

ANNUAL REPORT 2021!

 GUERRILLA
FOUNDATION





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01 INTRODUCTION

Continuity and transition

Last year was another year during which we expanded our grantmaking and made 47 grants with a total grant volume of €544k. Putting an emphasis on trust, especially during the second year of the pandemic that hit many grassroots groups hard, we made repeat grants to 18 organisations (37% of all grants) - a healthy balance between strengthening existing bonds while also building new ones.

Next to the many committed groups and local, national and European politics, wealth inequality and tax justice were the 2021 hot topics in our Guerrilla zoom room. Not only because the world's wealthiest managed to further multiply their wealth during the pandemic but also because Toni and Marlene from the Guerrilla team were beating the drum for fair redistribution through taxes in Germany in the run-up to the elections. Together with our friends from Culture Hack Labs, the Guerrilla team helped to bring together a small group of German tax justice initiatives (unfortunately still mainly work in silos) to explore culture hacking as a tactic and possible path for deeper collaboration. Yet again, none of the major German parties put tax justice firmly enough on the agenda to make it a topic during the coalition negotiations. Another term lost for real action on redistribution in Germany. Another time the realisation that short-term, single-issue campaigning only gets us so far.

Given the ongoing pandemic, we still had rather little face to face exchanges with grantees and other radical funders in 2021. Over the summer, Julia had the chance to pay some Guerrilla grantees and collaborators a visit on her trip through the Balkans (shoutout to School of Public Life and Gólya Community House in Hungary) and met our amazing board member Iva Čukić from the Ministry of Space in Belgrade. Taking advantage of lockdown time,

Ivan spearheaded our new event series for deep-diving into burning activist issues that ranged from **Ecofascism** to **DisCOs** to **Entangled Activism** and created space for digital relationship-building within our community. With most conferences still online, I spent over 40 hours in one-on-one calls to share our vision for radical philanthropy with wealthy individuals and institutional funders. This helped mobilise an additional €500k+ in funding to grassroots collectives and the European social movement ecosystem.

The last year also marks a major organisational transition: towards the end of the year Toni, our founder and until then the main funder of the Guerrilla Foundation, agreed to a major governance update. Beginning in 2022, for a two year trial period we will open the foundation for other donors and move our decisions about grants above €10k to an Activist Council. All incoming **Guerrilla funders** need to agree to this participatory model and be committed to decoupling their wealth from the power to decide where Guerrilla funds are being spent. They join us not just because they are aligned with our vision and mission and inspired by our past work in supporting European grassroots movements, but also because they want to be part of a challenging and rewarding experiment and collective sensemaking journey with the Guerrilla team, their peers as well as our newly formed Activist Council.

Read on below for more details about our grantmaking and other activities and, as always, reach out for a chat if you see your grassroots group on one of these grantee lists for 2022, if you are excited about our Funders Circle or any of the topics dear to us. We look forward to hearing from you: hello@guerrillafoundation.org

Romy & The Guerrilla Team



Designed for our Deeper Inquiry on Ecofascism and our blog piece "The Dark Side of Environmentalism"



**All that you touch
You Change.**

**All that you change
Changes you.**

**The only lasting truth
is Change.**

**God
is change.**

– Octavia E. Butler



02

THE 2021 NUMBERS

TOTAL NUMBERS

56 organisations invited to hand in a full application

47 grants made (2020: 44)

In 2021 we made 2 multi-year grant commitments.

ACTION GRANTS

41 invited for an expression of interest

33 invited for full application

29 grants made

If invited to apply (full application), you have a 88% chance of being funded via our ACTION grants fund (in 2020 that was 90%)

REFLEX GRANTS

23 invited for application | **18** grants made

If invited to apply, you have about a 78% chance of being funded via our Reflex fund (64% in 2020).

Amounts spent in each grant category and number of grants in 2021:

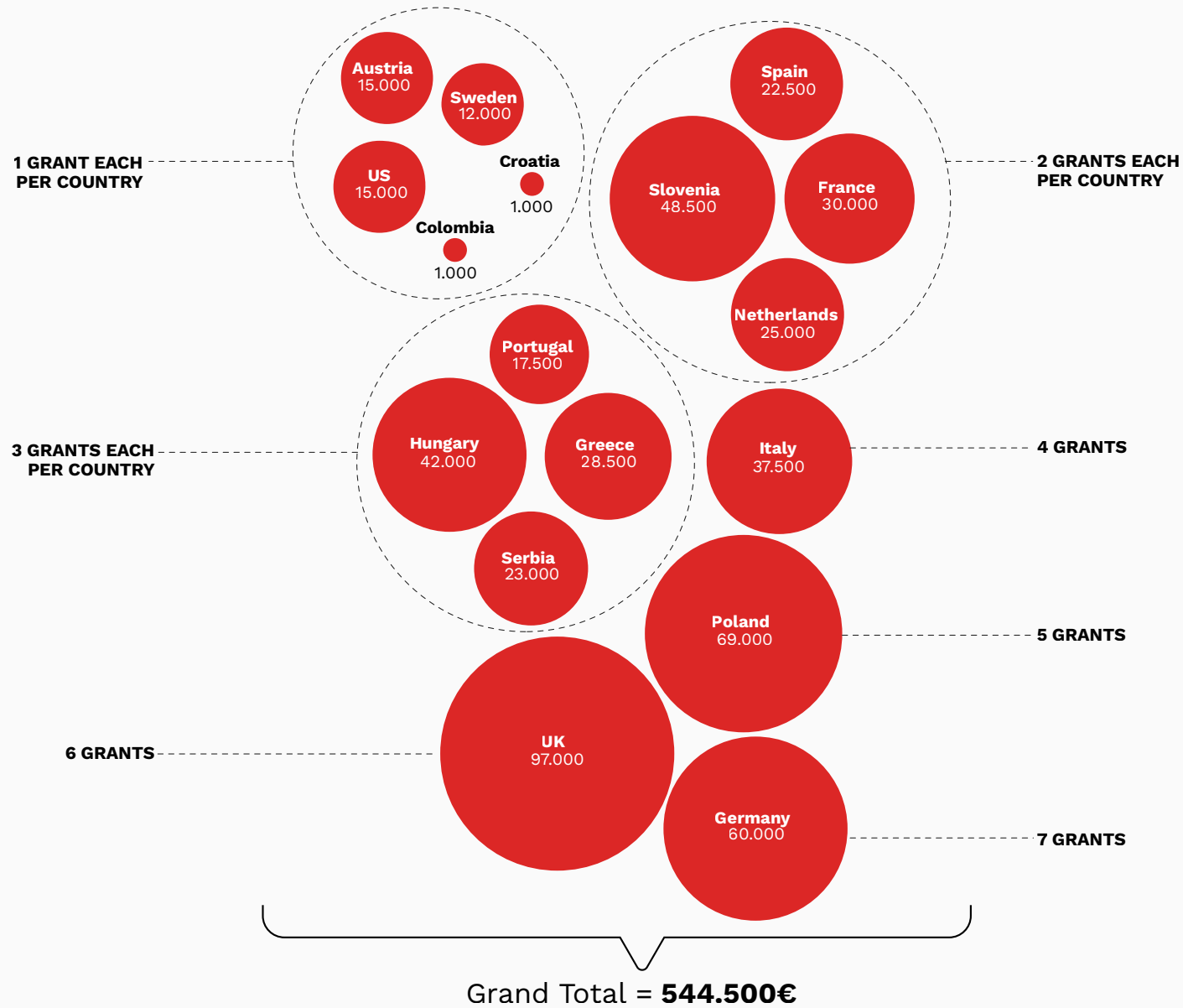
Action grants:
453,500 EUR
(29 grants)

Reflex grants:
91,000 EUR
(18 grants)

Total Grant-making:
544,500 EUR

In 2021 we made grants across **17** countries

Our grants have made an impact in the following countries:



03

OVERVIEW OF 2021 GRANTS

Action Grants

NO	WHO	FOCUS COUNTRY	AMOUNT (€)	SHORT DESCRIPTION
1	<u>6000 Sardine</u>	Italy	15000	6000 Sardine promote active citizenship as a political practice, starting in Bologna and spreading across Italy to counter political fatigue.
2	<u>8th of March Institute</u>	Slovenia	30000	Highlights injustices and inequalities in Slovenia with innovative people-centered campaigns.
3	<u>AAEFP - Atelier Autonome d'Enquete et de Formation Populaire</u>	France	15000	Association and online multimedia platform with the goal of using popular education as a tool for politicisation.
4	<u>Autonomy Research Limited</u>	UK	20000	Autonomy is an independent think tank that produces action-oriented research to rethink “work” and economic policy.
5	<u>Border Violence Monitoring Network (BVMN)</u>	Germany	15000	‘Drawn to Solidarity’ campaign of a network of grassroots organisations united in the struggle for freedom of movement and safe passage for people on the move.
6	<u>Centre for Labour and Social Studies (CLASS)</u>	UK	12000	A project for creating useful tools for campaigners, allowing them to build successful narratives that create connection instead of conflict at the intersection of race and class.
7	<u>Cloudberry Collective</u>	Sweden	12000	Initiative of activists, researchers, and artists that develops, nurtures and supports decolonisation initiatives in Europe.

NO	WHO	FOCUS COUNTRY	AMOUNT (€)	SHORT DESCRIPTION
8	<u>Common Thing Foundation</u>	Poland	15000	Women-led organisation that uses community organising, campaigns and training to organise people in Poland around issues such as women's rights and climate change.
9	<u>EL*C - EuroCentralAsian Lesbian* Community</u>	Austria	15000	Network organisation that amplifies struggles and creates visibility of lesbians* throughout Europe and Central Asia.
10	<u>FemFund</u>	Poland	15000	A participatory feminist grassroots fund.
11	<u>For a Change Fund (Fundusz dla Odmianny)</u>	Poland	15000	Participatory LGBTQI+ fund and support organisation that reaches specifically activists in smaller towns and villages in Poland.
12	<u>Gólya Community House</u>	Hungary	15000	A member-owned and self-managed center for cooperative development, a headquarter for social projects, and a platform for neighbourhood-based organising in Budapest.
13	<u>Institute for Social Struggles</u>	Serbia	15000	Wants to "Talk Up the Struggle" - producing an enjoyable podcast to exchange and promote knowledge about social justice struggles and create an ecosystem around it.
14	<u>lovotofuorisede</u>	Italy	10000	Advocating for a law that guarantees and protects the right to vote for Italians who live far from their official place of residence.
15	<u>Lallab</u>	France	15000	Feminist and anti-racist self-organising of muslim women in France.

NO	WHO	FOCUS COUNTRY	AMOUNT (€)	SHORT DESCRIPTION
16	<u>London Renters Union</u>	UK	20000	Tenant union to build the power for the right to housing.
17	<u>POMOC - Polish Migrants Organise for Change</u>	UK	15000	Anti-racism trainings and materials for movement leaders in the UK, Germany and Poland
18	<u>Roar Magazine</u>	Netherlands	10000	Online publication entirely run by activists and activist-academics with a focus on popularising social movement struggles from around the world.
19	<u>Rog Embassy</u>	Slovenia	18500	Working in solidarity with migrants, people on the move and other vulnerable groups, Rog Embassy is working on advancing rights for migrants and pushing for an alternative migration policy in Slovenia.
20	<u>School of Public Life</u>	Hungary	20000	Practical education for individuals and organisations involved in grassroots struggles for a more just and equitable society.
21	<u>Solomon</u>	Greece	20000	Online publication with a focus on migrant rights that trains migrants to become investigative journalists.
22	<u>Space of Urgency</u>	Germany	15000	Global platform of self-organised cultural spaces and their communities, that empower one another and build resilience by sharing stories, skills and tools for solidarity in times of crisis.

NO	WHO	FOCUS COUNTRY	AMOUNT (€)	SHORT DESCRIPTION
23	<u>Stichting Fossil Free Culture NL</u>	Netherlands	15000	Collective of artists and activists creating disobedient art to end oil and gas sponsorship of cultural institutions in the Netherlands.
24	<u>The Artivist Network</u>	Spain	15000	Collective of arts-activists who work to support movements in engaging arts, artists and culture, in creating change through the innovation, exchange and dissemination of creative forms of intervention.
25	<u>The Glass Is Half Full</u>	UK	15000	Solidarity campaign working with creative interventions and building networks to stand with oppressed groups that struggle for LGBTQI+ rights in Poland.
26	<u>Upstream Podcast</u>	US	15000	Interview and documentary series that invites listeners to unlearn everything they thought they knew about economics.
27	<u>Werkstatt für Bewegungsbildung</u>	Germany	11000	Organisation of an “online-to-offline organising” training for organisations with a leadership development function in Ireland, the UK, Germany, and France.
28	<u>Workshop for all Beings - Pracownia na rzecz Wszystkich Istot</u>	Poland	15000	Workshops and other activities to unite grassroots organisations in the fight for protecting Polish forests from governmental greed.
29	<u>Wretched of the Earth</u>	UK	15000	Reparations Collective that wants to bring a climate justice focus into the UK climate activism scene through strategic campaigns and interventions.

If we could use money in a different way, towards a healing, reparative purpose, then money Actually can be sacred, something that could be used as Medicine.

– Edgar Villanueva



Reflex grants

NO.	WHO	FOCUS LOCATION	AMOUNT (€)	SHORT DESCRIPTION
1	<u>Associação Unidos em Defesa de Covas do Barroso</u>	Portugal	7500	Campaign and camp that brings together multiple groups and organisations to organize against a large Lithium Mining development project in Barroso, northern Portugal.
2	Boiling Point (Wrzenie)	Poland	9000	Formed by a group of Polish gender justice activists, Wrzenie tries to counter burnout and trauma through training courses for queer youth activists.
3	<u>Caravana Artivista</u>	Colombia	1000	A bus crossing the dept. of Cauca, Colombia, to create encounter and exchange between peasants, students, researchers, activists, indigenous people, afro-descendants and popular communicators from different regions of Colombia.
4	<u>Deviszont Community Space</u>	Hungary	7000	Critical pedagogical initiative in the outskirts of Budapest organising political education and community building activities for working-class young adults.
5	<u>Earth Thrive</u>	Serbia	7000	Legal costs for the Serbian anti-Rio Tinto campaign.
6	<u>International Climate Justice Center</u>	Spain	7500	A team of activists that wants to transform the abandoned Sant Llatzer hospital into an international climate justice training center in Barcelona.
7	<u>KolekTIRV</u>	Croatia	1000	Fighting for the rights of trans, intersex and gender variant persons in Croatia.

NO.	WHO	FOCUS LOCATION	AMOUNT (€)	SHORT DESCRIPTION
8	<u>Linha Vermelha</u>	Portugal	3000	Developing school material to inform Portuguese youths about the detrimental impacts of off-shore fossil fuel drilling.
9	<u>new visions e.V.</u>	Germany	6000	Series of community-building trainings for womenX in culture from Latvia, Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania.
10	<u>new visions e.V.</u>	Germany	5000	2. Series of community-building trainings for womenX in culture from Latvia, Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania.
11	<u>Radio Afrolis</u>	Portugal	7000	Production of 10 podcasts on racial violence with a self-empowerment focus.
12	<u>Rinascimento Green</u>	Italy	7500	Explorative workshop bringing together various civil society actors from across Italy to discuss the opportunities for a general strike in Italy to foster climate and social demands in line with the Green New Deal.
13	<u>Solomon</u>	Greece	5000	Online publication with a focus on migrant rights that trains migrants to become investigative journalists.
14	Spore	Italy	5000	Focus on documenting and organising around undemocratic renewable energy mega-projects in Italy.
15	<u>Solidarity Will Win</u>	Germany	3000	Creating appealing videos for young activists based on the Solidarity Will Win brochure to share campaigning best practices.

NO.	WHO	FOCUS LOCATION	AMOUNT (€)	SHORT DESCRIPTION
16	<u>Vouliwatch</u>	Greece	3500	Production of a series of info videos about Vouliwatch's campaigns and actions.
17	<u>XY-Spectrum</u>	Serbia	1000	XY Spectrum is newly established organisation that works on advancing the life quality of gender and sex variant persons, with a focus on organised support and raising visibility in Serbia.
18	Veraenderung e.V.	Germany	5000	Support for a network of grassroots initiatives and activist groups to organise and accompany the Zapatistas' trip to Europe in the summer/autumn of 2021.

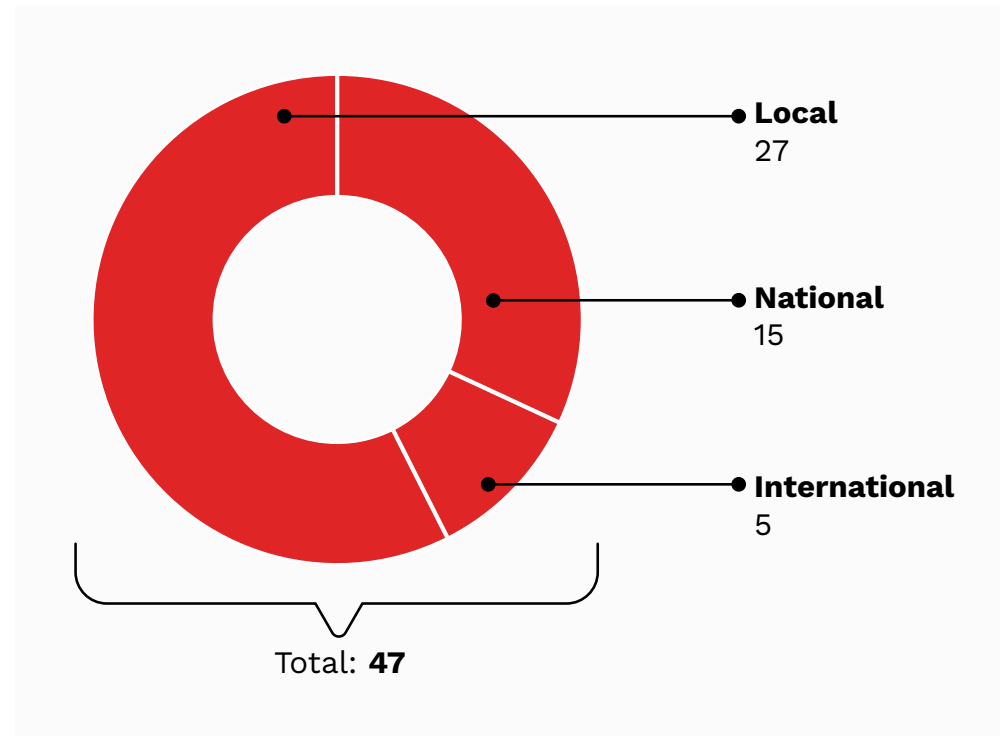
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GRANTMAKING ANALYSIS

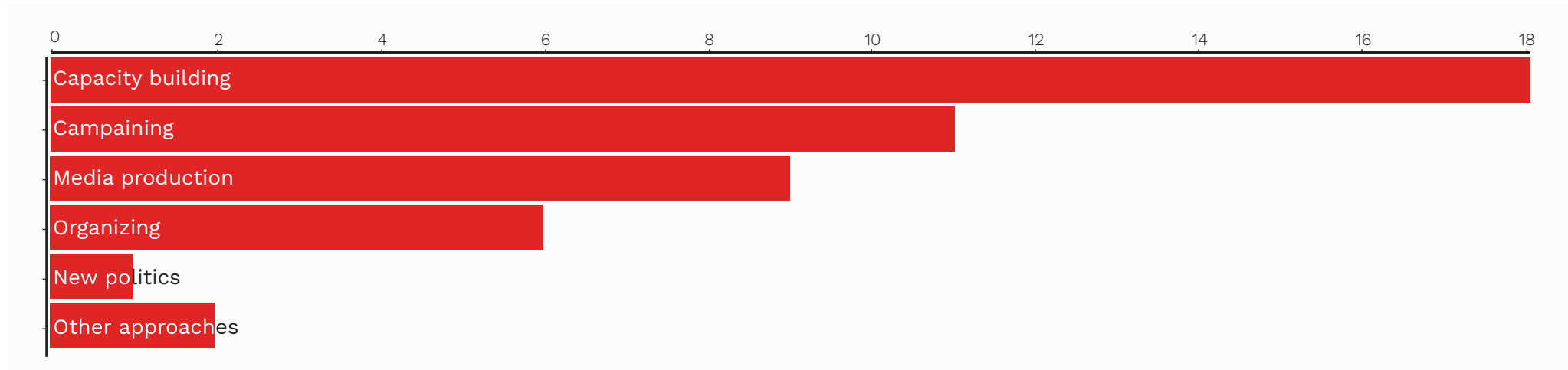
Looking at our 2021 grants, we see that the Capacity Building category makes up an important share of our funding. Trainings, for example on anti-racism, organising or using art in activism not only to spread knowledge, but also to connect individuals from different groups and across countries. Climate camps and other events, which also fall under this category, are an important space for collective sensemaking, sharing and narrative building.

We also made quite some Media Production grants in 2021 which have allowed political analyses and systems change narratives to reach broader audiences. International podcasts like **Upstream** contribute to challenging broad narratives, e.g. on the idea of homo economicus. National podcasts like **Radar Left** in Serbia, alternative media outlets like **Solomon** in Greece and platforms like **AAEFP** in France center the voices of marginalised groups that are often not present in mainstream media.

Even though we pay attention to supporting groups with an intersectional analysis and approach to movement building, most funded groups have one or two main angles from where they approach their work. Climate and



Reach of the funded activity



Main approach to achieve change

environmental justice are leading issue areas, corresponding to 13 of the total 47 grants, followed by gender justice (11) and racial justice & decolonisation (6). Educational activities, gatherings and platforms, like the 8th of March Institute that develops and runs campaigns across different progressive causes, often are labeled as Other/Across issues which explains the high number of grants in this category.



Core issue area(s) addressed by the group (multiple mentions possible)

The below graphic is a tribute to our strategic discussion and analysis of our grantmaking until the end of 2020. We had realised that a large portion of our grants in the past had gone to groups led by white cis-men, that were often also based in capital cities. We realised that we needed to measure what we value. So, in 2021, we began recording the characteristics of the leadership or core group of people that our funding supported. We can now see how far we've come towards achieving our goal of contributing to systems change by moving funds to traditionally marginalised groups. In itself, irrespective of the supposed 'impact' of that group's activity, moving philanthropic funds into their hands to organise, struggle, learn and make mistakes is an achievement in itself. We strive to increase the number of grants going to BIPOC and frontline community led groups that are involving people across class divides in the years to come and to minimise the number of grants where the core group does not have any of the characteristics outlined below.



Characteristics of the core group/leadership (multiple mentions possible)

Nature shrinks as capital grows. The growth of the market cannot solve the very crisis it creates.

– Vandana Shiva

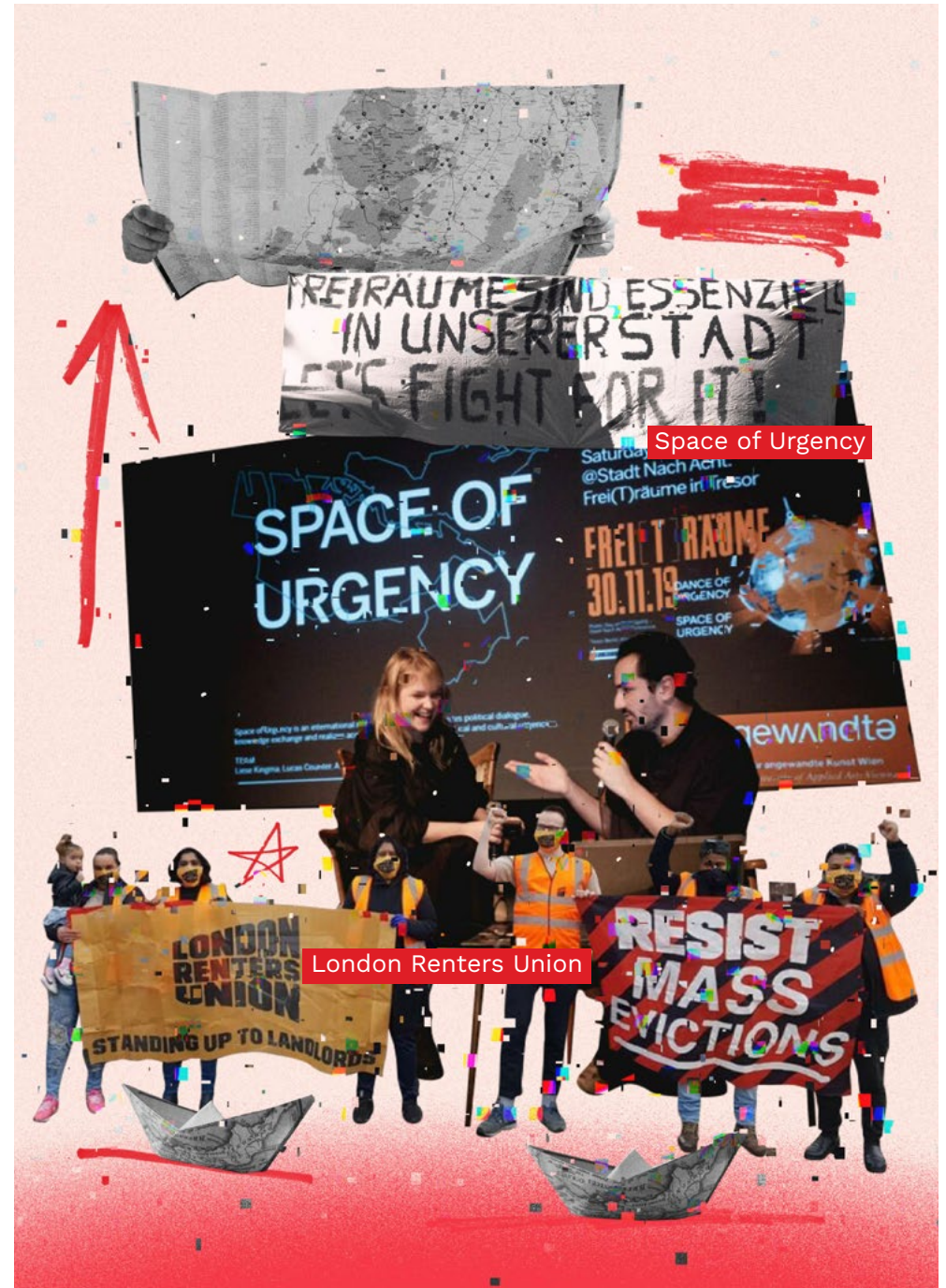


05

DEEP DIVE INTO KEY ISSUES

(a) Tenant Organising & Right to the City

The race for space. Corporate versus humane, commodified versus common, capital-driven versus citizen driven. This year we funded a range of grassroots initiatives that are organising communities around just access to affordable space, whether it be for creativity, pleasure, political organising, living or working. We continued our work with the flagship European tenants union, the LRU (**London Renters Union**) that is building power for the right to housing especially in working class neighbourhoods of the UK's capital. LRU quickly started supporting other renters movements by offering free resources on their website, participating in coaching calls and developing the Right to Housing ecosystem across borders. Similarly, **Space of Urgency** emerged as a network of self-organised cultural spaces and their communities, that empower one another and build resilience by sharing stories, skills and tools for solidarity. Their **Envisioning Free Space conference** in Berlin brought together activists working on defending free space or creating safer spaces for youth counterculture, especially in the Balkans, Southern Europe and the Middle East. **Re-set**, an ecosocial activist crew from Czech Republic took a page from LRU's handbook, as well as past grantees like **Kotti & Co.** & **Deutsche Wohnen Enteignen**, started cultivating community trust and agency in Prague to build a housing rights movement in the country. The pandemic decimated many self-organised spaces, cutting their access to resources and events-related income, and building up debt. They were operating in precarious conditions before, and as this amplified during lockdowns many faced extinction. Grantee spaces like **Gólya Community House**, in Budapest, functioned as the central hubs for neighbourhood-related community organising in Hungary. Rights to City and Tenants Organising movements will see ever greater resistance in the wake of mounting gentrification waves and will therefore need ample resources to prevent further financialised, dystopian, classist segregations of urban centers.



(b) Climate Justice

Our environmental grants shifted this year, since our past focal points such as youth eco-campaigning and climate camps have acquired their own momentums and greater financial sustainability. So we shifted towards more neglected aspects of climate justice work. For instance, we funded a predominantly BIPOC activist crew based in London, **Wretched of the Earth**, which is a Reparations Collective that wants to bring a climate justice focus into the UK climate activism scene through strategic campaigns and interventions. Their work centers a decolonial narrative and justice work, via which formerly colonised nations are supposed to be given due reparations for resource extractivism and crony capitalist global trade policies, still perpetrated by the former colonisers. Similarly, care work and non violent communication, such as inclusive practices, accessibility and preventing or healing burnout, received some attention from Pracownia na rzecz Wszystkich Istot (**Workshop for all Beings**) working with various climate justice collectives across Poland. Another re-emergent conversation that we wanted to spotlight was the rise of rightwing politics and environmental movements, so we facilitated a webinar on **The Dark Side of Environmentalism**, and produced **a comprehensive article on Ecofascism**. We also continued funding groups such as **Fossil Free Culture NL**, which center activism and disobedient art as a means to end oil and gas sponsorship of cultural institutions in the Netherlands. Their art actions function as beacons for others in Europe regarding what is possible in the space where civil disobedience, Just Transition demands and ecological imagining meet.



(c) Queer-Organising

Homophobic narratives and policies persisted in 2021, especially in places like Poland and Hungary and wherever neofascist politics took root. We funded and collaborated with the **'Make Poland Queer Again'**, a solidarity campaign working with creative interventions and building networks to stand with oppressed groups that struggle for LGBTQI+ rights in Poland. In parallel, we funded Boiling Point (Wrzenie), a group of Polish gender justice activists, which tries to counter burnout and trauma through training courses for queer youth activists. Capacities, knowledge exchange, connecting and training was also facilitated by groups which had also received grants in the past, such as the **EL*C - EuroCentralAsian Lesbian* Community**, based in Austria, a network organisation that amplifies struggles and creates visibility of lesbians* throughout Europe and Central Asia. This year we also dedicated some resources to re-granting collaborations. Intimate knowledge of queer movements depends on locally developed trust and comradeship, which is why we started working with **FemFund** and **For a Change Fund (Fundusz dla Odmiany)**, two Polish funds. The former is a participatory feminist grassroots fund and the latter a participatory LGBTQI+ fund and support organisation that reaches activists specifically in smaller towns and villages across Poland. These types of collaborations develop our internal know-how and processes by allowing us to follow closely what types of constellations of collectives, campaigns, actions and work in queer organising they choose to fund and we in turn, do the same with our more translocal approach.



06

BEHIND THE (RADICAL FUNDING) SCENES

Paving the Way for Major Governance Change in 2022

In 2016, when the Guerrilla Foundation was still not even a year old, Romy got involved in setting up **FundAction** together with movement partners and some other funders. Since then, moving the Guerrilla Foundation to a participatory governance model had been on our minds. In 2018 we established an advisory board with a majority of activists. But we always just saw this as a stepping stone towards a more profound power shift.

At the end of 2021, our funder Toni was ready to step back from being actively involved in grantmaking decisions. To be clear, Toni had already for the previous two years massively trusted the Guerrilla team and advisors with most decisions. However, he attended the majority of decision-making conversations. But as Steven Lukes' book **Power: A radical view (1974)** recalls, we all know that beyond direct decision-making power there is, among others, the subtle power of 'having the person with the money (and the power to shut down your organisation at any time) in the room' when making decisions. Even if that person does not utter a single word, and refrains from intervening, others in the room will be moved to structure their conversation and decisions in ways that keep that powerful person happy. In the worst case, certain topics are not discussable, the agenda is pre-structured by what others anticipate that person wishes to see discussed and how.

To address this 'second face of power', as Lukes calls it, we took the leap at the end of 2021 and designed a project for a two year participatory governance and resourcing trial from 2022-23. In 2022 we will establish an Activist Council with 10+ members from across Europe and different areas of expertise to scout grant candidates and decide on all grants above 10k EUR. Small Reflex grants will for now continue to be decided by the team, for the sake of speed of administration, but we will pull in advisors from the Council

**Caring for myself is
not self-indulgence,
it is self-preservation,
and that is an act of
political warfare.**

— Audre Lorde

where needed. Council members will also be present and vote on decisions at our annual strategic meeting where we discuss grantmaking and other strategic goals for the coming year. The plan is to implement the Council by mid-2022 and then let it run for about one year before evaluating this first iteration in 2023. From that point on, we aim to develop recommendations for how to improve processes to continue the journey beyond the end of 2023. This has all been quite challenging and (mostly very) exciting stuff and everyone in the Foundation ended the year on a high because of it!

The other major advantage that this move conferred, was allowing us to reach out to additional donors in an effort to grow the pie for radical social justice philanthropy in Europe. Once Guerrilla would be governed in a participatory way, so our hypothesis went, other donors would be interested in making a contribution in order to make use of our know-how, networks and the overall ecosystem for grassroots systems change funding that we built over the years. This means that in 2022 we will reach out to more individuals with wealth to support our work in a way that we can meet the increased input of potential grantees we will hopefully receive via our Activist Council members.

For private foundations, moving to participatory governance is a massive exercise in collective learning and trust building. Funders go through a rather personal process of realising where their value and contribution to the world lies, and that it might not necessarily be in deciding about where philanthropic funds go or how exactly they should be spent. Organisations like **Resource Generation** and its European offsprings, **Resource Transformation** and **Resource Justice** are massively important in this respect. Their praxis groups support wealthy individuals on their journey towards redistribution by helping them to reflect upon their overt and covert powers and building self-worth from other sources.

Even though ours was not always an easy process, getting a small private foundation on this trajectory and following through was comparatively simple

when looking at the massive tankers that are the big, institutional funders with their (usually very white & very male) boards and big-ego CEOs who change every couple of years, bringing new ideas and strategies every time, which paralyse these organisations (often for years). This is exactly where **Leap Collective** comes in, which we see as a container for those actors to experiment with and learn about participatory governance in philanthropy. More about that in the following section.

Leap Collective

Romy spent about half day per week on contributing to the setting up of **Leap Collective** in order to further support our goal of influencing (and hopefully ultimately abolishing) traditional European philanthropy by giving large funders the opportunity to run experiments in participatory funding for systems change, that they could otherwise not do within their institutions.

While the first half of the year was spent on expanding and building trust among the **Facilitation Group**, the first philanthropic experiment was developed and funded in the second half of 2021. Leap does not have much to show yet in terms of communication/online presence but is going strong behind the scenes, building its internal processes and practicing the art of hosting participatory processes. One of the key lessons learned (again) was how hard it is to put care and relationships first when the funding world and the hegemonic system that we have all internalised so deeply demands us to produce more visible outputs. We also learned that with each of us being able to put in only a couple of hours/week, it's hard to communicate, reflect and produce documentation and do content work at the same time. A good reminder that this is what activists do all the time! With our full time paid jobs in philanthropy, we often do not acknowledge this enough and just expect speedy communication, reporting and documentation while this contributes to reinforcing systems of oppression.

07

BUILDING COMMUNITY

To give you a taste of how we are engaging with the worlds we are trying to affect and connect to cultivate emergent, often times edgy, always open-minded relationships:

→ We spent **50+ hours** on check-in and coaching calls with grantees in 2021.

More than **40 calls**

with foundation staff and High Net-worth Individuals, attended and contributed to multiple online funder meetings and webinars.

Organised **4 Radical Philanthropy calls**

for groups of wealth holders (We spread our ideas about radical philanthropy & support philanthropists to boldly move their money into social justice grantmaking.)

As a result, we facilitated over **500k** in donations to organisations in our network from other foundations and philanthropists.

We conducted **5 DEEPER INQUIRY SESSIONS**


with 80 participants in the sessions and over **600 online views** at time of writing.

(This strengthens our grantee network with relevant input and connection building)

We organised & facilitated **3 PEER TO PEER** exchange sessions among our grantees on topics such as **decentralised organising** and **community organising**.

Continued weaving networks by introducing grantees to each other, we are happy to see these extra efforts **paying off.**

As an example: **Genova Che Osa** from Italy, connected to the European ecosystem of municipalist platforms and even joined the **European Municipalist Network.**

They are now also working with Autonomy to conduct a study and develop policy recommendations on the Just Transition of Genoa. Magical matchmaking **in action** 

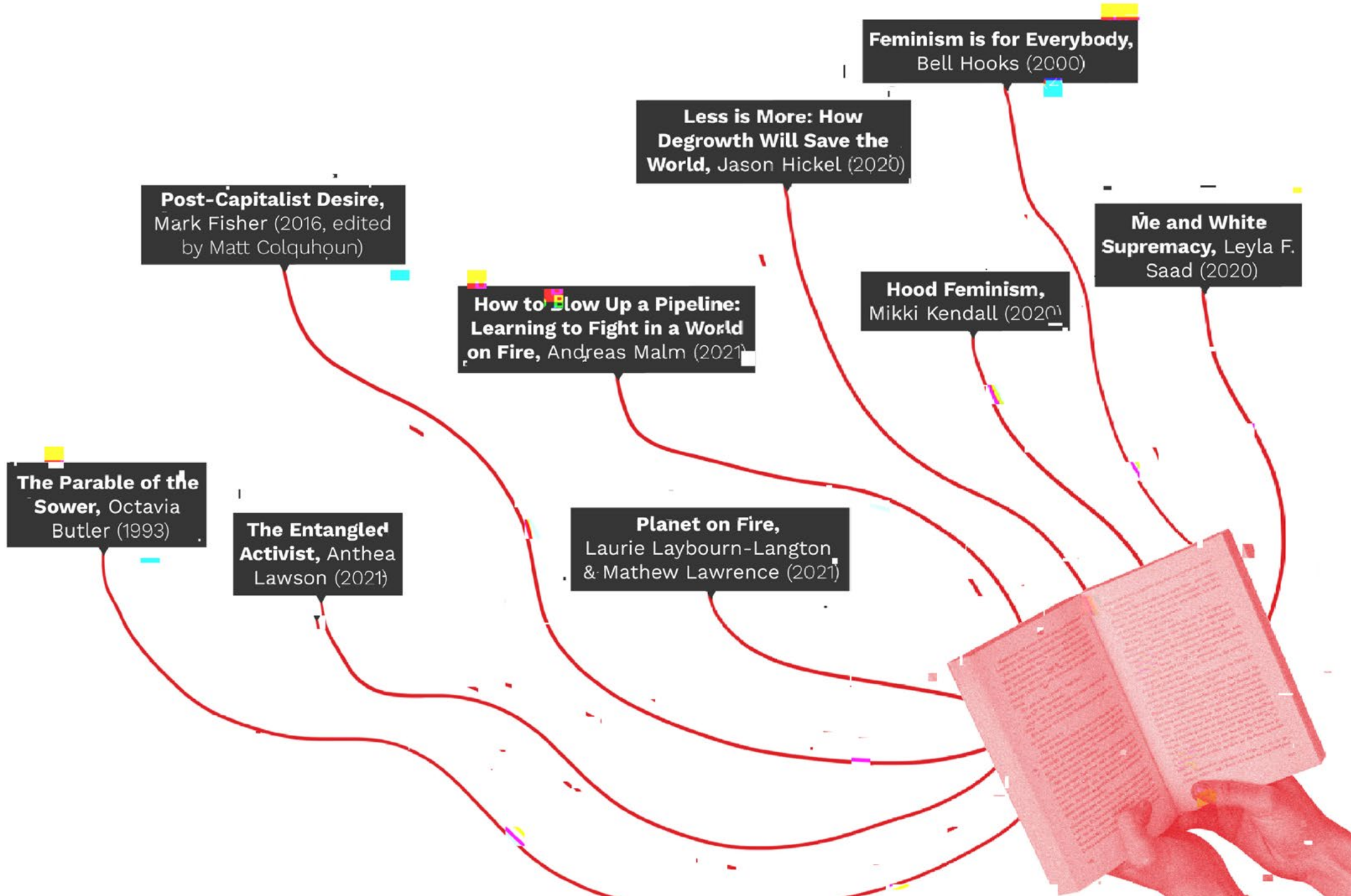
**There are no passengers
on spaceship earth.
We are all crew.**

– Marshall McLuhan



08

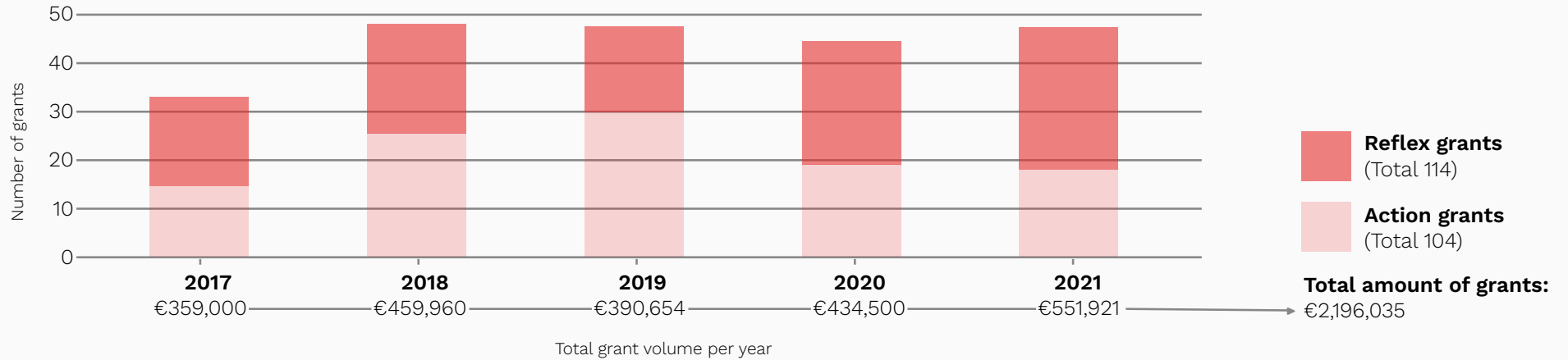
WHAT WE WERE READING IN 2021



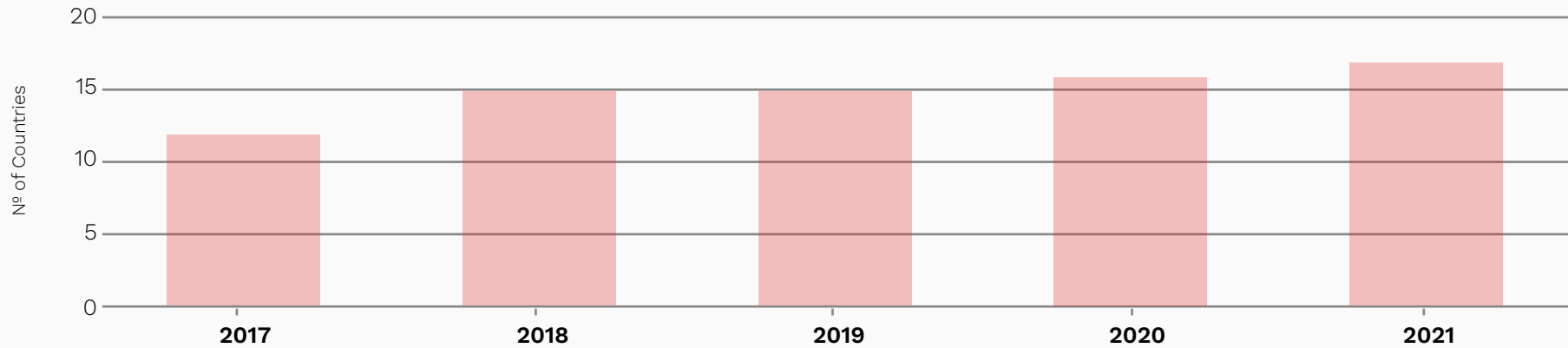
09

GUERRILLA FOUNDATION, THE FIRST FIVE YEARS

Annual grant-making volume



Nº of Countries reached with funding (multiple grants in the same country)



Over the past 5 years, our funding has reached 27 countries: Austria, Albania, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Serbia, Slovenia, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK, USA.

The theme of this year's annual report is "Transition", as it marks a half decade cycle of social justice funding work, as well as our shift into a major governance change towards participatory resource redistribution. We felt it was a good time for a brief compilation of numbers and lessons learned from this first leg of our journey.

01 Geographic spread of our grants

From the beginning of our operation, we considered Guerrilla as a European funder with the goal to reach groups all across its region. However, during the first five years, the graphs show that a comparatively large chunk of our funding went to the UK and Germany. There's various reasons that tied us to these (privileged) geographies, namely that when we started, we had stronger networks in these countries and a better grasp of the political context to rely on when approaching groups for grants. The fact that from early on we also invited grantees to recommend other groups for funding, resulted in more grants made to groups in the same geography. Finally, since both countries have comparatively well developed funding infrastructures for grassroots groups (meaning groups are experienced and knowledgeable about how to reach out to new funders) and English usually is not a hurdle, the share of funding requests we receive from Germany and the UK is much higher than from other places in Europe. All of the US and a good share of the UK grants we made also went to groups that implemented projects in other countries than the receiving countries, be it as solidarity action (e.g. **Make Poland Queer Again**) or as members of the diaspora (**POMOC**). We generally try to avoid making grants to organisations implementing activities in other countries because we disagree with the (neo)colonialist ideas and profiteering that so often characterises much of the classic 'development' sector, where large chunks of the funds officially intended for supporting other countries end up in the pockets of 'experts' from the implementing country. However, we did make a small number of selected communication and narrative focused grants to UK/US organisations which we felt were relevant in reaching bigger audiences internationally but also in Europe, challenging ideas like Homo

Economicus (**Upstream**), recovery after disasters (**Shareable**) and others. After much reflection and analysis, we have come to refine our selection criteria to only fund German or UK groups if they are very unlikely to find funding elsewhere because of their radicality and/or if the ideas and approaches promoted have the potential to generate impact beyond the country borders. Overall, we have so far reached 27 countries with our funding and are in the process of slowly deepening our networks in several countries that we consider strategically relevant in the European context (mainly Italy, Poland, Hungary, Greece). We are also continuously expanding our reach when the opportunity presents itself, and we hope that the new Activist Council will make an impact in terms of broadening our reach while contributing to better local embeddedness.

02 Grantmaking Milestones, Evolution of Selection Criteria

Activism & Polarisation: We grappled a lot with the issue of polarisation and how the activism we are funding might contribute to societal divides. Over time, we have come to conclude that funding groups that actively make connections beyond their focus issue, that solidarise themselves with others (in practical & narrative terms) and that use a systems-thinking perspective are some of the compounds that best counter polarisation. Making interconnected oppressions visible allows us to go to the root causes of societal issues while incentivising to practise humility and building collective strength. Straight men who recognise their own oppression under patriarchy will be the allies for womenX and LGBTQI+ folks in the struggle against it. Anti-racism will become a core value when poor white labourers see that their 'enemy' is not the 'migrant who steals their job' but a capitalist system that is setting one against the other while exploiting both. LGBTQI+ activists, young people and women are usually the most fervent protectors of the environment because of their struggle to make their identities and contributions to society visible. Supporting these groups as frontline communities across multiple interconnected struggles is therefore not giving too much weight to identity politics, as some might argue, but the only way for successful movement building in a time of intersecting crises.

Blind Spots: As much as there is to reconcile outside, this work for us implies digging into who we are and how we do(ing), opening space to reflect on what's shadowed if we don't dare to look inwards. For instance in the current context of the Ukraine war, we were reminded that groups from the anti-war and peace movements were so far not featured in our grantmaking. Similarly the first Guerrilla years also made us notice we needed greater focus on anti-racist issues and hammer at diversity of our internal structures. Working on our blind spots has therefore shown us that awareness is not necessarily given but a multi-faceted process involving the commitment to engage with issues as they emerge in the journey.

Climate Change vs Climate Justice: One of the most relevant improvements of our selection criteria in the past years was to move from funding grassroots 'climate change' groups to a focus on 'climate justice' groups. This lens not only is reflected in the group's theoretical analysis of the climate crisis, but actually shown in their daily activities, campaigns and working structure.

What is Grassroots? Our definition of 'grassroots activism' evolved over the years. Initially we funded more projects that were 'for' minorities but run by rather privileged activists. In the last couple of years, also enabled by a growing network and deeper insights into activist ecosystems around Europe, we are moving towards funding more self-led groups, membership organisations and those where governing power lies majorly in the hands of people directly affected by an issue.

Context Matters: What is radical, bold and creative in one country might not be so in another. Especially when funding across Europe, context sensitivity is crucial. That counts for the evaluation of the planned activities as well as for evaluating the applications and self-representation of groups. We have come to learn for example that groups of muslim women tend to seriously overdo it in terms of professionalism and self presentation - mainly because otherwise they are never being taken seriously/receive zero funding, not because they have too much time for shiny websites.



03 Walking the Radical Funding Talk

In the past years we inspired or nudged many other philanthropists and foundations by always sharing our thinking and advice. While this is a major time investment, we do see it paying off in terms of directly raising contributions to the activist ecosystem we want to support but also by contributing to the overall ecosystem for radical philanthropy and spreading the word about participatory practices. We are especially proud of our contribution to setting up **FundAction**, as well as to bringing the **Resource Generation** way of organising people with wealth and other privileges to Europe with now two organisations established: **Resource Transformation** in the German speaking countries and **Resource Justice** in the UK. We hope to continue to support this ecosystem and are already in the process of cooking up a new resource for future radical philanthropists. Stay tuned!

04 Narrative for systems change:

Stories are means of replicating and proliferating ideas, ideals and ways of being that you'd like to see in the world. Diverse stories start to overlap contextually and form wider narratives. Our communications function as an amplifier of the narratives for systems change we'd like to see unfolding as worthy alternatives to the current dominant culture. As a funder whose direct impact through funding is relatively small but where there is lots of potential for becoming a multiplier for groups and their ideas. We spread edgy content via social media platforms, but it is our focused blog posts, especially those about foundation strategy and radical philanthropy that have really stood out and become a relevant resource in the field. We also try to contribute to more honest conversations in the field through our **'Go with the Flaw'** series and started last year to explore some of the deeper questions underlying activism through our **Deeper Inquiry series**.

05 New Structural Changes at Guerrilla

We embark on the next five years with a major governance overhaul, a couple of new hires in the first half of 2022, and with another Guerrilla baby in the

making (an actual human baby :) The coming years will be about consolidating our much more participatory way of operating and sharing the lessons learned to inspire other funders. We also want to keep growing the pot available for radical systems change philanthropy by increasing our own budget and that of other participatory grantmakers. There are a couple of important topics we want to spend time on in the coming years and there are many steps still to go in terms of living our values. For instance, we are contemplating introducing a 4-day workweek and focusing more on care work in how we interact with each other and our partners. These considerations are very difficult for us because we also feel the pressure and urgency of the problems we are trying to tackle as well as the responsibility to be frugal with the funds that we steward. We also know that there is still much to do in terms of improving our internal learning from what we fund and establishing ways of continuously educating ourselves and others in the field. Finally, decolonisation is a big topic that we've only just begun to work on and are committed to address in the coming years.



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