Codebook for Donors for Democracy project

Jeffrey M. Berry  
Tufts University  
jeffrey.berry@Tufts.edu

Kristin Goss  
Duke University  
KGoss@Duke.edu
NOTE: Foundation web site is the front page but clicks to program areas that seem relevant to changes in policy by Trump administration are included by researcher.

PART I: Opposition, Support for Trump Administration

Q. 1 On the foundation web site, is there an article or feature that indicates that it has one or more programs designed to contest a particular program or policy direction from the new administration?

   Yes___ (Code=1)

   No___ (Code=0)

“Contest” indicates that there is activity that is clearly intended to offer an alternative that represents a critical approach. That is, it cannot be similar to a friendly amendment—an approach that simply tries to improve upon an approach that the administration embraces.

Q. 2 If yes, is there an amount (or aggregate amount of all programs) given as to how much will be given out in grants?

   If yes, fill in amount: __________

Q. 3 On the foundation web site, is there an article or feature that indicates that it has one or more programs that is identified as supporting a particular program or policy direction from the new administration?
Yes___ (Code=1)
No___ (Code=0)

Q. 4 If yes, is there an amount (or aggregate amount of all programs) given as to how much will be given out in grants?
   If yes, fill in amount: __________

Q. 5 If there is a foundation twitter account, is there a tweet that is clearly critical or clearly supportive of one or more of the new administration’s policies?
   Critical___ (code=1)
   Supportive___ (code=0)

NOTE: Code first tweet to indicate support or opposition, last 30 days only

PART II: Policy Areas

NOTE: Search began on foundation web site front pages but then to policy areas highlighted there as foundation priorities.

Programmatic focus can be on U.S. or abroad.

P1 Environment
   Not a program area or unclear or mixed___ (code=0)
   Conservative___ (code=1)
   Liberal___ (code=2)
“Conservative” approach emphasizes reducing federal government’s role; reliance on private sector initiatives; prioritizing private development over protecting the environment.

“Liberal” approach emphasizes government action to protect the environment; using regulatory tools to limit private development.

**P2 Women’s Rights, Empowerment**

Not a program area or unclear or mixed___ (code=0)

Conservative___ (code=1)

Liberal___ (code=2)

“Conservative” means stated opposition to policies or proposals for government activity aimed at protecting women’s rights, reproductive rights, or programs aimed at expanding low income, minority women’s participation in civic life.

“Liberal” means support for policies or proposals for government activity aimed at protecting women’s rights, reproductive rights, or programs aimed at expanding low income, minority women’s participation in civic life.

Example: (Gates): When you invest in a woman’s health and empowerment, it has a ripple effect, helping families, communities, and countries achieve long-lasting benefits.

**P3 Health Care**

Not a program area or unclear or mixed___ (code=0)

Conservative___ (code=1)
Liberal___ (code=2)

“Conservative” means opposition to Obamacare; opposition to expanded health care access involving greater funding; opposition to Medicaid expansion; support for private sector solutions for the uninsured relying predominantly on markets; or support for deregulating health care regulations aimed at protecting consumers.

“Liberal” means support for Obamacare; support for expanded health care access involving greater funding; support for Medicaid expansion, opposition for private sector solutions to the uninsured relying predominantly on market transactions; or opposition to deregulating health care regulations aimed at protecting consumers.

P4 Education

Not a program area or unclear or mixed___ (code=0)

Conservative___ (code=1)

Liberal___ (code=2)

“Conservative” means support for greater reliance on market-based reforms, including charter schools, voucher schools, and competition among schools. Also, conservative positions may be reflected in opposition to government regulation of schools, including such issues as Common Core. Also, conservative stands include support for teacher testing, and opposition to educator labor unions.

“Liberal” means support for greater government funding for schools, including greater appropriations and targeted programs aimed at improving
skill sets of teachers and administrators. Opposition to charter schools or voucher schools is coded as liberal. Support for regulatory policies aimed at supporting students (i.e., IDEA), or protecting minority and women students are liberal stances as well. Support for education labor unions is coded as liberal.

P5 Immigration

Not a program area or unclear or mixed (code=0)

Conservative (code=1)

Liberal (code=2)

“Conservative” means support for greater government activity aimed at deporting undocumented immigrants; reducing the number of immigrants allowed into the United States; restricting entry into the United States by residents of countries regarded as homes for terrorists; opposition to DACA.

“Liberal” means support for undocumented immigrants; maintaining or even increasing levels of legal immigration; opposition to stricter review process for people from countries regarded as terrorist havens; support for DACA.

P6 Poverty

Not a program area or unclear or mixed (code=0)

Conservative (code=1)

Liberal (code=2)
“Conservative” means preference for reliance on work, private sector initiatives aimed at alleviating poverty; support for reducing entitlement programs and welfare programs; opposition to programs supported by government aimed at providing social services to poor.

“Liberal” means support for government programs aimed at alleviating poverty through direct payment or social services; support for entitlement programs.

**P7 Race, Diversity**

Not a program area or unclear or mixed (code=0)

Conservative (code=1)

Liberal (code=2)

“Conservative” means opposition to government programs aimed at promoting racial equality; opposition to affirmative action programs; opposition to economic/neighborhood development aimed at low-income or heavily populated minority neighborhoods.

“Liberal” means support to government programs aimed at promoting racial equality; support for affirmative action programs; support for economic/neighborhood development aimed at low-income or heavily populated minority neighborhoods.

**P8 Free Market Solutions**

Not a program area or unclear or mixed (code=0)

Conservative (code=1)

Liberal (code=2)
“Conservative” means support for shrinking government; support for broad scale deregulation; support for reducing federal spending, reducing the federal deficit.

“Liberal” means opposition to general shrinking of government; support for regulatory agencies who provide protection for consumers, the environment; support for federal spending.

P9 Civic Engagement, Democracy, Media

Not a program area or unclear or mixed (code=0)

Conservative (code=1)

Liberal (code=2)

“Conservative” means efforts aimed at promoting voter integrity/voter security such as requirements for voter ID or for timely voter roll purging. It can also mean programs that are critical of mainstream journalism or intended to promote conservative, point of view journalism that is held to be the truth and not “fake news.”

“Liberal” means support for expanding citizen involvement in politics through either training or mobilization as a means of empowering everyday citizens. It can also mean support for measures directed at making voting easier. Helping the disenfranchised, such as felons, regain voting rights falls into this category as well. Support for journalistic standards and media institutions (notably against attacks from conservative politicians and groups), as well against the erosion of media quality from financial imperatives, fits here too.
M1 Mission Statement/Self-Identity

Mixed___ (code=0)
Conservative___ (code=1)
Liberal___ (code=2)

“Neither” means that either there is no indication of any general stances (per directly below), or that such stances are not largely in one direction or the other.

“Conservative” indicates an articulated philosophy in line with the conservative positions for some of the policy areas in P1-P8, or a similar ideological stance in other important policy areas not included in P1-P8. It may also be reflected in a general philosophical statement emphasizing the importance of small government, free market economics, deregulation, or low taxes.

“Liberal” indicates an articulated philosophy in line with the liberal positions for some of the policy areas in P1-P8, or a similar ideological stance in other important policy areas not included in P1-P8. It may also be reflected in a general philosophical statement emphasizing the importance of a vigorous government, regulatory protection of the environment, regulatory protection of consumers, or protection of human rights, women’s rights, and civil rights.

Overall Tilt for Largest 20 Foundations

Neither, mixed___ (code=0)
Conservative___ (code=1)
Liberal___ (code=2)
For a foundation to be coded as liberal or conservative, it must have an overall score of at least 75% in one direction. There is no minimum number of programming areas that a foundation must be involved in for this computation. Thus, if a foundation is only involved in two programming areas and they are both liberal, it is coded as having a liberal tilt. If it has two programming areas but one is liberal and one is conservative or mixed, then it would score as neither liberal or conservative.

**Overall Tilt for 20 Mid-Size Foundations (Sheet #2)**

The web pages for these mid-sized foundations tend to be modest and, often, have little more than some general statements. We looked beyond these statements to actual grants to give us greater confidence in our overall assessments. (We did this as well, when necessary, for the top 20 foundations.) The determination of whether the foundation is liberal or conservative or neither followed the coding of the issues detailed above in P1-P9. If there was ambiguity, we coded as neither. For some foundations in this group, their focus fell outside of ideological coding, such as fostering Jewish values.