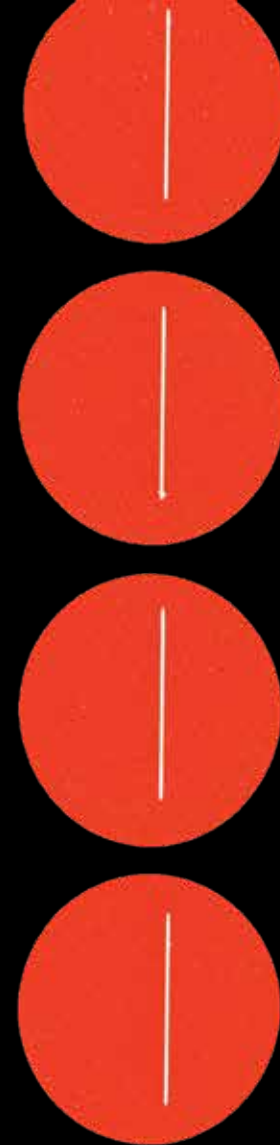


Annual Report **2025**



Redistribution is Revolution

Report Overview

1. Framing & Ecosystem

*Strategic thoughts in broad strokes,
who our playmates are and
the waters we swim in.*

Fractures and Manufactures.....3

The Radical Resource

Redistribution Ecosystem.....10

2. Grantmaking Numbers, Stories & Lessons from Grantees

*Where our funding goes, statistics, trends
& observations, grantee spotlights*

Money in Movement 2025.....17

Grantmaking analysis.....18

Adapting Funding Strategy.....33

Redistribution Tensions.....37

Our 2025 Rebels.....38



3. Internal work, Governance & Financials

*Organisational development, teamwork
to make the dream work and expenditure report*

Governance evaluation.....49

Benefactors to Accomplices:
reshaping funder participation.....52

Tending the Soil - Growing the Crew.....55

Renewing the Activist Council.....56

Financials.....57

4. Narrative Work & Transforming Philanthropy

*Changing the story, changing the field and
the long game of changing philanthropy.
Ending with the recreational pastimes and
worksheets that keep our revolutionary mojos high.*

Changing the Narrative in Philanthropy.....59

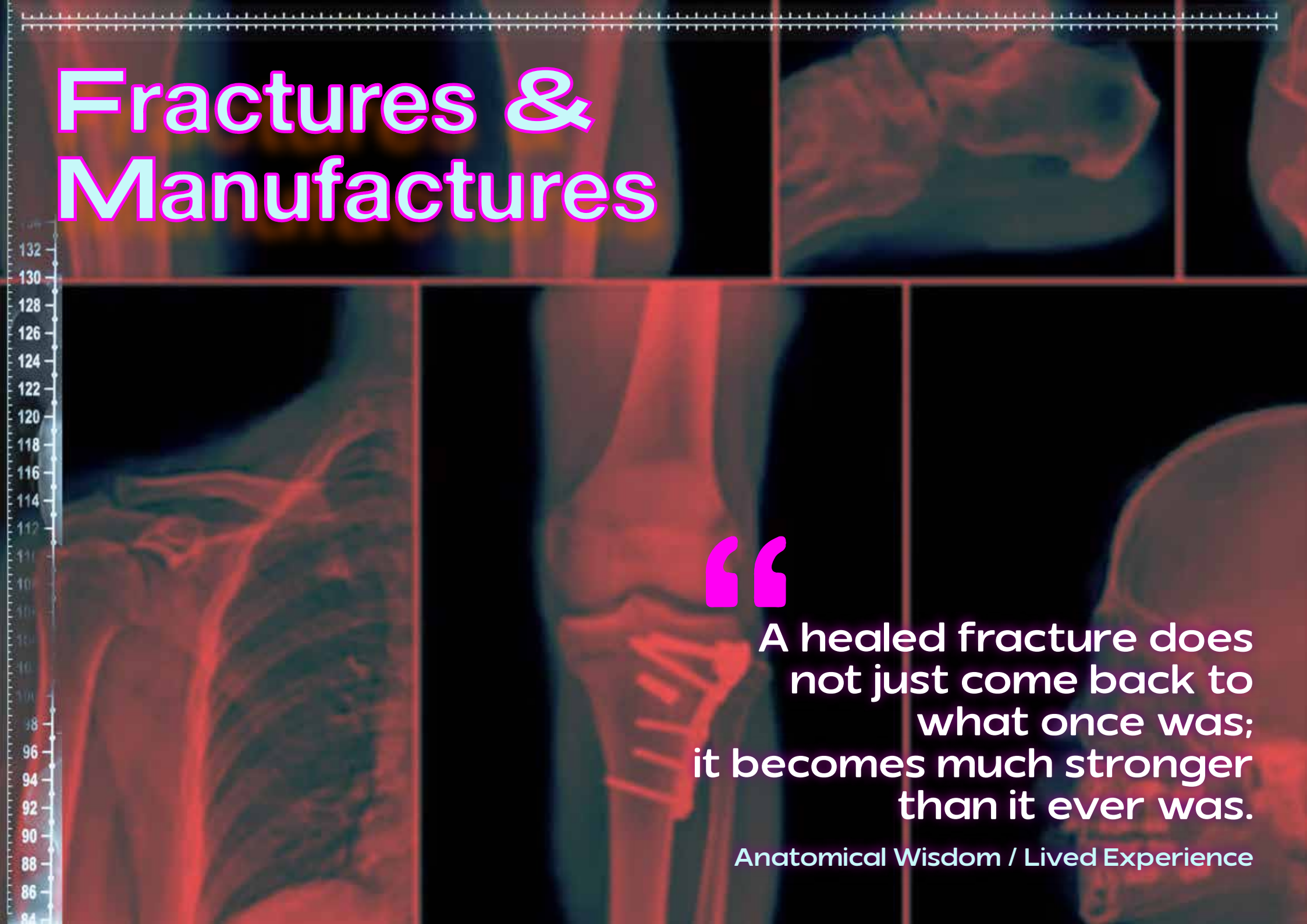
Flipping the Script on Philanthropic Giving.....62

Brainfood.....65

Collective Liberation Asanas.....66



Fractures & Manufactures



“

A healed fracture does not just come back to what once was; it becomes much stronger than it ever was.

Anatomical Wisdom / Lived Experience

■ **We** have our antennas up.
And what we see is a world breaking,
not quietly, not gradually, but along
fault lines that have been decades in
the making. The fractures are
everywhere: in our bodies, in our
movements, in the very architecture of
European democracy.

This report is about those fractures
and more urgently, it is about what we
choose to manufacture in their wake.



At the **Guerrilla Foundation**, we operate at the size of an embrace. Our team is small, our connections deep, our comradeship fierce.

When one of us fractures, and this year, several of us did, literally, in the form of broken bones and surgeries, the reverberation is felt in the marrow of the entire organisation. Caring for each other meant adapting pace, looking out for the limping, holding space for recovery. We learned what any orthopedist could tell you: a healed fracture does not return to factory settings. When given sufficient care, there is a chance that it rewires. It reinforces. The bone knits back together denser, stronger at the site of the break than before... that is, only if taken care of properly. A period of enforced immobility, pause, patience, and the recovery process itself offers the opportunity to re-examine movement patterns that might not serve us anymore. It is a chance for reflection, taking stock, witnessing interdependence & testing allyship. What follows is reconfiguration, enhanced awareness and learning new collective patterns that serve us better.

We are coming together while mending the widening gap of our fractures.



This act of personal relearning holds lessons for the political landscape we navigate.

Across Europe, the cracks are visible to anyone willing to look. In the housing estates of Berlin and Barcelona, working-class families are priced out by financialized landlords who treat shelter as a speculative asset. In the squares of Warsaw and Budapest, queer and trans rights are debated as if they were negotiable clauses rather than inherent dignities. In the countryside? Thrice invisibilised. Authoritarian politics feed on the precarity that austerity manufactured, offering scapegoats instead of solutions.

Meanwhile, at the imperial core, the rules are being rewritten by those who want the game to end. We have watched civic space shrink, NGO work criminalized, and institutional funding withdrawn, from the dismantling of USAID to the austerity mandates of the Berlin Senate.

These are not budget cuts; they are the intentional and repressive withdrawal of life support from democratic tissue.

And yet, on the side that claims to oppose this darkness, there is only fragmentation. If the right understands the power of manufacture, the deliberate engineering of crisis, the coordinated funding of far-right machinery, the left remains a scattering of isolated cells unable to coagulate. There is private money, yes, but it remains too often risk-averse, segmented, incapable of concerted action. The field of social change funding is fractured not by accident, but by a failure of political imagination and an adherence to the memory of a status quo that is long gone.

At Guerrilla, we reject this failure.

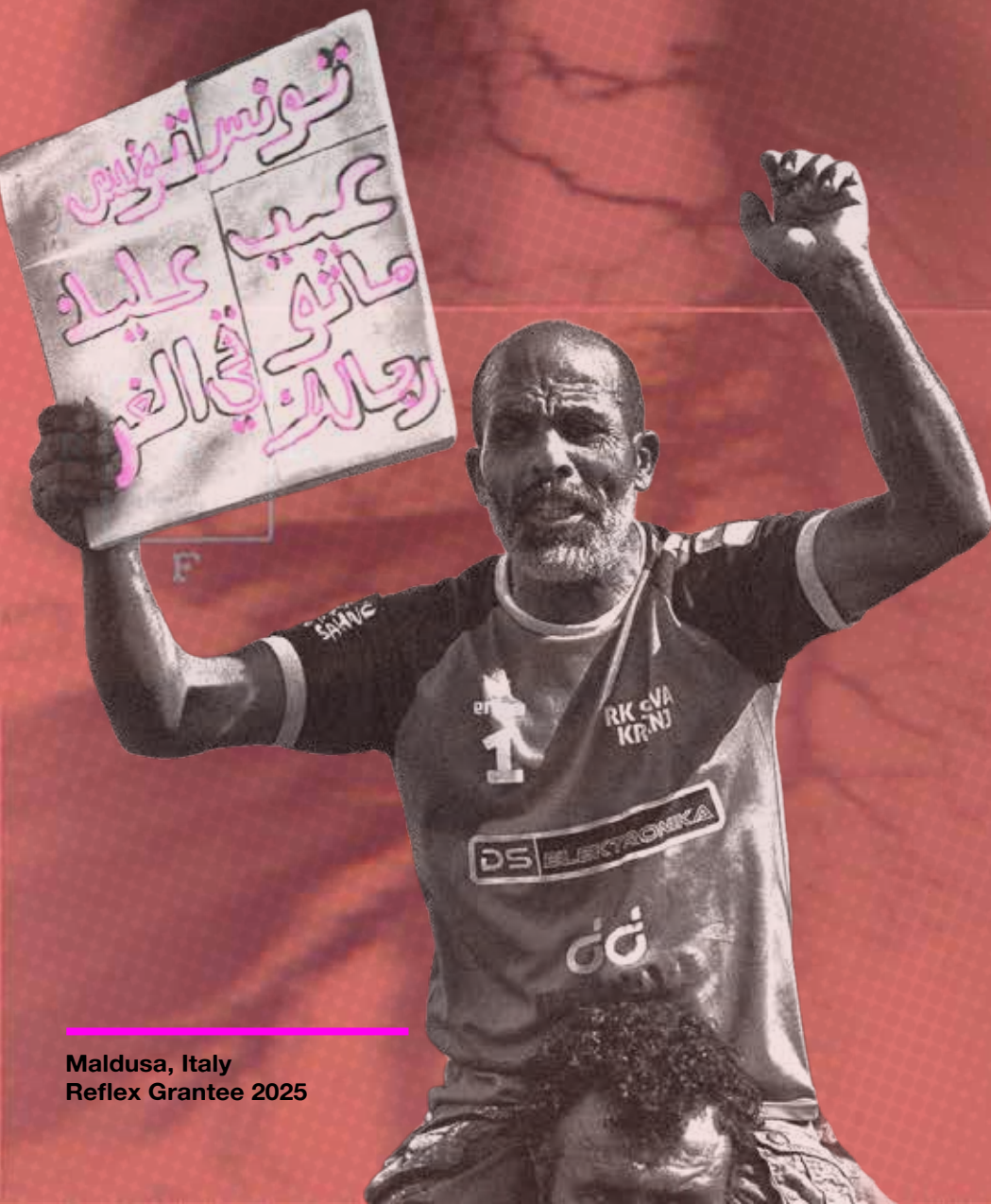
Our model is simple and systemic: wealth hoarded by the few must resource the power of the many. We challenge the hydra of plutocracy and philanthrocapitalism, the fiction that billionaire-led solutions can fix problems created by billionaire-led extraction.

As Anand Giridharadas observed in 2025, the era of performative elite do-gooding is passing. What is ascendant now - and exemplified by the likes of Elon Musk or Epstein - is nakedness: of greed, of sociopathy, of power thirst.

“There is a kind of progress in this,” he writes, “because what is naked is easier to see.”



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Maldusa, Italy
Reflex Grantee 2025

We see it. And we are coming together to act.
Each year we are doubling down on building the
resource redistribution movement.

*We invite a new generation, especially
young people with wealth who feel the
dissonance of their privilege, to join the
ride - and the elders disidentified with
their class? Welcome in!*

Transgenerational organising is the only way
forward. Nobody joins us for saviourism,
but accomplicehood. To move from guilt to
solidarity, hoarding to redistributing,
donor-spectatorship to reparative resourcing of
frontline struggles for justice, a liberatory demos,
and ecological survival.

This report applies the ‘*Fractures & Manufactures*’ lens to explore that duality.

It acknowledges that while the political and personal ruptures of 2025 have left us broken in places, we reject breakage as defeat.

It argues for care that strengthens, solidarity that rewires political anatomy, and the urgent need to move from a fractured left to a manufactured force - one strong enough to vision, to organise and to succeed.

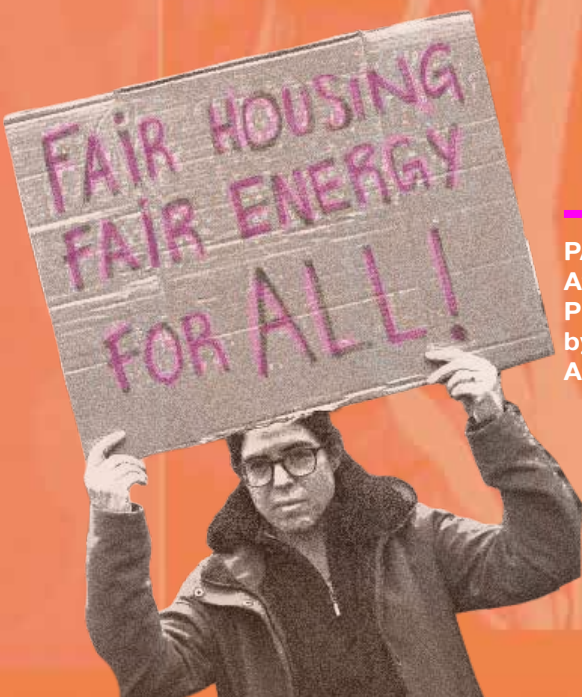
Conscientious Objection
Watch, Turkey
Action Grantee 2025



“Heartbreak is the class consciousness of our times. So, it is up to us, the heartbroken, to learn again to heal—and remake the world.”

Gargi Bhattacharyya

The Radical Resource Redistribution Ecosystem



PAH - Plataforma
Afectados por la Hipoteca
Platform of People Affected
by Mortgages, Spain
Action Grantee, 2025



TransFormA,
R. North Macedonia
Action Grantee 2025

■ If fractures are the diagnosis, manufacture is the task. But manufacture requires raw materials, and in our world, those materials are money, relationships, and political will, distributed across a landscape designed for scarcity, not abundance. We are inheriting a system with cracks so deep they have become structural.

The architecture of progressive funding in Europe was not built for this moment. It was built for a world that believed in gradual progress, institutional stability, and the eventual triumph of liberal values.

That world is gone. What remains is a patchwork of foundations, donor networks, and movement intermediaries, each operating in their own silo, each protecting their own brand, each requiring from movements the exhausting labour of personalised reporting, relationship management, and narrative tailoring.

The fragmentation tax

Let us name what we see: the left pays a fragmentation tax that the right simply does not. While far-right infrastructure benefits from coordinated long-term funding strategies, deliberate movement-building and high-trust investment in leader figures, progressive funders remain scattered. A single grassroots organisation can spend one-third of its capacity trying to patch together a budget with grants from different funders, managing disparate reporting requirements, logframes, metrics and ways of submitting financial information. This is not oversight; it is extraction. It treats movement time as infinite and funder convenience as paramount.

The collaborative frameworks that do exist remain embryonic and the vision of where we, the **'progressives'**, actually want to go still feels blurred. We see funders who claim alignment but cannot share grantee lists. We see wealth holders who speak of systems change but require quarterly reports that measure only what can be counted and ask us to neatly fit into their identified 'box' of the change they feel is most needed. We see a philanthropic sector that has inherited the extraction logic it claims to oppose, demanding proof, demanding measurement, demanding that movements justify their existence to those who hold the purse strings.

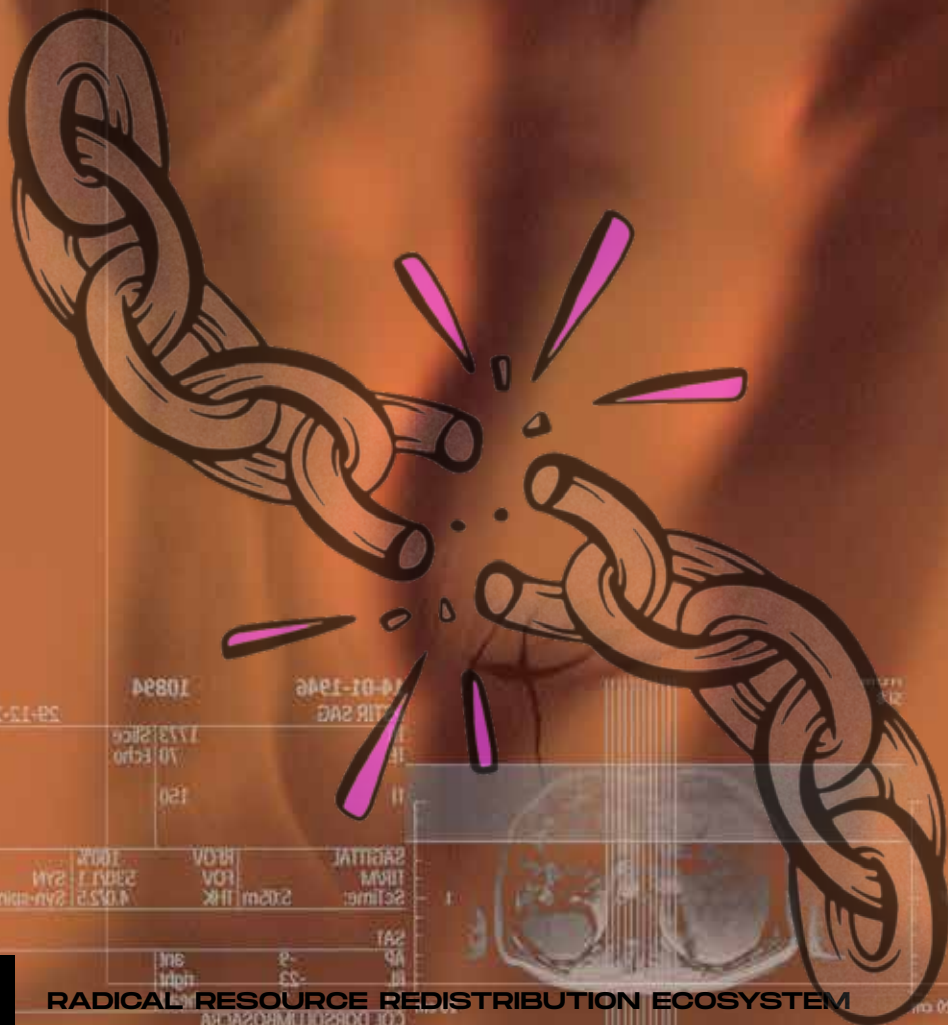
Invoking a **powerful rant** by Immy Kaur from ***Civic Square*** (start at min. 53:40) on a panel on ***"Beyond Philanthropy: Radical Imaginings to Radical Practice"***, where she is citing Stephanie Brobbey from our friends at ***Good Ancestor Movement***, there is one thing to do: ***"We need to start organising as if we believe we can win."***



Imandeep Kaur
Director for Mission + Strategy
Civic Square

The countercultural vanguard

And yet. In the cracks of this broken system, something else is growing. A countercultural vanguard within philanthropy is refusing the terms of the old contract. These are not the institutions that dominate the sector; they are the ones that understand that redistribution is not a programme area but a political commitment.



We see the potential of this in *EDGE*, which has spent years building the architecture for funders to actually coordinate, not just convene, not just share learnings, but to move money together, to take collective risks, to treat their resources as a shared weapon rather than individual assets.

We see it in *FundAction*, which embodies the principle that a European community of activists can govern a pot of funding to resource grassroots organisations from their middle.

We see it in *Collective Abundance*, experimenting with ways of funding that build community rather than pitting groups against each other. And it is in *R** who are organising wealth holders not to feel better about themselves but to move their money, to redistribute it, to understand that their privilege is not a burden to be managed but power to be transferred.

These are not feel-good alternatives. They are experiments in a different kind of political economy where resource redistribution is not charity but the material basis for power-building. They are learning, sometimes painfully, how to hold each other to account, how to share power, how to make decisions collectively without defaulting to the fastest talker or the largest check.

The art of speaking normatively while acting radically

This work often requires a particular kind of double consciousness. We operate in a world where the language of *'impact'* and *'scalability'* and *'measurable outcomes'* remains the dominant tongue. Movements and radical intermediary funders like us cannot survive on aspirations alone. We need resources, flowing directly out of the fraught and unjust system we aim to change, that often come with strings attached. So we learn to translate. We learn to speak of *'resilience'* when we mean collective care, of *'systems change'* when we mean dismantling capitalist extraction, of *'stakeholder engagement'* when we mean building power in communities that have been told to wait for handouts to trickle down.

This is not co-optation. It is the strategic use of normative language to resource radical work. It is the recognition that the foundations and donors we engage exist within constraints we did not create, and that our job is to stretch those boundaries, to push against them, to find the cracks where real transformation can be funded without being named in terms that would trigger defensive reactions. The goal is not to become acceptable; the goal is to become resourced enough to be effective.



MiGreat, Netherlands
Action Grantee, 2025

Relationship as physiotherapy

But none of this works without **relationship**. The skeletal structure we are trying to build, a resource redistribution ecosystem strong enough to support movement power, requires constant attention to the connective tissue between its parts. This is the physiotherapy of our work: the meetings that don't have agendas, the check-ins that don't produce documents, the funding raised for sister organisations in this ecosystem, the trust built slowly over years.

International Women
Space (IWS), Germany
Action Grantee, 2025



We are learning, as bodies in recovery learn, that the new structure must be exercised differently than the old one. A healed coalition is not one that never breaks; it is one that knows how to break together, to repair together, to come back stronger at the site of the fracture. This means investing in relationships when there is no crisis, no urgent need, no money on the table. It means showing up for partners when we have nothing to ask. It means treating our ecosystem as a living thing that requires care, not a machine that requires optimisation.

The fractures in progressive funding are **real**. They have been decades in the making, and they will not heal overnight. But we are seeing the first signs of reconfiguration: funders who are learning to coordinate, movements who are refusing to compete, wealth holders who are choosing redistribution over accumulation.

The new skeletal structure is forming. It is not yet strong enough to bear the weight of what comes next. But it is growing, and we are growing with it.

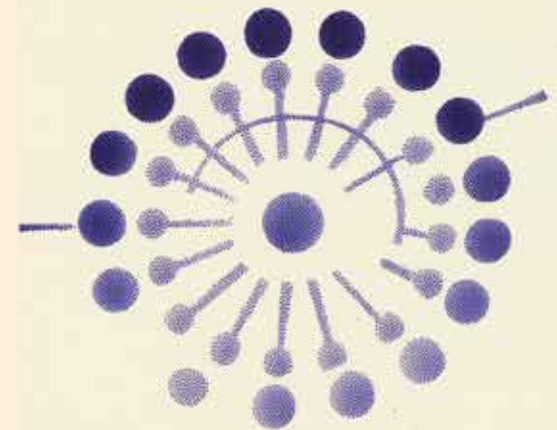
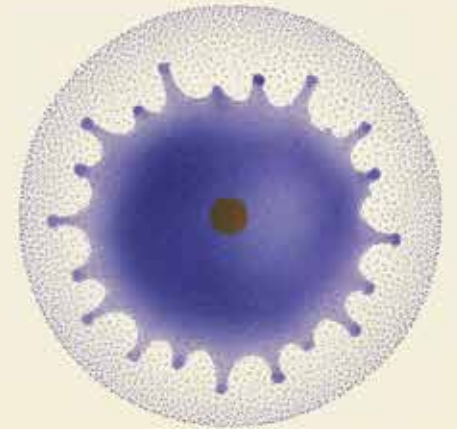
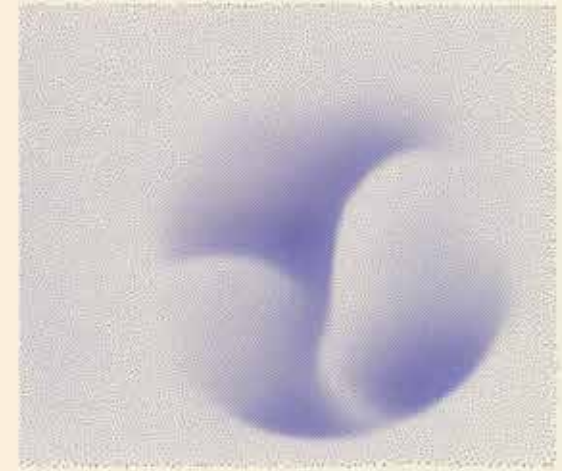
A top-down view of a petri dish containing a yellowish agar medium. Numerous bacterial colonies of varying sizes and shapes are visible, some appearing as small dots and others as larger, more complex clusters. The dish is set against a dark background with some out-of-focus circular shapes.

“

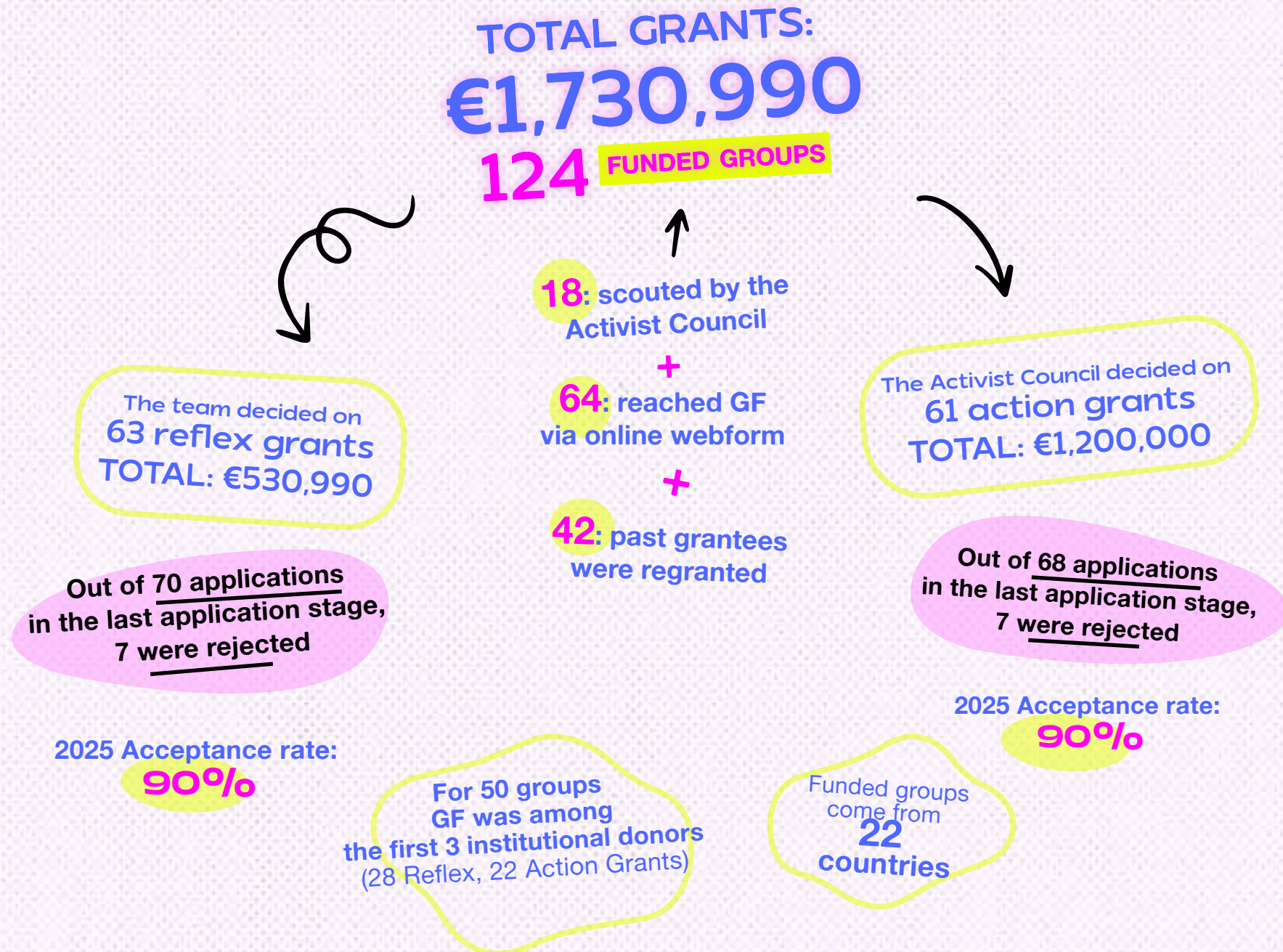
If you have come to help me,
you are wasting your time.
If you have come because
your liberation is bound up
with mine, then let us work
together.

Aboriginal activist group
Queensland, 1970s, (Lilla Watson)

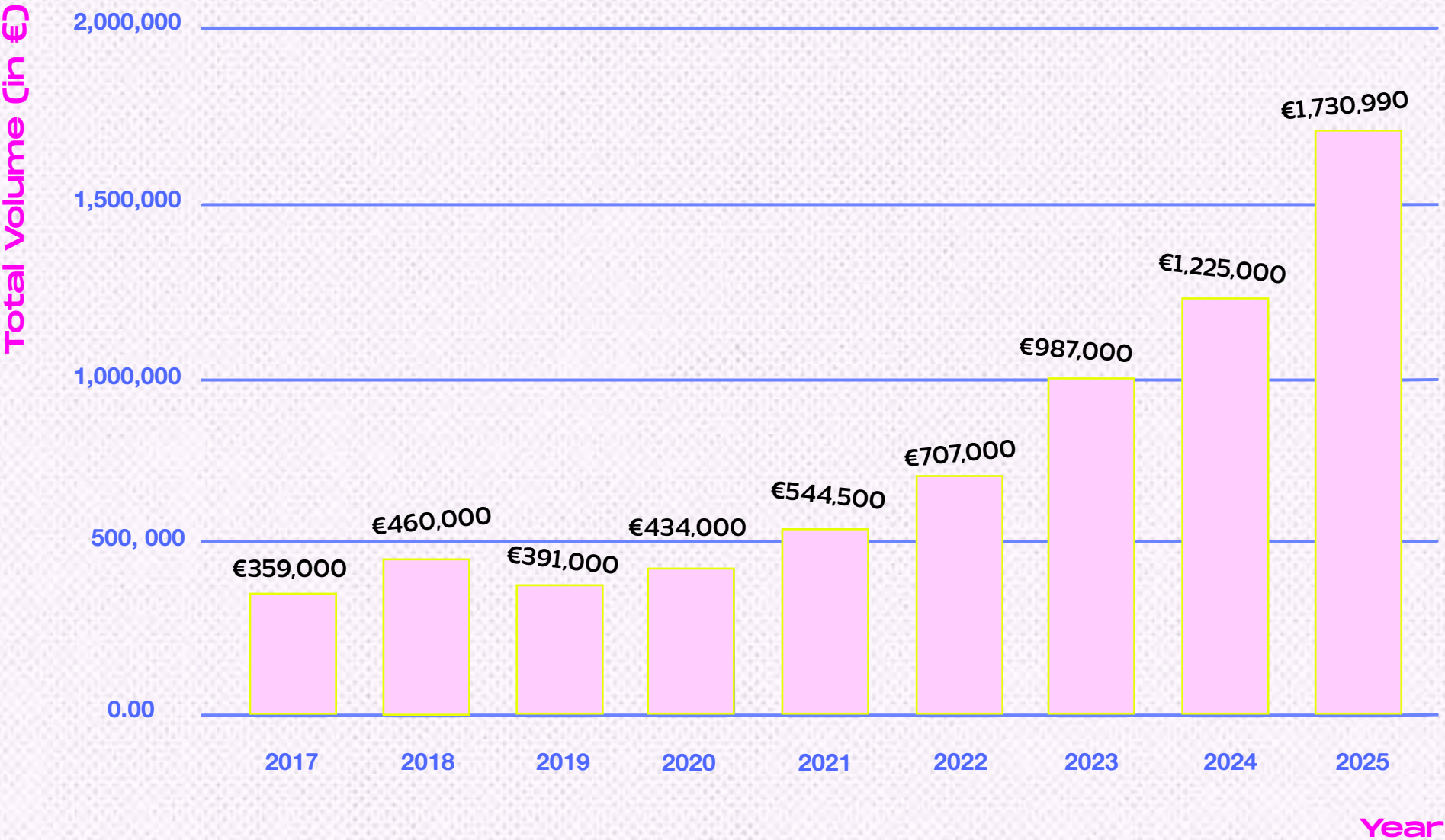
Money in Movement 2025



Grantmaking Analysis



Grantmaking budget growth



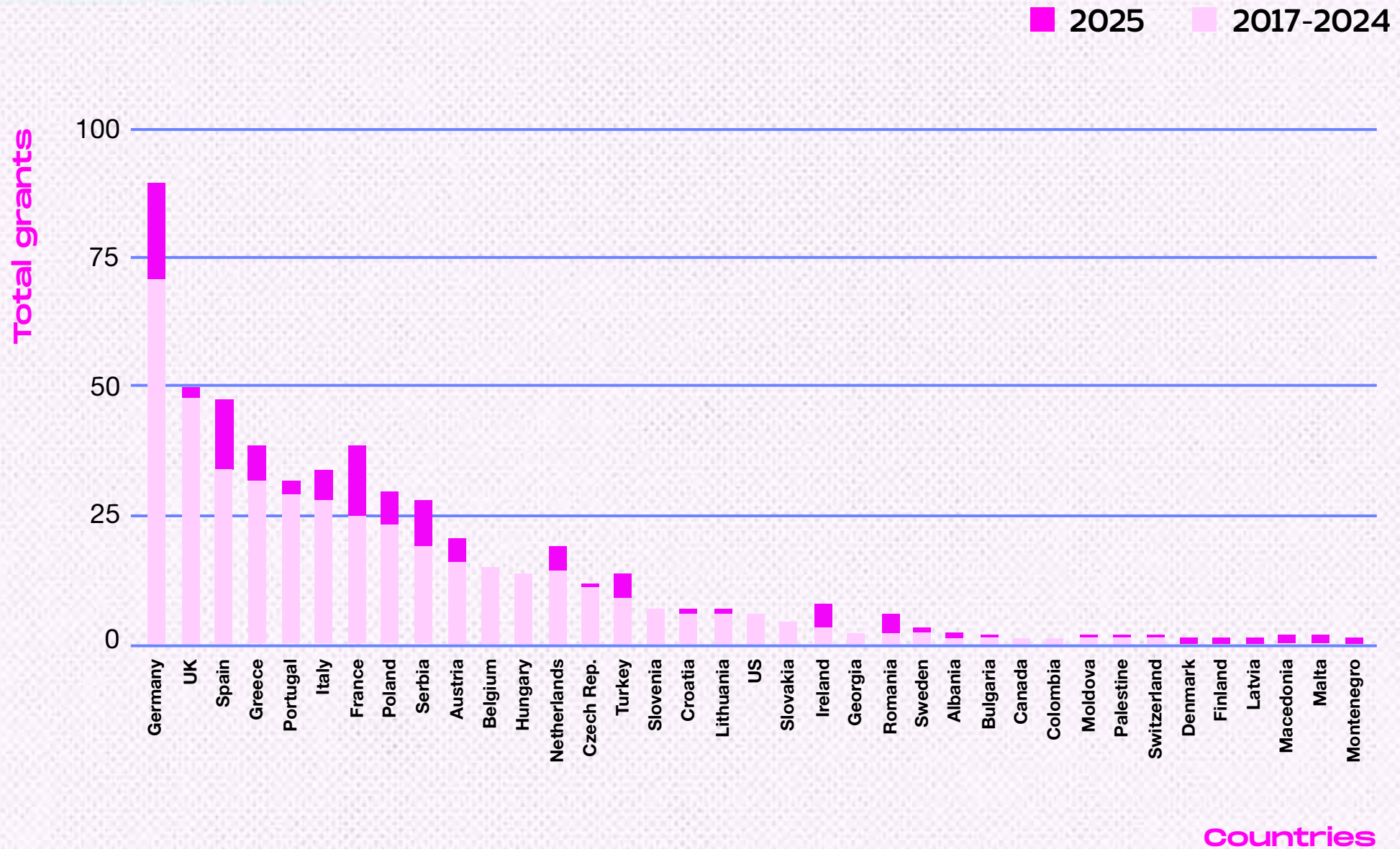
Grantmaking budget growth

■ **W**e have grown our grantmaking budget from €359,000 in 2017 to €1.73 million in 2025, not through institutional windfalls, but through the steady, deliberate work of onboarding people with wealth who understand their money thrives in the hands of movements.

The trajectory matters: we've nearly quintupled our redistribution in under a decade. But the context matters more. Across Europe, grassroots organising faces a funding drought precisely as authoritarianism surges and the far right consolidates. The growing number of funding requests we receive year after year shows: movements need backing more than ever, not from distant benefactors, but from accomplices willing to resource the frontlines without controlling them.

Our ambition is to keep growing this budget and to prove that radical redistribution is not a boutique experiment. **It is a viable, urgent, and scalable counter-practice to philanthro-capitalism as usual.** The work is to keep building the pipeline between wealth that wants to be useful and movements that know what to do with it.

Geographic reach evolution 2017-2025



Geographic reach evolution 2025-2027

We used to speak of geography as a gradient of scarcity: Eastern and Southern Europe as the object of our funding, the North and West as the site of its extraction. The premise was sound: where resources are thinnest, solidarity should be thickest. But repression, too, has its centers of gravity.

In Germany or France, groups doing pro-Palestinian or migrant justice work are now being disciplined by the state and abandoned by the polite philanthropies. Their crime is not need but disruption. Predictably, the radicalism that makes them necessary makes them unfundable elsewhere. We step into that gap not despite our analysis but because of it.

**Coordinamento Migranti,
Italy
Reflex Grantee, 2025**



**Afrique Europe Interact,
Mali
Reflex Grantee, 2025**

**Polish Palestinian Justice
Initiative Kaktus, Poland
Reflex Grantee 2025**

So when the Activist Council refined our grantmaking criteria in 2025, a mandate long implicit became explicit: in the North and West, we back historically marginalised communities and frontline formations that the state would rather starve into silence. The logic is not geographic favouritism. It is responsiveness. The terrain has shifted, and with it the map of vulnerability.

We continue to fund the under-resourced East and South. But we refuse a hierarchy of need that would pit periphery against center in a tidy moral formula. What we fund is not a region but rather a relationship, an interconnected web of struggle in which a crackdown in Berlin echoes a crackdown in Belgrade, and both demand an answer.



Interconnected struggles we funded in 2025*

A quarter of our grants went to racial justice and decolonisation work. Nearly another quarter went to migrant justice, a space as urgent as it is under-resourced. Both figures rose by roughly ten percent over 2025. Gender justice held steady year on year. Taken together, these three fields account for **64%** of the groups we funded in 2025, a marked concentration: in 2024, the combined figure was **47%**.

But don't mistake the table for a taxonomy of separations. These percentages are not silos; they're overlays. A group fighting deportation is almost always fighting racism. A group fighting racism is almost always entangled with gender. The tagging reflects this because the world does.

We've also massively reduced the catch-all “*other*” category and replaced it with tags that actually account for specificity: state-led violence, anti far-right mobilisation, workers getting screwed over. This has been a welcome epistemological refresh. The old system was a blunter instrument. The new one tracks what we fund with enough grit to tell us what we're missing.

Main issue area

Proportions

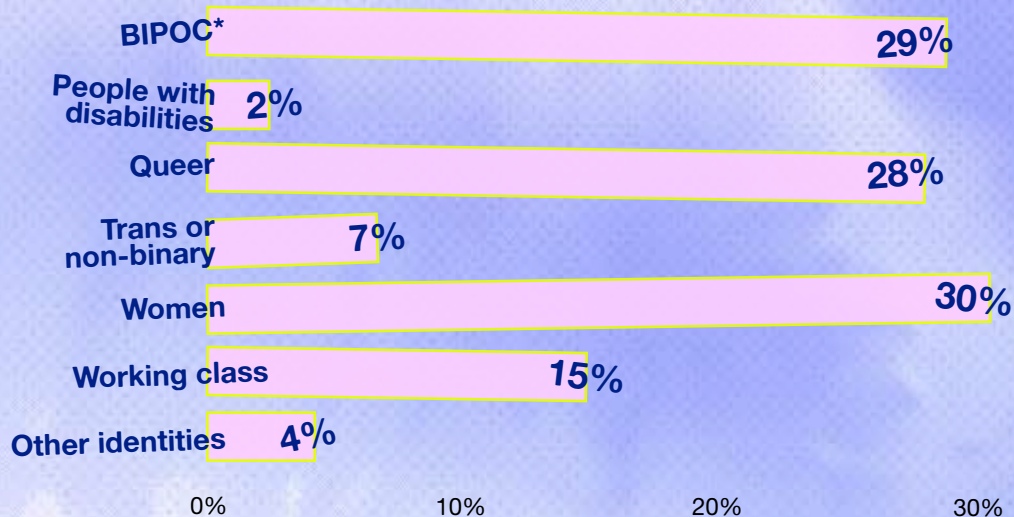
Racial Justice & Decolonisation	25%
Migrant Justice	23%
Gender Justice (incl queer & trans rights)	16%
Environmental Justice	11%
Housing & Right to the City	7%
Climate Justice	7%
Health & care	7%
Tackling state-led violence	6%
Resistance to the far-right	5%
Workers' struggles	4%
Disability Justice	2%
Alternative Economies	1%
Other issue	2%

*multiple may apply to individual grants

From 2026, we will add tags for sex workers' justice, class struggle, and criminal justice reform. Not as decorative inclusions but as belated corrections. The tagging system evolves into: a diagnostic tool, a discomfiting mirror, a map of the terrain we claim to contest. You can't resource what you can't name. And naming, done right, is a political act with a paper trail of proper receipts.

Identities represented in the core organising group of who we funded*

*multiple may apply



*(Black, Indigenous, People of Color)

This year we stopped guessing. For years we assigned identity categories based on what we could glean from applications and the anxious intimacies of screening calls. In 2025 we asked groups to name themselves. A questionnaire, a small act of self-determination. Not everyone took it up, old habits, inbox fatigue, the ambient suspicion that data collection is just surveillance in a nicer font, so the shift remains incomplete. For 2026, we'll adjust the ask: easier to answer, easier to refuse. The point being greater accuracy without coercion.

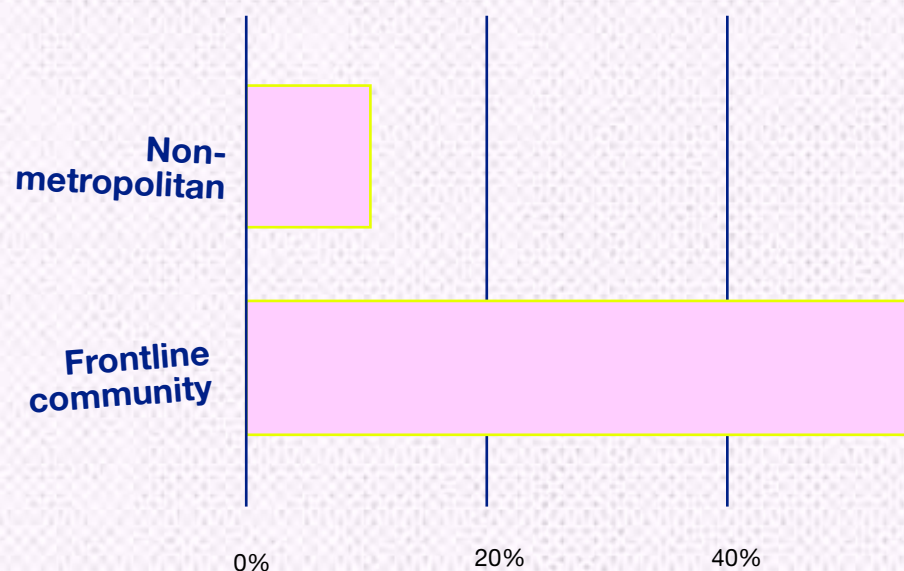
The results shift the picture considerably. Around a third of funded groups are BIPOC-led. That's more than double the **15%** we recorded in 2024 and much closer to the goal we then set ourselves. Whether this reflects a real change in who we fund or simply the difference between imposing categories and inviting them is precisely the kind of question self-identification forces us to sit with.

We've also cleaned house conceptually. “*Non-metropolitan*” and “*frontline communities*” have been removed from this graphic, not because they don't matter, but because they describe positionality, not identity. Confusing the two is analytically imprecise and politically unhelpful. In their place, we've disaggregated further: disabled people, trans and non-binary people, now explicitly named where before they were subsumed into vaguer categories. Naming is a technology of recognition which is why we're upgrading ours :)

The broader project here is simple and infinite: knowing who we resource, and whether we're actually backing self-led movements or just funding other people's ideas of what those movements should look like.

We ask grantees what they need, that's the premise. But we also set priority areas, selection criteria, and issue tags. The act of categorising is never neutral; it shapes what is legible as fundable work.

How do we hold space for self-determination while acknowledging that every grantmaking framework is, inevitably, at least partially an exercise in power?



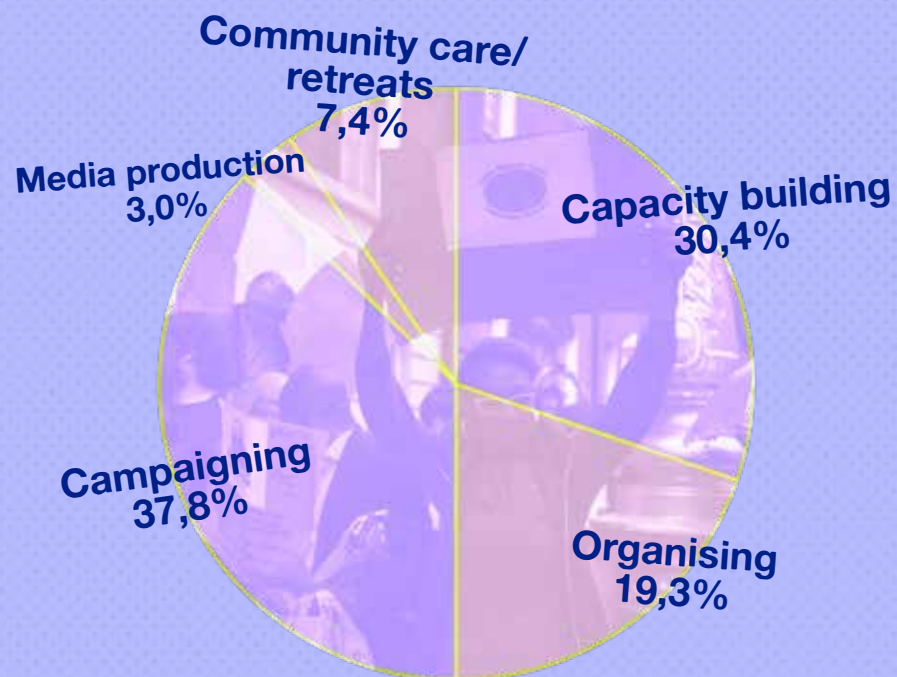
Frontline community groups received twice as much funding as last year. They now account for **55%** of our grants: **€945,000** in total. This is the direct result of a screening process in which the redistribution team actually follows the priority areas our Activist Council set.

Non-metropolitan groups made up 10% of those funded, up from previous years, and we intend to push further. Rural and peripheral organising is treated by much of the funding world as a strategic afterthought. This is a mistake.

These groups face isolation, surveillance, and resource starvation that can tip into burnout or existential collapse. They may lack the activist vernacular of the metropolis, the jargon, the networks, the grant-writing fluency, but their work is frontline in the most literal sense: they operate where authoritarianism and difference-aversion grow without the distraction of urban spectacle. That deserves more than a sympathy vote.

.

Main approach to drive change



We noticed these categories are home to a lot of different approaches and types of activities, so breaking them down was important for easier digestion and political analysis.

***Campaigning** used to include advocacy, awareness-raising, and direct action, a mass that concealed more than it revealed. Next year we split advocacy into its own category, because pressuring institutions is not the same practice as shifting public consciousness, and conflating them is a category error with political side-effects.

European Action Coalition
for the Right to Housing
and to City
Reflex Grantee 2025



Main approach to drive change

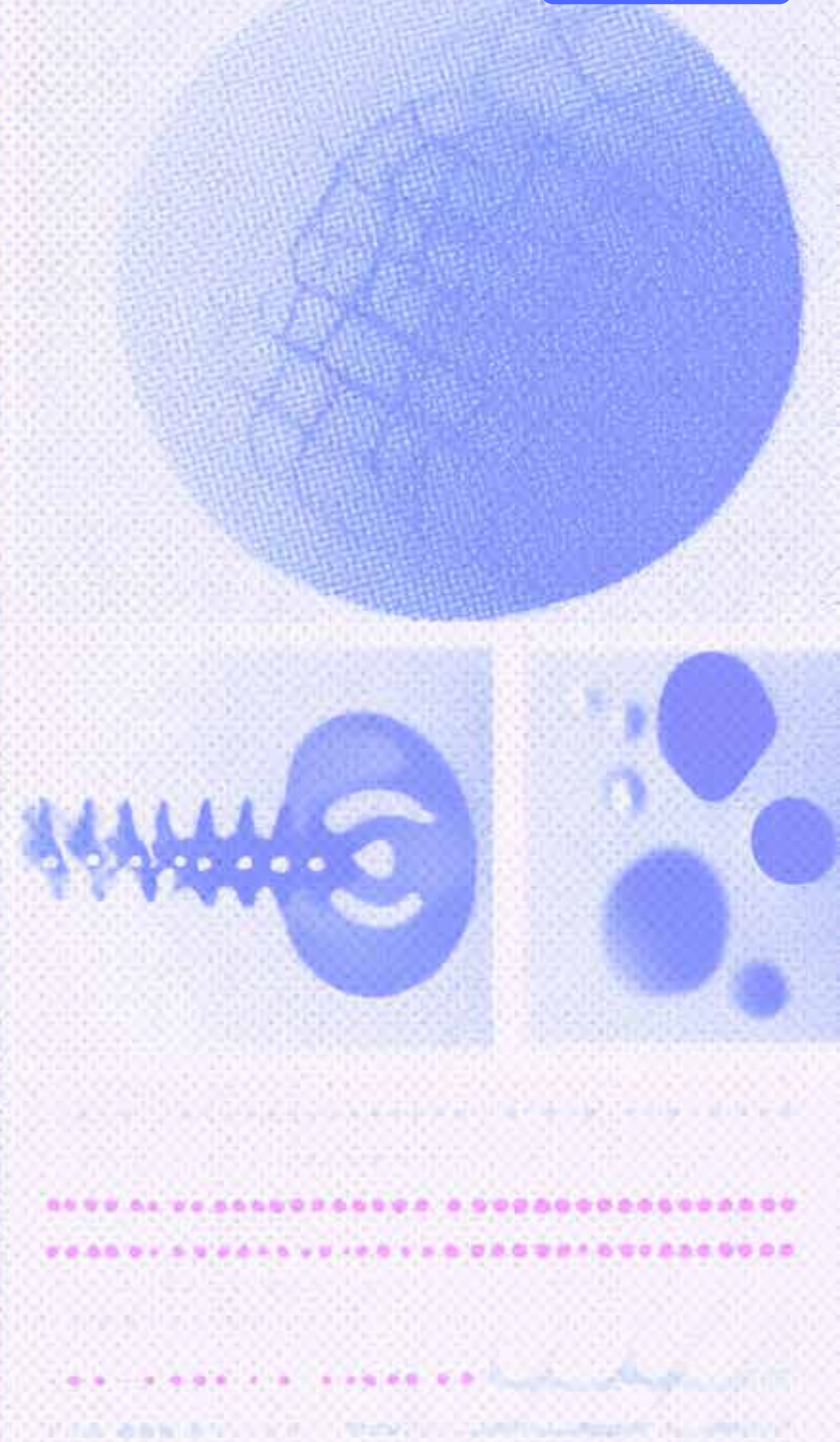
***Capacity building** remains deliberately broad: trainings, learning spaces, convenings, research.

A high number here comes as no surprise since one of our core commitments is resourcing the infrastructure of movements, not just their moments of visibility. Sustainability is unglamorous. It is also utterly essential.

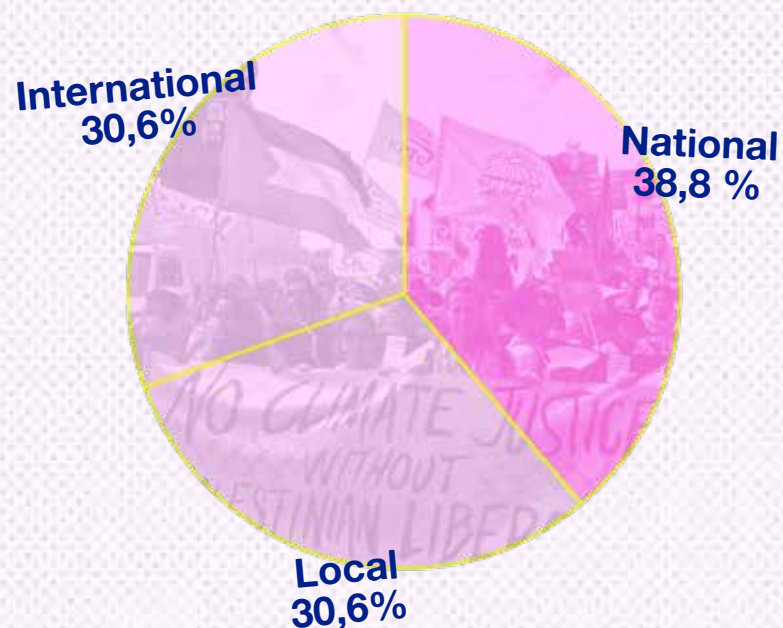
***Organising** tracks work at the level of individuals, communities, and trade unions. The uptick correlates with the rise in frontline community groups we're funding, resources flowing toward the slow, granular work of building collective power among people who have been systematically excluded from it.

***Community care and retreats** is a small figure with a sizeable significance. The funding field treats activist burnout as an individual pathology rather than a structural condition. We disagree. Shrinking capacity and overwork are political injuries and this line item is a refusal to accept them as normal.

***Media production** is deliberately low. After our criteria review, we pulled back. We are not a media foundation, and funding standalone media projects, however vital, strains against our intersectional movement-building approach. The exception is where media work is frontline community-led, deployed as a tool for campaigning communications, or a direct counter to freedom-of-speech crackdowns in specific contexts. Otherwise, we leave it to funders better equipped to do it properly.



Reach of the grant activity



A subtle but telling shift: national-level funding dropped from 42% to 39%, while locally rooted work rose by 4%. This is a deliberate reweighting and not a statistical tremor. Our strategic instinct is that neighbourhood-level politics, organised, decentralised, translocal but not national-scale, is a genuine counterweight to centralised power. The overall distribution remains balanced, because we are not ideologues of the local. Different terrains demand different scales. We are trying to fund the ones that make sense.

Core vs project funding



The philanthropic field has a preference, and it's not subtle: project funding is abundant, core funding is scarce. The bias is structural and largely unchallenged, a quiet insistence that movements should be entrepreneurial, time-bound, deliverable. We didn't set out to counter this tendency deliberately, but our 2025 data tells a clear story: **the majority of groups requested core funding**. This is the first year we've systematically tracked the pattern, and it's the first year the pattern could speak for itself.

We impose no budgetary restrictions, no predefined allocations.

Whether the money is tagged “core” or “project,” it moves with the same flexibility: staff, materials, actions, events, whatever the work demands.

Project grants tend to surface when something specific and time-bound is underway.

Core funding is a different species of request, a bid for stability, for continuity, for the right to exist beyond the next crisis or campaign cycle.

Our operating premise is this: grantees know best how to deploy the resources they receive. Flexibility is not a perk but the condition of political work that aspires to be responsive, self-directed, and built to last. The funding field's addiction to project-based models is a habit we are happy not to share.



European Action Coalition
for the Right to Housing
and the City
Reflex Grantee 2025

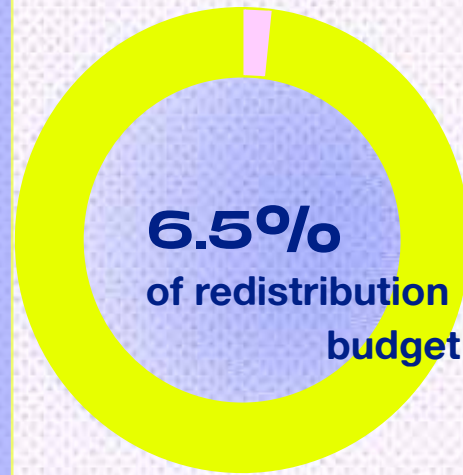


Soli funding & the ecosystem approach

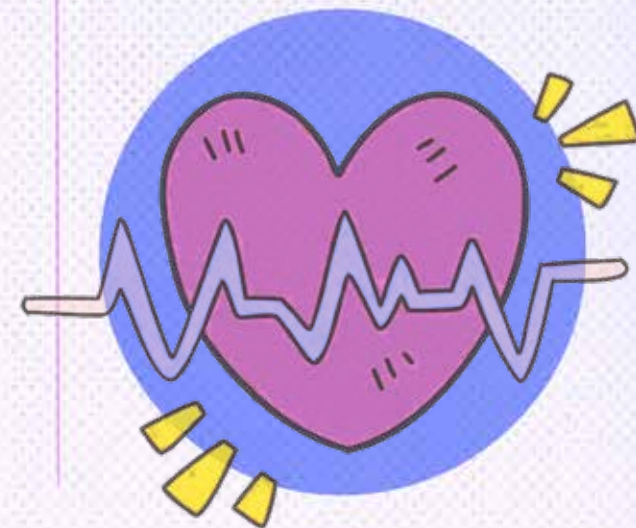
Our ecosystemic approach to funding is reflected in our commitment to resourcing groups that understand themselves as embedded: tangled up with other struggles, other geographies, other fronts. In 2025, that commitment met its test in the sharpening edge of European authoritarianism.

When political tensions in Serbia and Turkey escalated into public protest and intensified state repression, the response from much of the funding world was instructive: pull out. The language was polished, *“political instability,” “resistance against elected governments”*, but the logic was abdication dressed as prudence. We moved in the opposite direction. Through a newly established Solidarity Fund, we funnelled emergency support to grantees facing intimidation and existential threat, and moved quickly to identify groups resisting on the ground. The first lesson was immediate and unambiguous: **without the knowledge and networks of our Activist Council and grantee community, none of this would have been possible.**

Where large foundations convened risk-assessment meetings, we had relationships. Where they saw liability, we saw obligation. A nimble structure, a trusted network, and a functional appetite for risk can outpace bureaucracy every time.



122,000€
out of
1,890,840€



Fast-track grants: a patch on the wound of long-term support needs

We increased our fast-tracked Action Grants in 2025. The rationale is unglamorous but urgent: grassroots groups are bleeding capacity into the administrative quicksand of fundraising.

At Guerrilla, we cannot yet offer multi-year grants, our own (non-endowed) funding is insufficiently secured, so fast-tracking repeat grantees who clearly meet our criteria is the minimum viable response.

It reduces friction. It respects time.

It acknowledges that making activists perform the same application rituals annually is a tax on political energy.

The strategic tensions this raises are real, and we sit with them (see “*Redistribution Tensions*” below). The deeper lesson is less comfortable: we are, for now, part of the short-term funding ecosystem we critique. Our ambition, contingent on the Funders Circle, is to build the long-term funding base that would let us break that cycle, offering multi-year commitments that match the temporality of movements, not the temporality of grant cycles.



Existing relationships

Fast-track grants

Existing Action grantees;
No Application needed;
RC proposes candidates
AC nominates recipients

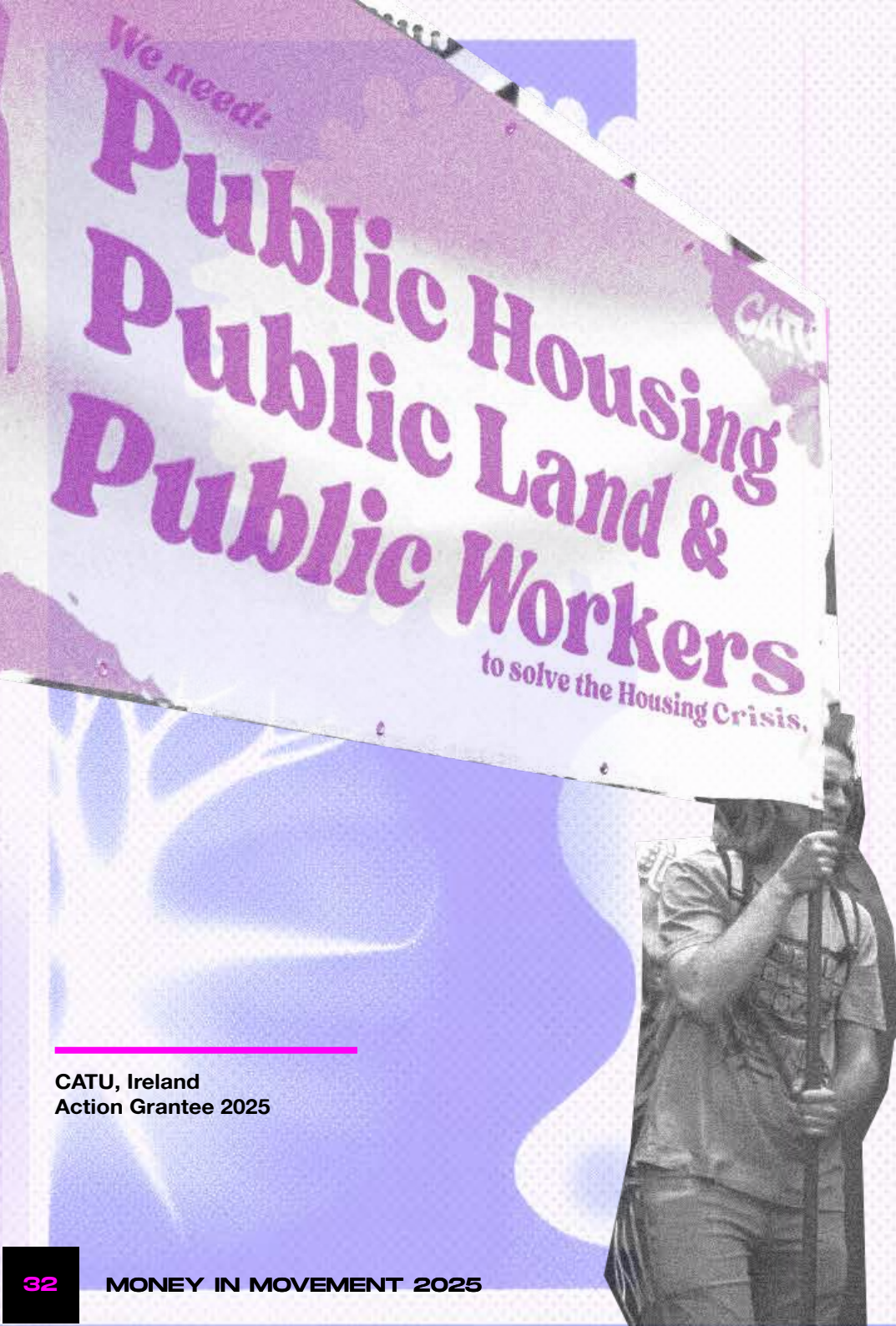
Past-grantees

Previous Action &
Reflex grantees;
Hand in a full application;
AC decides (Action),
Staff decides (Reflex)

Fresh grounds

New grantees

New candidates for
Action or Reflex grants;
Hand in a full application;
AC decides (Action),
Staff decides (Reflex)



CATU, Ireland
Action Grantee 2025

Decisions on fast-tracking remain with the Activist Council. Each quarter, the Redistribution Circle identifies groups whose Action Grants are about to expire and proposes candidates based on priority issue areas, financial precarity, depth of relationship, and organisational sustainability.

At the same time, openness to newcomers remains non-negotiable. Over half of our 2025 grantees came through the open webform and had never received Guerrilla funding before, a figure that testifies both to the scale of unmet need and to our refusal to become a closed circuit.

The lesson here is one of balance: institutional memory and fresh ground, trust and permeability, are not opposites to be traded off but tensions to be managed with care.

Adapting our funding strategy

The broader strategy continues to learn from its own limits. With the far right advancing across Europe, the case for funding intersectional grassroots movements at a pan-European scale has never been more obvious, or more strained by the absence of other funders willing to meet the moment. We received **556 valid webform requests** in 2025 and could fund **124 groups**. That ratio is not the metric of aspiration. Even as our budget grows, we will never meet this demand alone, nor should we. The point is to shift the field: to move other funders from their comfort zone of well-groomed civil society toward the unruly, essential work of grassroots movementing.

That, too, is an essential form of redistribution, of attention, legitimacy, and nerve.



European Action Coalition
for the Right to Housing
and the City
Reflex Grantee 2025

What we take forward, then, is threefold: the flexibility to respond to rapid political shifts, whether a far-right electoral breakthrough or intensified scarcity in key issue areas like migration and anti-racism; larger and longer grant commitments that break the exhausting one-year cycle, without inflating our own infrastructure proportionally; and the space to pilot genuinely experimental forms of redistribution, from activist basic income models to regranting and community-controlled funding.

These are not daydreams but rather the logical extensions of everything 2025 taught us.

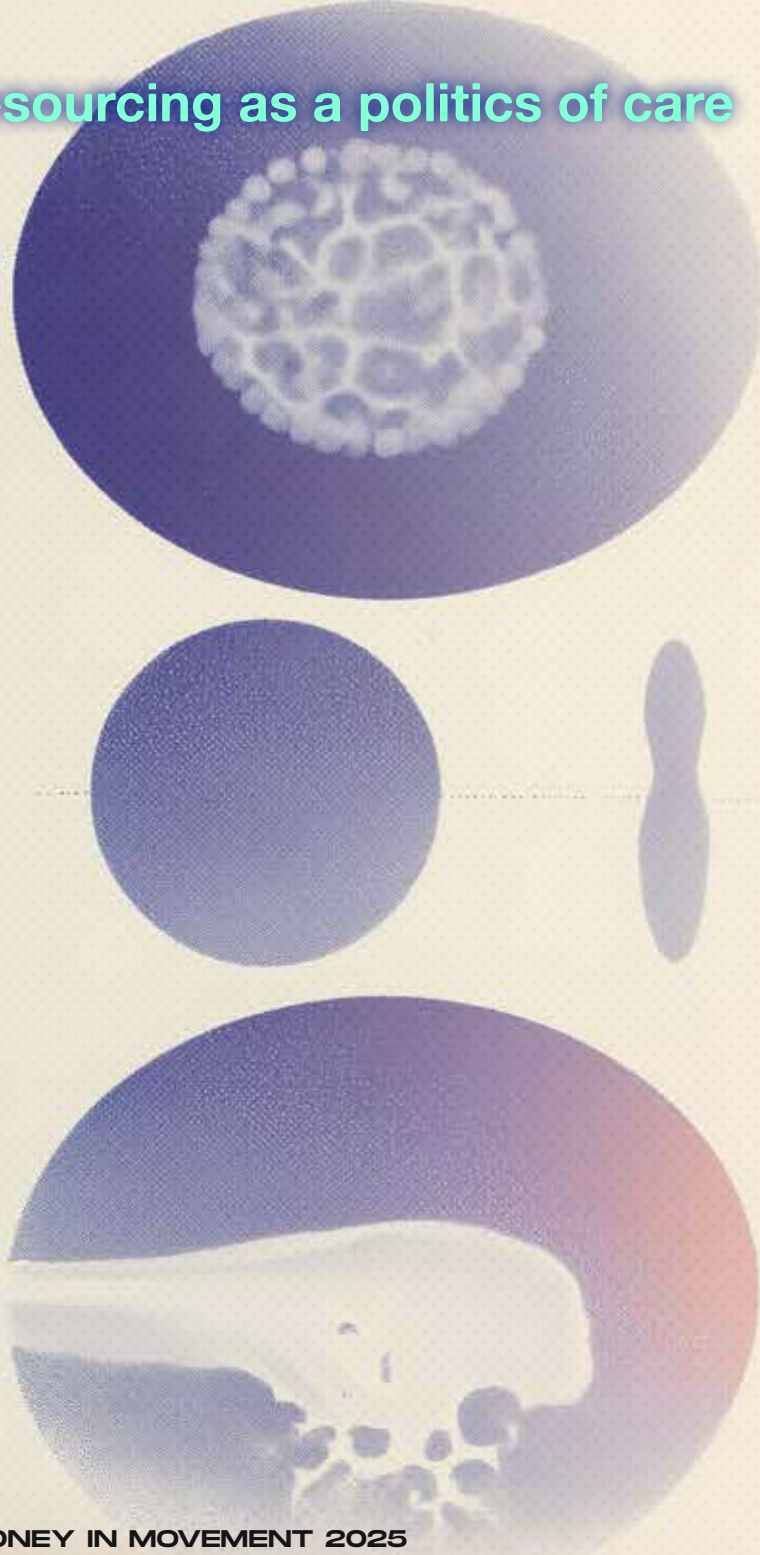


Associação Unidos em
Defesa de Covas do Barroso,
Portugal
Action Grantee 2025



Dokustelle Austria,
Action Grantee 2025

Resourcing as a politics of care



In Guerrilla, funding has never been a neutral transfer of resources. It has always been a practice of political care, an acknowledgment that what grant agreements call “*scope of work*” is often experienced on the ground as sustenance, protection, the conditions for endurance.

In 2025 this became very visible via the ten grants we directed explicitly toward community care and retreats. These were not strategy sessions rebranded. They were spaces for rest, relationality, and recovery, the infrastructure that makes long-term resistance viable. This year's report is organised around fractures and manufactures.

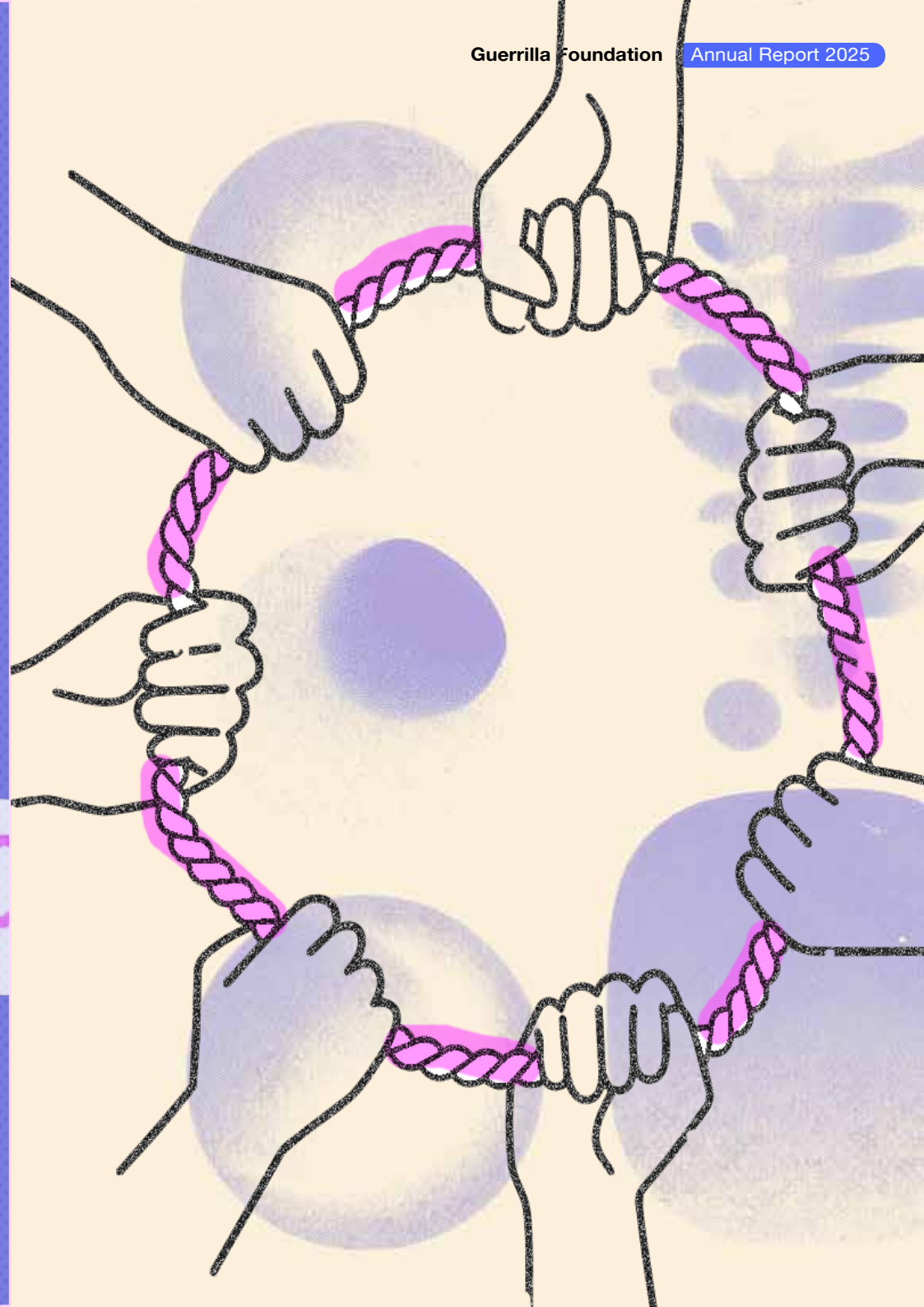
Care grants operate at precisely that seam: where the social fabric tears, whether from internal conflict, burnout, or societal backlash, care acts as a counter-practice to extractivist logics. Done collectively, it models the kind of relationship-building and future-holding we claim to want, not in manifesto form, but in practice.

Inside Guerrilla, this sharpens into an institutional commitment for 2026. We are launching the *Care-illa circle*, a new circle within our sociocratic governance, to make care an operational principle rather than a sentimental aside.

Bridging inner and outer strategy means resourcing grantees to explore collective care on their own terms, and advancing a counter-narrative to the prevailing affective regime of our moment: anxiety, defeatism, hopelessness. Care and radical joy are not an escape from political seriousness. They are its precondition and they hold hands most tightly where the world order cracks.

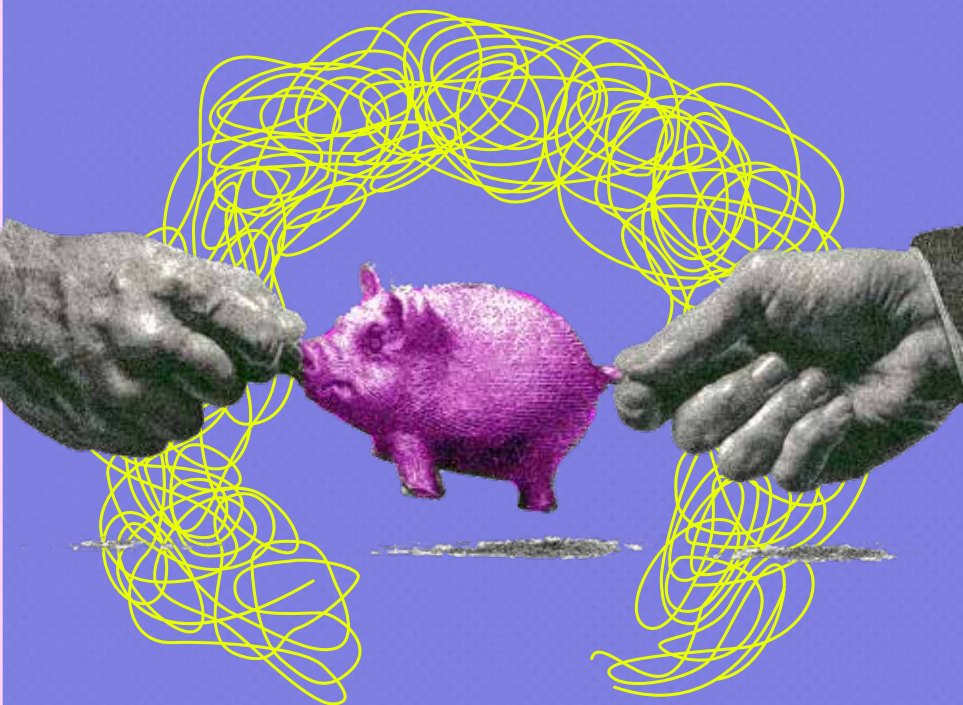


Ellos Deatnu!
[Long Live Deatnu!],
Finland
Action Grantee 2025



Redistribution tensions

The following are constitutive tensions, not problems to be neatly solved and dispensed with. They are what we learn from, revisit, and refuse to resolve prematurely.



Depth vs breadth

Long-term relationships with repeat grantees build trust, institutional memory, and political alignment. They also risk creating a de facto inner circle. Meanwhile, over half our grantees in 2025 were new, arriving through the open webform because remaining permeable to emerging actors is not a luxury but a necessity. How to deepen without closing?

Relational depth vs systemic efficiency

We pride ourselves on being a relational funder (redistributor): light-touch, conversational, attuned to context. But relationality takes time, and time is the scarcest resource a small team possesses. As requests scale, the pressure to standardise grows. How do we build a system that is quick, transparent, and fair without becoming the bureaucratic machinery we critique? How do we not turn grant seekers into managers of power-unequal relationships?

Short-term agility vs long-term security

We fast-track because we cannot yet offer multi-year grants. We cannot offer multi-year grants because our own funding is insecure. This makes us part of the short-term funding ecology we want to dismantle. The tension is not just strategic; it is existential for the groups we serve. How do we model the stability we advocate for while remaining honest about our own precarity?

Solidarity in crisis vs sustained presence

The Soli-Fund allowed rapid response in Serbia and Turkey when other funders retreated. Emergency funding is vital. But it also raises the question: does crisis-responsive funding risk becoming reactive and episodic, parachuting in when things combust and fading when the news cycle moves on? How do we tie emergency solidarity to sustained, long-haul accompaniment?

Our 2025 Rebels

Our ensemble of radical misfits & movement builders grows year on year, replenished through recurring applications, open webform submissions, and the instincts of our AC scouts. The **full grantee tables** offer the unredacted rolcall, names, amounts, contexts. What follows is a more selective offering: a redistribution amuse-bouche meant to convey the breadth of groups we resource, the issues they contest, the terrains they work from, and the political logics that make them indispensable as the present order frays at its own seams.

These spotlights are an argument about relevance. They highlight what grips us most urgently, not as a matter of taste but as a reading of the political moment, what it demands, what it forecloses, what it makes newly possible.

Associação Unidos em
Defesa de Covas do Barroso,
Portugal
Action Grantee 2025

Guerrilla Foundation Annual Report 2025



Migrants and Refugees
Movement of Caserta, Italy
Action Grantee, 2025

Ylberofilia, Albania**€6500 | queer rights**

Albania's first trans-led organisation, and still the only one. Based in Tirana, they fight for the rights and social inclusion of marginalised groups, with the trans community at the centre. Their wins are concrete and structural: they helped develop Albania's first hormonal therapy protocol, and they are now pursuing a landmark legal case to secure the right for trans people to change their name and gender on official ID documents. In a context where trans existence is either criminalised or rendered invisible, Ylberofilia is building the legal and political infrastructure for dignity.

Feminist Mobilisations (Femmobi), Bulgaria**€9000 | women's rights, queer rights**

A queer-led, feminist, anti-fascist collective organising out of Sofia but reaching across the country. They are the force behind Bulgaria's largest feminist street demonstrations, March 8th and November 25th, and they pair mass mobilisation with flash protests, cultural interventions, and workshops that build organising capacity beyond the capital. Their ambition is systemic: to radicalise a complacent mainstream feminism and grow a mass movement that is unapologetically feminist, queer, and trans-led. Funding supports protests, visual identity, rapid-response actions, and the groundwork for independent crowdfunding.

United African Women Organization (UAWO), Greece**€20,000 | women's rights, migrant justice**

A Black feminist collective founded in Athens in 2005, led by African and Black migrant women. They operate as a horizontal organization & weekly assemblies set the direction. Their work spans campaigns for migrant citizenship rights, survivor-centred support for those facing gender-based violence, and the creation of healing spaces grounded in storytelling, political education, and cultural practice. From their community hub in Kypseli, UAWO is cultivating something rare and necessary: intergenerational, migrant-led feminist power, rooted in care and intersectional solidarity, built to last.

Queer Montenegro**€20,000 | queer rights**

Feminist, queer, and sapphic-led, Queer Montenegro is dismantling the patriarchal and heteronormative machinery one front at a time, through public advocacy, policy lobbying, and international solidarity. They are among the principal architects of Montenegro Pride, an event that is celebration and confrontation in equal measure: a collective refusal to be silenced in a context where queer visibility is still met with hostility. Their work insists that emancipation is not a request, but a demand.

Kolektiv Zet Skopje (Balkan Commons Network), North Macedonia

€20,000 | climate and environmental justice

A regional network built to do what capitalist extraction counts on no one doing: connect the dots. Balkan Commons links groups across borders to share tactics, information, and strategy against the unchecked destruction of the region's natural ecosystems. Their work pulls climate and ecological justice from the margins into the centre of broader social movement agendas. Our funding supported this connective tissue, the annual gathering, the organising infrastructure, the patient work of building allyship that outsmarts capital rather than simply mourning its damage.

Roma Feminist Collective, Romania

€20,000 | racial justice, women's rights

A grassroots, horizontal movement based in Bucharest, Romania. Formed in 2013, it advocates for housing justice, anti-racism, and anti-capitalism, working directly alongside tenants, evictees, and communities vulnerable to forced evictions.

Common Front for Housing Rights (FCDL), Romania

€7,500 | housing

A Black feminist collective founded in Athens in 2005, led by African and Black migrant women. They operate as a horizontal organization & weekly assemblies set the direction. Their work spans campaigns for migrant citizenship rights, survivor-centred support for those facing gender-based violence, and the creation of healing spaces grounded in storytelling, political education, and cultural practice. From their community hub in Kypseli, UAWO is cultivating something rare and necessary: intergenerational, migrant-led feminist power, rooted in care and intersectional solidarity, built to last.

Migrants and Refugees
Movement of Caserta Italy
Action Grantee 2025



Roma Feminist Collective,
Romania
Action Grantee 2025



ZBOR, Serbia (interbalkan)**€20,000 | climate and environmental justice**

ZBOR is what happens when activists, land defenders, and communities across the Balkans refuse to be pitted against each other. They name the "green transition" for what it often is in their region: a cover story for colonial resource extraction.

Through open assemblies, week-long camps, cultural events, and permanent protest hubs, like the one in Homolje, Serbia, they connect struggles that capital prefers to keep apart: miners defending their labour, farmers defending their land, environmentalists defending ecosystems. Based in Čačak, operating without formal legal status, ZBOR invests in trust, skill-sharing, and spaces where communities speak for themselves. The long game: a united movement for justice across the region, built from the ground up and across every line that divides.

UG Ne dam Nu dau, Serbia**€9,000 | anti-corruption**

In parts of Serbia, local government, police, and prosecution offices function less as protectors than as gatekeepers for the powerful. This citizens' group refuses the arrangement. They expose hidden deals, defend people targeted for speaking out, and deploy creative, disruptive actions to make injustice visible precisely where it is designed to stay hidden. Their work counters the corruption and violence that hollow out disenfranchised communities, not through abstract advocacy, but through direct, confrontational presence where it counts.

Southeastern Europe/Balkans**Mültecilerle Dayanışma Derneği (Association for Solidarity with Refugees), Turkey****€9,000 | migrant justice**

Founded in 2008 in Izmir, this grassroots organisation fields a team of lawyers, social workers, and interpreters against the machinery of Turkey's asylum system. Their focus is clinical and structural: arbitrary detention, unlawful deportation, systemic barriers to protection. They respond with legal counselling, monitoring of removal centres, and strategic litigation.

But the work goes beyond case-by-case defence.

Documentation, advocacy, and movement-building are woven together to shift power from institutions to refugee communities themselves. The point is to build the conditions for the undoing of this carceral system.



Associação Unidos em
Defesa de Covas do Barroso,
Portugal
Action Grantee 2025

Coordinamento Migranti, Italy**€9,000 | migrant/racial justice**

An intersectional, transgenerational collective of migrant and Italian, Black and white, queer and non-queer people who have been fighting exploitation, racism, and patriarchy, locally and transnationally, for years. Coordinamento Migranti operates through and across borders: part of the Transnational Migrants Coordination, the Permanent Assembly Against War (both born from the Transnational Social Strike Platform), and the feminist movement Non una di meno. Their work coordinates strategy around migration policy, feminism, environmentalism, and labour rights, refusing the segmentation that weakens movements.

CADRE CAGOULE, France/Morocco**€9,000 | migrant justice, activist media**

A no-border media collective operating artistically and politically across both shores of the Mediterranean. Their current project, Harraga: Those Who Burn the Borders, is not a documentary about migration. It is an act of struggle, made by and for those directly affected, emerging from colonised territories, designed as a counter-narrative weapon. Polyphonic, unapologetic, and built for circulation, the film will be screened/debated in France & Germany.

Association Les passager.ères de la carette, France**€9,000 | migrant justice, anti authoritarian, workers rights**

A feminist, anti-authoritarian peasant collective in Voiron, building an agro-ecological farm where political logic is as important as the crops. Their insight is simple and strategically sharp: the far-right consolidates power in rural and peri-urban spaces, not city centres. So that is where they organise. The farm is a base for anti-oppression work, training, and networking that explicitly confronts the far right's rural foothold. Funding supports collective work weekends, educational events linking agriculture and oppression, and gatherings that weave progressive rural movements into a force.

Yakoua Collective, France**€20,000 | racial justice, queer rights**

A collective of BiPoC, queer, and feminist self-defence instructors spread across five countries, united by a question that should not be radical but is: what would an anti-racist self-defence course look like? They are adapting feminist self-defence methods for an audience that experiences racism daily, women, children and queer people for whom the threat is not abstract and the state is not a reliable protector. The funding brings them together to train, develop the curriculum, and build a practice where bodily autonomy meets political analysis.

Les Voix Éclairées, France**€20,000 | feminism, anti-racism, disability justice**

Fifteen women in Joigny, rural France, founded Les Voix Éclairées in 2023. They are directly affected by the oppressions they fight, racism, sexism, ableism, classism, and they refuse the false geography that locates progressive struggle exclusively in cities. Monthly anti-discrimination workshops, "conférences gesticulées" that fuse personal testimony with political analysis, spaces for healing and skill-sharing: this is the infrastructure of a feminism built where it is hardest to see and most needed. Their work insists that rural territories are not voids to be abandoned to the far right, but battlegrounds for systemic change.

PAH - Plataforma Afectados por la Hipoteca
Platform of People Affected by Mortgages, Spain
Action Grantee, 2025

**PAH Plataforma Afectados por la Hipoteca, Spain****€20,000 | housing**

Born in Barcelona in 2009 during the wreckage of Spain's economic crisis, PAH turned individual shame into collective power. They organised people facing eviction, debt, and housing precarity, and in doing so shattered the narrative that blamed individuals for losing their homes. By uniting migrant and working-class communities across political divides, PAH built a mass movement for housing justice that changed the terms of the debate. Today they work internationally, confronting the power of investment funds in housing markets and strengthening collaboration between movements. From the neighbourhood to the transnational, PAH insists that housing is not an asset class.

La Creatura Re(d)Productora Feminista, Spain**€9,000 | economic justice, worker's rights**

A transfeminist organisation dedicated to the autonomy of non-normative identities, La Creatura promotes tools from the economy of resistance and fosters grassroots collaboration. They have been weaving networks of transfeminist projects across Barcelona: creating spaces for encounter, mutual support, and knowledge exchange. The work is economic in the deepest sense, not about inclusion in markets, but about building the infrastructures that make alternative livelihoods and relationships durable.

Fondation Marius Jacob (BRAVA - Fundo de Resistência Rural), Portugal

€9,000 | economic justice

BRAVA takes the community fund model pioneered by the Marius Jacob Foundation in Belgium, relaying decision-making power into the hands of communities, and pushes it further. Their ambition is a hub-and-fund in Portugal that equips local communities with whatever resources they need to organise against industrial extractivism: money, yes, but also skills, networks, and political infrastructure. The model moves away from a charity mindset with a participatory gloss but is a deliberate transfer of power to those on the frontlines of defending their land.



Union for the Rights of Prisoners, Austria

€9,000 | workers rights, prison abolitionist

Founded in 2022 inside a prison, by prisoners. There is nothing else like it in Austria or most of Europe. This is the country's only association of criminalised people advocating for their own collective and individual rights. The Union raises public awareness about carceral conditions, challenges the penal system head-on, and builds solidarity with prisoners through campaigns that refuse to treat incarcerated people as objects of pity or policy. They are the subjects of their own liberation, organised, vocal, and unignorable.

Önállóan lakni, közösségben élni, Hungary

€3,000 | disability justice

Fighting for the independent living of physically disabled people in Hungary, the funding supports the often-invisible, essential work of building advocacy capacity. In a context where disabled people are systematically rendered dependent and invisible, demanding autonomy is a structural challenge. This organisation makes that demand operational.

Kazán Community House
(Alliance for Collaborative
Real Estate Development),
Hungary
Action Grantee 2025

The Black Sex Worker Collective, Germany**€20,000 | workers rights, racial justice**

Berlin-based, fabulous & uncompromising, the Black Sex Worker Collective centres the voices, needs, and leadership of current and former Black sex workers. Their work spans peer support, legal assistance, housing access, & meeting basic needs, all organised around a simple, radical premise: that the specific realities of Black sex workers must be centred, not appended, within broader struggles for labour rights & racial justice.

They are building the safe space that neither the state nor the mainstream NGO sector provides. Mutual support, here, is political strategy.

Stowarzyszenie Przy Pulaskiego / Rozbrat, Poland**€20,000 | housing, anti-racist, workers, environmental justice**

Rozbrat has held ground for thirty years. It is the oldest social centre in Central-Eastern Europe, an infrastructure for intersectional struggle in Poznań and across Poland.

Housing justice, anti-racism, workers' rights, environmental defence, feminism, these are not separate portfolios at Rozbrat.

They converge. Core funding goes to an 'unsexy' and most essential form of support, for a space that has outlasted governments, crackdowns, and the political storms.

Polish Palestinian Justice Initiative Kaktus**€20,000 | palestine solidarity**

Polish Palestinian Justice Initiative Kaktus is a Palestinian-led initiative based in Wrocław and Warsaw, founded by a team of Polish, Palestinian, and Polish Jewish women with decades of experience in social justice, anti-capitalist, and international solidarity activism. Their work covers strategic litigation, such as filing legal complaints against Israeli officials for war crimes, challenging Polish arms trade complicity, and combating Islamophobic hate speech. They also provide material, legal, and psychological support to Palestinian evacuees in Poland, with a trauma-informed, intersectional approach that centres the voices and agency of survivors.

**Polish Palestinian
Justice Initiative Kaktus
Action Grantee 2025**

**The Black Sex Worker
Collective - Berlin, Germany
Action Grantee 2025**



Ellos Deatnu! [Long Live Deatnu!], Finland €20,000 | decolonisation and indigenous rights

Ellos Deatnu (Long live Deatnu) have been working on decolonisation, freedom and self-determination of Sámi people and their stewardship of the river Deatnu. The grant supports Sámi people organised in Ellos Deatnu to facilitate community-led knowledge-sharing spaces and land-based interventions that build Indigenous self-determination in addressing the Deatnu River's rapidly changing ecosystem and the devastating effects on salmon and river communities. With this they aim to strengthen the role of Sámi communities in the protection of their territories.

Baltic Anarchist Bookfair, Latvia €2,000 | workers rights

In a country where left-wing organising is rare and state surveillance of dissent is routine, a collective of students and activists in Riga stages an annual three-day festival: discussions, workshops, live music, zine-making. Horizontal, non-commercial, & stubbornly independent, the Baltic Anarchist Bookfair faces resistance from nationalists, far-right groups & a government that would prefer it didn't exist. That it continues is the point. A small grant for a bit of political O₂.

Trans Autonomija, Lithuania Action Grantee 2025

Trans Autonomija, Lithuania €20,000 | trans rights

Founded in 2019 in Vilnius, Trans Autonomija is the leading trans rights organisation in Lithuania, a context where trans existence is heavily contested. They ensure trans voices lead the fight for policy change and public narrative shift, while centering the needs of the most marginalised within the community: trans femmes, trans migrants, trans people with disabilities, trans youth. Their work spans community building and mutual aid, public awareness campaigns, advocacy on healthcare and legal recognition, and human rights monitoring. In a hostile environment, they don't ask for patience, they build power.



Kolektiv Talas (TIRV), Serbia Action Grantee 2025

European Jews for Palestine (EJP) €20,000 | decolonisation and indigenous rights

A grassroots network of 27 member organisations across 17 countries, EJP coordinates anti-Zionist Jewish organising and challenges Zionist institutions' monopoly on Jewish life and politics in Europe. Their work is concrete and coalitional: ending European complicity with Israeli occupation, apartheid, and genocide through measures like an arms embargo and the scrapping of the IHRA definition of antisemitism. They also fight the repression of pro-Palestine dissent sweeping across Europe. EJP refuses the conflation of Jewishness with political Zionism and organises accordingly.



European Jews for Palestine,
Denmark
Action Grantee 2025

Global Energy Embargo for Palestine, Palestinian Territories

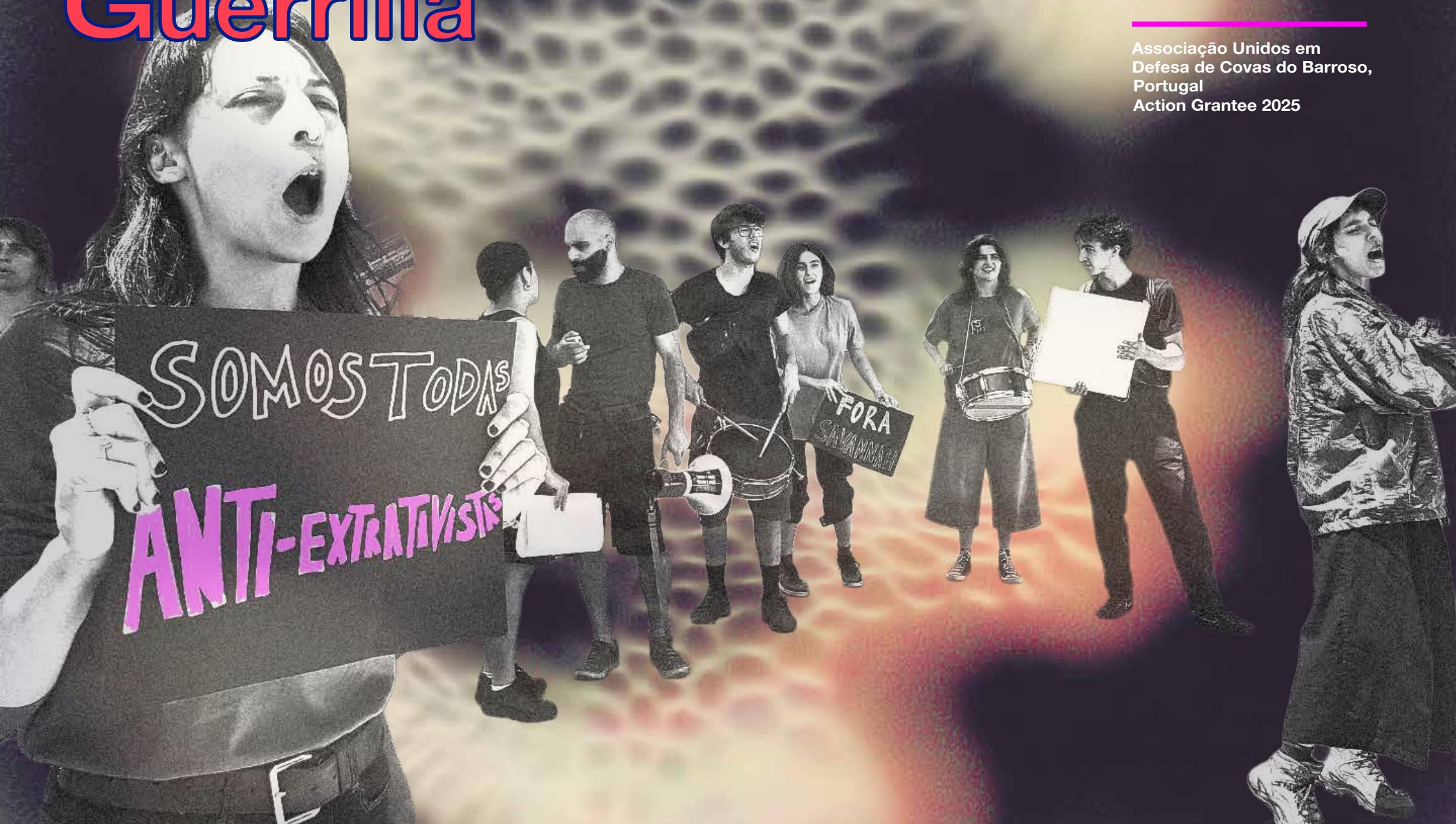
€20,000 | decolonisation and Palestine solidarity

Responding to the call from Palestinian trade unions, GEEP is the international coalition working to disrupt energy flows to and from Israel and the global energy market. Their campaign, "No Harbour for Genocide," targets maritime supply chains, the largest and most strategic channel for military equipment and energy provisioning to Israel. They practice solidarity at the point of production and logistics: material, coordinated, and designed to choke the machinery of occupation at its economic source.



Inside Guerrilla

Associação Unidos em
Defesa de Covas do Barroso,
Portugal
Action Grantee 2025



Governance Evaluation

■ **M**uch of this report is looking outward, at grantees, movements, the wider ecosystem of resource redistribution. We now turn the lens **inward**, because the political claims we make about power, participation, and transformation are either practised in our own structures or they are merely decorative.

After eighteen months of participatory governance, in summer 2025 we subjected ourselves to a first systematic reckoning: an all-governance survey spanning Activist Council, Funders Circle, and team. We asked about decentralised decision-making, information flow, mutual accountability. A follow-up session dug deeper into the feedback. What emerged was less a verdict than a map of where the work now lies.

Structures exist; living them is harder.

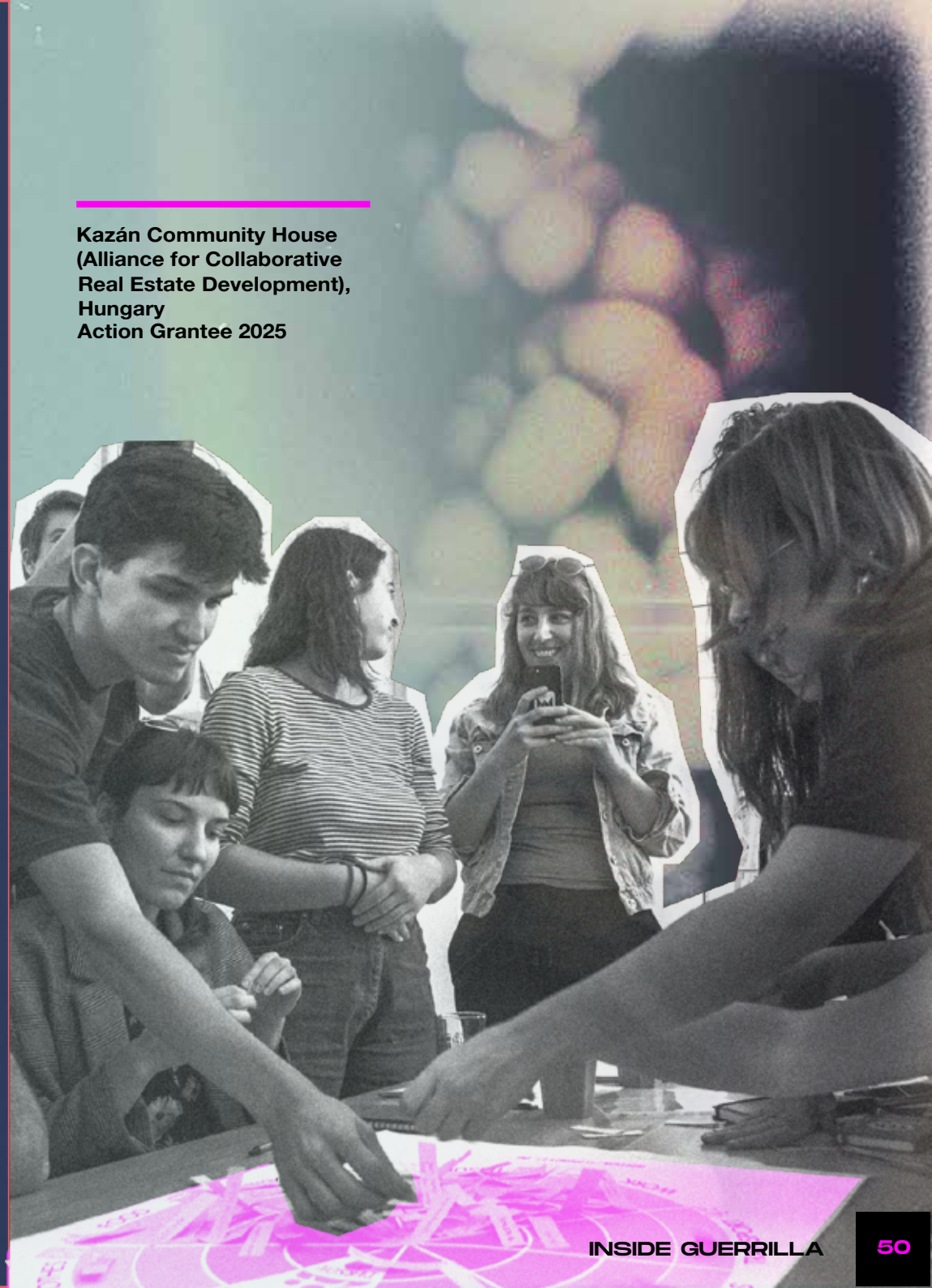
We have built the architecture, circles, roles, decision-making protocols. Now we need to inhabit it. That means ensuring all circles actually follow the guidelines we set, that decision-making domains are unambiguous, that people understand what it means to hold a role, and that we pause to examine where projects stall, not to assign blame, but to extract learning.

The broader project here is simple and infinite: knowing who we resource, and whether we're actually backing self-led movements or just funding other people's ideas of what those movements should look like.

Onboarding is a structural obligation, not a courtesy. At any given moment, someone new is joining our AC, FC, or team. This demands a proper information base: a living Wiki, documented processes, an onboarding buddy, a sequence of one-to-one and group meetings through the first three months. All of it grounded in communication tools that are genuinely accessible. Onboarding is where participatory governance either becomes real or reveals itself as theatre.

Mutual accountability is collective before it is individual. Task-level responsibility matters, but it is not the point. The point is arriving at a place where team, AC, and FC hold collective ownership of this organisation, while remaining clear-eyed about the different starting points, time, commitment, proximity, from which people move into that ownership. Stepping back from centralised power must not produce a vacuum. This conversation is ongoing because the risk is structural, not transitional.

Kazán Community House
(Alliance for Collaborative
Real Estate Development),
Hungary
Action Grantee 2025

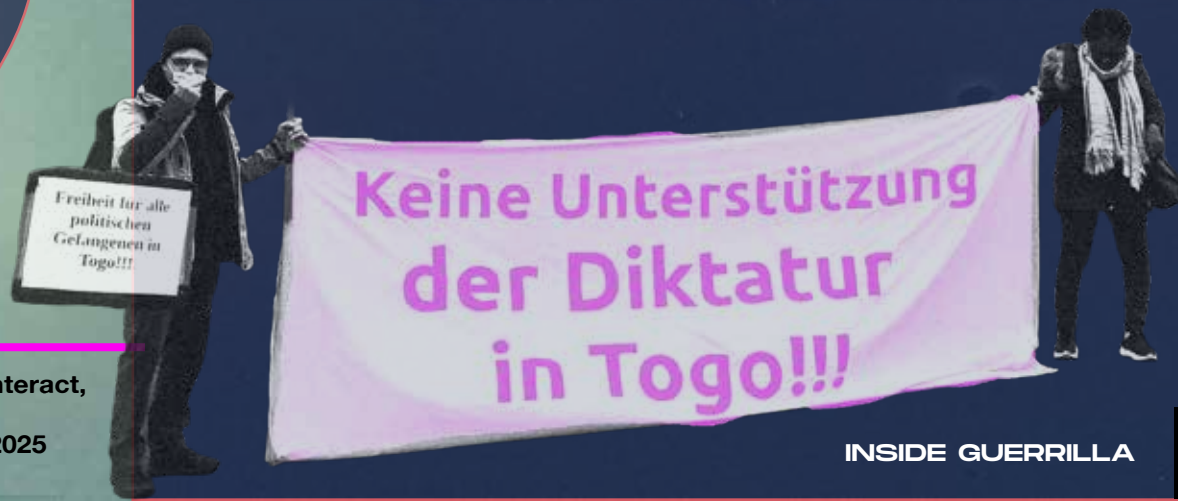


Movimento Migranti e
Rifugiati Napoli, Italy
Action Grantee 2025



None of this has a quick fix. The turn toward participatory governance is not a project with a completion date. Going deep is a continuous effort, a choice renewed rather than achieved. We make it in service of a simple but demanding proposition: transforming ourselves, individually & institutionally, so that alternative models of philanthropy, grounded in cross-class relationships and the redistribution of wealth and power, might one day displace the philanthro-capitalist machinery they were built to outlast.

Afrique Europe Interact,
Germany
Reflex Grantee, 2025



Trust takes time, and time takes intention.

We are trying to bridge divides of wealth, class, geography, political orientation, generation. That requires space to hear each other before we can hope to move together. The necessary emphasis on process and structure during governance transition, compounded by the flatness of virtual collaboration, creates real hurdles to human connection. Shared purpose is not self-generating. It requires tending.

Political sensemaking is not a luxury.

Connected to the above, we need deliberate space to make collective sense of the political conditions we are living through, the developments, the lenses, the ideological differences that shape our thinking, and how these relate to Guerrilla's purpose and activity. Without this, governance becomes technocratic; with it, governance becomes political in the only way that matters.

Benefactors to Accomplices: reshaping funder participation

Our thinking on transforming philanthropy turns on a single axis: the relationship between those who hold wealth and those who do not. The dominant model is one-way dependence, with accountability flowing upward to the funder. We replace this with something less comfortable for all parties: a trust-based relationship grounded in mutuality, where every contribution to systems transformation, money, knowledge, labour, networks, is recognised as such.

This is why funders participate directly in our governance. Not in grantmaking decisions, those remain the domain of the Activist Council (primarily) and staff, but in strategic and intra-organisational matters. Funders Circle members are not outsiders resourcing work done by others. They are, in the language we use deliberately, accomplices. The most acute expression of this is the *Radical Philanthropy Volunteer* role, but the principle runs through the whole: FC members self-organise as a group, are consulted on strategy, and can sit in our Mission Circle, Transform Philanthropy Circle, and temporary working groups.

Asociación Remenat -Valley
of Can MasDeu, Spain
Reflex Grantee 2025



This kind of participation cannot be reduced to filling a pre-defined slot with a time commitment attached. What we ask, and what we try to support, is something more demanding: that funders stay current with what is happening in the organisation, engage in self-reflection about where they can and want to contribute, and build a meaningful connection to the project that goes beyond the cheque. The challenge is not administrative. It is existential. It requires a mindset shift, for funders, but also for us, toward a form of involvement that is unusual in philanthropy precisely because it refuses to let money substitute for presence.

The relational density this demands works best at a small scale. We currently aim for eight to ten committed individuals who are willing to make that personal investment to the FC. In mid-2025 we added a structural complement: the Guerrilla Backers, a container for funders who are no less committed but chose to be less involved in day-to-day governance. We envision fluid movement between these structures, funders self-organising according to where they are on their journey, in their lives, and in their capacity to contribute at a given moment.

At the time of writing, we have eight active Funders Circle members and six Backers. All contribute a minimum of €50,000 annually and all undergo the same mutual "vibe check", a process in which we verify alignment on funding grassroots movements, wealth redistribution, tax justice, and the meaning of radical philanthropy. Funding us is not a shortcut to a clean conscience. It cannot substitute for the personal work that real alignment demands, whether undertaken with us or elsewhere. If you are itching to get involved, or if the analysis really resonates and you want to back it, let's talk:

romy@guerrillafoundation.org

**We increased this to 60k EUR in 2026. We also accept smaller donations but without the extensive vetting and engagement.*

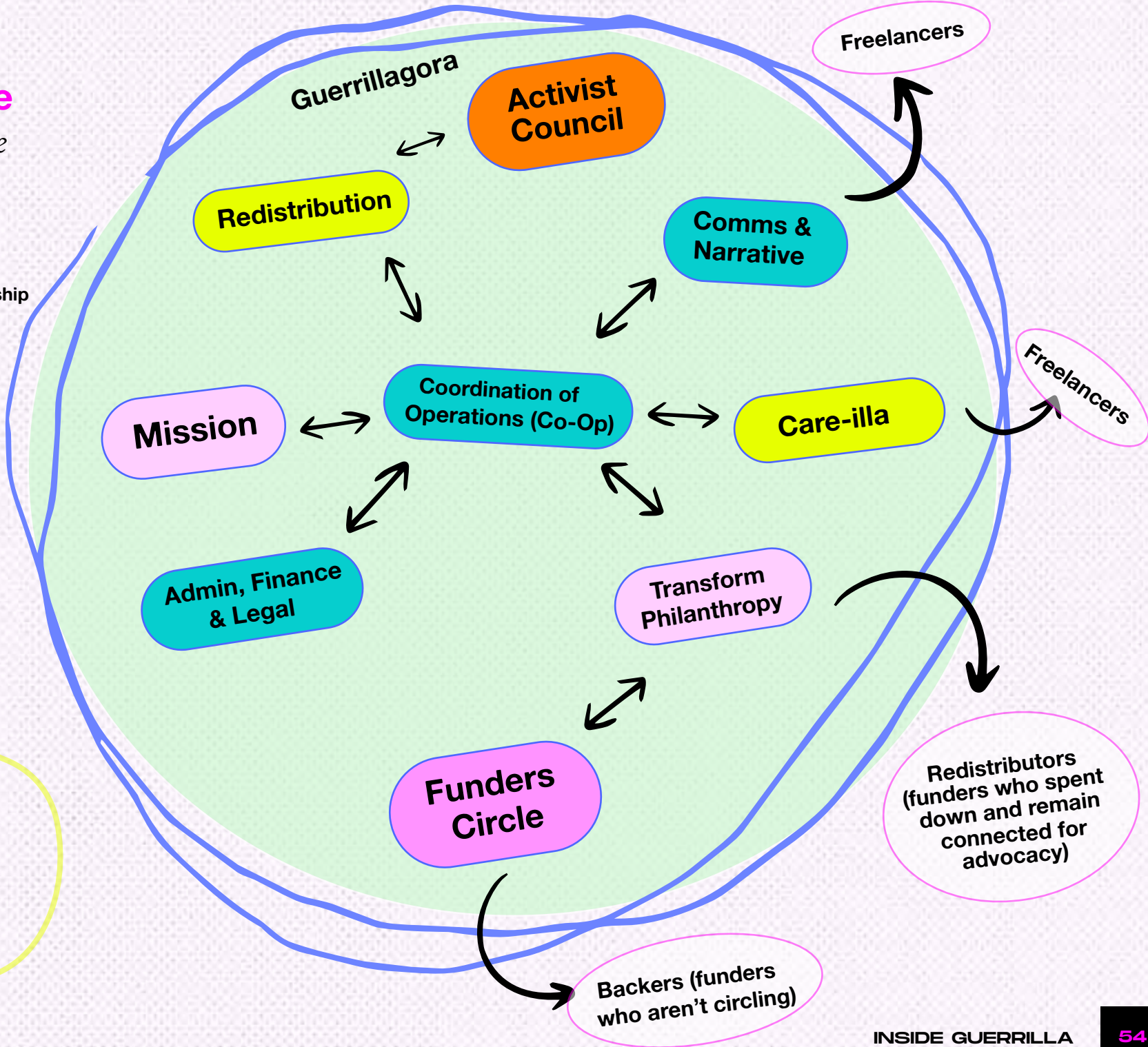
The Guerrillaverse

Our participatory governance in a snapshot:

-  Circles with team only membership
-  Circles with AC & team membership
-  Circles with team, AC & FC membership
-  Circles within the Guerrillagora are connected sociocratically via delegates and circle leads who assure that information flows in and out of circles

Our governance structure at the end of 2025 comprised:

- 7 Staff
- 1 Rad Phil Volunteer
- 6 Backers
- 12 AC members
- 8 FC members



Tending the Soil - Growing the Crew

Two formidable new members joined us in 2025: Isabell (Admin Circle) and w'qaas (Redistribution & Transform Philanthropy Circles). They arrived into a team already learning, with some difficulty, what it means to decentralise power not as a slogan but as a daily practice.

We gathered three times: two in-person workshops in January and October, one wellbeing-focused hangout in March. These are not retreats in the corporate sense. They are the infrastructure of our own sustainability, long, unforced discussions where tensions surface without pre-negotiated outcomes, where we reflect on how we are growing into individual and collective responsibility for an organisation none of us owns and all of us carry. None of this is easy.

It is often intense and rewarded slowly: in the deepening of relationships, in the granular understanding of where each person is coming from and where they are at. By the end of 2025 we reached something we unironically called “*team happy*.” It will not last forever. That was precisely the point of enjoying it.

The structural change that mattered most: we moved to a four-day, 32-hour workweek. Most team members already worked part-time to preserve space for family, activism, and the other projects that keep a person's morale and intellect alive. In 2025 we made this organisational policy. For part-timers, it meant a salary increase. For full-timers, a worktime reduction.

The logic is simple and scandalously underapplied in this sector: movements need rested people. Institutions, too. A shorter week should not be seen as a perk but a recognition that the work we do relational, political, cumulative cannot be extracted on a factory schedule without degrading the very capacities it depends on.

Renewing the Activist Council

The Activist Council was conceived in 2022 with a two-year tenure. We quickly learned this was a bit naive. The onboarding required for activists to meaningfully participate in governance, let alone operationalise a participatory grantmaking pilot, demanded more time. So we extended the first generation's mandate. In 2024, four new members replaced those who had left due to capacity constraints. But systematic renewal only began in earnest at the end of 2025. By mid-2026, most founding AC members will have stepped away. What they built will outlast them and that is precisely the point.

The lessons have been concrete.

Good onboarding is slow.

Participatory governance is not a design challenge you solve once; but a practice you sustain.

And the AC, we now see, is being asked to hold two distinct roles: scouting and grantmaking on the one hand, governance participation on the other. The latter demands far deeper immersion, more time, more context, more appetite for institutional complexity. As our grantmaking budget grows, we will need more reviewers, but not necessarily more governance voices.

The likely evolution is a tiered model: space for those who want to make funding decisions without taking on the full weight of organisational governance, and space for those who want to shape strategy, sit in other circles, and carry the institution forward. Differentiation, done right, is not hierarchy but emerges as an acknowledgment that capacity is finite and participation must be meaningful to be legitimate.



Financials

In 2025, we moved €1.91 million to the frontlines, 77.5% of our total budget, while keeping our own infrastructure lean: an 18% team cost for seven people working between 20 and 32 hours a week, and less than 2% each on operational overheads and circle-led work.

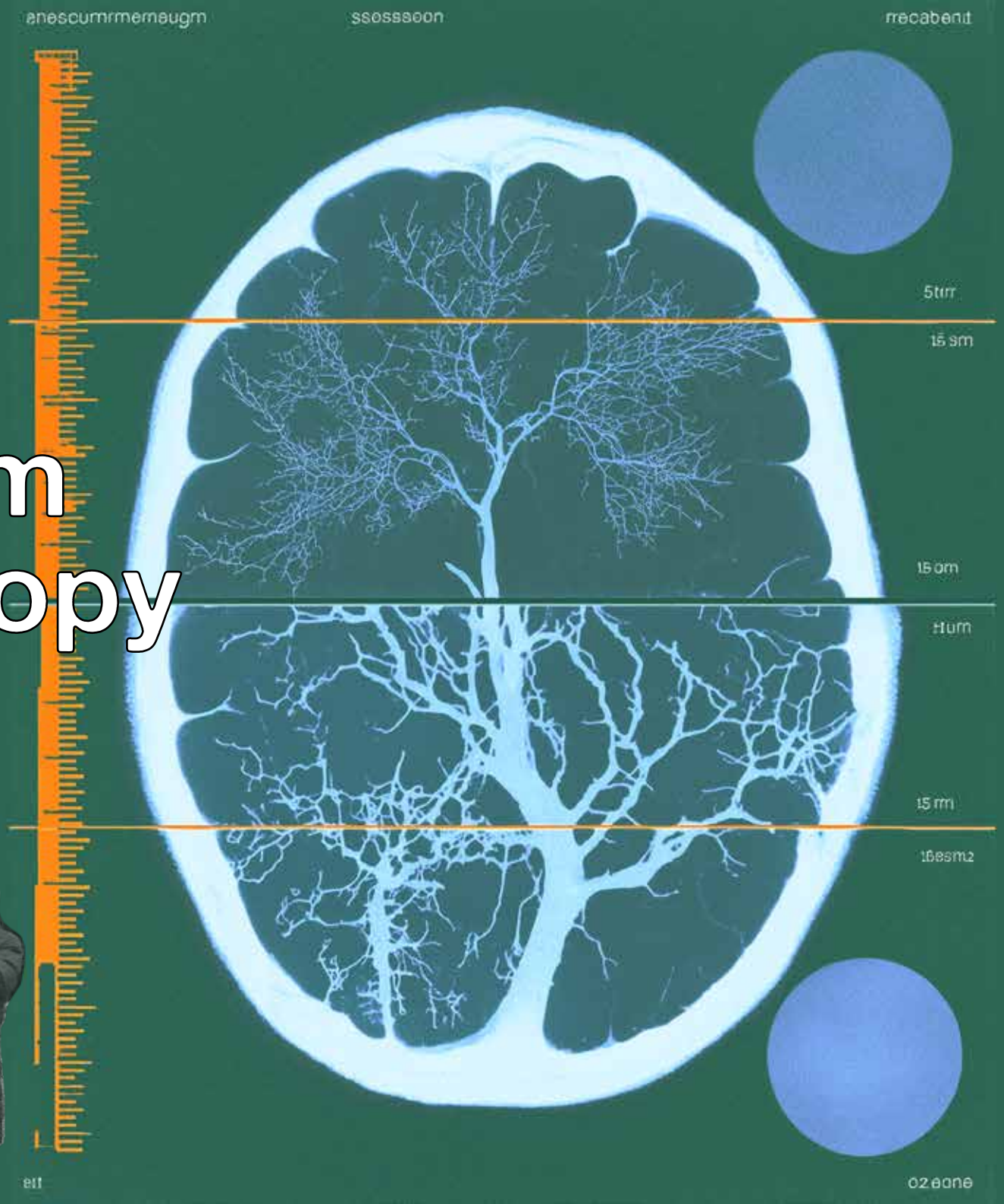
The ambition is simple: more money, moved faster, to more activists who need it. Our appetite for degrowing amassed wealth is large, and the goal is to grow the budget until the numbers start being structural.

GUERRILLA FOUNDATION 2025

CATEGORY	AMOUNT	% BUDGET	EXPLAINER
REDISTRIBUTION	€1,890,840	77.4%	
Action grants	€1,200,000		Decided by the Activist Council
Reflex grants	€530,990		Decided by the GF staff
Solidarity grants	€122,000		Crisis-responsive solidarity funding
Activist Council Compensation	€112,850		This includes a 2,5k flow fund for each activist council member
TEAM	€443,791	18%	7 people working between 20-32 hours/week
OTHER	€63,011	2.5%	Hard- and software, co-working space, legal advice, external personnel & tax admin, organisational development
WORKING CIRCLES	€46,159	1.9%	Comms & narrative, Transform Philanthropy and Care-illa circles each manage their own budget to achieve their circle goals
		100%	
SUM	≡ €2,443,801		

Narrative Work & Transform Philanthropy

Collectif #École pour tous,
France
Action Grantee 2025



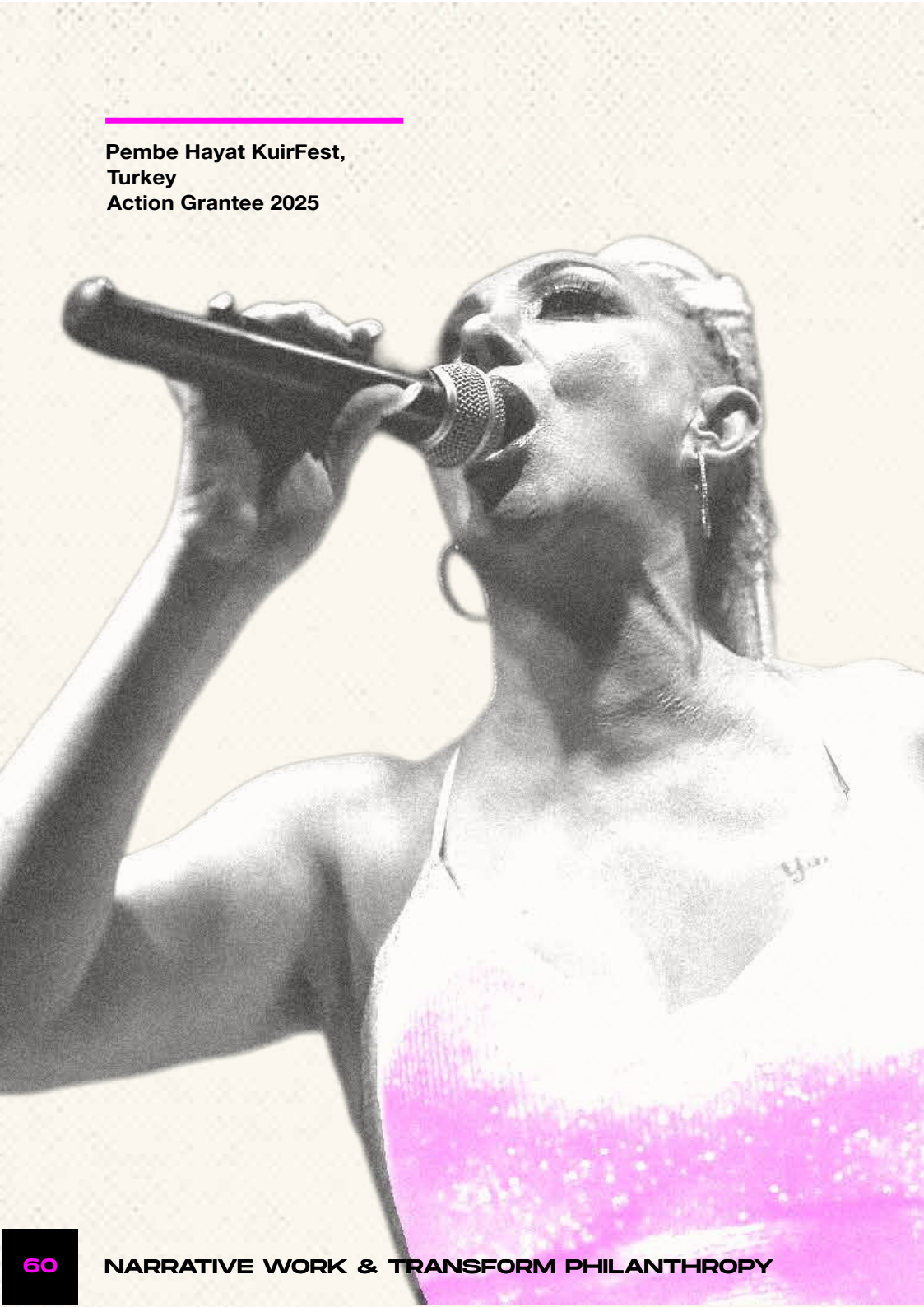
Changing the Narrative in Philanthropy

■ **A** strategic problem: Radical redistribution, participatory governance, Palestine solidarity, and unlearning impact reductivism are all defensible positions inside movement spaces. But inside philanthropy, a sector built on dynastic wealth, performative neutrality, and metric fetishism, these stances can read as extreme, naive, or inflammatory. Our comms strategy bridges this gap not by softening the politics but by arming the argument. Our toolkit has been strategic check-ins that turn internal tensions/questions into collective curriculum, speaking engagements at relevant conferences that refuse the “both sides” trap, online webinars that replace impact metrics with learning cycles, social media that meme-ifies redistribution thresholds, and blog pieces that function as thinking resources for other funders.

The result is a narrative ecosystem where the punkier position becomes a rigorous one. These are some key pieces we pushed into the philanthropic bloodstream.

On Palestine solidarity funding, our position is that German historical guilt has been weaponized into a colonial cudgel, silencing critique of Israel’s genocide under the banner of fighting antisemitism. True “*never again*” means universal, not exceptionalist. We wrote about this, after joining as signatories for **Funders4Ceasefire**, which explicitly cites Omer Bartov and Amnesty, and reframes German responsibility as opposing apartheid rather than enabling it. We also point to redistributive action: funding Palestine solidarity groups across Europe.

The relevance to philanthropy is stark: most European foundations have hidden behind “*neutrality*” or fear of legal blowback. We provided a ready-made argumentative scaffold, complete with legal citations and moral framing, that other funders can tap into when accused of antisemitism. This is narrative as risk-mitigation infrastructure.



Pembe Hayat KuirFest,
Turkey
Action Grantee 2025

On real redistribution, our thesis is simple and unforgiving: you are not redistributing unless you are shrinking your wealth, not just donating interest. Traditional philanthropy is charity theatre, giving 1-2% while your principal grows at 7%. Real redistribution means spending down below the top 10% wealth threshold, ceding decision-making power, and unravelling ownership structures (co-ops, user trusts).

We published *What Real Redistribution Really Means*, which includes a worked example of a Funder Circle member who redistributed herself out of eligibility. We amplified this through social media snippets (“*Redistribution starts when what you give exceeds what you collect*”) and our strategic check-ins. The field relevance is brutal: it shifts the question from “*How much do you give?*” to “*Are you willing to become non-rich?*” That’s the abolitionist horizon philanthropy refuses to face.

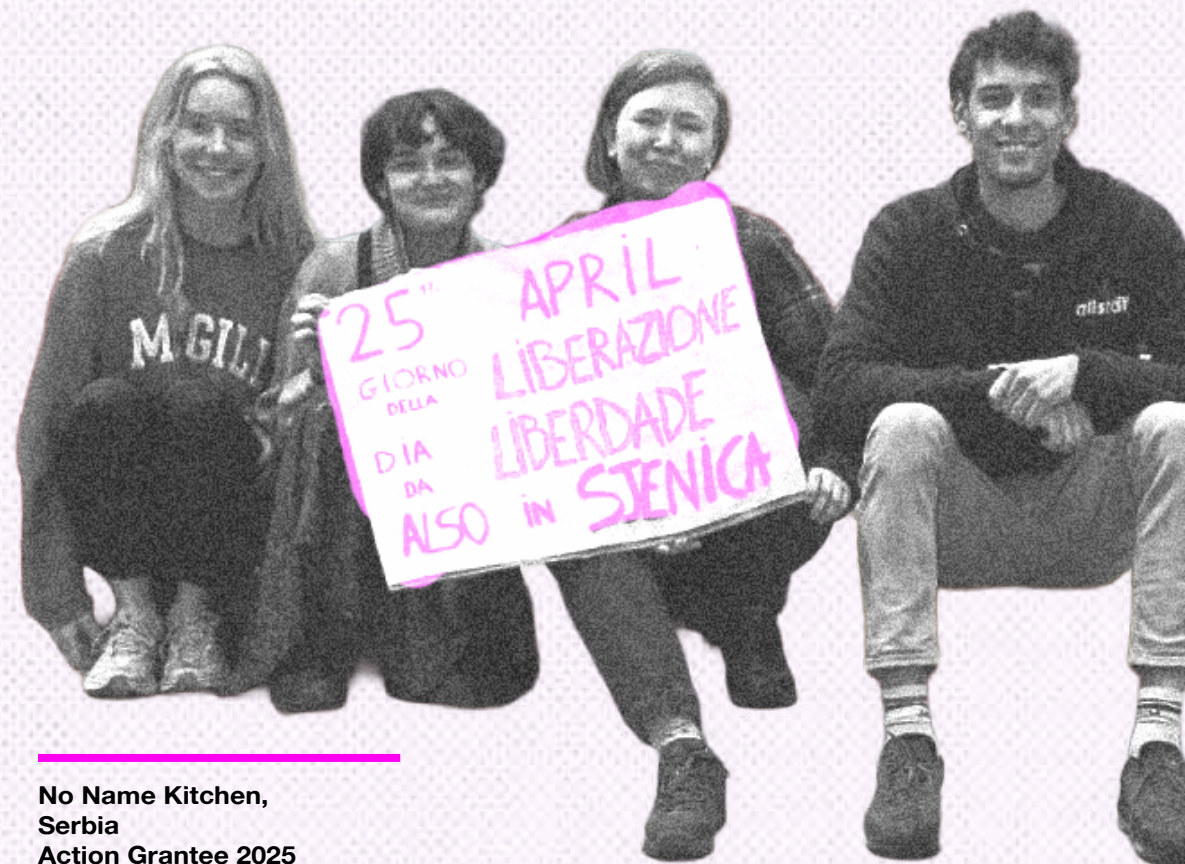
On impact measurement, drawing from Toby Lowe’s work, we restated that isolating “*your impact*” in complex systems is impossible, and performance management corrupts data. Campbell’s Law (80% of studies find gaming, 74% find lying) isn’t a bug but rather the predictable outcome of asking people to prove their worth for funding.

The alternative is **Human Learning Systems**: bespoke, co-designed, learning-led, with no link between data and punishment. We pushed this via a dedicated webinar series with Lowe, and by working on our own grant reporting to ask “*What are you learning?*” not “*What did you deliver?*”

The field relevance is seismic: the entire impact consulting industry (**\$100B+**) collapses if you accept that standardised metrics in complex systems are worse than useless. We would like to offer funders an off-ramp from measurement theatre, into genuine accountability downward to grantees, not upward to boards.

On participatory governance, which we’ve been leaning into a lot since our foray into Sociocracy, we reaffirmed that “*participation*” is usually a velvet glove on a steel fist: communities get consulted, not empowered. Our two-year trial of participatory grantmaking with an Activist Council revealed the gritty truth: it’s slow, incomplete, and riddled with contradictions. But cannot be read as a failure since it’s a Trojan horse for full sociocratic governance. You can’t decentralize grants without eventually blowing up your board.

We pushed this via public evaluation reports (airing failures like “*the myth of the omniscient collective*”), strategic check-ins, and conference talks framing participation as a gateway drug to abolition. The field relevance is that most participatory grantmaking stops at “*community advisors.*” And it’s why we aren’t reforming philanthropy, but potentiating the radical resource redistribution movement.



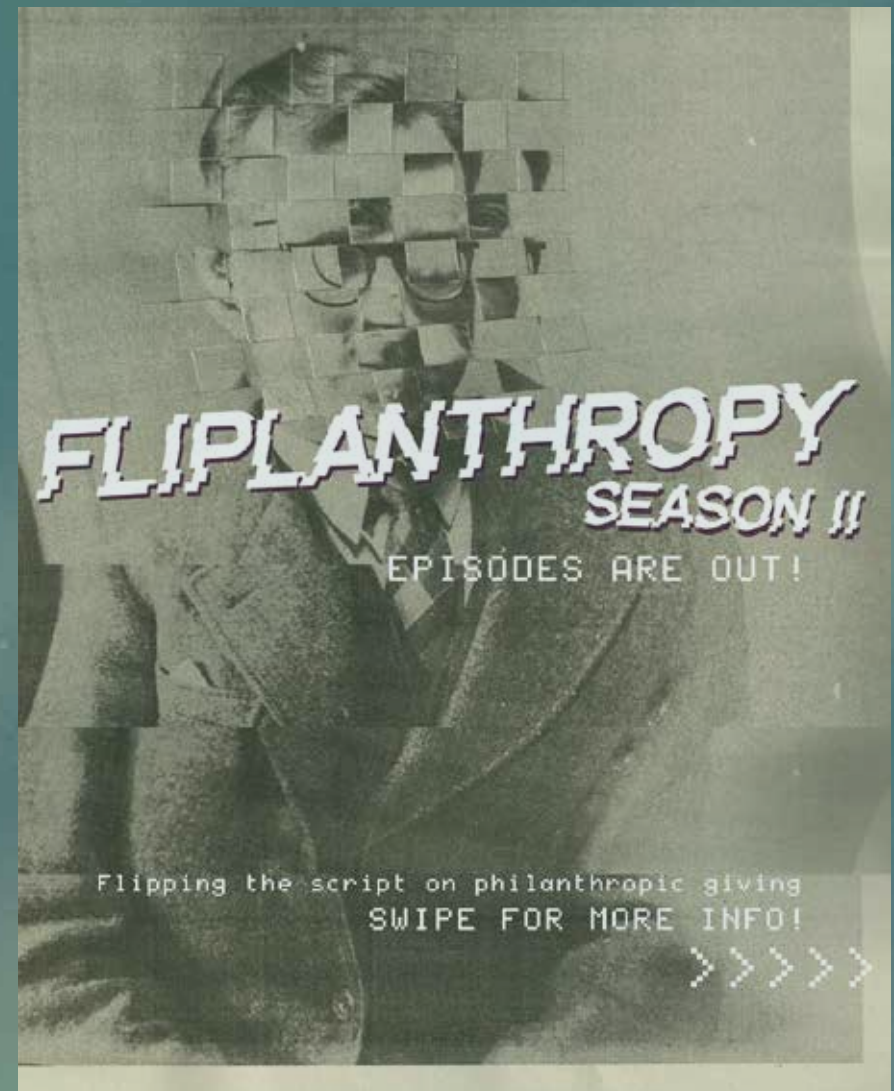
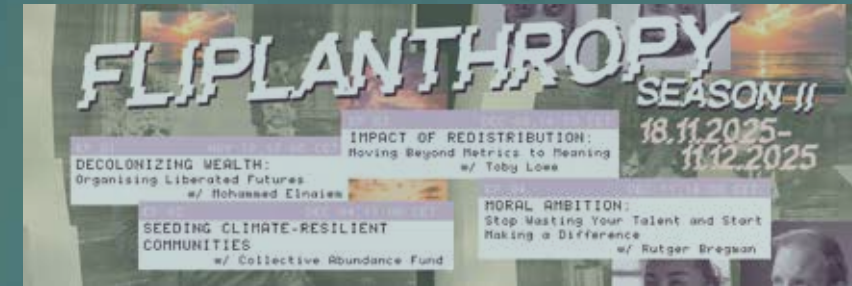
No Name Kitchen,
Serbia
Action Grantee 2025

Flipping the Script on Philanthropic Giving

Fliplanthropy Season II

Season I diagnosed the disease: philanthropy as a comfort zone for the rich, a zombie horde of dead capital and a fiduciary fetish that protects extraction. Season II moves from autopsy to action. It asks: *after we burn down the polite fictions, what do we build in the ashes?*

This season is not about critique for its own sake. It is about organising liberated futures, futures where communities control resources, where impact is measured by the restoration of agency rather than logframes, and where moral courage replaces strategic timidity. The four episodes of part one, trace an arc from diagnosis to reconstruction: decolonising the mind, redesigning the funding vehicle, redefining what counts as evidence, and recovering the moral spine required to do any of it. The core thesis of Season II is simple: philanthropy does not need better metrics, better strategies, or better boards. It needs a conscience transplant and the courage to wire the money directly to those building the next world.



1) Mohammed Elnaiem: Decolonisation Not as Metaphor, but as Resource Transfer



The philanthropic imagination remains colonised by the very logics it claims to oppose.

Even “*progressive*” foundations continue to define whose knowledge counts, who sets the agenda, and who gets to name “*progress*.”

Decolonising wealth has little to do with diversifying your advisory board or adding a land acknowledgement to your website.

It is the material act of shifting decision-making power and unrestricted capital to communities that have survived the colonial project and are now building autonomous futures beyond its grasp.

The liberatory horizon is not about fighting the old structures; it is about starving them of legitimacy while resourcing the self-determined infrastructures of the next world. Philanthropy’s role is to fund it and get out of the way.

2) Collective Abundance: The Intermediary as Organiser, Not as a Mini-Foundation



The Collective Abundance Fund flips the logic of the philanthropic intermediary on its head. Rather than replicating the gatekeeping and metric-obsessed behaviour of the foundations that capitalise them, they function as a political infrastructure that moves money to frontline communities with trust, flexibility, and the explicit goal of building collective power. Their innovation is to resist the gravitational pull that turns activist-run funds into mini-foundations.

They refuse to professionalise grantees into becoming funders themselves, instead resourcing movements to manage funds on their own terms without absorbing the extractive DNA of philanthropy. The practice flips here is the false choice between institutional sustainability and radical politics: their structure exists to be responsive, not permanent, an intermediary willing to render itself unnecessary rather than entrench itself as yet another layer of resource hoarding.

3) Toby Lowe: Rigour is the Courage to Stop Pretending Things Are Simple



The impact measurement industrial complex is an apparatus of control dressed in the language of learning. It demands that grantees produce counterfactuals that are epistemologically impossible, reducing complex social change to dashboard commodities that satisfy a funder's need for certainty. True rigour is the intellectual honesty to abandon this theatre. It lies in continuous, co-produced action research that asks not *"did you hit your targets?"* but *"what are we learning together, and how does that shift our next move?"*

Impact, properly understood, is the restoration of agency, the shift in a room's energy, the quiet birth of a possibility that could not have been predicted. Philanthropy must renounce its addiction to predictive metrics and embrace a practice of sense-making that is collective, emergent, and honest about complexity.

The question is not *"how do we measure it?"* but *"how do we know if our moves are making things better, and who gets to be in the room when that judgment is made?"*

4) Rutger Bregman: Moral Ambition is the Antidote to the Politics of Small Change



The philanthropic and political classes have conspired to lower our collective sights to the *"feasible,"* the *"realistic,"* the *"achievable within the current settlement."* This is a catastrophic moral failure disguised as pragmatism.

Economic inequality is a form of violence, and redistributive justice is now a non-negotiable ethical duty. Bregman demands we bridge the chasm between our private morals and our public complicity, replacing the logic of scarcity with a courageous commitment to shared abundance. For philanthropy, this means stopping the charade of 5% payout rates and strategic plans that accept mass suffering as a permanent feature of the landscape. Moral ambition requires us to stop asking what is politically possible and start demanding, and funding, what is morally necessary. The task is not to tweak the system but to repair the wound, and repair requires redistribution at a scale that terrifies the comfortable.

Reading

Collapse Feminism (2023) Alice Cappelle
Disavowal (2024) Alenka Zupancic
Don't Talk About Politics (2025) Sarah Stein Lubrano
Love in a F*cked-Up World (2025) Dean Spade
Minority Rule (2025) Ash Sarkar
Orwell's Roses (2021) Rebecca Solnit
Politics and the Occult (2008) Gary Lachman
Prisoners of Geography (2015) Tim Marshall
Radical Justice (2025) Nani Jansen Reventlow
Station Eleven (2014) Emily St. John Mandel
Careless People (2025) Sarah Wynn-Williams
Technofeudalism (2023) Yanis Varoufakis
The Ministry for the Future (2020) Kim Stanley Robinson
The New Leviathans (2023) John Gray
The World After Amazon (2024) Max Haiven
When No Thing Works (2024) Norma Kaweloku Wong

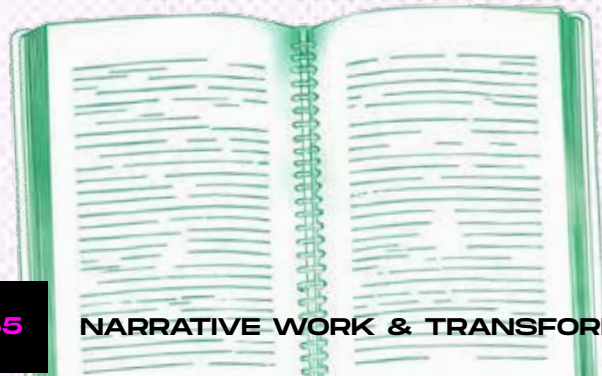


Watching

✓ **20 Days in Mariupol** (2023)
Ainda Estou Aqui (2024)
American Fiction (2023)
Coup 53 (2019)
For Sama (2019)
Honeyland (2019)
Nae Pasaran (2018)
Nazi Town, USA (2024)
Navalny (2022)
Shifty (2025)
Soundtrack for a Coup D'Etat (2024)
The Fog of War (2003)
The Riot Report (2025)

Listening

Blind Boy Podcast
If Books Could Kill
ismatu gwendolyn - class traitor and **others**
Nipun Mehta - A Deeper Thanksgiving
Srsly Wrong
The Slow Newscast - Tortoise Media
The Dig Podcast - Venezuela
That Our Flag Was Still There by Sarah Pinsker



Collective Liberation Asanas

Disclaimer:

Please consult your physician & hedge fund manager before beginning this practice. And remember, any poses that cause intense discomfort in the pelvic floor of power should be held for as long as possible.

Opening Prayer:

Om, Equi.. Om Equi.. Om Equityyy.

Welcome, comrades. If you have ever left a yoga class feeling blissfully detached from reality, only to walk outside and immediately get hit in the face with the Sunday headlines about rabid wealth inequality, then this is the practice for you.

Unroll your mats. Unlearn your privilege. And get ready to stretch your comfort zone until it's as wide as the wealth gap we're trying to close.

Let us begin.



1. Chair(man of the Board) Pose

(Bṛhattama-Piṭhādhyakṣāna)

Description:

Inhale ego, exhale moral judgment.

Tuck the tummy to consolidate wealth, squeeze the knees to close the wealth gap, then bend deeply in supplication before the workforce you've finally agreed to give power, shared-ownership (and resources) to.

Mantra:

“Bhāgīdārī stha hai, samatā stha hai”

(Participation is equity, equity is redistribution).



2. Justice Warrior I

(Sajjana Yoddhāsana I)

Description:

Step forward for your community while critics call you a snowflake.

Arms outstretched, burning with relentless kindness, ready to turn the other glute when they strike.

Mantra:

“Haṁ sevāya, haṁ kṣamāya”

(I am service, I am unshakeable calm).



3. Justice Warrior II

(Sajjana Yoddhāsana II)

Description:

Inhale the micro-aggressions, the grind, the unfair headlines.

Exhale a primal roar that thaws the permafrost of power structures all the way to the Arctic Circle.

Mantra:

“RAAAAAAGE!”



4. Progressive Taxation Pyramid Pose

(Kramāgati-kara-piramīḍāsana)

Description:

The working class forms the broad base, the wealthy balance precariously at the peak. Hold too long and they topple into the safety net; which is exactly where they belong.

Mantra:

“Vistīrṇaṁ dhārayati, saṁkīrṇaṁ patati”
(The broad bears, the narrow falls).



5. Legal Loophole Locust Pose

(Chidra-vidhi-śalabhāsana)

Description:

Flutter like the loopholes devouring public revenue, carried interest, dynasty trusts, stepped-up basis.

Then stillness: each loophole flipped, inverted, transformed into funding for universal pre-plutocratic law-making.

Mantra:

“Chidraṁ parivartaya”
(Invert the loophole).



6. Mutual Aid Mountain Pose

(Sahāya-parvata-āsana)

Description:

Stand tall as an individual, then sway and clasp your neighbors' wrists. You are no longer a solitary peak but a mountain range, when one falls, the range adjusts.

Mantra:

“Eko'haṁ, vāyam”
(I am one, we are).



7. Downward Private Jet Dog

(Nija-vimāna-adho-mukha-śvānāsana)

Description:

Flip that private jet upside down, leather seats become bus benches, champagne cellars become public libraries. Hold pose until you imagine that all luxury is liquidated and the commons are funded.

Mantra:

“Mama vilāsa, sarvasya vāsa”

(My luxury, everyone's shelter).



8. Gentreefication Pose

(Nagara-parivartana-vṛkṣa-āsana)

Description:

Rooted like generations of community, right foot pressed against the thigh of your right to stay. The wind of eviction notices howls, hold steady, then switch legs. The fight is every block.

Mantra:

“Iha mūlaṁ, iha jīvanam”

(Here is my root, here is my life). Shout it.



9. Corpse Pose for the Old Paradigm

(Purātana-parādhi-śavāsana)

Description:

Lie still as extractive capitalism dies. A siphoning tube at your heart distributes hoarded wealth to the community. You grow lighter; the world grows more just. Composting, not resting in peace.

Final Guided Meditation:

“Breathe in the remnants of late-stage capitalism... breathe out universal basic income. Feel your attachments to private jets dissolving... feel your commitment to public space solidifying. The corpse pose is not an ending, but a composting. From your decay, new, equitable life will spring.”

Namaslay.

Class dismissed.





 GUERRILLA
FOUNDATION

Annual Report **2025**

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