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ANA PAULA BORGES PINHO

Giving Green: The Landscape and Motivations of U.S. Environmental Philanthropy to Brazil

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ANA PAULA BORGES PINHO

Doações verdes: O cenário e as motivações da filantropia ambiental norte-americana para o Brasil

Versão original

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Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Jacques Marcovitch (USP)
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Pierre-Louis Vézina (KCL)
Co-supervisor: Prof. Dr. Rosa Maria Fischer (USP)

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Abstract

From the start of the new millennium, the role of philanthropic actors in international development cooperation has been gaining increasing visibility. A growing body of literature on the international activities of foundations has identified several premises connected to these organisations' behaviour. For instance, they are thought to take more innovative and riskier approaches than state actors. However, there is limited knowledge about who they give to and how – a lack of empirical and systematic analyses to corroborate those premises and demonstrate how foundations actually work. When it comes to environmental philanthropy there is an even bigger gap in knowledge, as much of the extant literature is based on issue areas such as health. The aim of this research is to investigate the trends and patterns in the distribution of international environmental grants by philanthropic organisations, as well as the approaches to giving utilised by these organisations and whether they are motivated by the needs of their grantees. It does so through an in-depth, project-level analysis of the grantmaking practices of three foundations in the United States funding environmental projects in Brazil: Charles Stewart Mott Foundation; Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation; The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation. The objectives are to (i) systematically describe and categorise the foundations studied; (ii) understand the stated priorities and strategies of international foundations supporting environmental issues in Brazil (what foundations say they do); (iii) examine the main practices of these organisations through an in-depth analysis of their grantmaking to Brazilian organisations (what foundations do); (iv) analyse how foundations' stated priorities, strategies and practices relate to the assumptions made in the international development cooperation about their behaviour; (v) determine to what degree the needs of grantees motivate foundations' giving. The research found that the behaviour of large philanthropic organisations has a lot more in common with the behaviour expected of traditional donors than the literature suggests, including a tendency to risk-aversion. It also found that foundations are acting upon the needs of its grantees, but through a paternalistic altruism that exerts a high level of control over what is done and how it is done. To maintain a relationship with the foundations, recipient organisations need to constantly monitor the strategic and structural changes made by them, which are frequently evolving.

Keywords: Aid. Environment. International development cooperation. Philanthropy.

Resumo

Desde o início do novo século, o papel de atores filantrópicos na cooperação internacional para o desenvolvimento tem ganhado visibilidade. Um crescente corpo de literatura sobre as atividades das fundações identificou diversas premissas conectas ao comportamento dessas organizações. Por exemplo, elas seriam mais inovadoras e se arriscariam mais do que atores estatais. Contudo, há um conhecimento limitado sobre para quem as fundações doam e como elas o fazem – uma falta de análises empíricas e sistemáticas que corroborem aquelas premissas e demonstrem como fundações realmente atuam. Quando se trata de filantropia para o meio ambiente, há uma lacuna de conhecimento ainda maior, uma vez que boa parte da literatura existente se baseia em temas como saúde. O objetivo desta pesquisa é investigar as tendências e padrões na distribuição de doações internacionais para o desenvolvimento do meio ambiente feitas por organizações filantrópicas, assim como, as abordagens utilizadas por essas organizações; e se elas são motivadas pelas necessidades de seus recipientes. Esta pesquisa faz isso por meio de uma análise das práticas de doação aos projetos ambientais de três fundações norte-americanas atuantes no Brasil: Charles Stewart Mott Foundation; Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation; The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation. Os objetivos são (i) descrever sistematicamente e categorizar as fundações estudadas; (ii) compreender as prioridades e estratégias adotadas por essas fundações internacionais quando apoiam causas ambientais no Brasil; (iii) examinar as principais práticas das fundações por meio de uma análise das suas doações para organizações brasileiras (o que as fundações fazem); (iv) analisar como as prioridades, estratégias e práticas das fundações se relacionam aos pressupostos sobre o seu comportamento encontrados na literatura sobre cooperação para o desenvolvimento internacional; (v) determinar até que ponto as necessidades dos recipientes motivam as doações das fundações. A pesquisa descobriu que o comportamento de grandes organizações filantrópicas tem muito mais em comum com o comportamento de doadores tradicionais do que a literatura sugere, incluindo uma tendência a aversão ao risco. Também foi descoberto que, apesar de as fundações levarem em conta a necessidade dos seus recipientes, elas o fazem por meio de um paternalismo altruísta que exerce um alto nível de controle sobre o que é feito e como é feito. Para manter um relacionamento com as fundações, organizações recipientes devem constantemente monitorar as mudanças estratégicas e estruturais das fundações, que evoluem frequentemente.

Palavras-chave: Ajuda externa. Cooperação internacional para o desenvolvimento. Filantropia. Meio ambiente.

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1 Introduction

From the start of the new millennium development cooperation has been going through considerable changes in policies, practices, institutions and, most importantly, actors. Once a field that had been dominated by traditional donors, that is, developed countries members of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC), sees now not only other state actors gain importance (the so-called Southern donors), but also private ones. Philanthropic organisations, spearheaded by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, were put on the spotlight at a moment the international development field was turning its attention to finding new funding sources, increasing partnerships, and improving efficiency (Atwood et al., 2011; Bull & McNeill, 2006; Gore, 2013; OECD, 2015). Although foundations' giving may not be a match to the Official Development Assistance (ODA) of DAC donors, it can be game-changing in local contexts. The Ford Foundation invested USD 23,155,000 in Brazil in the fiscal year of 2017-2018 (Ford Foundation, n.d.-c). That is almost half of the Brazilian government's contribution to multilateral agencies (annual average of contributions between 2005-2009, with an exchange rate of R$ 4.05 to USD 1.00) (Gonzalez & Pereira, 2012). The Oak Foundation invested USD 17,489,688 in the country between 2016-2018, out of which over 50% went to their environmental programme (Oak Foundation, n.d.). This shows how foundations can be key development players in specific areas, such as the environment in Brazil, not only in poor but also in middle-income countries.

The author of this thesis saw this small development revolution up close. First, as an International Development master's student at the London School of Economics and Political Science in 2010, and then as a knowledge management coordinator for five years at WINGS – the Worldwide Initiatives for Grantmaker Support, an umbrella organisation based in São Paulo, Brazil, with over 180 members in 57 countries (as of 2021). WINGS members are mostly associations of foundations, forming the so-called infrastructure for philanthropy. These are organisations that promote an enabling environment for philanthropy, for instance, by supporting the creation of favourable legislation and the generation of knowledge about the field. The author's job was precisely to gather information, analyse it and produce reports about the work carried out by associations of foundations globally, about the role of associations in shaping the philanthropic field, and about the field itself. When diving into this world, the first, and biggest, thing that stood out was the lack of data, lack of data transparency, and lack of data access. The difficulty associations had to collect information about their own members was staggering. And even when they did, analyses had to be published in aggregated form. Reasons given by foundations to limit the information provided on their giving ranged from the absence of government requirements – "if I don't have to provide information on my donations, why should I?", was a common thread – to cultural traditions that render overt demonstrations of bequests shameful, and fears for personal security in countries with high levels of violence where kidnappings of knowingly rich people are common. Although there have been efforts led by the Foundation Center (now Candid), WINGS, and some of the largest foundations in the world towards more transparency, these are still incipient.

The literature on philanthropic organisations in development largely supports those empirical conclusions, as "while foundations may be perceived as new important players in development cooperation by development stakeholders at national and international levels, actual knowledge on their approach to providing assistance is rather limited" (Steinfeldt et al., 2012, p. 25). There is an even bigger gap in knowledge in areas such as the environment, as much of the extant literature is based on areas such as health and agriculture, with calls for a renewed and broad research agenda (Betsill et al., 2021), starting with the basics of the funding landscape – who funds what and where – "the most well recognized research gap in the literature" (Gruby et al., 2021, p. 8). Addressing this research gap is not only important in itself, but also because philanthropic organisations can be powerful actors with a perceived lack of the sort of legitimacy that is characteristic of democratic states (that is gained through elections, for instance). Although foundations provide public goods and are tax-exempt, as private actors, they have complete freedom to decide what to do with their funds. They decide what is beneficial to the public and have the power to turn their priorities into public priorities, owing accountability only to their own boards in most cases. This can raise questions as to who or what gives them the right to make such decisions.

To approach the issue, this research follows the footsteps of two seminal works in development. First, James Ferguson and his Anti-Politics Machine (1994), which suggests opening the black box of development, looking at the interventions carried out "not for what they don't do or might do, but for what they do" (1994, p. 13). Given the lack of information in the field of philanthropy, the same advice should be taken to heart. Secondly, the research frames its investigation of philanthropy's black box with Alesina and Dollar's work analysing "the determinants of foreign aid, namely which donor gives to which recipient and why" (Alesina & Dollar, 2000, p. 34). It, however, goes a step further, adding to the formula the approach to giving utilised by the donor: who gives foreign aid to whom, how, and why. The research, therefore, investigates the trends and patterns in the distribution of international environmental grants by philanthropic organisations; the approaches to giving utilised by these organisations; and whether they are motivated by the needs of their grantees. It does so by analysing the case studies of three foundations from the United States (U.S.), the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, the Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and their environmental aid to Brazilian organisations between 2000-2019. In addition to extensive document analysis, a database of 274 grants made by the foundations was built so that their practices could be analysed.

The behaviour of philanthropic organisations was analysed using a growing body of literature that has identified several premises connected to these organisations' practices. For instance, they are thought to take more innovative, business-like, and riskier approaches than state actors and civil society organisations (CSOs). Foundations are also thought to be a distinctive group of development actors. This research, however, found that the behaviour of large philanthropic organisations has a lot more in common with the behaviour expected of traditional donors than the literature suggests, including a tendency to risk-aversion despite a discourse emphasising risk-taking. It also found that foundations are acting upon the needs of its grantees, but through a paternalistic altruism that exerts a high level of control over what is done and how it is done. This is a significant contribution to the literature in that it provides a systematic and empirical analysis to test those premises – an analysis based not only on foundations' stated priorities (what they say they do), but also on an investigation of their actual work through their grantmaking practices. Additionally, this research adds to the literature three in-depth case studies, two of which tend to be overlooked in the literature, Moore and Mott, as Hewlett has a higher profile (although not to the level of the Gates, Rockefeller or Open Society foundations, for instance).

1.1 Research goals and focus

The aim of this research is to investigate the trends and patterns in the distribution of international environmental grants by philanthropic organisations, as well as the approaches to giving utilised by these organisations and whether they are motivated by the needs of their grantees. It does so through an in-depth, project-level analysis of the grantmaking practices of three foundations in the United States (U.S.) funding environmental projects in Brazil: Charles Stewart Mott Foundation; Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation; The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation. The objectives are to (i) systematically describe and categorise the foundations studied; (ii) understand the stated priorities and strategies of international foundations supporting environmental issues in Brazil (what foundations say they do); (iii) examine the main practices of these organisations through an in-depth analysis of their grantmaking to Brazilian organisations (what foundations do); (iv) analyse how foundations' stated priorities, strategies and practices relate to the assumptions made in the international development cooperation about their behaviour; (v) determine to what degree the needs of grantees motivate foundations' giving.

Regarding the research focus, the U.S. was selected as the donor country because, according to the OECD, its "foundations are by far the most important in the development field" (2003, p. 30). Its philanthropic field is extremely well-developed, fuelled by an economy that fosters the generation of individual wealth and has relatively low income taxes (OECD, 2003). One can also argue that such development is a result of a highly unequal society with a lack of a welfare state that requires more private social care (2003). More importantly, the U.S. stimulates the establishment of foundations through generous tax incentives and requires by law that they spend at least 5% of their investment assets annually. This means that foundations must remain active, which is not always the case in Europe, for instance, generating a vibrant sector. Finally, the U.S. government requires detailed tax returns from foundations, with information on all donations made. Although the public tax database may not be very 'research-friendly', as exposed in the methods session of this thesis, it is a rich source of information that is quite rare in other countries.

Then, the environment was chosen as the issue area because climate change is possibly one of the most daunting challenges ever faced by humankind and, as demonstrated by the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), key actors in the development landscape, such as the European Commission (n.d.), have been emphasizing the importance of the "integration of environment, green economy and climate change concerns in development cooperation". More importantly, although health and agriculture tend to be areas that have drawn more academic attention in development studies of philanthropy, leaving the environmental area relatively underexplored, foundations' role in environmental protection has been increasingly prominent. According to Morena (2016), foundations played an instrumental, yet overlooked role in the negotiations that led to the signature of the Paris Agreement. At the same time, Michael Nisbet (2018) shows how a few large U.S. foundations have the "potential to influence the strategies pursued by climate advocates". Foundations have also been pledging considerable amounts to environmental causes and establishing alliances to address such issues more strategically, such as the Climate Works Foundations, the European Climate Foundation and the Climate and Land Use Alliance.

Brazil was chosen as the focus country of the research for its history as one the major global players in environmental governance, for being home to one the most important ecosystems in the world, and for being one of the largest recipients of foreign aid in this area – the country is the main recipient of DAC climate-related aid in Latin America (OECD, 2014), which is also the region in which U.S. foundations are more active (Cracknell et al., 2016). According to the Foundation Center (n.d.), between 2006 and 2018, the country received about USD 1 billion from private foundations, and almost half of that amount went to environmental causes. Moreover, Brazil has a long history as a recipient of international philanthropic giving, especially from the USA, dating back to the support of CSOs during the military dictatorship. Foundations have been key actors in financing socio-environmental CSOs in Brazil, overshadowing even the role of The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) (Couto, 2012, p. 33). Lastly, the country is among the top ten beneficiaries of international philanthropy (OECD, 2018b), while hosting a strong domestic philanthropic sector (OECD, 2018a), therefore emulating the dichotomy whereby middle-income countries are now seen as both receivers and givers of international aid.

1.2 Thesis structure

The thesis is composed by this introduction, which includes key definitions that will help the reader understand the context, and the methods utilised to carry out the research. Chapter 2 provides background information and a literature review on international philanthropy and its role in development cooperation, from philanthropy's history as an international actor to its thrust into the spotlight in the early 2000s in the wave of 'new actors' in development. The chapter also reviews the assumptions made in the literature about the behaviour of foundations in development. It then moves to an overview of environmental aid, in general, and how it is carried out by philanthropic organisations. Finally, the chapter provides background information on the Brazilian civil society landscape, with a focus on environmental CSOs. Chapter 3 develops a profile of the three foundations analysed, Hewlett, Moore, and Mott, as well as their environmental programmes. It presents the foundations' viewpoint on their work and their states priorities, based on the assumptions made in the literature about their behaviour. The chapter also introduces a framework that highlights the main features of philanthropic organisations, distinguishing them from other types of organisations and establishing analytical categories to distinguish foundations among themselves. Chapter 4 focuses on the practices of the foundations studied through an analysis of their environmental grantmaking to Brazil in the period between 2000-2019. It analyses foundations' giving practices and strategies through a dataset of 274 grants, using the assumptions in the literature, as well as insights from the foundations' self-stated priorities, as an analytical lens. Lastly, chapter 5 provides a comparative analysis of the foundations studied, placing them among the different existing types of philanthropic organisations. Then, it develops a comparative analysis of the foundations' stated priorities and practices utilising the assumptions made about their behaviour in the development literature as a framework. The final section utilises a donor motivations lens to analyse the behaviour of the foundations, finding a set of mechanisms through which they exert a higher level of control and paternalistic altruism over grantees. Finally, literature on the political economy of donors is used to demonstrate the similarities between traditional donors and philanthropic ones, calling into question the distinctiveness of the latter as a development actor.

1.3 Key definitions

Before moving forward, it is imperative that possible ontological concerns are addressed to avoid misconceptions. Firstly, a distinction should be made between international development cooperation and international cooperation. The first, and the one to which this research refers, concerns activities that "support national or international development priorities [as the ones established by internationally agreed goals, such as the SDGs], is not driven by profit, discriminates in favour of developing countries, and is based on cooperative relationships that seek to enhance developing countries ownership" (J. A. Alonso & Glennie, 2015, p. 4). International cooperation includes development, but it also includes other unrelated issues, such as military operations. Next, in order to delimitate this research and elucidate what private philanthropy in development means, we start with an all-encompassing definition by the OECD:

> Private philanthropic flows for development refer to **transactions from the private sector** having the **promotion of the economic development and welfare of developing countries** as their main objective, and which originate from foundations' **own sources**, notably endowment, donations from companies and individuals (including high net worth individuals and crowdfunding), legacies, as well as income from royalties, investments (including government securities), dividends, lotteries and similar (OECD, 2018a, p. 28).

While the promotion of economic development and welfare present in the definition above are central goals of development cooperation, the field has been changing and evolving. Severino and Ray (2009) point to "three concomitant revolutions" driving new practices in development, helping frame that evolution: new actors (including private foundations, the object of this analysis, and non-DAC donors), new instruments (e.g., social impact investment and blended finance, as shown in the next chapter), and new goals. The main new goal is to manage "global interdependencies", which aims at:

> (i.) accelerating the economic convergence of developing nations with industrialized economies; (ii.) providing for basic human welfare (conceptualized by the MDGs framework as universal access to essential services); (iii.) finding solutions for the preservation of global public goods (Severino & Ray, 2009, p. 5).

The addition of the promotion of global public goods as a key development goal incorporates environmental issues as an integral part of the development framework and is now widely recognized (J. A. Alonso & Glennie, 2015; Ocampo, 2016). Severino and Ray (2009) also point to how philanthropic activities may align with those goals. The Clinton Climate Initiative, for instance, is portrayed as an example of how foundations can help finance global public goods.

Two additional definitions will help clarify the meaning of philanthropy and philanthropic actors. Firstly, philanthropy can take many forms and myriad terms are used to refer to it, depending on cultural, historical or geographic factors. In order to properly capture the phenomena, we will adhere to Marty Sulek’s (2009, p. 201) broad definition that philanthropy is: “the application of private means to public ends”. This is based on a widely accepted work of Lester Salamon (1992, p. 10), who describes philanthropy as “the private giving of time or valuables (money, security, property) for public purposes”. Secondly, philanthropic actors are a large group that "features individuals (donating money or time or making bequests), foundations, philanthropic organizations, and businesses that engage in corporate giving” (Schuyt, 2010, p. 777). This project focuses on organisations (instead of individuals) that use their resources to provide funding (grantmaking).

Finally, although the terms civil society organisation and non-governmental organisation (NGO) may be used by some interchangeably – the United Nation’s Civil Society webpage, for example, says ‘CSO or NGO’ (United Nations, n.d.) – the former implies a wider range of organisations. Whereas the use of the term ‘non-governmental’ positions organisations in contrast to the state, and the term ‘non-profit’ positions them in contrast to the markets, civil society is not as restrictive and is more descriptive in that it includes “all non-market and non-state organisations outside of the family in which people organise themselves to pursue shared interests in the public domain” (OECD, 2009, p. 26). CSO is also a term broadly utilised by civil society in Brazil (Garcia Lopez, 2018; Ipea, n.d.) and the OECD in its publications and statistics, including the Aid for Civil Society Organisations report (OECD, 2021a).

1.4 Methods

The first note, or disclaimer, that must be made, is that this research was partly informed by the author’s professional experience. The development of reports on philanthropic organisations and the enabling environment for philanthropy at WINGS gave the author a good grasp of the field, its key debates and potential research gaps. It was also central in helping the author get to know what kind of information was available and where to find it. Furthermore, in addition to attending meetings and conferences while working at WINGS (e.g. conferences by the African Grantmakers Network Conferences, in South Africa and Tanzania; the European Foundation Centre, in Italy and Ireland; Community Foundations Canada; and the Council on Foundations, in the U.S.), the professional network established allowed the author to attend crucial events in Brazil to update her knowledge of the philanthropic and civil society landscape in the country on the ground – in the years between her bachelor's and master's degree, the author had worked for Brazilian CSOs. In 2018 and 2019, the first and second years of the PhD, the author participated of two events that launched the BISC report[1], a key benchmarking of corporate social investment in Brazil. More importantly, the author actively participated as a researcher of two workshops and one conference for the Brazilian SDG Philanthropy Platform, a project led by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisers in partnership with a few Brazilian foundations and support organisations[2] to assess and foment local philanthropic engagement with the SDGs.

Considering the key issue in the study of philanthropic organisations is a lack of extensive, systematised knowledge about their practices and behaviour, the method of choice for this research are case studies for their ability to provide "extremely rich, detailed, and in-depth information" (Berg & Lune, 2017, p. 171) about an object or phenomenon. While recognising there are a number of definitions of case study, here it is defined as "an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a bounded phenomenon such as a program, an institution, a person, a process, or a social unit" (Merriam, 1998, p. xiii). This definition is enhanced by three special features of case studies, which also further elucidate why the method is a good fit for this research. The case study is particularistic, focusing on a particular phenomenon, and such "specificity of focus makes it an especially good design for practical problems — for questions, situations, or puzzling occurrences arising from everyday practice" (Merriam, 2009, p. 43). This is particularly suitable for the analysis of foundations' practices at the grant level. The case study is also descriptive, yielding a rich description of the phenomenon, including as many variables as possible, and is often longitudinal (2009). A thorough description is possibly the most important step in gaining the type of in-depth knowledge about foundations that is aimed for in this research, which extends over a 20-year period. Finally, case studies are heuristic, in that they "illuminate the reader's understanding of the phenomenon under study… can bring about the discovery of new meaning, extend the reader's experience, or

[1] https://www.comunitas.org/bisc/
[2] Fundação Roberto Marinho; TV Globo; Fundação Itaú Social; Instituto C&A; Fundação Banco do Brasil; Instituto Sabin; Itaú; GIFE; IDIS; Comunitas; and WINGS.

confirm what is known" (2009, p. 44). By adding more systematically analysed cases of foundations to the literature, this study contributes to the development of a sound body of knowledge and will, hopefully, inform future research.

Following the approach to research design established by Sharan Merriam (1998, 2009), case selection was done through purposeful sampling before data gathering. As opposed to probability sampling, "the logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth" (Patton, 2002, p. 230). The key is to establish well-defined selection criteria, creating a list of attributes that are essential to the study and then finding a unit or several units of analysis matching the list (LeCompte et al., 1993). Case selection started with the definition of the type of foundations that would be analysed, whereby a focus on big donors was determined. The choice was made, firstly, to ensure a linkage with the extant literature that examines large organisations, so that this study can build upon and further develop it. Secondly, despite their sizeable donations, the (disproportionate) influence of such organisations and their ability to direct agendas is still underexplored (Nogueira et al., 2015). The main criteria to define whether a foundation is a big donor was the amount of grants given.

While the focus of this study is on large organisations, one of the goals of case selection was to avoid a 'high-profile bias', that is, to avoid picking foundations solely based on their notoriety. The literature review shows that the information available about foundations is mostly based on a few high-profile organisations (Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie, in the second half of the 20th century, and the Gates Foundation in the 2000s), and on selected topics (such as health and agriculture). Therefore, a different approach was established, in which a geographic scope was first defined. Philanthropic organisations had to be based in the Global North and the recipient organisations in the Global South, as the literature guiding the research focuses on North-South relations. The U.S. was chosen as the donor country due to the country's well-established philanthropic field. Considering that grey literature has established that foundations in the U.S. are more active in Latin America, whereas European ones tend to focus on Africa (Cracknell et al., 2016), a Latin-American country would be the recipient. Then, the environment was selected as an issue area that had so far been relatively underexplored by the literature on philanthropic aid. Finally, Brazil was selected, since it was the main recipient of DAC climate-related aid in Latin America (OECD, 2014). (These are the key reasons why the environment, the U.S. and Brazil were selected as the issue area, donor, and recipient countries to be studied, respectively – a non-abridged justification for their selection can be found in the first part of this introductory chapter.)

Taking into consideration the parameters established, the following criteria were utilised for the selection of the philanthropic organisations to be analysed: (i) have been founded in the U.S.; (ii) be based in the U.S.; (iii) lack offices or branches in Brazil, as that could represent a strong intervening variable; (iv) be among the foundations with the largest donations to environmental issues in Brazil (respecting the focus on big donors); (v) have a consistent presence in Brazil, having made several donations throughout the period studied, instead of one-off donations (however large). The idea was to select more than one case to maximise the study's validity (Merriam, 2009), but not as many cases as to hinder the researcher's ability to carry out the study within the PhD programme's timeframe, considering that each case would potentially have several dozen units of analysis (grants). As a departing point for the cross-case study, it was considered that it involves "the analysis and synthesis of the similarities, differences and patterns across two or more cases that share a common focus or goal. [and that] To be able to do this well, the specific features of each case should be described in depth at the beginning of the study" (Goodrick, 2014, p. 1). The textbook by Miles, Huberman and Saldaña (2014) was used as a guide for the analysis and presentation of the cases, as it provides clear frameworks for visual display of information within and across case studies – for example, partially ordered meta-matrices to display descriptive data for the cases simultaneously (Miles et al., 2014; Onwuegbuzie & Weinbaum, 2016).

The Foundation Center's database called 'Foundation Map' (Foundation Center, n.d.) was used to select the organisations that would be studied. The Foundation Center, which is now called Candid after a merger in 2019 with GuideStar (another CSO focused on providing information about the non-profit sector), has one of the largest and the most complete databases on philanthropic organisations in the world. They collect, clean and compile data from a number of sources, including information provided by foundations themselves (as a result of a push for more transparency in the sector) and the U.S. Internal Revenue Service (IRS) records. The database is mostly about foundations based in the U.S., although efforts have been made in the past few years to expand it to include organisations from other countries. Such efforts, however, are slowed by a lack of transparency by foundations and of detailed government records around the world.

In the U.S., foundations must provide the IRS with tax returns that give details to the grant level, that is, each grant must be accounted for, including the amount given, and the name and address of the grantee. Figure 1 provides an example of how the Moore Foundation reported a grant given to a Brazilian CSO in their 2011 tax return. Despite their undeniable usefulness, IRS online records can be quite confusing to the uninitiated, as there are several search options of datasets and databases for tax exempt organisations. Moreover, they are comprised of PDF files that require a lot of time and effort to be turned into actual data, and some records go only a few years back.

Figure 1

Example of IRS tax return by the Moore Foundation

GORDON E. & BETTY I. MOORE FOUNDATION 94-3397785

ATTACHMENT 21

FORM 990PF, PART VII-B, LINE 5C-EXPENDITURE RESPONSIBILITY STATEMENT

GRANTEE'S NAME: ALIANCA DA TERRA
GRANTEE'S ADDRESS: RUA 1 N 531, SETOR 5, CENTRO
CITY, STATE & ZIP: AGUA BOA
FOREIGN PROVINCE: MG
FOREIGN COUNTRY: BRAZIL
GRANT DATE: 09/01/2009
GRANT AMOUNT: 1,431,747.
GRANT PURPOSE: SUSTAINABLE PRODUCTION INCENTING CONSERVATION ON PRIVATE LANDS IN BRAZIL
AMOUNT EXPENDED: 708,513.
ANY DIVERSION? NO
DATES OF REPORTS: 8/29/2011, 3/16/2011, 4/5/2011
VERIFICATION DATE:
RESULTS OF VERIFICATION:
TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE FOUNDATION, AND BASED ON THE REPORT(S) FURNISHED BY THE GRANTEE, NO PART OF THE GRANT HAS BEEN USED FOR ANYTHING OTHER THAN ITS INTENDED PURPOSE. NOTE: GRANT AMOUNT ADJUSTED DUE TO CURRECY RATE FLUCTUATION.

Source: Gordon E. & Betty I. Moore Foundation, 2011, Return of Private Foundation, Form 990PF, Part VII-B, Line 5C-Expenditure Responsibility Statement, Attachment 21.

Taking into account the amount of work that goes into creating a systematised and user-friendly database with that information, the Foundation Center charges a hefty fee for access to its own cleaned-up database – over USD 10,000 for academics when the author of this research checked in 2018. However, back then, the organisation offered a free trial of its Foundation Map for a limited period, with aggregated data on foundations. Using that free trial, it was possible to analyse some patterns of donations by U.S. foundations to Brazil in a twelve-year period, between 2006 and 2017. The first step was to check whether environmental issues were as relevant to philanthropic giving to Brazil as they are when it comes to DAC donations. A search in the database confirmed the topic's relevance, showing that environmental issues had received USD 467.1 million, almost half of the total of USD 1 billion that had been donated to Brazil.

The second step was to determine who the main players in this field were. Five foundations stood out based on the criteria previously established. Crucially, they were the biggest donors to environmental causes in Brazil and they were consistently among the top donors to environmental causes in the country. That is an important criterion, because some organisations may make large one-off donations that are not representative of their work overall or of trends in international environmental giving. Two of those five foundations, the Oak and Ford foundations, were left out of the sample to ensure that all criteria were met. The first, because of its European roots and the second because of its well-established Brazilian branch. The cases finally selected were of three organisations: the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation; the Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation; and the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.

The period chosen for the analysis goes from 2000 to 2019, covering the years leading to and immediately after three environmental milestones: the Rio+20 (2012), the SDGs (2015), and the Paris Agreement (2016). It is also a period for which the three organisations provide data about their grants in their websites and relevant tax returns from the IRS were retrievable. Finally, the past twenty years have been a period of adaptation and change in the financing of Brazilian CSOs. Although there is not much data on the issue, according to anecdotal evidence and surveys by associations and organisations that support CSOs (Mendonça & Reis Teixeira, 2013), the mid-2000s saw an reduction of resources by foreign foundations to Brazil, as it was then seen as a growing middle-income country and because of the financial crisis, causing a negative impact on local CSOs. An analysis of this period can help CSOs understand foundations' strategies and prepare for future challenges.

When it comes to gathering data for case studies, there is a general understanding among scholars that it is best to gather evidence from multiple (two or more) sources, "but converging on the same set of facts or findings for the purpose of triangulation" (Yazan, 2015, p. 142). Such reasoning underscores the idea behind two key questions of this research, 'what foundations say they do?' and 'what foundations do?'. The first question is answered through the analysis of documents. The second question is answered through a grants database created with information about 274 environmental grants given by the foundations studied to support Brazilian organisations.

Document analysis is a particularly suited research method for qualitative case studies, as "non-technical literature, such as reports and internal correspondence, is a potential source of empirical data" (Bowen, 2009, p. 29). The foundations' websites were a fundamental source of information on how they perceive themselves and their philanthropic practices. They all had the most up-to-date information about the organisations' principles and values; history; staff; programmes; and financial resources. Hewlett's and Moore's websites were also very informative about the foundations' approaches to giving. This is a good step towards transparency and making information widely available, but it also indicates a wider tendency among some philanthropic organisations against the production of traditional annual reports. The influential Ford Foundation stopped publishing annual reports in 2012 (Ford Foundation, n.d.-b) and Hewlett followed suit in 2014, after publishing annual reports covering a period since 1966. The latter points out that its "website serves as a living annual report, providing up-to-date information about our programs and our finances" (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-j). Hewlett has also called for an end to the annual report "madness" that eats away grantees resources (Levine, 2018). This is understandable, as such documents do take time and effort from the staff, but the public history of the organisations that is built through those documents is lost, as they generally explain how the organisation's programmes evolve, and the work of researchers hindered – this year's information may be available, but not last year's. Moore published a full-version annual report until 2010; the organisation still publishes an annual document, albeit very concise and in an online format (not a pdf document), apart from a special 20-year anniversary report in 2020. Mott is the only foundation studied that still produces a traditional annual report with all information on its grants – the first Mott annual report is from 1970. Even if not all annual reports are cited, they were all read to establish which had relevant information about the foundations, their views on giving and their environmental programmes. In addition to the websites, other documents were utilised to build the foundations' profiles where annual reports were lacking. In the case of Hewlett, the research utilised guiding principles; evaluation principles; two guides on outcome-focused philanthropy; articles of incorporation; bylaws; social investment policy; and policy on indirect costs. As for Moore, it utilised the founders' statement of intent; bylaws; and calls for letters of intent (open calls for grants). The documents read for the analysis are listed on table 1.

Table 1

Document analysis: list of documents

Document	**Number of pages**
Moore's annual reports 2000/2005-2012	245
Moore's online annual reports 2013-2020	8
Moore's bylaws; and calls for letters of intent (open calls for grants)	28
Mott's annual reports 1970-2020	4,707
Hewlett's annual reports 1966/1976-2014	3,851
Hewlett's guiding principles; evaluation principles; two guides on outcome-focused philanthropy; articles of incorporation; bylaws; social investment policy; and policy on indirect costs	265
Total	**9,104**

Source: Elaborated by the author.

Content analysis was the method employed to organise the information collected in the foundations' materials:

> "Content analysis is the process of organising information into categories… it entails a first-pass document review, in which meaningful and relevant passages of text or other data are identified. The researcher should demonstrate the capacity to identify pertinent information and to separate it from that which is not pertinent." (Bowen, 2009, p. 32)

The categories utilised to analyse the documents were based on the international development literature and an analytical framework on philanthropic organisations. The development literature assesses the behaviour of foundations. For instance, if they have a business-like approach to philanthropy – in this case, terms such as 'strategic philanthropy, outcomes, or return on investment' would fit into this category. It also posits on the willingness of foundations to take risks – even if the word risk is not used, a statement proposing that foundations can 'stay on if things go wrong' indicate a tolerance for risks and would fall into the category. The analytical framework indicates how a foundation can be categorised in terms of location, assets, and staff size, for instance, but also how it organises itself. An example is the link to the organisational root, that is, the level to which the founder or founding family still influences the organisation. This can be established if the bylaws determine a minimum of family members on the board, for instance. Organisational flexibility is another example, which can be indicated by mentions to funding for overhead costs, or an emphasis on general support, as opposed to programmatic grants.

As mentioned above, the question "what foundations do?" is answered through the analysis of a grants database with information about 274 environmental grants given by the foundations studied to support Brazilian organisations. It is worth mentioning that the EGA (of which the three foundations studied are part) regularly publishes a report called Tracking the Field providing information about the grantmaking activities of its members. It has even partnered with the Foundation Center on the reports to provide comparisons between their members and the entirety of environmental philanthropy. Those reports, however, are exclusive to EGA's members and only summaries with aggregated data are publicly available.

Data for the database was obtained through IRS revenue records and the foundations' websites, totalling 9,357 pages analysed – the documents used are listed on table 2. All organisations have a grants database publicly available in their websites detailing their grantmaking activities. They go back to the early 2000's and provide quite complete descriptions of the grants, including dates and the amounts given. The information is user-friendly, as it is easily searchable, but not 'research-friendly', as it is not available on a spreadsheet format for download. Hewlett's database had an additional problem, as the same search would return with different results, and required the extra step of creating a code on Python for data extraction. For the Hewlett and Moore foundations, spreadsheets were created with the information extracted from their websites. That information was then compared for accuracy with the organisations' own annual reports, available in their websites, and IRS tax records. Tax records were accessed through the IRS website[3] going back up to 2014. Records before 2014 were accessed through the Nonprofit Explorer[4], an extensive database of tax records created by news organisation ProPublica, which goes as far back as 2001. Mott Foundation's staff has generously provided the author of this study with excel spreadsheets containing the environmental grants made for the period studied. The information provided

[3] https://www.irs.gov/charities-non-profits/search-for-tax-exempt-organizations
[4] https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/

was cross-referenced with the records in the organisation's website to ensure all grants were accounted for.

Table 2

Documents utilised to build the grants database

Document	Number of pages
Moore's tax forms 2002-2018	5,633
Moore's financial statements 2007-2018	354
Moore's webpages with grant information	145
Mott's webpages with grant information	105
Hewlett's webpages with grant information	57
Hewlett's annual reports 2000-2014 (accounted for on previous table)	-
Hewlett's tax forms 2008-2018	3,063
Total	**9,357**

Source: Elaborated by the author.

The database contains the following fields: Grant recipient's name; Grant recipient's headquarters location (city and state); Grant recipient's branch locations; Grant recipient's website; Project title; Project description; Grant start date; Grant duration; Grant amount in USD; Programme area assigned by the foundation; Issue area 1; Issue area 2; Category 1; Category 2; Strategy 1; and Strategy 2. The fields were defined based on academic and grey literature (Environmental Grantmakers Association, 2015; Nisbet, 2018). Descriptive statistics was employed to identify general trends in the foundations' behaviour in terms of number of grants; amounts donated; when donations were made; the length of the grants; and funding priorities regarding subject areas, locations, and type of recipient organisations. To further elucidate the grantmaking practices of the foundations, a content analysis of the grant descriptions was made to determine their key themes. To this end, software NVIVO was utilised to perform a word-frequency analysis. The software counts the frequency of words in a body of text (focusing on substantives, adjectives, and verbs, and excluding articles and pronouns), and highlights (textually and graphically) the context in which the words appear. It thus focuses the attention of the researcher whose aim is to gather and summarise the key messages of a large textual corpus (Dicle & Dicle, 2018; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

The classification of the projects uses as a reference the taxonomy on environmental grantmaking employed by environmental grantmakers associations worldwide (Cracknell et al., 2016; Environmental Grantmakers Association, 2015). Some of these organisations, such as EGA, EEFG, the European Foundation Centre, and the Canadian Environmental Grantmakers' Network have come together to standardise the taxonomy used to classify the grants made by their members, foundations that make donations towards environmental issues, based on a taxonomy developed for the UK's Environmental Funders Network. It describes issue areas of work within which the work of foundations may fall: Energy & Climate; Land; Water; Systems; Health & Justice; and Other. These are divided into 17 categories, from climate and atmosphere to indigenous populations and communities. The taxonomy also includes nine strategic areas, which describe approaches foundations take to their work – whether they finance advocacy initiatives or research projects, for instance. The EGA staff was kind enough to share with the author of this research over e-mail correspondence the complete taxonomy, along with a description of each issue and strategic area, as shown in tables 3 and 4 (A. Li, personal communication, November 19, 2020).

Table 3

Taxonomy of environmental grantmakers' 6 issue areas of work and their respective categories

ISSUE AREAS
Energy & Climate
▪ *CLIMATE & ATMOSPHERE* Most of the funding in this category is given to work on some aspect of climate change, with a much smaller amount to work on ozone depletion. Also included in this category are the issues of acid rain, air pollution, and local air quality.
▪ *ENERGY* This category includes alternative and renewable energy sources, energy efficiency and conservation, fossil fuels, hydro-electric schemes, the oil and gas industries, and nuclear power. It is often paired with "Climate & Atmosphere."
▪ *TRANSPORTATION* Transportation includes all aspects of transportation systems, including public transport systems, transport planning, policy on aviation, freight, roadbuilding, shipping, alternatives to car use and initiatives like carpools and car clubs, the promotion of cycling and walking, and work on vehicle fuel economy.
Land
▪ *BIODIVERSITY & SPECIES PRESERVATION*

	This is a broad category, focused on work that protects a particular species or set of species. It includes botanical gardens and arboretums; research on botany and zoology; protection of birds and their habitats; marine wildlife, such as whales, dolphins, and sharks; protection of endangered species, such as rhinoceros and elephants; protection of globally important biodiversity hotspots, including the use of refuges, reserves, and other habitat conservation projects; and wildlife trusts.
▪	*TERRESTRIAL ECOSYSTEMS & LAND USE* As with “Biodiversity & Species Preservation” preservation, this is a broad category encompassing land purchases and steward- ship; national or regional parks; landscape restoration and land- scape-scale conservation efforts; land use planning; tree planting, forestry, and reducing deforestation; and the impacts of mining.
Water	
▪	*COASTAL & MARINE ECOSYSTEMS* As the name suggests, this category includes both the open ocean and coastal wetland systems. These systems include fisheries; aquaculture; coastal lands, deltas, and estuaries; marine protected areas; and marine pollution (such as marine dumping).
▪	*FRESH WATER & INLAND WATER ECOSYSTEMS* This category covers lakes and rivers; canals, reservoirs, and other inland water systems; groundwater contamination and water conservation; and wetlands.
Systems	
▪	*MATERIAL CONSUMPTION & WASTE MANAGEMENT* This category covers reducing consumption levels; redefining economic growth; waste reduction, sustainable design, and sustainable production; recycling and composting; and all aspects of waste disposal, including incinerators and landfills.
▪	*POPULATION* This category is for grants related to awareness and debate sur- rounding global population growth and lowering the rate of human population growth as it connects with protecting the environment.
▪	*SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE & FOOD SYSTEMS* This remains a very broad category. It includes organic and other forms of sustainable farming, training and research to help farmers in developing countries, control of the food chain, initiatives opposed to factory farming, horticultural organizations and projects, education on agriculture for children and adults (e.g., city farms), opposition to the use of genetically modified crops and food irradiation, food safety and the genetic diversity of agriculture (including seed banks), and soil conservation.
▪	*SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES* Grants included in this category support urban green spaces and parks, community gardens, built environment projects, and community-based sustainability work.
▪	*TRADE & FINANCE* The “Trade & Finance” category encompasses work on corporate-led globalization and international trade policy; efforts to reform public financial institutions (such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and Export Credit Agencies); similar work directed at the lending policies of private banks; initiatives surrounding the reduction of developing country debt; and local economic development projects and economic re-localization, such as micro-finance organizations.
Health & Justice	
▪	*ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH* Grants tagged “Environmental Health” encompass grants that work toward an environment that supports public health. While many of the other issue areas impact health, these grants are more specifically targeting environmental factors through a health-focused lens. “Environmental Health” may be related to improving environmental health through the

	food system (reduced toxics in food, healthier eating, etc.), through water quality, or through air quality.
▪	*ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE* "Environmental Justice" grants are for the "fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless of race, colour, national origin, or income, with respect to the development, implementation, and enforcement of environmental laws, regulations, and policies," as defined by the Environmental Protection Agency[5].
▪	*INDIGENOUS POPULATIONS / COMMUNITIES* "Indigenous Populations / Communities" grants focus on protecting the environment for indigenous populations, both within the United States and abroad. These grants include fighting for the rights of indigenous groups over their land, water, or minerals, or other community rights relating to the environment.
▪	*TOXICS* This category covers all the main categories of toxics impacting the environment and human health, including hazardous waste, heavy metals, pesticides, herbicides, radioactive wastes, persistent organic pollutants, household chemicals, other industrial pollutants, and noise pollution.
Other	
▪	*GENERAL ENVIRONMENT & MULTI-ISSUE WORK* There remain grants that are difficult to allocate to specific categories, generally because they take the form of core funding to an organization that works on a range of different issues (e.g., The Nature Conservancy, Natural Resources DEFENCE Council, etc.), or because the grant supports environmental media titles (e.g., The Ecologist, Resurgence) or environmental education projects covering a wide range of issues. Some grants provided to generalist re-granting organizations are also included in this category, as it is not possible to identify which issues will be supported when the funds are re-granted.

Source: All definitions were reprinted from a document sent via e-mail by EGA staff (A. Li, personal communication, November 19, 2020).

Two notes must be made regarding the classification of grants into issue areas, categories, and strategies. Firstly, the classification of each grant was made by the author based on the taxonomy described in tables 3 and 4 through a careful reading and analysis of the grant's title and description. In the rare cases when the grant description was not enough for a judgement to be made on its categorisation, desk research was carried out in the recipient organisation's website, utilising materials such as mission statements, programme descriptions and annual reports. Secondly, the issue areas, categories and strategies were split into two levels (e.g., category 1 and 2) because grants generally have a secondary purpose – a grant may be classified as 'climate' and 'education' if the focus is to educate the population about climate change, for instance. To account for the secondary nature of the classification, weighted averages were employed. The main purpose received a nominal weight factor of '2'

[5] http://www.epa.gov/environmentaljustice/.

Table 4

Taxonomy of environmental grantmakers' strategic areas of work

STRATEGIC AREAS OF WORK
▪ *ADVOCACY* This strategy is for grants to organizations or programs that promote public support for a cause or idea. This includes alliance / coalition building, raising public awareness, building or enhancing constituency, encouraging and catalysing action toward broad scale change.
▪ *GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING* This is for grants that specifically help build the capacity of local communities to identify their own shared problems and take actions to solve those problems. This includes mobilising and generating momentum, catalysing action toward specific projects or building effective leadership within local communities.
▪ *CAPACITY BUILDING / GENERAL OPERATING* This category is only for general support grants or grants that are given to strengthen the grantee as an organisation. This can include supporting an existing or new staff member, purchasing supplies, or other general organisation needs. Grants to enhance a specific program do not fall under this category.
▪ *COMMUNICATIONS / MEDIA* Grants that were tagged in this category cover work targeted specifically at generating or influencing media coverage. This can also include the organization of events and conferences. This strategy also includes the creation of a grantee's communication tools, such as webcasts or interactive websites.
▪ *EDUCATION / YOUTH ORGANIZING* Education grants include environmental education for children inside and outside of the classroom. This category is for coaching or training services of educators, the public, etc. It also includes informational services and experiences for the public and youth specifically, such as science or environmental camps.
▪ *LITIGATION* Grants marked "Litigation" focus on legal support and assistance for expert legal counsel relating to environmental protection.
▪ *PUBLIC POLICY* This category is primarily for grants aimed at the development of standards, improving policy management practices, reforming policy at any level, support for international agreements, and participation in regulatory processes. It is distinguished from "Advocacy" in that this category implies the focus on a specific policy.
▪ *RESEARCH: SCIENTIFIC / ENVIRONMENTAL* This category is used for grants that build a base of knowledge or develop a device. This includes conducting a study, assessment, investigation, or developing information and jumps in technology. It also includes any activity relating to collecting data or monitoring environmental effects.
▪ *STEWARDSHIP / ACQUISITION / PRESERVATION* This category is for the general protection or purchasing of space (land, estuaries, etc.) or rights of use to protect land, improve management, restore ecosystems, or eradicate invasive species. It is generally a broader category than "Research" and is not necessarily associated with on-the-ground protection or management.

Source: All definitions were reprinted from a document sent via e-mail by EGA staff (A. Li, personal communication, November 19, 2020).

and the secondary purpose received a nominal weight factor of ‘1’ to determine an approximate, relative importance. In the example above, ‘climate’ would get a weight factor of 2 and ‘education’ would get 1.

2 International philanthropy: Background and literature review

> To some extent, official agencies owe private foundations the respect due to an elder. For private development initiatives, like private philanthropy in general, predate official programmes. (OECD, 2003, p. 11)

This literature review and background chapter is divided in three sections. The first section introduces the rise of philanthropy as one of the 'new actors' that sprung up in international development cooperation in the 2000s. It details the assumptions made about the behaviour of philanthropic organisations in development, setting up their distinctiveness as a development actor. The section also points to how the literature on donor motivations and the political economy of donors can further the understanding on the behaviour of foundations. The second section provides an overview of green giving, that is, public and private environmental aid. It covers how environmental giving by foundations has evolved, gaining traction in the past few years, and what is known about it thus far. The third section provides the reader with background information on the Brazilian context, focusing on the evolution of discussions about environmental issues and the development of CSOs in the country, especially their longstanding relationship with foreign funders.

2.1 An old new development actor

The start of the new millennium brought with it a small revolution in international development cooperation. "As foreign aid became an important policy tool in the decades following World War II, its allocation was often guided by the geopolitics of the Cold War… [trumping] the desire for development promotion in explaining aid allocation patterns" (Bermeo, 2017, p. 736). However, with the end of Cold War, different challenges emerged, including a newfound donor need "to mitigate problems in the source countries… [as donors were] increasingly unable to insulate themselves from negative spillovers emanating from developing countries" (Bermeo, 2017, p. 736) – think terrorism or climate change. The new scenario, according to Severino and Ray (2009), brought about three revolutions in development that took place concomitantly, in goals, instruments, and actors, driving new practices in development. Challenges beyond the geopolitical imperatives of the Cold War had to be systematically addressed, rendering necessary the establishment of new goals in areas including basic welfare, as conceptualised by the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and then the SDGs; environmental degradation and the protection of global public goods; and the economic convergence of developing and industrialised countries. New instruments, such as the promotion public-private partnerships and facilitation of remittances, facilitated the use of private resources towards development goals, while others, such as carbon taxation, aimed at the achievement of systemic effects. More importantly for this research, new actors began to emerge or re-emerge in the development arena.

A field that was the dominion of OECD-DAC donors saw the rise of other state as well as non-state actors. These new actors' increasing importance would challenge "the existing international aid architecture" and question the role of the DAC "as *the* major institution that sets the aid agenda" (Dreher et al., 2013, p. 402, emphasis in original). New actors can be roughly be divided into new donors from the South (transition economies and middle-income countries) and private organisations, mainly philanthropic organisations and large international CSOs, such as Oxfam (Kharas, 2007). A relatively extensive literature is devoted to non-DAC state actors – the BRICS, for instance, bloc formed by Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa – and how their behaviour in aid allocation converge or diverge from that of traditional donors (Bry, 2017; Chaturvedi et al., 2012; Dreher et al., 2011; Zimmermann & Smith, 2011). There is, however, considerably less literature on the behaviour of non-state actors and especially philanthropic organisations, which are key donors among the new actors in development cooperation (A. Fejerskov et al., 2016; Kharas, 2007; Severino & Ray, 2009).

Before moving forward, it is important to qualify the 'new' in the literature about new actors, as it generally implies a renewed role. Philanthropy, for instance, was no alien to international cooperation before the 2000s, much to the contrary. U.S. philanthropic foundations have been transnational actors for decades (Bell, 1971). Studies from the second half of the 20th century, tended to feature the "big three" foundations, as they were known in the 1960s (R. Arnove & Pinede, 2007): Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie (R. F. Arnove, 1982; R. Arnove & Pinede, 2007; Berman, 1983; Fisher, 1983; Moran, 2014; Parmar, 2015; Srivastava & Oh, 2010). It is pointed out, for instance, how these three foundations supported higher education institutions in developing countries to either hinder or advance the interests of the U.S. government, depending on who you talk to (Berman, 1983). Two prominent examples of foundations in action stand out – the Rockefeller Foundation's role in the Green Revolution and Ford Foundation's promotion of social and civil rights in Latin America (Bell, 1971) in the

1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Although these are diametrically different experiences, both show the focus on knowledge and research (a certain scientism, if you will) that has marked and, to a certain extent, still marks philanthropic endeavours.

Take Ford Foundation's experience in Brazil during the country's military dictatorship. Their strategy "focused on producing knowledge and human resources for research" (Brooke et al., 2002, p. 440), aiming at preserving "critical thinking with regards the socio-political context" (2002, p. 421) and developing a community of social scientists. One of its most noteworthy grants was to the Brazilian Centre for Analysis and Planning (CEBRAP), which is still one of the main think-tanks in the country. That knowledge production was, nevertheless, geared towards social change, and resources were invested on topics such as the establishment of the field of African-Brazilian studies, research on the relationship between the police and the community, and seminars on Agrarian Reform (Brooke et al., 2002), all crucial issues for Brazilian civil society then and now. It is interesting that, when talking to non-profit workers in the country, they tend not to differentiate between public and private cooperation, putting the USAID and Ford Foundation in the same basket of foreign funding.

Now take the Green Revolution, the concerted effort to increase food production in the developing world. The Rockefeller Foundation heavily supported the development of agricultural technology and practices that enabled farmers to exponentially increase their yields, and its programmes in Mexico and India provided the building blocks to the Green Revolution. So much so that one of its scientists, Norman E. Borlaug, was the Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1970 for his contribution to the Green Revolution (OECD, 2003; Perkins, 1990). Furthermore, the Rockefeller Foundation's programme is also an early example of public-private partnership, as the pilot programme was developed with the Mexican government, which provided land and its own researchers for the programme (OECD, 2003).

It is thus not entirely accurate to say foundations are new actors in development, but they did become a lot more visible. Philanthropic organisations were not seen as having a very prominent role among development actors in the early 2000s. As development veteran Michael Green put it in 2014:

> Less than a decade ago, philanthropy was still seen as a sideshow in global development. When I left DFID[6] in early 2007 to write Philanthrocapitalism, most of my colleagues wondered why

[6] The former Department for International Development of the United Kingdom.

> I was interested in such a marginal issue. The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness of 2005, for example, made no reference at all to philanthropy. Indeed, why should it? Hyped up with the pledges of extra aid money made at the G8 summit in Gleneagles, the Paris Declaration signatories had little need to partner with private donors. (Green, 2014, p. 1)

The 2008 financial crisis, however, changed the scenario, underscoring the need for new sources of funding to complement ODA (Green, 2014) and, along with the high profile of the Gates Foundation, catapulted philanthropy in development to unprecedented heights (Oldekop et al., 2016; Severino & Ray, 2009; United Nations, 2016). In 2008, Bill Gates was invited to speak at the United Nations (UN) General Assembly, and acknowledged the exceptional character of the situation by saying that "it is unusual for a member of the philanthropic sector to be given the opportunity to address heads of state here at the United Nations" (B. Gates, 2008). Only two years later the situation was no longer unusual, as his wife, Melinda Gates, addressed the same General Assembly on the progress towards meeting the MDGs (M. F. Gates, 2010). More recently, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda – the first report by the UN Inter-Agency Task Force on Financing for Development – included the encouragement of philanthropic engagement as one of nine commitments related to private funding for development (United Nations, 2016).

Furthermore, the creation of the OECD's Network of Foundations Working for Development (netFWD) and the SDGFunders, a partnership between the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and foundations[7], shows how far (and quickly) philanthropic foundations have come in global development cooperation. The OECD has made efforts to understand the field and launched two reports about it, in 2003 and 2018 (OECD, 2003, 2018a). This interest in foundations is inserted in a broader context that highlights "the need for increased private resource mobilisation from international sources to address development challenges" (Steinfeldt et al., 2012, p. 11), as established at the UN conferences on financing for development (United Nations, 2016). Foundations are seen as a source of financial resources, as estimates put philanthropic flows from donor countries to developing ones at USD 64 billion in 2014 (Hudson Institute, 2016), whereas ODA by traditional donor countries is approximately USD 135 billion (OECD, 2016, p. 17). Furthermore, foundations are seen as a bridge between the public and private sectors – one of the five new approaches to

[7] Supported by organizations such as the Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors, and the Conrad N. Hilton, Ford, MasterCard and Brach Family foundations.

development cooperation put forward by the OECD is blended finance, which is defined as "development finance and philanthropic resources used to mobilize private capital to promote development outcomes across a range of sectors and countries" (OECD, 2016, p. 69).

Philanthropic organisations are inserted in this framework not only as new development actors embracing new goals, but also as promoters of new instruments. While development's shift toward efficiency, illustrated by the results-driven 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and Accra Agenda for Action (OECD, 2008), is seen as part of (sometimes controversial) attempts to modernize the field (Gulrajani, 2011) and as a key challenge to those studying it (A. M. Fejerskov, 2016), tools and practices aimed at improving and measuring the impact of its grantmaking have been ubiquitous in the philanthropic sector for decades (Teles, 2016). Finally, foundations are seen as a source of alternative approaches and policy ideas (Steinfeldt et al., 2012; Zimmermann & Smith, 2011). Their experience and expertise in impact measurement (Teles, 2016) and business-like practices are regarded as a valuable trait that can boost the new drive towards effectiveness in development spending (Atwood et al., 2011; Bull & McNeill, 2006; A. M. Fejerskov, 2016; Gore, 2013; Gulrajani, 2011; OECD, 2015), illustrated by the results-driven 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and the Accra Agenda for Action (OECD, 2008).

The increased importance of philanthropic organisations in the international development architecture has been followed by a growth in academic interest and studies attempting to understand the nature and behaviour of those actors (Bishop & Green, 2008; Edwards, 2008; A. M. Fejerskov et al., 2017; Gore, 2013; McGoey, 2016; Moran, 2014; Zimmermann & Smith, 2011). That is still, however, very incipient – "while foundations may be perceived as new important players in development cooperation by development stakeholders at national and international levels, actual knowledge on their approach to providing assistance is rather limited" (Steinfeldt et al., 2012, p. 25). In the ten years since this quote there have been progress in the literature, but not much. In 2021, "empirical and systematic understanding of how foundations operate as organizations remains extremely limited" (Gruby et al., 2021, p. 7). In a study about a research agenda to enhance the current understanding on the role of private foundations in marine conservation and other environmental contexts globally, Gruby et al. (2021) point to the basic need to gather data on the funding landscape – who is funding what.

This lack of in-depth and empirical information is a critical limitation in the literature that this research aims to address. There is no systematic or standardised data collection on international grantmaking (Marten & Witte, 2008; Moran, 2014; Srivastava & Oh, 2010; Steinfeldt et al., 2012; Tew & Caio, 2016), as there is for ODA, making the field "significantly under-researched", according to the World Bank (Sulla, 2007, p. 5). This has led to calls for more empirical work "to explore macroscopic trends and trace the overall impact of foundation routines and donor practices..." (Skocpol, 2016, p. 434). It is noted that there is "a preponderance of grey literature in the form of organizational reports or working papers, many times sponsored by particular foundations or written by foundations themselves with very little peer-reviewed academic literature on the topic" (Srivastava & Oh, 2010, p. 149). Moreover, even when there is data available about philanthropic giving it tends to be conflated with other types of development private financing from corporations or INGOs (Kharas, 2007; Marten & Witte, 2008). This is compounded by a lack of transparency by foundations – "Historically, foundations have been reluctant to make internal information publicly available." (OECD, 2018a, p. 84). In most parts of the world, philanthropic organisations do not have any obligation to make financial or programmatic disclosures, even though they do not pay taxes. In countries where they do have to disclose information, it is generally at the basic level, including total amounts given, and not necessarily at the project level. According to Green:

> **Philanthropists** have also, regrettably, lagged **behind official donors in embracing the culture of transparency, data sharing and accountability to beneficiaries** and to the governments of the countries in which they operate. What I hear from many foundations is that this is "unnecessary bureaucracy"… (Green, 2014, p. 2, emphasis in original)

Another limitation of the literature concerns its scope and case selection, as it is mostly focused on high-profile organisations (R. F. Arnove, 1982; R. Arnove & Pinede, 2007; Moran, 2014; Parmar, 2015; Srivastava & Oh, 2010; Steinfeldt et al., 2012). Up to the 1990s, the literature tended to focus on large organisations, such as the Carnegie, Ford and Rockefeller foundations. As the new millennium arrived, so did a new player, the Gates Foundation, which has received most of the attention and has been at the centre of the debate (Faubion et al., 2011; McGoey & Thiel, 2018; Moran, 2014; Steinfeldt et al., 2012). The foundation has an endowment of USD 46.8 billion and donated USD 4.7 billion in 2017 (Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, n.d.), a number that can be compared with and surpasses the ODA of most DAC countries. For instance, Austria's ODA in the same period was USD 1.25 billion, Belgium's USD 2.19 billion, and Canada's USD 4.30 billion (OECD, n.d.-a). When we turn to other foundations the difference is even starker. The Ford Foundation and Open Society Foundations, two of the largest in the world, donated USD 668 million and USD 940.7 million, respectively, in 2017 (Ford Foundation, n.d.-a; Open Society Foundations, n.d.). This suggests that Gates is more of an outlier, and worthy of studies as such, than an archetypal foundation. It reports its donations to the OECD as donor countries do, and studies by the OECD about foundations present the data with and without the Gates Foundation (OECD, 2017). Case selection based on high-profile organisations has had two key consequences. The first is that generalisation was made based on a few cases and without clear selection criteria beyond the high visibility of the foundations studied. The second consequence is that the topics studied closely match the focus areas of those organisations, for instance, health, in the case of Gates, and agriculture, highlighting the part played by the Rockefeller Foundation in the Green Revolution (Moran & Stone, 2016; Srivastava & Oh, 2010). Such bias is avoided here through the selection of the subject-area (environmental issues) and country (Brazil) before the organisations, which were then selected based on their significance in this context.

Having established those caveats, a body of research has been growing and becoming influential in the field of international development, in that it is possible to see parts of it in publications by international organisations (OECD, 2017, 2018a; United Nations, 2016). This literature advances the two basic assumptions that foundations are a distinct group of development actors (acting differently from states or CSOs) and that they bring to the table substantial financial resources. From that starting point, it develops a series of assumptions about the behaviour, strategies and practices that would characterise the engagement of foundations in development cooperation (Marten & Witte, 2008; Steinfeldt et al., 2012). These assumptions are neatly summarised in an analytical framework developed by Steinfeldt et al. (2012), presented in table 5 and described in the next paragraphs.

Foundations' thrust into the development stage in the 2000s was not the only major occurrence in the philanthropic field. The period was also marked by a shift among some influential large U.S. foundations from traditional philanthropy to strategic philanthropy, and the development literature very much reflects that 'new' way of doing philanthropy. A now seminal book in the literature about foundations in international development, "Philanthrocapitalism: how giving can save the world" (which counts with a foreword by Bill

Clinton), makes a case for a mix of philanthropy and business, and how this can help solve development problems:

> Whilst hopefully some of these problems will be solved using for-profit business models, many will not. But that does not mean they cannot be addressed in a businesslike way, in the sense of a serious focus on results; understanding where to use scarce resources to have the greatest impact through leverage; a determination to quickly scale up solutions that work and a toughness in shutting down those that do not; backing entrepreneurial, innovative approaches to problems; forming partnerships with whoever will get the job done soonest and best; and taking big risks in the hope of achieving outsize impact. (Bishop & Green, 2008, p. 499)

Table 5

Assumptions about foundations in international development

Topic	Claim
Overarching claim	Foundations are a distinct group of actors in development cooperation.
Resources	Foundations provide significant resources to development activities.
Business approach	Foundations employ business strategies and focus on results.
Innovation	Foundations support new ideas and take risks.
Niche-filling	Foundations fill gaps by funding issues unsupported by other actors.
Alignment	Foundations do not align with national priorities and are apolitical.
Problem solving	Foundations identify and focus on specific issues.
Grantees	Foundations have a close relationship with grantees.

Source: Adapted from Steinfeldt et al., 2012, p. 35.

The book brought to the fore philanthropy's ability "to become more like for-profit markets with 'investors' and 'social returns'" (Ramdas, 2011, para. 1), showing the application of business-like practices and discourses as an asset to development cooperation (Adelman, 2009). This builds on the work by Porter and Kramer (1999) about how foundations should give strategically – in what became known as strategic philanthropy, an approach that can be translated into practices of goal setting, strategy development, and measurement in grantmaking (Bennett et al., 2021). It is important to highlight two aspects of strategic philanthropy that set it apart from the traditional one regarding strategy and measurement.

Whereas traditional philanthropy focuses on funding specific programs, strategic philanthropy focuses on organisational capacity building (Delfin, Jr. & Tang, 2005; Porter & Kramer, 1999). Regarding performance measurement, traditional philanthropy favours reviews of grantee reports and ensuring overhead costs are kept to a minimum, whereas the strategic kind favours quantitative measures and leveraging funding (e.g., matching funding with other foundations), with a view to maximise its social return on investment (Delfin, Jr. & Tang, 2005). The desirability and aptness of foundations themselves, and of business methods, to address social ills and drive social change is also questioned, since philanthropists would be interested in maintaining the status quo that made them rich and powerful (Edwards, 2008). Others question the focus on measurable results, which can limit the types of programmes pursued by foundations to only those that can be easily counted (Teles, 2016) – producing a certain amount of vaccines instead of funding research for their development, for instance.

The fourth assumption about foundation's behaviour in development concerns their emphasis on innovation and willingness to take risks (Marten & Witte, 2008; OECD, 2018a; Steinfeldt et al., 2012). This is where foundations are supposed to shine, considering they have financial independence and do not have to go through as much public scrutiny as elected governments. An innovative approach "imply support for the transfer of existing ideas into new fields, the identification of relevant new issue areas, or testing new approaches for addressing specific issues, for example via support for pilot projects" (Steinfeldt et al., 2012, p. 26). One of the two main OECD reports about philanthropic engagement in development devotes a chapter to depict how foundations foster innovation (OECD, 2018a). Considering the assumptions laid out, foundations in development are praised for their research and innovation capacity: "in this context, it is not surprising that some of the most successful foundation efforts involve research, development and the initial stages of implementation of new technologies and techniques" (OECD, 2003, p. 19). One of the most widely used examples, that would showcase most of those characteristics, is once again the Green Revolution, in which the Rockefeller Foundation identified a specific problem and presented a scientific solution. This case, however, also shows the other side of the coin. Despite the considerable criticism directed to the methods and results of the Green Revolution, including concerns about environmental sustainability and that it exacerbated inequality by favouring larger farmers (Perkins, 1990), the Rockefeller and Gates foundations partnered in 2006 for a new version of it, the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) (Bill & Melinda Gates

Foundation, 2006), which also focuses on market-based, technical solutions in detriment of context-responsive approaches (Brooks, 2015), an initiative that:

> can be seen as institutional experiments that are already shifting debates about genetically modified ('GM') crops and their regulation, reframing questions of 'access' to technology in terms that valorise corporate 'donors' of proprietary technologies and bolstering the case for industry-friendly technology regulatory frameworks. (Brooks, 2015, pp. 102–103)

This type of institutional arrangement can be very pervasive in the field international development cooperation, in which there is a pressure for the employment of efficient 'silver-bullet' solutions, and especially at a time when countries are looking for resources from private actors to achieve the SDGs and fulfil their contributions to the Paris Agreement. Another issue is that some authors question foundations' willingness to take risks, considering their penchant for funding middle-income countries (Marten & Witte, 2008; OECD, 2018a; Srivastava & Oh, 2010; Steinfeldt et al., 2012).

The next assumption is that foundations have a niche-filling role in development, focusing on issues that are neglected by traditional donors or providing resources to government programmes that do not have enough funding (Bishop & Green, 2008; OECD, 2003). It is pointed out, for instance, how the Gates and Rockefeller foundations "help to fill gaps that governments are unable or unwilling to address" in global health, by leveraging resources and investing in the research of diseases that are neglected, either because they have little effect on donor countries or offer little financial return to pharmaceutical companies (Youde, 2013, p. 155). Another assumption concerns the self-proclaimed apolitical nature of philanthropy (G. W. Jenkins, 2011; Marten & Witte, 2008; Srivastava & Oh, 2010), which may entail a lack of willingness to "align their funding with national development strategies nor to coordinate their activities with other development actors", putting them in opposition to the "international aid effectiveness agenda, which promotes country-level ownership of development priorities and processes and improved donor coordination in order to ensure that development cooperation achieves results" (Steinfeldt et al., 2012, p. 28).

The final two assumptions concern foundations' focus and relationship with grantees. In addition to the financial resources that make foundations independent and afford them the freedom to act, their supposed political neutrality (G. W. Jenkins, 2011; Marten & Witte, 2008; Srivastava & Oh, 2010) would allow them to prioritise needs instead of politics when choosing projects. Foundations would be free from any obligation or willingness to align with national priorities, instead focusing on problem-solving by identifying and tackling the most urgent and solvable problems, with measurable impacts. That, however, is criticised as it "may lead to the neglect of systemic issues" (Steinfeldt et al., 2012, p. 30) and weaken public systems (Edwards, 2008; McGoey, 2016). Philanthropic organisations would also have the ability to set long-term goals (Marten & Witte, 2008; OECD, 2018a; Steinfeldt et al., 2012), since they are not attached to election cycles.

Regarding foundations' relationship with grantees, the development literature also contrasts the tenets of traditional versus strategic philanthropy, positing that the latter encourages paternalism and disempowerment among grantees (G. W. Jenkins, 2011; Steinfeldt et al., 2012). The idea was that there was a shift from an approach that favoured bottom-up strategies and supported actors focused on social change, therefore fostering a close relationship of partnership with grantees (G. W. Jenkins, 2011; OECD, 2003), to an approach whose "cutting-edge language about strategy and effectiveness, exacerbates the divide and strains" (G. W. Jenkins, 2011, pp. 758–759) in donor-grantee relationships. This is partly in line with the philanthropy literature, in which its strategic form encourages more control from philanthropists. As Kramer, one of the parents of strategic philanthropy put it:

> For most [traditional] donors, philanthropy is about deciding which nonprofits to support and how much money to give them. These donors effectively delegate to nonprofits all responsibility for devising and implementing solutions to social problems. Despite the sincere dedication and best efforts of those who work in the nonprofit sector, there is little reason to assume that they have the ability to solve society's large-scale problems. (M. R. Kramer, 2009, p. 32)

Foundations, therefore, should devise their own strategies, and not just prepare calls for proposals and wait for submissions by CSOs, but be proactive and search for the right partners to work with (Delfin, Jr. & Tang, 2005). The use of intermediary organisations is also encouraged, for grant distribution and management, as well as the provision of support to grantees, as opposed to a closer relationship between foundation staff and grantees (Delfin, Jr. & Tang, 2005). Paradoxically, while traditional philanthropy would favour short-term grants, the strategic kind would favour longer-term engagement with grantees (Delfin, Jr. & Tang, 2005). Also, as seen previously in this chapter, strategic philanthropy's focus on building organisational capacity in grantees may have an empowering effect.

It is thus not unexpected that there is plenty of scepticism regarding the role of foundations in development and society. The critical literature on philanthropy, that mostly follows a Gramscian tradition (Moran, 2014), is epitomised by the now classic volume Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism (R. F. Arnove, 1982), in which it is posited that foundations "have a corrosive influence on democratic society" (R. F. Arnove, 1982, p. 1) and serve corporate-liberal interests of the ruling-class. Philanthropy would be an elite project (Mills, 1956) to maintain the *status quo*, built by and for the elites, as these organisations are "staffed, governed, funded and orchestrated by a particular stratum of the American polity" (Moran, 2014, p. 8). It is questioned whether institutional philanthropy, mainly in the form of foundations, is even compatible with a democratic society, and if its practices and the rules that govern such practices can go through an overhaul to achieve democratic outcomes (Reich, 2016). Another criticism is that philanthropy would act as an instrument to foster western intellectual and cultural hegemony. Using examples such as the Rockefeller Foundation (Fisher, 1983) and other large foundations (Parmar, 2015), it is pointed out that philanthropic organisations funded research programmes and institutions internationally, spreading pro-U.S. views and supporting more rational and policy-oriented research methods. For instance, the development of the realist theory in international relations was sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation (Guilhot, 2011). In a classic novel in Brazilian literature, Incident in Antares (Incidente em Antares) by Erico Verissimo, a researcher funded by the Ford Foundation is surveying a small, rural town right before the military coup in 1964, raising suspicion among the local communist groups that the research is being carried out by the CIA and the U.S. State Department (Verissimo, 2008).

It is argued that the so-called new gilded age which is now repeating the period of vast wealth accumulation and rising inequality of the late 1800s in the U.S., and that foments the existence of philanthrocapitalism, in fact, generates several of the social problems that it is trying to solve (McGoey et al., 2018; Rhodes & Bloom, 2018). Tax avoidance is probably the clearest way through which such cycle of creating wider social problems while increasing wealth is perpetuated. In this instance, philanthropy "deliberately collapses the distinction between public and private interests, in order to justify increasingly concentrated levels of private gain" (McGoey, 2012, p. 187). That argument is furthered by the fact that a few high net-worth individuals, especially tech billionaires such as Mark Zuckerberg, have been using for-profit limited liability companies (LLC) for their charitable endeavours, highlighting the "flexibility" of the LLC structure (For Purpose Law Group, 2019). Furthermore, foundations are also accused of co-opting "potentially counter-hegemonic agents such as INGOs [international non-governmental organisations], and… social movements" (Moran, 2014, p. 8) through their funding.

Finally, the issues of accountability and legitimacy are also raised. When governments choose policy areas on which to focus, they can be held accountable by citizens; CSOs can be held accountable by volunteers, supporters, governments, and donors. A key question is to whom philanthropists are accountable when they choose to work on a specific topic over another or when things go wrong. The Gates Foundation's promotion of the private sector in global health, for instance, has raised a "fundamental question about the mandate and role of a foundation in promoting and shaping policies on core health systems issues… one could ask to whom is the Gates Foundation accountable for the promotion of such policies?" (McCoy et al., 2009, p. 1651). This calls into question the legitimacy of foundations, that is, their social license to operate in society (Meyer & Rowan, 1977), as foundations "have no legal obligation to justify their actions to any given stakeholder… [and] while its effects are public, philanthropic decision-making remains a largely private affair" (Morena, 2016, p. 12). U.S. foundations are acutely aware of the importance of legitimacy, as they were a target of McCarthyism, when two congressional commissions were created to investigate their practices and question their leaders (Candid, n.d.).

Those are extremely important questions, and critical analyses of the power relations embedded in the behaviour of philanthropic actors are particularly important if one considers their historical nature, the increasingly high levels of inequality in the world, and the growing public attention philanthropic donations have been receiving. However, while this research recognises the shortcomings of philanthropic actors and the need to critically analyse them, it also sees the need to move beyond a 'good vs evil' discussion emphasising the two possible extremes of philanthropic behaviour in development cooperation, which can be counterproductive and limits both the academic and policy debates – "the fight against poverty will not be won with such evidence-free assertion and simplistic dichotomies" (Green, 2014, p. 2). There is a need to move towards an understanding of the trends and patterns in the distribution of international environmental grants by philanthropic organisations to build a knowledge base on which critical analyses can stand. Take, for example, literature identifying grants to corporate recipients and the establishment of LLCs as key developments in philanthropic giving (McGoey et al., 2018). This is a topic that is clearly interesting and important but, in its criticism, it addresses what seems to be a subset of new tech donors, and focuses more on examples about the Gates Foundation than on telling us about how the conclusions were reached (e.g., the number of grants to corporate recipients, how many LLCs were actually created and how that compares to the creation of other types of foundations).

To approach the issue, this research follows the seminal footsteps of James Ferguson and his Anti-Politics Machine (1994). When confronted with a dichotomic literature about development, the author pointed to the need to move "the discussion on the 'development' industry beyond the widespread ideological preoccupation with the question of whether it is considered a 'good thing' or a 'bad thing', a benevolent force to be reformed or an exploitative manoeuvre to be denounced" (Ferguson, 1994, p. 14). These are powerful drivers of the questions that will be asked. If one assumes development or philanthropy are good, questions will likely be driven by how to improve them. On the other hand, if they are seen as an instrument of control, questions will be around how control is exerted. Instead, Ferguson suggests opening the black box of development, looking at the interventions carried out "not for what they don't do or might do, but for what they do" (1994, p. 13). Before reaching conclusions, one must understand the object analysed which, ideally, will have been exhaustively described. This is the foundation on which this research stands. It sees the need for a deep dive into the projects funded by foundations to better understand their practices. As remarked by Ferguson:

> …when one reads much of the literature on the 'development' industry, one finds oneself doubly dissatisfied – with the liberals, whose only concern seems to be with directing or reforming an institution whose fundamental beneficence they take as given – and with the neo-Marxists, who seem satisfied to establish that the institutions of 'development' are part of a fundamentally imperialistic relation between center and periphery and take the matter to be thus settled. But the matter is not settled… (Ferguson, 1994, p. 13).

There is still a black box to be opened in philanthropy in development, and especially in environmental aid. A recent article is, in fact, called "Opening the black box of conservation philanthropy: A co-produced research agenda on private foundations in marine conservation" (Gruby et al., 2021). There is a thin footing on which to base the assumptions about the behaviour of foundations in development cooperation that were laid out early in this chapter, as a lot of it is based on the self-perception of foundations, a few issue areas (mainly health), and a few case studies. For instance, mainly due to large gaps in information and research, it is claimed that it is premature to assume foundations' efficiency and effectiveness, and that their business rhetoric may in fact be different from the reality (Edwards, 2008; Marten & Witte, 2008; Srivastava & Oh, 2010). Those assumptions, however, form a rich analytical framework that allow for a classification of foundations' work, providing empirically testable concepts. Empirical tests of the assumptions remain scarce (Steinfeldt et al., 2012) and must be carried out on as many cases as possible. Foundations' own views about their work (analysed though their reports and strategic plans) can be matched against their actual work (investigated though a grant-level analysis). This research expands a small yet growing literature that grounds analyses on what foundations actually do. This includes the work of Morena (2016, 2018, 2020) and Nisbet (2018), which will be discussed later in this chapter. Both authors have a background on environmental issues and saw that the influence of foundations was an increasingly relevant empirical phenomena in their field of study which had been overlooked by the literature. As "outsiders", they also avoided the bias of the discussion on whether foundations are good or bad to focus instead on their practices.

In this sense, it is helpful to look at the issue through the lens of the international development literature that studies patterns of aid allocation. "Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why?" The title of Alesina and Dollar's seminal paper synthetises this key line of research in development, analysing "the determinants of foreign aid, namely which donor gives to which recipient and why" (Alesina & Dollar, 2000, p. 34). It provides a neat framework to look into aid allocation patterns and donor motivations. There is a large body of literature on the topic (see Bermeo, 2017, for a review), focusing on explaining the behaviour of donor countries members of OECD-DAC members. While recognising the complexity of donors' motivations, the literature puts forward a number of explaining variables to aid allocation. These variables are related to (i) the donors' interests, for instance, giving to former colonies and geopolitical allies no matter the outcome, and to (ii) the needs of recipient countries, such as poverty levels. In a simplified nutshell, donors would pursue international development either self-interestedly, to advance their interests, or altruistically, based on the needs of other countries (Maizels & Nissanke, 1984; McKinley & Little, 1979).

This dichotomy is already questioned when applied to countries, be it though insights from South-South cooperation (Mawdsley, 2012) or claims that development itself or poverty reduction could be a self-interested goal of donors (Bermeo, 2017). When it comes to applying that logic to philanthropic organisations, the waters become further muddied, requiring more refinement. The motivations of foundations are better explained if layers are added to altruism. Drawing from the welfare economics literature about paternalistic versus non-paternalistic behaviour (Archibald & Donaldson, 1976), King (2020) has developed a framework in a working paper which starts by dividing altruism into paternalistic altruism, in which “donors have their own views about what is best for citizens in aid-receiving countries”, and disinterested altruism, in which “donors want to respond to local priorities, and care about the subjective well-being of aid beneficiaries” (King, 2020, p. 22). For donors in the first group, failure may occur if policy choices on the ground do not align with their own; whereas for donors in the second group, failure may occur if policies do not reflect what citizens want or need.

Last, but not least, the set of assumptions about the behaviour of foundations in development put forth the idea that foundations are a distinct group of actors, that is, they supposedly act differently from other actors, such as DAC donors. However, all these actors are inserted in the same context and have a similar paradoxical nature:

> “Whilst it has been recognised for a long time that development processes need to be ‘locally-owned’ and ‘locally-led’, it has also been noted that the very identity of the international development sector has historically been premised on solving problems, filling gaps and overcoming local weaknesses often using ‘solutions’ developed elsewhere.” (Roche & Denney, 2019, p. 18)

The political economy of donors (King, 2020) can be of help for the comparison of broad patterns in the behaviour of traditional donors and foundations, so that one can look for differences and similarities. Roche and Denney (2019) carried out a review of the literature identifying common features of donors at the systemic level, most of which are easily transferable to the reality of philanthropic organisations in development. The following bullets summarise their points (Roche & Denney, 2019, p. 17):

- Tendency for the analysis and relationships of expatriate staff and external consultants (both of whom are usually short term) and western leadership perspectives to be privileged.
- Predominance of principal-agent notions of accountability, rather than peer, social or political forms of accountability.

- Preference for more engineered and theoretically more predictable processes than less certain emergent ones.
- Pressures to spend and meet pre-determined and easily communicable, tangible targets.
- Risk-averse, compliance culture which seeks a high level of 'control'.
- Discomfort with uncertainty and unpredictability.

2.2 Giving green

When it comes environmental aid, gathering and, therefore, analysing data is even trickier. Hicks et al. point to a lack of comprehensive and consistent data on environmental aid projects by bilateral and multilateral donors, highlighting that "if we cannot first describe the overall pattern of aid allocation, we cannot understand how it affects the natural and human environment on a global scale. Although numerous, efforts to fill this empirical gap have been neither systematic nor comprehensive" (2008a, p. 10). The authors also point to the arbitrary categorisation donors often use when reporting environmental aid. The OECD itself recognises the issue. In addition to having a 'general environmental protection' category for aid, the DAC monitors aid targeting global environmental objectives through the Rio Convention markers, a classification system that donors use to "identify activities that have environment as a principal or significant objective" (OECD, 2019, p. 3). For instance, measures to control malaria are classified as 'health' but may be marked as having the environment as a principal objective if they are carried out "in areas threatened by increased incidence of diseases due to climate change" (OECD, 2019, p. 37). However, notwithstanding the great intention of improving and expanding data to further our understanding on environmental aid applied to all sectors, this comes with caveats. Not all countries report all their activities according to the markers, hampering comparative analyses, and some "have difficulties in applying the methodology" (OECD, 2019, p. 3) – since one activity can address more than one policy goal, biodiversity and climate change, for instance, there is a risk of double-counting (OECD, 2012).

With that in mind, the data provides a general idea of environmental aid patterns. Data available for OECD-DAC members ODA to Brazil between 2000-2019 shows donations for the markers on environment, biodiversity, combating desertification, and climate-related development finance (OECD, 2021b, 2021c). Average commitments from 2018/2019, considering principal plus significant objectives, stood at USD 294.9 million for the environment, USD 144.2 for biodiversity, and USD 8.63 for desertification. Total climate commitments for 2019 stood at USD 151.7 million. Over the entire period and considering all markers, the sector that received most donations was general environmental protection, followed by water supply & sanitation, transport & storage, and energy (OECD, 2021b, 2021c). A review of donors' climate-related activities between 2012-2019 hints at what a classification within those sectors means in Brazil. General environmental protection projects tend to relate to conservation and the reduction of emissions; water supply & sanitation relate to sanitation, waste management and the protection of rivers; transport & storage relate to urban mobility; and energy relate to power generation from renewable sources (OECD, n.d.-b). This is in line with a previous OECD study of its members environmental aid, which focused in those same sectors and activities within the sectors (OECD, 2012).

The OECD also breaks down its aid which is specifically allocated to CSOs, which is useful in this research considering foundations tend to work directly with such organisations instead of governments. This aid is divided in allocations made 'to' and 'through' CSOs: "Aid to CSOs: Core contributions and contributions to programmes. These aid funds are programmed by the CSOs. Aid channelled through CSOs: funds channelled through CSOs and other private bodies to implement donor-initiated projects (earmarked funding)" (OECD, 2021a, p. 2). In 2018 and 2019, 15% of the total bilateral aid was allocated to and through CSOs. This allocation, however, was not equal – 13% was made through these organisations and only 2% was made to them (OECD, 2021a). General environment protection aid in 2019 was USD 433 million out of over USD 17 billion in aid through CSOs (OECD, 2021a).

Environmental philanthropy faces a starker problem, as it does not count with an all-encompassing database as the OECD's for DAC donors. There are calls for a renewed and broad research agenda (Betsill et al., 2021), starting with the basics of funding landscape (who funds what and where), "the most well recognized research gap in the literature" (Gruby et al., 2021, p. 8). It is pointed out that marine conservation, for instance, is "hampered by poor data availability, quality, and transferability which stymies more accurate estimates of marine funding" (Berger et al., 2019, p. 7). The consequences are dire, as "a lack of clarity on who is funding what limits the ability of conservation practitioners and donors to set informed goals and collaborate in achieving those goals; identify issues or areas that need funding; and hold foundations and their grantees accountable" (Gruby et al., 2021, pp. 7–8). Other issues highlighted as crucial for a future research agenda on environmental philanthropy concern the governance roles played by philanthropic actors and the legitimacy of these actors to perform such roles (Betsill et al., 2021; Gruby et al., 2021).

There is, however, a small yet growing body of literature analysing environmental philanthropy. A key piece in the environmental aid literature, by Tammy Lewis (2003), compares giving by different types of donors and, as opposed to other studies, includes private actors, represented by U.S. philanthropic organisations (other actors were the USAID, representing public bilateral donors, and the Global Environmental Facility, representing multilateral donors). Following a now traditional approach in the international development literature, the author analyses whether aid is driven by donor interest or recipient need. She explores whether donors' traditional political, economic, and security interests are the leading factor in aid allocation, and finds that all donors favour democratic countries, also showing a bias towards countries with economic and security ties with the U.S. Lewis, however, also incorporates environmental variables to the approach: "to bring traditional donor interest and recipient need models into the environmental realm, indicators of 'global commons' and 'local problems' are introduced" (Lewis, 2003, p. 151). She points out that:

> "One of the main controversies over environmental aid is determining priorities. Southern environmentalists believe that the environmental interests of rich and poor nations differ. Northern environmental concern has tended to focus on 'green' issues, such as biodiversity protection and ozone depletion, that tend to improve the 'global commons'. Southern environmental concern tends to focus on 'brown' issues, local problems related to pollution and livelihood, including land degradation and water and air pollution." (Lewis, 2003, p. 145)

The author uses an interest or focus on green issues as a variable for donor interests, whereas a focus on brown issues and local environmental problems serves as a variable for recipient need. This is measured through the level of donations to green countries, those rich in mineral and biological resources, and brown countries, which lack access to safe drinking water (Lewis, 2003) – most brown projects deal with water and sanitation issues (Hicks et al., 2008a). Lewis found that philanthropic environmental aid, as well as multilateral one, focused on green or global commons issues, that is, grants tend to go to countries with the most environmental richness, instead of countries that are the poorest environmentally or economically (results were not statistically relevant for USAID, as they were for traditional interests).

That may explain why donors choose Brazil as a recipient of environmental aid but may not explain the types of project donors fund in the country. Hochstetler and Keck point out that confounding “both the understandings that many Brazilian environmentalists have about international funding practices and more general studies such as that by Lewis” (2008, p. 108), international funding in Brazil in the 1990s was not going to traditional conservation organisations. Furthermore, when analysing public aid at the project level, Hicks et al. (2008a, 2008b) point to a higher percentage of environmental giving, in general, to brown issues. This opens up the possibility that when grants reach bio-diverse countries, they do not necessarily focus solely on conservation.

Other studies investigate philanthropy’s influence over climate debates. By looking at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), Morena (2016) set off to determine if and how foundations help shape the international climate regime and debate. The author investigated how philanthropic organisations funded CSOs engaged in the UNFCCC 21st Conference of the Parties (COP21) and identified two different approaches. One approach, marked by a focus on outcomes and evaluations, highlighted pragmatic and pro-business solutions to environmental challenges (such as carbon taxes). Another, less common, approach was more holistic and inclusive of bottom-up input from CSOs, leading to strategies that take into consideration political issues such as the North-South debates. The author also found that foundations have a high agenda-setting power in international climate change talks, as most CSOs were "either partially or totally reliant on foundation support" (Morena, 2016, p. 5), an issue also raised elsewhere in the literature about domestic U.S. philanthropy (Teles, 2016). Nisbet (2018), also looked into how foundations influence the climate debate, but at the national level and using a different method. The author carried out a grant-level analysis of over donations given by 19 U.S. foundations. He similarly found two different approaches by foundations, a mainstream one focused on market-based practices (e.g., carbon pricing and promoting renewable energy), and a smaller but growing approach focused on adaptation actions and the needs of low-income communities.

When it comes to environmental giving, it is still a small area within philanthropy, but one that is increasingly gaining traction. “Was 2020 the year that philanthropy recognised the part it had to play in the climate crisis?” (Delanoë et al., 2021) – the by-line of a recent piece in the Alliance Magazine, the main philanthropy trade publication sums up the increasing attention the environment, and climate change in particular, has been receiving from funders.

The increase in interest is signalled by the Alliance Magazine itself, as its first issue focused on the environment was in September 2007, almost 10 years after the magazine was launched. Then came special features in June 2016, post-Paris Agreement, and again in June 2021, pre-COP26. The first issue is a call for funders, explaining the importance of financing for climate change. The second issue already brings some (gloomy) data on how only around 2% of foundations' giving in the U.S. and the UK went to climate-related spending (Alliance Magazine, 2016), but features more examples of environmental philanthropy on a variety of topics, ranging from forests and clean transportation to climate justice, and includes early cases of donor collaborations, such as the European Climate Foundation (ECF). The 2021 issue already shows an "ecosystem of climate philanthropy… [as] platforms, networks and pooled funds have emerged in recent years to enable funders to combine their efforts in the battle against climate change" (Alliance Magazine, 2021, p. 42).

The formation of such networks demonstrates a concerted effort in the philanthropic sector to direct funding to the environment, and a willingness to actually pool resources towards common goals that is not so common in other thematic areas. In addition to the ECF, which has among its founding members the Hewlett Foundation, the Alliance Magazine (2021) highlights the creation of the Climate Leadership Initiative (partially funded by Hewlett) and of the ClimateWorks Foundation (funded by the Hewlett and Moore foundations, among others), including its role in the establishment of the Climate and Land Use Alliance (also funded by Moore). All of these are global initiatives, with partners and grantees all over the world. At the regional and country levels, outside the U.S. and Europe, the magazine points to initiatives such as the African Climate Foundation, the India Climate Collaborative, and the China Champions for Climate Actions (Alliance Magazine, 2021). In addition to those networks, a group of billionaires, such as Jeff Bezos, and foundations, including the Gordon and Betty Moore, have pledged USD 5 billion over the next 10 years for the "Protecting Our Planet Challenge", aiming at biodiversity conservation to ensure 30% of the planet is protected and preserved (Wildlife Conservation Society, 2021). Moreover, most associations of foundations and umbrella organisations, such as the European Foundation Centre and Dafne (Donors and Foundations Networks in Europe) now have groups on environmental philanthropy. WINGS, a global network of associations and organisations to support philanthropy, created the "Philanthropy for Climate", a pledge for foundations, regardless of their mission, to commit to taking urgent action against climate change (WINGS, n.d.). The initiative is partially funded by the European Union, showing a degree of public sector support.

As many a reader may have spotted, the Hewlett Foundation is a common thread in the world of pooled funds, as is Moore, to a lesser extent. When lacking data and people tend to rely on their professional experience to get a sense of funding flows and to map actors (Gruby et al., 2021), those networks are a good indicator of 'who's who' in the world of environmental philanthropy. Other foundations that are part of more than one of those networks are the Oak Foundation, the Packard Foundation, and the Children's Investment Fund Foundation. The literature has also identified a few other key players in global environmental giving, such as the Sea Change, Bloomberg and Rockefeller foundations (Morena, 2018). Confirming the clout of U.S. philanthropy, all but one of the foundations are American – Oak is Swiss. It is interesting to note the mix of origin stories of those foundations, that is, where the resources for their creation came from: Hewlett, Packard, and Moore – tech industry; Children's Investment Fund Foundation, Sea Change, and Bloomberg – financial services; Oak and Rockefeller – traditional businesses. Early evidence suggests that geographic proximity might matter more when it comes to establishing common strategies than the funding source (Bartosiewicz & Miley, 2013), that is, however, a matter for further investigation. It is even more interesting to note that although the Mott Foundation (that is among foundations that came from traditional businesses) is among the top donors to environmental issues in Brazil in the past 20 years, neither is it a part of the networks that have formed nor does it feature among the key environmental donors.

Currently, the most consistent and reliable data on environmental giving comes from national associations of foundations, such as the Environmental Grantmakers Association (EGA), in the U.S., as well as regional organisations, such as the European Foundation Centre. The use of grey literature here is justified by the relative novelty of the field of inquiry and the need to incorporate "relevant contemporary material in dynamic and applied topic areas where scholarship lags" (Adams et al., 2017). That information, however, is aggregated and, generally, not in much detail, providing more of an overview of the sector than specific information on who is funding what and how. In several cases, it is not clear even who the foundations surveyed are. Often, foundations ask that only aggregate data is published as a condition to provide information and answer surveys. In other instances, associations use the findings and reports generated as service to their members, which are thus not made public.

It is a self-fulfilling cycle that perpetuates the lack of transparency in the field. Be that as it may, the publicly available executive summaries of EGA's reports provide a bigger picture against which it is possible to compare the results obtained from the case studies in this research, albeit in very general terms. The reports provide only a few specific figures and focus on general giving trends (whether biodiversity is getting more or less resources over time, for instance). Additionally, as shown in the methods section, some of the associations of environmental grantmakers have come together to agree on a common taxonomy to classify the areas of work of their members (e.g., climate, land, water, etc.) and their strategies (e.g., advocacy, education, litigation, etc.). EGA has kindly shared the complete taxonomy for this research, which is used to analyse the practices of the foundations studied and compare them with EGA's membership as a proxy for U.S. environmental giving. All three foundations studied are EGA members.

One of the most reliable figures on environmental giving comes from EGA's 2015 report, which uses estimates from the Foundation Center to put the grand total at USD 3.4 billion – USD 2.07 billion from non-EGA members and USD 1.35 billion from EGA members (Environmental Grantmakers Association, 2015). The latest EGA report is from 2017 with data between 2007 and 2015 about "nearly 200" foundations (Environmental Grantmakers Association, 2017). In 2015, total giving by EGA members was of USD 1.54 billion, a 12.5% increase from 2014 – giving has been constantly increasing since the financial crisis. International donations represented 36% of the total. A previous report noted the high concentration of international giving, as "EGA members gave to more than 6,000 organizations around the globe, and among them the largest 100 received 44% of total giving" (Environmental Grantmakers Association, 2015, p. 3).

In 2015, the most funded strategies were "Advocacy" (35%), "Stewardship / Acquisition / Preservation" (24%), and "Research: Scientific / Environmental" (14%). Although there are no figures in the report, other strategies are ranked as follows: 4. "Capacity Building / General Operating"; 5. "Public Policy"; 6. "Education / Youth Organizing"; 7. "Communications / Media"; and 8. "Litigation". The most funded issue areas were "Biodiversity & Species Preservation" (USD 272 million), "Energy" (226 million), and "Fresh Water & Inland Water Ecosystems" (USD 167 million). "Terrestrial Ecosystems & Land Use" and "Climate & Atmosphere" were the fourth and fifth most funded issues (no specific figures are shown either). The report points out that although biodiversity was the top issue funded, its funding had been decreasing and hit its lowest since 2012. Another issue that had lost funding is “Coastal & Marine Ecosystems”, which went from third to sixth most funded issue from 2013 to 2015 (Environmental Grantmakers Association, 2017).

The executive summary also provides a snapshot with highlights of the issue areas, which offers an extra glimpse into giving practices (and gives an idea of the little amount of information made available). Land: 45% of biodiversity funding used stewardship as a strategy, followed by research, with 21%. Even more funding to terrestrial ecosystems used stewardship, 55%, and 73% of it was domestic, that is, within the U.S. Water: More than half of the funding to marine ecosystems was international, compared to only 13% of freshwater funding. Stewardship was used in 48% of marine funding, whereas advocacy was the most common strategy for freshwater (35%). Energy and Climate: 56% of funding used advocacy as a strategy, the highest among all issue areas. 48% of international funding went to support global or multi-region programs, and 52% of domestic funding went to support federal level or multi-region programs (as opposed to a specific country or state). Systems: The most funded issues were “Sustainable Agriculture”, “Sustainable Communities”, and “Trade & Finance”, respectively. Health & Justice: More than three-quarters of funding was given domestically (Environmental Grantmakers Association, 2017).

Despite the increase in interest and in donations, green giving still lags way behind more traditional issue areas in philanthropy, such as education, health, and arts and culture (Campden Wealth Limited & Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors, 2020; Foundation Center, 2014). Environmental giving made up approximately 6% of foundations’ overall funding in the U.S. in 2012 (Environmental Grantmakers Association, 2015). A recent global survey on the family philanthropy of ultra-high-net-worth individuals puts that figure at 8% (Campden Wealth Limited & Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors, 2020), as the environment “is still an extremely small part of philanthropic flows”, according to the Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors’ CEO, Melissa Berman (Greenfield, 2021, para. 11). That, nonetheless, can make a big difference in specific contexts, as is the case of Brazil. According to the Foundation Center (n.d.), between 2006 and 2018, nearly half of the USD 1 billion the country received from private foundations went to environmental causes.

2.3 The Brazilian landscape

Brazil has a long history with international philanthropic cooperation. Its prominence dates back to the 1970s, when funding was mostly directed towards strengthening civil society movements as well as protecting and fomenting intellectual freedom and knowledge production (Iannarelli, 2010; Mendonça et al., 2009). This period was marked by the development of grassroots social movements, created in the backdrop of the military dictatorship that ruled the country (1964-1985). These movements were a response to the repression of the regime, but also to the social problems caused by the deep socioeconomic inequalities in the country and a lack of pro-poor public policies that further exacerbated inequality. Social movements would step in and provide the support the state would not – the labour movement expanded, as did the landless movement, as well as community associations demanding services such as health, education and transportation (Gohn, 2000). Organised movements also began working on key issues, including social justice, race, gender, the rights of indigenous populations, and the environment. The latter was, in this period, mainly focused on conservation and pollution control, as well as educating the public on environmental issues (Viola & Vieira, 1992). The development of organised civil society expanded through the 1980s, culminating with the promulgation of the Brazilian Constitution in 1988 – dubbed the citizens' constitution because of civil society's influence in its drafting. For instance, as a result of the pressure from environmentalists, it included the environment as a fundamental right; the creation of protected areas; and the need for environmental impact assessments for potentially harmful activities. CSOs were heavily funded by international cooperation, mainly European governmental agencies, foundations connected to European political parties and U.S. private foundations (Abong & Observatório da Sociedade Civil, 2014)

In the particular case of the Brazilian environmental movement e CSOs, two aspects stand out, their connection to social issues and institutionalisation process. The Brazilian context, marked by the fight for wealth redistribution, against poverty, and for democratic participation, shaped the environmental discourse, generating a "socio-environmentalism" (Hochstetler & Keck, 2008). This can be described as "an attempt to make compatible the struggles for environmental sustainability and for sustainable livelihoods. Opposed to a purely expansionist capitalism on social and ecological grounds, it argues that empowering poor people and responding to their demands for social equity must be an integral part of any solution to environmental problems" (2008, p. 13). The democratic transition brought together different civil society groups that got organised in the same period and people would often be part of different groups espousing environmental and social causes, intertwining those issues. The transition also put the socio-political situation at the forefront, while allowing for the return of left-wing parties that served as umbrellas to politically support varying socio-economic and environmental demands. In this context, the murder of Chico Mendes played a role in further promoting the socio-environmental discourse (Couto, 2012; Hochstetler & Keck, 2008). Mendes was a rubber tapping leadership, and political and environmental activist, who helped strengthen the connection between the survival of rubber tappers and the conservation of the Amazon, gathering national and international support. His murder by local farmers drew further attention to socio-environmentalism, giving the deforestation debate a human face (Hochstetler & Keck, 2008).

The Rio-92 Conference (The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992, in Rio de Janeiro) is a crucial milestone in this process. It helped cement socio-environmentalism, as over two years its organisation brought together in dialogue environmental organisations with a wide range of actors, such as the women's movement, as well as urban and rural trade unions (Hochstetler & Keck, 2008). In the interactions between socio-environmentalists and conservationists, more focused on strictly environmental protection, activists began to move beyond the sheer protectionism that had marked the pre-democratisation period to question the country's development model, which was seen as a cause of environmental issues, and open up to the concept of sustainable development (Viola & Vieira, 1992). This led to a "neoconservational" framing of the field in Brazil, a sort of middle ground between conservationism and socio-environmentalism, in which the notion of habitat protection, for instance, would be enlarged to include the sustainable management of natural resources and the well-being of local populations (Alonso et al., 2007).

Rio-92 also brought renewed international attention to the country and demonstrated the power of its civil society – the conference held a parallel civil society forum with 17,000 participants (Della Porta, 2016) and its resulting document, Agenda 21, has a chapter on strengthening the role of non-governmental organizations. The 1990s saw a boom of CSO institutionalisation in Brazil – research from 2002 shows that 62% of the non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the country had been created since 1990 (Bittar, n.d.). These were the early days of a thriving sector, which is now formed by over 780,000 organisations according to 2018 data (Ipea, n.d.), and employs around 3 million people (3% of the country's working population (Garcia Lopez, 2018). 3,268 of those organisations are classified as environmental. Most of them (42.7%) are based in the Southeast region of the country, where São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro are; 20.8% are in the South; 18% are in the Northeast; 9.6% are in the Central-west region; and 8.9% of them are based in the Northern region, where most of the Amazon is.

The environmental movement itself has remained largely informal, composed by smaller activist and volunteer organisations, focused on protesting and denouncing wrongful practices (Crespo, 1995). In 2015, out of 1,161 environmental CSOs for which employment information was available, 86.6% had no staff. Almost 10% had between 1-9 employees; 3.5% had between 10-49 employees; and five organisations had more than 50 employees (Garcia Lopez, 2018). Nonetheless, environmentalists also saw a wave of institutionalisation and professionalisation in the late 1980s and early 1990s as they "believed that the new context required them to develop more sustained and positive projects for environmental protection, rather than only block the projects of others. Liberal democracy allowed these kinds of projects; the economic problems [that plagued Brazil after the dictatorship] required them" (Hochstetler & Keck, 2008, p. 97). That is, there was a change in mindset towards sustainable development projects and democratisation opened up political spaces for that to happen (A. Alonso & Maciel, 2010). These CSOs, with offices and professional staff with technical expertise, form a small, yet visible, politically impactful and very well-organised subset of organisations that, in addition to their own projects and campaigns, engage more in management efforts, advocacy and research, a practice that would turn them into clearinghouses for information (Alonso & Maciel, 2010; Crespo, 1995; Hochstetler & Keck, 2008; Viola & Vieira, 1992). Professionalisation requires resources and there was the – later justified – belief among some environmentalists that Rio-92 would bring more international funding to environmental causes in the country (Crespo, 1995):

> … in the wake of Agenda 21, transnational agencies created funding programs for the conservation of large biomes, especially in the Amazon region. For example, the Pilot Program for the Protection of the Tropical Forests of Brazil (PP-G7) brought an unprecedented inflow of resources for national environmental policies to Brazil. Also, the World Bank, via the Global Environmental Fund GEF, started subsidizing Brazilian government conservation projects and sustainable development pro- grams (e.g., Small Projects' Fund, the Partnership Support Fund,

> the FUNBIO, the Brazilian Fund for Biodiversity…). Specifically, the FUNBIO set up a national public-private partnership, which used international resources for conservation and sustainability projects—projects that included civil society organizations, scientists, entrepreneurs, and government together in concert. These types of funded initiatives opened opportunities for Brazilian environmentalists to work as environmental managers and encouraged them to professionalize their activism as a way to meet the new global call for environmental management projects. (A. Alonso & Maciel, 2010, p. 303)

After 1992, "international funding, previously limited mainly to traditional conservation activities and (after 1988) projects in the Amazon, became more widely available for organizations working on other ecosystems, urban pollution initiatives, and community participation in environmental activities" (Hochstetler & Keck, 2008, p. 129). The literature (Couto, 2012; Crespo, 1995) and data suggests environmental organisations relied heavily on foreign funding. In a 1993 survey of members of Abong (the Brazilian Association of NGOs, which represents precisely that subset of professional organisations), 135 of them (out of 176 respondents) said that 75.9% of their budget came from international cooperation (Mendonça et al., 2009). The organisations receiving most international funding worked on agroecological or socio-environmental issues, followed by conservation organisations (Hochstetler & Keck, 2008). Reliance on foreign funding may attract the criticism of nationalists, who say organisations are acting in the interest of foreign governments. Yet, there are not too many funding options for CSOs, especially considering the issue of local philanthropy, which has been developing as a CSO supporter in the past few years, but at a slow pace.

The philanthropic sector in Brazil suffers from the lack of data that beset most of the rest of the world. The most reliable data on giving by foundations in the country comes from GIFE, an association of 159 foundations, and the survey of its members (Ferreti & Barros, 2019). Like international donors, Brazilian ones favour education as a top cause, followed by issues connected to income generation, entrepreneurship, and labour, and then arts and culture. Environmental issues come in eighth. During the workshops for the establishment of the Brazilian SDG Philanthropy Platform, a group of Brazilian foundations was asked to identify SDGs' "accelerators", that is, "which SDGs the philanthropy sector could be more closely engaged in for supporting implementation and for channelling its efforts" (SDG Philanthropy Platform, 2017, p. 47). The group chose SDGs connected to peace, inequality, education, and partnerships, which are all worthy goals, but left the foreign organisers puzzled in informal conversations with the author when the environment was not mentioned, especially considering the country's environmental importance globally. This contracted interest is compounded by the fact that foundations in Brazil tend to be operating, that is, run their own programmes instead of doing grantmaking to CSOs (Ferreti & Barros, 2019). This makes it hard for CSOs to rely on funding from local philanthropists.

The 2000s brought in further funding difficulties. Evidence shows a decrease and then plateauing of funding from international cooperation, both public and private (Iannarelli, 2010; Mendonça & Reis Teixeira, 2013; Nogueira et al., 2015). As previously stated, in 1993, 75.9% of Abong's members' budget came from international cooperation; in 2000 that went down to 50.6%; and in 2003 to 39.9% (Mendonça et al., 2009). A survey between 2015-2017 shows that the share of international cooperation in the organisations' budget was 32% (Abong, 2019). Instituto Fonte (a capacity-building organisation) also found a drop in funding between 2007 and 2010. During interviews carried out by Fonte with foundations and international CSOs, the main reasons given for the decline were the 2008-2009 financial crisis; changes in organisational priorities (geographic or strategic); and the high-level of socio-economic development achieved by Brazil (Comin Vargas & Fernandes Ferreira, n.d.). It can be hard for organisations to reorganise themselves after suddenly losing resources, and Abong had concerns about their members capacity to do so in such a short period of time (Abong & Observatório da Sociedade Civil, 2014). One third of the budget is still a lot, and the data available points to a smaller reduction in funding to environmental issues than to other issue areas (Iannarelli, 2010). For instance, on the official aid side, Brazil is still the main recipient of DAC climate-related aid in Latin America (OECD, 2014). And the Foundation Center's data shows half of the U.S. philanthropic funding to Brazil going to the environment (Foundation Center, n.d.). Nevertheless, as well as a lesson on the need for CSOs to diversify their funding base, the exit of foundation funding from Brazil reinforces the need to understand how foundations give.

3 Foundations' profiles: What they say they do

This chapter establishes a profile of the three foundations analysed, Hewlett, Moore, and Mott, providing a structured analysis of their main features. To this end, an analytical framework developed by Jung, Harrow and Leat (2018) is employed, to guide the research through the most important characteristics that allow for a distinction among the different types of foundations. This is key not only for an accurate description of each organisation, but also for a categorisation of the foundations, so that one knows what is being compared and can avoid directly comparing apples and oranges. Moreover, this process may result in the connection of types of foundations, or traits presented by foundations, to specific practices. In addition to describing the foundations studied, this chapter analyses the views held by these foundations of their philanthropic practices – how they define their giving. This is done through a content analysis of documents produced by the organisations (specified in the methods section), which are examined according to the assumptions on philanthropic behaviour laid out in the international development literature. It is established, for instance, if foundations consider their practices risky, business-like, or innovative. Finally, a subsection for each foundation details their environmental programmes, focusing on the programme areas connected to grantmaking to organisations in Brazil, which had been identified in the grants database analysed in the next chapter.

3.1 An analytical framework for philanthropic organisations

As seen in the previous chapter, case selection can be an issue in studies of foundations. It is common for analyses to focus on and compare organisations that were chosen due to their notoriety in general (e.g., the Gates Foundation) or in a specific area of work (e.g., the Open Society Foundation in the field of human rights). Nevertheless, throughout the years, the literature on philanthropy has developed a number of criteria through which such organisations can be categorised, classified, and differentiated. This research, for instance, has already shown at least three ways in which foundations can be categorised – it investigates institutionalised organisations (as opposed to informal ones or individuals), based in the U.S., and large, that is, the biggest donors to environmental issues in Brazil. Other criteria that may easily come to one's mind are the organisations' age and size. It is important that clear and consistent criteria are used to categorise foundations. A structured approach to categorisation is key in the search for variables that can be part of any attempt to reach generalisable explanations on foundations' behaviour (e.g., Does the size a foundations' endowment influence its programmes?). A framework of this type is also important so that the types of foundations being compared are well-defined, avoiding a fall into the apples and oranges comparative trap.

In a review of both academic and grey literature of what makes foundations a specific organisational type, what variables can best explain their behaviour, and what aspects are important in differentiating one foundation from another, Jung, Harrow and Leat (2018) developed an overarching and yet concise framework with 13 categories – three contextual, five organisational, and five strategic. These categories include key issues regarding foundations' organisational structures and practices, including their resources, how they were created and how they give. This is a tentative framework and the author's point to the difficulties in creating typologies, as "the area's conceptual infancy becomes apparent… distinctions remain relatively crude, emphasize description, and their conceptual rooting or integration is not always clear" (Jung et al., 2018, p. 903). This shows in a few categories.

The size of the resources of a foundation is probably the most important attribute, but it is not clear what differentiates a "mega" foundation from a large one. Where is the threshold? It is easy enough to assume the Gates Foundation is mega, lines however can quickly become blurred, as there is quite a big difference in assets even among the 10 foundations. According to a 2018 rank of the top U.S. foundations, Gates is the first, with USD 47.8 billion in assets. The second is the Lilly Endowment, with USD 16.9 billion, a bit over a third; and the tenth is the Mellon Foundation, with USD 6.5 billion (Daniels & Theis, 2021). Also, the category "criteria", on whether a foundation gives flexibly, deserved more attention and literature backing its importance and defining such flexibility, considering that it is a key measure of the type of relationship and monitoring system a foundation establishes with its grantees (Benjamin, 2010). For instance, the Council on Foundations, an U.S. association, has launched a pledge during the Covid pandemic (which was signed by Hewlett) so that, among other things, foundations would loosen or eliminate restrictions on grants (e.g., by turning programmatic grants into unrestricted support) and reduce demands on grantees by postponing reports and site visits (Council on Foundations, 2020). Finally, in the organisational root category, the author of this thesis would emphasise the importance of looking further into the root – into the origin of an individual's or family's resources (if their fortune was made in traditional businesses and finances, for instance), especially considering that part of the literature singles out the behaviour of tech donors (McGoey et al., 2018; Schervish, 2003). Regardless of any deficiencies, this framework is, to the best of this author's knowledge, the most complete to date, as it stems from a thoroughly executed and well-thought review of the literature on philanthropy.

The categories developed by Jung et al. (2018) are the following, also summarised in figure 2:

- **Contextual**

  1. Geographic location

  Where a foundation is based. As seen in the previous chapter, geographic proximity may lead to similar practices among foundations. It is interesting that in identifying distinctive geographic locations, the authors see fit to distinguish between U.S. and other North American foundations, "due to the long and strong social, economic, political, and historical roles of foundations in the United States, as well as their respective size and wealth" (Jung et al., 2018, p. 910).

  2. Organisational root

  Whether a foundation was created by a corporation, the government, the third sector or an independently (privately, by a family or an individual, for instance).

  3. Link to organisational root

  The level of connectedness or influence the organisational root has on the foundation. For instance, the Shell and Volkswagen foundations were both created by corporations. The Shell Foundation, however, is closely aligned to its parent company, whereas the Volkswagen Foundation is not. This also connects to the issue of whether the founder is dead or alive and the level of their influence over the organisation.

- **Organisational**

  4. Nature of resources

  An important distinction to be made among foundations concerns the nature of their resources. When a foundation comes to mind, it is generally an independent, fully endowed one, that is, its funding come from an endowment. Some foundations, however, may rely on a specific income stream, such as corporate foundations that receive a portion of the business profits, whereas other foundations may rely on fundraising, such as the Clinton Climate Initiative.

5. Size of resources

Relates to the size of a foundation's endowment and the resources it has available.

6. Anticipated lifespan

Lifespan in a foundation can broadly take three forms. Foundations can be created with the intention of perpetuity, with a focus on preserving the original capital or protecting resources from erosion (only donating profits from investments, for instance). On the other hand, they can have a specific timeframe within which resources must be spent or allocated. A more flexible middle ground are open-ended organisations, in which there is no requirement towards neither permanence nor demise.

7. Life stage

The older a foundation is the more likely it is that it is influenced by a board of trustees and/or professional staff, rather than by its founder and their family.

8. Organisational size

Generally measured by the number of staff. The United Nations' International Labour Organisation establishes the following parameters for organisational size: micro, less than 10 employees; small, less than 50; and medium, less than 250 (ILO, 2019).

- **Strategic**

9. Approach

Whether a foundation runs its own programmes (operating foundations, as it is common in Brazil) or makes grants (grantmaking, as the organisations studied here). Another possible approach is a kind of 'funding plus', "that is funding supplemented by in-kind resources and support" (Jung et al., 2018, p. 899).

10. Geography

Whether a foundation gives locally, regionally, nationally, and/or internationally.

11. Theme

Distinguishes foundations by their area of work (e.g., arts and culture, environment, health, etc.). Although the main framework divides foundations between those that work in one area from those that have multiple interests, the authors

12. Beneficiaries

Relates to whether the focus of a foundation's activities are individuals, organisations, the public more generally or a mix.

13. Criteria

Whether the criteria for fulfilling organisational goals are fixed or more flexible, that is, the level of flexibility of a foundation's approach to its grantmaking.

Figure 2

Categories to distinguish the different foundation types

Contextual	Geographic location	North America (US)	North America (other)	South America	Europe	Africa	Asia	Australia
	Organizational root	Governmental	Public Sector Body	Corporate	Third Sector Body	Independent	Hybrid	
	Link to organizational root	Active (engaged)	Active (tangential)	Inactive				
Organizational	Nature of resources	Fully endowed	Endowed + Allocation	Endowed + Fundraising	Allocation	Fundraising		
	Size of resources	Mega	Large	Medium	Small			
	Anticipated lifespan	Preservation	Open	Limited				
	Life stage	Mature	Established	Emergent	New			
	Organizational size	Large	Medium	Small	Micro			
Strategic	Approach	Grantmaking Pure	Mixed Grantmaking +	Mixed Operating +	Operating Pure	Other		
	Geography	Single location: Local	Single location: Regional	Single location: National	Multiple locations: International	Multiple locations: Transnational	Multiple locations: Global	
	Theme	Single theme	Multiple themes					
	Beneficiaries	Individuals	Organizations	Public	Mixed			
	Criteria	Fixed	Flexible					

Source: Reprinted from Jung et al., 2018, p. 606.

The organisations studied in this research share several of those traits. They are all inserted in the U.S. tradition (Toepler, 2016) of independent foundations with endowments created by an individual or a family to engage in grantmaking (mostly to civil society organisations). The three foundations are among the largest in the world, with assets worth billions of dollars. In the next pages, Hewlett, Moore, and Mott will be characterised according to the framework above, and their approach to giving in general, as well as to their environmental giving, specifically.

3.2 Hewlett Foundation

The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation was founded in 1966 by William R. Hewlett and his wife, Flora Lamson Hewlett, with their son, Walter Hewlett (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-t). Bill Hewlett was an engineer and co-founder of the Hewlett-Packard Company (HP), a multinational business in information technology headquartered in Palo Alto, California. Hewlett is endowed with private capital and is completely independent from HP and the Hewlett Packard Company Foundation. The foundation's headquarters are in Menlo Park, a city next to Palo Alto, in a building with a gold-level certification under the rating system by the U.S. Green Building Council's Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design – LEED (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-t). In 2020, the foundation's assets were approximately USD 13.3 billion, and it awarded over USD 465 million in grants (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-a). Hewlett is among the top 10 U.S. foundations in assets (Daniels & Theis, 2021). Among the institutions highlighted in the foundation's materials as grant recipients are research universities, grassroots organisations and multilateral groups working on international development (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-a). The organisation's guiding principles focus on meaningful, socially beneficial change; pragmatism and non-partisanship; focus on outcomes; openness, transparency, and learning; collaboration and mutual respect; diversity, equity, and inclusion; humility and respect; and a lean staff, and flexible procedures (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-o).

The foundation has approximately 120 employees, all located in the Bay Area (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-e) – using staff size as a criterion it would be considered a medium-sized organisation. Two particularities about Hewlett's staff are worth mentioning. The first is the term limit of eight years imposed to its programme officers, so that these professionals "would not confuse the foundation's resources with their own or become over-connected to their grantees" (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-t). This is interesting in light of the literature that places the connection between grantee and programme officer at the centre of a collaborative philanthropic relationship (Fairfield & Wing, 2008). The second particularity is the fact that Hewlett's presidents have become well-known figures and highly influential voices in the philanthropic sector. Both Paul Brest (foundation president between 2000-2012) and Larry Kramer (current president) are constitutional law scholars and the former Dean of Stanford Law School and are published authors of academic and grey literature, including on the foundation's view for the future of effective philanthropy (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-t).

Hewlett's programmes cover a variety of themes, six of them are what the organisation calls its "long-standing" programmes (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-p). According to the foundation's 2020 grantmaking data, the largest programme is the environmental one, with grants of USD 157 million in that year, which focuses on protecting "people and places threatened by a warming planet by addressing climate change globally, expanding clean energy, and conserving the North American West" (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-i). It will be further investigated later in this section. Next, comes its gender equity and governance programme, with USD 114 million, aimed at expanding women's reproductive and economic choices and improving evidence-based policymaking (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-k). The third largest programme is education, USD 54 million, which fosters the development and application of different learning tools and expands access to open educational resources (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-g). The foundation also has two programmes focused on the San Francisco Bay Area, the performing arts programme, to support artistic experiences (USD 35 million), and a programme to support disadvantaged communities – USD 8 million; the foundation also offers meeting spaces in its offices to CSOs free of charge (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-q, n.d.-r). Finally, and perhaps more interestingly as this is not a common thematic area among foundations, Hewlett has an effective philanthropy programme, USD 22 million (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-h). This is a field/capacity-building programme based on three strategies: to create and disseminate knowledge about philanthropy to inform funders' decision-making; to help grantees improve organisational effectiveness; and the Fund for Shared Insight — a collaborative effort with other funders, including the Moore Foundation, to encourage grantees to get feedback from their beneficiaries, and to increase foundations' openness regarding what they share and what they are open to learning.

In addition to those programmes, Hewlett makes grants towards special projects and "timely problems" (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-p). Special projects received USD 37 million in 2020, covering everything that falls out of Hewlett's strategic priorities. They include the exploration of potential initiatives and funding for partnerships with other foundations. Three current issues are also being addressed in Hewlett's programmatic strategy. Cyber policy and security are the focus of the Cyber Initiative. It is a five-year project started in 2014, and renewed for an additional five years, for a total of USD 132 million, that includes grants to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the University of California, Berkeley, and Stanford University to establish multidisciplinary cyber policy centres (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-d). Wealth inequality is another of those issues, addressed by the Economy and Society Initiative. This is also a five-year project, created in 2020, with a "$50-million-dollar commitment to seed the debates, ideas, and iterative thinking that can help create a successor to neoliberalism" (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-f). Finally, the U.S. Democracy Programme, which received USD 23 million in 2020, makes grants to strengthen America's electoral and governing institutions (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-v). Over the years, Hewlett has also cancelled four of its programmes, on children and youth, conflict resolution, family and community development, and U.S.-Latin American relations (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-p). The latter is particularly important and will be further discussed later on, as some of the environmental grants given to Brazilian organisation were part of this programme.

In its 'about us' webpage, Hewlett sets the tone on the foundation's its link to its organisational root: "Our philanthropic approach, and our core areas of grantmaking, remain connected to the ethos and values of our founders" (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-a). Similar statements are found throughout the organisation's documents and website. According to Larry Kramer, its current president:

> "The best way to understand and think about the Hewlett Foundation's values and practice is in light of its history. Our endowment comes from the personal fortune of William and Flora Hewlett. The foundation began as an expression of their philanthropic values, and while they left their successors broad discretion about problems to work on, we believe the work we do today needs to be continuous with and reflective of their values. That applies both to how we work and to what we work on." (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-t, para. 33)

To ensure continuity, four board members must be linear descendants of William and Flora Hewlett – the rest of the board, between five and 11 people, are leaders from philanthropy, government, business, education, and civil society (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-e). When it comes to what the foundation works on, among the core early programmes of the organisation, "education, population, performing arts, environment, health, and vital services to support the needy in the Bay Area", only health has been excluded, and that happened while Bill Hewlett was still alive (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-t). Looking at the how, two practices stand out.

The first practice is providing grants for institutions' general operations (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-t). These are not grants to a specific project, but to strengthen an organisation and can be used as the grantee sees fit. In the next chapter, it will be shown how general support grants are an integral part of Hewlett's giving strategy to the environment in Brazil. The organisation also has a policy to cover indirect or overhead costs organisations incur when they receive a grant tied to a project, such as rent, utilities, new equipment, etc. (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2019). Such flexibility, however, is hindered by the founders' intention to create an organisation of perpetual existence, according to Hewlett's articles of incorporation (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 1966). During the Covid pandemic, Hewlett faced widespread criticism in philanthropic circles when it announced that not only would it not increase its funding in the crisis, but that funding could, in fact, decrease in 2021. A reason given was that the foundation had to protect its assets, since it was established to operate in perpetuity; thus giving would remain at 5% of its endowment, as per U.S. law (Anheier, 2021; L. Kramer, 2020, 2021; Schleifer, 2020). Further hindering flexible grantmaking, most grants are given to organisations identified by the foundation, and it generally does not accept unsolicited funding requests. Occasionally, Hewlett launches open calls for proposals on specific issues (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-l). This shows how paradoxical foundations can be, and the difficulties scholars may have when analysing their behaviour.

The second practice is rooted in the founders' desire to innovate "in the field of philanthropy itself" (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-t). Hewlett has been developing since 2008 an approach to philanthropy that is very strategic, which they call outcome-focused philanthropy (OFP). It is a framework to guide the foundation's work, using the type of business-like approach highlighted in the development literature. The framework was first laid out in a 12-page document in 2012, and then updated in 2016 in a whopping 146-page document (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2012, 2016a). In a nutshell, the framework defines how the organisation sets goals and outcomes, tracks progress and evaluates the work done. It describes four stages of a strategy's lifecycle: origination, implementation, refresh (which includes assessments and course corrections, if necessary, and may lead to a new implementation phase or to an exit), and exit. It also guides the organisation in defining which investments to make:

> Determining how to choose the right investments to achieve the most good with limited resources is the first step toward a rational and effective philanthropic strategy… Increasingly, philanthropies are adapting the tools of the business world to inform their strategic planning, gathering data to undergird theories of change, and employing forms of cost-benefit analysis to estimate social return on investment. The Foundation drew on the most promising of those ideas to create a structured but flexible process known as outcome-focused grantmaking (OFG) to guide its decisions. (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2012, p. 3)

Evaluation is part of the OFP process, and the foundation has a specific guide for evaluation that is on its second edition (Twersky et al., 2019). According to the guide, in addition to dedicated staff within the foundation, evaluation is carried out by external third-party evaluators. A couple of points in the process stand out. One of the document's evaluation principles state that since not all can be evaluated, this choice must be made strategically, taking into consideration criteria such as "urgency to consider course corrections or future funding decisions; the opportunity for learning; the potential for strategic or reputational risk; and size of investment as a proxy for importance" (Twersky et al., 2019, p. 6). The aim, however, is to start an evaluation of strategies or part of them within three years of their creation or revision. Also, the foundation itself identified in the guide two crucial gaps in its evaluation process. The first is a lack of grantee engagement in the planning, implementation, and use of evaluations. Additionally, although Hewlett states that feedback from those who will be ultimately affected by the grants is important, these populations are hardly mentioned. The second gap is the need for more transparency in sharing evaluations. The foundation's website has published a few of them, but they are still few and are mixed with other types of documents and publications, making it difficult to gather, systematise, and analyse the organisation's stated results.

In addition to a business approach to its giving, focused on outcome and return on investment, Hewlett's rhetoric shows further alignment with the assumptions in the development literature. The organisation's guiding principles emphasise its apolitical nature and the objective to address specific issues where philanthropic resources can be impactful, stating that the focus is "on problem-solving, not advancing a partisan agenda or particular ideology" (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-m, p. 3). In the case of its Cyber

Initiative, for instance, the organisation points out that "Unlike government or industry, the Hewlett Foundation is a neutral player not motivated by profit, politics, or self-interest… We are explicitly agnostic as to specific policy outcomes, seeking only to build a field that can generate robust debate and analysis..." (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-d). Furthermore, one of the reasons for the dropping of health as an area of work was the lack of definition of the field (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-t), a broadness that hinders problem identification. The same principles also highlight the role of philanthropy in providing risk capital, investing in approaches that may be considered too risky by governments and/or businesses (niche-filling) and involving a willingness to fail when experimenting with new ideas and approaches (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-m). Although the organisation does not use the word innovation, in addition to new ideas, it emphasises the importance of experimentation and the importance of piloting projects in areas where expertise is lacking (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2016a). Regarding grantee relationship, in another example of the paradoxical nature of foundations, Hewlett says that it is committed to building long-term relationships with its grantees, including technical support. However, it is also committed to keeping a lean staff which, in their words, "makes it hard to provide grantees with help or attention they actually want from us" (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-m, p. 12). Finally, although the literature points to a lack of collaboration in the practices of foundations, as seen in previous pages, Hewlett collaborates with other organisations by jointly funding projects (using its special initiatives programme); its effective philanthropy programme is partly carried out by a joint initiative with other foundations, including Moore; and Hewlett is part of several funders' environmental initiatives and networks.

3.2.1 Hewlett's environment programme

The environment has been an area of interest at the Hewlett Foundation since its inception, having received its first grant in 1969. Back then, the focus was on environmental issues in general without specific guidelines, only that the geographic focus was the U.S. West (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 1977). A decade later, in the late 1970s, the foundation set out in writing its expectations for the programme. The aim was "to encourage intelligent, life-enhancing uses of man's natural environment for recreation, economic development, conservation, and education" (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2003, p. 19). The focus of the grantmaking was on policy-oriented studies to inform decision-making processes, and support to organisations that produce sound and objective analyses (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2003) – hinting at the foundation's future problem-focused and outcome-oriented approach to philanthropy. The programme continued to follow along those lines through the 1990s, including the focus on the Western United States, which was later expanded to include Canada (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 1991, 2003).

Nevertheless, while the environment programme remained close to its roots, by 2000, almost a quarter of its budget was devoted to partnerships with the foundation's other programmes (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2003). These included the U.S.–Latin American relations initiative, created in 1996 as an extension of the foundation's interest in the relations between Mexico and the U.S. (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 1997). The database analysed in the next chapter shows that all grants to Brazilian organisations working on environmental issues up to 2004, when the programme was discontinued (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2003), were part of the collaboration between the Latin American and environment programmes, with the first grant being awarded in 2001. The objective of the U.S.–Latin American relations programme was to encourage "collaboration among U.S. and Latin American institutions engaged in basic and policy research and related outreach activities" about key development issues (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2003, p. 72). The programme had four focus areas: free trade and comparative political economy; poverty and social policy; democratization and the rule of law; and hemispheric and transboundary environmental issues. The latter addressed issues concerning environmental degradation and preservation, biodiversity, natural-resource management, and "the impact of these issues on bilateral and multilateral relationships" (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2003, p. 73). Target recipients included universities, research centres and CSOs that provide a bridge between academic knowledge and public policy.

In 2002, Hewlett developed a new strategic plan for its environment programme that divided it in two areas: 'The West' and 'Energy', which, to this day, remain the focus of the foundation, although the areas are now called 'Western Conservation' and 'Climate and Energy' (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2003, 2016b). According to the foundation, the plan had its strongest programmatic qualities: commitment to building institutional capacity, as well as solutions for diverse constituencies that are based on scientific research. The focus of the programme was on “preserving lands and ecosystems in the West, and on developing a clean energy future” (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2003, p. 20). The energy programme area began to cement Hewlett’s international ambitions, as it aimed to address “global environmental problems” such as “global climate change” (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2003, p. 21). It followed three strategies (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2003, 2005). One strategy supported the development of a national energy policy in the U.S., including at the bipartisan National Commission on Energy Policy. Another strategy, the western energy policy, promoted the commercial use of renewable energy and utility efficiency. The third strategy, on sustainable mobility, was the largest component of the energy issue area and it was called ‘Transforming Cars and Trucks’. It focused on the U.S., China, Mexico, and Brazil (up to 2004, in collaboration with the U.S.–Latin American Relations programme) and aimed at reducing vehicle emissions, and therefore their impact on local air quality and climate change. The idea was to develop policies to help the best technologies achieve commercial success (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2003, 2005). Regarding Brazil, Hewlett’s 2004 annual report featured its support for the creation of the Institute for Energy and the Environment (Instituto de Energia e Meio Ambiente – IEMA), which it pointed out would be the first CSO focusing on climate change, pollution, and alternative fuels in the country (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2005). Up to 2014, when the last annual report detailing the foundation’s work year-by-year is available, Brazil was listed as a target country for this issue area. The foundation also describes its work in the country:

> The program’s work in Brazil is focused on the city and state of São Paulo. Our grantees are working with the state Environmental Protection Agency to help develop an air emissions inventory, build a new clean air act, and accelerate the introduction of clean fuels and stricter tailpipe standards. The Foundation is also supporting the Associação o [*sic*] Nacional de Transportes Públicos [National Association of Public Transportation] to build a cohesive framework for expanding bus rapid transit (BRT), and is supporting the design of a BRT corridor, Celso Garcia, in the north of the city. The Foundation is also supporting the deployment and extensive testing of a new generation of gas/electric hybrid buses for São Paulo. (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2005, p. 32)

Today, Brazil is no longer a focus country of the foundation’s clean transportation grantmaking (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2016b). The aim of the organisation’s Climate and Energy strategy is to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions, so

Hewlett decided to concentrate its efforts on the biggest emitters, with the most potential gains and spill over effects: China, Europe, India, and the U.S. (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-b). This area's strategic imperatives are to reduce fossil fuels; to work on energy systems (move from focusing on sub-elements of the energy sector to looking for systemic shifts – e.g., from "bringing renewable electricity generation to market" to overcoming "the complex, persistent, and interrelated regulatory, legal, social, and political barriers to deploying it at scale"); to integrate sectors (e.g., integrate vehicle improvement "with the electricity, information, and land-use sectors"); to store carbon in the land; and to promote innovation (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-b). Another, and perhaps major, shift in Hewlett's Climate and Energy grantmaking is that its majority is now done through large grants to regranting organisations, such as the ClimateWorks Foundation and the Energy Foundation, which make smaller grants to other organisations (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2016b). To understand this strategy, one must briefly go back to 2007.

In 2007, the now seminal 'Design to Win: Philanthropy's Role in the Fight against Global Warming' report was launched (California Environmental Associates, 2007). It had been commissioned by Hewlett, along with David and Lucile Packard Foundation, Doris Duke Charitable Foundation, Energy Foundation, Joyce Foundation, and Oak Foundation as part of the drive towards strategic philanthropic (Nisbet, 2018) to establish an investment roadmap, identifying interventions with the most potential (California Environmental Associates, 2007). The geographic focus of Hewlett's strategy against GHG emissions, for instance, comes from the report. The strategy focused on attempts to influence policy-making by compromising with industry actors and negotiating with Washington D.C. players; on setting a price on carbon in the U.S., including a cap and trade bill; and narrowly promoting renewable energy (Delanoë et al., 2021; Nisbet, 2018). According to Morena, the idea transmitted by the report was that "the 'market knows best' and that the role of regulators is to create the conditions and send the right signals for a transition to a low-carbon economy" (2016, p. 53). The cap and trade bill, however, did not pass, and the strategy drew criticism for concentrating funding on a few organisations and for ignoring grassroots organising, as well as issues of social justice, adaptation and resilience (Delanoë et al., 2021; Nisbet, 2018). There is evidence that some foundations began changing direction after that, with an increase in funding to those issues and, in the case of Hewlett, to more systemic change (Delanoë et al., 2021; J. C. Jenkins et al., 2017; Nisbet, 2018).

A bigger change in strategy for Hewlett came with the creation of the ClimateWorks Foundation. The Design to Win report also concluded that climate change would ideally receive USD 600 million in funding per year to tackle the problem (California Environmental Associates, 2007). Some of the foundations involved, noting their inability to provide funding by themselves at that scale, created ClimateWorks in 2008 for a coordinated strategy. According to Hewlett, its "staff actively collaborate with ClimateWorks staff on a variety of strategic issues, such as how to redirect resources following the defeat of national climate policy in the United States and how to address climate policies in Latin America" (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2011, p. 12). The organisation became a crucial part of Hewlett's grantmaking, following the footsteps of the Energy Foundation. Since at least 2004, the Energy Foundation (a regranting organisation with offices in San Francisco and Beijing) has been managing Hewlett's work in Western Energy Policy and its China-related work on sustainable mobility (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2005). Hewlett laid out the logic behind pooling resources with other foundations:

> Instead of each foundation having to hire program staff with expertise in the arcana of the energy field—utility regulations, carbon treaties, auto regulations, etc.—they built a common resource at the Energy Foundation. In addition to creating administrative economies of scale, this gives energy sector grant applicants a large, steady source of funding and one-stop shopping. (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2006, p. xii)

As for Brazil, Hewlett still invests in the country through large grants made directly to Institute for Climate and Society (Instituto Clima e Sociedade – iCS), which was established with a grant by ClimateWorks in 2015 (Instituto Clima e Sociedade, 2015). iCS is now a well-established local regranting organisation that is part of ClimateWorks' network of regional foundation partners (ClimateWorks Foundation, n.d.-a).

3.3 Moore Foundation

The Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation was established in 2000, although its founders had been well-known private philanthropists for decades before that. The Chronicle of

Philanthropy, a trade magazine, compiled a list of the biggest living U.S. donors by state and the Moore's topped the list in California, with estimated donations of at least USD 6.3 billion between 2000-2017 (Di Mento, 2017). The foundation was at the core of those donations, but the publication highlighted large private donations over the years, including USD 400 million to Cal Tech and USD 50 million to the University of California at San Francisco Medical Centre (Di Mento, 2017). Gordon Moore has a PhD in Chemistry and Physics and co-founded de semiconductor firm Intel Corporation, headquartered in Santa Clara (in the Bay Area, California). His wife. Betty Moore, co-founder of the foundation, is a journalist who had previously worked for the Ford Foundation (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-u). Moore is an independent, family foundation, built with an endowment that in 2021 was of approximately USD 8 billion. The foundation's grant budget for the same year was of roughly USD 400 million, which represents 5% its endowment (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-t). As Hewlett, Moore was designed to exist in perpetuity, and gives the minimum required by the U.S. law to protect its endowment (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-t). The foundation has a main office in Palo Alto (Bay Area), a building with a platinum LEED green certification, and an investment office in San Francisco (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-e, n.d.-ab). It has approximately 90 staff members (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-aa), and its president, Harvey V. Fineberg (M.D. and PhD), has served as president of the Institute of Medicine, provost of Harvard University, and dean of the Harvard Chan School of Public Health (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-w). Moore's mission is to "foster path-breaking scientific discovery, environmental conservation, patient care improvements, and preservation of the special character of the Bay Area", and its core values are impact, integrity, collaboration, and a disciplined approach to philanthropy, which includes impact evaluation (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-j).

The Moore Foundation has four programme areas, chosen due to the involvement its founders had in them before the foundation was established, and due to opportunities represented by these areas (Moore & Moore, 2015). The largest programme is environmental conservation, representing 43% of the foundation's grantmaking from its establishment up to 2020. In that year, the programme received USD 100,848,316 million in grants (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2021). The environmental changes brought about by development led the founders to focus on conservation and to state that the foundation "should seek pragmatic solutions that maintain the integrity of essential ecosystem functions while accommodating necessary development" (Moore & Moore, 2015, para. 9). The science programme is a close second, with 34% of Moore's grantmaking, and in 2020 the programme received USD 99,870,802 million (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2021). The foundation's interest in this area stems from Gordon Moore's background and interest in funding areas with potential for high impact, both with practical application and for knowledge expansion (Moore & Moore, 2015). The foundation's work in science ranges from support to Caltech (Gordon Moore's alma mater), experimental physics and the building of a telescope, to issues closer to conservation, such as symbiosis in aquatic systems and marine microbiology (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-z). The next programme is patient care, with 11% of Moore's grantmaking, receiving USD 24,502,603 in 2020 (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2021). As it is often the case in philanthropy, where a donor's personal experience shapes their giving, this area of work was chosen partly because of Betty Moore's poor hospital experiences (Moore & Moore, 2015). One of its main achievements was the launch of the Betty Irene Moore School of Nursing at the University of California, Davis through a USD 100 million gift, the largest grant for nursing education in the U.S. (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-m). Finally, 8%[8] of the foundation's grants in the past 20 years went to the San Francisco Bay Area programme, which received USD 12,547,277 in 2020 (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2021). The foundation's approach to this programme follows a localised version of its global giving, as it focuses on conservation projects and support to science and technology museums (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-y).

Within those programmes, grantmaking is done through three mechanisms. Initiatives are "designed to achieve an outcome and goals through complementary grants with a budget and timeframe" (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-s), which can be later extended. Grantmaking is also done through commitments to support an institution or group of institutions to achieve goals via one or several grants, also within a budget and timeframe (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-s). This reflects the foundation's relationship with Caltech, for example. Finally, there are standalone grants. These can be for the exploration of areas for potential investment, for the investigation

[8] The total of the foundation's giving to its four programmes from its establishment up to 2020 does not add to 100% because a small percentage of the grants are assigned to "Other" and not specified in the 2020 Annual Report (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2021).

and evaluation of an area that could become an initiative, or for a standalone portfolio, grants grouped together for being related or complementary (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-s). The emphasis on a timeframe is an interesting aspect of the mechanisms, considering the founders' understanding of the foundation's capacity to commit to issues in the long run and its niche-filling role. They have said that: "The Foundation's ability to take risks and make long-term and relatively large commitments should allow it to undertake challenges not accessible to many other organizations" (Moore & Moore, 2015, para. 2). Moreover, although the foundation recognises the problems it deals with may have a time horizon of decades, it also featured in its 20-year anniversary annual report a statement by a former foundation president in which he said that programmes should have measurable outcomes within a decade (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2021).

In 2015, Gordon and Betty Moore wrote a 'Statement of Founders' Intent', laying out "their hopes and expectations for the foundation into the future" (Moore & Moore, 2015). The statement of intent established a link to the organisational root, setting out the reasoning behind the founders' choices, and their vision for the foundation's future as well as how it should work. One of the interesting aspects of the statement is that, in addition to explaining why they had chosen those specific areas of work, they found it important to set down in writing the areas of work they wished the foundation to avoid, with no further explanation. These areas are: "Religious activities or purposes; Art and other cultural activities; Civil disobedience; Retroactive funding for activities or projects that have already taken place; Buildings and general endowments not directly related to our programs; …emergency or disaster relief efforts" (Moore & Moore, 2015, para. 16). To ensure the founders' vision is carried out, the organisation's board of trustees is formed by family and independent members. According to the bylaws, out of the board's nine to twelve trustees, two to four shall be members of the Moore family. There is an additional seat for Gordon Moore, who is still a trustee, although Betty Moore has retired from the board. Ken Moore and Steven Moore, the founders' children, are both trustees (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2018). Additionally, the former is the foundation's chief administrative officer and chief program officer for the San Francisco Bay Area (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-x).

The statement of intent makes it clear that the foundation should be grantmaking, in that it chooses a strategy and then "the best grantees to do the work, rather than respond to unsolicited proposals" (Moore & Moore, 2015, para. 5). Furthermore, the very few open calls for Letter of Intent tend to focus on awards for researchers (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2015, 2016a). In the case of Moore, individuals are identified as key beneficiaries, in addition to organisations, likely as result of awards (as seen above) and the science programme, which includes a fellowship to support scientist-inventors (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-p). Moore does not have much flexibility with its endowment, as it was created to exist in perpetuity, and does not accept unsolicited proposals. Putting the foundation further down in the flexibility scale of giving, the statement posits that emphasis should be given to supporting programmes instead of undirected institutional support that would strengthen CSOs and give them freedom to choose where to best put the grant received. This is confirmed by the empirical findings in the next chapter, analysing Moore's giving to environmental issues in Brazil. The relationship with grantees seems quite transactional, in that their expertise and capability to help Moore achieve its goals is what stands out in the foundation's core materials (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2021; Moore & Moore, 2015). Nevertheless, the foundation highlights the importance of flexibility and adaptation in its grantmaking approach, emphasising the importance on open-mindedness (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-s).

Like Hewlett, Moore's discourse towards how giving should be carried out is very much in line with the international development literature and follows a strategic approach to philanthropy. A statement on the foundation's grantmaking webpage sums it up:

> Setting our sights high, we invest for the long-term in scientifically sound strategies that produce measurable results and lasting benefits. We recognize that the greatest breakthroughs come from a willingness to inquire and experiment. Not everything we try will work, but we know if everything did, that we were not thinking big enough. (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-v, para. 1)

The founders' statement of intent and the foundation's documents on its approach to giving make it clear that the focus of the organisation is on solving specific problems with measurable impact (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2021). One example is the founders' caution towards the patient care programme. Reaching a similar conclusion as Hewlett's regarding health, they state that considering "the magnitude of health care is so large and complex, the Foundation must be careful to limit its involvement to where it can make a unique contribution" (Moore & Moore, 2015, para. 13). In what the foundation also calls an outcomes-based approach, it relies on "scientific methodology", meaning that it systematically chooses the issues it will work on, the results to be achieved and the strategies to be pursued (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2021), positing causal chains between strategies and interventions through theories of change – "a simplification of the real world, intended to highlight the essential elements that are expected to contribute to achieving the desired outcome". Risk taking is explicitly part of this approach to grantmaking, and the foundation states that it has a high tolerance for risk (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-s). Moore manages its grantmaking following a lifecycle comprised by four stages: investigate; plan; do, assess and adapt; and secure and exit (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-s).

Measurement and evaluation are at the core of this strategy (and even part of the organisation's principles), yet few evaluations are publicly available. A search for the term evaluation within the environment programme in Moore's website yields four results: one evaluation (Hardner et al., 2016); one executive summary of an evaluation (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation & Abt Associates, 2016); one short summary (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2020b); and a perspective piece that is more of an editorial about the foundation's work (Adeney & Arroyo, 2021). The evaluation and the executive summary that were published help delineate the process' focus and the methods utilised. The executive summary, on the Marine Conservation Initiative, aimed at assessing the initiative's strategies against its planned outcomes; recommending adjustments; and systematising best practices (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation & Abt Associates, 2016). The methodology included archival research of project files, literature review of marine conservation publications, a survey of grantees, interviews with foundation staff, interviews and site visits with selected grantees, and interviews with experts (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation & Abt Associates, 2016). The complete evaluation available is on the Andes-Amazon Initiative and follows a similar pattern. It presents the results achieved in terms of measurable outcomes, positing that the initiative "supported the legal establishment/recognition of 64.3 million hectares of protected areas (PAs) and indigenous territories (ITs)" (Hardner et al., 2016, p. iii). It also evaluates strategies, recommends adjustments and summarises lessons learned. Evaluations can lead to investment extensions, re-evaluations or exit, as they can point to a “diminishing return”. As the foundation puts it “whether through successful achievement of objectives or shifting priorities, exits are inevitable” (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2021).

3.3.1 Moore’s environmental conservation programme

The fact that Moore call its programme environmental conservation, as opposed to just environment, gives a very good hint about the foundation’s goal and strategy. It stems from the founder’s intent to preserve ecosystem functions being lost to development and resource exploitation (Moore & Moore, 2015). Hence, the programme aims at balancing “long-term conservation with sustainable use” (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-g). Moore’s strategies for the programme mirror some of the foundation’s, focusing on active work with grantees and partnerships with communities, governments, and businesses (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-g), as well as long-term engagements and strategies that “combine high risk, high return grants; use of practical means; and leverage of catalytic opportunities…” (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-f, p. 4). In general, the foundation follows a “place-based approach to conserving select intact ecosystems of global significance (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2020b, para. 2). The programme has not changed much since its inception and has had four initiatives, all with specific goals and set to be carried out within a previously established timeframe, which can later be expanded (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-f): Andes-Amazon Initiative; Conservation and Markets initiative; Marine Conservation Initiative; Wild Salmon Ecosystems Initiative. Additionally, there is a budget for Special Projects (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-q) that fall outside the main initiatives, funding innovative approaches to conservation, such as partnerships with other disciplines (e.g., behavioural science).

The dedicated page for each grant in Moore’s website does not specify to which initiative the grant is assigned, thus a few different methods were used to establish the most relevant initiatives in the Brazilian case. Firstly, it was clear that the Andes-Amazon Initiative would cover the most grants, due to its name and goals, and an analysis of the grants database presented in the next chapter. The two initiatives related to marine ecosystems are geographically focused on other regions, leaving the Conservation and Markets initiative and Special Projects. The website does allow for searches using the initiatives as parameters. A search for the key words “Brazil”, “Amazon”, and “Cerrado” (which are areas of interest to the foundation) either as part of the organisation name, the grant name, or grant description, yielded ten grants (out of 114) to Brazilian organisations under the Conservation and Markets initiative, and three grants under Special Projects in the period studied. The next paragraphs will provide an overview of the initiatives, with a focus on the Andes-Amazon one.

The Wild Salmon Ecosystems was the first initiative created by the Moore Foundation to protect salmon ecosystems in the North Pacific, the last wild salmon runs on the planet (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2016c). The initiative was initially designed to run between 2002-2011 with a budget of USD 190 million (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-f), but was extended until 2016 (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2016c), and ended up granting almost USD 294 million (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-r). Although a farewell blog to the initiative lists its successes, such as the creation of designated protected areas, it fails to provide the reasoning behind its ending (whether the foundation’s strategy had changed or its goals for the initiative had been met, for instance), and neither do annual reports from that time (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-b, n.d.-c, n.d.-d, 2016c). Moore’s other water initiative, Marine Conservation, was established in 2004 to target the “clearly solvable threats” of overfishing and habitat destruction, with strategies such as “conservation-minded technological innovations, including eco-friendly fishing gear” (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-f, p. 16). It was initially supposed to go up to 2015, with a budget of USD 146 million (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-f), but it was extended up to 2024 and, as of 2021, has awarded grants of over USD 344 million (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-o). The initiative’s extension provides a better insight into Moore’s strategic thinking. Marine Conservation’s geographic focus was initially on British Columbia, the California Current, Fiji, and New England (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-f) yet, upon renewal, it shifted to the North American Arctic, British Columbia and U.S. West Coast, as priority moved to where the foundation saw “the greatest combined ecological value and near-term potential for significant conservation” (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2017c).

The Conservation and Markets Initiative is aimed at “market actors responsible for the production, sourcing, and financing of the highest-forest-risk commodities and top-traded seafood” (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2020a, para. 4) in an effort to delink “food production from ecosystem degradation” (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-k, para.

1). The initiative has three arms: agriculture – sustainable production of soy and beef in Brazil (in the Amazon and Cerrado), and in Argentina, Paraguay and Bolivia (in the Chaco); seafood – the improvement of aquaculture practices and elimination of overfishing; finance – increased oversight from financial institutions over the practices of commodity businesses and the development of incentives for them to implement environmental de-risking strategies (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-n). Examples of the work done in this area include the coordination of a statement by 57 investors, managing over USD 6 trillion in assets, calling agricultural businesses to end deforestation linked to soy production (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2019b), and an agreement by leading soy traders, including Cargill and Bunge, to monitor and disclose data about the supply chains in the Cerrado (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2019a). The initiative's first phase was between 2015-2020, and awarded a total of USD 221.8 million (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2020b).

In 2020, Moore announced its recommitment to the Conservation and Markets Initiative, which will run between 2021-2026 with an additional USD 173 million to extend the early progress made by the grantees (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2020a). The initiative's extension came after:

> "…an internal strategic examination, an assessment from a panel of experts, and an independent evaluation by an external third party reviewed the design and implementation of the initiatives' structure and grantmaking strategies, [which] uncovered key lessons about this initial phase of work…" (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2020b, para. 1)

A summary of the evaluation was published in the foundation's website, and it states that Moore's grantees played a positive role in helping companies clean their supply chains through a focus on sector-wide agreements and the production of data and tools that assisted in the implementation of commitments to end deforestation and that helped ensure companies changed practices (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2020b). In an initiative that involves the private and non-profit sectors, a lesson highlighted by the evaluation was that the foundation should thread lightly between both. It points out that the role of philanthropy (following the foundation's view) is to fund niche topics with potential for impact, and that it must be ensured that Moore does not "subsidize activities the private sector should fund, nor support NGOs for activities that market actors do not need" (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2020b, para. 10).

Last, but definitely not least, Moore's largest initiative in the environment programme is the Andes-Amazon one, whose goal is to conserve the biodiversity and forest cover of the Amazon basin (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-l; Hardner et al., 2016). Although Moore had been awarding grants towards the Amazon basin since 2001, the Andes-Amazon Initiative was officially established in 2003, with an initial timeframe until 2014 (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-f). The initiative was then renewed between 2014-2016 (Hardner et al., 2016), and once again between 2016-2020 (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2016b). In 2017, a further extension was announced up to 2021 (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2017a). These extensions brought the total funding to the whole initiative to more than USD 500 million (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2017a).

The Andes-Amazon Initiative's strategy has centred on the establishment and effective management of protected areas and indigenous lands (Hardner et al., 2016). In this context, protected areas are parts of a territory delimited by the government for different levels of preservation, from areas of strict protection, which only allow for the indirect use of natural resources and activities such as education, research, and tourism, to managed use areas, which allow for limited economic activity, such as extractive reserves (WWF Brasil, 2019). The initiative employs a three-pronged approach based on: individual protected areas – the creation, consolidation, and management of key protected areas and indigenous lands; protected area systems – the establishment of long-term sustainable finance, as well as monitoring and management mechanisms for such areas; and land-use planning – the reinforcement of gains in protected areas and indigenous lands by integrating them in official zoning and land-use plans, and development policies (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-l, 2016b). In addition to supporting the previous work, the initiative's extension in 2017 aimed at addressing the danger posed by infrastructure development (e.g., dams and roads) to conservation gains as a driver of degradation, while recognising its importance for improving livelihoods (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2017a). The issues addressed include developing scientific evidence on the impact of roads and dams; encouraging banks and financing institutions to consider socio-environmental risks in their investments; and ensuring infrastructure development processes are transparent and participatory (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-l). They align with Moore's focus on partnerships with CSOs, indigenous organisations, research institutions, the government, the private sector (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-l). Such partnerships became a crucial part of Moore's conservation work, which is to ensure the financial sustainability of projects:

> One key approach to securing built-to-last conservation management and financing for national protected areas is known as "project finance for permanence." PFPs can leverage international funding to be matched with funding from in-country sources. In this way, they effectively establish sustainable finance and management mechanisms for large-scale conservation. These arrangements bring together multiple stakeholders — private donors, multi- and bi-laterals, NGOs and governments — around a shared objective and fundraising targets. PFPs have become central to the foundation's Andes-Amazon Initiative, helping to ensure that protected areas in the region endure for future generations. (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2017b, paras. 2-3)

The first PFP in the Amazon, and what Moore considers to be one of its major achievements in the region (Strelneck & Vilela, 2017), was the ARPA for Life plan in Brazil (Castilleja & Linden, 2014). The Amazon Region Protected Areas (ARPA) programme was created in 2002 by the Brazilian government, aimed at conserving 60 million hectares of forest (Candid, 2014; Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2017b). ARPA was structured with funding from GEF, the German Development Bank, and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), among other donors (Castilleja & Linden, 2014; WWF Brasil & Funbio, 2017), but needed further resources. In 2011, WWF, a key partner of the Brazilian government for the programme, turned to Moore and the Linden Trust for Conservation (founded by Larry Linden, a former partner at Goldman Sachs) for the development of a strategic financial model for ARPA (Castilleja & Linden, 2014; Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2014). A 'transition' fund of USD 215 million was then established and launched in 2014, with supporters such as the German government, the Inter-American Development Bank, GEF, and the Margaret A. Cargill Foundation (Candid, 2014). It worked as a fund and exit strategy, as it was designed to be disbursed gradually for about 25 years, as a bridge "until Brazil was ready to assume full responsibility for funding ARPA in perpetuity" (Castilleja & Linden, 2014, para. 10).

Although Moore does not lay out an 'outsourcing' strategy for its grantmaking to Brazil, as Hewlett does with its strategy to utilise regranting organisations such as ClimateWorks and iCS, it seems to be following a similar path. The Andes-Amazon Initiative is due to finish in 2021, but Moore has made grants of a total of USD 3 million through ClimateWorks in 2018 and 2020 towards the initiative's goal of addressing the socio-environmental risks posed by infrastructure projects in the Amazon (Gordon and Betty Moore

Foundation, n.d.-h, n.d.-i). The top recipients of Moore's grants in Brazil, presented in the next chapter, have all recently received grants from ClimateWorks (ClimateWorks Foundation, n.d.-b). Furthermore, Moore (along with ClimateWorks) is part of the Climate and Land Use Alliance – CLUA, a collaborative of foundations polling resources to conserve and restore forests following strategic priorities in Brazil quite similar to Moore's, such as the formal recognition of indigenous and traditional territories, the development of community management systems in protected areas, and addressing the impacts of infrastructure (Climate and Land Use Alliance, n.d.-a, n.d.-b).

3.4 Mott Foundation

The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation was established in 1926 by its namesake – C.S. Mott was an engineer whose family owned the Mott Beverage Company and the Weston-Mott Company, which produced wire wheels and axles for the emerging car industry (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-f). In the early years after the creation of the General Motors Corporation (GM), Mott sold his company to GM in exchange for stock and became a company director, serving on its board from 1913 to 1973 (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-f). Mott also served three times as mayor of Flint, Michigan, where his company was based and where the foundation's main office is still based. The organisation has three additional offices, in Troy (Michigan), London and Johannesburg. The foundation is a family, independent organisation and has awarded grants to organisations in 62 countries (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-f). Mott has 84 staff members (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-i) and an endowment of approximately USD 3.6 billion in 2020 (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-d). Regarding its beneficiaries, the Mott Foundation does not make grants to individuals – even if a grant involves regranting, the grantee cannot regrant to individuals (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-e). Mott's values revolve around building strong communities, at the local level and as a global society; nurturing self-reliant individuals and developing leadership; and fostering citizen participation, empowering individuals and communities to preserve democratic principles and rights (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-j).The foundation's bylaws are not readily available (bylaws are not public documents), nevertheless, one can assume that, as a 95-year-old institution, Mott was designed to exist in perpetuity. Moreover, the foundation protects its endowment by consistently following the '5% rule' and donating approximately that percentage of its assets annually (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2021a). In its approach to grantmaking, the foundation highlights the importance of preserving its assets – in the words of Harding Mott (the founder's son), "always preserve the seed corn", as he foresaw Flint's tax base could erode and the foundation would need to provide more support to the community (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2018, p. 14).

As a nearly centenary organisation, Mott has a rich programmatic history that started with its founder's interest in the welfare of local children in Flint. This led to the foundation's seed funding in the 1930s for the development of community education and the use of schools as hubs for citizen engagement, giving the Flint Board of Education a grant to open schools for recreation programmes during the winter and financing summer activities (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2018). The foundation continued working on the issue and its legacy lingers through three of Mott's four programme areas: Flint Area; Education; and Civil Society. The fourth programme, fruit of a series of efforts and debates within the foundation that will be further discussed later in the session, is Environment (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2021a). The Flint Area is the foundation's largest programme, receiving more than half of its grants in 2020 – USD 68.5 million – and reflecting the founder's intent to support the city. It has four specific areas (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2021a). The first is education, which includes grants towards all stages of educational development: early childhood, K-12 systems (kindergarten to 12th grade), college and career, and community education. The second is arts and culture, supporting the Flint Cultural Center and smaller institutions. The third area is on community vitality, focused on common urban issues such as attracting investment to the city centre, job stimulation and affordable housing. A fourth area includes grants to strengthen the local non-profit and philanthropic sector and a 'special opportunities' grant, a sort of joker purse that can be allocated towards emergencies as well as test new ideas and incubate projects. The other three programmes in Mott's portfolio represent each roughly 15% of the foundation's grants. The education programme received USD 22.3 million in 2020 and is the only other programme solely based in the U.S. (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2021a). It aims at expanding opportunities for children and youth through the financing and promotion of afterschool programmes; the increase of high school graduation levels, and college and career readiness; and youth engagement in schools, communities and the economy. Mott's civil society programme received USD 20.4 million in 2020 and focuses on strengthening the space for civic engagement, supporting civil society development, and increasing access to justice, for instance, by expanding community-based paralegal organisations (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2021a). Another important area of the programme is its support to community philanthropy, which helps communities develop the ability to gather, manage, and grant resources locally, usually within a specific geographic area. The foundation was a key player in the development of community philanthropy in Eastern Europe and funds initiatives towards that end in Africa and Latin America (Pinho, 2018). In 1993, a year after the programme was established, Mott opened its office in Johannesburg. As the work expanded to Eastern Europe, a second office was opened, first in Prague which was then moved to London (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2018). Finally, Mott's environment programme received USD 18.7 million in 2020 and has three focus areas: freshwater, especially in the Great Lakes Basin; transforming development finance; and climate change (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2021a). All programmes have a special initiatives area, responsible for ensuring flexibility and responsiveness in the foundation's grantmaking (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2021a).

Over the years, Mott has remained under the control of the Mott family, and three of its members have run the foundation after C.S. Mott: his son, C.S. Harding Mott; William S. White, Harding Mott's son-in-law and a highly regarded figure in the philanthropic sector; and Ridgway H. White, C.S. Mott's great-grandson, and the foundation's current president and CEO (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-f, n.d.-i). As opposed to the other two foundations studied here, Mott still accepts unsolicited grant requests via a form available on its website, even though funding is limited (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-g). Mott also allowed its grantees to repurpose existing grants to address pandemic-related needs (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-h). The Mott Foundation supports grantees' indirect costs, but the percentages are up to the discretion of the programme officer (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-e).

Whereas Hewlett and Moore are very much forward and open about their approach to philanthropy (strategic and outcomes-based), heavily featuring it on their websites and even spousing parts of that approach as organisational principles to be followed, Mott is a lot more understated in the matter. Apart from a statement about how the organisation believes in providing long-term funding, giving grantees the necessary stability to pursue innovation (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-k), there is not much about Mott's approach to giving on its website. However, in its 2016 annual report, celebrating the foundation's 90-year anniversary, Mott laid out lessons it learned about approaches to philanthropy that have become "guideposts" to its grantmaking (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2018). These lessons confirm the foundation's commitment to long-term engagement, recognising that progress takes time and that philanthropic organisations have "staying power" (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2018, p. 12), as well as other assumptions in the development literature.

Mott's grantmaking guideposts include a focus on philanthropy's capacity – in terms of motivation and resources – for innovation and risk absorption, as even failures can instruct future success (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2018). Regarding collaboration, the foundation focuses on the identification and support of leaderships, be it for partnerships with grantees, support organisations (such as associations of foundations) or other foundations. The foundation also emphasises the role of evaluation, putting it as a core grantmaking issue in order to sustain and replicate good projects and practices, and one that must be carried out over the long term. Although some of the results achieved by the foundation are summarised in its annual reports, and a search in its website point to several grants aimed at evaluating projects, such documents are not made available on the organisation's website. Additionally, Mott, qualifies impact measurement: "Measure impact, but make grants with the head and the heart. As important as it is to measure impact, it is not the only consideration in determining the value of work. Sometimes you make a grant just because it is the right thing to do." (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2018, p. 14). An example used was the emergency USD 4 million grant given by the foundation to help address the Flint water crisis, in 2015, when it was uncovered that the city's water supply had dangerously high levels of lead (Denchak, 2018). The resources were added to USD 6 million from the state of Michigan and USD 2 million from the city of Flint to reconnect Flint to the Detroit water system. The episode has shown the foundation does not shy away from putting a spotlight on government responsibility, as the foundation president, Ridgeley White, said at the time that:

> …this disaster was government-induced. Decisions made by a state-appointed emergency manager for the city, failures of oversight at multiple levels of government, and delays and mistakes in the way government agencies communicated about the threat ultimately

> caused the harm and expense that the community has been forced to bear. Government fault demands a government fix. (White, 2016, paras. 7-8)

Finally, three aspects of Mott's approach to grantmaking stand out. Considering its focus on community giving, it is not surprising the foundation includes "shoe leather" (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2018, p. 12) philanthropy among its best practices, meaning leaving the boardroom and talking directly to grantees, in addition to building their capacity, taking the discourse of proximity to recipients to another level. Secondly, Mott highlights the importance of organisational capacity (a good back office), both within the foundation and for the grantees, as well as the importance of helping grantees achieving it. Lastly, the foundation sees the support to the philanthropic field as a crucial part of its work, advocating for a policy environment that encourages giving, mainly through the participation in associations of foundations and other philanthropy infrastructure organisations. This also includes educating the public in general and public officials about what philanthropy is and the work done by foundations. Bill White, Mott's former president, tells of an encounter with a congresswoman who admitted that the intent of the Tax Reform Act of 1969 was to put private foundations out of business, implying that such advocacy and educational work avoided that fate (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2018).

3.4.1 Mott's environment programme

In 1982, Mott approved its first environmental grantmaking plan. It had evolved from the foundation's earlier work, mainly focused on toxic substances, under which it funded studies on the threat of hazardous waste to human health, and efforts for the reduction of toxic pollution through waste management (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2018). In addition to toxics, the plan included grants to community resource conservation and management, and to preserve and protect land and water resources in the Great Lakes region (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 1994). Further cementing the foundation's interest in environmental issues, later in the 1980s, Mott engaged with the Institute for Global Ethics on a conversation about the most important issues the world would face in the 21^{st} century, and the environment was identified as of them (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2018). The success of the plan led to the formalisation of the foundation's environment programme in 1987 (Charles Stewart Mott

Foundation, 1994). The programme kept the focus on the Great Lakes and freshwater and on toxic substances, but the latter was dropped by the foundation in a programme reformulation in 1993. The programme also added another issue area: global sustainability, aimed at “supporting efforts to reform international development finance” (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2018, p. 9). Freshwater and a reformulated version of global sustainability are still part of Mott’s environmental programme. They were later joined by climate change to form the current three programme areas of the foundation. The next paragraphs will present each area, with a focus on Transforming Development Finance (previously Global Sustainability), the area that concentrated almost 80% of Mott’s giving to Brazil.

The oldest area in Mott’s environmental grantmaking programme follows the foundation’s mission to provide local support and focuses on water issues in the Great Lakes region. The Great Lakes is a chain of deep lakes comprised by Lakes Superior, Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario, and is the largest surface of fresh water in the world (Beeton, 2020). This issue area, Addressing the Freshwater Challenge, aims at securing clean water to support people and the environment, including issues of efficient use, where the resource is scarce, as well as protecting and restoring existing supplies (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-a). This area has a two-pronged strategy. The first is to strengthen and build the organisational capacity of the community of environmental CSOs active in freshwater issues. The second is to inform well-designed and effectively implemented public policies by funding groups engaged in policy reform efforts (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-a). An example of policy advocated by Mott’s grantees is the Great Lakes Compact, a federal law restricting diversions of water and requiring states to improve water resources management. The movement started in response to a company’s plan to literally ship tankers of water from Lake Superior to luxury hotels Asia. The foundation has also engaged in conservation efforts in this area, helping CSOs and government agencies purchase and preserve natural resources, and creating the Arcadia Dunes: The C.S. Mott Nature Preserve in Lake Michigan. (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2018)

When Mott established its environmental programme, it created a Global Sustainability issue area, with the very general purpose of “supporting efforts toward a sustainable global environment with the natural resource base necessary for supporting life systems over the next century and beyond” (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 1994, p. 39). After five years, however, during a reformulation of the environmental programme, the area would change to a focus a lot more similar to what it is today, called Reform of International Lending and Trade Policies. The goal was "to promote the transition to more sustainable forms of economic activity" with a focus on "improving the lending policies and practices of the multilateral development banks (MDBs)[9] and reconciling the potentially competing agendas of environmental protection and trade liberalization" (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 1994, p. 54). The area was identified by an external consultant as being one that provided an opportunity for the foundation, as it received little attention and funding (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 1998). The move was also in line with early statements – in his 1987 annual message, Bill White, the foundation's president, said that "One of the great challenges is to find ways for business and environmental leaders to join together in seeking solutions to environmental problems" pointing to the role of "multi-national development banks, environmentalists, scientists, citizens, and policymakers" (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 1988, p. 7). The main strategy was to strengthen CSOs working on MBD reform and increase their legitimacy to do so, improving MDBs public transparency and accountability as well as pushing for "environmentally sound and socially just funding policies" (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 1998, p. 37). Some of the issues supported by the foundation included calls for transparency and accountability in the Global Environment Facility; a review of the effectiveness of International Monetary Fund's (IMF) structural adjustment programs; the environmental consequences of the North American Free Trade Agreement; technical assistance by CSOs to MDBs and borrowing countries on energy efficiency and alternative energy sources; and collaboration between environmental and international development organisations working on trade policy (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 1994).

In 2006, the organisation implemented a new environmental plan, changing the programme's name to International Finance for Sustainability. The objective was shifted to regional trade and integration, and their contribution to local sustainable development, with a focus on Latin America. Additionally, a new objective was established: the promotion of sustainable infrastructure and energy investments that offer local economic opportunity. (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2007, 2014) Mott highlights the role of its grantmaking in:

> "improving the social and environmental accountability of those investing in large-scale infrastructure and other projects in developing countries… striving to ensure that such projects

[9] Such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

> incorporate responsible policies and practices that help to alleviate poverty, enhance the well-being of communities and support healthy, natural environments." (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2014, p. 4)

As an example of its work in this area, Mott features its support to Brazilian CSOs engaging in dialogue with the country's national development bank (Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social – BNDES) to improve the institution's public disclosures on project financing. CSOs have also worked against policies that weaken environmental and social safeguards to attract investment – "Efforts included educating investors and political leaders about increased costs that can result from legal proceedings and negative press when a project fails to consider local needs" (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2014, p. 24). A case in point is Belo Monte, the fourth largest hydroelectric dam in the world, which was financed primarily by BNDES and whose negative socio-economic impacts – indigenous and traditional peoples were displaced and had their fishing livelihoods ended – became a cautionary tale to environmentalists in the Amazon and the world (Anderson & Elkaim, 2018; Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2014).

After a new revision of its environmental strategy in 2014, Mott changed the programme's name to its current iteration, Transforming Development Finance, aimed at shaping "international investment policies for energy and infrastructure projects in ways that protect people and the environment in developing nations" (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-c, para. 1). Although the programme's objectives are still regional development and infrastructure, considering the new role emerging economies assumed in the 2000s, it also includes a focus on Brazil and China as donor countries. Through its Securing Infrastructure and Energy for a Sustainable Future goal, Mott makes grants to:

> regional and global networks and organizations that monitor energy and infrastructure investments by public and private institutions; intermediary organizations that can provide assistance and build capacity for local, on-the-ground monitoring of energy and infrastructure projects; and national organizations in key emerging economies, particularly Brazil and China, that can initiate dialogues to change policies and develop standards for national development banks. (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-c, para. 4)

The programme's Promoting Sustainable Regional Development and Integration goal is focused on South America, and makes grants to:

> networks and organizations in the Americas that monitor international investment strategies; organizations that build constituencies and capacity to develop sustainable investment strategies, including engaging agencies and members of legislative bodies in project monitoring; and organizations that promote greater transparency and accountability at state and regional development banks in the Americas and monitor investments by those institutions. (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-c, para. 6)

The third area in Mott's environment programme is Advancing Climate Change Solutions. In 2014, "as part of a new grantmaking plan, Mott began funding climate change solutions — primarily solar power systems — in Michigan, Tanzania and isolated villages in Brazil's Amazon rainforest" (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2018, p. 36). In its rationale for the move, the foundation emphasises that, in addition to a recognition of the importance of acting against climate change before it is too late, the decision to formalise a line of work on the issue is the result of years study based on findings from the environmental field and research by its grantees (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2014). The foundation supports practical renewable energy solutions at the community level, especially in rural areas, in developing countries in the Amazon and Sub-Saharan Africa, helping them respond to the challenges posed by climate change (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-b). As shown in the next chapter, slightly over 20% of Mott's grants to Brazilian CSOs were part of this programme area. Grants are awarded to:

> "national and international NGOs, to create and nurture global and regional initiatives that help entrepreneurs address finance and policy barriers that prevent access to clean energy; and national and regional organizations that provide technical assistance and networking opportunities to communities in the Amazon and Sub-Saharan Africa." (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-b, para. 3)

Mott featured on its website the role of the programme in the fight against Covid-19 in the Amazon. Since 2015, the foundation has granted USD 7.2 million for the provision of solar power systems in isolated traditional and indigenous communities in Brazil, Colombia and Peru. One of Mott's grantees in Brazil, the Socio-Environmental Institute (Instituto Socioambiental – ISA), has installed photovoltaic systems in 78 communities in the Xingu Indigenous Territory, making it possible for vaccines to be adequately refrigerated in a remote region (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2021b).

4 Green giving in practice: What foundations do

After going through what foundations say they do, that is, how they describe their work and how they perceive their approach to philanthropic giving, the following step is to investigate what it is that foundations do – their grantmaking practices. This is a crucial step to deepen the current knowledge about the behaviour of philanthropic organisations in international development, by grounding it in the study of how they act, instead of their discourses or how they are perceived by other sympathetic or suspicious actors. For instance, what exactly do they mean by long term? Do the projects funded have innovative elements? What kind of organisations do they fund? Can it be considered risky to invest in those organisations? What can grantmaking practices convey about foundation's relationships with grantees? To answer these questions in this and the next chapter, a database was built with 274 grants awarded by the three foundations studied to 63 organisations working on environmental issues in Brazil.

The following sections present the results of the analysis of the database for each foundation. Descriptive statistics was employed to identify general trends in the foundations' behaviour, including the number of grants awarded, their average amount and duration, that is, how long the grantee has to spend the resources. Trends regarding funding priorities were also investigated, these include subject areas, geographic locations, and type of recipient organisations. To facilitate the understanding of the type of organisation being funded by philanthropic organisations, grant recipients were divided into four categories: CSO; research (universities, think-tanks or foundations connected to universities); government; and business. To further elucidate the grantmaking practices of the foundations, a content analysis of the grant descriptions was made to determine their key themes and categorise them according to the grantmaking strategy employed. As seen in the methods section, issue areas and strategies were determined according to the taxonomy developed and used by associations of grantmakers worldwide. Finally, it is important to emphasise that the database only includes grants made directly to organisations in Brazil, not grants made to third parties to be regranted to Brazil, or to organisations based outside of Brazil that work on environmental issues in the country. This was established to ensure that the relationship between the foundations and the organisations on the ground, based in the country, would be the object of this study.

4.1 Hewlett Foundation

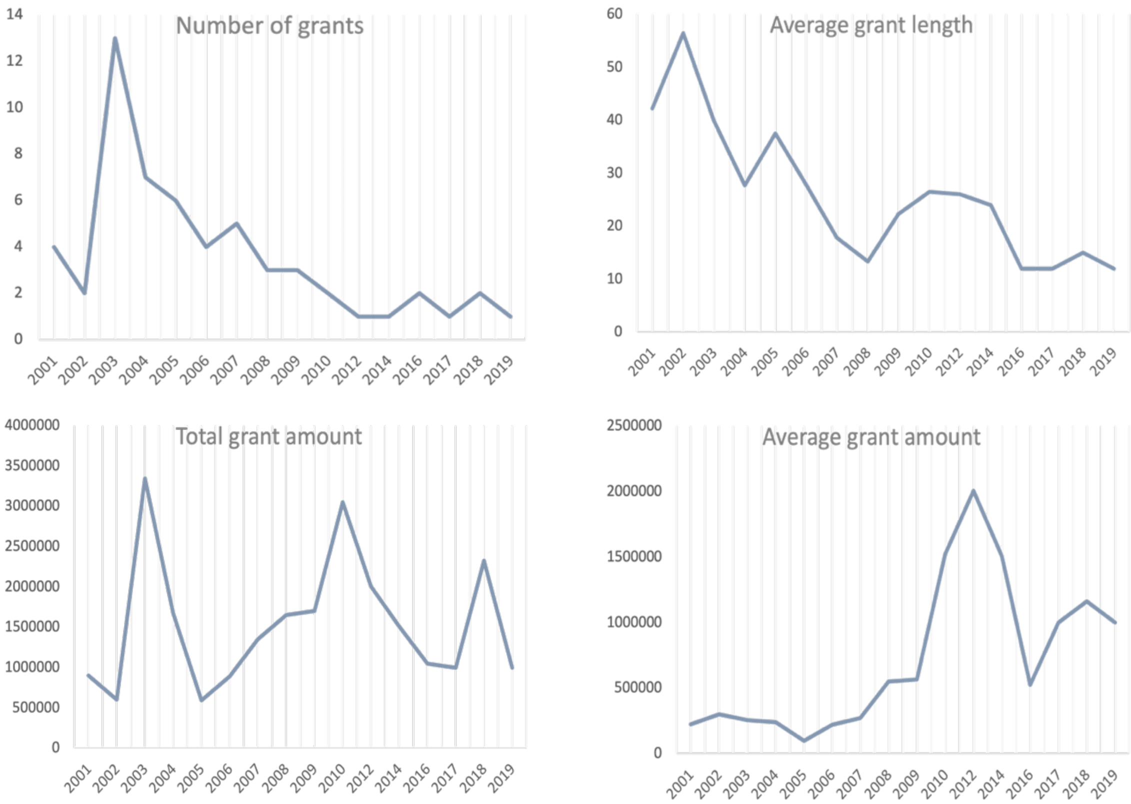
The Hewlett Foundation's first grant to a Brazilian organisation working on environmental issues was awarded in 2001[10]. Between then and 2019, the foundation made 57 grants to 23 grantees, with a total amount of USD 24,645,380. To put that in perspective, between 2001-2013, period for which Hewlett's annual reports provide programmatic grantmaking data, the foundation's environmental grantmaking totalled USD 663,468,201 – this excludes gifts to the ClimateWorks Foundation, as the USD 481 million one awarded by Hewlett in 2008 (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2009). In the same period, the foundation's grants to Brazil totalled USD 17,761,380, that is, 2.68% of the programme. As it can be seen in figure 3, the number of grants made by Hewlett fell over time, from an all-time high of 13 grants in 2003 to between one to two grants after 2010. The duration of the grants also fell, from averages of over two years (and up to more than four years) in the early 2000s to one year in the past few years. Grant amounts, however, went up, reaching an average of USD 2,005,380 in 2012. This is a reflection of Hewlett's Climate and Energy change in strategy, described in the previous chapter and demonstrated below.

Hewlett started off funding several organisations in the country with smaller amounts of longer-term grants. This type of funding relationship is embodied by the University of São Paulo's Support Foundation (Fundação de Apoio à Universidade de São Paulo – FUSP). Between 2003 and 2009, FUSP received 8 grants with a total of USD 1,301,000 for research on alternative fuels and air pollution, as well as the testing for a hybrid bus fleet and planning for a new CSO focused on energy and the environment. Figure 4 depicts the total amount and duration (in months) of all grants organisations received by Hewlett. When an organisation received more than one grant simultaneously (e.g., two grants in the same period of time), those months were added up, so that stronger relationships would receive the appropriate weight. The plot on figure 4 places FUSP and two other organisations as Hewlett's key partners in Brazil – these two CSOs represent the foundation's renewed strategy that focuses on streamlining efforts through regranting and embracing collaboration with other philanthropic organisations.

[10] Previous grants to Brazilian organisations had been made in the context of the foundation's population programme for research on demography. For more information, see the annual reports referred to in the previous chapter.

Figure 3

Hewlett's grants over time: average length and amount

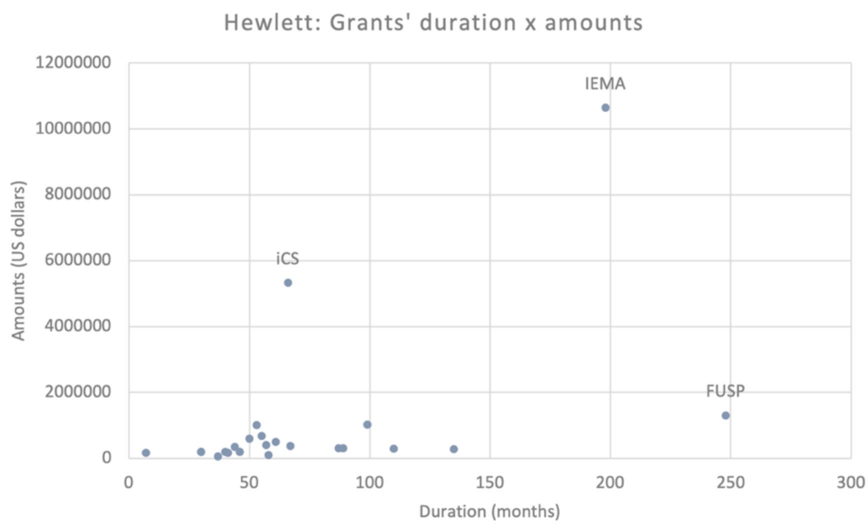


Source: Elaborated by the author.

The last grant to FUSP was in 2009, from then onwards grants concentrated on two organisations. The first is the Institute for Energy and the Environment (Instituto de Energia e Meio Ambiente – IEMA), the CSO whose establishment was supported by Hewlett after it identified the need for a policy research institution dedicated to energy in the country (Instituto de Energia e Meio Ambiente, n.d.-a; The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2005). The second is the Institute for Climate and Society (Instituto Clima e Sociedade – iCS), the organisation created with a grant from the ClimateWorks Foundation and which received all Hewlett's grants to Brazilian organisations between 2017-2019. IEMA is the largest Hewlett grantee in the database, having received 11 grants between 2007-2016, getting a total of USD 10,639,380. Between 2016-2019, iCS received five grants totalling USD 5,325,000. It is important to highlight that this amount does not include any regrants, that is, grants made by Hewlett to ClimateWorks and then to iCS – in 2015 Hewlett earmarked a USD 1,750,000 grant to ClimateWorks specifically for iCS' support (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-c). iCS stemmed from the Latin America Regional Climate Initiative Brazil (LARCI), a regranting organisation that was part of the ClimateWorks network. The institute promotes a carbon neutral development in Brazil with economic growth and social justice. It positions itself as a philanthropic organisation that builds a bridge between both international and national donors and local partners (Instituto Clima e Sociedade, n.d.). According to Hewlett, "The Institute for Climate and Society is the foundation's main in-country partner for climate mitigation efforts in Brazil" (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-n, para 1). Now, for instance, IEMA is one of iCS' grantees, along with some of the former energy and environmental CSOs funded by Hewlett in the past (Instituto Clima e Sociedade, 2017).

Figure 4

Hewlett's main grantees: total amounts received and duration



Source: Elaborated by the author.

The profile of Hewlett's 23 grantees, listed in table 6, is quite diversified. Most of them, 13, are CSOs but less than a third (seven organisations) are traditional environmental CSOs. The other six are non-environmental CSOs that work mainly in energy and transportation, in line with Hewlett's issue areas of work. Five grantees focus on research, being either think-tanks or foundations connected to universities (only two of these research organisations are

Table 6

Grants made by Hewlett

Type of organisation	Number of grants	Amount received	First grant	Last grant
Research	2	$ 350,000	2001	2003
CSO	2	$600,000	2001	2003
CSO	2	$400,000	2001	2003
Research	1	$300,000	2001	n/a
Research	1	$300,000	2002	n/a
CSO	2	$500,000	2002	2004
CSO	1	$200,000	2003	n/a
CSO	2	$1,016,000	2003	2003
Government	2	$ 285,000	2003	2003
Business	2	$ 680,000	2003	2004
Research	8	$ 1,301,000	2003	2009
CSO	1	$200,000	2003	n/a
CSO	1	$200,000	2003	n/a
CSO	2	$280,000	2004	2005
CSO	3	$50,000	2004	2006
Research	2	$170,000	2004	2006
Business	1	$1,010,000	2004	n/a
Business	1	$170,000	2004	n/a
CSO	2	$375,000	2005	2007
Business	2	$94,000	2005	2005
CSO	1	$200,000	2006	n/a
CSO	11	$10,639,380	2007	2016
CSO	5	$5,325,000	2016	2019

Source: Elaborated by the author.

focused on environmental issues). Interestingly, four grantees from the early 2000's are businesses, which were mostly involved in developing and building public transportation prototypes in clean energy and air pollution projects. Finally, one grantee from the same period is a local government office responsible for regulating pollution levels. It can be inferred from the patterns in types of grantees chosen by Hewlett that the focus of the organisation was on finding local partners that were a close match to, and could carry out, its own strategic goals. Moreover, an average grant amount of USD 432,375, and largest grant amount of USD 3,000,000, shows that Hewlett works with well-established organisations that have the organisational capacity to absorb what are considered large amounts of capital in the Brazilian context (as seen in chapter two). Along a similar line, a drop in grant duration mean organisations must engage in the resource-consuming process of constantly reapplying for grants. Nineteen of the grantees are based in some of the richest and developed areas of the country (figure 5), São Paulo (14), Rio de Janeiro (4), Brasília (1), which reflects the foundation's focus on urban pollution and energy but is also a statement of the geographic inequalities in access to foreign investment among Brazilian CSOs.

Figure 5

Location of the main offices of Hewlett's grantees

Source: Elaborated by the author.

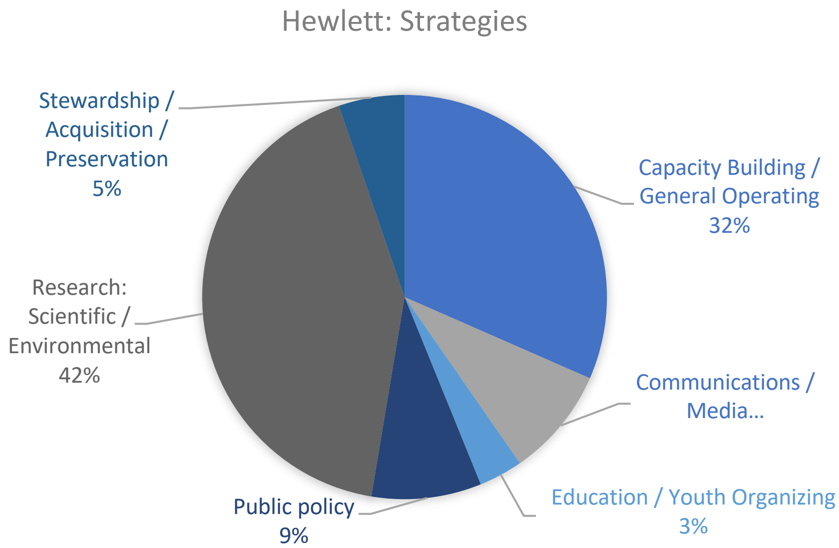
Put together, these findings call into question two premises on the behaviour of the foundation, whether the level of risk taken by Hewlett can be considered high and the meaning of a long-term relationship with grantees. The high level of establishment of the organisations funded make them 'safe bets', and the fact that the foundation has helped create its two largest recipients is a double-edged sword: betting on an incipient organisation carries the risk it will not work out but can also provide additional assurance that it will fit into the foundation's strategic goals. The piece-meal nature of the grants undermines trust and CSOs' institutional stability (Teles, 2016; Van Slyke, 2006). Moreover, only those two CSOs and one research institution have established a continuous relationship with the foundation through the years – iCS grants to IEMA can be a sign of continuity, but FUSP's relationship with the foundation lasted six years, between 2003-2009, a period hardly long in terms of institutional planning. Expect for one recipient that got three grants, all the others got only one or two grants. The foundation's eggs in the country seem to have been put in two baskets, iCS and IEMA, which took 65% of all grants.

Regarding the specific strategies employed by Hewlett in its grantmaking to Brazil, they reflect both the change in the wider strategy of the foundation and its relationship with recipients. The foundation itself categorises the grants as project-related or for general support, which gives the grantee more freedom to spend the resources. A trend towards general support seems to follow Hewlett's strategy of partnering with regranting organisations. 60% of the grants in the period studied were made to specific projects according to the foundation's categorisation and even grants tagged as general support may not be so general – some of them were for 'general programmatic support', that is, the support of a specific programme within the organisation, not the institution as a whole. Nonetheless, in addition to grants to support the establishment of IEMA, all of iCS grants were for general operational support, highlighting the tendency for the foundation to strengthen its collaboration and trust with few organisations that can, then, carry out regranting locally.

Figure 6 shows how this research categorised Hewlett's grants according to the categories of strategies utilised by associations of foundations, thus ensuring comparability with theirs and other studies. They confirm the previous results, by placing scientific and environmental research as the main strategy with 42% of grants, followed by capacity building and general operating, with 32% of grants. Hewlett's support to research is exemplified by tis grants to FUSP, the University of São Paulo's Support Foundation, but also supporting the scientific journal Energy for Sustainable Development and the development of software to operationalise clean legislation. Furthermore, IEMA is a CSO/think tank, which produces and systematises scientific and technical knowledge for the formulation and evaluation of public policies in the areas of energy and transportation (Instituto de Energia e Meio Ambiente, n.d.-b). Regarding general support and capacity building, it is important to emphasise that the taxonomy utilised and presented in the methods session is restricted to grants that strengthen the grantee as an organisation (e.g., to hire or provide training for staff or buy supplies), not a specific programme (which Hewlett also calls general support). In addition to iCS and IEMA, this kind of support was given to seven organisations between 2001-2007. Interestingly, four of these organisations work in the Amazon region, outside of the geographic area and issues covered by the foundation in general, as it will be shown next.

Figure 6

Hewlett's grants according to the strategy employed

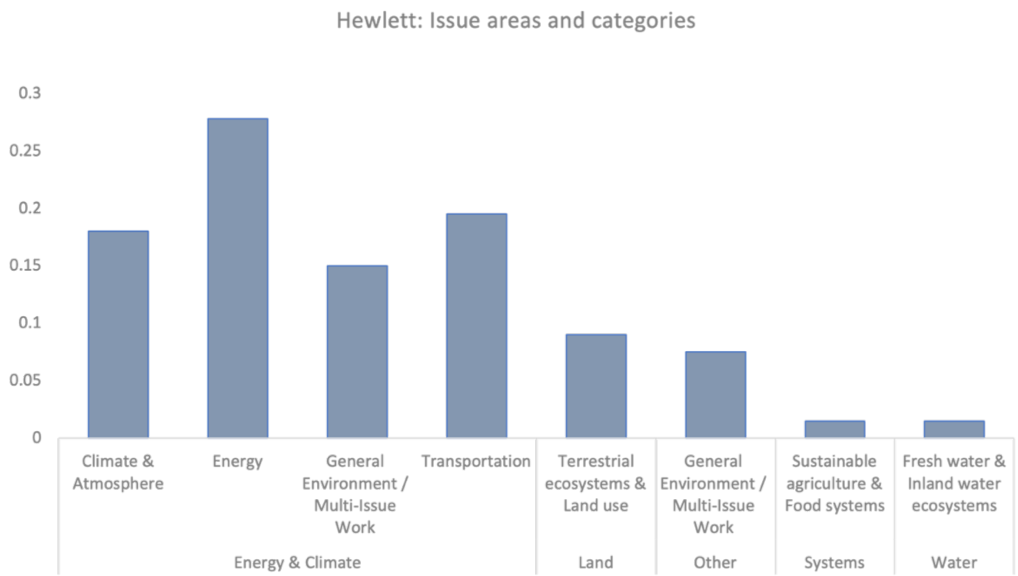


Source: Elaborated by the author. *Note*. Percentages were not weighted, as there were no secondary strategies in this case.

The general issue areas, and specific categories within each area, of the projects funded by Hewlett in Brazil are shown in figure 7. The categories follow the taxonomy utilised by associations of foundations, as did the categorisation of the strategies employed by the foundation. To provide a more nuanced understanding of the kinds of projects funded, an analysis of the content in the grant descriptions was carried out using word frequency, which resulted in a word cloud that is presented in figure 8. As one would expect, the main issue funded by the foundation was Energy & Climate. Most projects funded in the early 2000s were connected to Hewlett's programme area on sustainable mobility and clean transportation. As seen in the previous chapter, it focused on air pollution, the use of clean fuels, and public transportation the city and state of São Paulo. Some of the key words that came up in the analysis, after the geographic scope (São Paulo and Brazil), describe the nature of the grants: to projects connected to hybrid buses and vehicles. Such projects were categorised primarily

Figure 7

Hewlett's grants classified by issue areas and categories within each area



Source: Elaborated by the author.

within Energy, and secondarily within Transportation. Clean, air and pollution are interconnected key words, related to projects on urban air pollution and clean air legislation (categorised within Climate & Atmosphere). Transportation in itself is another key word, connected to projects such as the one promoting Bus Rapid Transit systems. Right below the top words (and squeezed between the words 'general' and 'support' in the cloud in figure 8), Amazon comes up, and represents projects that, between 2001-2004, received grants for issue areas outside of Energy & Climate. These were outside of what would become the foundation's scope for the country, perhaps showing its learning curve about the work in Brazil, and included general support for environmental CSOs focused on the Amazon region, support for their specific projects, such as forest management, and even grants to the environmental programme of an organisation that had previously worked with Hewlett on its population and demography programme. Last, but not least, support and general were, by far, the words that came up most in the grant descriptions (support came up three times more than air, in third place). The words are also strongly associated – support does not come with general only four times out of 29. Although a grain of salt is needed, as this includes general support for a specific programme, which makes the meaning of general debatable, it confirms Hewlett's move towards general support in its more recent grantmaking in Brazil.

Figure 8

Word cloud based on the word frequency in Hewlett's grant descriptions

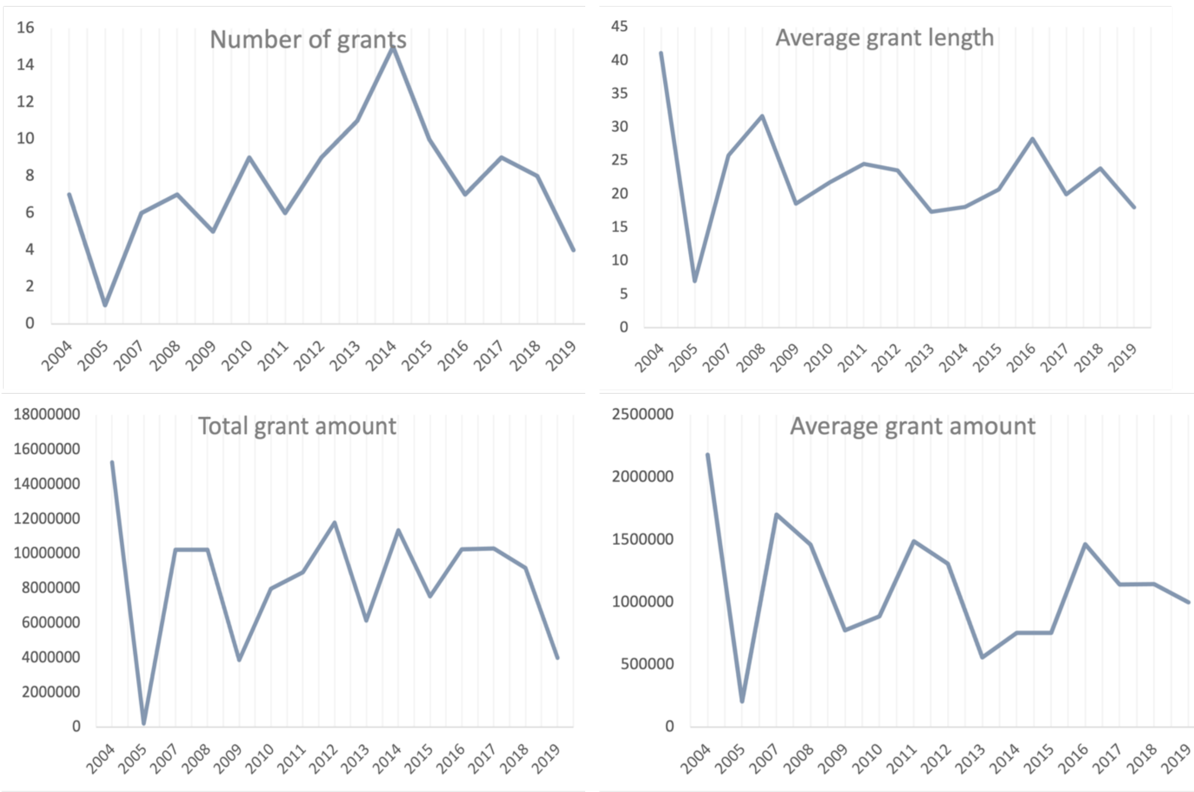
Source: Elaborated by the author.

4.2 Moore Foundation

Moore's grants to Brazilian organisations began in 2004 within the context of the foundation's Andes-Amazon Initiative, which had been established in 2003. The foundation made 114 grants to 31 organisations, with a total of USD 127,318,789 – outweighing the other foundations studied by a factor of five. As seen in the previous chapter, Moore's donations to Brazil are comparable to those of some DAC countries. It is also the foundation that destined the largest amount of its environment programme to Brazil, 7.19%. Looking at the period between 2006-2019 (before 2006, Moore's grantmaking data by programme was only publicised in its annual reports for the whole period of 2000-2005, not annually), Moore donated USD 111,844,209 to Brazil, out of a total of USD 1,554,876,371 to its entire environment programme. Figure 9 shows a breakdown of the total grants to Brazilian organisations in the period studied. Apart from a drop in 2005, when there was only one grant, and a spike in 2014 (when the programme was first due to end), grants remained close to an average of 7 per year. The duration of the grants followed a similar pattern. After a start with grant durations of an average of 41 months (which may explain the drop in grants in 2005), grants began floating around the average of 23.07 months. It is noticeable in figure 9 that as the number of grants increase, the average grant amount tends to decrease, indicating a tendency to spread funds instead of increasing the total amount given to the initiative. Also, 2019 saw a decrease to four grants, the smallest number of grants since 2005, accompanied by a decrease in average grant amount and length, a signal towards the end of the programme in 2021.

Figure 9

Moore's grants over time: average length and amount



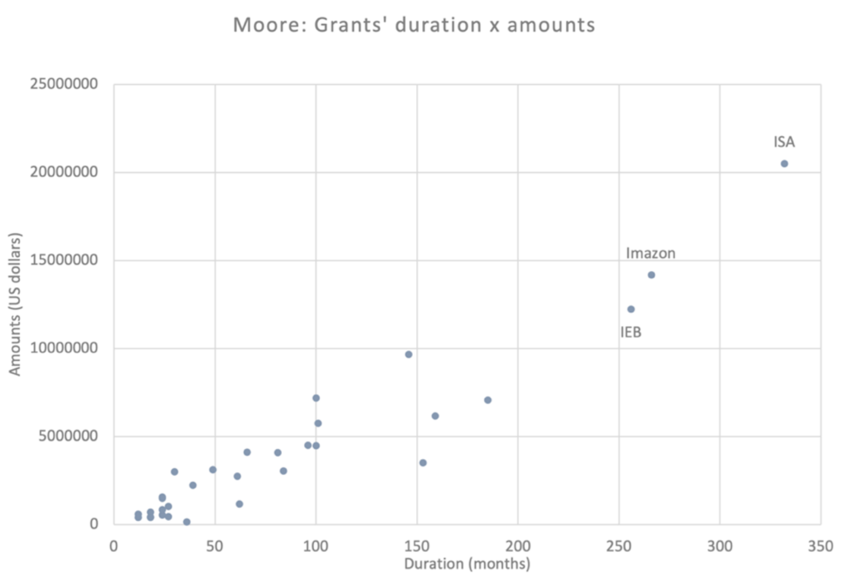
Source: Elaborated by the author.

Among Moore's grantees, three stand out, as seen in figure 10. They established a relationship with the foundation from the beginning, all received grants in 2004 and their last grants were at the end of the period studied, in 2017, 2018 and 2019. By far the CSO that received the most amount of grants was the Socioenvironmental Institute (Instituto Socioambiental – ISA), which was awarded 14 grants of a total of USD 20,477,198 over a 14-

year period. Founded in 1994, ISA is one of the best-known and respected CSOs in the country, and it was created to provide integrated solutions to social and environmental problems. Although the organisation is based in São Paulo, it has seven other offices in key areas for environmental protection and that of indigenous populations around the country: Brasília (the country capital), Manaus - Amazonas, Boa Vista - Roraima, São Gabriel da Cachoeira - Amazonas, Canarana - Mato Grosso, Eldorado - São Paulo, and Altamira - Pará (Instituto Socioambiental, n.d.-a). It works mainly on the monitoring of protected areas and indigenous territories; the promotion of public policies that are environmentally friendly and that protect the rights of indigenous and traditional populations; knowledge generation and dissemination about indigenous peoples; and local sustainable development projects (Instituto Socioambiental, n.d.-b).

Figure 10

Moore's main grantees: amounts received and grants' total duration



Source: Elaborated by the author.

Next, comes the Institute of Man and Environment in the Amazon (Instituto do Homem e Meio Ambiente da Amazonia – Imazon), which received 12 grants totalling USD 14,167,099 between 2004-2007. Imazon is a CSO based in Belém, in the Amazon state of Pará, founded in 1990. Its establishment came as a reaction to the increasingly pressing issue of the Amazon destruction coupled with a lack of applied research on environmental degradation and the use and conservation of natural resources. The organisation was thus born as a research institute with a mission to promote conservation and sustainable development in the Amazon (Imazon, n.d.-a). Imazon is well-known for its expertise in the use of satellite images and cartographical techniques to monitor changes in deforestation, publishing a monthly bulletin with a deforestation alert system. It also provides training for officials on monitoring and reporting practices, and supports programmes that advance sustainable development models for the Amazon region – this includes the weekly publication of prices for agroforestry products, such as açai berries and Brazil nuts (Imazon, n.d.-b).

The International Institute for Education in Brazil (Instituto Internacional de Educação do Brasil – IEB) received the third largest amount from Moore in the period studied, USD 12,220,595 spread over nine grants between 2004-2019. The CSO, based in Brasília and with offices in Belém (Pará) and Humaitá (Amazonas), was founded in 1998 with a focus on training people, strengthening organisations, and generating knowledge about sustainable development. The organisation's work connects issues concerning conservation to those related to economic, social and cultural sustainability (Instituto Internacional de Educação do Brasil, n.d.-a), supporting the consolidation of protected areas and the implementation of sustainable economic activities (Instituto Internacional de Educação do Brasil, n.d.-b). IEB's focus, however, is on training – Moore's first grant to IEB was for a fellowship programme, which provided scholarships for undergrad and graduate students, as well as professional development grants for professors and CSO workers to take courses on a range of environmental topics (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-a).

The general profile of Moore's grantees, presented in table 7, shows an organisation that heavily supports environmental CSOs in Brazil. Out of its thirty-one grantees, nineteen are environmental CSOs, two focus on indigenous peoples, and only two are CSOs with a broader mandate (education, for instance). Five grantees are research-focused organisations, either universities or research centres and foundations connected to universities, which received one grant each for issues ranging from metrics on degradation and sustainable agriculture to analyses for Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation (REDD) programmes and even the development of a course on environmental law enforcement. There is one government agency among the grantees, a state government environment office, which received grants for the creation and consolidation of protected

Table 7

Grants made by Moore

Type of organisation	Number of grants	Amount received	First grant	Last grant
CSO	2	$2,240,801	2004	2007
CSO	4	$7,193,584	2004	2014
CSO	6	$7,069,497	2004	2017
CSO	9	$12,220,595	2004	2019
CSO	12	$14,167,099	2004	2017
CSO	14	$20,477,198	2004	2018
Government	4	$4,476,816	2004	2014
CSO	3	$4,084,090	2007	2010
CSO	9	$3,513,193	2008	2017
Research	1	$159,277	2008	n/a
CSO	3	$2,752,962	2009	2019
Research	1	$1,559,466	2009	n/a
CSO	9	$6,156,372	2009	2019
CSO	2	$3,121,309	2010	2011
CSO	3	$4,114,840	2010	2017
CSO	4	$1,166,851	2011	2017
CSO	5	$5,745,019	2012	2018
CSO	3	$4,500,000	2012	2016
CSO	6	$9,661,030	2012	2017
Research	1	$853,200	2012	n/a
CSO	1	$600,143	2013	n/a
CSO	1	$400,500	2013	n/a
Business	1	$422,077	2014	n/a
Business	1	$400,520	2014	n/a
CSO	1	$1,032,000	2014	n/a
Research	1	$544,500	2014	n/a
CSO	3	$3,050,550	2016	2018
CSO	1	$700,300	2018	n/a
Research	1	$2,992,700	2018	n/a
CSO	1	$442,300	2018	n/a
CSO	1	$1,500,000	2019	n/a

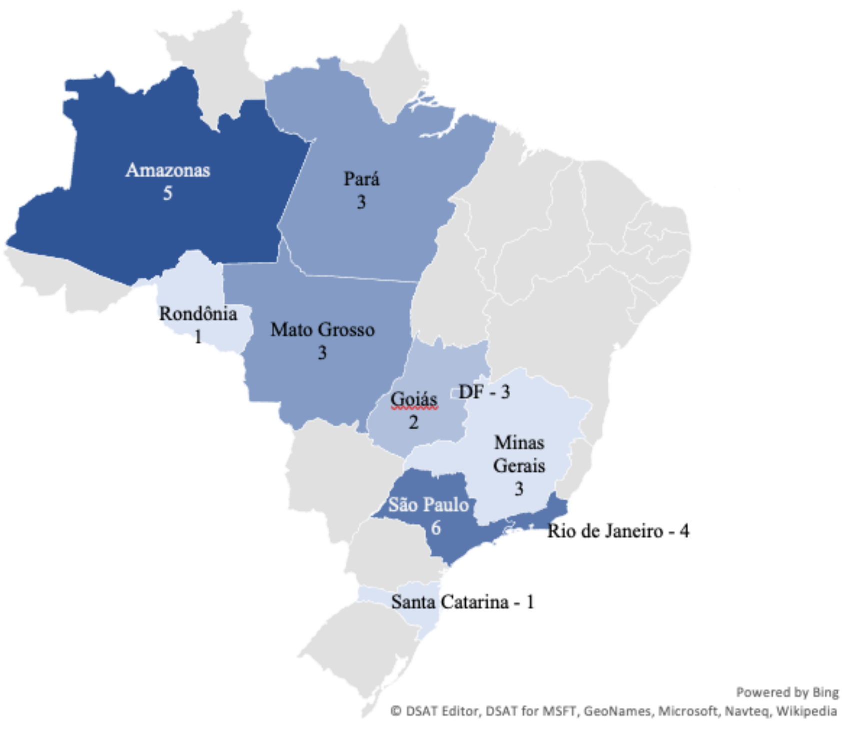
Source: Elaborated by the author.

areas in the Amazon. The other two grantees were business consultancies on agricultural development and geotechnology, which developed projects in the context of the Conservation and Markets Initiative. Following a pattern similar to Hewlett's, recipient organisations 'match' the foundation's goals and are a vehicle to achieve them. They are solid local organisations capable of and well-positioned to run large projects on the ground –

Moore’s average grant was USD 1,116,831 (more than twice as much as Hewlett’s), and its largest grant was of USD 5,450,000. Although Moore’s grantees are more spread out around the country, as shown in figure 11, mainly in the Amazon states (Amazonas and Pará are the largest Amazonian states, but they are nine in total, including Acre, Amapá, Mato Grosso, Rondônia, Roraima, Tocantins, and Maranhão). This is due to the nature of the foundation’s work with a focus on Amazon conservation, yet it does not mean organisations are smaller in any way, as out of 23 CSOs funded, 15 have offices in more than one city or state.

Figure 11

Location of the main offices of Moore’s grantees



Source: Elaborated by the author.

Moore’s grantmaking was slightly less concentrated in a few organisations then Hewlett’s, which is in accordance with the foundations’ different strategies. The top three Moore’s recipients got 37% of all grants. An additional 28% was received by five organisations through grants between five to ten million spread over four to nine projects. Still, almost half of Moore’s grantees received one or two grants, and most of those one-off grants came after

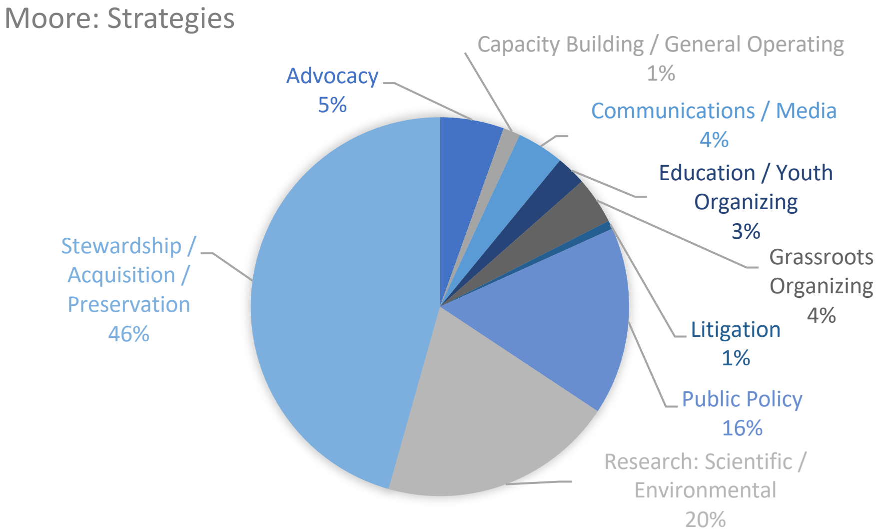
2012. That was a watershed moment for the foundation's grants to Brazil, as the first deadline for the Andes-Amazon Initiative, 2014, approached. Starting in 2012, and mainly from 2013 onwards, grants also got smaller, below the average of one million, and several were less than half of that. Only one new grantee after 2013 received three grants, mostly to support the ARPA programme. A pattern in behaviour emerges, in which foundations are funding well-established organisations that are able to implement their strategies either through one-off or a series of grants – for CSOs with which Moore worked the longest, grants were piece-meal, between nine and fourteen in the period studied. The term long term is also used freely, as four CSOs worked with the foundation for more than ten years in the period.

Over time, the foundation employed a few different strategies in the Andes-Amazon Initiative, which align with its overall goal and with the analysis of individual grants carried out for this research and presented in figure 12. Not surprisingly, stewardship and preservation were the main strategies employed by Moore, covering almost half of grants, as they include the general protection and purchasing of land, as well as its responsible management. The strategy evolved through the years, from a focus on the establishment and consolidation of protected areas and indigenous territories to their monitoring and management (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-a; Hardner et al., 2016). For instance, in its 2006 annual report, the foundation highlights the role of Imazon in the creation of 12.8 million hectares of protected areas in the Calha Norte region of the state of Pará through the provision of technical studies and assistance to the government during the public consultation process (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-a). In 2010, the organisation received a grant with several aims, one of which was to secure gains at Calha Norte; in 2015 a grant was awarded specifically to consolidate the area by developing a territorial monitoring program as well as governance mechanisms.

Sustainable finance permeates the stewardship and preservation strategy, although such efforts concentrate towards the last years of the Andes-Amazon Initiative, according to an evaluation caried out in 2015 (Hardner et al., 2016). Two projects exemplify Moore's efforts in this regard. The first is the pooling of donor resources for ARPA for Life, as described in the previous chapter, helping the continuation of the Brazilian government's protected areas programme. The second is the support to the development of Protected Area Compensation Funds, "supporting state governments to set up funds to administer environmental compensation fees paid by developers… seeking environmental permitting for projects with a significant environmental footprint” (Hardner et al., 2016, p. 18).

Figure 12

Moore’s grants according to the strategy employed



Source: Elaborated by the author.

Finally, strategies around science, policy and capacity building have also been a key part of the programme from the beginning (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-a). Although the three areas were scrapped as explicit strategies in an initiative’s strategic update in 2013, they continued receiving support, sometimes under a different categorisation, or became the outcome of some grants (Hardner et al., 2016). Land use planning, for instance, a key strategy highlighted by the foundation, falls into public policy, as it entails the integration of protected areas into official zoning and land-use plans. Several grants in this category target projects to propose, implement, and evaluate environmental policies. Science projects, categorised within scientific and environmental research and representing 20% of the sample, range from feasibility studies in protected areas to tools to advance conservation, such as the development and dissemination of software to monitor biodiversity and analyse satellite images. Projects in this area also include the scholarship programme implemented by IEB described earlier in this section, marking one discrepancy between the foundation’s characterisation of its work, and the one done in this research. Moore considers capacity building work grants towards scholarships or training courses for NGO workers and public officials, for instance. Those were categorised here either within research or education – the foundation is very much focused on project-specific grants, in lieu of general operating grants that afford grantees more freedom to spend the resources and would be categorised as capacity building for the purposes of this research.

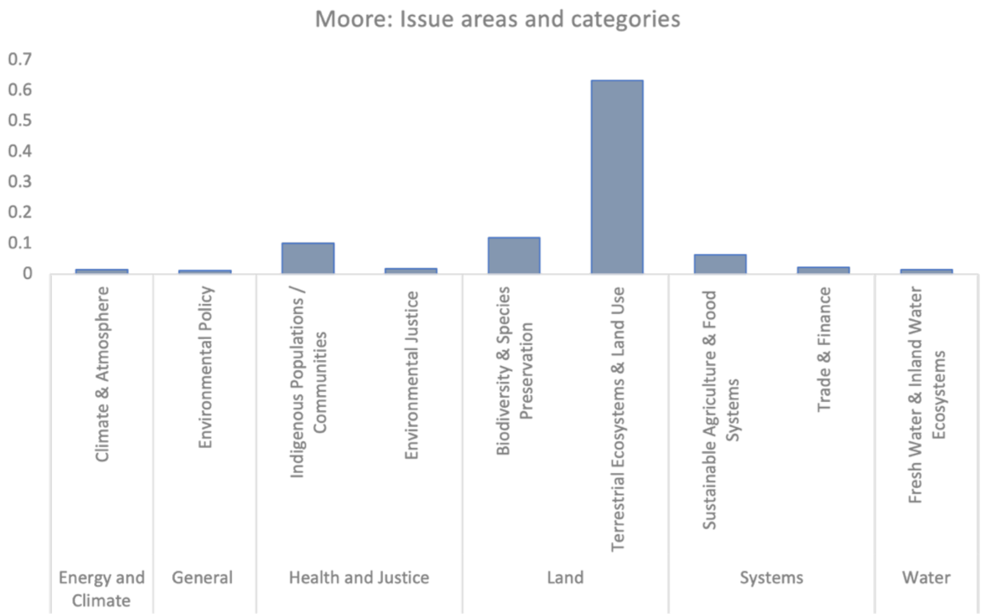
As it is probably clear by now, and is made even more so in figure 13, Moore focuses its grants to Brazil in one issue area: Land. That is mainly Terrestrial Ecosystems & Land Use, covering the protected areas that the foundation concentrates its efforts on. The word cloud in figure 14 confirms that, with protected areas highlighted at the centre. The other words that come up often (excluding geographic signifiers, such as Brazil, Amazon, or the name of different Brazilian states, that emphasise the specificity of Moore's grants) are in line with the foundation's strategies for protected areas and indigenous territories: conservation, consolidation, management, and monitoring. These grants may, for instance, develop and test governance mechanisms: a project in the settlement communities of Moju I and II, in Pará, piloted the co-management of community forests between communities, government, and the timber industry. They also support new technologies to improve the monitoring of land use, including high resolution images and machine learning. Some of the projects included a biodiversity component and 23% of them explicitly targeted indigenous lands and communities (which were also tagged in the Health and Justice category, within Indigenous Populations/Communities), as reflected in the categories in figure 13. A project, for instance, focused on biodiversity conservation and sustainable resource use on two indigenous lands in Pará. Finally, it is worth noting that the word implementation comes up even more often than conservation, bringing to the fore Moore's focus on grantmaking for specific projects.

4.3 Mott Foundation

Mott's grants are an interesting combination of the other two foundations studied. It awarded USD 20,002,700 to 21 grantees, close in amount granted and number of grantees to Hewlett's 24 million to 23 organisations. However, it divided that amount into 103 grants, a number similar to Moore's 114 grants. Mott's grants cover the whole period analysed in this research, 2000-2019, during which it granted Brazilian organisations the equivalent of 6.75% of its

Figure 13

Moore's grants classified by issue areas and categories within each area



Source: Elaborated by the author.

Figure 14

Word cloud based on the word frequency in Moore's grant descriptions

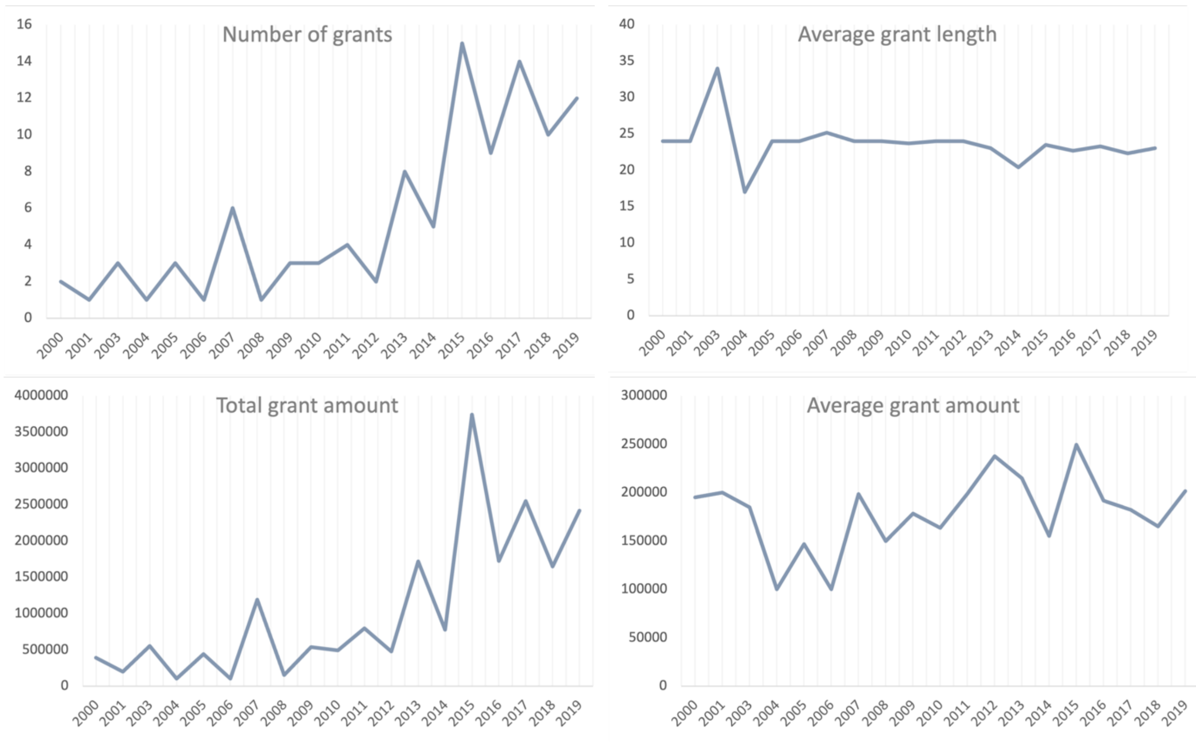
Source: Elaborated by the author.

environmental programme, estimated at USD 296,147,767. Before the period studied, the foundation had made only three grants to organisations in Brazil, in 1995, 1996 and 1999, from around USD 40,000 to 78,000, all within the variations of the transforming development finance programme area (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 1996, 1997, 2000). Mott's grants to Brazil began picking up in 2013, as shown in figure 15, rapidly increasing starting in that year. Until 2012, an average of 2.5 grants and USD 451,666 per year were awarded. Between 2013-2019, an average of 10.4 grants and USD 2.083,242 per year were awarded. This is a reflection of Mott's renewed environmental strategy, described in the previous chapter. It revised the transforming development finance programme area, putting a focus on Brazil and China as emerging economies, and added to the foundation's portfolio a programme to tackle climate change, which included Brazil's Amazon rainforest as a focus area. The new strategy was officially put in place in 2014, but funding to emerging economies had already started in 2013 (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2014). Lastly, the average duration of Mott's grants remained relatively stable in the period and, at 23.46 months, was very similar to the other foundations'.

The distribution of Mott's grantees is shown in figure 16, and the first eye-catching fact is that the CSO with the strongest link to the foundation is ISA, which is also the top organisation for Moore. ISA is the only CSO that is one of the main recipients for two of the foundations studied in this research. Whereas Moore's grants for ISA focused on the monitoring and management of protected areas, Mott's grants focused on the foundation's two programmatic areas with Brazil as a geographic priority: development finance and climate change. Six of Mott's grants to ISA grants supported projects to investigate and monitor the socio-environmental impacts of investments made by BNDES, the Brazilian national development bank, including the ones for the Belo Monte hydroelectric power plant project. Nine grants supported the implementation of renewable energy projects in indigenous territories and isolated communities in the Amazon. The number of grants and amounts awarded to ISA illustrate the differences and similarities between Mott and Moore – between 2010-2019, Mott awarded 15 grants totalling USD 3,050,000, whereas in 14 years Moore awarded ISA 14 grants, but with a total of over USD 20 million.

Figure 15

Mott's grants over time: average length and amount

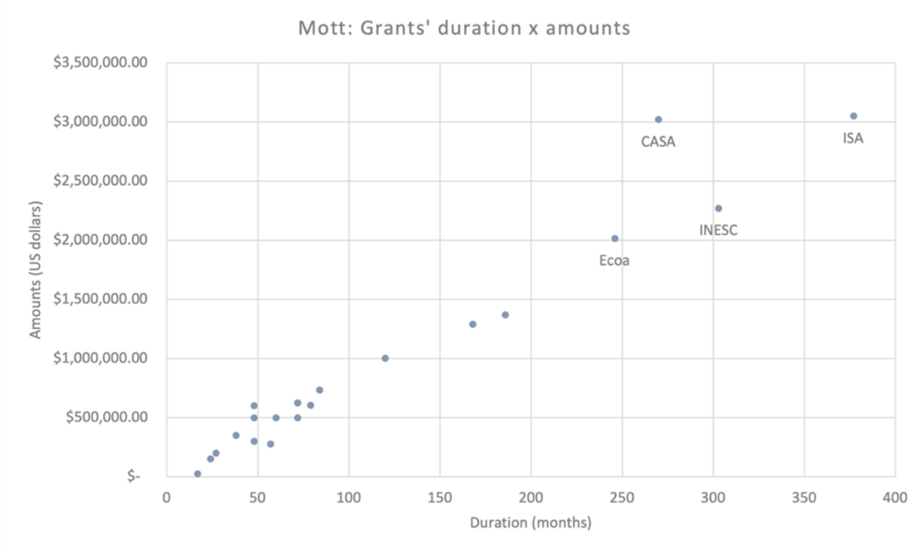


Source: Elaborated by the author.

Another organisation that illustrates such disparities in amounts is the Casa Socio-environmental Fund (Fundo Casa Socioambiental), one of Mott's top grantees (figure 16). The Casa Fund received a total of USD 3,020,000 in grants from Mott between 2006-2019. However, the only grant it received from Moore in 2019 to build the capacity of indigenous organisations was half that amount, USD 1.5 million. In the early 2000s, there was a movement in Brazilian civil society towards the creation of local philanthropic organisations that engage in grantmaking, breaking from the traditional philanthropy in the country, mostly connected to corporations or wealthy families, that generally carry out its own projects. These funds, as they self-denominate, tend to receive support from international donors, but also from a few local philanthropists and through fundraising, pooling resources to then regrant them to CSOs and community-based organisations. A network of such funds currently gathers 13 organisations, including iCS, working on topics such as gender, human rights, and the environment (Philanthropy for Social Justice Network, n.d.). A few of these organisations also follow the community philanthropy model championed by Mott (as seen in the previous chapter), focusing their work on a specific geographic area. Nevertheless, even the thematic funds develop local capacity to gather, manage and grant funds, which are tenets at the core of community philanthropy. The Casa Fund is one of the funds created, and it had Mott's support from the beginning – the fund was created in 2005 (Fundo Casa, n.d.-a), and Mott's first of 12 grants to the organisation was in 2006. Moreover, all of Mott's general operating grants were to Casa. In addition to the set-up following an organisational model supported by Mott, Casa's leadership had previously developed a relationship with the foundation. They had been part of the Franscisco Foundation (Fundação Francisco), an organisation dissolved in 1999 which had received two of the three grants Mott made to Brazil in the 1990s (Fundo Casa, n.d.-a). The Casa Fund was established to provide financial support and capacity building to CSOs and community initiatives in South America promoting environmental conservation and sustainability, democracy, and social justice (Fundo Casa, n.d.-b). The fund emphasises its bridging role between philanthropic organisations and community groups (Fundo Casa, n.d.-b), as the former may find it organisationally and bureaucratically challenging to directly support the latter.

Figure 16

Mott's main grantees: amounts received and grants' total length



Source: Elaborated by the author.

The Institute for Socioeconomic Studies (Instituto de Estudos Socioeconômicos – Inesc) received the third largest amount from Mott, USD 2,270,000 spread through 12 grants between 2004-2019. Inesc is a CSO founded in 1979 for the promotion of participative democracy and the protection of human rights, giving voice to CSOs and social movements in national and international public policy discussions (Inesc, n.d.). The organisation produces and disseminates analyses to inform the public debate, engages in public campaigns, and does advocacy work at all government levels (Inesc, n.d.). Mott's grants to Inesc fell within Transforming Development Finance and can be divided into two groups. The first aimed at increasing the accountability and sustainability of public and international financing of energy and infrastructure projects. This included monitoring such projects, particularly in the Amazon region, and engaging legislators in these discussions. It also included a project to strengthen the role of national legislators in regional integration processes, e.g., Mercosur, educating elected officials on projects related to issues such as transborder water and electricity generation. The second group of grants were towards the Brazilian Network on Multilateral Financial Institutions (Rede Brasil), a network of Brazilian CSOs, including ISA and Ecoa (which will be discussed next), established in 1995 to organise and give voice to civil society demands regarding multilateral banks' projects and policies (Mineiro et al., 2018; Rede Brasil, 2015). In its own language, the network's core strategy it to face financial institutions at the core of capitalism as part of a fight against hegemony (Rede Brasil, 2015). One of the network's early achievements was the publication of the World Bank's Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) for Brazil in 1998 – it was the first time a country's CAS was ever published (Vianna, 2000).

Lastly, Ecoa – Ecology and Action (Ecologia e Ação) received nine grants between 2003-2019, totalling USD 2,015,000. The organisation was created in 1989 by researchers aiming at connecting research, local knowledge and public policy for environmental conservation and sustainability in rural and urban areas (Ecoa, 2021b). Ecoa is one of the Brazilian CSOs that, over time, moved from a focus on conservation to one that included social issues and sustainability models that integrate quality of life and economic development (Ecoa, 2021b). The organisation is based in Campo Grande, Mato Grosso do Sul, close to its focus areas: two of the Brazilian biomes, the Pantanal (the world's largest tropical wetland area), and the savanna-like Cerrado that dominates the centre of the country; the La Plata River basin, which spreads through Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay (Ecoa, 2021a). One of Ecoa's main lines of work focuses on the financing infrastructure and energy projects, and Mott's grants aim at monitoring such investments, including their compliance with environmental and social standards, by key development investors in South America, such as the Inter-American Development Bank and BNDES. Grants to Ecoa also follow up on work that Mott had done in the same region in the 1990s, funding CSOs working to halt the development of a commercial navigation project to be funded by the Inter-American Development Bank based on negative environmental impact studies (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 1998).

Table 8 presents an overview of Mott's twenty-one grantees, which are overwhelmingly composed by CSOs. The exception are three research organisations – two universities and one foundation connected to a university, which received six grants among themselves. Funding includes research on the socio-environmental impacts of hydropower in the Amazon; monitoring Chinese investment in Latin America; and socio-environmental safeguards in development finance, especially regarding new institutions, such as the BRICS New Development Bank. Among the CSOs, ten are environmental, seven work with a broader number of issues (e.g., human rights CSOs that also run an environmental programme or issue area) and one is research-focused. As one would expect, out of Mott's two programmatic areas in Brazil, development finance and climate change, organisations that do not work exclusively with environmental issues tend to focus on the first, as it is a broader topic, whereas environmental CSOs received grants for both areas. Mott's average grant amount was the smallest among the foundations studied at USD 194,200 (Hewlett's was over USD 430,000), and its largest grant reached USD 1,000,000 (the other foundations gave three to five times that at once). Mott disbursed a total amount close to Hewett's to a similar number of grantees but using almost twice as many grants. This, however, does not mean grantees were smaller organisations with lesser organisational capacity. The foundation shares a third of its grantees with the other two foundations. The others are also well-established organisations that receive funds from other international donors. As shown in figure 17, two-thirds are of Mott's grantees are based in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, where the largest CSOs in terms of staff are, following a pattern similar to Hewlett's.

Two-thirds of Mott's grantees received their first grants after 2013, further illustrating the foundation's renewed focus and strategy for Brazil but limiting the conclusions one can draw from the donor-recipient relationship. Most grants in this period have been renewed between two to five times. Only three organisations received one grant: two appear to relate to the period studied and another to the political scenario in Brazil. One grant finished in 2019

Table 8

Grants made by Mott

Type of organisation	Number of grants	Amount received	First grant	Last grant
CSO	8	$1,290.000	2000	2017
CSO	8	$1,370,000	2000	2015
CSO	9	$2,015,000	2003	2019
CSO	12	$2,270,000	2004	2019
CSO	12	$3,020,000	2006	2019
CSO	15	$3,050,000	2010	2019
CSO	4	$604,500	2013	2017
CSO	4	$733,200	2014	2019
CSO	5	$1,000,000	2014	2018
CSO	3	$625,000	2015	2019
CSO	2	$500,000	2015	2017
CSO	3	$500,000	2015	2018
CSO	3	$275,000	2015	2019
CSO	3	$625,000	2016	2018
CSO	2	$300,000	2016	2018
Research	3	$500,000	2016	2018
Research	2	$600,000	2017	2019
Research	1	$200,000	2017	n/a
CSO	2	$350,000	2018	2019
CSO	1	$25,000	2018	n/a
CSO	1	$150,000	2019	n/a

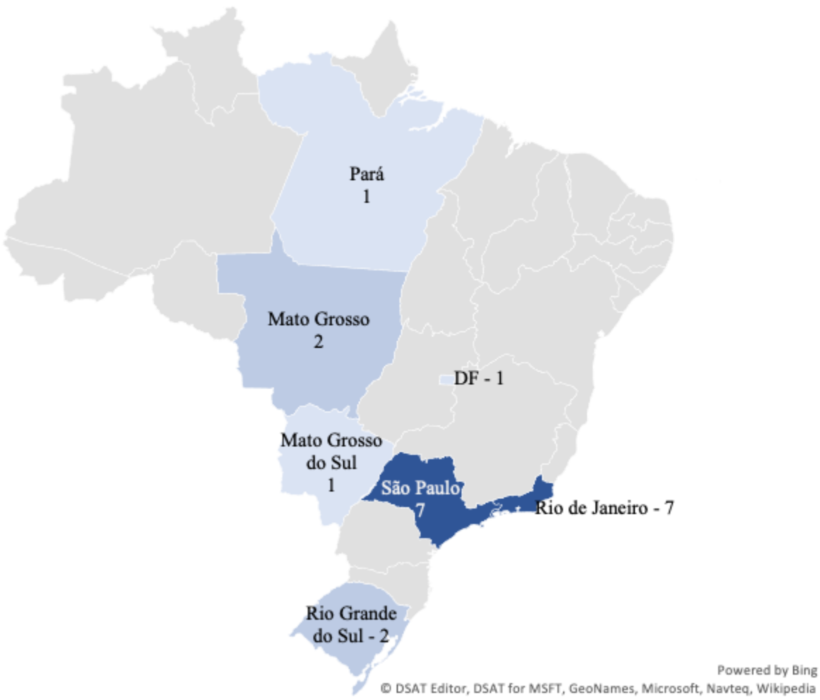
Source: Elaborated by the author.

and another started in 2019, right at the end of the period covered in this study. The other one-off grant was a small, one-year support in 2018, for the mapping and protection of environmental human rights defenders. This falls outside of the foundation's scope, yet a possible explanation is a recent escalation in violence – in 2017 Brazil was the most lethal country for environmental defenders (Fowks, 2018; Watts, 2021). Prior to 2013, Mott's strategy was similar to the other foundation's, picking a few key organisations to work with in country and giving them piece-meal grants even though they cover the same topic. Mott's top four grantees had established a relationship with the foundation prior to 2013, lasting nine, thirteen, fifteen, and sixteen years.

The strategies utilised by Mott, presented in figure 18, are a close match to their programme areas in Brazil. Public policy, representing over a third of the grants, encompasses

Figure 17

Location of the main offices of Mott's grantees

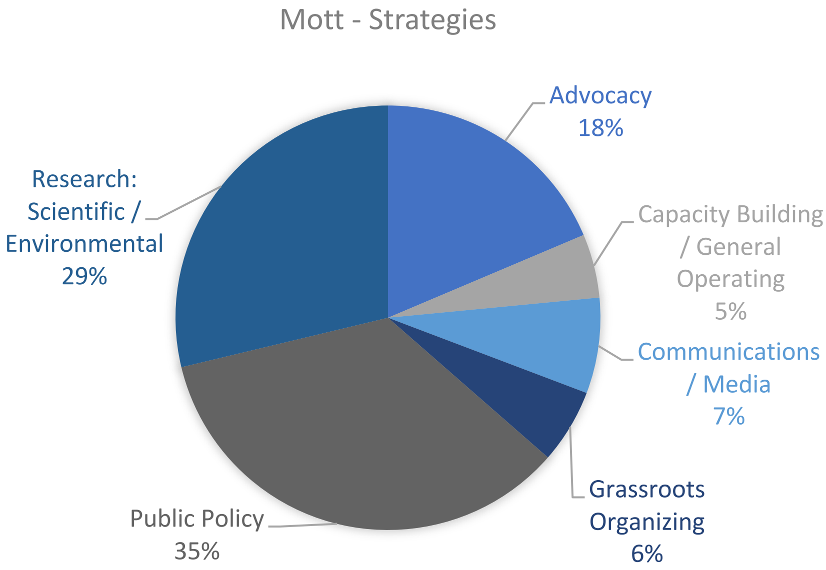


Source: Elaborated by the author.

projects on the provision of small-scale, decentralised renewable energy systems in isolated communities, as well as dialogue with policymakers on regulatory and financial barriers to it. Development finance also has a clear public policy approach, in that it supports the reform of international financial institutions and national development banks. Moreover, part of Mott's work on transforming development finance rests on supporting CSOs that do advocacy (e.g., campaigns to increase awareness among the public and other CSOs on the role of multilateral financial institutions in environmental protection) and work closely with legislators (e.g., educating them on the effects of multilateral agreements), making it the only foundation in which advocacy comes up as a notable strategy, with 18% of grants. Another representative strategy, covering 29% of grants, is research, as it is common in philanthropic organisations. This includes case studies about public investments in infrastructure projects, reports on development finance standards, and studies on regulatory barriers for renewable energy. Lastly, it is noteworthy that Mott's use of capacity building as a strategy is solely based on its general operating grants to Fundo Casa, as the bulk of its grantmaking is project-oriented.

Figure 18

Mott's grants according to the strategy employed

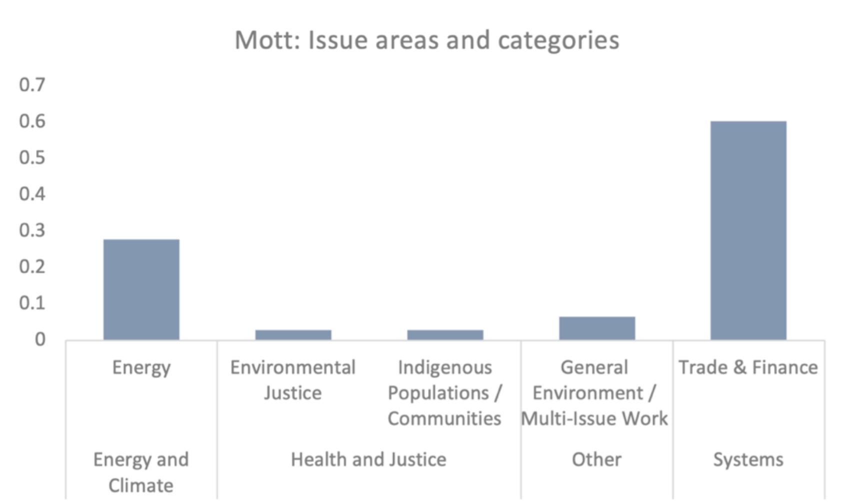


Source: Elaborated by the author.

As shown in figure 19, 60% of Mott's grants are connected to the category of Trade & Finance, which describe projects in the foundation's transforming development finance programme area. The centrality of the area is confirmed by the word cloud based on the frequency of words in project descriptions presented in figure 20. The keyword here is development, and it is mostly associated with sustainable development, development finance, and development banks. Common grants focus on varying mechanisms to improve transparency, accountability, and socio-environmental standards by multilateral financial institutions and development banks. As investors, these organisations play an important role in setting environmental standards for infrastructure projects (the latter two being other keywords in Mott's projects descriptions). Initially, the programme was more focused on institutions from the Global North but, as the role of developing countries became more pronounced, the programme expanded its focus to monitoring the Brazilian Development Bank and Chinese investments in Latin America. A few grants also focused on the negative impacts of World Trade Organization (WTO) trade agreements on agricultural systems and food security, providing support for Brazilian civil society to advocate for trade agreements that advance sustainable development.

Figure 19

Mott's grants classified by issue areas and categories within each area



Source: Elaborated by the author.

Energy is the next category, covering projects funded by the advancing climate solutions programme, starting in 2015. High-frequency keywords 'energy', 'Amazon', and 'communities' are at the core here, coinciding with the programme area's goal of providing renewable power systems (primarily solar) to isolated communities with a focus in the Amazon region. Projects, therefore, are mostly related to the installation, testing, monitoring, evaluation, and replication of solar energy systems. The programme also included a grant to address the energy crisis in the Amazon state of Roraima, developing a plan to swap its diesel-based electricity generation for renewable sources such as solar, wind, and biomass. Grants in this area went predominantly to ISA, and also overlaps with Hewlett's grantees IEMA and iCS. Lastly, in Mott's project descriptions, in general, not only do the words 'environmental' and 'social' stand out (figure 20) but often come together, as projects tend to encompass both aspects, for instance, monitoring the socio-environmental impacts of infrastructure projects and benefits of renewable energy.

Figure 20

Word cloud based on the word frequency in Mott’s grant descriptions

Source: Elaborated by the author.

5 An integrated framework

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section presents a comparative framework of the three foundations studied, categorising them among the different existing types of philanthropic organisations. The second section develops a comparative analysis of the foundations' stated priorities and practices utilising the assumptions made about their behaviour in the development literature as a framework. The final section utilises a donor motivations lens to analyse the behaviour of the foundations, finding a set of mechanisms through which they exert a high level of control and paternalistic altruism over grantees. These mechanisms are top-down design of strategies; programmatic funding; short-term grants that require constant reapplication; choosing organisations as 'service providers' in lieu of accepting unsolicited proposals; non-alignment with national priorities. Then, literature on the political economy of donors is used to demonstrate the similarities between traditional donors and philanthropic ones, calling into question the distinctiveness of the latter as a development actor. In order to provide contextual information and facilitate the understanding of the comparative analyses made in this chapter about the three foundations studied, table 9 below presents a summary of the foundations' grantmaking to environmental issues in Brazil.

Table 9

Database of 274 grants to 63 organisations for environmental issues in Brazil

Data summary	Hewlett	Moore	Mott
Number of grants	57	114	103
Number of grantees	23	31	21
Total amount granted	$24,645,380	$127,318,789	$20,002,700
Average grant amount	$432,375	$1,116,831	$194,200
Smallest grant amount	$10,000	$33,197	$20,000
Largest grant amount	$3,000,000	$5,450,000	$1,000,000
Average grant duration	29.96 months	23.07 months	23.46 months
Time period	2001-2019	2004-2019	2000-2019

Source: Elaborated by the author.

5.1 Of apples and oranges: What is being compared?

There are numerous types of philanthropic organisations in the world. They can be corporate foundations, which are generally established and financed by companies, with varying types of governance arrangements. The Mastercard Foundation, for instance, is one of the largest corporate foundations in the world and was set up with a gift from the company, but it operates independently with its own board (Mastercard Foundation, n.d.). The foundation has a focus on development, especially financial inclusion in Africa, having partnered with BRAC, the international CSO from Bangladesh, in such projects in the past. On the opposite end of the scale, community foundations, as the name hints, aim to mobilise local resources to fund local projects through local leaderships. Tewa, for instance, is a community foundation established in Nepal focused on gender issues that as a response to "disillusion over decades of international development aid to Nepal… sought to develop a model of citizen-led development which could offer an alternative to existing externally-formulated top-down approaches…" (Hodgson et al., 2012, p. 20). There are also fundraising foundations (of which community foundations are a subset), that distinguish themselves from traditional CSOs in that they generally have more independency in how they distribute the funding received (Leat, 2016). The Clinton Foundation is an example of a successful foundation that receives donations from several sources, running programmes such as the climate initiative, supporting adaptation and mitigation efforts in island nations (Clinton Foundation, n.d.). Governments can also create independent or semi-independent foundations, such as the National Lottery Boards in the UK that have become large CSO donors, "for various purposes in which government does not want to be, or does not want to be seen to be, directly involved" (Leat, 2016, p. 19). And that does not even go into the varying legislations countries have characterising philanthropic organisations, an issue for cross-country comparative studies that Stefan Toepler has been bravely tackling for a couple of decades now (Toepler, 1999, 2018).

The three foundations studied in this research are part of yet another type of philanthropic organisations: private independent foundations that are established by an individual or a family (Toepler, 1999). These organisations tend to have an endowment, that is, assets or investments that allow them to have an income to fund their operations. When fully endowed, in terms of independence, these organisations can be considered "the 'purest' form of foundation… [and] do not have to please anyone (except regulators) in order to survive” (Leat, 2016, p. 17). Such independence is one of the main characteristics attributed to philanthropic organisations:

> The literature on foundations associates different comparative advantages or strengths as well as disadvantages or weaknesses with philanthropic foundations… These are rooted in a dual independence: on the one hand, they are relatively independent from market considerations, and on the other hand, they are relatively independent from political expectations. This independence rests to a considerable degree on the fact that foundations have their own assets. (Anheier, 2018, p. 1596)

The advantages afforded by this independence include some of the assumptions previously discussed, such as the ability to support new ideas and take risks, as well as to think about issues in the long run, without concerns about immediate returns that can constrain the markets or about getting votes and support that can constrain political actors. The main weakness is that there is no predominant stakeholder demanding results, leading to a lack of internal and external signals and incentives to help guide the behaviour of foundations (Leat et al., 2018) – “As basically autocratic institutions, the core challenge for foundations is to balance a basic tension… between autonomy (that is preserving their independence) and the obligation to serve the public based on the tax privileges that they receive” (Leat et al., 2018, para. 16).

It is thus extremely important that any research on philanthropy takes the time and makes the effort to understand the types of foundations being studied, characterising and classifying them. Different aspects of their constitution may correlate with, and possibly explain, the behaviour of specific organisations, as well as explain differences in the behaviour of seemingly similar foundations. For instance, it is likely that different types of funders have different motivations and incentives driving their donations. Research that gives the same analytical treatment to all foundations may be producing generalisations based on one type of foundation that is providing more information or completing more surveys. It can be also focusing on issues that are not relevant for all types of foundations, “for example, fundraising and other ‘public’ foundations are, on balance, subject to the forces of the philanthropic marketplace... As such, they are less independent, but they may raise fewer accountability and legitimacy concerns (Toepler, 2018, pp. 1966–1967) [than independent, endowed foundations].

The framework developed by Jung, Harrow and Leat (2018) presented in chapter three offers a helpful tool for one to systematically establish categories to distinguish between the different foundation types, and also to spot key similarities and differences among foundations that fall within specific types. Table 10 presents an overview of the three foundations studied in this research according to the characteristics identified in the framework as the most relevant when it comes to distinguishing foundation types and analysing the drivers of their behaviour. Based on the profiles created in chapter three, the following paragraphs will explain the categories, establish parallels between the foundations, and determine the factors that may stand out in differentiating (or not) their behaviour from each other.

The three foundations are part of the private and independent type of philanthropic organisations, representing it in its purest form – they were established by individuals or families and were given an endowment that guarantees their independence from external pressures. They were all set up to have an unlimited lifespan, which entails the preservation of the foundations' core assets. These assets are invested and the returns on the investments made are used to run the foundations' operations. In other (blunter) words, the foundations are designed to exist forever, as their core assets remain untouched. The current assets of the three foundations run in the billions of dollars, putting them among the largest of such organisations in the world. They are all well-established organisations, as Moore, the youngest one, is already of drinking age. Nonetheless, a first factor that may influence differences in their behaviour is Mott's age, considering it is an organisation with almost 100 years of history. Regarding the geographic location of the foundations, once again Mott may be the one to watch, as it is the only organisation that is not based in the Bay Area in California. As seen in previous chapters, early evidence suggests that geographic proximity might be a relevant factor in determining whether foundations establish common strategies (Bartosiewicz & Miley, 2013). Moreover, Mott is also not based in a similarly rich coastal area, to the contrary, Flint ranks among the poorest cities in the U.S. and has a majority of black citizens (Bach, 2019).

Table 10

Categories to distinguish the different foundation types

Categories	Hewlett	Moore	Mott
Context			
Geographic location	Menlo Park, California	Santa Clara, California	Flint, Michigan
Organisational root	Independent	Independent	Independent
Link to organisational root	Active – tangential	Active – engaged	Active – engaged
Organisation			
Nature of resources	Fully endowed	Fully endowed	Fully endowed
Size of resources	USD 13.3 billion (2020)	USD 8 billion (2021)	USD 3.6 billion (2020)
Anticipated lifespan	Preservation	Preservation	Preservation
Life stage	1966	2000	1926
Strategy			
Approach	Grantmaking	Grantmaking	Grantmaking
Geography	International	International	Transnational
Theme(s)	Environment; science; patient care; San Francisco Bay Area	Environment; gender equity and governance; education; San Francisco Bay Area; effective philanthropy; special projects	Flint Area; civil society; education; environment
Beneficiaries	Organisations	Mostly organisations, but also individuals	Organisations
Criteria[11]	Fixed – pre-set approach to giving strategy	Fixed – pre-set approach to giving strategy	Fixed – pre-set approach to giving strategy

Source: Elaborated by the author. *Note*. Themes are listed from the largest to the smallest programmes within the foundations, except for Mott's programmes on civil society, education, and environment, which are roughly the same size.

When a foundation is created by an individual or a family, its organisational roots become a relevant analytical category, as they may provide clues to the foundation's behaviour. In addition to establishing whether a foundation is independent or corporate or a

[11] The criteria concern the level of flexibility of a foundation's giving strategy, e.g., whether a foundation uses flexible or fixed criteria to select its grantees or to design its strategies.

community foundation, and so on, it is useful to understand the type of business that generated the endowment. Both Hewlett's and Moore's endowments came from fortunes made in technology businesses, whereas Mott's came from the car industry, a 'real-economy' business. Based on a study carried out by the Boston College Social Welfare Research Institute on high-tech donors, Paul Schervish (2003, p. 23) has found that, although the application of business principles to philanthropy is widespread through several types of foundations and donors, as a group, tech donors are more entrepreneurial and focused on encouraging "nonprofits to pursue… the business goals of efficiency, strategic thinking, innovation, risk-taking, good management, accountability, measurable goals, and growth in scale… They have confidence in being able to seek out, attack and alleviate social and organizational problems". Another factor to be considered regarding a foundation's organisational root concerns its level of independence from its founding member(s). This can range from an actively engaged involvement in running the day-to-day of the organisation to a moderate engagement and inactivity, leaving the foundation's operations to a professional staff and board. The three foundations studied see an active level of involvement from their founders to varying degrees. Moore and Mott were characterised as having an engaged linkage with its founding families. At the Moore Foundation, the founder, Gordon Moore, is still a trustee. His son, Ken Moore, in addition to being a trustee, is chief administrative officer and chief officer for the San Francisco Bay Area programme. His other son, Steven Moore is a trustee and has been an executive director at the foundation. Mott's link goes even further, as its current president and CEO, Ridgway H. White, is the founder's great-grandson, and all its former presidents were members of the Mott family. In this sense, Mott may be an outlier, as one would expect Hewlett's founders were categorised as having a tangentially active involvement with the foundation because, although they do not hold executive positions in the foundation, three members of the board are family members. As seen in chapter three, both Hewlett's and Moore's bylaws establish that the board must contain seats for descendants from the founding family.

The three foundations also follow the U.S. tradition of grantmaking, that is, funding other organisations (or individuals through fellowships, as Moore does) instead of running their own projects. Grants, in general, tend to go to organisations as they are bureaucratically set up to be recipients. Some authors include doing grantmaking as a defining characteristic of what a foundation is (Prewitt, 2006), implying that operating foundations are a completely different organisational type, while others add operating foundations to the list of foundation types – corporate, community, operating, etc. (Toepler, 1999). The first stance, however, can be considered U.S.-centric, as operating foundations are common in other parts of the world. For instance, it is the prevalent model in Brazilian philanthropy, as shown in chapter two. Running one's own projects have the clear advantage of maximising control over how resources are spent. Grantmaking, however, still keeps most of the control and can also be a flexible way of allocating foundations' resources; allow funders to spread their funding across several thematic areas according to their interests; pass a more democratic or responsive image (Leat, 2016); empower civil society; and support organisations internationally without the need of keeping offices or staff abroad. Although it is the smallest of the foundations studied, Mott is the only one with offices outside of the U.S., in London and Johannesburg. They were established in connection with the foundation's civil society programme and their establishment is in line with the organisation's 'shoe leather philanthropy' ethos described in chapter three, meaning, being closer to their grantees. Grantmaking, however, can also present disadvantages. It is restricted by the availability of proposals received by the foundation, in a classic supply and demand problem and, even when a foundation receives a good amount of proposals, the selection process brings its own dilemmas over the criteria utilised to choose projects (Leat, 2016). To further complicate matters, a tenet of strategic philanthropy has managed to deepen one of those problems and, at the same time, thwart some of the advantages of grantmaking in the process.

Strategic approaches to philanthropic giving have been fully and explicitly embraced by Moore and Hewlett, through what they call outcome-focused philanthropy, and, to a lesser extent, by Mott, with its focus on giving strategies and impact measurement. The three foundations, however, follow the strategic philanthropy guidance to be proactive in the search for grantees, instead of waiting for the submission of unsolicited proposals or preparing calls for proposals. Mott is the only one that still accepts unsolicited funding requests through its website, even though funding to this end is limited. Foundations determine their goals, design the strategies to be pursued, and identify grantees to work with. This may solve the supply issue, as the foundation invites good proposals instead of waiting for them, but it creates several others. Firstly, accepting proposals mostly by invitation-only makes foundations' approach to giving more fixed as opposed to flexible, as they are only funding ideas and procedures that are a very close match to what they conceived. This leads to a second issue, which is that, once trustworthy partners are identified, foundations may create a vicious circle in which they work only with those organisations that have proven reliable and know the rules of the game, hampering incentives for innovative thinking. Their giving to large, well-established CSOs in Brazil point in this direction. Thirdly, foundations' may (duly) be the target of scrutiny over the criteria utilised to select the proposals they receive if they are to pass a more democratic or responsive image. This sort of accountability process gets nearly impossible when foundations are, instead, choosing grantees from a pool of pre-selected organisations that somehow have fallen under their 'radar'. Moreover, once CSOs are no longer freely submitting their own projects and ideas, even if within the parameters set by the foundations through open calls, the whole grantmaking process becomes even more top-down, hampering any possibility of local ownership.

5.2 Foundations' behaviour in development

The following subsections analyse the behaviour of the Hewlett, Moore, and Mott foundations regarding seven claims made in the literature about their resources – provision of significant resources to development activities; business approach – employment of business strategies and focus on results; innovation – support of new ideas and risk taking; niche filling – funding of issues unsupported by other actors; alignment – lack of alignment with national priorities and apolitical nature; problem solving – identification of and focus on specific issues; and grantees – close relationship with grantees. Table 11 presents a comparative summary of the analysis.

5.2.1 Resources

The OCED has been building a recent and small, yet very promising database on philanthropic giving (OECD, n.d.-d, n.d.-c). Since 2017, a group of 38 foundations has been reporting information about their international donations at the project level. It is not a large sample, it is composed by foundations from different countries and of different types, but it provides a general idea of their giving. International giving by foundations can also be gauged by the amounts donated by the members of the EGA (association of environmental grantmakers in

Table 11

Claims about foundations' behaviour in development

Topic		Hewlett	Moore	Mott
Resources	Relevant in specific circumstances	v	v	v
	Comparable to DAC donors	x	v	x
Business approach	Top-down development of giving strategy; lack of transparency about impact measurement	v	v	v
	Focus on programmatic funding	x	v	v
	Focus on general operating support in addition to programmatic funding	v	x	x
Innovation	Funding of well-established recipient organisations through traditional methods	v	v	v
Niche filling	Niche filling in the funding of local environmental CSOs	v	v	v
	Funding of similar issue areas as DAC donors	v	v	x
	Funding of a niche area	x	x	v
Alignment	No alignment with national priorities	v	v	v
	Strategic alignment with other foundations	v	v	x
Problem solving	Focus on specific issues with measurable results	v	v	v
	Focus on more systemic issues	x	x	v
Grantees	Mostly does not accept unsolicited proposals; grantees as 'service providers'	v	v	v
	Use of several short-term grants	v	v	v
	Increasing use of intermediary organisations	v	v	x

Source: Elaborated by the author.

the U.S.). The foundations reporting to the OECD donated USD 387 million to environment protection (2018-2019 average). If the two outliers in the sample, the Gates Foundation and the BBVA Microfinance Foundation (connected to the Bilbao Vizcaya financial group), are not considered, the environment is the fourth most targeted issue area, after health, government and civil society, and education (OECD, n.d.-c). In 2018, over 200 EGA members donated USD 1.81 billion, 39% of which was given internationally – USD 705.9 million (Environmental

Grantmakers Association, 2021). These numbers do not come close to the environmental aid by DAC donors, as only commitments to Brazil, in 2018-2019, were USD 294.9 million for the environment, USD 151.7 million for climate, USD 144.2 for biodiversity, and USD 8.63 for desertification (OECD, 2021b, 2021c). However, the OECD itself points out that philanthropic organisations have a major effect in specific areas: as a group, the reporting foundations are the third biggest health donor and the sixth provider of education in Africa (OECD, n.d.-c). The Gates Foundation is a health juggernaut, but even taking it out of the sample, the sector is still the one with most philanthropic investment, and the foundation does not invest as much in education. This possible oversized influence over a few areas seems to be a wider dynamic, and evidence from our case studies shows that it also plays out in the Brazilian context and environmental sector.

In terms of resources, having donated almost 130 million dollars to environmental organisations in Brazil, Moore is this research's juggernaut, bringing to the table the kind of significant resources the literature expects of philanthropic organisations. According to a study commissioned by the foundation itself, between 2007-2012, Moore was the third largest donor for Amazon conservation (to all Amazon countries), behind the Norwegian Programme for Capacity Development in Higher Education and Research for Development (NORAD) and the World Bank; and between 2013-2015 Moore was the fifth largest donor, behind the international cooperation from Germany, Norway, and the U.S., and the Global Environmental Facility (GEF), respectively (Strelneck & Vilela, 2017). This puts the foundation ahead of development giants such as DFID, Corporación Andina de Fomento (CAF), and the Interamerican Development Bank. ClimateWorks and Mott are also on the list of 43 funders for Amazon conservation analysed between 2013-2015 in the study, appearing in the 11th and 23rd places, respectively (Strelneck & Vilela, 2017).

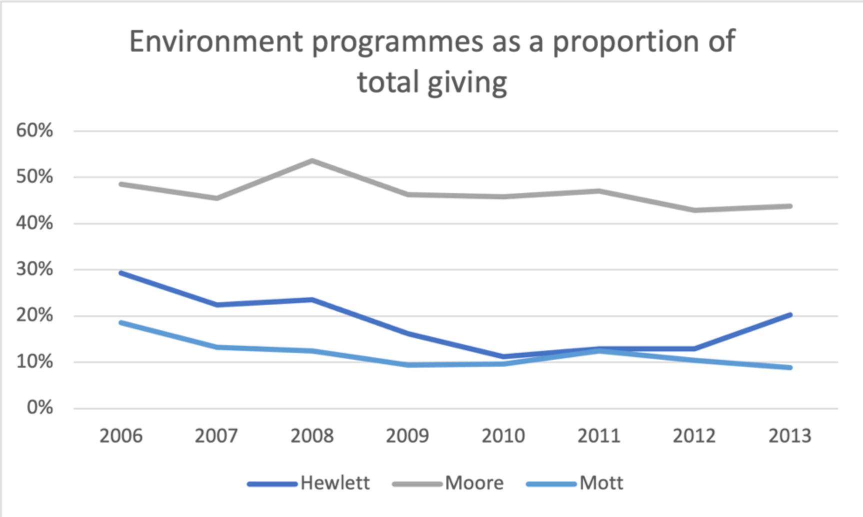
Hewlett and Mott, with donations between 20 and 25 million dollars (a rough average of 1 million a year), are closer to what one would expect from foundations, considering the numbers above. This may not seem like a lot in the grand scheme of things, but it is the kind of funding that is still key for the development and maintenance of the ecosystem of professionalised CSOs in Brazil, as seen in the section about the Brazilian context. Between 2017 and 2019, ISA's income from foreign sources was from 3 to 5 times higher than the one originated from local sources (Instituto Socioambiental, 2019, 2020). In 2019 and 2020, out of iCS 22 donors, 20 were foreign, mostly private foundations (Instituto Clima e Sociedade, 2021). Even an organisation like Imazon, which has a more diversified pool of funders, had almost half of its funding from foreign sources in 2019 – and that does not take into consideration that nearly half of its local funding came from iCS (Imazon, 2021).

It is also important to contextualise the amount given by the foundations to environmental issues and to Brazil within the organisations. Environmental conservation is Hewlett's and Moore's largest programme, representing 37% of Hewlett's giving in 2020, and 43% of Moore's from its establishment up to 2020. Mott is the outlier, as its environmental programme represented 14% of its portfolio in 2020 (over half of the foundation's grantmaking goes to its programme in Flint and the rest is divided between environment, civil society, and education). Figure 21 shows the foundations' giving to environmental programmes as a proportion of their total grants. Figures 22 and 23 show the total amounts the foundations studied destined to their environmental programmes in the period studied and what percentage of that went directly to Brazilian organisations. The data for the figures is based on the availability of information about the foundations' long-term giving by issue areas in their annual reports, hence the differences in the periods showed (Mott was the only organisation that published their grantmaking broken down by issue area for the entire period). Although incomplete, the numbers show environmental programmes of very different sizes: Mott's with nearly USD 300 million; Hewlett's with over USD 600 million; and Moore's with over USD 1.5 billion. This, however, does not correlate with the relative importance the foundations give to donating to local organisations in Brazil, as Mott and Moore have assigned around 7% of their environmental budget to the country, whereas Hewlett assigned less than half of that, at 2.7%.

Finally, regarding their resources, independent, fully endowed foundations have the freedom to spend their money as they see fit, but the fact that they are designed to exist in perpetuity can complicate matters. The three foundations spend around 5% of their assets annually, following the minimum established by the U.S. tax law. They could spend more, from a legal perspective, but choose not to in order to preserve their assets. This, however, puts an effective cap in their annual budgets (they cannot take in a large new project without finishing or dropping something else) and limits their ability to react to emergencies, as Hewlett's controversial response (or lack thereof) to the Covid-19 pandemic demonstrates. If the founder is alive, they can often make a decision to overhaul the '5% rule' momentarily in such a situation, otherwise this may require changes in bylaws that defeat the point of a rapid emergency response.

Figure 21

Foundations' giving to the environment as a proportion of their total grants



Source: Elaborated by the author. *Note*. In 2020 environmental programmes represented 43% of Moore's giving, 37% of Hewlett's, and 14% of Mott's.

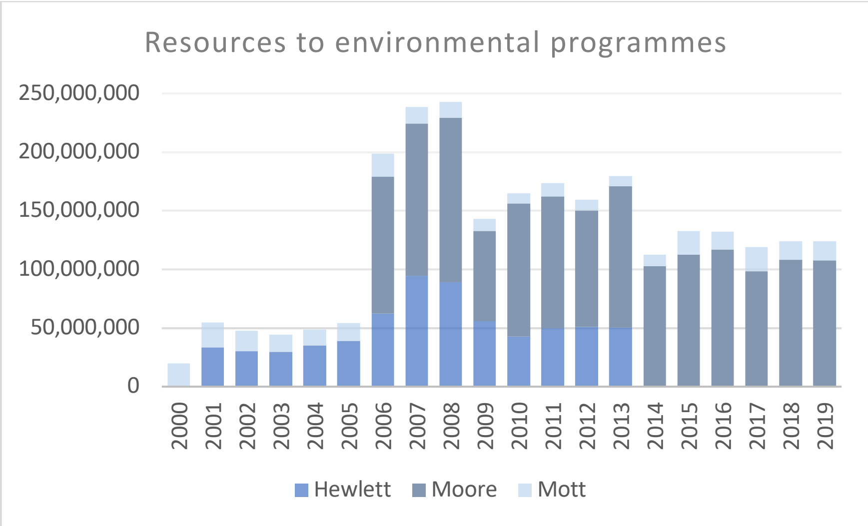
5.2.2 Business approach

The discourse around a business approach to philanthropy, or a strategic philanthropy, has permeated the policies of the three foundations studied. However, among them, Hewlett is clearly the most engaged. It has published manuals on how it devises its grantmaking strategy and about its evaluation process (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, 2012, 2016a; Twersky et al., 2019). Paul Brest, the foundation's former president, co-authored with Hal Harvey, former president of the ClimateWorks Foundation, one of the main readings on the topic, the book 'Money Well Spent: A Strategic Plan for Smart Philanthropy', published in 2008 (Hamilton & Trust, 2011). The Moore foundation uses a very similar language to Hewlett's, including the latter's 'outcomes-based approach' and two of the foundation's four[12] core

[12] The other two principles are collaboration and integrity.

Figure 22

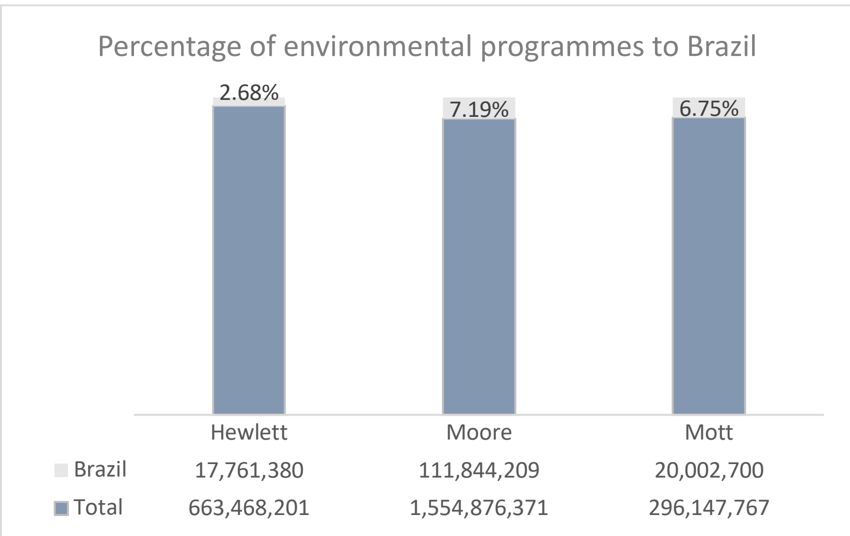
Foundations' total giving to the environment



Source: Elaborated by the author.

Figure 23

Percentage of foundations' environmental giving donated directly to Brazilian organisations



Source: Elaborated by the author. *Note*. The time periods refer to the same periods from figure 22 – Hewlett: 2001-2013; Moore: 2006-2019; Mott: 2000-2019, accounting for any differences in the total amount given to Brazil.

principles relate to strategic philanthropy: impact and a disciplined approach, which involves devising evidence-based strategies (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-j). It is not far-fetched to assume that Hewlett, as the older foundation and the one with established procedures, has influenced the Moore family's giving approach, considering the geographic proximity between the foundations and collaboration in initiatives in which both participate, such as the ClimateWorks Foundation. Moreover, Hewlett positions itself as a field leader, with a programme focused on effective philanthropy and influential presidents that write about strategies for the field, such as Paul Brest and Larry Kramer (agenda-setters). It is a matter deserving of further future analysis. As previously established, Mott is not that forward about using a strategic approach to philanthropy but follows its main tenets of designing strategies to pursue organisational goals and focusing on impact measurement.

All organisations choose the issues they will work on, decide on the results they believe must be achieved, and design the strategies to be pursued towards those goals. Grants to Brazil follow the patterns in the foundation's strategies. This is particularly notable in the cases of Hewlett and Mott, organisations that made bigger changes in strategies affecting the country. Brazil is no longer a focus area of Hewlett's programme on clean transportation, which was restructured to focus on key polluting countries, as it was in the early 2000s, but funding to the country actually increased as the foundation's strategic focus shifted to funding intermediary organisations and it supported the establishment of one. Meanwhile, Mott increased its funding to Brazil from 2013 as its development finance strategy shifted to include emerging economies (mainly Brazil and China), and it created the climate programme, which has the Amazon as a focus area. In Moore's case, there is a drop in funding towards the end of the period studied, which may signal the end of its main programme in Brazil or, possibly, a change in strategy focused on the use of intermediary organisations.

Both Hewlett and Moore publish the scheme behind the lifecycle of their strategic development, from design to implementation and evaluation to exit, and Mott's periodic revision of its environmental strategy – reshaping its Transforming Development Finance programme every few years and creating the climate programme – is a good example of how that works in practice. It seems obvious that organisations would establish goals and devise strategies to achieve them, but to many that is not the role of philanthropy. Traditional philanthropy receives submissions of projects by CSOs and, within their missions, supports the strategies of other organisations. Hence the claim that it establishes a closer and more supportive relationship with grantees.

So, the three foundations studied design their own strategies. However, from that point on, the business-like nature of their practices becomes murkier. All organisations say they put an emphasis on impact measurement and, therefore, results. Evaluations would feed into analyses to establish whether the foundations should stay on course, make adjustments and change priorities, or shut down programmes. It is worth repeating Bishop and Green's words about how social investment require "a toughness in shutting down" (Bishop & Green, 2008, p. 499) solutions that do not work, and Moore's point that "exits are inevitable" (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2021). What is not clear is how any of that is done. As seen in chapter three, there are very few evaluations published by the foundations studied, and Hewlett has admitted that transparency is an issue in its impact evaluation strategy. This is part of a larger trend. The literature points out that "few foundations implemented internal processes to measure their own performance, or invested in evaluating their grantmaking programs" (Boris & Kopczynski Winkler, 2013, p. 69). A survey by the OECD showed that only 33% of the respondents made their programme evaluations publicly available, and 26% did the same with institutional performance indicators (OECD, 2018a), and this is coming from a select group of foundations that are open to answering surveys and, one would think, are the most transparent. Additionally, from what can be gauged by the guidelines and few evaluations published, the focus of evaluations seems to be on whether the outcomes established by the foundation are on a path to be achieved, and not on whether the populations ultimately impacted are in consonance with the progress made and results – consultation to end users rarely makes an appearance.

Another point that is supposed to differentiate strategic philanthropy from its traditional version, is a focus on building the capacity of the organisations supported, instead of funding specific programs and keeping low overhead costs (Delfin, Jr. & Tang, 2005; Porter & Kramer, 1999). This is an important tenet because it has the potential to counterbalance the effect of the diminished agency for grantees caused by the top-down design of the overall strategies by the foundations. It gives grantees more freedom to develop their own programmes and support organisational growth, paying for fixed costs, such as staff, rent, office maintenance and bills, etc. Capacity building also taps into foundations' ability to also build institutions (Anheier, 2018), as Hewlett did with IEMA and iCS. All foundations studied have shown a commitment to funding grantees overhead or indirect costs. Hewlett is also part of a group of U.S. foundations, which includes the Ford Foundation, that have been advocating for their peers to do the same (Eckhart-Queenan et al., 2019; Philanthropy California, 2018). However, the funding to Brazilian CSOs shows that only Hewlett also has a focus on providing general operating grants, which can be used more freely by grantees. This type of grant is not common – general funding to the environmental movement, for instance, is estimated at 30-40% of the total (J. C. Jenkins et al., 2017) – however, it is linked to more flexible grantmaking and trust in grantees, as well as better managed CSOs (Teles, 2016). Approximately two-thirds of Hewlett's international development grantmaking is unrestricted (Daniels & Theis, 2021). According to Mott, it trusts that, as experts in their fields, grantees will make the best decisions regarding the destination of the grant, so it funds "the core activities of… grantees, rather than requiring them to shape projects around shifting priorities" (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, n.d.-k). Nevertheless, nearly the totality of Mott's grants to Brazil are tied to specific projects or programmes, as are Moore's, demonstrating that reality is messier than choosing between strategic and traditional philanthropy practices, and that foundations can, in fact, put in place a mix of practices. This may be detrimental to grantees, as they lose the freedom to submit their projects and ideas to the foundations and are also tied to project-oriented grants that do not guarantee their institutional financial security.

5.2.3 Innovation

Financial independence should give philanthropic organisations the ability to put their money towards the funding of new ideas that may or may not work, taking more risks as they do not need to later justify capital losses to constituencies or shareholders. Innovation can be realised in many forms, such as "innovation in social perceptions, values, relationships, and ways of doing things... For example, foundations play an innovative role if they support new ways and approaches of avoiding or reducing homelessness or intercultural dialogue" (Anheier, 2018, p. 1595). In the case of foundations, innovation can also be organisational (OECD, 2018a), as in being open to internal changes, such as taking up and applying the principles of strategic philanthropy. Risk is central to the innovation process (Kasper & Marcoux, 2014), and foundations are seen as risk absorbers, investing "where there is great uncertainty and returns are doubtful; foundations can be especially well placed to support new ventures in social investments, research, scholarship, writing, and the arts, as well as in vital questions that have not yet entered the mainstream" (Anheier, 2018, p. 1597).

The three foundations studied have an innovation and risk discourse. Gordon Moore has said that he has "a high tolerance for risk, doing things that otherwise wouldn't get done" (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-s, para. 19). This can be seen particularly in Moore's science programme, which focuses on the development of new technologies, and support to researchers and collaborations in areas that "do not fit conventional funding sources… [as] science funding agencies shrink and become increasingly risk-averse" (Moore & Moore, 2015, para. 10). In the lessons learned that guide the work of the Mott Foundation, Bill White, its former CEO, has written that "We have the motivation and resources to identify, test and evaluate new ways of doing things for the greater good…[As well as] develop a tolerance for the delays, difficulties and disagreements that can bedevil even the most promising of undertakings" (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2018, p. 12). Similarly, in its guiding principles, Hewlett's emphasises the role of philanthropy in providing society with risk capital and a risk tolerance that "necessarily includes willingness to experiment with ideas and approaches that may fail—experiments we undertake in the spirit of learning more about what does and does not work, which is itself a contribution to public understanding" (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-m, p. 2). It is interesting, however, that Moore qualifies the risk it takes, establishing that it must be mitigated during implementation and "commensurate with prospective long-term benefit" (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, n.d.-s, para. 20). This gets closer to conclusions in the philanthropy literature, which point out that a narrow focus on measurable outcomes can, in fact, thwart risk-taking behaviour:

> The strategic philanthropy movement has swept across the field and helped funders align their programs and grantmaking with carefully designed theories of change to produce clear and quantifiable results. But the pendulum may now be swinging too far, to a place where foundations are willing to support only safe, established programs. Funders are often treating grantees as mere subcontractors, paid to execute pre-designated plans and outcomes. (Kasper & Marcoux, 2014, p. 28)

When it comes to development cooperation, foundations fail the first measure of risk, as they tend to invest in middle-income countries (OECD, 2018a, 2020) in lieu of the poorest ones. Additionally, their grantmaking to Brazilian organisations show that, within a middle-income country, recipients are generally well-established organisations that are large for local standards and highly professionalised, being able to establish a relationship with the foundation (which entails hard-to-find English-speaking staff) and to process large amounts of foreign currency, often without institutional support and with insufficient funding to cover overhead costs. This is in line with environmental giving literature, which has found that foundations favour large national organisations over smaller ones (Nisbet, 2018), and older environmental movement organisations (J. C. Jenkins et al., 2017). Regarding the specific areas of funding, conservation, climate, and energy are at the top of the list of U.S. environmental grantmakers in general (Environmental Grantmakers Association, 2017). Mott's 'Transforming Development Finance' is the only innovative programme in that it funds an area overlooked by other funders. Neither do grants make use of new processes or financial tools, such as social impact bonds or development impact bonds (OECD, 2018a) – the most distinctive process was Moore's project ARPA for Life, in which a funding pool put together by several funders was to be disbursed over a couple of decades.

5.2.4 Niche filling

One of the roles that philanthropic organisations take on according to both the development and philanthropy literatures is that of a 'gap filler', doing what mainly the state, but also the market, cannot or is not willing to do. This is in line with sector failure theories, in which non-profits step in to provide public needs in case of government failure (Anheier, 2005). It also speaks to the liberal context in which U.S. foundations are inserted. An analysis based on the varieties of capitalism[13] approach shows that in social democracies with strong welfare systems, foundations tend to have a complementary role to that of the state, whereas in liberal economies, such as the U.S., "foundations form a largely parallel system next to government, frequently seeing themselves as alternatives to the mainstream and safeguards of non-majoritarian preferences" (Anheier, 2018, p. 1599).

[13] The literature on the varieties of capitalism offers a framework of analysis to define the distinctive forms of capitalism established in different parts of the world. See Hall, P. A., & Soskice, D. (Eds.). (2001). *Varieties of capitalism: The institutional foundations of comparative advantage*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

The three foundations demonstrate an understanding of this niche-filling role of philanthropic organisations. Moore highlights the importance to "undertake challenges not accessible to many other organizations" (Moore & Moore, 2015, para. 2), and Hewlett emphasises "approaches that are unlikely to be addressed without us by other institutions, such as government or for-profit ventures. This is particularly true when it comes to taking steps these other institutions may avoid as too risky" (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-m, p. 2). Mott provides a practical example of how it attempts to fulfil a niche-filling role, as the foundation "became involved in the reform of multilateral development banks (MDBs) soon after the issue was identified by an outside consultant as an 'uncrowded beach,' i.e., one receiving little or no funding attention, and as an area providing tremendous opportunity for Mott to make a difference" (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 1998, p. 36).

In Brazil, the main gap filled by the foundations is the financing of professional CSOs in itself, playing a role in strengthening civil society in the country. This is especially the case for environmental CSOs (as well as human rights ones), which find it more difficult to find local funding than, for instance, CSOs focused on education or culture. In this context, it is worth noting the general support provided by Hewlett to iCS and by Mott to Fundo Casa. As mentioned in the previous chapter, both organisations are part of a movement to develop local sources of funding (regranting funds) to smaller CSOs and social movements, spreading international funding that would otherwise stay in silos of large CSOs. Regarding specific projects, however, investment tends to go to issue areas, e.g., energy, climate, and conservation, that also receive funding from DAC donors, refuting the niche-filling argument. The exception being Mott's support to programmes on transparency and accountability in large infrastructure projects.

5.2.5 Alignment

One of the self-proclaimed benefits afforded by philanthropy's financial independence is its apolitical nature, that is, the ability to avoid getting caught up in political disputes and to claim political neutrality. This is a controversial and non-generalisable claim, as the political science literature has studied "networks of political mega-donors" that are both right and left-leaning (Hertel-Fernandez et al., 2018), and conservative foundations, such as the Charles Koch

Foundation, for instance, have been funding partisan media for years (Kotch, 2020). Furthermore, even when a foundation claims to be apolitical and a topic does seem to be nonpartisan, it can be difficult to draw the lines.

Hewlett has established in its guiding principles that the foundation does not "engage or appear to engage in inappropriately partisan or political conduct" (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-m, p. 3), but found it necessary to further explain that "while scrupulously non-partisan, we do not avoid issues or problems because others have made them matters of partisan dispute, and we will not avoid or abandon a strategy that is supported by evidence because it has become politicized" (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-m, p. 4). The foundation's strategy on 'trustworthy elections' (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-u) is a textbook example of such issues, as the democratic process itself has increasingly become the target of partisan disputes in the U.S. Meanwhile, Mott's programmes demand accountability from multilateral organisations at the global level, and from local governments, as it was the case during the Flint water crisis (White, 2016). The foundation also makes a point of fomenting an enabling institutional and legal environment for philanthropy, considering that during its long history it went through a number of government attempts to regulate and investigate the sector, including congressional hearings in the McCarthyism era (Candid, n.d.) and the tax reform of 1969 (Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, 2018).

In addition to the foundations' protectiveness of their independence and complicated relationship with governments and politics, strategic philanthropy makes a case for them to design their own strategies. This puts in context the claim that they do not align their funding strategies nor coordinate their activities with national governments and other development actors (Steinfeldt et al., 2012). The three foundations' grantmaking in Brazil does confirm the lack of alignment yet shows signs of coordination or cooperation. The foundations design their own strategies and there is no reference in their projects to Brazil's national environmental priorities, using the UN's Sustainable Development Goals and the Paris Agreement's Nationally Determined Contributions as a proxy. That, however, does not mean the organisations do not work with national and state governments when goals and strategies converge. Moore's role in ARPA for Life and Hewlett's work on air pollution and public transportation with CETESB, São Paulo's state agency for monitoring pollution and providing environmental licences, for instance, ended up complementing national and local government efforts. Moore has also financed CSOs for partnerships with government agencies, including one with the federal environmental agency ICMBio (The Chico Mendes Institute of Biodiversity Conservation) for the management of compensation funds paid by private projects with significant environmental impact.

At the strategic level, philanthropic organisations have been aligning among themselves to pool funds and maximise their impact. The ClimateWorks Foundation and the Climate and Land Use Alliance (CLUA) are relevant examples in the Brazilian context. Both are the result of a group of foundations coming together to design and fund environmental strategies. Hewlett and Moore are among the more than 27 funders of ClimateWorks[14] (ClimateWorks Foundation, n.d.-c) and both have been using it as an intermediary organisation (e.g., Hewlett grants funds to ClimateWorks, which then regrants it to iCS). CLUA is a lot smaller, with four funders – Moore, ClimateWorks, the Ford Foundation, and the David and Lucile Packard Foundation – and Brazil is one of its three geographic focus areas (Climate and Land Use Alliance, n.d.-a). Such alliances may be a first step in getting philanthropic organisations to collaborate with other development actors.

5.2.6 Problem solving

Hewlett states in its principles that it invests “resources in areas and on problems that are vital… [focusing on] problem-solving” (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-m, pp. 2–3). The foundation connects this focus to the apolitical nature of its work, and the prioritisation of needs over politics. In a similar vein, Moore points to the importance of focusing on solvable problems but highlighting the role of impact measurement. The idea is that there are many worthy, complex problems in the world and that, as tempting as it is to attempt to solve them, “unless the Foundation can satisfy itself that it has the capacity and resources to be a significant factor in bringing about measurable, durable solutions to an important subset of these kinds of intractable problems, the Foundation should forego investment” (Moore & Moore, 2015, para. 3). Both foundations point to how the broadness and complexity of health care hinder problem identification, this is one of the reasons why Hewlett has left the field (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-t) and

[14] According to ClimateWorks, several of its funders prefer to remain anonymous.

Gordon and Betty Moore advised caution when future foundation administrators consider expanding or not the organisation's programme on patient care (Moore & Moore, 2015). Mott is the only organisation that does not mention a focus on problem solving, which is in line with some of the systemic issues its programmes aim to address, such as strengthening civil society and community philanthropy, as well as fomenting accountability in development financing.

On the ground, that translates into projects carried out through grantmaking strategies that are measurable and have very specific results, such as stewardship (protection, purchase, or management of land) or applied research with explicit deliverables (e.g., a software or a report). These are obviously important, but if funding concentrates only on what is measurable and/or 'apolitical', a lot will be left out. An example is the long-term and often tortuous advocacy work needed to promote legislation to enhance environmental protection and that of traditional and indigenous populations. It is the type of work that may take years to show any results or may not work at all. Among the foundations, only Mott has advocacy as a significant strategy in its environmental grantmaking in Brazil. That is precisely the criticism raised in the development literature, as it disregards systemic issues (Edwards, 2008; McGoey, 2016; Steinfeldt et al., 2012).

5.2.7 Grantees

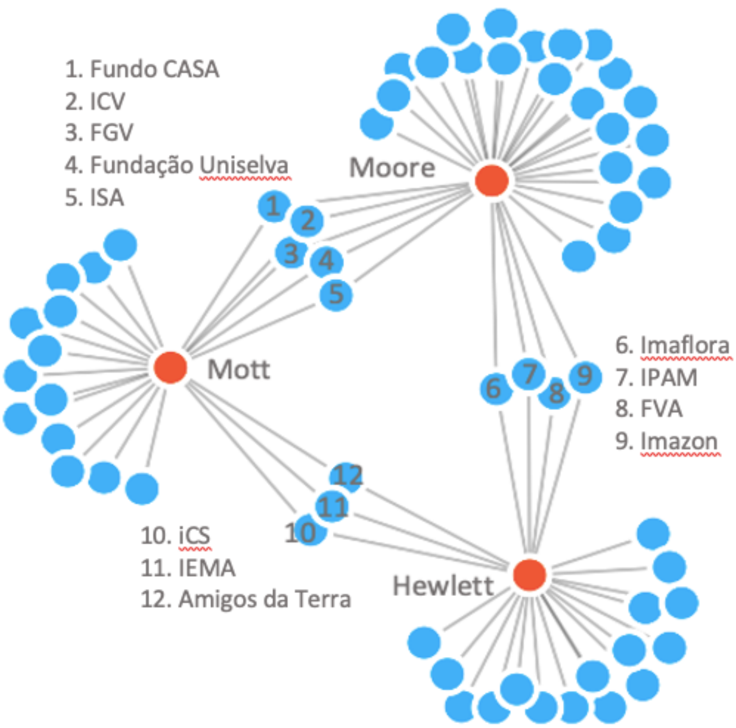
One of the most crucial aspects to be considered in the behaviour of actors both in development and philanthropy is the relationship between donor and recipient, in the development lingo, or grantmaker and grantee, in the philanthropic one. This is especially the case when organisations in the receiving end are CSOs based in the Global South, considering the emphasis given in development to fostering local agency and local solutions. If traditional philanthropy is known for establishing a high level of proximity with grantees, as its grantmaking process entails receiving and supporting solutions to social problems that were devised by the potential grantees, strategic philanthropy is quite the opposite. It encourages top-down strategies devised by the foundations and implemented by the grantees. The focus is on identifying the most capable organisations to carry out the work, in the words of Moore's founders: "The Foundation should have an independent perspective and proactively choose its programs, strategies and goals, and then select the best grantees to do the work, rather than respond to unsolicited proposals" (Moore & Moore, 2015, para. 5). It is worth repeating Kramer's remark in favour of strategic philanthropy, pointing out that "there is little reason to assume that they [non-profits] have the ability to solve society's large-scale problems. (M. R. Kramer, 2009, p. 32). This falls into one of philanthropy's weaknesses according to the literature: paternalism. It "describes the substitution of a foundation's judgment for that of its beneficiaries — in particular the attitude that the foundation knows what is good for those it seeks to support" (Anheier, 2018, p. 1597).

In the foundations' grantmaking to environmental organisations in Brazil, that dynamic played out through the identification and targeting of a few larger and well-established grantees. As shown in figure 24, no organisation received funding from the three foundations, but around 20% of them (twelve out of 63) received funding from two of the foundations. They were mostly civil society organisations, and two research institutions. Within this group, there is an 'elite' cluster of five CSOs. One organisation, ISA, was a top recipient for two foundations, Moore and Mott. The other four CSOs, in addition to being the top grantees of one foundation, also received funding from another foundation: two of Hewlett's top grantees, iCS and IEMA, also got funding from Mott; Imazon was one of Moore's top grantees and was also funded by Hewlett; and Fundo Casa, one of Mott's top grantees, received funds from Moore. More than half of the CSOs receiving the most funding from the foundations may have been identified due to existing work with another foundation. For the CSO, getting funding is no longer a matter of designing a good proposal, but showing that it can implement the strategy of the foundation and also becoming visible, engaging in networking so that it is in the foundation's 'radar'.

It is important to note that that does not necessarily entail a mission drift by the CSO, i.e., when an organisation deviates from its mission or changes it in order to get funding, but more of a strategy matching and negotiation. An example is the interest of donors in the climate change agenda and its subsequent introduction in the work of environmental CSOs in Brazil in the mid 2000s. A study analysed the cases and interviewed staff of four CSOs, IPAM, ICV, Imazon, and ISA (all funded by more than one of the foundations in this research) to understand how they negotiated the situation (Couto, 2012). It found that the organisations could not risk losing legitimacy within their constituencies, which could happen even if it only appeared that they were changing their mission to please donors. First of all, introducing climate change issues to their work made sense for the organisations, and was a matter of adding climate as a variable to their existing framework (along with protecting biodiversity and traditional populations, for instance). Secondly, CSOs could introduce issues of their interest within donors' agendas through climate change. ISA's case is emblematic, as it had found it difficult in the past to prioritise issues such as alternative energy in indigenous communities, which was easily translated to the climate agenda (Couto, 2012). This is the kind of work funded by Mott's climate change programme in its grants to ISA.

Figure 24

Connections between foundations



Source: Elaborated by the author.

Another practice encouraged by strategic philanthropy is the use of intermediary organisations not only to manage grant distribution, but also to support grantees (Delfin, Jr. & Tang, 2005). Hewlett is the foundation that has most embraced it, with a commitment to maintaining a lean staff which, the foundation itself admits, hampers its ability to provide the assistance grantees want (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-m, p. 12). In parts of its environmental programme, Hewlett already works mainly through ClimateWorks and the Energy Foundation. Moore has been taking steps in this direction to a lesser extent via its work with ClimateWorks and CLUA. Although the use of intermediaries can maximise foundations' potential impact by pooling their resources, it can also further distance them from grantees, who may have even less say over strategies and how they are implemented, becoming closer to service providers. The use of local intermediaries, such as iCS or Fundo Casa, on the other hand, may be a solution that meets in the middle funders' need to maximise impact with higher local agency, as these intermediaries know the context, speak the country's language, and can more easily access community organisations and social movements, strengthening civil society.

Last, but definitely not least, there is the issue of philanthropy's ability to engage in long-term goals and relationships with grantees. The field's financial and political independence would allow for that longer engagement, and strategic philanthropy's emphasis on capacity building would be an extra factor pushing foundations in this direction. Indeed, the three foundations studied emphasise their commitment to long-term goals and acknowledge that this is one of philanthropy's strengths. What is not clear is the meaning of 'long term'. Moore, for instance, highlights the foundation's ability to work on issues in the long run, but also states that programmes need to have quantifiable outcomes in ten years (Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation, 2021). It is debatable whereas that can be considered long term, in addition to limiting the types of issues and projects the foundation can work on. The plot thickens when one looks at the three foundations' actual grantmaking – average grants to the environment in Brazil stood at around two years. Even the few grantees that have managed to establish a longer-term relationship with the foundations have to keep applying for grants. The piece-meal nature of the grantmaking raise issues of trust and undermine CSOs' ability to carry out their own strategic planning for the long run (Teles, 2016; Van Slyke, 2006).

5.3 Motivations and distinctiveness

When the grantmaking carried out by Hewlett, Moore, and Mott to environmental issues in Brazil is viewed under the donor motivations lens, a picture of paternalistic altruism emerges. As seen in the literature review in chapter two, even when donors do not act in their self-interest and are concerned about recipient needs, such altruism can be disinterested, in which "donors want to respond to local priorities, and care about the subjective well-being of aid beneficiaries" (King, 2020, p. 22), or paternalistic, in which "donors have their own views about what is best for citizens in aid-receiving countries" (King, 2020, p. 22). It is also known in the philanthropic literature that one of the weaknesses foundations can present in their grantmaking is, indeed, paternalism, i.e., "the substitution of a foundation's judgment for that of its beneficiaries — in particular the attitude that the foundation knows what is good for those it seeks to support" (Anheier, 2018, p. 1597).

The analysis of the three foundations' grantmaking unveils a pattern in which a paternalistic behaviour comes through. This is established via a set of five mechanisms through which foundations exert a high level of control and, therefore, paternalistic altruism over their grantees. The main mechanism is the top-down design of strategies without any apparent or significant input from grantees or final beneficiaries of the activities being funded. This could be remedied by the widespread use of general operating grants that offer institutional support to grantees. Instead, programmatic funding is prevalent, setting up yet another control mechanism. A consequence of foundations' top-down strategic design is that, in lieu of accepting unsolicited proposals with different types of goals, they give preference to identifying and selecting grantees that can implement the strategy devised as 'service providers'. This patriarchal relationship is further cemented by short-term grants that require constant reapplication by grantees. Finally, the strategies designed by the foundations show no alignment with national priorities either, displaying a disregard for local ownership.

The measure for success used by the philanthropic organisations is also telling regarding their patriarchal behaviour. For donors displaying paternalistic altruism, failure may occur if policy choices on the ground do not align with their own; whereas for donors displaying disinterested altruism, failure may occur if policies do not reflect what citizens want or need (King, 2020). A successful outcome for the foundations is one that have reached the targets that had been established by the foundations themselves in the first place, in a process that deals with grantees tangentially and even less so with final beneficiaries.

This calls into question the distinctiveness of philanthropic organisations as development actors. Clearly, foundations are a diverse group, even among very similar organisations, as the ones studied here. For instance, at times Mott seems to be an outlier, with its investments in systemic and niche issues, as well as a lesser engagement with intermediary organisations. The foundation is different from the other two in that it is, literally, nearly centenary, is located far from rich coastal cities, its executive leadership descends directly from the founding family, and its seed funding came from a business within the 'real economy'. Nevertheless, key aspects of the organisations' practices and how that affects grantees as well as local ownership of projects is common to the three organisations, such as the top-down strategy design, non-acceptance of unsolicited proposals, and non-alignment with national strategies. Moore and Mott also have in common the widespread use of programmatic grants, which Hewlett also uses but is attempting to move away from. As a group, the foundations display a behaviour that is close to that of traditional donors.

Revisiting the literature on the political economy of donors (King, 2020; Roche & Denney, 2019), which identifies common features of donors at the systemic level, it is hard not to spot the similarities with the philanthropic organisations studied. The following bullet points remind the reader of the attributes ascribed to donors (Roche & Denney, 2019, p. 17):

- Tendency for the analysis and relationships of expatriate staff and external consultants (both of whom are usually short term) and western leadership perspectives to be privileged.
- Predominance of principal-agent notions of accountability, rather than peer, social or political forms of accountability.
- Preference for more engineered and theoretically more predictable processes than less certain emergent ones.
- Pressures to spend and meet pre-determined and easily communicable, tangible targets.
- Risk-averse, compliance culture which seeks a high level of 'control'.
- Discomfort with uncertainty and unpredictability.

This list could easily be a description of the behaviour of foundations exposed in this chapter, starting with the overreliance on the perspectives of trustees and professional staff of the foundations, as well as of staff working in international alliances of foundations, in lieu of grantees and beneficiaries. Both foundations and DAC donors focus on programmatic funding (earmarked funding 'through' CSOs). This feeds into a high level of control and paternalist behaviour by the foundations towards their grantees. Enhancing the level of predictability of processes and relationships is also the norm, e.g., through the financing of the same well-established organisations that have been previously identified and vetoed, despite a discourse around philanthropy's ability to innovate and take risks. At the same time, strategic philanthropy has veered the field towards a focus on measurable results that, in addition to hindering work on systemic issues, raises important questions such as: Results for whom? Success according to whom? – falling in a similar principal-agent notion of accountability ascribed to traditional donors by the literature. Figure 25 shows the governance structure of foundations, with the founder or donor and the trustees as principals, grantees as agents, and the foundation managing staff acting as agents for the trustees and principals for the grantees (Anheier & Leat, 2019).

Figure 25

Principals and agents in foundations' governance structure

Source: Reprinted from Anheier & Leat, 2019, p. 13.

Those are generally the parts involved in deciding whether a project can be considered a success or a failure, which can have a dire consequence: "the disjointed governance structure of foundations, i.e., their characteristic principal-agent constellation, implies that it is in the interests of both grantor and grantee to be economical with admissions of less-than-desired outcomes" (Anheier & Leat, 2019, p. 16). It means that it is in everyone's interests that projects are deemed a success. Adding to that, the fact that foundations are financially independent and not really accountable for failures can result in what Anheier and Leat call 'benign fallibility syndrome', that is, projects that are neither clear successes nor failures (Anheier & Leat, 2019). The authors and others in the literature (Van Puyvelde et al., 2012; Van Slyke, 2006) point to the potential of stewardship theory to improve that relationship and, consequently, its outcomes, as it shifts the focus to the building of collaboration, trust, and goal alignment between principals and stewards. Nevertheless, if philanthropic organisations are to be more distinct from traditional donors in positive ways and swap paternalistic altruism for a disinterested one, with local participation and ownership in the design of solutions for social problems, a vital piece of puzzle is still missing: the inclusion of beneficiaries in the design, implementation, and evaluation processes.

6 Conclusion

Philanthropic organisations are recognised as significant actors in international development cooperation, whose role has gained traction and attracted attention in the early 2000s. Nevertheless, there is still a lot more that is not known about their behaviour and practices than what is known. A common thread among both enthusiasts and critics of foundations in development is the sheer lack of data about what these organisations do and how they do it. The analysis of three cases of international philanthropic aid to environmental issues in Brazil in this study builds on and expands a growing body of research devoted to understanding the landscape of philanthropic giving (who gives to whom, where, how much, and to which issues), as well as the particular ways foundations approach giving and how these may affect the development field.

A first step was to extensively describe the organisations studied, the Hewlett, Moore, and Mott foundations, and situate them within the philanthropic field and its many organisational types, thus categorising the foundations. It is a step that shows the "conceptual infancy" (Jung et al., 2018, p. 903) of philanthropic studies and the need for future research to also carry out such categorisation in a systematic way. Only then will the field understand which variables influence foundations' behaviour (age, location, funding source, etc.), if all types of foundations behave in a similar way, and if foundations can even be considered a larger group or need to be split into separate units of analysis (independent versus corporate foundations, for instance). This research shows that within a group of seemingly similar organisations several behavioural patterns can be determined, but also that important differences can be found. All foundations are large independent, family organisations that have an endowment and were designed to exist in perpetuity. Hewlett and Moore, two foundations that were built with 'tech money' and are based in the Silicon Valley, California, share even more traits, as Mott is an older organisation from Flint whose endowment came from the automotive industry. But divisions are not so simple. At times, Hewlett and Moore do show synchronism in important ways, such as the focus on strategic philanthropy and the turn to using intermediary organisations. However, Mott and Moore share the crucial focus on project-related funding. Mott distinguishes itself by funding niche issues, whereas the amounts donated by Moore can be compared to that of Development Assistance Committee (DAC) donors. Future systematic analyses and documentation of such differences and similarities must form the baseline for in-depth studies on the role of philanthropy in development.

As a group, the three organisations studied here share common behaviours that result in a high level of control and paternalistic altruism over grantees – instead of working with grantees to respond local priorities following a disinterested altruism, funders behave as if they held the answers to local problems. This happens via a set of five mechanisms identified through the analysis of grants made to Brazilian organisations: top-down design of strategies; programmatic funding instead of general operating grants; short-term grants that require constant reapplication; choosing organisations as 'service providers' in lieu of accepting unsolicited proposals; non-alignment with national priorities. In addition to control and paternalism, the behaviour described, plus the funding of well-established organisations (most of which receive funding from other international donors), display a tendency towards predictability and risk-aversion. Put together, the findings point to a behaviour that has a lot more in common with the behaviour expected of traditional donors than the literature suggests. A key claim made in the literature about foundations is that they are distinctive actors in international development, that is, they behave differently from traditional DAC donors, for instance. This distinctive behaviour would result in positive or negative outcomes, depending on your interlocutor. Traditional donors, however, are also known for the high level of control over recipients, risk-aversion, and a predilection for predictable processes. Another issue that brings together DAC donors and foundations is accountability, both favouring the opinion of themselves and recipients/grantees on what constitutes a successful endeavour, often forgetting to ask the opinion of beneficiaries.

The findings of this research lead to a series of questions and implications for the practices of foundations and civil society organisations (CSOs). First of all, this research joins the calls for more transparency on the part of foundations. The organisations studied are among the best in the philanthropic field in this regard, and there are still gaps in information about what they do. How are decisions made about their strategies? Do they take into account what other players are doing? How exactly do they measure their success? These are processes that must be public information. A relevant area that requires a lot more transparency and should be the focus of future research is how foundations invest their endowments and if they are divesting from environmentally damaging industries. Hewlett is the only of the foundations studied that clearly and publicly connects its investment policy to its commitment to climate change. In 2015, the organisation decided to refrain from investments in oil and gas drilling (The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, n.d.-s). Foundations can use the results of analyses to rethink practices and improve their relationship with grantees and beneficiaries. For instance, in the past, CSOs ideas reached foundations through calls for proposals, but if these are mostly no longer used, can local CSOs be included in the design of foundations' strategies and impact assessments? How can beneficiaries be included in the process? A potential avenue is a more diverse board of trustees, with seats destined to representatives of grantees and final beneficiaries. The use of local intermediary organisations can also help foundations build bridges with communities, but raises the question as to the degree of freedom given to those organisations – are general operating grants truly without strings attached? This is an important question, as the provision of general operating grants, that are not attached to a programme and generally cover the recipient's institutional costs, can counterbalance paternalistic altruism and give CSOs a higher level of control. The criteria used to identify grantees could also be more transparent and the criteria used to select grantees could be adapted so that more organisations get a chance of being funded – for instance, by opening calls for pitch decks (brief institutional presentations).

CSOs can use the results of analyses to understand that the flexibility of philanthropic donors comes with caveats. If CSOs are to develop relationships and gain institutional stability, they must constantly monitor the evolution of foundations' giving strategies, as these are dynamic and often revised. CSOs should also follow structural changes in the behaviour of foundations and in their relationship with other agents, such as the increasingly common use of intermediary organisations to mediate the relationship between foundations and grantees. Another important point in the relationship of CSOs and foundations is the focus of the latter on measurable goals and tangible impact, which may hinder advocacy efforts.

Finally, this research recognises the limitation of case studies, thus its own limitations, when it comes to generalisation power and making grand claims. Nevertheless, it is one more step towards a more complete understanding about how philanthropic organisations engage in international giving. It should be seen as part of an effort carried out by other researchers and organisations, such as the OECD, that are doing surveys and analysing other cases to build a body of knowledge. Nonetheless, this contribution stands out by analysing several aspects of specific grants, i.e., foundations' practices, over nearly two decades to build a solid base on which future research can stand and against which other cases can be compared.

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