, 2018; Elizabeth Kolbert, "Shaking the Foundations" *The New Yorker* (August 27, 2018), (30-34), 4 pages; The Onion, "Gates Foundation Pledges \$25 Billion To Eradicate Whatever Disease Drives People To Support Taxing The Rich" *The Onion*, <<https://www.theonion.com/gates-foundation-pledges-25-billion-to-eradicate-whate-1839699989>> ; David Callahan, *The Givers: Wealth, Power, and Philanthropy in a New Gilded Age*; Elizabeth Kolbert, "Gospels of Giving for the New Gilded Age" *The New Yorker* Aug. 27, 2018.

April 30: Philanthropy's Future [172 pages]

- Rob Reich, *Just Giving: Why Philanthropy is Failing Democracy and How it Can Do Better* (1-168, 195-200) [172 pages]

Optional: The below are short responses to the argument Reich developed in his fourth chapter of *Just Giving*. I'd encourage you to read them here: <http://bostonreview.net/forum/foundations-philanthropy-democracy>

- Stanley M. Katz, "Curb Mega-Foundations" *Boston Review* (March 01, 2013)
- Diane Ravitch, "Funding Conventional Wisdom" *Boston Review* (March 01, 2013)
- Larry Kramer, "Money, Power, and Constraint" *Boston Review* (March 01, 2013)
- Pablo Eisenberg, "Less Elitism, More Equity" *Boston Review* (March 01, 2013)

Further Reading:: Gara Lamarche, "Is Philanthropy Bad for Democracy?" *The Atlantic* (October 30, 2014); Chiara Cordelli, "Reparative Justice and the Moral Limits of Discretionary Philanthropy" in *Philanthropy in Democratic Societies: History, Institutions, Values* ed. Rob

Reich, Chiara Cordelli, and Lucy Bernholz (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 2016) [20 pages] ; Jacqui Shine, "Percy Ross Wants to Give You Money!" *Longreads* (July 2017) <<https://longreads.com/2017/07/20/percy-ross-wants-to-give-you-money/>>

Op-Ed Assignment:

If you're looking for examples of op-eds, you might consult our syllabus. Beginning in our first week, we'll read many articles intended for popular audiences that use history to discuss contemporary philanthropy. I've included a few more that model some of the qualities of good op-eds: they're concise, to the point, and present a novel or creative way of understanding a topical issue.

In addition, please take a look at Bret Stephens' 15 "tips for aspiring op-ed writers." You can find it here:

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/25/opinion/tips-for-aspiring-op-ed-writers.html>

Example Op-Eds:

Amy Schiller, "What Happens When Only Billionaires Give to Charity?" *The Washington Post* (December 3, 2019) <<https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2019/12/03/what-happens-when-only-rich-people-give-charity/>>

Benjamin Soskis, "The Kindness of Strangers: Philanthropy in the New Gilded Age" *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (August 10, 2018) <<https://www.inquirer.com/philly/opinion/commentary/the-kindness-of-strangers-philanthropy-in-the-new-gilded-age-opinion-20180810.html>>

David Callahan, "As Governments Retrenches, Philanthropy Booms" *The New York Times* (June 20, 2017) <<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/06/20/opinion/jeff-bezos-bill-gates-philanthropy.html>>

Darren Walker, "Why Giving Back Isn't Enough" *The New York Times* (Dec. 17, 2015) <<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/25/opinion/tips-for-aspiring-op-ed-writers.html>>

Leslie Lenkowsky, "Jeff Bezos has the right idea on giving" *CNN.com* (July 29, 2017) <<https://www.cnn.com/2017/07/29/opinions/jeff-bezos-philanthropy-opinion-lenkowsky/index.html>>

Peter Buffet, "The Charitable-Industrial Complex" The New York Times (July 26, 2013)
<https://www.nytimes.com/2013/07/27/opinion/the-charitable-industrial-complex.html?_r=0>