

THE CHISHOLM LEGACY PROJECT

Reckoning with Retreat

Overcoming The Eradication of Federal and Philanthropic Funding for Social Justice Infrastructure Amidst the Rise in Authoritarianism and Safety Net Systems Collapse

Written by Jacqueline Patterson



KEY CAVEATS

Shifting Sands After the Midterms

Turning the "Democratic Tsunami" into permanent grassroots power across every layer of government.



BEYOND THE "DEMOCRATIC TSUNAMI"

> "The power of the people can overcome corporatocracy when the frontlines are resourced to truly get in formation."

Midterm gains are the camel's nose in the tent—not the definitive defeat of authoritarianism.

Guard Against Complacency: Authoritarian threats persist beyond one election cycle.

Deepen Grassroots Organizing: Resource movements to actualize democratic gains.

Put "Public" in Office: Demand accountability across all government layers.

Reject "Business as Usual": Build true democracy upholding universal human rights.



GUARD AGAINST FALSE COMPLACENCY



"The midterm results were an affirmation of the power of the people—now we must see it through to sustained democracy."

Electoral waves halt retreat temporarily; only organized movements dismantle authoritarianism permanently.

From Electoral Wave to Public Power

Mobilizing communities to convert ballot momentum into sustained structural democratic governance.



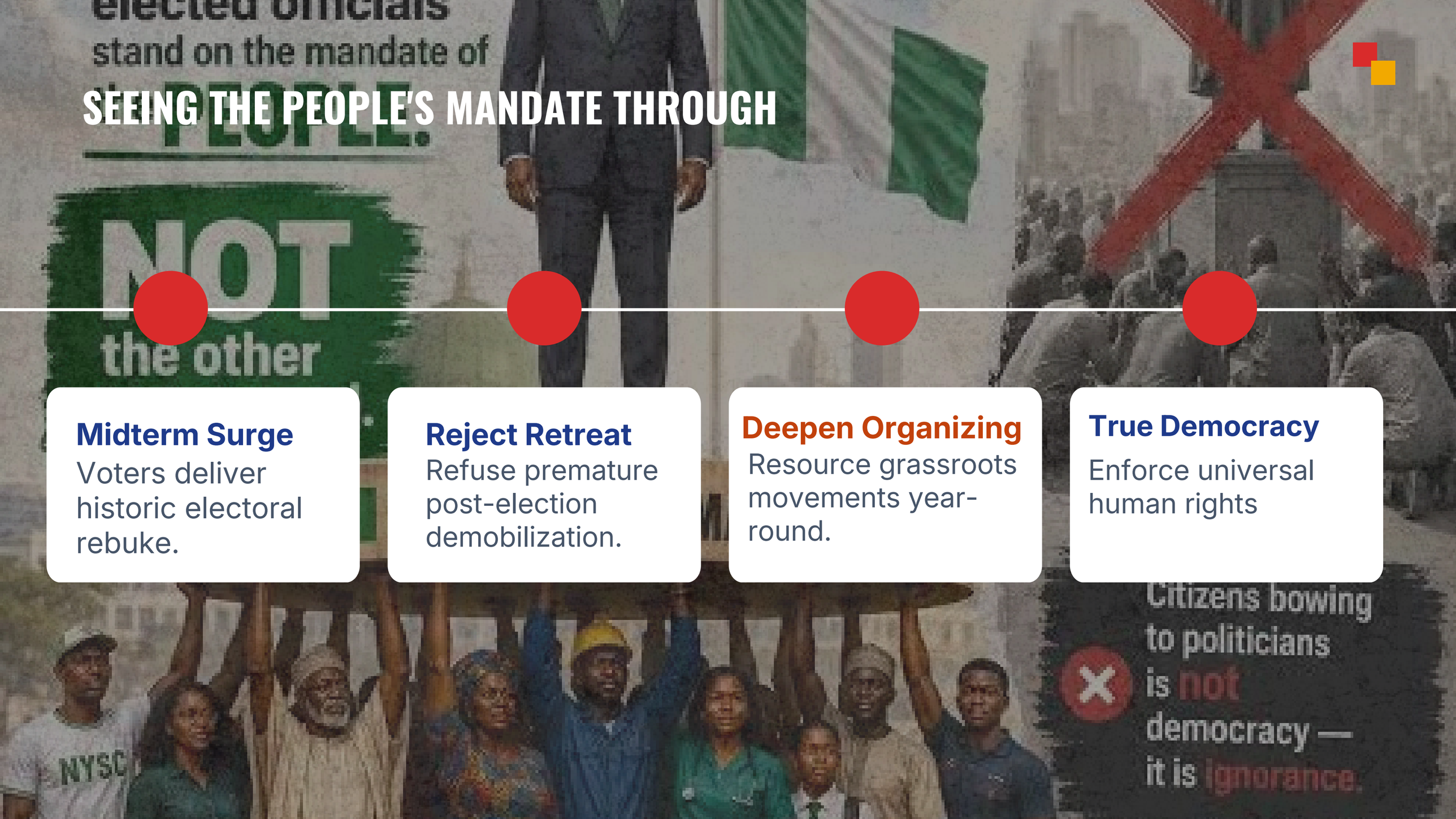
TWO DECADES OF DEMOCRATIC RETREAT

20 YEARS

Consecutive global decline in democratic rights documented by Freedom House

Reversing two decades of erosion demands sustained organizing beyond election night.





SEEING THE PEOPLE'S MANDATE THROUGH

Midterm Surge
Voters deliver historic electoral rebuke.

Reject Retreat
Refuse premature post-election demobilization.

Deepen Organizing
Resource grassroots movements year-round.

True Democracy
Enforce universal human rights

NO RETURN TO "BUSINESS AS USUAL"

"Business as Usual"

Corporatocracy Rule: Donor interests dictate legislative priorities.

Seasonal Engagement: Communities demobilized after election day.

Hollow Incrementalism: Structural crises left unresolved.

True Public Democracy

Public in Office: Officials answer to organized constituents.

Permanent Mobilization: Deepened grassroots pressure at every level.

Universal Rights: All rights upheld for all people.

PUTTING THE "PUBLIC" IN PUBLIC OFFICE

Public office is a public trust.

Local Councils

Community oversight over municipal budgets and programming.

State Legislatures

Grassroots champions protecting voting rights and holding electeds accountable..

Federal Branches

Relentless accountability against corporate capture.

SEIZING THE STRATEGIC OPENING

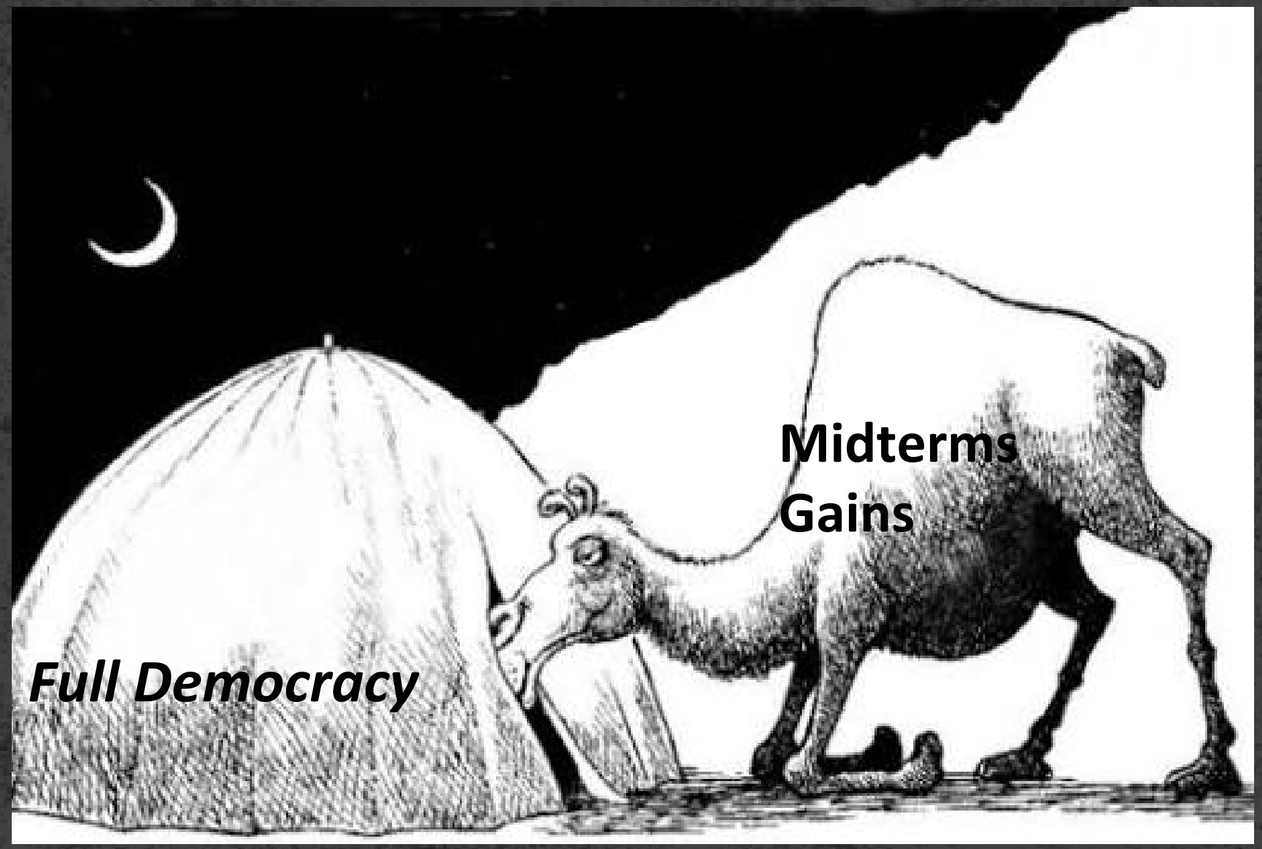
The Camel's Nose in the Tent

Widen the Opening Into Full Democracy

Leverage Footing: Push initial midterm victories into structural reform.

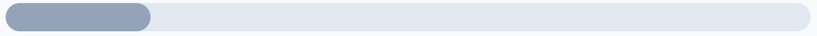
Expand the Tent: Bring marginalized communities into governing power.

Uphold All Rights: Guarantee dignity for all people everywhere.

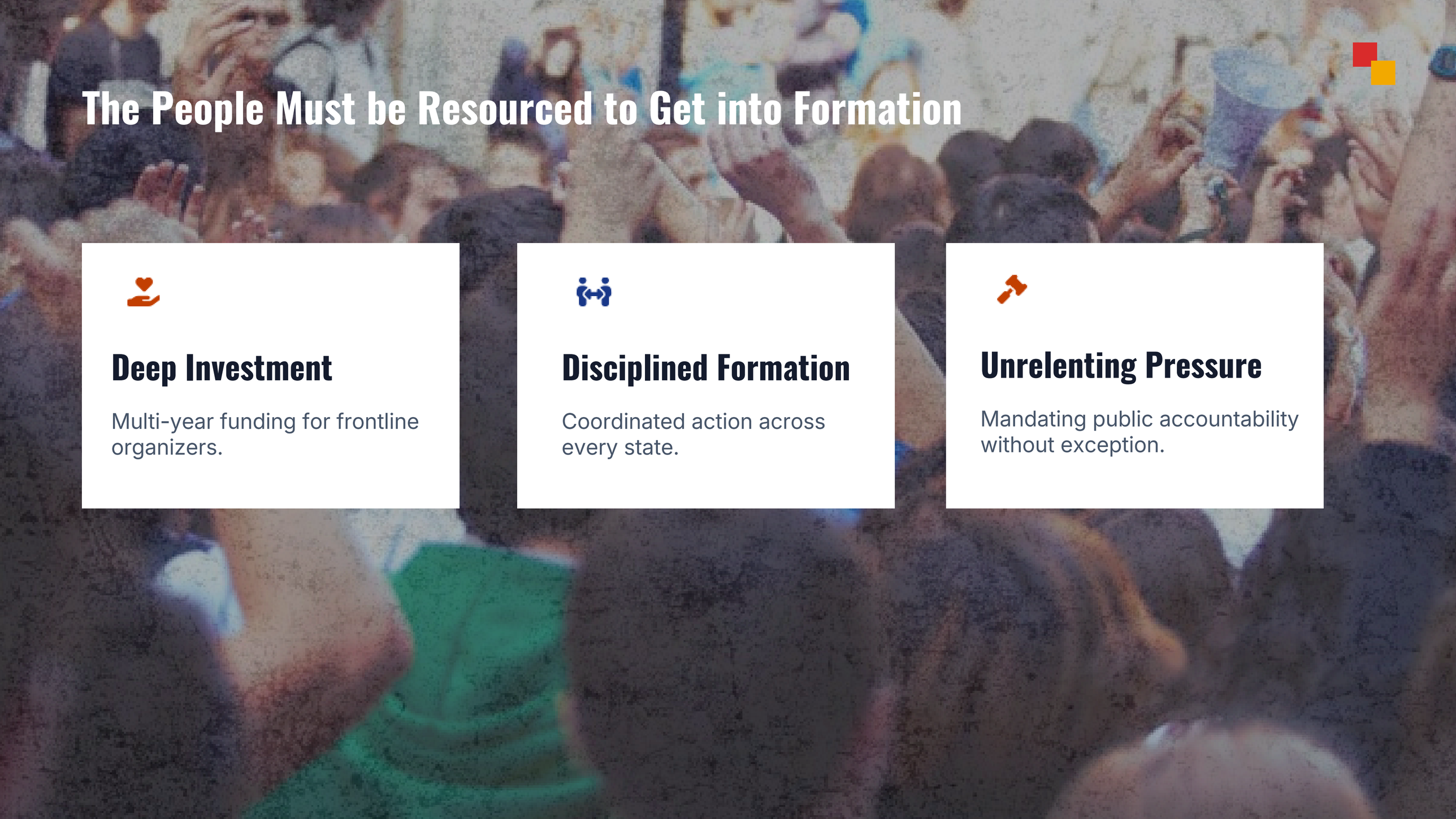


RESOURCING THE MOVEMENT — POST-CAMPAIGN RETENTION BENCHMARKS

Funding Formation Over Flash

STRATEGY & INVESTMENT APPROACH	2-YEAR RETENTION RATE (% OF INITIAL PARTICIPANTS RETAINED)	
Year-Round Grassroots Organizing *Long-Term Formation Strategy*		**85%** Sustained Civic Power
Local Public Leadership Pipelines *Institutional Leadership Building*		**74%** Policy Accountability
Cross-Movement Coalition Alignment *Shared Power & Infrastructure*		**68%** Mobilization Retention
Late-Cycle Broadcast Ad Spending *Short-Term "Flash" Campaign*		**18%** Post-Election Retention

The People Must be Resourced to Get into Formation



Deep Investment

Multi-year funding for frontline organizers.

Disciplined Formation

Coordinated action across every state.

Unrelenting Pressure

Mandating public accountability without exception.

CALL TO ACTION

The Power of the People

"The power of the people can overcome the corporatocracy when we are resourced to truly get into formation."



AGENDA & OVERVIEW

A Strategic Analysis and Roadmap– Crises, Institutional Retrenchment, Federal Policy Rollbacks & Solutions



PART 01 • ESCALATING FRONTLINE CRISES

The Cruel Paradox

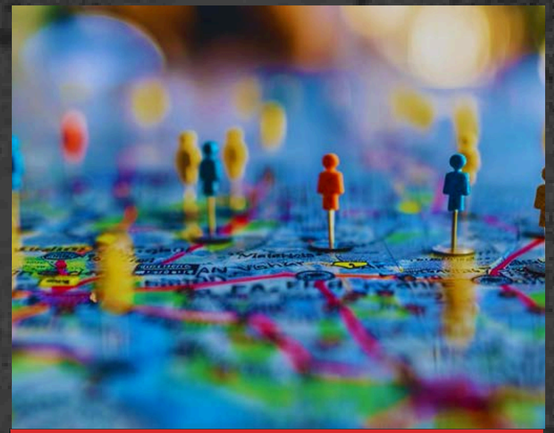
Catastrophic safety net rollbacks (5.8M losing SNAP), civil rights dismantling, and record climate disasters colliding with frontline communities.



PART 02 • FEDERAL ROLLBACKS & LITIGATION

Policy Shifts & Chilling Effects

Clawback of $3B in EPA community grants, conservative litigation targeting minority programs (Fearless Fund), and donor risk aversion capitulation.



PART 03 • PHILANTHROPIC RETREAT & CLIFF

The 90% Capital Collapse

Analysis of post-2020 pledge failures, the 90% collapse in racial equity grants, and rural Black Belt philanthropic desertification (<7% funding).



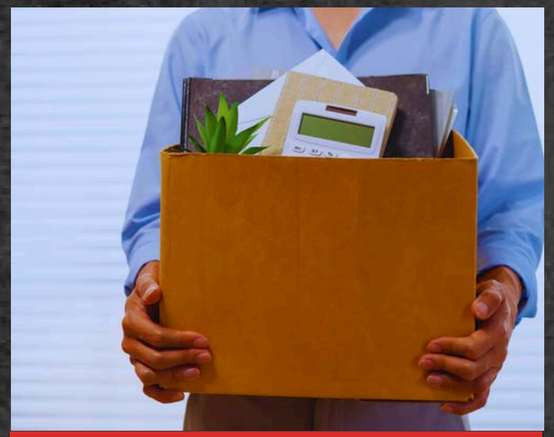
PART 04 • INSTITUTIONAL RETRENCHMENT

Frontline Casualties & Closures

National organization shutdowns (EJUSA, CPI, BU Antiracist Center) and local grassroots anchor insolvencies facing sub-3-month cash reserves.

AGENDA & OVERVIEW (cont'd)

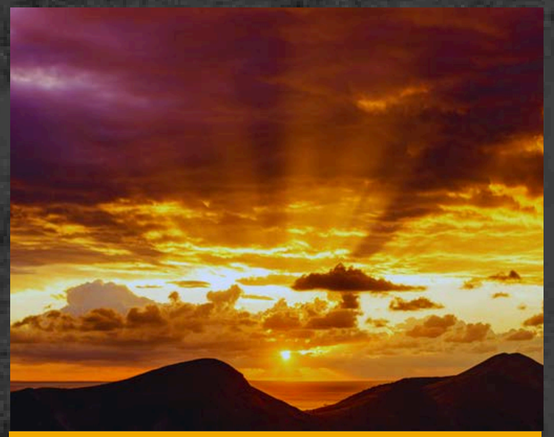
A Strategic Analysis and Roadmap– Crises, Institutional Retrenchment, Federal Policy Rollbacks & Solutions



PART 05 • THE SECONDARY CRISIS: WORKERS

Movement Labor Displacement

Over 28,000 movement organizers and civil servants displaced, living below ALICE survival thresholds, with zero severance or healthcare safety nets.



PART 06 • STRATEGIC PATH FORWARD

First Aid & The 10 Imperatives

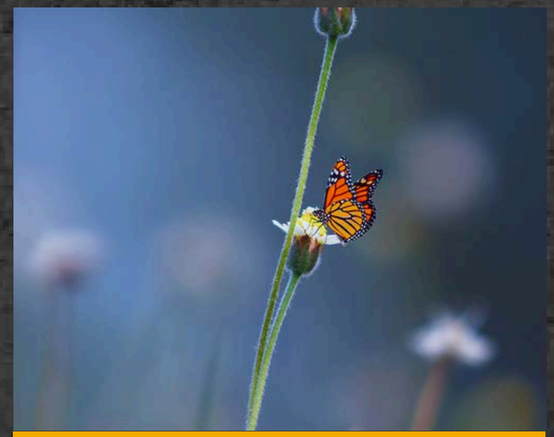
Immediate interim first aid for displaced movement organizers and groups, followed by 10 structural philanthropic imperatives including 10%+ payout, legal defense, rural equity, and democracy resourcing.



PART 07 • PROOF OF CONCEPT

Philanthropic Exemplars

Leadership models breaking risk aversion to enact the 10 Imperatives: 10%+ payout, balance sheet absorption, and movement durability.



PART 08 • TRANSFORMATIONAL REPAIR

Vision: Extractive Wealth

Interrogating extractive wealth accumulation, shifting from confession to material redistribution, and returning governance to frontline communities.

THE MANDATE OF PHILANTHROPY • “LOVE OF HUMANITY” (PHILOS + ANTHROPOS)

> "Fund us like you love us."
>
> — GEORGE SUTTLES, PRESIDENT & CEO, THE SCHERMAN FOUNDATION

Speaking from movement and frontline community perspective, this directive embodies the true mandate of philanthropy: deploying capital directly to frontline infrastructure absorbing risk, and placing community and planetary survival and wellbeing through advancing systems change, at the center.

OVERVIEW OF PHILANTHROPIC EXEMPLARS— PROOF OF CONCEPT & MANDATE

IMPERATIVE I • ENDOWMENTS

Double Endowment Payouts

10%+ Minimum

Annual spend floor (vs. 5% statutory)

- **Bold Exemplars:** Freedom Together, The California Endowment, New York Foundation.
- **Breaking the Floor:** Doubling annual spend to 10%+ over 5 years to stem collapse.
- **Capital Liberation:** Prioritizing frontline survival over balance sheet perpetuity.

IMPERATIVE II • BALANCE SHEET

Balance-Sheet Risk Absorbers

100% Aligned

Deploying assets to insulate frontlines

- **Bold Exemplars:** Kataly Foundation, Kresge Foundation, F.B. Heron, Seed Commons.
- **Unfunded Guarantees:** Kresge backs CDFIs through guarantees to unlock critical debt.
- **Catalytic Capital:** Zero-interest loan conversions and loss reserves (MacArthur).

IMPERATIVE III • INTERMEDIARIES

Wholesale Movement Hubs

Eight-Figure

Direct wholesale re-granting capital

- **Bold Exemplars:** Waverley Street, Bezos, Yield Giving, Libra, Surdna, Builders.
- **Grassroots Hubs:** Channeling gifts to Hive Fund, NDN Collective, Climate Equity.
- **Anti-Bureaucracy:** Moving money rapidly without building massive foundation overhead.

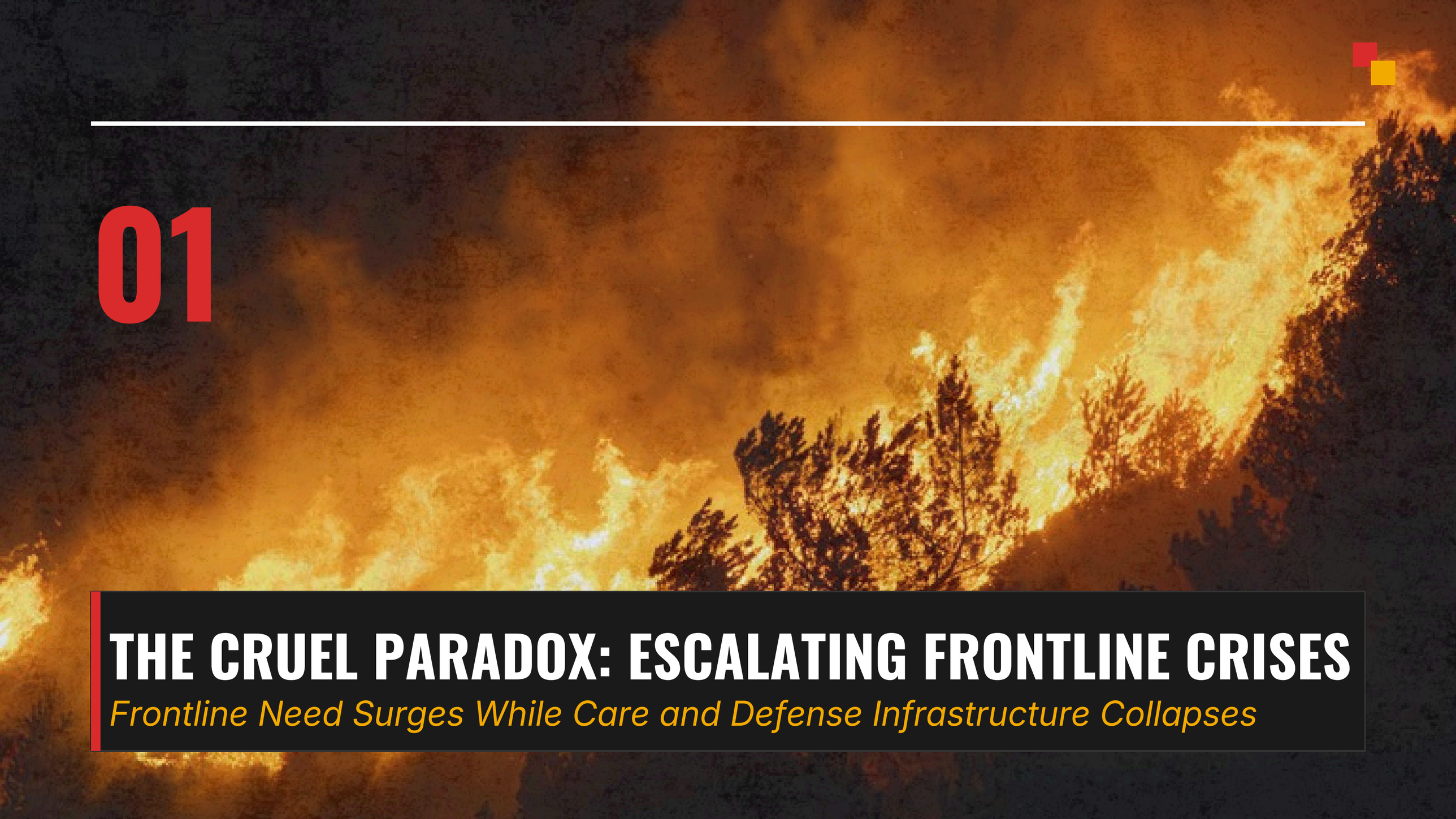
IMPERATIVES IV & VIII • DURABILITY

Multi-Year Support & Wellness

3–8 Years

Guaranteed general operating runway

- **Bold Exemplars:** Yield Giving, Ford BUILD, MacArthur, Mellon Foundation.
- **Unrestricted Operating:** Multi-year general support providing true runway and autonomy.
- **Sustaining Leaders:** Mellon & Doris Duke fund $60K sabbaticals to protect BIPOC women.



01

THE CRUEL PARADOX: ESCALATING FRONTLINE CRISES

Frontline Need Surges While Care and Defense Infrastructure Collapses

THE CRUEL PARADOX — ESCALATING FRONTLINE CRISES

Extreme Safety Net Rollbacks, Civil Rights Dismantling & Climate Deregulation

PUBLIC LAW 119-21

5.8M+

PEOPLE STRIPPED OF SNAP FOOD AID

Extreme Safety Net Rollbacks

- **5.8 Million Disenrolled:** Stripped of vital SNAP food assistance between Jan. 2025 and April 2026 under Public Law 119-21.
- **22M+ Families Impacted:** Facing catastrophic monthly benefit reductions, forcing unprecedented reliance on overwhelmed food banks.
- **Punitive Reporting Mandates:** Expanded work verification rules disqualify very low-income caretakers and push millions of children into deep poverty.



THE CRUEL PARADOX — ESCALATING FRONTLINE CRISES (cont'd)

Extreme Safety Net Rollbacks, Civil Rights Dismantling & Climate Deregulation

RACIAL JUSTICE & EQUALITY

48%

OF RACE HATE CRIMES TARGET BLACK AMERICANS

Anti-Black Racism & Civil Rights Dismantling

- **Targeted Hate Crimes Spike:** Black Americans remain targets in nearly half of all race-based hate crimes out of 10,881 FBI-recorded incidents in 2025.
- **EPA Civil Rights Offices Shuttered:** The federal government formally dissolved environmental justice and civil rights enforcement bodies.
- **Title VI Enforcement Halted:** Federal compliance reviews halted nationwide, while launching investigations into 45 universities over BIPOC fellowships.



THE CRUEL PARADOX — ESCALATING FRONTLINE CRISES (cont'd)

Extreme Safety Net Rollbacks, Civil Rights Dismantling & Climate Deregulation

ENVIRONMENTAL DEREGULATION

50

BILLION-DOLLAR CLIMATE DISASTERS (2024–2025)

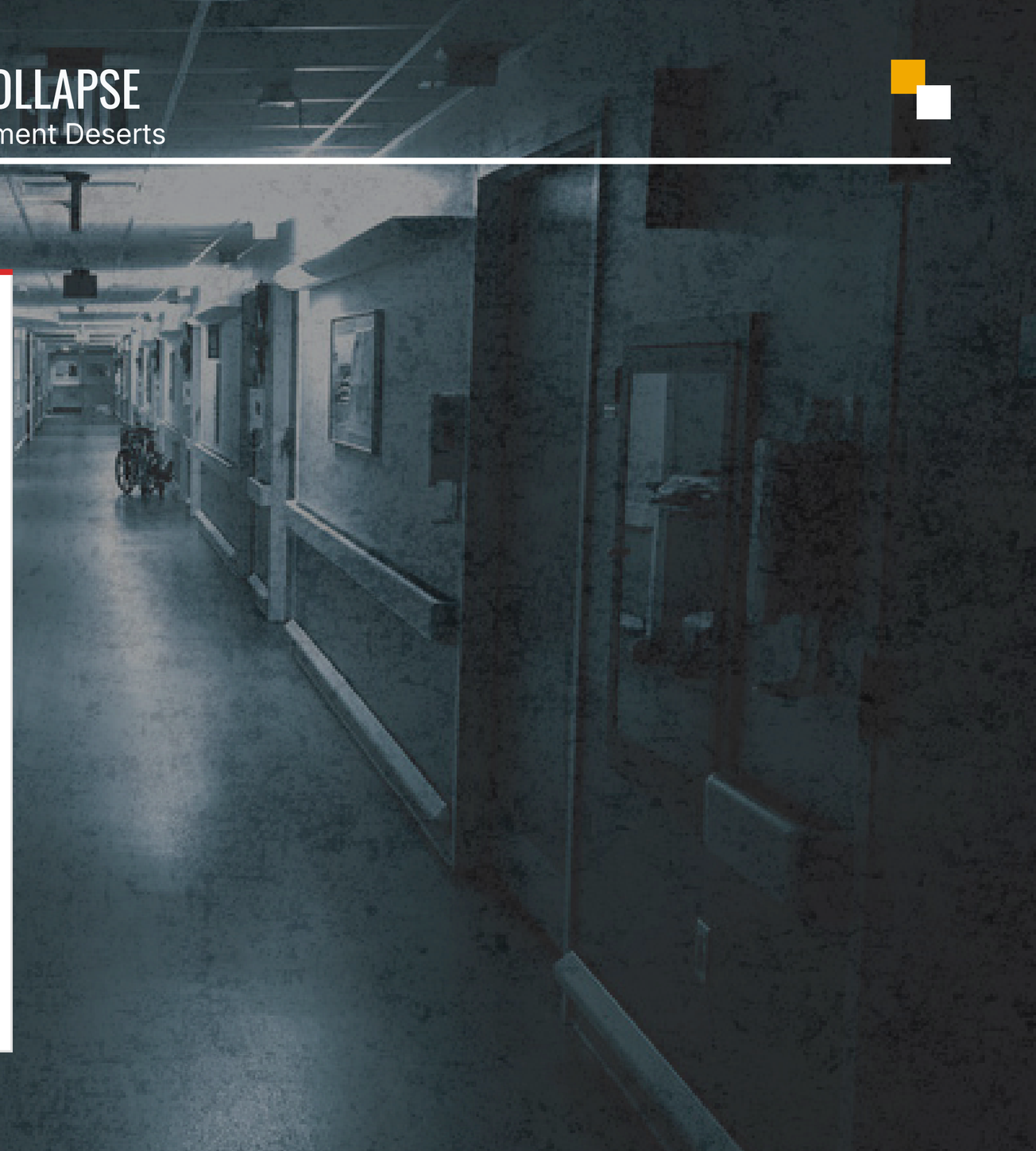
Record Climate Disasters & Deregulation

- **Billion-Dollar Disasters:** 27 record catastrophes struck in 2024 followed by 23 in 2025, devastating under-resourced frontline communities.
- **Skyrocketing Energy Burdens:** Summer electric bills jumped 10.5% in 2026, producing crushing energy burdens of up to 43% in low-income Black communities.
- **Enforcement Collapse:** DOJ/EPA civil pollution lawsuits plunged to just 16 in 2025; EPA moved Sept. 17, 2026 to repeal the Power Plant Endangerment Finding.



THE CRUEL PARADOX — HEALTHCARE LIFELINE COLLAPSE

Medicaid Purges, Medicare Savings Slashing & Bureaucratic Disenrollment Deserts



MEDICAID PURGES & DISENROLLMENT

5.3M–10M+

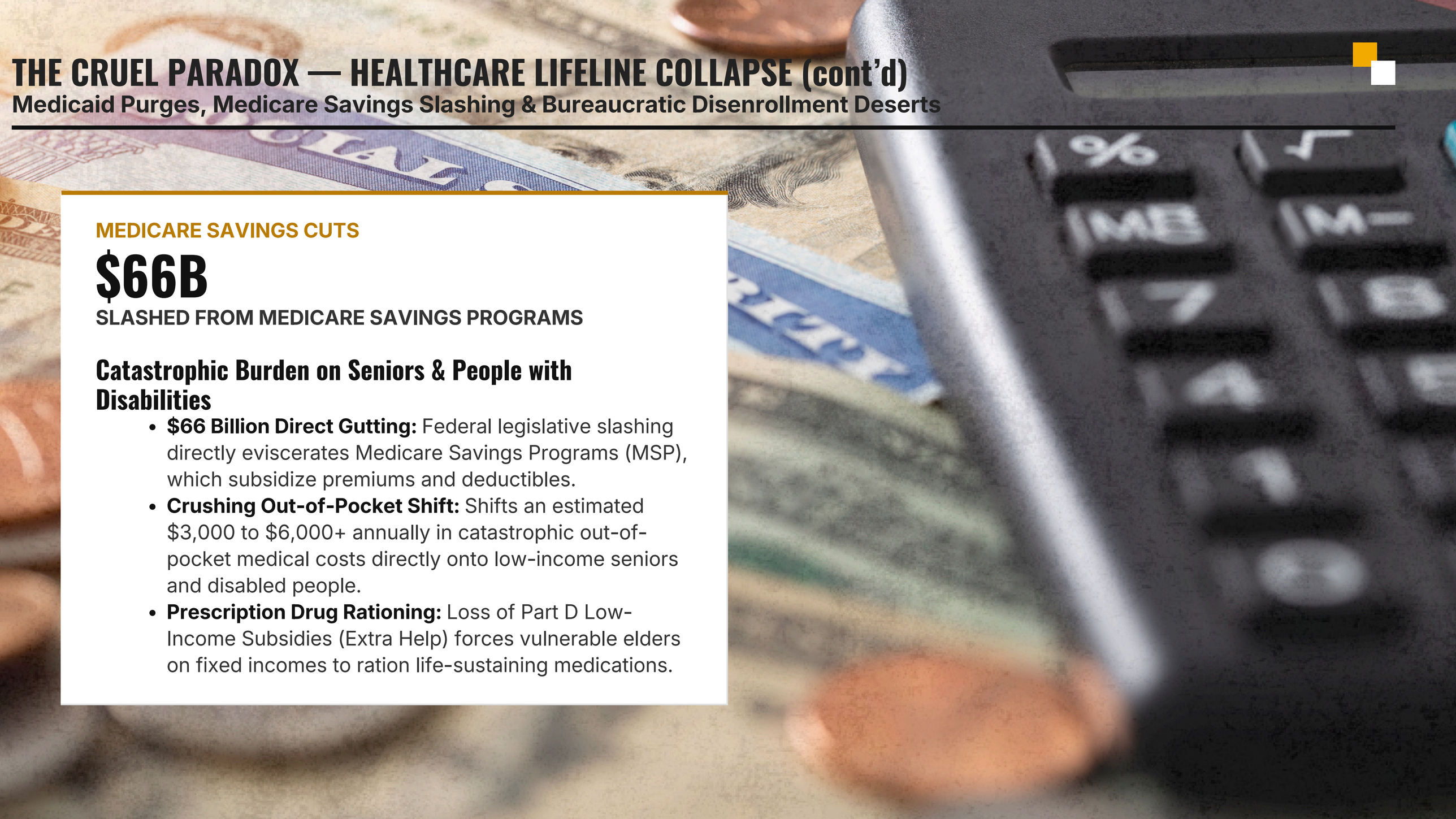
PEOPLE STRIPPED OF MEDICAID COVERAGE

Mass Disenrollment & Administrative Churn

- **5.3M to 10M+ Losing Medicaid:** Nationwide coverage collapse driven by procedural terminations, state un-winding purges, and automated algorithmic eligibility cutoffs.
- **70%+ Lost Due to Red Tape:** Over 70% of disenrolled individuals lost coverage solely for procedural reasons (mailing errors, phone backlogs) while remaining eligible.
- **Severe Coverage Cliff:** Working-poor adults and families in non-expansion states face complete exclusion from primary care and chronic illness treatments.

THE CRUEL PARADOX — HEALTHCARE LIFELINE COLLAPSE (cont'd)

Medicaid Purges, Medicare Savings Slashing & Bureaucratic Disenrollment Deserts



MEDICARE SAVINGS CUTS

$66B

SLASHED FROM MEDICARE SAVINGS PROGRAMS

Catastrophic Burden on Seniors & People with Disabilities

- **$66 Billion Direct Gutting:** Federal legislative slashing directly eviscerates Medicare Savings Programs (MSP), which subsidize premiums and deductibles.
- **Crushing Out-of-Pocket Shift:** Shifts an estimated $3,000 to $6,000+ annually in catastrophic out-of-pocket medical costs directly onto low-income seniors and disabled people.
- **Prescription Drug Rationing:** Loss of Part D Low-Income Subsidies (Extra Help) forces vulnerable elders on fixed incomes to ration life-sustaining medications.

THE CRUEL PARADOX — HEALTHCARE LIFELINE COLLAPSE (cont'd)

Medicaid Purges, Medicare Savings Slashing & Bureaucratic Disenrollment Deserts



ADMINISTRATIVE HURDLES & ACCESS

4.2M+

TRAPPED IN STRINGENT REPORTING HURDLES

Bureaucratic Walls & Safety Net Strains

- **Punitively Stringent Hurdles:** Complex monthly work-reporting portals and verification demands function as bureaucratic gatekeeping to disqualify eligible recipients.
- **Safety-Net Provider Strain:** Uncompensated care costs skyrocket by 45% across urban public safety-net hospital systems and community health centers.
- **Cascading Health Crises:** Surging uninsurance drives delayed emergency presentations, unmanaged diabetes, and preventable cardiovascular mortalities.

THE CRUEL PARADOX — RURAL ABANDONMENT & ISOLATION

Compounding Disinvestment Across Healthcare Deserts, Agricultural Retrenchment & Infrastructure Collapse

RURAL HEALTHCARE COLLAPSE

600+

RURAL HOSPITALS FACING CLOSURE RISK

Hospital Desertification & Care Stripping

- **Mass Hospital Insolvency:** Over 600 rural hospitals vulnerable to closure as Medicaid rollbacks and Medicare payment cuts wipe out razor-thin operating margins.
- **Obstetric Care Deserts:** More than 50% of rural counties lack hospital-based maternity care, forcing expectant mothers to travel over 60 miles for delivery.
- **Clinic Funding Depletion:** Community health centers face severe deficits following the abrupt expiration of targeted federal rural healthcare transition grants.



THE CRUEL PARADOX — RURAL ABANDONMENT & ISOLATION (cont'd)

Compounding Disinvestment Across Healthcare Deserts, Agricultural Retrenchment & Infrastructure Collapse

POVERTY & INFRASTRUCTURE ISOLATION

2.5x

HIGHER DEEP POVERTY RATES IN RURAL COUNTIES

Safety Net Stripping & Energy Burdens

- **Disproportionate SNAP Loss:** Rural residents face high per-capita SNAP dependency; aggressive work reporting mandates drive devastating food assistance loss.
- **Crushing Energy Burdens:** Low-income rural households spend up to 3x more income on energy with federal home weatherization and utility relief programs defunded.
- **Failing Water & Utility Systems:** Decaying municipal drinking water and wastewater systems face stranded costs as rural infrastructure expansion funds stall.



THE CRUEL PARADOX — RURAL ABANDONMENT & ISOLATION (cont'd)

Compounding Disinvestment Across Healthcare Deserts, Agricultural Retrenchment & Infrastructure Collapse

AGRICULTURE & PHILANTHROPIC NEGLECT

<7%

OF PHILANTHROPIC GIVING REACHES RURAL GROUPS

BIPOC Land Loss & Movement Starvation

- **Farmer Debt Relief Dismantling:** Debt relief and technical assistance for Black and BIPOC farmers remain frozen or dismantled under litigation and federal retreat.
- **Philanthropic Redlining:** Rural grassroots nonprofits receive under 7% of national foundation funding despite serving 20% of the U.S. population.
- **Geographic Isolation & Burnout:** Frontline organizers operate across vast distances with zero core operating reserves or legal defense coalitions.



THE CRUEL PARADOX — ERASURE & DESERTIFICATION

Compounding Policy Reversals Across LGBTQI+, Disability, Reproductive & Immigrant Communities



MATERNAL HEALTH CRISIS

3.3x

BLACK MATERNAL MORTALITY RATE

49.4 vs 14.9 per 100k births
compared to white women, intensified as healthcare access is actively eliminated across states.

THE CRUEL PARADOX — ERASURE & DESERTIFICATION (cont'd)

Compounding Policy Reversals Across LGBTQI+, Disability, Reproductive & Immigrant Communities



LGBTQI HEALTHCARE CRISIS

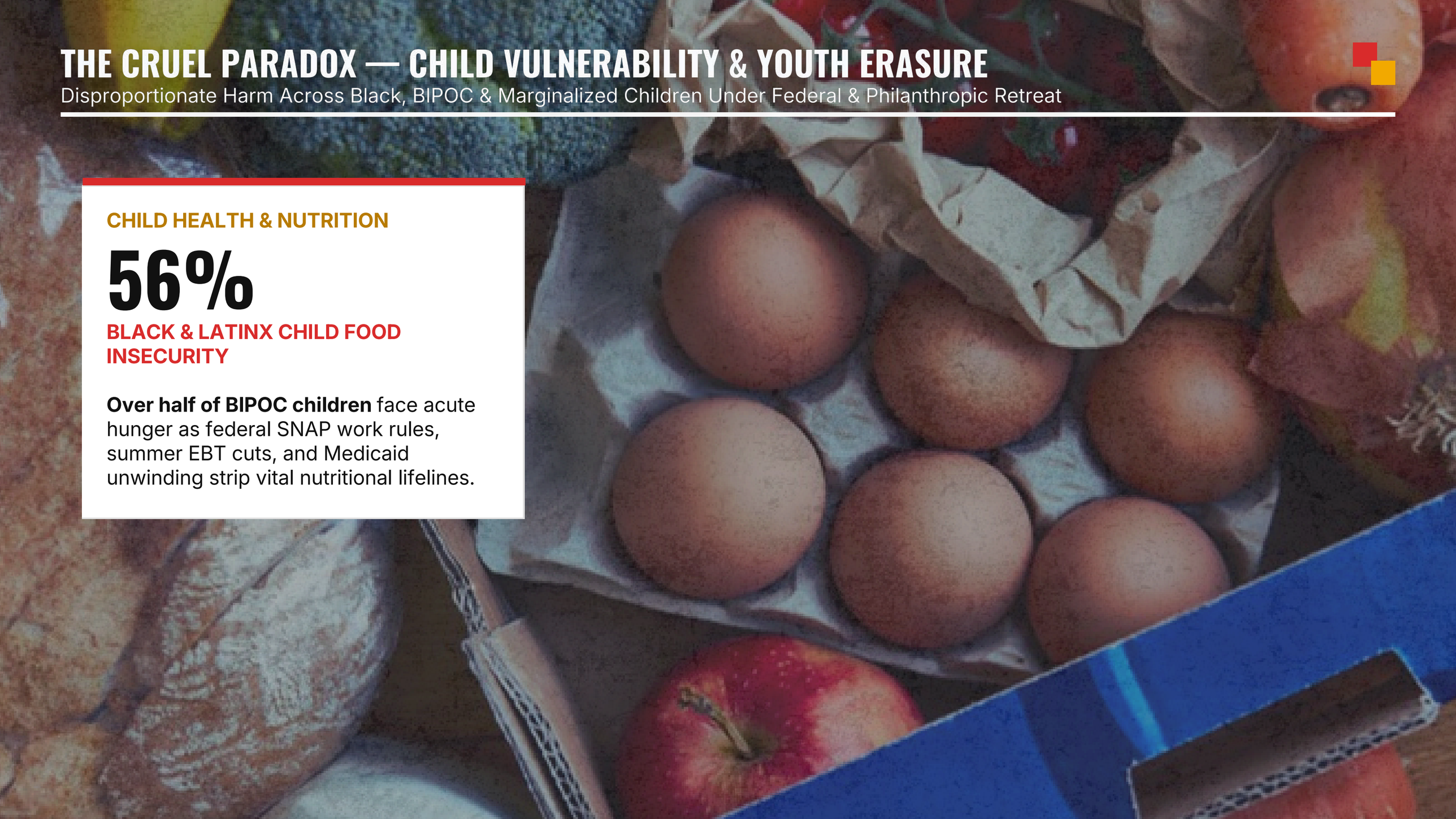
530+

ANTI-LGBTQI+ HEALTH RESTRICTIONS

Over 530 state anti-LGBTQI+ bills and Medicaid care bans strip life-saving gender-affirming services nationwide.

THE CRUEL PARADOX — CHILD VULNERABILITY & YOUTH ERASURE

Disproportionate Harm Across Black, BIPOC & Marginalized Children Under Federal & Philanthropic Retreat



CHILD HEALTH & NUTRITION

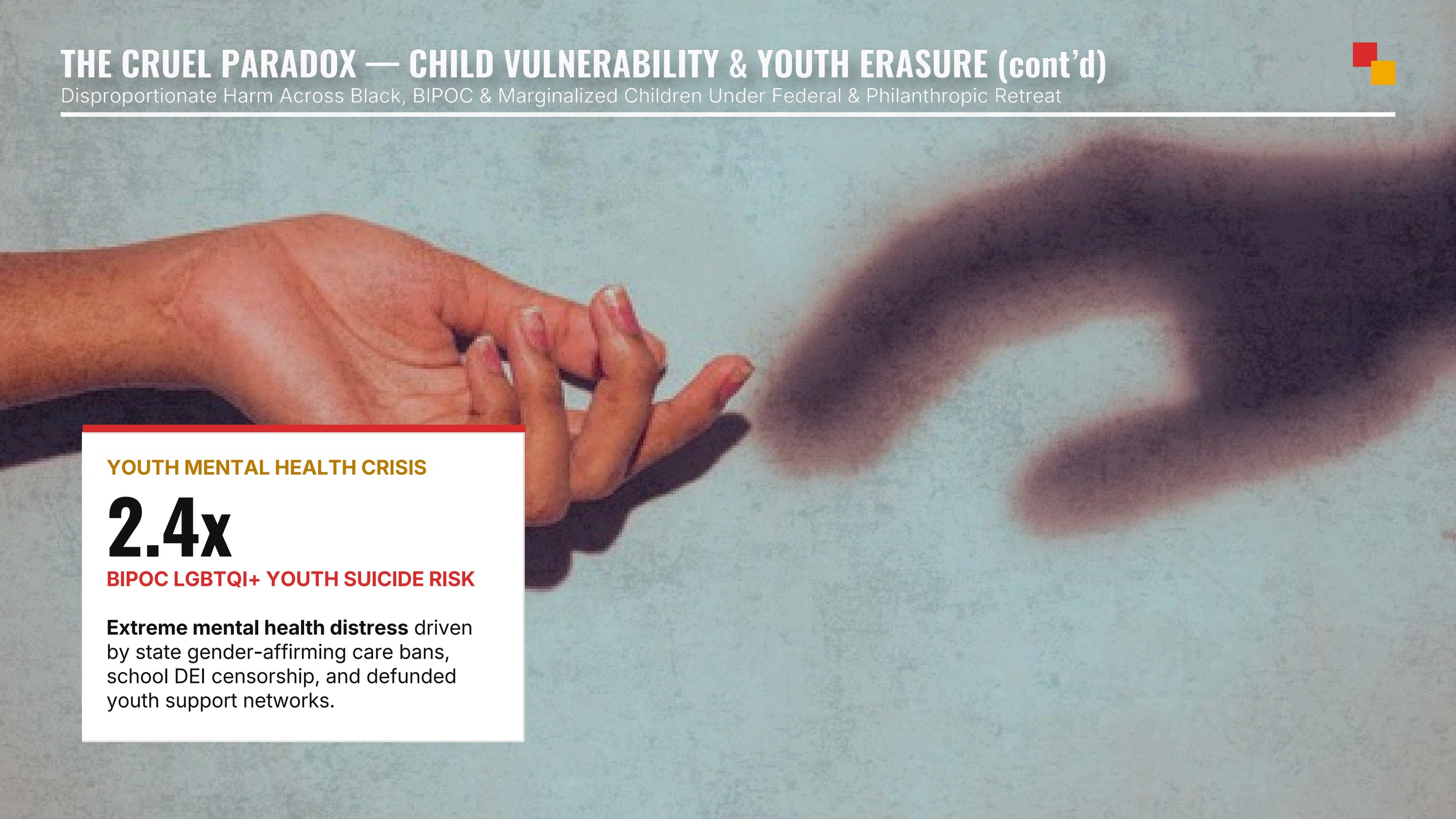
56%

BLACK & LATINX CHILD FOOD INSECURITY

Over half of BIPOC children face acute hunger as federal SNAP work rules, summer EBT cuts, and Medicaid unwinding strip vital nutritional lifelines.

THE CRUEL PARADOX — CHILD VULNERABILITY & YOUTH ERASURE (cont'd)

Disproportionate Harm Across Black, BIPOC & Marginalized Children Under Federal & Philanthropic Retreat



YOUTH MENTAL HEALTH CRISIS

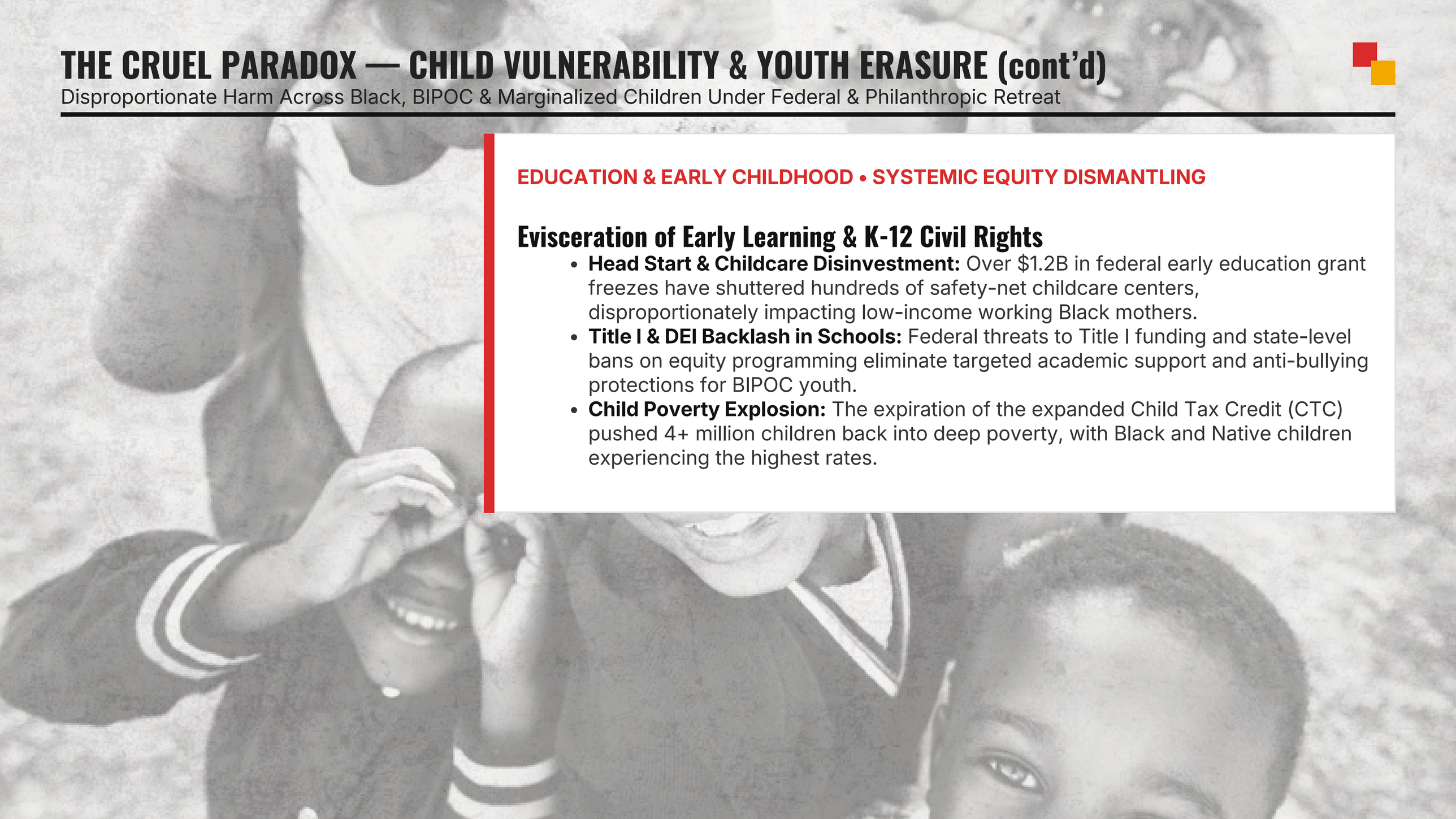
2.4x

BIPOC LGBTQI+ YOUTH SUICIDE RISK

Extreme mental health distress driven by state gender-affirming care bans, school DEI censorship, and defunded youth support networks.

THE CRUEL PARADOX — CHILD VULNERABILITY & YOUTH ERASURE (cont'd)

Disproportionate Harm Across Black, BIPOC & Marginalized Children Under Federal & Philanthropic Retreat



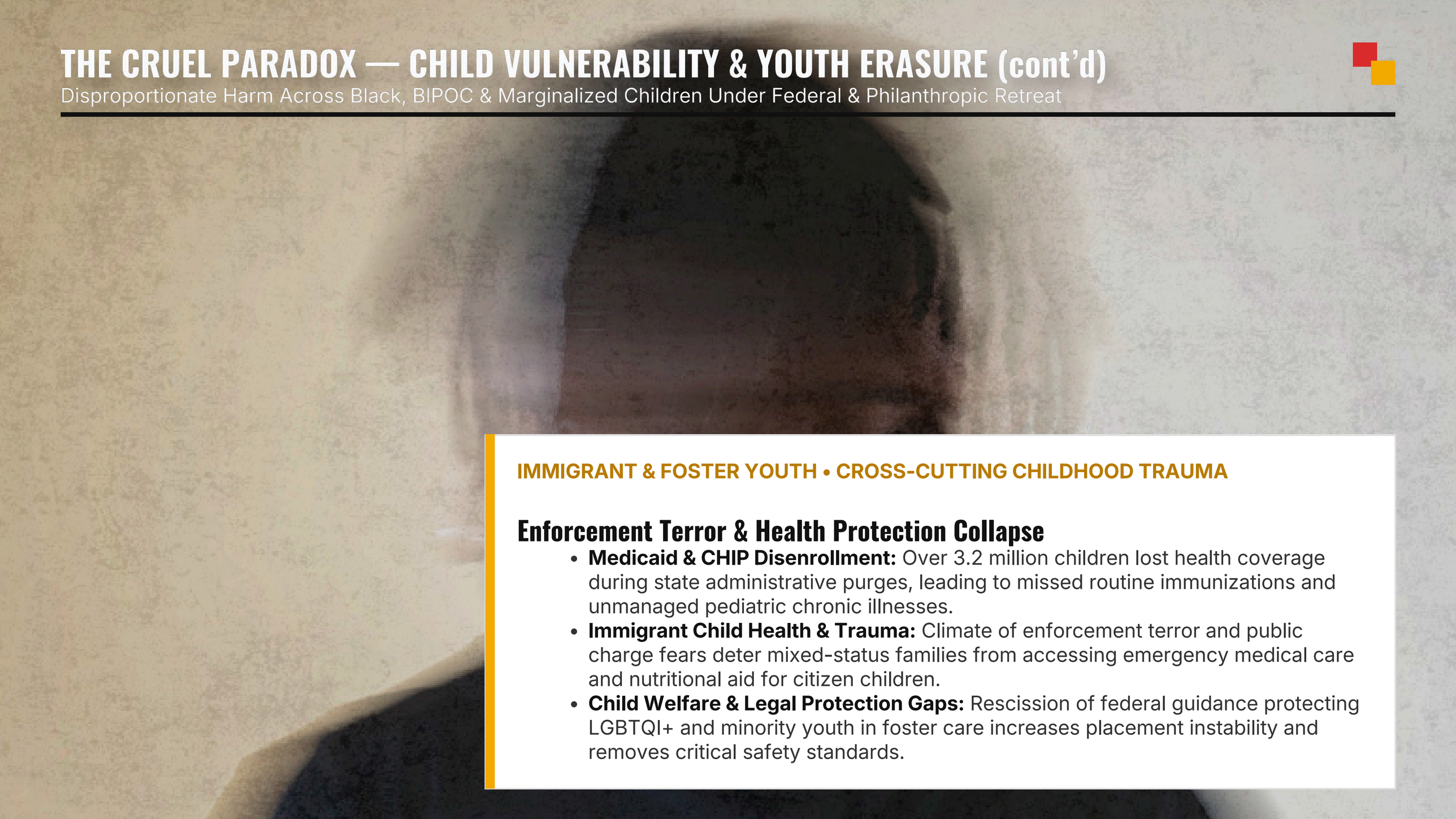
EDUCATION & EARLY CHILDHOOD • SYSTEMIC EQUITY DISMANTLING

Evisceration of Early Learning & K-12 Civil Rights

- **Head Start & Childcare Disinvestment:** Over $1.2B in federal early education grant freezes have shuttered hundreds of safety-net childcare centers, disproportionately impacting low-income working Black mothers.
- **Title I & DEI Backlash in Schools:** Federal threats to Title I funding and state-level bans on equity programming eliminate targeted academic support and anti-bullying protections for BIPOC youth.
- **Child Poverty Explosion:** The expiration of the expanded Child Tax Credit (CTC) pushed 4+ million children back into deep poverty, with Black and Native children experiencing the highest rates.

THE CRUEL PARADOX — CHILD VULNERABILITY & YOUTH ERASURE (cont'd)

Disproportionate Harm Across Black, BIPOC & Marginalized Children Under Federal & Philanthropic Retreat



IMMIGRANT & FOSTER YOUTH • CROSS-CUTTING CHILDHOOD TRAUMA

Enforcement Terror & Health Protection Collapse

- **Medicaid & CHIP Disenrollment:** Over 3.2 million children lost health coverage during state administrative purges, leading to missed routine immunizations and unmanaged pediatric chronic illnesses.
- **Immigrant Child Health & Trauma:** Climate of enforcement terror and public charge fears deter mixed-status families from accessing emergency medical care and nutritional aid for citizen children.
- **Child Welfare & Legal Protection Gaps:** Rescission of federal guidance protecting LGBTQI+ and minority youth in foster care increases placement instability and removes critical safety standards.



02

FEDERAL POLICY SHIFTS & LEGAL BACKLASH

Executive Directives & Enforcement Pressure, Grant Clawbacks, and Chilling Risk Aversion

FEDERAL POLICY SHIFTS: OVERVIEW OF CLIMATE & EQUITY GRANT ROLLBACKS

Federal Grant Retraction Overview

Compounding Frontline Crises: The frontline funding crisis is compounded by sweeping federal policy rollbacks across climate, energy, and equity programs. Historic investments under the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) and Bipartisan Infrastructure Law (BIL) face freezes, rescissions, and hostile administrative hurdles.

Systematic Disinvestment: From EPA environmental justice block grants and DOE community clean energy initiatives to FEMA pre-disaster mitigation lifelines, federal pathways designed to direct at least 40% of benefits to disadvantaged communities (Justice40) are being systematically dismantled or frozen.

CROSS-AGENCY ROLLBACK MATRIX

Multi-Billion Dollar Public Capital Freeze

1. EPA Environmental Justice: $3B in Community Change Grants targeted by legislative clawbacks, administrative delays, and threats to cancel unspent IRA funding.

2. FEMA Hazard Mitigation: Freezes and proposed rescissions to Building Resilient Infrastructure and Communities (BRIC) amidst record 50 billion-dollar disasters.

3. DOE & USDA Rural Energy: Targeted cuts to clean energy deployment loans and rural community resilience grants, paralyzing grassroots solar and grid programs.

4. Justice40 Dismantling: Reversal of equity screening tools and civil rights oversight, stripping disadvantaged communities of priority federal capital access.

CRITICAL SYSTEMIC RISK: THE PUBLIC / PRIVATE DOUBLE BIND

As federal lifelines across EPA, FEMA, and DOE are dismantled or frozen, private philanthropy is simultaneously retreating under legal intimidation. This coordinated capital collapse leaves frontline organizations and vulnerable communities stranded without recourse.

DEEP DIVE: FEMA PRE-DISASTER MITIGATION & RESILIENCE STRIPPING

50 DISASTERS

RECORD BILLION-DOLLAR CLIMATE EVENTS (2024–2025)

While the United States experienced an unprecedented 50 billion-dollar extreme weather disasters over 2024–2025, federal policy proposals and executive rescissions target FEMA's pre-disaster defense lifelines.

Dismantling the Building Resilient Infrastructure and Communities (BRIC) program eliminates proactive risk reduction, abandoning underserved communities to compounding disaster exposure.

PRE-DISASTER CAPITAL FREEZE

BRIC Defunding & Grant Freezes

Targeted freezes and proposed rescissions to BRIC strip local lifelines before extreme storms make landfall.

DISPROPORTIONATE EXPOSURE

Frontline Towns Stranded Without Resources

While affluent cities finance protective seawalls through municipal bonds, under-resourced localities are left without matching funds.

SYSTEMIC EMERGENCY EXHAUSTION

Forced Into Reactive Emergency Traps

Eliminating proactive resilience increases emergency recovery costs tenfold, trapping disaster victims in protracted displacement cycles.

DEEP DIVE: THE $3 BILLION EPA GRANT ROLLBACK

$3 BILLION

COMMUNITY CHANGE GRANTS IN LIMBO

Funded through the Inflation Reduction Act, this historic $3 billion Environmental and Climate Justice Community Change Grants program was designed to empower disadvantaged communities to tackle localized pollution and climate threats. This unprecedented threat serves as a critical flashpoint in the federal policy conflict over historical environmental justice investments.

THREAT MECHANISMS

Legislative & Legal Obstacles

Facing aggressive rollback attempts through legislative riders, budget reconciliation threats, and targeted legal challenges aimed at preventing funds from reaching grassroots organizations.

COMMUNITY IMPLICATIONS

Stripping Essential Resources

If this $3 billion rollback is successful, it will strip vital resources from communities disproportionately impacted by environmental racism.

PROJECT NEUTRALIZATION

Stranded Local Projects

Organizations that spent years preparing to implement local solar projects, air monitoring systems, and green infrastructure will be left without capital, neutralizing a historic investment.

Legal & Regulatory Ruling Landscape

THREATS TO EQUITY-FOCUSED PHILANTHROPY

SCOTUS Precedent & Legal Assault

The landscape for equity-focused philanthropy has been radically destabilized by recent legal and regulatory rulings. Ex. The Supreme Court's 2023 decision in Students for Fair Admissions, which struck down affirmative action in higher education, has been systematically leveraged by conservative legal activists to attack the private sector and philanthropy.

Targeted Lawsuits & State Action

Organizations such as the American Alliance for Equal Rights have launched high-profile lawsuits, most notably against the **Fearless Fund**, arguing that grants explicitly targeted at Black women or other marginalized groups violate the Civil Rights Act of 1866.

These politically motivated lawsuits are designed to set legal precedents that would effectively outlaw race-conscious grantmaking and investments.

REGULATORY ENVIRONMENT TIGHTENING

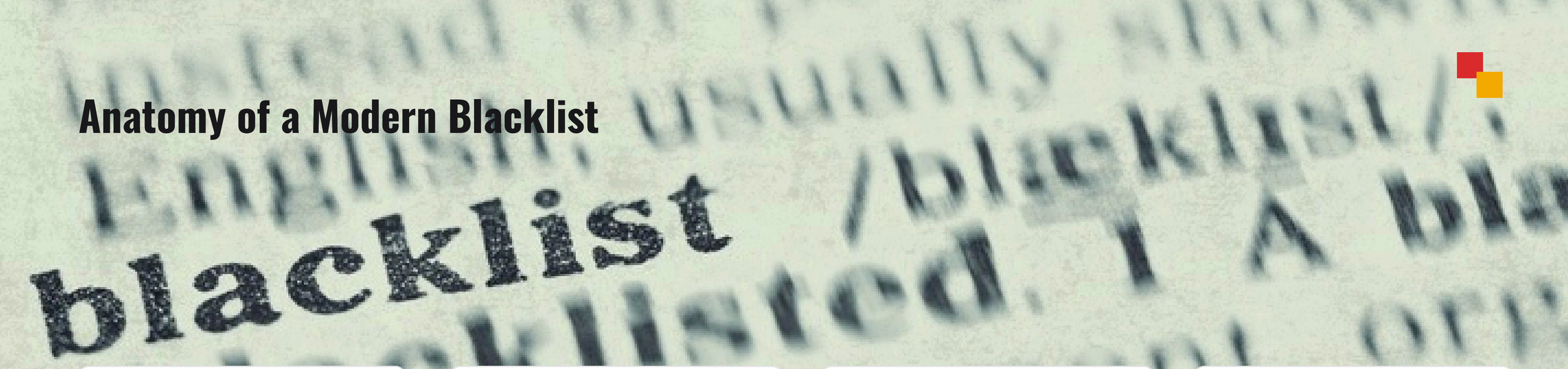
State attorneys general are actively issuing warnings to foundations and corporations regarding their DEI and ESG initiatives. This coordinated legal assault represents an existential threat to the fundamental mechanics of equity-focused philanthropy.

THE ESCALATION

The McCarthyesque Playbook

Moving from anti-DEI lawsuits to false accusations of terrorism against nonprofits and foundations

Anatomy of a Modern Blacklist



01

False Accusations

Baseless terrorism smears against advocacy groups

02

Public Blacklists

Published rosters naming foundations and grantees

03

Asset Threats

Intimidation via account freezes and tax revocation

04

Funder Flight

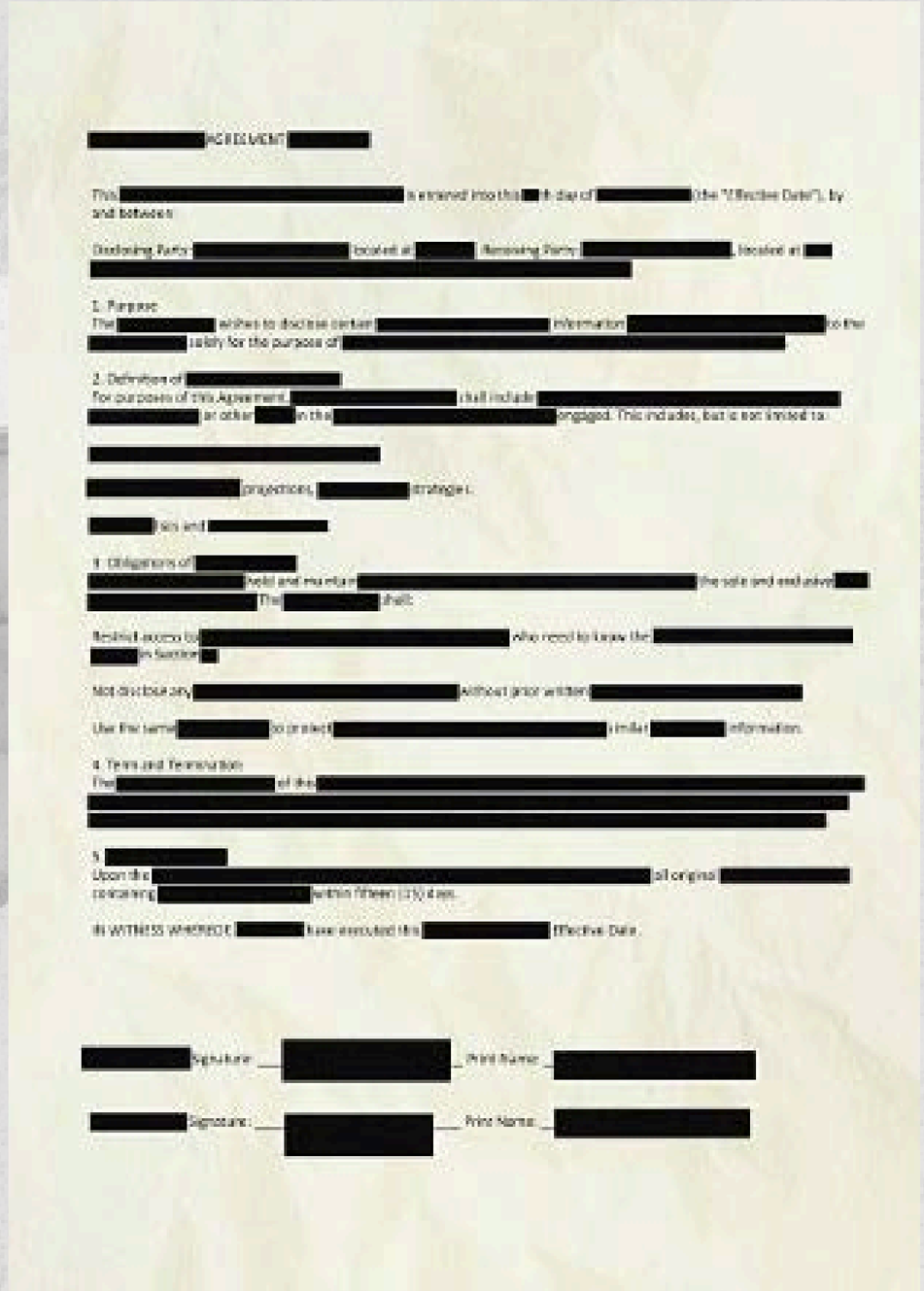
Donors severing ties without due process

Guilt by Association Lists

Weaponized Watchlists

Ideological actors publish coordinated lists naming frontline organizations alongside major philanthropic foundations.

Merely appearing on a list triggers immediate reputational quarantine across the funding ecosystem.



Weaponizing Regulatory Power

Asset Freeze Threats

Unilateral endowment blocking without trial.

501(c)(3) Revocation

Unchecked executive power stripping tax status.

Financial De-Banking

Payment platforms terminating charity accounts.

When Funders Withdraw Support



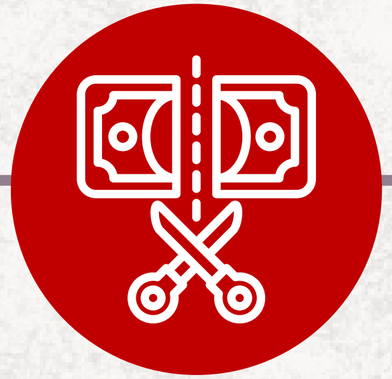
Abrupt Defunding:
Multi-year grants canceled upon accusation alone



Restrictive Clauses:
Vague anti-terror riders paralyzing grassroots work



Fiscal Sponsorship Flight:
Intermediaries dropping vulnerable movement groups



Resource Starvation:
Organizations forced into costly defensive survival

"Anticipatory obedience is a political tragedy. When foundations abandon smeared grantees to protect their own endowments, they do the censors' work for them."

— CIVIL SOCIETY DEFENSE COALITION

Refusing the New McCarthyism



Reject Blacklists

Demand rigorous evidence over political smears.

Legal Defense Pools

Fund rapid-response counsel for targeted groups.

Unrestricted Grants

Lock in multi-year general operating support.

Funder Solidarity

Stand collectively against asset freeze threats.

CHILLING EFFECTS: RISK AVERSION AND PHILANTHROPIC BACKLASH

> "This preemptive capitulation by funders is doing the work of the opposition, dismantling equity infrastructure from the inside out."

KEY THESIS — PREEMPTIVE COMPLIANCE IN PHILANTHROPY

Institutional Risk Aversion

The ongoing legal attacks have successfully generated a profound chilling effect across the philanthropic sector. Rather than mounting a robust defense of their equity commitments, many foundations and corporate giving programs are retreating into extreme risk aversion.

Institutional legal departments are preemptively altering grant guidelines, scrubbing terms like 'BIPOC,' 'racial equity,''systemic racism', and ‘Black’ from their websites and funding criteria to avoid becoming targets of litigation.

Impact on Frontline Funding

This shift toward 'race-neutral' grantmaking effectively abandons the core principles of targeted universalism and ignores the specific, systemic barriers faced by communities of color.

The backlash is resulting in a homogenization of funding, where resources are redirected toward safer, universally palatable causes, leaving frontline racial justice organizations isolated and unfunded.



Courage Over Compliance

Protecting civil society requires standing firm when grantees are targeted



03

PHILANTHROPIC RETREAT & THE 90% FUNDING CLIFF

Broken Pledges and Resource Flight

THE CRISIS IN MOVEMENT AND EQUITY FUNDING

-90%

DROP IN RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING

The philanthropic landscape has experienced a dramatic contraction following the unprecedented surge of commitments made in 2020. While initial pledges suggested a generational shift toward racial equity, the reality has been characterized by a steep decline in sustained support, leaving frontline organizations highly vulnerable.



CONVERGENCE OF CRITICAL CHALLENGES

- **Organizational Closures:** Widespread shutdowns across both national and grassroots levels due to sudden funding depletion.
- **Political & Legal Rollbacks:** Aggressive opposition threatening key resources, including the $3 billion EPA environmental justice grants.
- **Institutional Risk Aversion:** The Supreme Court ruling on affirmative action has created a severe chilling effect among major foundations.

POST-2020 CONTEXT: INITIAL RACIAL EQUITY COMMITMENTS AND PLEDGES

$50B

Pledged Globally Toward Racial Equity

In the immediate aftermath of the racial justice uprisings in the summer of 2020, the corporate and philanthropic sectors made historic public commitments to address systemic inequality.

Tracking organizations estimated that roughly $50 billion was pledged globally toward racial equity and justice initiatives within a matter of months.

This represented an unprecedented mobilization of capital, signaling what many hoped would be a permanent transformation in how institutional wealth engaged with historically marginalized communities.

Institutional Mobilization

Foundations rapidly deployed emergency grants, simplified reporting requirements, and explicitly centered racial justice in their public communications.

Critical Structural Weaknesses

Capital Allocation Mismatch

A closer examination of these massive pledges revealed critical structural weaknesses from the outset.

A significant portion of the $50 billion was allocated as market-rate loans, internal corporate diversity investments, or targeted mortgages, rather than the flexible, unrestricted grant capital required to build lasting nonprofit infrastructure.

This foundational mismatch set the stage for the funding instability that movement organizations are experiencing today.

RACIAL JUSTICE FUNDING OVERVIEW

PUBLIC RELATIONS ANNOUNCEMENTS

THE PROMISES

BILLIONS

Pledged in Headlines

According to research by the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity (PRE), massive public pledges created an unprecedented wave of financial commitment expectations.
The gap between public relations announcements and actual capital deployment, however, has proven to be vast, leaving movement-building organizations unsupported after initial media coverage.

CAPITAL DEPLOYMENT REALITY

THE DISBURSEMENTS

< 5%

Dedicated to Structural Racial Justice

Only a fraction materialized as direct grants to Black-led organizations. Even at peak giving, dedicated structural racial justice funding remained below 5%.
Disbursed funds were heavily restricted to specific program outcomes rather than general operating support.
One-time, reactionary infusions forced nonprofits to rapidly scale operations and staff, creating an unsustainable model when initial institutional guilt subsided.

THE 90% DROP: ANALYZING THE COLLAPSE IN RACIAL JUSTICE GRANTS

90%



COLLAPSE IN DEDICATED GRANTS

Recent tracking indicates a staggering 90% drop in dedicated racial justice grantmaking compared to the peak disbursement levels of the crisis period.

This collapse is not merely a return to pre-2020 baselines; it represents an active divestment from movement infrastructure.

As the immediate public pressure of 2020 faded, the philanthropic sector experienced a catastrophic retraction in its commitment to equity. Foundations that previously championed trust-based philanthropy and explicitly named anti-racism in their strategic goals have quietly allowed those portfolios to sunset.

The expiration of three-year grant cycles initiated in 2020 has triggered a massive fiscal cliff for the sector. Organizations that built critical community infrastructure—ranging from bail funds to mutual aid networks and policy advocacy shops—are now finding their renewal requests denied or renewal amounts drastically reduced..

SYSTEMIC IMPACT

This 90% contraction effectively starves the ecosystem of the working capital necessary to sustain momentum, forcing leaders to pivot from systemic advocacy to basic organizational survival.

KEY FACTORS DRIVING THE POST-2020 FUNDING CLIFF

- **MACROECONOMIC HEADWINDS:** Broader economic challenges, including inflation and market volatility, have provided institutional donors with a rationale to tighten grantmaking budgets and retreat to legacy funding priorities.

- **DONOR FATIGUE & SHIFTING PRIORITIES:** The sector has been heavily impacted by donor fatigue; as media attention shifted away from racial justice toward other global crises, foundation priorities shifted along with it.

- **IDEOLOGICAL BACKLASH:** A marked backlash against DEI (Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion) and anti-racist frameworks has led many corporate and institutional funders to quietly distance themselves from the movement to protect brand reputation.

- **STRINGENT GRANT COMPLIANCE:** The return of compliance-heavy grant reporting requirements disproportionately burdens under-resourced organizations, making it increasingly difficult to secure and retain remaining funding.

Impact Analysis: Disproportionate Effects on BIPOC Communities

Structural Preexisting Deficits

The retraction of philanthropic capital does not impact the nonprofit sector equally; it disproportionately devastates organizations led by and serving Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC).

Historical data consistently shows that BIPOC-led organizations operate with significantly less financial cushion than their white-led counterparts. When the 90% funding drop intersects with these preexisting structural deficits, the result is catastrophic.
These organizations lack the endowments and legacy donor networks required to weather a multi-year capital drought.

BRIDGESPAN GROUP RESEARCH

24%

Smaller Revenues
***Typical for Black-led nonprofits compared to white-led counterparts*.**

76%

Smaller Unrestricted Net Assets
Leaving minimal financial cushion prior to funding cuts.

CUMULATIVE HUMAN & SYSTEMIC TOLL

Consequently, the funding cliff translates directly into the **erosion of essential community services**, the **stalling of critical policy advocacy**, and the **burnout of movement leaders** who are forced to bear the emotional and financial toll of sustaining underfunded mandates in marginalized communities.

PHILANTHROPIC RETREAT — RURAL & BLACK BELT DESERTIFICATION

Preexisting Philanthropic Deficits Collide with Sector Retrenchment to Quell Grassroots Infrastructure

HISTORIC UNDERINVESTMENT

<7%

OF PHILANTHROPIC GIVING REACHES RURAL GROUPS

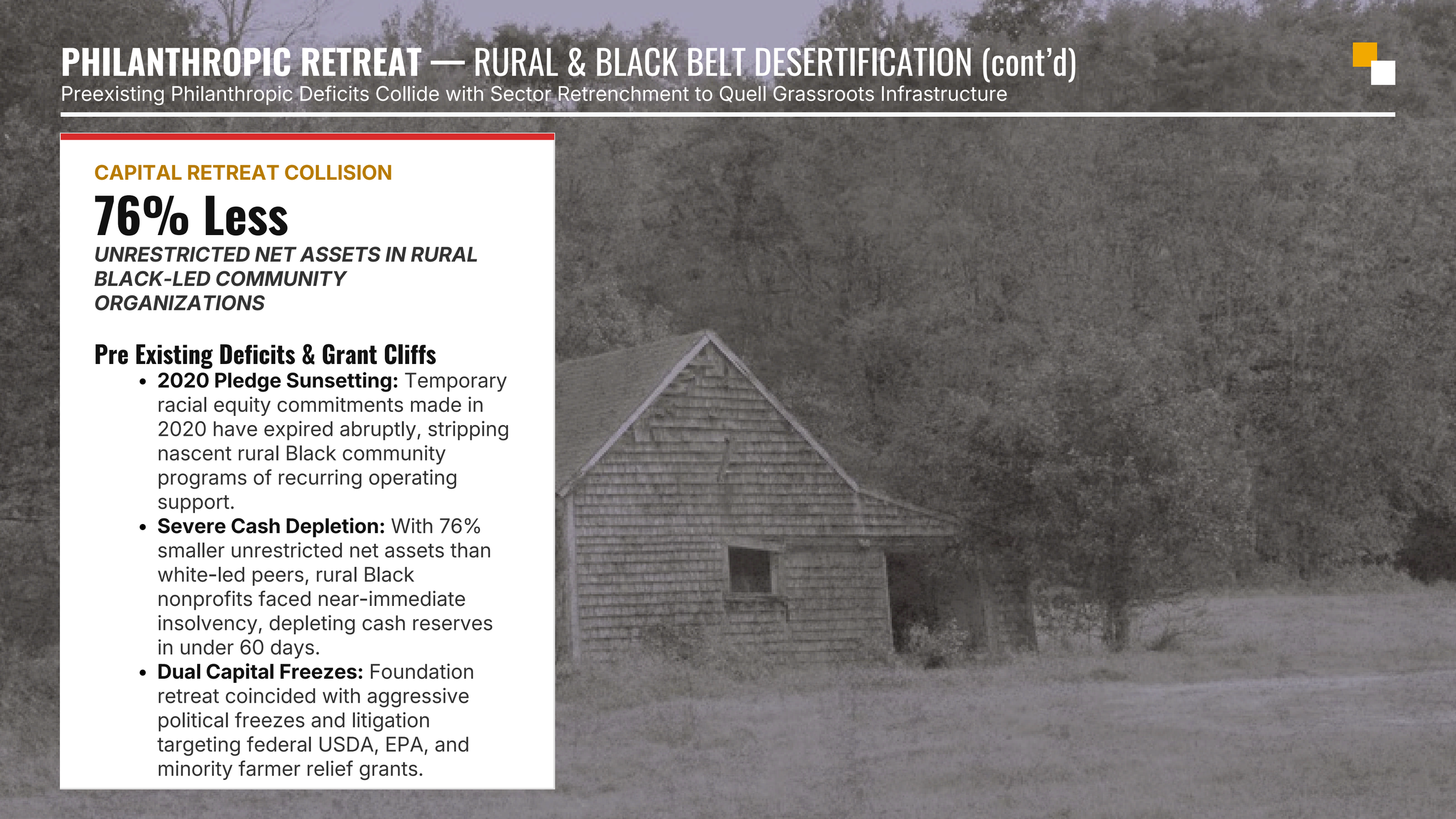
Chronic Foundation Starvation

- **Philanthropic Deserts:** An NCRP study found that 99.5% of foundations make zero grants with "rural" in the grant descriptions, while overall rural areas receive <7% of national dollars despite holding 20% of the population and roughly 80% to 85% of persistent-poverty counties are rural.
- **The Black Belt Disparity: In rural southern Black Belt counties, per capita philanthropic giving plummets to mere pennies on the dollar compared to national metropolitan centers.**
- **Zero Endowment Safety Net:** Lacking corporate headquarters and wealthy regional endowments, rural grassroots groups have zero balance-sheet cushion to absorb external shocks.



PHILANTHROPIC RETREAT — RURAL & BLACK BELT DESERTIFICATION (cont'd)

Preexisting Philanthropic Deficits Collide with Sector Retrenchment to Quell Grassroots Infrastructure



CAPITAL RETREAT COLLISION

76% Less

UNRESTRICTED NET ASSETS IN RURAL BLACK-LED COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS

Pre Existing Deficits & Grant Cliffs

- **2020 Pledge Sunsetting:** Temporary racial equity commitments made in 2020 have expired abruptly, stripping nascent rural Black community programs of recurring operating support.
- **Severe Cash Depletion:** With 76% smaller unrestricted net assets than white-led peers, rural Black nonprofits faced near-immediate insolvency, depleting cash reserves in under 60 days.
- **Dual Capital Freezes:** Foundation retreat coincided with aggressive political freezes and litigation targeting federal USDA, EPA, and minority farmer relief grants.

PHILANTHROPIC RETREAT — RURAL & BLACK BELT DESERTIFICATION (cont'd)

Preexisting Philanthropic Deficits Collide with Sector Retrenchment to Quell Grassroots Infrastructure

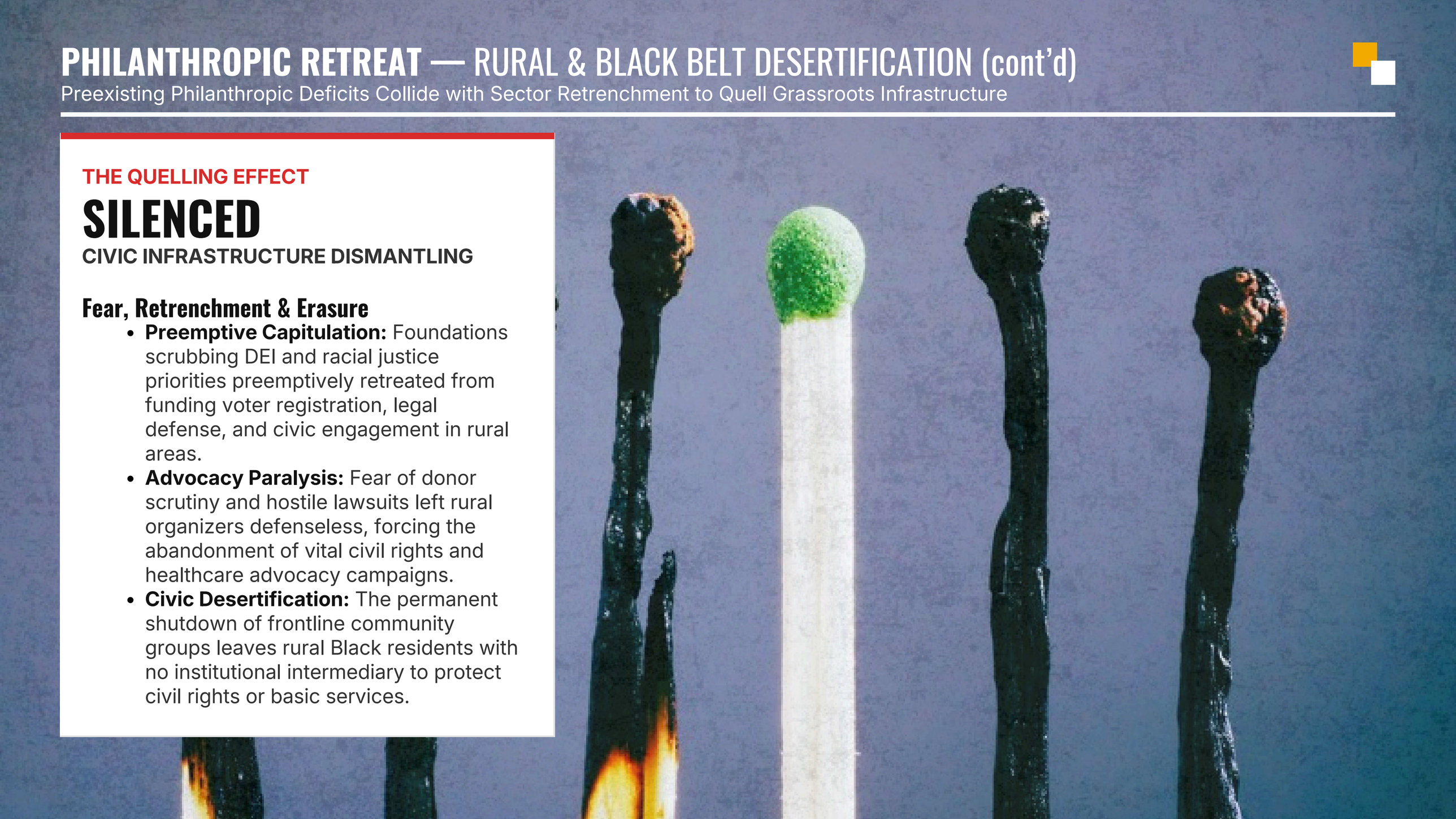
THE QUELLING EFFECT

SILENCED

CIVIC INFRASTRUCTURE DISMANTLING

Fear, Retrenchment & Erasure

- **Preemptive Capitulation:** Foundations scrubbing DEI and racial justice priorities preemptively retreated from funding voter registration, legal defense, and civic engagement in rural areas.
- **Advocacy Paralysis:** Fear of donor scrutiny and hostile lawsuits left rural organizers defenseless, forcing the abandonment of vital civil rights and healthcare advocacy campaigns.
- **Civic Desertification:** The permanent shutdown of frontline community groups leaves rural Black residents with no institutional intermediary to protect civil rights or basic services.



04



INSTITUTIONAL RETRENCHMENT

Historic Anchor Closures and Grassroots Insolvency

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION CLOSURES: BROAD TRENDS ACROSS NONPROFITS



STRUCTURAL CONTRACTION & DESCALING IN THE ADVOCACY SECTOR

SURGING COSTS & EXHAUSTED RELIEF

The combination of evaporating grant revenue, the exhaustion of pandemic-era federal relief funds (such as PPP loans), and the rising costs of operations due to inflation has triggered a wave of closures and severe contractions among national nonprofit organizations.

RETRENCHMENT & REDUCED FOOTPRINTS

We are witnessing a broad trend where established entities that scaled up to meet the dual crises of the pandemic and racial injustice are now facing insurmountable structural deficits. Many national organizations are being forced to execute mass layoffs, shutter regional chapters, and drastically reduce their programmatic footprints.

CRITICAL SYSTEMIC IMPACT

This contraction is particularly acute among organizations focused on systemic reform, such as voting rights advocacy, criminal justice reform, and economic equity. The loss of these national players creates a dangerous vacuum in the advocacy ecosystem, severely diminishing the collective power required to influence federal policy and defend against coordinated attacks on civil rights and environmental protections.

CASE STUDIES: KEY NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FORCED TO SCALE BACK OR CLOSE

Systemic failure in philanthropic capital

The theoretical risk of the funding cliff has materialized into harsh operational realities for several prominent national organizations. Over the past year, major players in the racial justice, digital equity, and criminal justice reform spaces have publicly announced significant restructuring efforts. Organizations that led the charge in bail reform and police accountability have had to lay off substantial portions of their staff and close state-level advocacy offices due to the non-renewal of multi-year foundational grants.

Similarly, national coalitions dedicated to advancing diversity, equity, and inclusion within the corporate and environmental sectors have reported massive revenue shortfalls, forcing them to abandon ambitious national campaigns. These are not instances of mismanagement, but rather the direct result of a systemic failure in philanthropic capital markets. The scaling back of these anchor institutions leaves local affiliates without national coordination, legal support, or the strategic resources necessary to counter well-funded opposition groups.

KEY SECTORS AFFECTED

Racial Justice • Digital Equity • Criminal Justice Reform • Corporate & Environmental DEI

PRIMARY CAUSE OF CONTRACTION

Non-renewal of multi-year foundational grants leading to massive revenue shortfalls across anchor institutions.

SYSTEMIC DOWNSTREAM IMPACT

- **Staff & Office Reductions:** Mass staff layoffs and complete closure of state-level advocacy offices.
- **Abandoned Initiatives:** Discontinuation of major national campaigns in bail reform and police accountability.
- **Vulnerable Local Affiliates:** Local chapters left without legal support, national coordination, or strategic resources.

GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATIONS AT RISK: SEVERE CAPITAL SHORTFALLS

Extinction-Level Pressures on Frontline Groups

While national organizations face restructuring, local grassroots organizations are facing outright extinction. Frontline groups—those operating directly within communities to provide mutual aid, environmental justice advocacy, and direct services—historically operate on razor-thin margins.

The sudden withdrawal of foundation support, coupled with the increased cost of basic goods and services, has pushed these grassroots entities to the brink.

Unlike larger institutions, grassroots groups often lack dedicated development staff or access to high-net-worth individual donors to bridge the gap. They are heavily reliant on foundation grants and intermediary re-granters.

As those funding streams dry up, grassroots leaders are forced to make impossible choices between paying their staff a living wage, keeping their physical community spaces open, or abandoning the vital services their neighborhoods depend upon.

CRITICAL CAPITAL SHORTFALL

< 3 MONTHS

CASH ON HAND

According to the **Nonprofit Finance Fund**, a significant percentage of community-based nonprofits possess less than three months of operating cash reserves.

Without immediate intervention, frontline groups operating directly within communities face total operational shutdown.

THE RIPPLE EFFECT: COMMUNITY IMPACT OF LOCAL GRASSROOTS SHUTDOWNS



SYSTEMIC DISRUPTION & LOSS OF SAFETY NETS

The closure of a grassroots organization is a devastating blow to the social safety net of a community. When a local environmental justice group or mutual aid network shuts down due to lack of funding, the ripple effects are immediate and severe.

Vulnerable populations lose access to essential services such as food distribution, utility assistance, and localized climate resilience programs. Furthermore, the community loses its organized political voice, making it easier for harmful industrial projects or discriminatory policies to be implemented without opposition.

The trust and relationships that these organizations have built over years—often stepping in where government services have failed—are frayed. Rebuilding this localized infrastructure takes decades, meaning the philanthropic sector's short-term retreat will result in long-term, compounding harm to the health, safety, and political power of marginalized communities.

INSTITUTIONAL RETREAT — NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS CLOSED & DOWNSIZED

Severe Federal Disinvestment, Foundation Capitulation & Anti-DEI Litigation Fallout

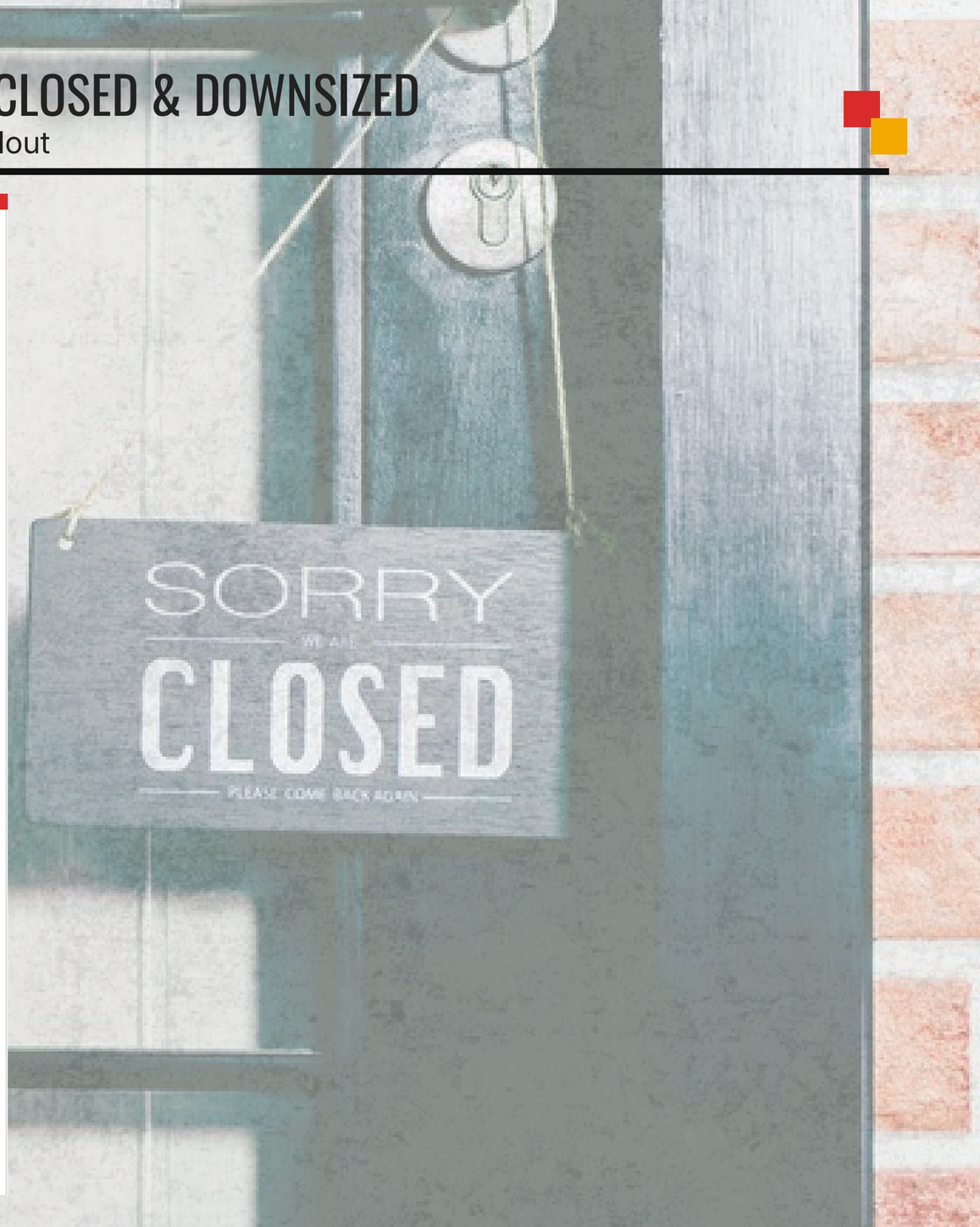
NATIONAL INSTITUTIONAL CLOSURES

5 Major Organizations

NATIONAL ENTITIES CEASED OPERATIONS (2024–2026)

Complete Operational Cessation

- **Equal Justice USA (EJUSA):** After 30 years leading criminal justice reform across 14 cities, EJUSA wound down in Aug. 2025 following DOJ's termination of $2.4M–$3.0M in active OJP grants.
- **Center for Public Integrity (CPI):** Pulitzer Prize-winning investigative nonprofit (30+ yrs exposing racial and environmental inequities) laid off staff in 2024 and formally shuttered in March 2025 as funding collapsed.
- **BU Center for Antiracist Research:** Founded in 2020 by Dr. Ibram X. Kendi, underwent mass layoffs before shutting down in Jan. 2025 as institutional funding evaporated and charter lapsed.
- **Atlanta Civic Circle:** Southern democracy and housing equity newsroom shuttered June 2026, citing an inability to secure operating capital amid philanthropic retreat.
- **Fearless Fund Strivers Contest:** Terminated flagship grant contest for Black women founders in Sept. 2024 to settle Section 1981 lawsuit, establishing a chilling precedent across philanthropy.



INSTITUTIONAL RETREAT — NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS CLOSED & DOWNSIZED (cont'd)

Severe Federal Disinvestment, Foundation Capitulation & Anti-DEI Litigation Fallout

LEGACY & MOVEMENT RETRENCHMENT

100s of Staff

LAID OFF ACROSS HISTORIC CIVIL RIGHTS BODIES

Severe Workforce Reductions

- **Southern Poverty Law Center:** Cut ~80 staff (~25% of union) in June 2024; eliminated Southern Economic Justice team and contracted Learning for Justice amid federal hostility and indictment.
- **Sierra Club:** Eliminated 100+ frontline/represented staff through June 2025 facing a $40M+ deficit; executive director and chief equity officer departed, severely hollowing organizing.
- **Color Of Change:** Laid off 49 staff (~30% of workforce) amid steep post-2020 corporate pledge collapses, an NLRB reinstatement battle, and the resignation of its long-time president.
- **Capital Pride Alliance:** Executed deep operational and programmatic cuts across 2025–2026 driven by corporate DEI pullbacks, soaring municipal security costs, and federal layoffs.
- **The PhD Project:** Federal OCR opened Title VI inquiries into 45 universities in March 2025 over BIPOC fellowships, triggering corporate and university sponsor withdrawals.

FRONTLINE CASUALTIES — GRASSROOTS ANCHORS FORCED TO CLOSE OR HALT

Community Action, Violence Prevention, and Environmental Justice Groups Suffer Direct Collapse



GRASSROOTS ANCHORS SHUTTERED

54-Year

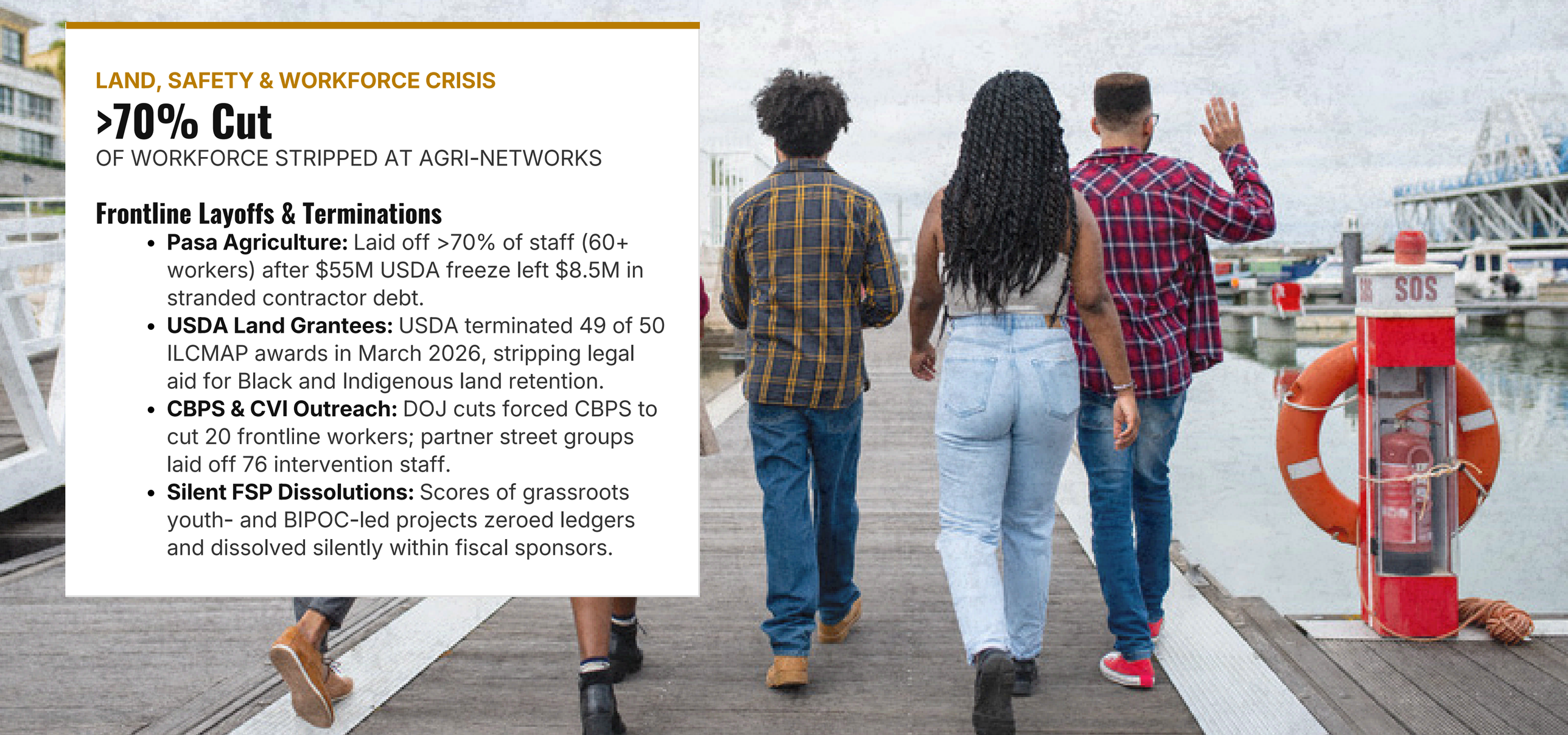
HISTORIC FRONTLINE HUBS FORCED TO SHUT

Frontline Community Closures

- **BRAVE Bay Area:** First US rape crisis center (est. 1971; Oakland) closed Sept. 2025 as DOJ OJP and survivor grants ended.
- **SDC Milwaukee:** 50+ yr Community Action Agency closed in April 2024, laying off entire staff under a $3.5M deficit.
- **Pride Center of VT:** 26-yr LGBTQ+ rural health anchor suspended operations Oct. 2025 facing a $350K grant deficit.
- **Boulder Climate Collab:** Lost >90% ($150K) of budget in May 2025 EPA cuts; halted local coal ash organizing.
- **FLOWS (Boulder):** Lost $250K (100% of 2026 budget) in May 2025 EPA cuts, ending local frontline climate equity work.

FRONTLINE CASUALTIES — GRASSROOTS ANCHORS FORCED TO CLOSE OR HALT (cont'd)

Community Action, Violence Prevention, and Environmental Justice Groups Suffer Direct Collapse



LAND, SAFETY & WORKFORCE CRISIS

>70% Cut

OF WORKFORCE STRIPPED AT AGRI-NETWORKS

Frontline Layoffs & Terminations

- **Pasa Agriculture:** Laid off >70% of staff (60+ workers) after $55M USDA freeze left $8.5M in stranded contractor debt.
- **USDA Land Grantees:** USDA terminated 49 of 50 ILCMAP awards in March 2026, stripping legal aid for Black and Indigenous land retention.
- **CBPS & CVI Outreach:** DOJ cuts forced CBPS to cut 20 frontline workers; partner street groups laid off 76 intervention staff.
- **Silent FSP Dissolutions:** Scores of grassroots youth- and BIPOC-led projects zeroed ledgers and dissolved silently within fiscal sponsors.

FRONTLINE CASUALTIES — GRASSROOTS ANCHORS FORCED TO CLOSE OR HALT (cont'd)

Community Action, Violence Prevention, and Environmental Justice Groups Suffer Direct Collapse



CAPITAL FREEZES & FROZEN BUILDS

$30M+

IN EPA DIRECT COMMUNITY PROJECTS FROZEN

Stranded Projects & Lockouts

- **LAMC & Sustainability Inst.:** $11.4M CCG award frozen; ASAP payment lockout halted 50 Black home repairs and flood mitigation in SC.
- **Lucky Shoals Assoc. (GA):** $19M EPA CCG grant frozen; halted immigrant neighborhood stormwater remediation and resilience hub.
- **CleanAIRE NC:** $500K EPA grant canceled, shutting down rural community air sensor networks across North Carolina.
- **Defunct 'Zombie' Shells:** CBOs unable to afford formal dissolution fees vacated offices and laid off staff, remaining dormant shells.

COMMUNITY HARMS — DIRECT SAFETY NET & SURVIVAL SERVICES LOST

Vulnerable Families Cut Off from Food, Emergency Cash, Heating Relief, and Crisis Support



FOOD HUBS & EMERGENCY AID

120K+

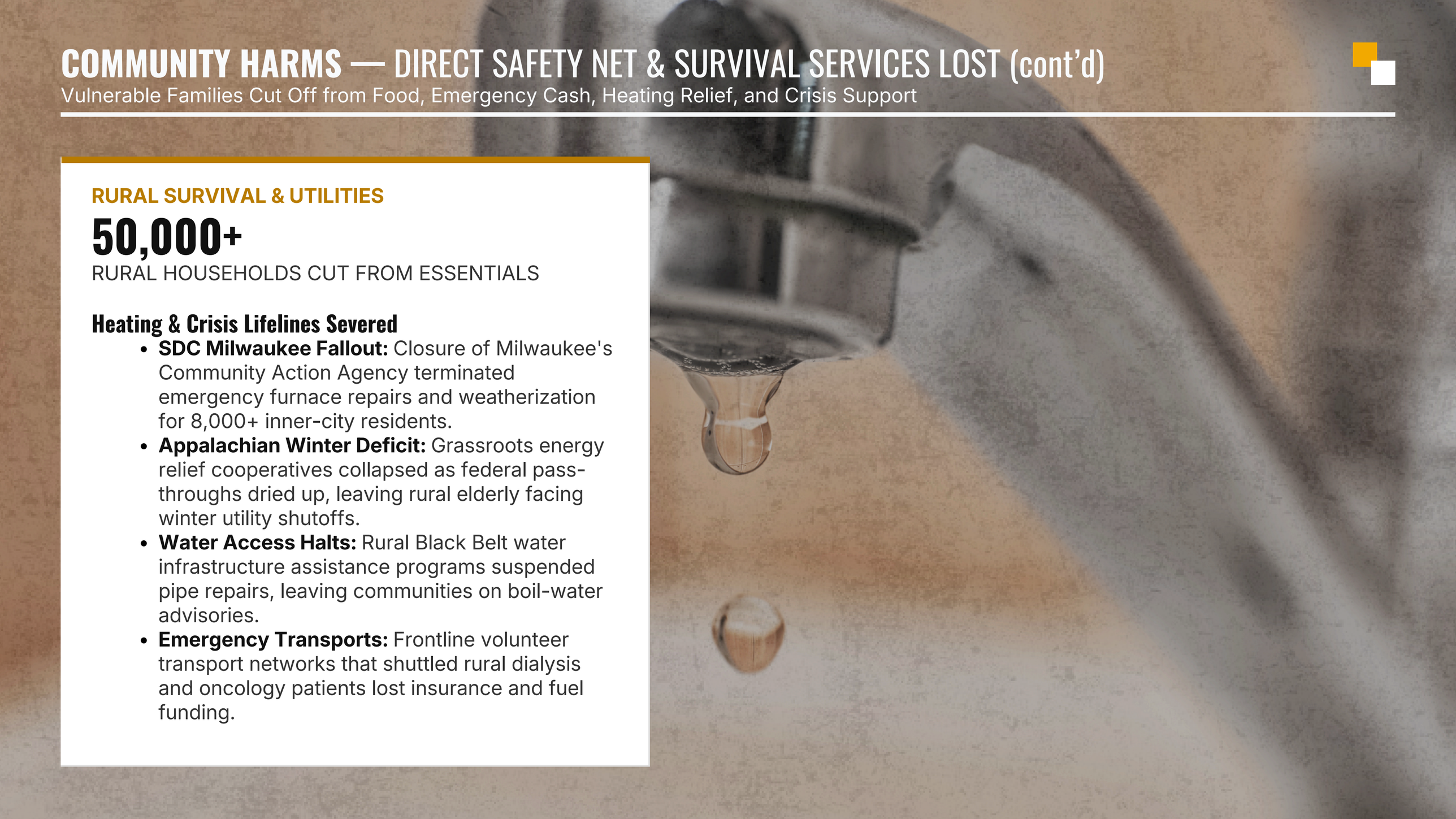
MEALS & DIRECT AID STRIPPED ANNUALLY

Food Pantries & Direct Aid Loss

- **Pantry Shutdowns:** Local food hubs and mutual-aid networks across 18 states shuttered after federal grant freezes exhausted operating cash reserves.
- **Urban Food Deserts:** Grassroots urban farming projects and mobile pantries halted deliveries, stranding over 45,000 low-income households without fresh groceries.
- **Emergency Stipends:** Direct cash assistance programs providing $200–$500 emergency gap payments to single mothers and hourly workers abruptly vanished.
- **Frontline Cold Storage:** Unpaid utility bills forced grassroots pantries to decommission commercial freezers, spoiling stockpiled community protein.

COMMUNITY HARMS — DIRECT SAFETY NET & SURVIVAL SERVICES LOST (cont'd)

Vulnerable Families Cut Off from Food, Emergency Cash, Heating Relief, and Crisis Support



RURAL SURVIVAL & UTILITIES

50,000+

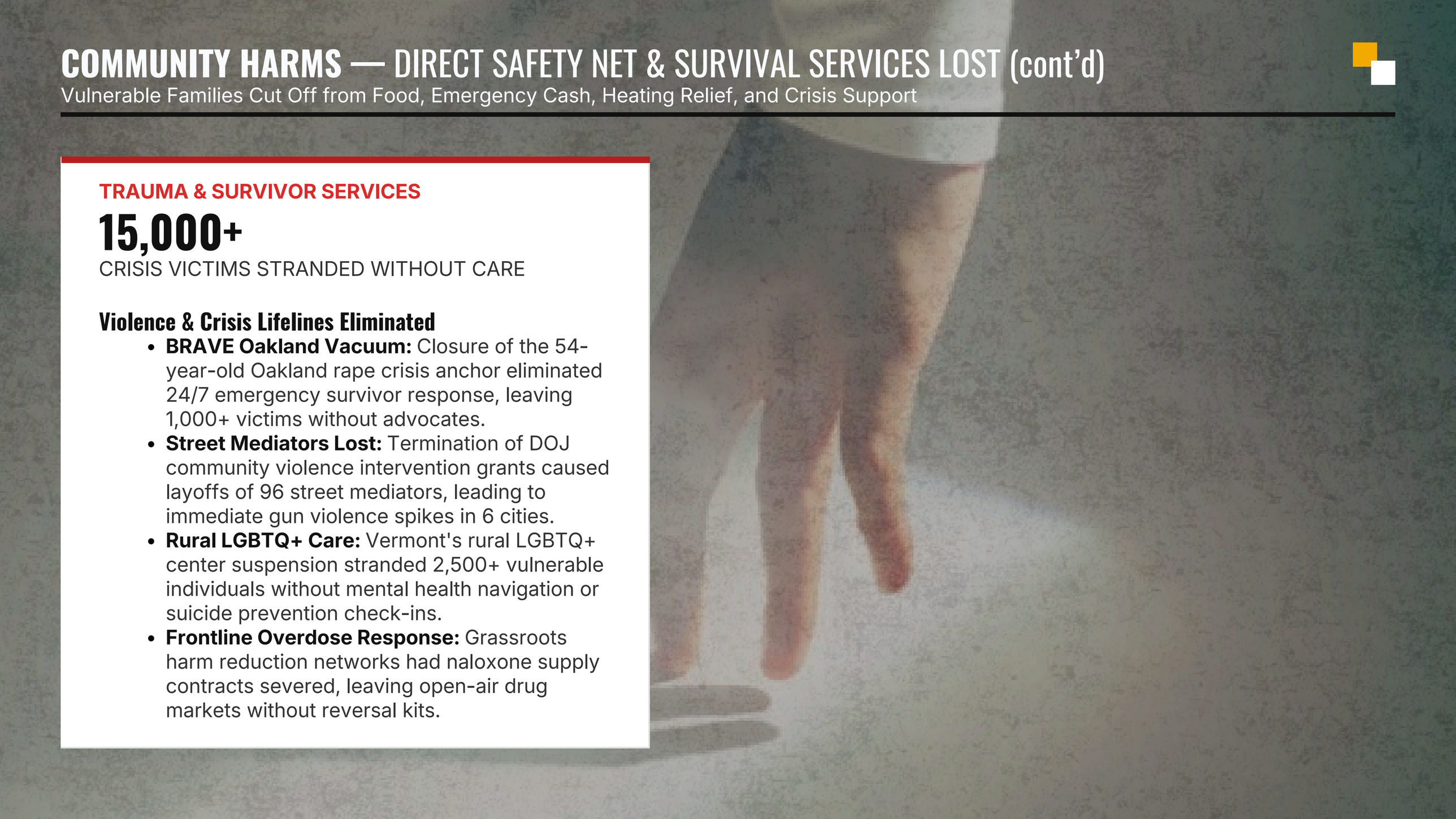
RURAL HOUSEHOLDS CUT FROM ESSENTIALS

Heating & Crisis Lifelines Severed

- **SDC Milwaukee Fallout:** Closure of Milwaukee's Community Action Agency terminated emergency furnace repairs and weatherization for 8,000+ inner-city residents.
- **Appalachian Winter Deficit:** Grassroots energy relief cooperatives collapsed as federal pass-throughs dried up, leaving rural elderly facing winter utility shutoffs.
- **Water Access Halts:** Rural Black Belt water infrastructure assistance programs suspended pipe repairs, leaving communities on boil-water advisories.
- **Emergency Transports:** Frontline volunteer transport networks that shuttled rural dialysis and oncology patients lost insurance and fuel funding.

COMMUNITY HARMS — DIRECT SAFETY NET & SURVIVAL SERVICES LOST (cont'd)

Vulnerable Families Cut Off from Food, Emergency Cash, Heating Relief, and Crisis Support



TRAUMA & SURVIVOR SERVICES

15,000+

CRISIS VICTIMS STRANDED WITHOUT CARE

Violence & Crisis Lifelines Eliminated

- **BRAVE Oakland Vacuum:** Closure of the 54-year-old Oakland rape crisis anchor eliminated 24/7 emergency survivor response, leaving 1,000+ victims without advocates.
- **Street Mediators Lost:** Termination of DOJ community violence intervention grants caused layoffs of 96 street mediators, leading to immediate gun violence spikes in 6 cities.
- **Rural LGBTQ+ Care:** Vermont's rural LGBTQ+ center suspension stranded 2,500+ vulnerable individuals without mental health navigation or suicide prevention check-ins.
- **Frontline Overdose Response:** Grassroots harm reduction networks had naloxone supply contracts severed, leaving open-air drug markets without reversal kits.

INDIVIDUAL & CIVIC CASUALTIES — LEGAL DEFENSE, CLIMATE RESILIENCE & VOICE ERASURE

Land Loss, Toxic Contamination Unchecked, and the Destruction of Grassroots Advocacy

INDIVIDUAL LEGAL CASUALTIES

49 of 50

LAND RETENTION LEGAL TEAMS TERMINATED

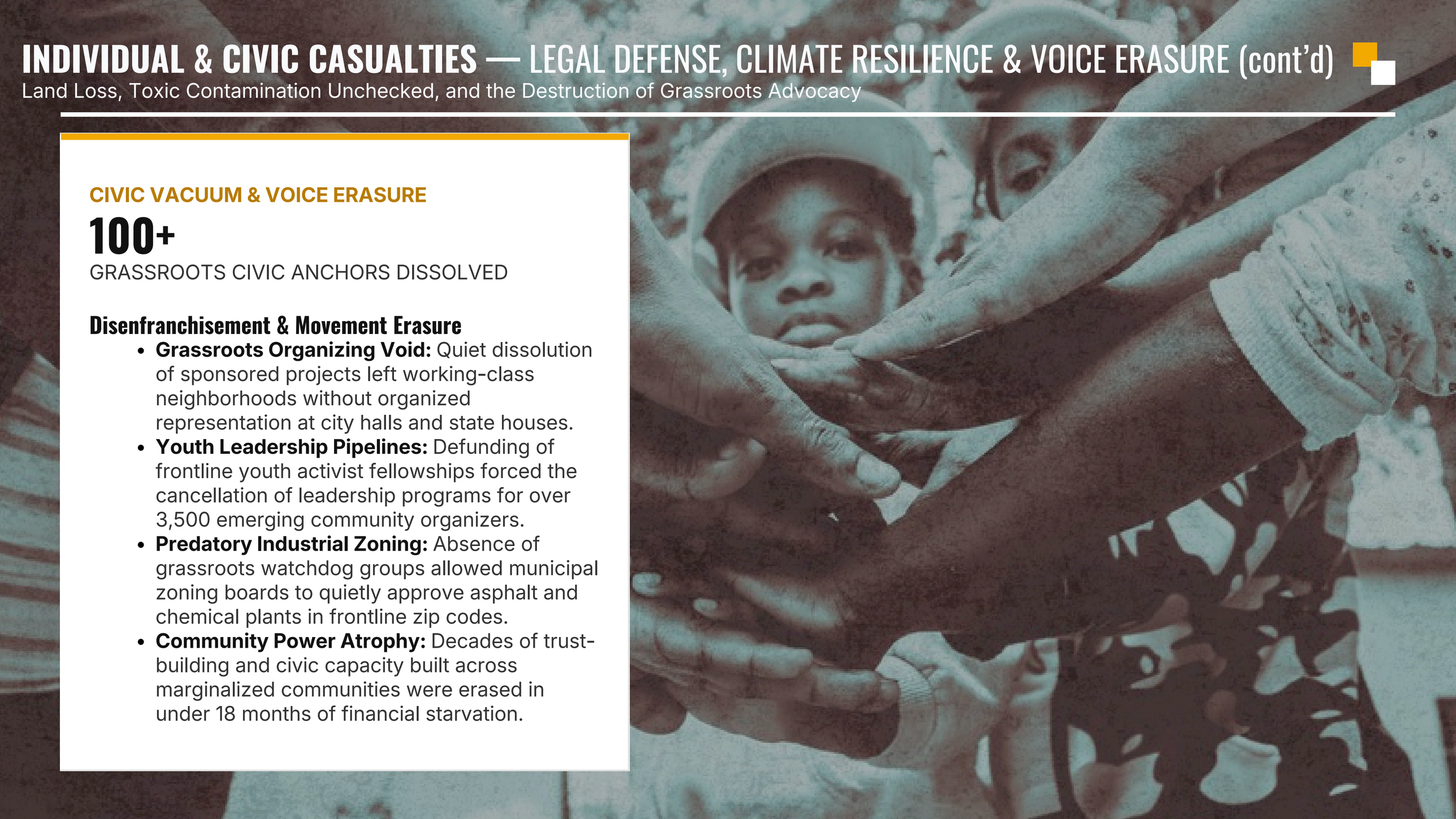
Predatory Seizures & Legal Stripping

- **Heirs' Property Defense:** Termination of USDA ILCMAP stripped legal representation from hundreds of Black farm families fighting partition sales and predatory deed seizures.
- **Eviction Defense Halts:** Grassroots tenant legal funds dissolved, leaving low-income renters facing landlord summonses without legal representation in 14 metro areas.
- **Deportation Defense Void:** Frontline immigrant defense collectives halted asylum docket support, stranding thousands of unaccompanied youth in removal proceedings.
- **Worker Wage Recovery:** Grassroots worker centers suspended wage theft and labor abuse dockets, allowing unscrupulous contractors to withhold millions in unpaid wages.



INDIVIDUAL & CIVIC CASUALTIES — LEGAL DEFENSE, CLIMATE RESILIENCE & VOICE ERASURE (cont'd)

Land Loss, Toxic Contamination Unchecked, and the Destruction of Grassroots Advocacy



CIVIC VACUUM & VOICE ERASURE

100+

GRASSROOTS CIVIC ANCHORS DISSOLVED

Disenfranchisement & Movement Erasure

- **Grassroots Organizing Void:** Quiet dissolution of sponsored projects left working-class neighborhoods without organized representation at city halls and state houses.
- **Youth Leadership Pipelines:** Defunding of frontline youth activist fellowships forced the cancellation of leadership programs for over 3,500 emerging community organizers.
- **Predatory Industrial Zoning:** Absence of grassroots watchdog groups allowed municipal zoning boards to quietly approve asphalt and chemical plants in frontline zip codes.
- **Community Power Atrophy:** Decades of trust-building and civic capacity built across marginalized communities were erased in under 18 months of financial starvation.

05



DEEPER DIVE ON THE SECONDARY CRISIS: MOVEMENT WORKERS & LABOR DISPLACEMENT

Mass Layoffs and Economic Erasure

THE SECONDARY CRISIS — MOVEMENT WORKERS LAID OFF

Pre-Cut Paycheck Living, Chronic Wage Sacrifices & The Erasure of Severance and Safety Nets

ASSET LIMITED, INCOME CONSTRAINED, EMPLOYED (ALICE) THRESHOLD DEFICIT

35%

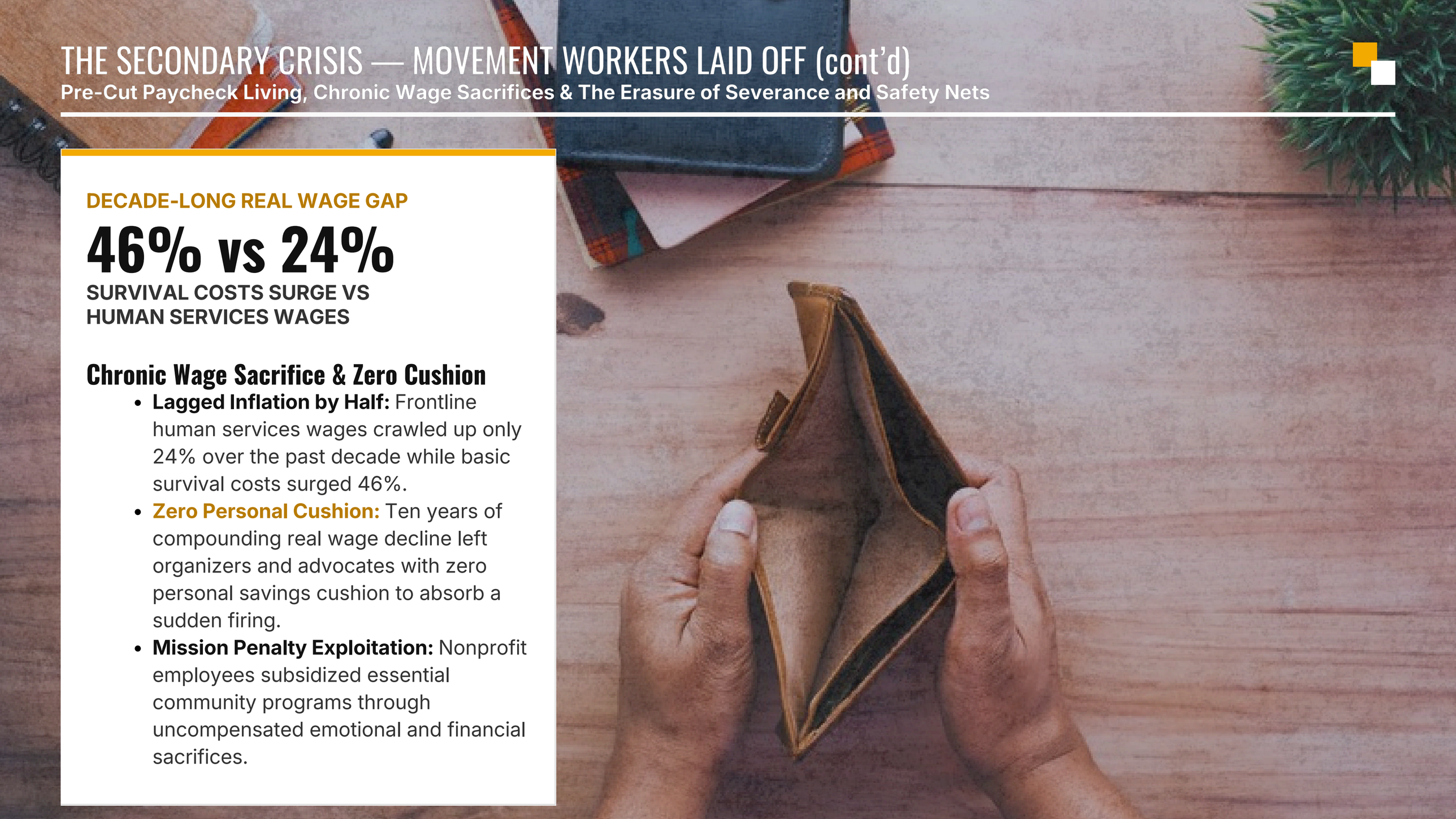
OF BLACK NONPROFIT WORKERS LIVE BELOW ALICE THRESHOLD

Living Paycheck to Paycheck Before Cuts

- **22,700–28,000+ Layoffs:** Mass wave of nonprofit terminations hit a workforce already in acute financial distress.
- **22% Sector-Wide Deficit:** Over one in five nonprofit workers earned below the ALICE threshold before cuts began.
- **Racial Disparities:** 35% of Black and 34% of Hispanic nonprofit staff could not afford housing, food, childcare, or healthcare (Independent Sector / ALICE).

THE SECONDARY CRISIS — MOVEMENT WORKERS LAID OFF (cont'd)

Pre-Cut Paycheck Living, Chronic Wage Sacrifices & The Erasure of Severance and Safety Nets



DECADE-LONG REAL WAGE GAP

46% vs 24%

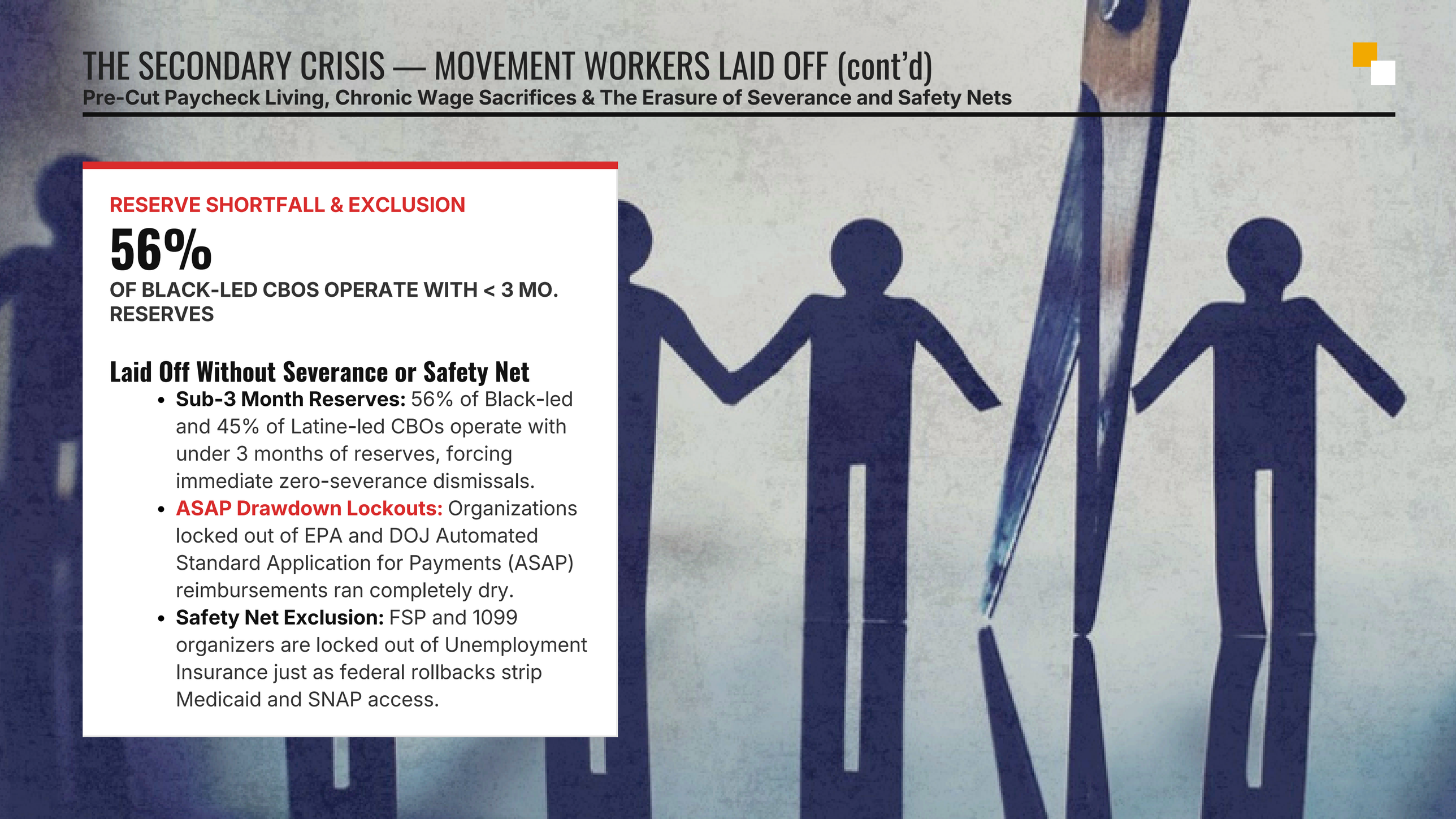
SURVIVAL COSTS SURGE VS HUMAN SERVICES WAGES

Chronic Wage Sacrifice & Zero Cushion

- **Lagged Inflation by Half:** Frontline human services wages crawled up only 24% over the past decade while basic survival costs surged 46%.
- **Zero Personal Cushion:** Ten years of compounding real wage decline left organizers and advocates with zero personal savings cushion to absorb a sudden firing.
- **Mission Penalty Exploitation:** Nonprofit employees subsidized essential community programs through uncompensated emotional and financial sacrifices.

THE SECONDARY CRISIS — MOVEMENT WORKERS LAID OFF (cont'd)

Pre-Cut Paycheck Living, Chronic Wage Sacrifices & The Erasure of Severance and Safety Nets



RESERVE SHORTFALL & EXCLUSION

56%

OF BLACK-LED CBOS OPERATE WITH < 3 MO. RESERVES

Laid Off Without Severance or Safety Net

- **Sub-3 Month Reserves:** 56% of Black-led and 45% of Latine-led CBOs operate with under 3 months of reserves, forcing immediate zero-severance dismissals.
- **ASAP Drawdown Lockouts:** Organizations locked out of EPA and DOJ Automated Standard Application for Payments (ASAP) reimbursements ran completely dry.
- **Safety Net Exclusion:** FSP and 1099 organizers are locked out of Unemployment Insurance just as federal rollbacks strip Medicaid and SNAP access.

THE SECONDARY CRISIS — FLOODED JOB MARKET & ERASURE

Civil Service Flooding, RIF Displacements, and the Severe Disproportionate Toll on Black Women

FEDERAL CIVIL SERVICE DISPLACEMENT

308,000+

FEDERAL JOBS ELIMINATED IN 2025 RIFS

Displaced civil servants flood a shrinking mission-driven job market, outcompeting grassroots staff.

BLACK WOMEN LIVELIHOOD CRISIS

95,371

BLACK WOMEN'S FEDERAL JOBS LOST (31% OF ALL CUTS)

300,000+ Black women pushed out of the labor force, spiking Black unemployment to 7.6% in Q1 2026.

THE SECONDARY CRISIS — FLOODED JOB MARKET & ERASURE (cont'd)

Civil Service Flooding, RIF Displacements, and the Severe Disproportionate Toll on Black Women

RACIALIZED ECONOMIC VIOLENCE •
COMPOUNDING LABOR MARKET EXCLUSION

Severe Disproportionate Erasure of Black Women's Livelihoods

- **Disproportionate Burden:** Black women bore nearly one-third (31%) of all federal job terminations in 2025, losing 95,371 public sector careers (American Prospect; EPI).
- **Labor Force Exit:** Over 300,000 Black women were driven completely out of the active labor force, directly fueling a rise in Black unemployment to 7.6% in Q1 2026.
- **Intersectional Economic Threat:** Because Black women disproportionately anchor both public service and grassroots movement leadership, their targeted elimination hollows out community resilience.



THE SECONDARY CRISIS — FLOODED JOB MARKET & ERASURE (cont'd)

Civil Service Flooding, RIF Displacements, and the Severe Disproportionate Toll on Black Women

LABOR COLLISION • 308,000+ FEDERAL RIFS FLOOD MISSION-DRIVEN MARKET

Displaced Movement Workers Compete Against Downsized Federal Bureaucrats

- **Massive RIF Elimination:** Through sweeping Reductions in Force (RIFs) and systematic agency dismantling, 308,000+ federal civil servants were eliminated in 2025.
- **Vanishing Job Opportunities:** Displaced organizers are forced to compete for a vanishing pool of mission-driven positions against highly credentialed federal program officers and policy analysts.
- **Grassroots Talent Crowding Out:** Community-embedded organizers lacking formal bureaucratic pedigrees face near-total shutouts from surviving national foundation and policy positions.



THE SECONDARY CRISIS • ORGANIZED LABOR UNDER SIEGE

The Crushing of Labor Unions

1M+

Federal Workers Stripped of Union Rights

NLRB Halted

First Black woman Chair Gwynne Wilcox fired Jan. 2025, paralyzing quorum.

1. Federal Bargaining Outlawed (EO 14251)

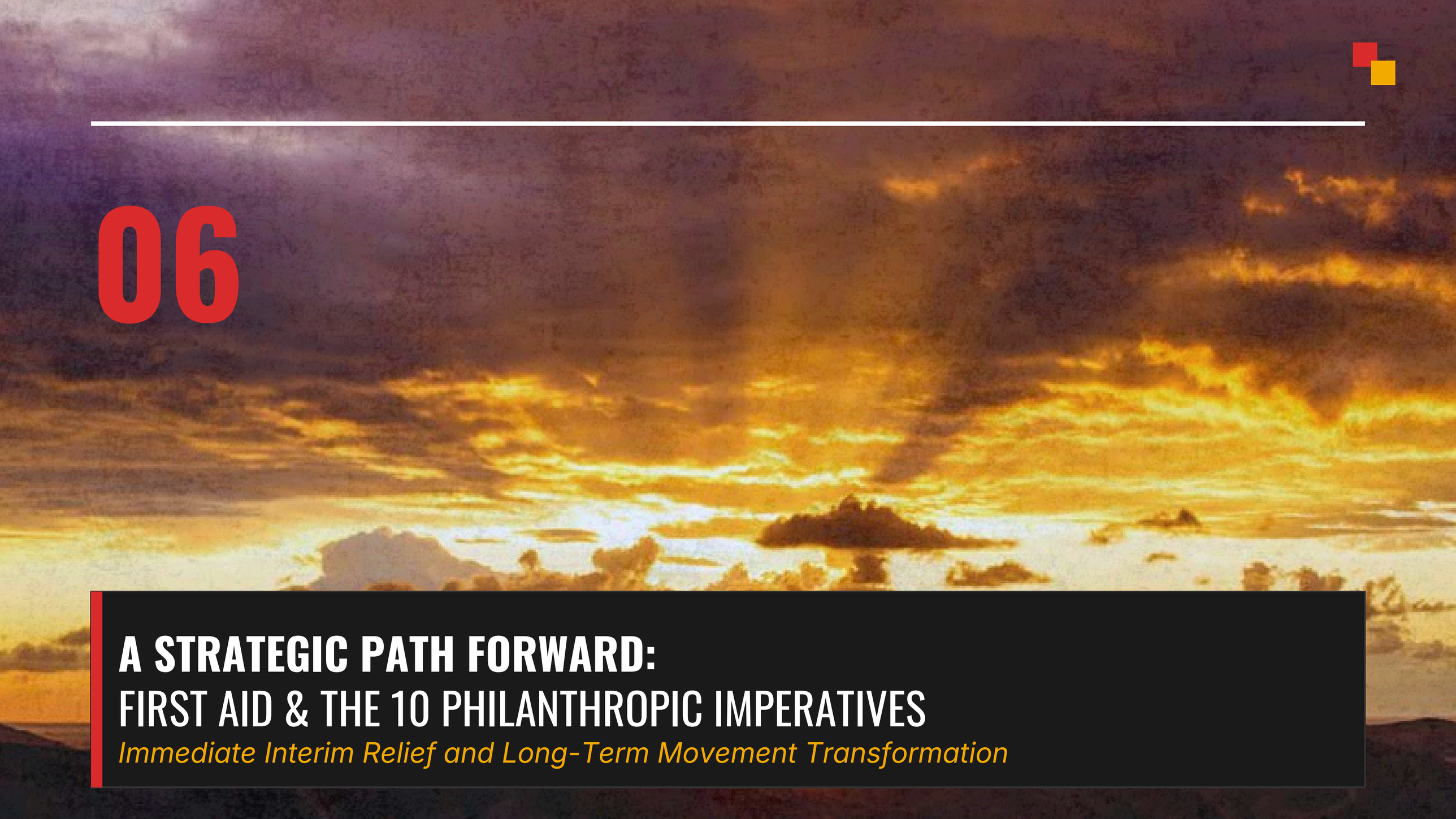
March 2025 executive order canceled union contracts across 40+ agencies including EPA, VA, DOJ, and HHS.

2. Private & Nonprofit Labor Enforcement Frozen

Decapitating NLRB quorum blocked enforcement against retaliatory firings and union-busting.

3. Movement Bargaining Units Hollowed Out

90% funding cliff triggered 25%–30% layoffs across unionized anchors (Southern Poverty Law Center, Sierra Club, Color Of Change).



06

A STRATEGIC PATH FORWARD:
FIRST AID & THE 10 PHILANTHROPIC IMPERATIVES

Immediate Interim Relief and Long-Term Movement Transformation

A STRATEGIC PATH FORWARD: FIRST AID & THE 10 PHILANTHROPIC IMPERATIVES

Interim First Aid: Rapid emergency stabilization for movement workers and groups—severance, healthcare continuity, direct relief, and retention bridge fellowships.

The 10 Philanthropic Imperatives: A ten-part structural mandate to end boom-and-bust funding, transfer wealth, protect frontline leaders, and integrate democratic power into racial and climate justice.

IMPERATIVE I
Double Endowment Spend
Surge payout past the 5% legal floor to 10%+ minimum annual spend, mobilizing capital for urgent crises.

IMPERATIVE II
Innovative Capital
Deploy 100% of the balance sheet via zero-interest loans, PRIs, and guarantees to absorb risk.

IMPERATIVE III
Frontline Intermediaries
Fund existing movement funding infrastructure rather than doubling foundation staff.

IMPERATIVE IV
Multi-Year Unrestricted$$
Guarantee 3–5 year general operating grants with streamlined, trust-based reporting.

IMPERATIVE V
Movement Infrastructure
Endow groups permanently and capitalize shared operational, legal, and tech backbones.

A STRATEGIC PATH FORWARD: FIRST AID & THE 10 PHILANTHROPIC IMPERATIVES *cont'd*

Interim First Aid: Rapid emergency stabilization for movement workers and groups—severance, healthcare continuity, direct relief, and retention bridge fellowships.

The 10 Philanthropic Imperatives: A ten-part structural mandate to end boom-and-bust funding, transfer wealth, protect frontline leaders, and integrate democratic power into racial and climate justice.

IMPERATIVE VI
Convening & Power
Underwrite regular spaces for co-strategizing and fund skilled facilitation and radical mediation.

IMPERATIVE VII
Support Rural Work
Overcome philanthropic desertification where 33% of rural counties receive zero grantmaker funding.

IMPERATIVE VIII
Movement Wellness
Sustain BIPOC women organizers with healthcare, rest sabbaticals, and dedicated healing stipends.

IMPERATIVE IX
Stand in Solidarity
Defend grantees against legal attacks, Section 1981 lawsuits, and state suppression.

IMPERATIVE X
Integrate Democracy
Embed voting rights, policy reform, and systemic power building into justice portfolios.

INTERIM FIRST AID TO HEMORRHAGING MOVEMENT PEOPLE AND ORGANIZATIONS

"EMERGENCY INTERIM STABILIZATION WHILE EMBARKING ON LONG-TERM REFORM"

- Rapid deployment of survival capital to protect displaced workers and endangered grassroots organizations from immediate collapse.
- Protecting 28,000+ displaced movement workers and frontline leaders from systemic economic shock.

Emergency Worker Relief

Severance & Health Lifelines

Deploy rapid-response emergency grants to grassroots CBOs and fiscally sponsored projects to fund 3 to 6 months of severance and continuity healthcare.

Covers extended COBRA premiums, mental health support, and living stipends for organizers locked out of frozen portals.

Grassroots Cash Assistance

1099 & Frontline Worker Pools

Partner with trusted frontline intermediaries to distribute immediate direct cash assistance to contractors, part-time organizers, and navigators ineligible for standard unemployment insurance.

Delivers unconditional bridge cash to avert acute utility shutoffs, evictions, and personal financial ruin.

Movement Talent Preservation

Bridge Fellowships & Anchors

Underwrite emergency paid 'Movement-in-Residence' fellowships and funded institutional anchor roles to retain veteran organizers, policy advocates, and community leaders within the ecosystem.

Prevents catastrophic generational talent drain and preserves essential community organizing relationships.

PHILANTHROPIC IMPERATIVE I: DOUBLE ENDOWMENT PAYOUT TO 10%+ MINIMUM ANNUAL SPEND

Double Endowment Spend to 10%+ Minimum

Endowed foundations must break past the statutory 5% payout minimum and immediately double annual spending to at least 10% for the next five years. With frontline organizations facing unprecedented federal funding freezes, state-level attacks, and legal intimidation, hoarding capital to ensure perpetual institutional longevity actively compromises the movements philanthropy exists to protect.

The first imperative recognizes that true endowment stewardship requires prioritizing community survival over perpetual principal growth. Endowments were built to weather generational crises—and the current political and economic emergency demands an extraordinary mobilization of foundation wealth to protect frontline democracy and social justice movements.



PHILANTHROPIC IMPERATIVE I: DOUBLE ENDOWMENT PAYOUT TO 10%+ MINIMUM ANNUAL SPEND *cont'd*



STATUTORY FLOOR BREAK

10%+ Minimum Annual Spend

Move beyond the legacy 5% IRS minimum to deploy foundation wealth during unprecedented systemic retrenchment.

CAPITAL LIBERATION

Preserve Movements, Not Principal

Realign investment stewardship to prioritize community survival and democracy protection over perpetual balance sheet growth.

CRISIS BACKSTOP

5-Year Emergency Mobilization

Commit doubled spending over a 5-year horizon to prevent organizational extinction during unprecedented federal retrenchment.

PHILANTHROPIC IMPERATIVE II: INNOVATIVE CAPITAL DEPLOYMENT & RISK MITIGATION

THE CORE MANDATE

DEPLOY 100% OF THE BALANCE SHEET

Foundations must move beyond the 5% required payout to act as a true financial backstop for movement organizations.

By absorbing risk and deploying non-extractive capital, philanthropy insulates nonprofits from public funding volatility and builds lasting operational resilience.

1. PROGRAM-RELATED INVESTMENTS & ZERO-INTEREST LOANS
Provides movement organizations with essential non-extractive liquidity required to acquire physical real estate assets or bridge delayed government grant payments.

2. LOAN GUARANTEES & RISK ABSORPTION
Shifts financial risk away from vulnerable nonprofits onto foundation balance sheets, giving grassroots organizations the leverage needed to build tangible institutional wealth.

3. EMERGENCY RELIEF RESERVES
Establishes rapid-response capital pools to shield key movement organizations from sudden macroeconomic shocks, grant cycles, and unexpected losses of federal funding.

PHILANTHROPIC IMPERATIVE III: FUND FRONTLINE FUNDING INFRASTRUCTURE VIA TRUSTED INTERMEDIARIES

Fund Frontline Infrastructure & Intermediaries

Institutional philanthropy must deploy significant capital directly into existing, trusted frontline funding infrastructure. Frontline intermediaries hold authentic grassroots relationships, deep landscape knowledge, and a proven ability to deploy capital effectively, rapidly, and impactfully across vulnerable communities.

Rather than expanding internal foundation staffing, Instead, institutional wealth must flow directly through trusted intermediaries. For example working at the intersection of racial and climate justice— National Black Environmental Justice Network, Frontline Justice Fund, The Solutions Project, Climate and Energy Equity Fund, The Hive Fund for Gender and Climate Justice, NDN Collective, Communities First, Collectrify, Movement Strategy Center, US Climate Action Network, RE-AMP, EJ Movement Fellowship, The People's Hearings, Black Freedom Fund, Thousand Currents, Grassroots International, and other allied movement funds. Leveraging their established, frontline grounded, distribution channels is a more impactful alternative to adding bureaucratic overhead to foundation staffing.



PHILANTHROPIC IMPERATIVE III: FUND FRONTLINE FUNDING INFRASTRUCTURE VIA TRUSTED INTERMEDIARIES *cont'd*



RELY ON TRUSTED INTERMEDIARIES

Deep Grassroots Relationships

Channel resources through proven movement intermediaries with deep field relationships, lived experience, and established distribution networks.

AVOID BUREAUCRATIC EXPANSION

Movement Capacity vs. Expanded Fdn Staff

Resist creating costly new internal foundation programs and layers of bureaucracy. Leverage existing infrastructure rather than replicating it internally.

STRATEGIC CAPITAL DEPLOYMENT

Move Money Rapidly to Frontlines

Empower frontline intermediaries to make rapid, responsive grants that directly meet urgent community priorities and counter systemic retrenchment.

PHILANTHROPIC IMPERATIVE IV: MULTI-YEAR UNRESTRICTED FUNDING AND FLEXIBLE GRANTS

The Imperative for Flexible Capital

The fourth imperative is the immediate and widespread adoption of multi-year, unrestricted funding models. The practice of restricting grants to specific projects or imposing rigid, one-year cycles actively harms organizations by preventing them from building cash reserves, responding to emerging crises, or investing in staff retention.

Funders must trust the leadership of frontline organizations to allocate resources where they are most needed. Unrestricted resources, guaranteed over a period of minimally three to five years, is the bedrock of organizational stability. It allows nonprofits to move out of a constant state of survival and into a posture of strategic planning and proactive advocacy.

CORE FOUNDATION

Minimally 3-5 Year Guaranteed Horizon

Provides the bedrock of organizational stability, enabling a movement away from constant survival toward strategic planning and proactive advocacy.

OPERATIONAL FREEDOM

General Operating Support

Mitigates heavy administrative burdens on grantees and respects frontline leadership to direct resources dynamically to emerging crises.

SYSTEMIC REALITY

Beyond 12-Month Deliverables

Acknowledges that complex, long-term racial and environmental justice work cannot be artificially packaged into restrictive 12-month grant cycles.

PHILANTHROPIC IMPERATIVE V: PERMANENT RESOURCING OF MOVEMENT INFRASTRUCTURE

"PERMANENT RESOURCING OF MOVEMENT INFRASTRUCTURE"

Ending the cycle of boom-and-bust funding through sustainable community wealth

Movement Capitalization

Endow Frontline Groups

To achieve lasting impact, philanthropy must capitalize permanent endowments for frontline organizations and trusted intermediary funds.

Transferring wealth directly into frontline funding infrastructure allows movements to deploy resources independently of boom-and-bust donor cycles.

Operational Backbone

Deep Sector Investments

Calls for robust funding in HR systems, cybersecurity, leadership development, and wellness programs.

Targeted operational support prevents activist burnout and secures organizational capacity over time.

Resilient Movement

Intersectional Power

Prioritizing long-term sustainability builds an interconnected movement ecosystem across frontline fights.

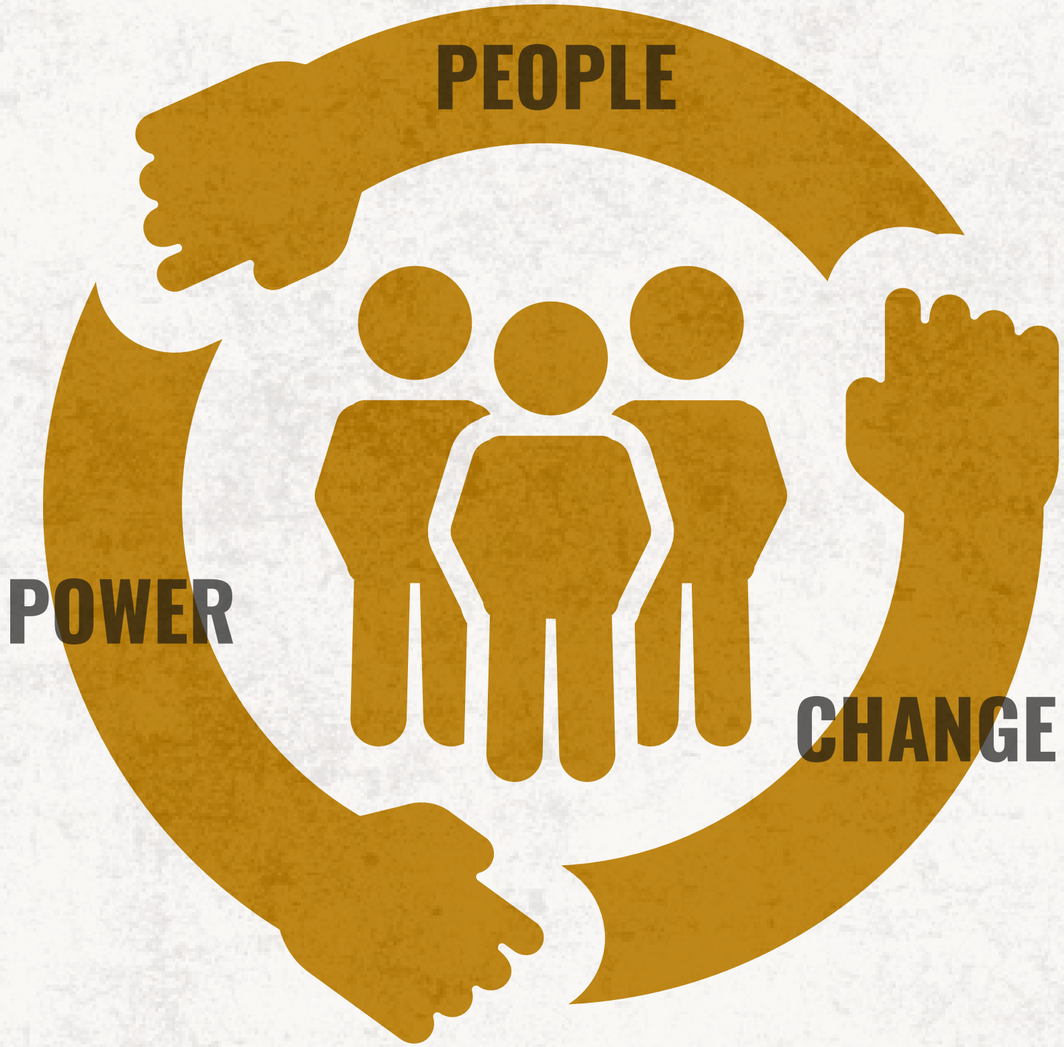
Explicitly supports intersectional movement building—including immigrant rights, LGBTQQIAP rights, disability justice, racial justice, and climate defense—to ensure that solutions incorporate all and to strengthen collective durability against political and legal rollbacks.

PHILANTHROPIC IMPERATIVE VI: SUPPORTING CONVENING, CO-STRATEGIZING & COLLECTIVIZING POWER

Building Cross-Sectoral Alignment & Power

Frontline and grassroots movements are systematically fragmented by short-term, competitive grant models that force organizations to vie for scarce resources in isolation. To counter coordinated opposition, philanthropy must resource shared spaces for organizers to convene, co-strategize, and collectivize power building.

Critically, this requires dedicated funding for skilled facilitation and radical mediation. Building durable coalitions cross-culturally and across intersections—explicitly connecting immigrant rights, LGBTQQIAP rights, disability justice, racial justice, and climate fights—requires intentional conflict resolution and trust-building infrastructure. Movement unity cannot be forged without resourced spaces for principled alignment.



PHILANTHROPIC IMPERATIVE VI: SUPPORTING CONVENING, CO-STRATEGIZING & COLLECTIVIZING POWER *cont'd*



STRATEGIC CONVENINGS

Dedicated Alignment Spaces

Underwrite recurring national and regional gathering spaces where frontline leaders can align agendas, co-create strategy, and build unified power without funder interference.

RADICAL MEDIATION

Skilled Facilitation & Healing

Direct funding specifically toward professional mediation and transformative facilitation to heal fractures, build cross-cultural solidarity, and navigate complex sectoral tensions.

COLLECTIVE POWER

Unified Ecosystem Leverage

Transform isolated single-issue nonprofits into an interconnected power-building bloc capable of shaping municipal, state, and national policy landscapes.

PHILANTHROPIC IMPERATIVE VII: SUPPORTING RURAL-FOCUSED WORK

End Rural Philanthropic Desertification

This vacuum leaves rural Black, Indigenous, and working-class communities vulnerable to industrial pollution, healthcare collapse, and unchecked political disenfranchisement. This imperative demands a direct structural reallocation of philanthropic capital: establishing dedicated rural grantmaking pools, capitalizing rural community foundations, and sustaining multi-county organizing hubs.

THE CAPITAL GAP

3%–7% Funding vs 20% Population

Correct the severe geographic maldistribution of wealth by establishing proportional giving targets that reflect actual rural population size and compounding economic needs.

PHILANTHROPIC DESERTS

33% Counties With Zero Local Funders

Provide operational capital to seed and build local community funds and regional endowments across the one-third of rural America left without any local philanthropic infrastructure.

RURAL JUSTICE ANCHORS

Multi-County Organizing Hubs

Deliver multi-year core support to rural healthcare, farmworker, and environmental justice networks fighting corporate extraction across the Black Belt, Appalachia, and Indigenous lands.

Prevent Self-Sacrifice at the Frontlines

Movement sustainability is impossible without directly investing in the human beings who anchor social justice. Across civil rights, environmental justice, and community advocacy, BIPOC women carry an extraordinary and disproportionate burden—holding together organizations, frontline communities, and families under relentless pressure.

Philanthropy has historically extracted labor from BIPOC women while treating their personal survival as disposable. This imperative mandates proactive resourcing for movement wellness: mental healthcare, somatic healing, restorative sabbaticals, and collective care stipends so that frontline leaders do not sacrifice their health, well-being, and lives for community survival.

PHILANTHROPIC IMPERATIVE VIII: MOVEMENT WELLNESS — SUSTAINING BIPOC WOMEN LEADERS *cont'd*



DIRECT WELLNESS STIPENDS

Unconditional Restorative Care

Provide flexible wellness grants directly to BIPOC women organizers for somatic therapy, healthcare premiums, childcare assistance, and emergency respite care.

REST & SABBATICALS

Institutionalized Sabbatical Funds

Underwrite fully funded 3- to 6-month sabbaticals with interim leadership bridge grants, ensuring organizational continuity while leaders recover from cumulative trauma.

ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

Collective Care Infrastructure

Require and fund humane organizational working standards: 4-day workweeks, generous leave policies, and trauma-informed governance that reject activist martyrdom.

PHILANTHROPIC IMPERATIVE IX: STAND IN SOLIDARITY & SUPPORT LEGAL DEFENSE

FUND LEGAL DEFENSE & COLLECTIVE SURVIVAL

The ninth imperative focuses strictly on legal defense. Philanthropy can no longer retreat into risk aversion in the face of coordinated Section 1981 attacks and state AG inquiries. Foundations must actively fund legal defense infrastructure and support collectivizing among grantees in the context of legal defense.

When organizations face coordinated litigation, they must not be forced to drain program budgets on survival counsel. Funders must pool shared legal defense reserves, stand publicly beside defendants, and collectivize defense strategies across the movement ecosystem.

CASE IN POINT: SYSTEMIC LITIGATION

When an organization such as the **Fearless Fund** is sued, movement leaders must not be litigated out of existence. Philanthropy must provide immediate legal support and refusal to capitulate to intimidation tactics.

ACTIONABLE PROTECTION MECHANISMS

1. POOL FOUNDATION RESOURCES

Foundations must collaborate to create shared pools of funding, providing grantees with immediate access to top-tier legal counsel, crisis communications support, and strategic defense planning.

2. STAND PUBLICLY WITH GRANTEES

Funders must stand explicitly alongside grantees during public lawsuits, refusing to dilute their commitment to racial justice or surrender to intimidation and political pressure.

3. COLLECTIVIZE LEGAL DEFENSE NETWORKS

Support collectivizing in the context of legal defense: create mutualized legal shields, shared defense briefs, and coordinated litigation strategy so no single grassroots group stands isolated.

PHILANTHROPIC IMPERATIVE X: INTEGRATING DEMOCRACY INTO RACIAL & CLIMATE JUSTICE

Support Building Power to Dismantle Corporatocracy and Build a Truly Inclusive Democracy

Siloing racial justice, climate defense, and democracy into isolated philanthropic portfolios is a strategic error. The rollback of environmental protections, the clawback of federal equity grants, and the legal assault on civil rights are not separate phenomena; they are driven by moneyed interests and corporatocracy that have captured state and federal institutions.

Without building grassroots political power and transforming policies and systems, communities will continue struggling under the crushing weight of corporate capture. Philanthropy must integrate democratic power building, voting rights, and civic advocacy into every racial and climate grantmaking portfolio.



PHILANTHROPIC IMPERATIVE X: INTEGRATING DEMOCRACY INTO RACIAL & CLIMATE JUSTICE *cont'd*



DISMANTLING SILOS

Unified Justice & Democracy Portfolios

Remove bureaucratic grant walls between climate, racial equity, and civic engagement portfolios to enable seamless, cross-movement power building.

GRASSROOTS CIVIC POWER

Year-Round Community Organizing

Fund continuous, year-round power-building, civic engagement and grassroots policy advocacy rather than treating voting and democratic participation as episodic election-year cycles.

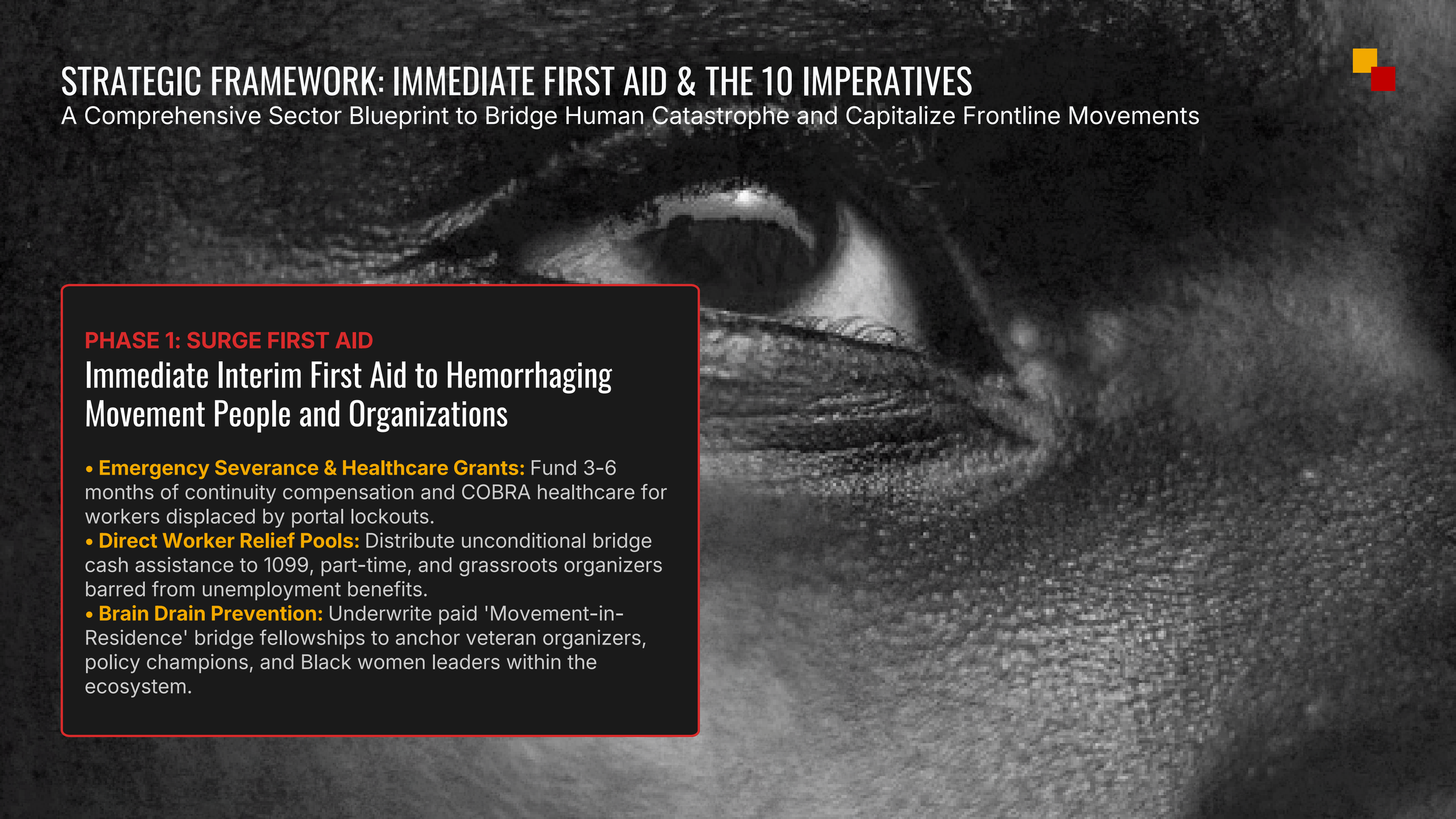
POLICY & SYSTEMIC CHANGE

Challenging Moneyed Interests

Resource frontline communities to challenge corporate capture, demand corporate accountability, and enact structural policy reforms that outlast changing political administrations.

STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK: IMMEDIATE FIRST AID & THE 10 IMPERATIVES

A Comprehensive Sector Blueprint to Bridge Human Catastrophe and Capitalize Frontline Movements



PHASE 1: SURGE FIRST AID

Immediate Interim First Aid to Hemorrhaging Movement People and Organizations

- **Emergency Severance & Healthcare Grants:** Fund 3-6 months of continuity compensation and COBRA healthcare for workers displaced by portal lockouts.
- **Direct Worker Relief Pools:** Distribute unconditional bridge cash assistance to 1099, part-time, and grassroots organizers barred from unemployment benefits.
- **Brain Drain Prevention:** Underwrite paid 'Movement-in-Residence' bridge fellowships to anchor veteran organizers, policy champions, and Black women leaders within the ecosystem.

STRATEGIC FRAMEWORK: IMMEDIATE FIRST AID & THE 10 IMPERATIVES

A Comprehensive Sector Blueprint to Bridge Human Catastrophe and Capitalize Frontline Movements

cont'd

PHASE 2: LONG-TERM TRANSFORMATION

The 10 Philanthropic Imperatives

1. Double Endowment Payout: Double annual spend to 10%+ minimum over 5 years; preserve movements, not principal.
2. Innovative Capital & Risk Mitigation: Deploy 100% of balance sheet via PRIs and loan guarantees.
3. Frontline Infrastructure: Fund trusted intermediaries (Frontline Justice Fund, Solutions Project, Hive Fund, Collectrify, USCAN, RE-AMP) without doubling foundation staff.
4. Multi-Year Unrestricted Funding: 3-5 year general operating support.
5. Movement Infrastructure: Permanent community endowments and operational backbones.
6. Convening & Radical Mediation: Fund spaces for co-strategizing and cross-cultural unity.
7. Supporting Rural Work: End rural desertification (33% zero-funder counties; <7% funding).
8. Movement Wellness: Dedicated sabbaticals and mental health care for BIPOC women.
9. Support Legal Defense: Collective defense funds and mutualized Section 1981 protection.
10. Integrating Democracy: Power building to challenge corporatocracy and moneyed interests.

07

Exemplars Implementing the 10 Pillars

Principled Philanthropic Leadership Modeling Interim First Aid and the 10 Structural Philanthropic Imperatives (2024–2026)

FROM MANDATE TO PRACTICE

Philanthropic Proof of Concept

The 10 Imperatives are active practices modeled today by bold institutions breaking past risk aversion.

10%+

Doubled Endowment Payouts

Freedom Together, Cal Endowment, NY Foundation, Hopper Dean Foundation

$150M+

Emergency Surge Capital

MacArthur 6% surge; Boulder $2.5M replacement

100%

Balance-Sheet Alignment

Kataly REF, Kresge, Heron, Seed Commons

$17B+

Unrestricted Multi-Year Gifts

Yield Giving, Ford BUILD, Mellon, Libra

Core Takeaway: Funder exemplars distribute resources directly into movement infrastructure without soaking up resources expanding internal bureaucracy.

Institutional Funders Enacting First Aid & Imperatives I–II

Framework Pillar	Core Funder Mandate	Institutional Funder Exemplars (Capital Deployers)	How They Model the Mandate
Phase 1: Interim First Aid	Distribute emergency severance (3–6 mos.), extended COBRA healthcare, 1099 cash relief pools (via hubs like TCLP), and "Movement-in-Residence" bridge fellowships.	**Boulder County Climate Equity Fund Collaborative**, **Freedom Together Foundation**, **MacArthur Foundation**, **Kataly Foundation**, **Libra Foundation**	Pooled rapid replacement capital (e.g., Boulder's $2.5M fund for defunded EPA EJ grantees in July 2025) and deployed unconditional emergency stabilization to prevent FSP and CBO payroll collapse.
Imperative I: Double Endowment Spend	Break past the 5% IRS floor to deploy a **10%+ minimum annual spend** over a 5-year crisis horizon; preserve movements, not principal.	**Freedom Together Foundation** (10%), **The California Endowment** (10%), **New York Foundation** (10%), **Hopper Dean Foundation** (10%+)**The Scherman Foundation** (10%), **Wallace Global Fund** (10%–20%+), **Kataly Foundation** (10%–15%+), **Foundation for Child Development** (9%), **MacArthur Foundation** (6% / +$150M surge)	**Freedom Together** and **The California Endowment** doubled payouts to 10% in 2025–2026; **MacArthur** broke past 5% to inject +$150M; **New York**, **Scherman**, **FCD**, and **Wallace Global** proved 9%–20%+ crisis surges protect movements without destroying endowments.
Imperative II: Innovative Capital & Risk Mitigation	Distribute 100% of the balance sheet via zero-interest loans, PRIs, loan guarantees, debt forgiveness, and balance-sheet amnesty to absorb frontline risk.	**Kataly Foundation** (Restorative Economies Fund), **The Kresge Foundation** ($400M+ Social Investment Practice), **MacArthur Foundation** (Catalytic Capital), **Heron Foundation**, **Jessie Smith Noyes Foundation**, **McKnight Foundation**	Absorb frontline balance-sheet risk through unfunded credit guarantees, CDFI loan-loss reserves, 0% bridge loans, and proactive conversion of debt into grants when external shocks or EPA ASAP lockouts hit.

Institutional Funders Enacting Imperatives III–VI

Framework Pillar	Core Funder Mandate	Institutional Funder Exemplars (Capital Deployers)	How They Model the Mandate
Imperative III: Fund Frontline Intermediaries	Channel wholesale capital into trusted movement intermediaries (TCLP, Hive Fund, Solutions Project, Frontline Justice Fund, NDN Collective, Collectrify, USCAN, RE-AMP) and fund pre-vetted TCGM/TCTAC pipelines with zero new RFPs.	**Waverley Street Foundation**, **Bezos Earth Fund**, **MacKenzie Scott (Yield Giving)**, **The Kresge Foundation**, **Freedom Together Foundation**, **Chanel Foundation**, **Libra Foundation**, **Surdna Foundation**, **Builders Initiative**, **Energy Foundation**, **Pisces Foundation**	Distribute 7- and 8-figure wholesale, multi-year grants directly into movement-governed re-granters and defer to their grassroots vetting rather than expanding internal foundation staff.
Imperative IV: Multi-Year Unrestricted Funding	Guarantee 3–5+ year general operating support (GOS) with streamlined, trust-based reporting; immediately unrestrict active project grants.	**MacKenzie Scott (Yield Giving)**, **Libra Foundation**, **General Service Foundation**, **Claneil Foundation**, **Whitman Institute**, **Ford Foundation (BUILD)**	Provide multi-year, unrestricted operating capital ($17B+ via Yield Giving) and replace compliance-heavy applications with oral check-ins or existing board reports.
Imperative V: Movement Infrastructure	Capitalize permanent endowments for frontline groups and fund shared operational backbones (HR, union-scale wages, cybersecurity, fiscal sponsorship).	**Ford Foundation (BUILD Program)**, **Andrew W. Mellon Foundation**, **MacKenzie Scott (Yield Giving)**, **Kataly Foundation**, **Open Society Foundations**	Seed permanent reserve/endowment funds for BIPOC-led anchors ($2B+ via Ford BUILD) and explicitly underwrite cybersecurity, legal compliance, and HR infrastructure.
Imperative VI: Convening & Radical Mediation	Underwrite recurring co-strategizing spaces, skilled facilitation, conflict transformation, and radical mediation across intersectional movements.	**Kataly Foundation**, **Surdna Foundation**, **Evelyn & Walter Haas, Jr. Fund**, **W.K. Kellogg Foundation**, **Robert Wood Johnson Foundation**, **JAMS Foundation**, **Fetzer Institute**	Fund movement-designed strategy gatherings, third-party transformative mediators, and restorative healing facilitators to heal fractures across racial, immigrant, queer/trans, labor, and climate movements.

Institutional Funders Enacting Imperatives VII-IX

Framework Pillar	Core Funder Mandate	Institutional Funder Exemplars (Capital Deployers)	How They Model the Mandate
Imperative VII: Support Rural Work	End rural and Black Belt philanthropic desertification (<7% of funding; 33% zero-funder counties) by capitalizing multi-county rural organizing hubs.	**Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation**, **W.K. Kellogg Foundation**, **Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation**, **Bush Foundation**, **Northwest Area Foundation**, **Walton Family Foundation**	Dedicate multi-year operating and endowment capital to rural Black Belt, Appalachian, colonias, and sovereign Indigenous organizing hubs and seed local rural community foundations.
Imperative VIII: Movement Wellness	Sustain BIPOC women leaders with healthcare, somatic healing, and funded 3–6 month sabbaticals paired with interim leadership bridge grants.	**Andrew W. Mellon Foundation**, **Doris Duke Foundation**, **Durfee Foundation**, **Kataly Foundation (Mindfulness & Healing Justice)**, **California Wellness Foundation**, **Meyer Memorial Trust**, **Rasmussen Foundation**	Underwrite paid 3–6 month executive sabbaticals (such as Mellon and Doris Duke's backing of the $60K WOCA Sabbatical Fund), interim organizational bridge grants, and unconditional somatic care stipends.
Imperative IX: Stand in Solidarity & Legal Defense	Refuse preemptive compliance, pool legal defense reserves, stand publicly with grantees against Section 1981 attacks, and fund Tucker Act claims litigation.	**Freedom Together Foundation**, **MacArthur Foundation**, **McKnight Foundation**, **Woods Fund Chicago**, **Foundation for Louisiana**, **Ford Foundation**, **Open Society Foundations**, **Wallace Global Fund**	Co-led the 2025–2026 national philanthropic solidarity campaign defending race-explicit giving and pooled legal defense capital for L4GG, Earthjustice, SELC, and Public Rights Project to prosecute EPA/DOJ contract breaches.

Institutional Funders Enacting Imperative X

Framework Pillar	Core Funder Mandate	Institutional Funder Exemplars (Capital Deployers)	How They Model the Mandate
Imperative X: Integrate Democracy	Dismantle silos between climate, racial equity, and democracy to fund year-round field building, civic power, PUC ratepayer interventions, corporate accountability, etc. .	**Wallace Global Fund**, **Freedom Together Foundation**, **Joyce Foundation**, **Hewlett Foundation**, **Rockefeller Brothers Fund**, **Marguerite Casey Foundation**	Support expansive definitions of democracy building, including community economic development, local democracy building, merging year-round voter mobilization, state Public Utility Commission (PUC) interventions, state climate superfunds, and anti-monopoly advocacy directly into climate and racial justice portfolios.

First Aid: Worker & CBO Relief



Boulder Climate Equity Fund

$2.5M replacement pool for defunded EPA groups.

Freedom Together & MacArthur

Rapid-response stabilization countering federal grant freezes.

Kataly & Libra Foundations

Unconditional bridge grants preventing fiscally sponsored projects payroll collapse.

Imperative I: Breaking the 5% Floor--Double Endowment Payout to 10% Minimum



Imperatives II & III: Increase Capital Infusion & Fund Intermediary Hubs

II. Balance-Sheet Risk Absorbers

- **Kataly (REF):** Zero-interest loans converted into grants.
- **Kresge ($400M+):** Backed CDFI lenders by issuing guarantees against potential losses/defaults
- **MacArthur:** Catalytic capital oss-reserve pools.
- **Heron & Noyes:** 100% mission-aligned endowment deployment.

III. Funders of Intermediary Hubs

- **Waverley Street & Bezos:** 8-figure wholesale gifts to Hive Fund, and Climate and Energy Equity Fund.
- **Yield Giving:** Significant, unrestricted capital to NDN Collective.
- **Pisces, Kresge & Freedom Together:** Core backing for Solutions Project, Collectrify and Mosaic Environmental Fund.
- **Libra, Surdna & Builders:** Trusts vetting by Frontline Justice Fund.

Imperatives IV & V: Core Infrastructure for Long-Term Movement Durability

3–8 Yrs

Guaranteed Runway

Multi-year general operating grants enable sustainable, durable programming with enough space to achieve solid results.

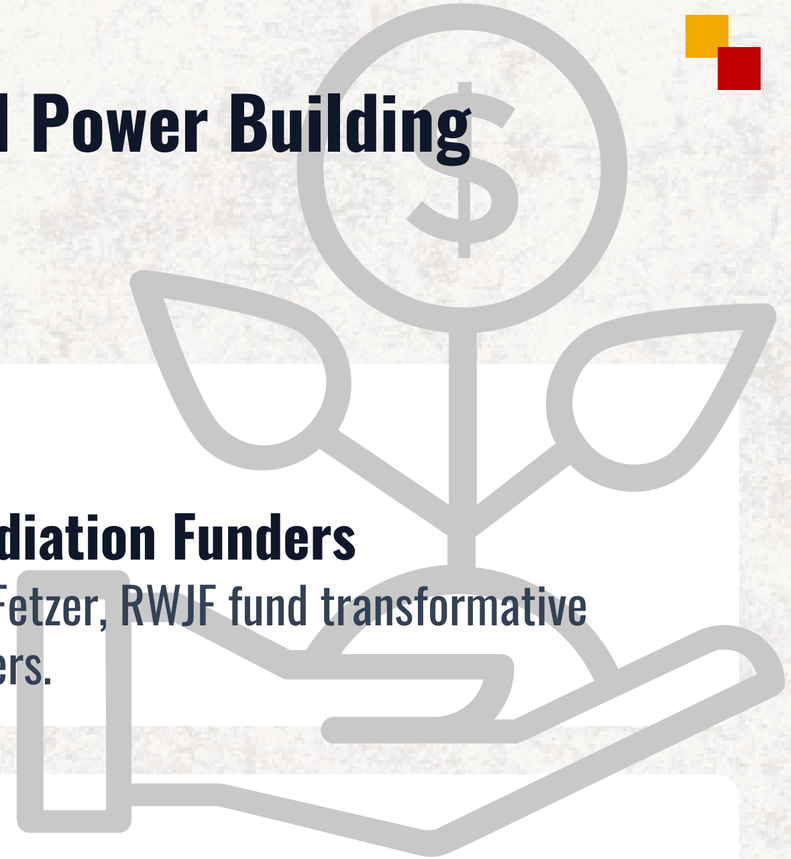
IV. Multi-Year Unrestricted Exemplars

- **MacKenzie Scott (Yield Giving):** $17B+ unrestricted gifts with zero RFPs that waste valuable time for hundreds of groups
- **Libra, General Service & Claneil:** Multi-year GOS via oral check-ins.

V. Permanent Infrastructure Exemplars

- **Ford Foundation (BUILD):** $2Bm+ for 5-year GOS plus cyber/HR systems.
- **Mellon Foundation & Kataly:** Permanent endowments for BIPOC anchors.

Imperatives VI & VII: Movement Strengthening & Rural Power Building



VI. Movement Strategizing Funders

Kataly, Surdna, Haas Jr., Kellogg underwrite movement-led strategy tables.

VI. Radical Mediation Funders

JAMS Foundation, Fetzer, RWJF fund transformative conflict practitioners.

VII. Black Belt & Appalachian Funders

Mary Reynolds Babcock, Z. Smith Reynolds, Kellogg capitalize rural hubs.

VII. Native & Rural Endowment Funders

Bush Foundation, Northwest Area Foundation seed sovereign tribal CDFIs.

Imperative VIII: Sustaining BIPOC Women Leaders' Wellness



$60,000

6-Month Unconditional Paid Sabbaticals via Mellon & Doris Duke Backing (WOCA)

Durfee Foundation, California Wellness Foundation, Meyer Memorial Trust, and Kataly Foundation (MHJ Program) pair executive rest with interim organizational bridge grants.

Imperatives IX & X: Solidarity, Legal Defense & Democracy/Systemic Power

STEP 01 • PUBLIC SOLIDARITY

Refuse Preemptive Scrubbing

Freedom Together, MacArthur, McKnight, Woods Fund--defend race-explicit grants.

STEP 02 • POOLED LEGAL SHIELDS

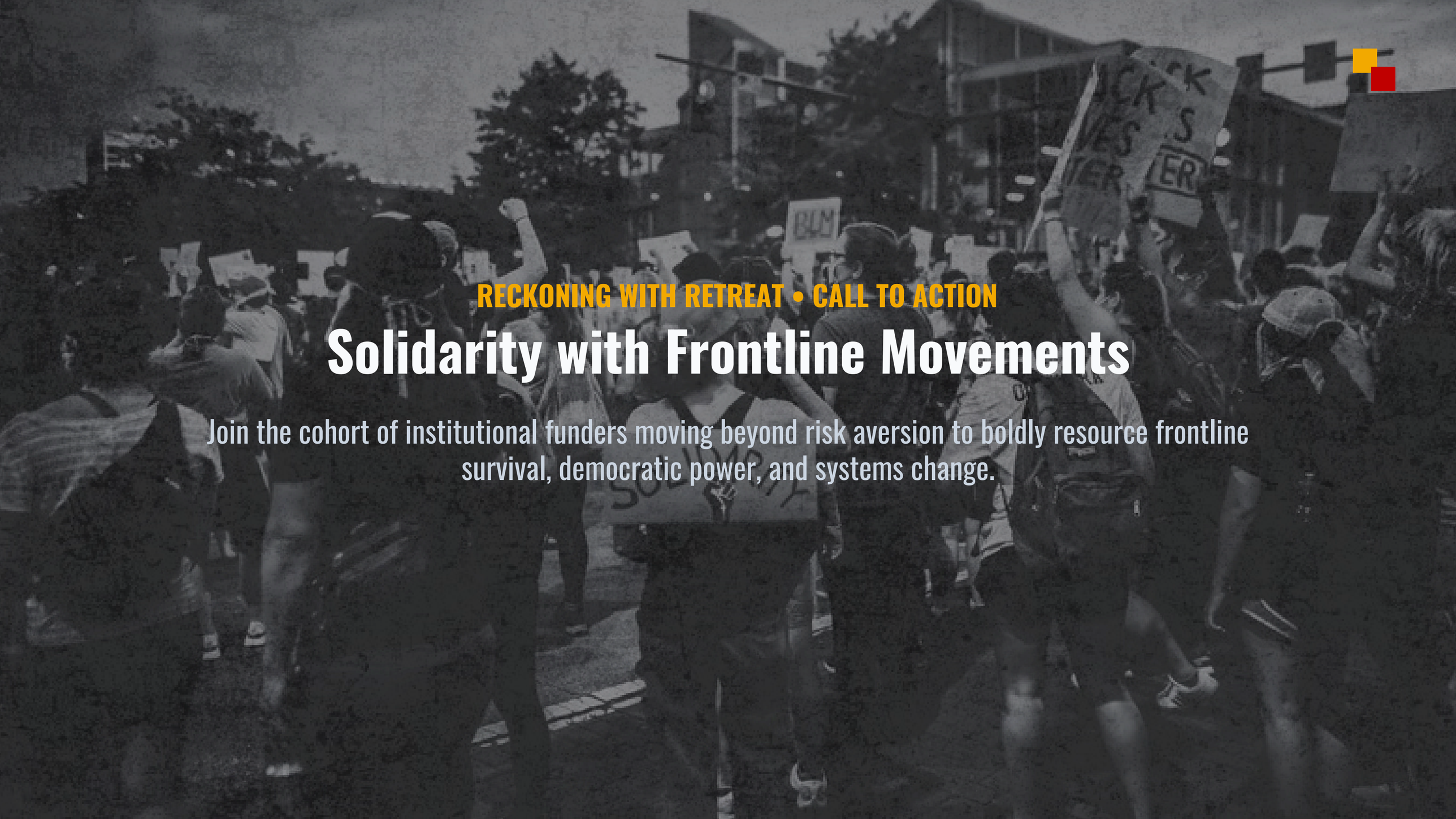
Underwrite Federal Claims

Ford, OSF, Fdn for Louisiana--support L4GG, Earthjustice, Southern Environmental Law Center litigation.

STEP 03 • INTEGRATE DEMOCRACY

Dismantle Corporatocracy

Wallace Global, Joyce Foundation, Marguerite Casey-- unite climate, PUC, voting power.



RECKONING WITH RETREAT • CALL TO ACTION

Solidarity with Frontline Movements

Join the cohort of institutional funders moving beyond risk aversion to boldly resource frontline survival, democratic power, and systems change.

SYNTHESIS & STRATEGIC CALL TO ACTION

Moving Beyond Risk Aversion to Capitalize Frontline Justice Infrastructure

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY • THE REALITY

The Existential Movement Crisis

- **Escalating Frontline Harm:** Safety net rollbacks (5.8M SNAP losses) and deregulation hit marginalized communities as civil enforcement halts.
- **The 90% Capital Cliff:** Racial equity grantmaking collapsed 90% from peak post-2020 disbursements, failing to fulfill multi-billion pledges.
- **Structural Extinction:** Grassroots anchors face insolvency with <3 months cash; national reform champions (EJUSA, CPI) have shuttered.
- **Movement Worker Displacement:** 28,000+ frontline organizers and civil servants face mass displacement without severance or healthcare safety nets.
- **Preemptive Donor Capitulation:** Anti-DEI litigation and federal scrutiny have chilled institutional funders, driving a retreat from civil rights defense.

SYNTHESIS & STRATEGIC CALL TO ACTION

Moving Beyond Risk Aversion to Capitalize Frontline Justice Infrastructure ***cont'd***



SECTOR CALL TO ACTION • FIRST AID & 10 IMPERATIVES

The Unified Movement Resourcing Mandate

- **Interim First Aid:** Deploy emergency severance, continuity care, and cash pools to protect hemorrhaging workers.
- **1. Double Payout:** Double endowment annual spend to 10%+ minimum over the next 5 years.
- **2. Balance Sheet Capital:** Deploy PRIs, zero-interest loans, and loan guarantees to absorb frontline risk while building local infrastructure..
- **3. Frontline Infrastructure:** Fund trusted intermediaries instead of expanding foundation staffing.
- **4. Multi-Year Investment:** Guarantee 3-5 years of unrestricted general operating support.
- **5. Strengthen Movement Infrastructure:** Endow frontline movement building and back operating systems (HR, tech, cyber).
- **6. Convening & Mediation:** Fund gathering spaces and radical mediation to unify across divides.
- **7. Supporting Rural Work:** Remedy rural deserts where 33% of counties have zero local funders.
- **8. BIPOC Women's Wellness:** Sustain the leaders holding movements so they don't sacrifice themselves.
- **9. Support Legal Defense:** Stand in solidarity, fund mutualized legal shields and collectivize against litigation.
- **10. Integrating Democracy:** Build power and policy reform to dismantle corporatocracy.

“Without vision, the people perish.” Frederick Douglas

08

From Extractive Wealth to Transformational Repair

Uplifting the exemplars moving from confession to redistribution.

The Mechanics of Twice-Stolen Wealth

> “Too many philanthropic endowments represent twice-stolen wealth—extracted first from land and labor, then sheltered from the public treasury.”



First Theft: Primary Extraction

Wages withheld from workers alongside Indigenous land dispossession.

Second Theft: Fiscal Enclosure

Tax exemptions divert up to 74 cents per dollar from public governance.

Four Engines of Wealth Extraction

Land Dispossession

Broken treaties enabled resource monopolies.

Racialized Labor

Chattel slavery capitalized industrial dynasties.

Corporate Shields

Endowments protected family voting stock.

Movement Capture

Compliance rules pacified radical organizing.

The 95/5 Endowment Paradox

95% Invested Corpus (Compounding Extraction) 95%



Invested in private equity, fossil fuels, and corporate landlords generating frontline harm.

5% Annual Payout (Treating Symptoms) 5%



Covers administrative overhead alongside restricted grants addressing crises caused by the 95%.

Four Pillars of Forensic Repair

01

Archival Reckoning

Expose historical corporate extraction.

02

Rewrite Fiduciary Duty

Invoke Uniform Prudent Management of Institutional Funds Act (UPMIFA) mission alignment rules.

03

Disrupt Perpetuity

Divest endowments from Wall Street.

04

Cede Governance

Transfer authority to impacted communities.

Exemplar: RWJF Truth & Repair



Dismantling the “Altruistic Founder” Myth ($13.5B)

- **13-Member Wisdom Council:** External scholars audit institutional wealth origins.
- **1936 Tax Shelter Exposed:** Created to retain family control of J&J stock.
- **1969 Federal Mandate:** Tax Reform Act forced transition to national grantmaking.
- **Reparative Capital Shift:** Unapologetic race-conscious grants alongside Native CDFI investments.

Exemplar: North Carolina Tobacco Trust

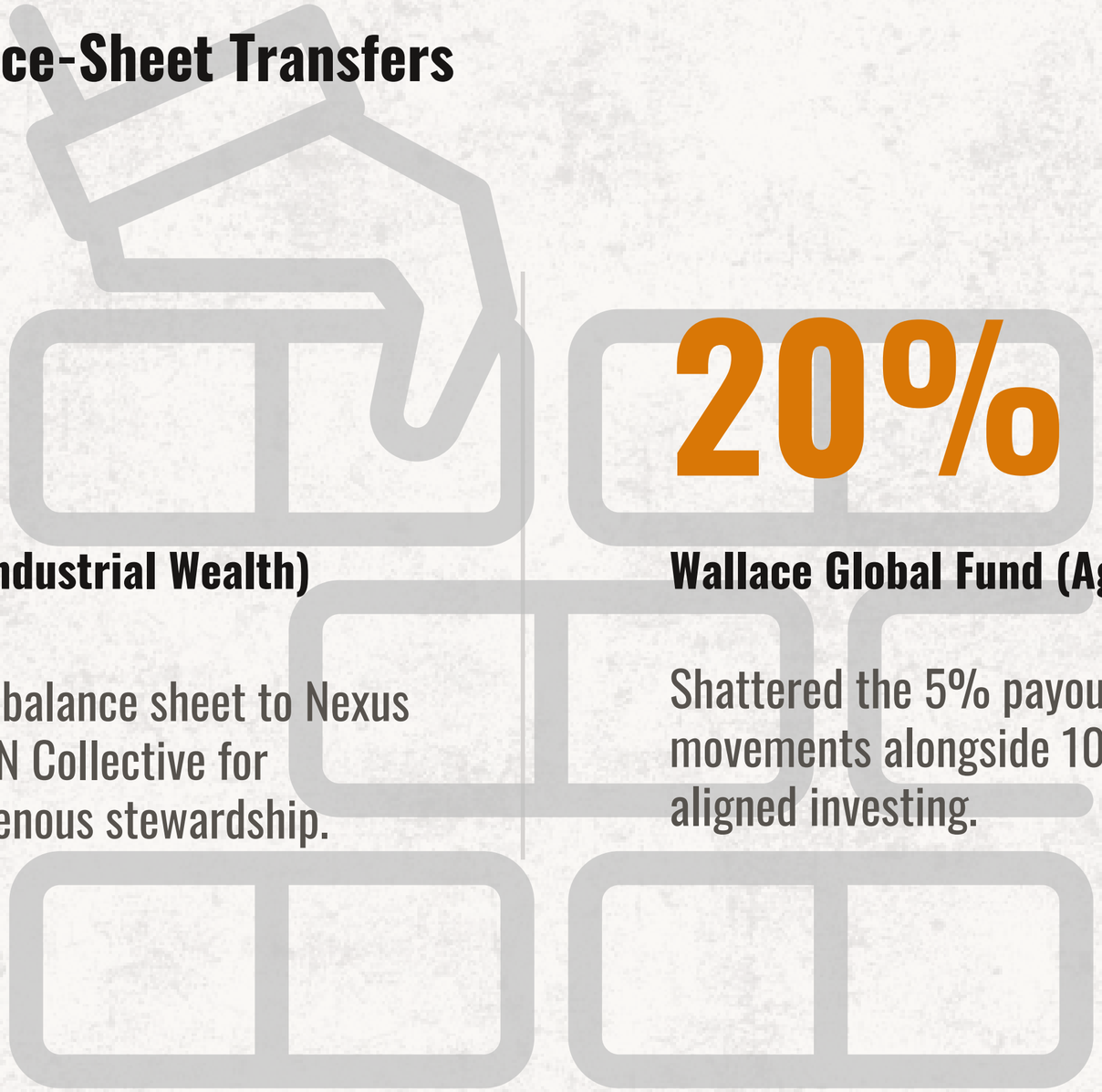
Extractive Past ($600M Corpus)

- **Chattel Slavery:** Reynolds family enslaved Black Virginians.
- **Factory Exploitation:** Segregated Black women workers with low-wages.
- **Confederate Ties:** Founder mandated whites-only Tanglewood park.
- **Dividend Paradox:** Health grants funded via nicotine profits.

Reparative Transformation

- **Public Forensic Audit:** Published unflinching 75th-anniversary history.
- **Tobacco Divestment:** Forced corporate trustee out of nicotine stocks.
- **Grassroots Power:** Shifted funds to rural racial equity organizing.
- **Southern Solidarity:** Joined Babcock and ZSR in power-building.

Exemplars: Off-Balance-Sheet Transfers



$100M

The Bush Foundation (3M Industrial Wealth)

Transferred permanently off balance sheet to Nexus Community Partners and NDN Collective for autonomous Black and Indigenous stewardship.

20%

Wallace Global Fund (Agribusiness Wealth)

Shattered the 5% payout ceiling to resource frontline movements alongside 100% fossil-free mission-aligned investing.

Exemplars: Ending Institutional Hoarding in Perpetuity

Kataly Foundation

Frontline collectives govern full $445M spend-down.

Stupski Foundation

Returning $300M+ corpus before 2029 closure.

Lankelly Chase (UK)

Abolishing foundation for £130M reparations transfer.

Spectrum of Institutional Reckoning

Institution	Scale	Wealth Origin	Reckoning Mechanism	Capital & Power Shift
RWJF	$13.5B	J&J stock shield	13-member Wisdom Council	**Race-explicit health investments**
Kate B. Reynolds	$600M	Slavery & tobacco labor	Independent archival audit	**Full tobacco divestment**
Bush Foundation	$1.3B	3M industrial mining	Treaty & wealth reckoning	**$100M community trust transfer**
Kataly Foundation	$445M	Tech & finance	Anti-accumulation mandate	**Frontline-governed spend-down**
Lankelly Chase	£130M	Colonial land enclosure	Colonial capitalism critique	**Complete self-abolition**

BONUS Imperative: Follow Their Lead

Replace philanthropic retreat with material repair.

- **Commission Forensic Audits:** Open archives to trace land and labor extraction.
- **Emancipate the 95%:** Move endowments out of Wall Street into CDFIs.
- **Transfer Balance Sheets:** Seed autonomous Black and Indigenous trusts.
- **Hold the Line:** Defend race-explicit funding against legal intimidation.
- **Invite Frontlines IN**: Populate board and staff leadership with frontline communities. Implement participatory grantmaking as the standard.





THE LITMUS TEST FOR TRANSFORMATIONAL PHILANTHROPY

From Reputation Laundering to Repair

Confession without dispossession is not repair. True reckoning returns stolen wealth and governance to the communities who built it.



THANK YOU

For Standing in Solidarity with Frontline Communities & Movement Organizers

RECKONING WITH RETREAT: RESEARCH & STRATEGIC BRIEFING SERIES

For inquiries, partnerships, and access to data sets on frontline resourcing: Jacqui Patterson
jacqui@thechisholmlegacyproject.org with a cc to edeam@thechisholmlegacyproject.org

REFERENCES & METHODOLOGY

Sources & Data Documentation

Slide 10: Movement Resourcing & Retention — 2-Year Post-Campaign Civic Engagement Benchmarks

- **Year-Round Organizing (85%):** Civic engagement field evaluations & movement infrastructure studies (Midwest Academy, PICO/Faith in Action, Working Families Party; Han, H., Moved to Action).
- **Leadership Pipelines (74%):** Municipal and state-level policy accountability cohort tracking (Local Progress / Center for Popular Democracy, Run for Something municipal leadership analyses).
- **Coalition Alignment (68%):** Multi-sector coalition governance and movement alliance metrics (Grassroots Policy Project, Alignment Strategies for Coalition Sustainability).
- **Broadcast Ad Spend (18%):** Electoral cycle campaign expenditure and post-election demobilization tracking (Wesleyan Media Project, OpenSecrets campaign finance data, CIRCLE).

Slides 1–9, 11–12: Democratic Data & Governance — Global Indices, Election Returns & Constitutional Rights

- **Slide 5 (Democratic Retreat):** Freedom House, Freedom in the World Annual Reports (18–20 consecutive years of net global decline in political rights and civil liberties, 2006–2026).
- **Slides 1, 4 & 6 (Electoral Mandate):** Official Federal & State Election Returns (U.S. Midterms 2018/2022/2026); Our Revolution national platform resolutions and statements on congressional accountability.
- **Slides 7 & 8 (Public Governance):** U.S. Constitution (Preamble & Article I); Local and state government oversight frameworks (National Conference of State Legislatures, Center for Public Integrity).
- **Slides 2, 9, 11 & 12 (Human Rights):** United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948); Strategic movement organizing frameworks on building grassroots power and countering corporate capture.

REFERENCES & DATA COMPENDIUM // PART 01

Frontline Crises, Healthcare Lifeline Collapse & Rural Abandonment

Comprehensive citations for empirical metrics and federal datasets in Part 01 (Slides 19-35)

Domain & Metric Scope	Empirical Finding in Deck	Primary Source & Authoritative Reference
SNAP & Nutrition Lifeline (Slides 20, 31)	5.8M disenrolled from SNAP (Jan 2025–Apr 2026) under P.L. 119-21; 56% acute hunger rate among BIPOC children; summer EBT & work rule restrictions.	U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) Food & Nutrition Service (FNS), SNAP Operations Data (2025–2026); Center on Budget & Policy Priorities (CBPP), 'Assessing Frontline Impacts of SNAP Work Mandates' (2025).
Civil Rights & Hate Crimes (Slide 21)	Black Americans targeted in 48% of racially motivated hate crimes (10,881 total FBI incidents); EPA civil rights offices dissolved; Title VI compliance reviews frozen.	Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS), Annual Hate Crime Statistics Report (2024–2025); U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (USCCR), 'Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Standstill' (2025).
Climate Catastrophes & Energy (Slides 22, 38)	50 billion-dollar extreme weather disasters (27 in 2024, 23 in 2025); summer electric rates up 10.5% (2026) yielding up to 43% energy burden; federal civil pollution suits down to 16.	NOAA National Centers for Environmental Information (NCEI), 'U.S. Billion-Dollar Weather & Climate Disasters' (2024–2025); U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), Electric Power Monthly (2026); EIP Report (2025).
Healthcare & Medicaid Purges (Slides 23, 24, 25)	5.3M–10M+ individuals losing Medicaid; 70%+ terminated due to procedural red tape; $66B cut to Medicare Savings Programs (MSP); $3,000–$6,000+ out-of-pocket cost shift; 45% uncompensated care jump.	Centers for Medicare & Medicaid Services (CMS), Medicaid & CHIP Enrollment & Unwinding Data (2024–2025); Kaiser Family Foundation (KFF), 'Medicaid Enrollment Cliff and MSP Erosion' (2025); AHA Survey (2025).

REFERENCES & DATA COMPENDIUM // PART 02

Federal Grant Rollbacks, Legal Backlash & Regulatory Chilling

Comprehensive citations for statutes, judicial rulings, and congressional records in Part 02 (Slides 36–49)

Policy / Legal Area	Empirical Finding in Deck	Primary Source & Authoritative Reference
Rural Healthcare & Land Loss (Slides 26, 29)	600+ rural hospitals at risk of closure; >50% rural counties lack obstetric care; rural groups receive <7% foundation funding despite 20% US pop; Section 22007 BIPOC farmer debt relief frozen.	Center for Healthcare Quality & Payment Reform (CHQPR), 'Rural Hospitals at Risk' (2025); March of Dimes, 'Maternity Care Deserts' (2024); USDA Civil Rights, 'DFAP Status Brief' (2025); ACLU LGBTQ Tracker (2025).
EPA Community Change Grants (Slides 37, 39, 51)	$3 Billion in Inflation Reduction Act (IRA § 60201) Environmental & Climate Justice Community Change Grants targeted by legislative clawbacks and administrative freezes.	U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), Environmental & Climate Justice Program Tracking Docket (2024–2025); Congressional Research Service (CRS), 'IRA Rescissions & Grant Execution Status,' Report R47621 (2025).
FEMA BRIC Hazard Mitigation (Slides 37, 38)	Freezes and proposed rescissions to Building Resilient Infrastructure and Communities (BRIC) program, eliminating non-federal match waivers and stalling 500+ resilience projects.	Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), BRIC Annual Allocation Guidance (2024–2025); National Low Income Housing Coalition (NLIHC), 'Disaster Recovery and Mitigation Equity Brief' (2025).
Section 1981 Attacks on DEI (Slides 40, 48)	Conservative lawsuits weaponizing 42 U.S.C. § 1981 following SCOTUS SFFA v. Harvard; 11th Cir. injunction freezing Fearless Fund grantmaking for Black women founders.	Students for Fair Admissions, Inc. v. President & Fellows of Harvard College, 600 U.S. 181 (2023); American Alliance for Equal Rights v. Fearless Fund II, LLC, 103 F.4th 765 (11th Cir. 2024); CRS Report R48011 (2024).

REFERENCES & DATA COMPENDIUM // PARTS 03 & 04

The 90% Philanthropic Cliff, Institutional Retrenchment & Closures

Comprehensive citations for funding tracking, financial audits, and organizational closures in Parts 03 & 04 (Slides 50-74)

Sector Tracking Area	Empirical Finding in Deck	Primary Source & Authoritative Reference
501(c)(3) Weaponization & H.R. 9495 (Slides 41, 43, 44)	Congressional scrutiny targeting nonprofit tax exemptions; H.R. 9495 legislation permitting unilateral revocation of tax-exempt status without due process; guilt-by-association watchlists.	U.S. House Committee on Ways and Means, Hearings on 501(c)(3) Oversight & Tax Law Enforcement (2024–2025); Congressional Record, H.R. 9495 ('Stop Terror-Financing Act', 118th/119th Cong.); Charity & Security Network (2025).
Preemptive Donor Capitulation (Slides 45, 46, 48)	Foundations preemptively altering grant guidelines, defunding controversial frontline partners, and scrubbing 'BIPOC', 'equity', and 'reparations' to avoid political scrutiny.	Chronicle of Philanthropy, 'The Chilling Effect: How Anti-DEI Litigation Is Reshaping Foundation Portfolios' (2025); Center for Effective Philanthropy (CEP), 'Grantmaker Risk Aversion Survey' (2024–2025).
Post-2020 Pledges vs. 90% Cliff (Slides 51, 52, 53, 54)	$50 Billion pledged globally post-2020; <5% materialized as direct grants to Black-led groups; dedicated racial justice funding suffered a 90% collapse by 2024–2026.	Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity (PRE), 'Mismatched' (2021) & 'Funding Racial Justice: The 90% Cliff' (2024–2025); Candid & Center for Effective Philanthropy (CEP), 'Tracking Corporate & Foundation Racial Equity Pledges' (2024).
BIPOC Capital Deficits & Reserves (Slides 56, 57, 63)	BIPOC-led organizations hold 24% smaller cash reserves, 76% less unrestricted net assets; >80% rural counties receive $0 foundation grants; 50%+ community groups have <3 months cash.	Bridgespan Group & Echoing Green, 'Racial Equity and Philanthropy' (2020–2024); Nonprofit Finance Fund (NFF), 'State of the Nonprofit Sector' (2024–2025); NCRP, 'As the South Goes: Philanthropy in the Rural South' (2024).

REFERENCES & DATA COMPENDIUM // PART 05

Movement Workers, Civil Service RIFs & Labor Under Siege

Comprehensive citations for labor economics, federal civil service workforce audits, and union dockets in Part 05 (Slides 75–82)

Labor Domain & Issue	Empirical Finding in Deck	Primary Source & Authoritative Reference
National Anchor Closures (Slides 89, 90, 94)	Equal Justice USA (EJUSA) shuttered Aug 2025 after DOJ OJP cancelled $2.4M–$3.0M grants; Center for Public Integrity (CPI) downsized/merged; BU Antiracist Center dismantled.	The NonProfit Times, 'Equal Justice USA Winds Down Operations Following DOJ Grant Cancellation' (Aug 2025); Columbia Journalism Review, 'CPI Restructuring' (2025); Inside Higher Ed, 'Antiracist Research Center Layoffs' (2024).
Grassroots Casualties & Services Lost (Slides 97, 105)	BRAVE Bay Area (Oakland rape crisis center, est. 1971) closed Sept 2025; SDC Milwaukee (50-yr CAA) closed Apr 2024; street mediation halted across 9 cities; 200K lost emergency cash.	San Francisco Chronicle, 'Bay Area Women Against Rape / BRAVE Closes Due to Federal Retraction' (2025); Milwaukee Journal Sentinel, 'SDC Shuts Down' (Apr 2024); CVI Collaborative Report (2025); NEADA Weatherization Brief (2025).
Civic & Climate Casualties (Slide 100)	USDA ILCMAP termination stripped legal aid from hundreds of Black heirs' property owners; freeze of Lowcountry ($11.4M) & Gwinnett ($19M) flood grants halted vital infrastructure.	Federation of Southern Cooperatives / Land Assistance Fund, 'Heirs' Property Legal Defense Audit' (2025); EPA Region 4 Community Change Grants Appeals & Environmental Justice Public Docket (2025).
Nonprofit Worker Economic Hardship (Slide 110)	22% nonprofit workers earned below ALICE survival threshold; 35% Black and 34% Hispanic staff could not afford housing/food; 46% women of color lack emergency savings.	United Way ALICE Project, 'ALICE in Nonprofits: Workforce Insecurity in the Caring Economy' (2024–2025); Movement Talent & Fund the People, 'Fair Compensation and Benefit Inequities in Social Justice Organizations' (2025).

Movement Workers, Civil Service RIFs & Labor Under Siege

Comprehensive citations for labor economics, federal civil service workforce audits, and union dockets in Part 05 (Slides 75–82) cont'd

Labor Domain & Issue	Empirical Finding in Deck	Primary Source & Authoritative Reference
Federal Civil Service RIFs & Displacements (Slide 79)	300,000+ Black women displaced from federal civil service (representing 31% of all RIF cuts); Black female unemployment jumped to 7.6% (Q1 2026); 28,000+ movement organizers laid off.	U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), Current Population Survey (CPS), Employment Status by Race and Sex (Q1 2026); U.S. Office of Personnel Management (OPM), 'Civil Service RIF Demographic Breakdown Report' (2025–2026).
NLRB & Civil Service Union Paralyzation (Slide 82)	NLRB quorum paralyzed following unlawful termination of Chair Gwynne Wilcox (Jan 2025); March 2025 Executive Order cancelled collective bargaining agreements across 40+ federal agencies.	National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) Board Quorum & Transfer Docket (2025); Federal Labor Relations Authority (FLRA), 'Executive Directives on Federal Collective Bargaining Agreements' (2025); Federal Times (2025).
Progressive Nonprofit Union RIFs (Slide 82)	90% funding cliff triggered 25%–30% layoffs across unionized advocacy anchors, including Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC Union), Sierra Club, and national civil rights litigation groups.	Nonprofit Employees Union (NPEU) & Washington-Baltimore News Guild (WBNG), 'Collective Bargaining Retraction & RIF Wave in National Advocacy Organizations' (2024–2025); In These Times, 'The Nonprofit Layoff Crisis' (2025).
Severance & Safety-Net Deficits (Slides 76, 86)	Over 85% of terminated grassroots organizers received zero severance pay or health continuation (COBRA subsidies); movement leaders facing personal bankruptcy while defending frontline communities.	Emergent Fund & Grassroots Leadership Survey, 'Frontline Organizer Financial Fragility and Emergency Relief Assessment' (2025); Non-Profit Quarterly (NPQ), 'Protecting the Humans in the Movement' (2025).

REFERENCES & DATA COMPENDIUM // PARTS 06 & 07

A Strategic Path Forward: 10 Philanthropic Imperatives & Exemplars

Comprehensive citations for statutory codes, catalytic finance mechanisms, and foundation exemplars in Parts 06 & 07 (Slides 83-119)

Strategic Imperative	Empirical Finding in Deck	Primary Source & Authoritative Reference
Imperative I: Double Spend to 10%+ (Slides 88, 105, 111)	Breaking statutory 5% floor to 10%+ minimum annual spend over 5 years; mobilizing $150M+ in crisis capital (MacArthur 6% surge; Boulder Climate Equity Fund $2.5M replacement grants).	Internal Revenue Code (IRC) § 4942 (Minimum Payout Requirement for Private Foundations); National Center for Family Philanthropy (NCFP) & Council on Foundations, 'Beyond the 5% Floor' (2025); MacArthur Disclosures (2024).
Imperatives II & III: Balance Sheet & Hubs (Slides 89, 90, 112)	Deploying 100% of balance sheets via zero-interest loans, PRIs, and loss reserves; capitalizing wholesale infrastructure via Seed Commons, NDN Collective, Kataly, Kresge, F.B. Heron.	Mission Investors Exchange, 'Program-Related Investments and Balance Sheet Catalysis' (2024); Seed Commons, 'Non-Extractive Finance Portfolio' (2025); Kataly Foundation, 'Restorative Economies Fund Blueprint' (2024).
Imperatives IV & V: Multi-Year Unrestricted (Slides 92, 93, 113)	3–8 year guaranteed runway (Yield Giving, Ford BUILD, MacArthur); permanent endowments and land trusts to insulate movements from donor cycles.	Center for Effective Philanthropy (CEP), 'Emerging Impacts of Yield Giving' (2024); Ford Foundation, 'BUILD Initiative 5-Year Evaluation' (2024); Trust-Based Philanthropy Project, 'Principles into Practice' (2024).
Imperatives VI–VIII: Rural & Wellness (Slides 94, 96, 97, 114, 115)	Resourcing rural Black Belt & Indian Country (overcoming <7% desert); $60,000 unconditional sabbaticals for BIPOC women leaders (Mellon Foundation, Doris Duke Foundation).	Mellon Foundation & Doris Duke Foundation, 'Sustaining Movement Leaders Initiative' (2024–2025); NCRP, 'Philanthropic Desertification in the South' (2024); Grantmakers in Health, 'Frontline Wellness' (2025).

REFERENCES & DATA COMPENDIUM // PART 08

Extractive Wealth to Transformational Repair & Action Mandate

Comprehensive citations for wealth extraction forensics, archival audits, and spend-down deeds in Part 08 (Slides 120-131)

Transformation Dimension	Empirical Finding in Deck	Primary Source & Authoritative Reference
Imperatives IX & X: Solidarity & Democracy (Slides 99, 100, 116)	Refusing preemptive compliance; pooled legal defense against Section 1981 attacks; funding Tucker Act claims (28 U.S.C. § 1491); multi-entity 501(c)(3)/(c)(4) funding to challenge corporatocracy.	Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, 'Philanthropic Legal Defense Consortium' (2024–2025); U.S. Court of Federal Claims, Tucker Act Jurisdictional Digest; Demos, 'Building Movement Power' (2024).
Fiscal Architecture & 95/5 Hoarding (Slides 121, 122, 123)	$1.5 Trillion foundation corpus hoarded in Wall Street markets vs. 5% payout trickle; four engines of extraction (Land Dispossession, Enslaved Labor, Resource Extraction, Monopoly Capture).	Edgar Villanueva, 'Decolonizing Wealth: Indigenous Wisdom to Heal Divides' (2nd ed. 2021); Candid, 'Aggregate Foundation Assets & Endowment Valuations' (2025); IPS, 'Gilded Giving: Top-Heavy Philanthropy' (2024).
Forensic Archival Audits: RWJF & KBR (Slides 124, 125, 126, 129)	Robert Wood Johnson Foundation ($13.5B J&J stock origin, 13-member Wisdom Council); Kate B. Reynolds Charitable Trust ($600M corpus, independent audit of enslaved labor, tobacco divestment).	Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (RWJF), 'Truth, Racial Healing, and Transformation Process Brief' (2024); Kate B. Reynolds Charitable Trust, 'Archival Reckoning & Reparative Strategy' (2023–2024).
Off-Balance-Sheet Transfers: Bush (Slides 127, 129)	Bush Foundation ($1.3B endowment rooted in 3M industrial wealth): $100M sovereign community wealth transfer to Black and Indigenous community trusts outside foundation control.	Bush Foundation, 'Community Wealth Transfer Strategy & Indigenous Sovereign Trust Commitments' ($100M Disclosures, 2024); Native Americans in Philanthropy (NAP), 'Sovereignty & Philanthropic Repair' (2024).

Extractive Wealth to Transformational Repair & Action Mandate

Comprehensive citations for wealth extraction forensics, archival audits, and spend-down deeds in Part 08 (Slides 120-131) cont´d

Transformation Dimension	Empirical Finding in Deck	Primary Source & Authoritative Reference
Ending Perpetuity: Spend-Down Charters (Slides 128, 129)	Kataly Foundation ($445M frontline-governed spend-down); Stupski Foundation ($300M+ return of corpus before 2029 closure); Lankelly Chase (£130M complete institutional abolition and transfer).	Kataly Foundation, 'Spend Down with Purpose: Governance & Frontline Control' (2024); Stupski Foundation, 'Spend Down Playbook' (2025); Lankelly Chase Foundation, 'Transition & Systemic Abolition Statement' (London, 2023–2024).
Action Mandate & Litmus Test (Slides 130, 131)	The Litmus Test: 'Confession without dispossession is not repair.' Five mandates: Forensic Audits, Emancipate the 95%, Hold the Line, Frontline Governance, and Balance-Sheet Transfers.	The Chisholm Legacy Project, 'Reckoning with Retreat: Research & Strategic Briefing Series' (2024–2026); Movement for Black Lives (M4BL), 'Reparations Now: A Policy & Philanthropic Imperative' (2024).