








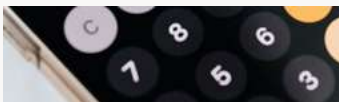



ANNUAL REPORT 2022



Activities 2022

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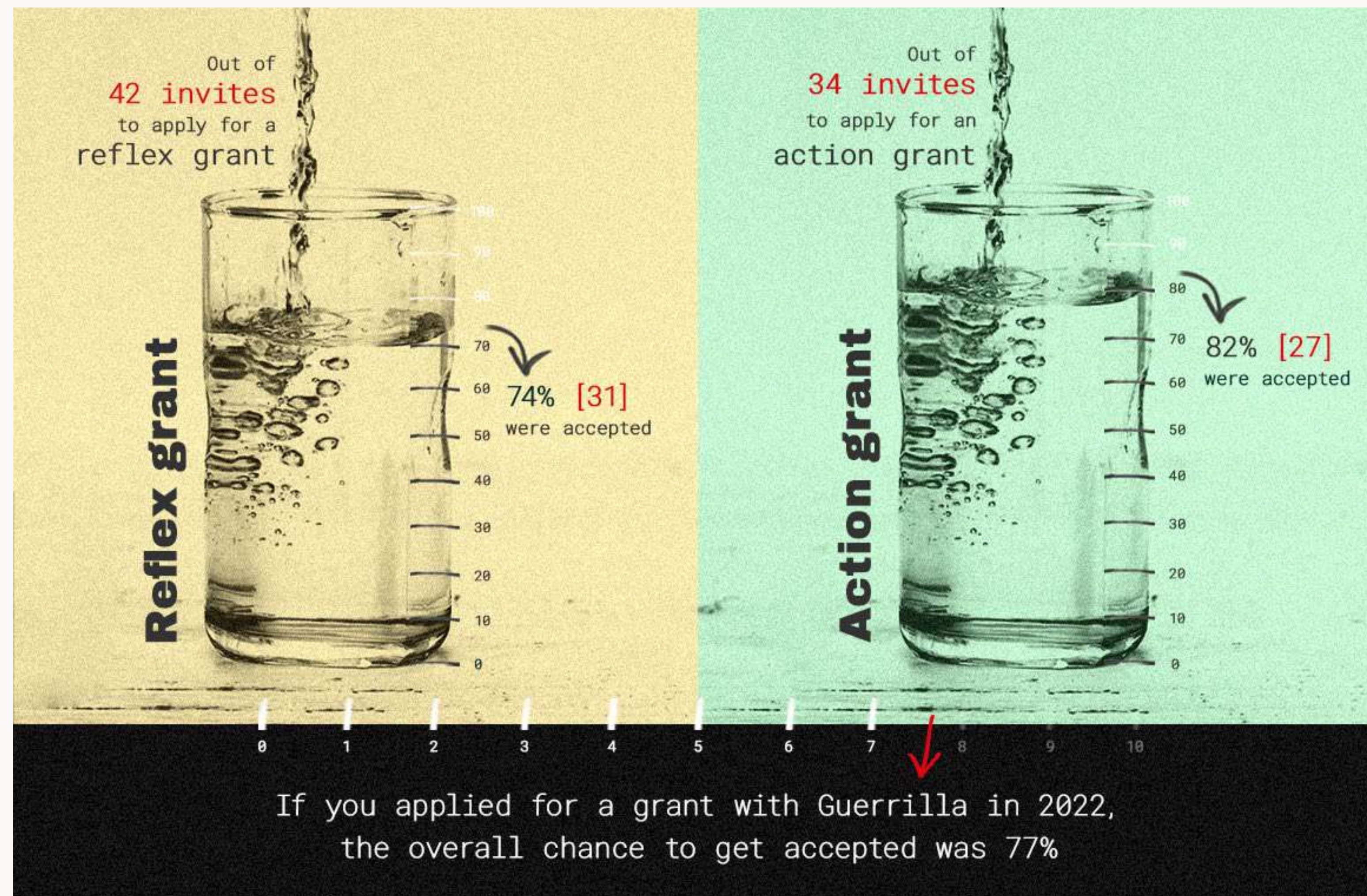
THERE ARE NO DANGEROUS
THOUGHTS; THINKING
ITSELF IS DANGEROUS

– Hannah Arendt



2022 IN NUMBERS

NUMBER OF GRANTS AND ACCEPTANCE RATE:



In total, we made
59 grants
with a total amount of
707.000€

31 reflex grants
209.800€



28 action grants
497.200€



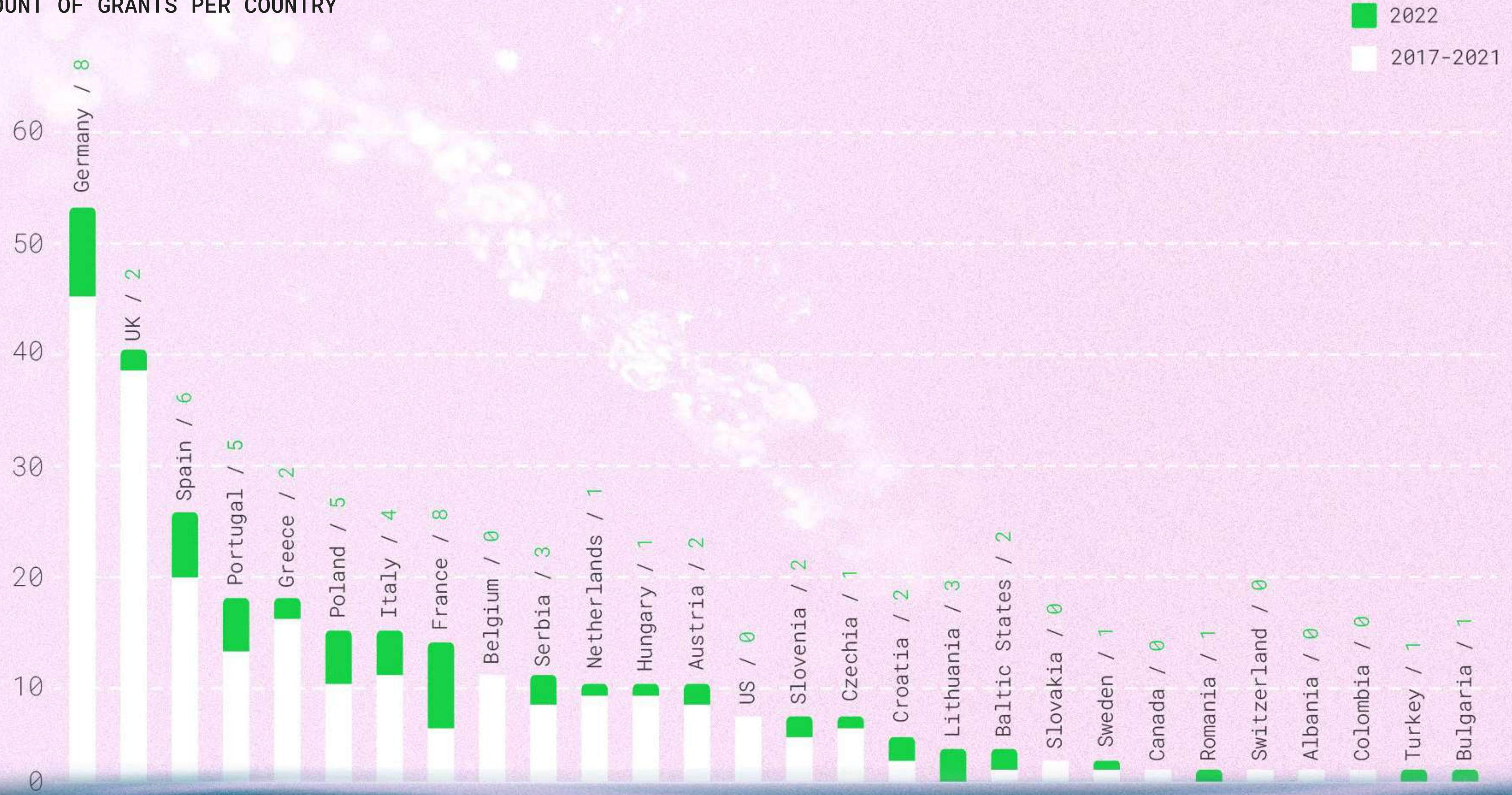
We made two year grant commitments:
Common Thing Foundation **20k/year**
Re-Set **15k/year**

In total, we made grants across
21 countries
in 2022



Golya community house

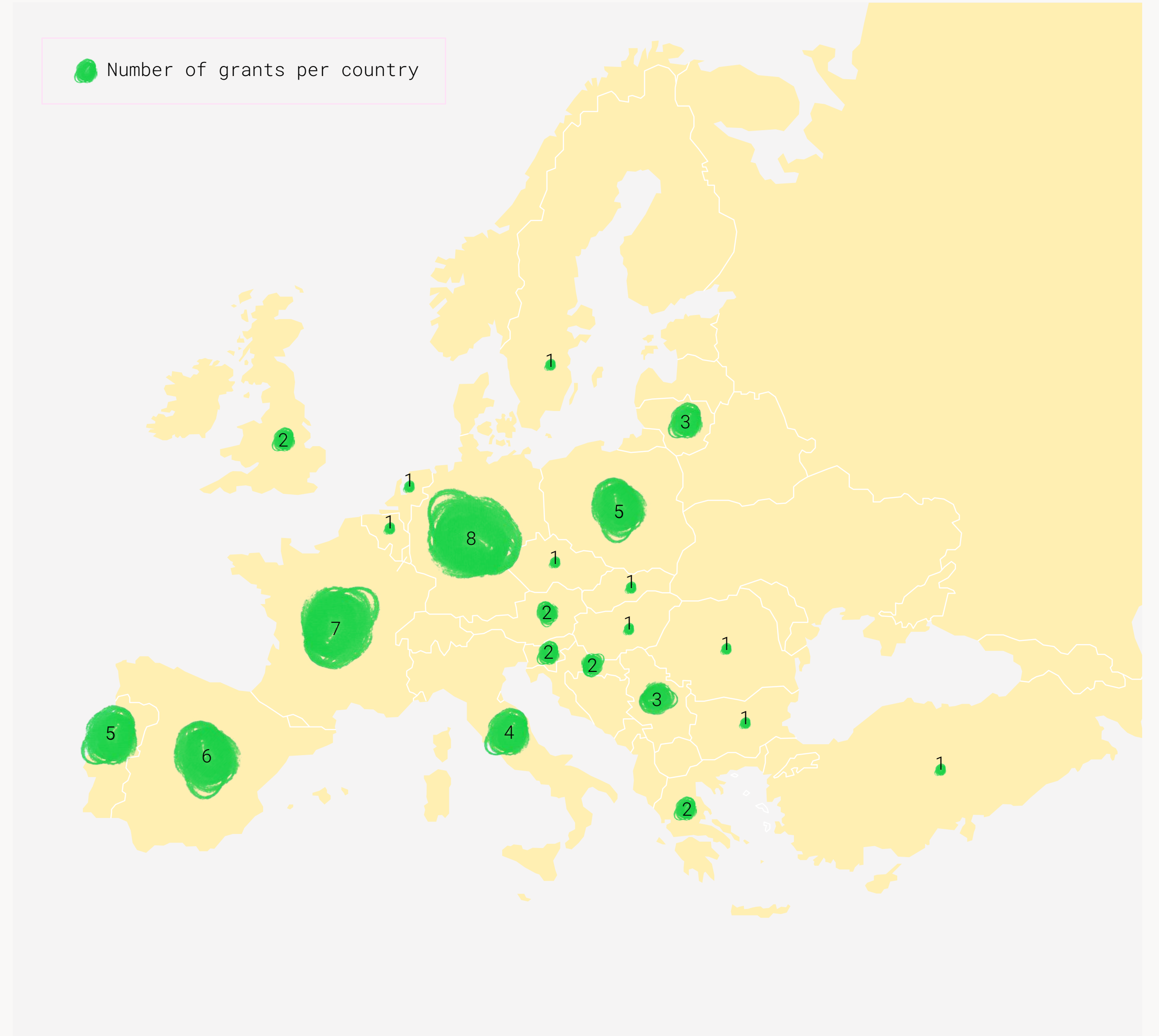
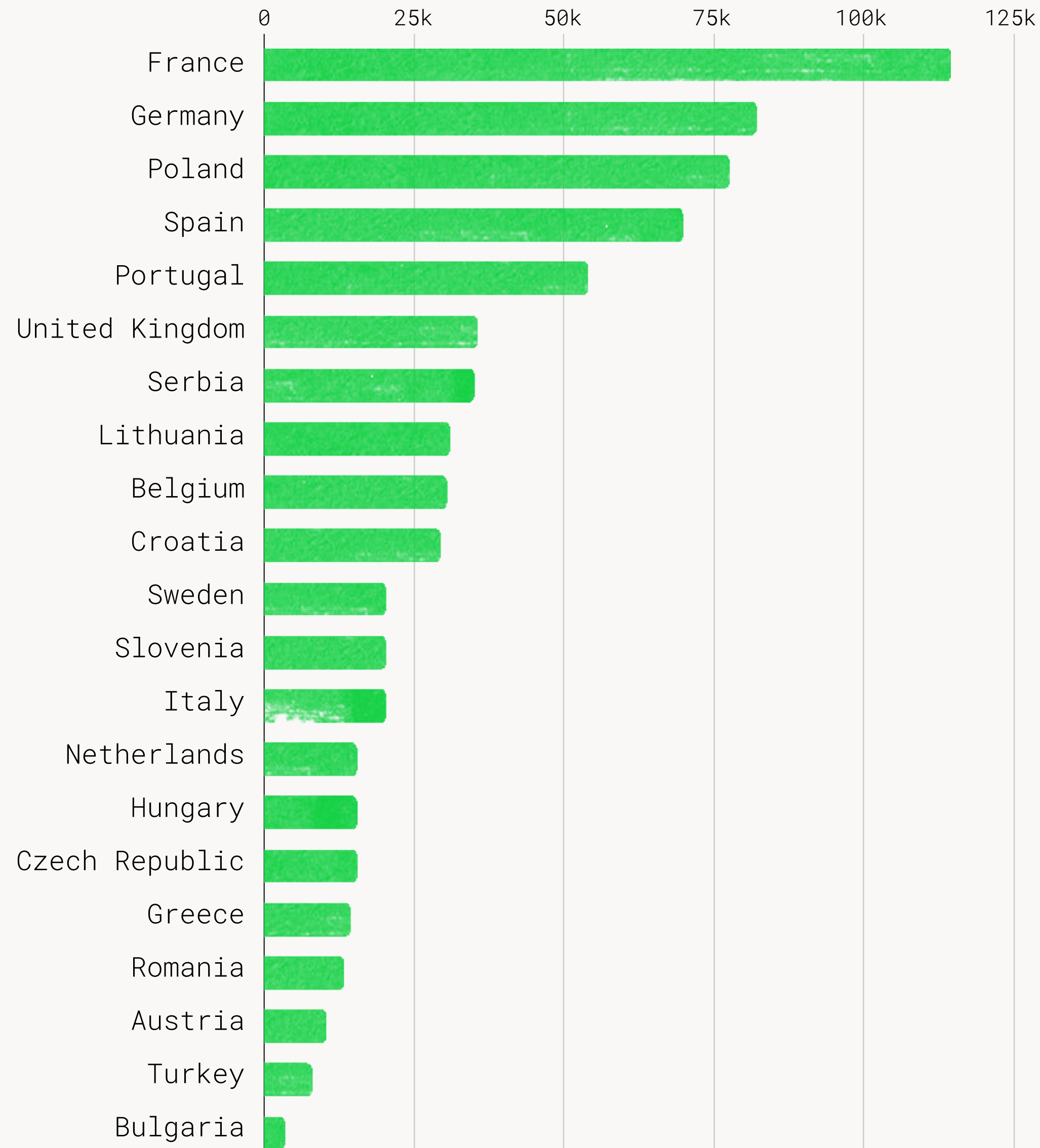
AMOUNT OF GRANTS PER COUNTRY



Total accumulated number of grants since 2017 until 2022, highlighting the number of grants in each country in 2022

SUM OF GRANTED AMOUNT AND NUMBER OF GRANTS DISTRIBUTED PER COUNTRY IN 2022

Annual report 2022



guerrillaFoundation.org

→ ACTION GRANTS

No	Who	Focus Country	Amount	Short Description
1	AAEFP - Atelier Autonome d'Enquete et de Formation Populaire	France	20000	Association and online multimedia platform to make critical social science accessible and using popular education as a tool for the defence of victims of institutional racism and abuse of power
2	ALDA	France	20000	Grassroots organisation working at the intersection of climate justice and housing rights in the Basque Country
3	Anthea Lawson	United Kingdom	15000	Workshops and research on the psychological underpinnings of activism on topics such as burn out, righteousness and saviourism as part of the wider project "Unpacking The Activist Script"
4	Assa Traoré Organisation	France	15000	Organisation that trains and supports activists for racial justice in France, and that mobilises around cases of institutional violence against racialised individuals

No	Who	Focus Country	Amount	Short Description
5	Autonomy Research Limited	United Kingdom	20000	Independent think tank that produces action-oriented research to rethink “work” and economic policy based on feminist theory & practice, with a particular focus on labour relations in the health sector
6	Boiling Point (Wrzenie)	Poland	20000	Trans-led organisation that uses community organising, campaigns and trainings to rally for women’s rights, climate change and support the LGBTIQ+ youth community in Poland
7	Camera Femina	Poland	15000	Main aim of the organization is to support and empower womxn artists and make their presence visible in all areas of artistic and cultural activities
8	Centro Educacion Popular Lohana Berkins	Germany	20000	Feminist educational centre by and for migrants that works with popular education to organise migrants
9	Climaximo	Portugal	20000	Climate justice collective in Portugal working towards ending the use of fossil gas in the country before 2030
10	Collective Y?!	Lithuania	21200	Network operating in the Baltics that connects grassroots movements and organisations within the region working on issues such as decolonisation, environmental justice & human rights

No	Who	Focus Country	Amount	Short Description
11	Common Thing Foundation - Fundacja Rzecz Spolezna	Poland	20000	Women-led organisation that uses community organising, campaigns and training to raise awareness about women's rights and climate change in Poland
12	de:border Collective	Netherlands	15000	A migration justice collective of lawyers and researcher-activists engaging in collaborative research, advocacy, and legal interventions to resist and challenge the systemic harms caused by migration policies
13	das kooperativ	Germany	5000	Campaign support and advocacy concerning the socialisation of large profit-oriented real estate corporations in Berlin
14	Forum Apulum	Romania	13000	Podcast & media platform that produces content for and with Romanian youth across the country to counter the radical right tendencies and disinformation from the state
15	FundAction	Belgium	30000	An activist-led participatory grantmaking fund hosted by Änderwerk, that funds actions, campaigns and projects for deep transformative change
16	Gólya Community House	Hungary	15000	A member-owned and self-managed centre for open cooperative development, a headquarter for social projects, and a platform for neighbourhood-based organising in Budapest

No	Who	Focus Country	Amount	Short Description
17	INDEX	France	15000	An independent expertise lab based in France investigating allegations of state violence using imaging and information technology to make their case
18	Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha	Spain	20000	Self-organised group of women with a focus on union work and advocacy for justice for seasonal - often migrant - agricultural workers
19	Lallab	France	20000	Feminist and anti-racist organisation self-organising with muslim women in France using trainings, workshops, care and empowerment practices
20	Ljubljana Odprto Mesto	Slovenia	15000	Municipalist platform in Slovenia's capital advocating for housing rights and greater civic participation & participatory democracy in Ljubljana
21	new visions	Germany	15000	Cultural collective that is designing and facilitating engaging, inclusive and holistic workshops and trainings for womxn
22	Organisez-Vous	France	18000	Association that supports and trains organisers across France, currently doing a training with local organisers in different regions of the country on fair wages, climate change, and gender equality

No	Who	Focus Country	Amount	Short Description
23	Pravo na grad	Serbia	20000	Municipalist platform advocating for better living conditions, greater civic participation and radical democracy in the city of Belgrade
24	Re-set	Czech Republic	15000	Group actively working on civic engagement and education with grassroots movements in the fields of housing and climate justice, imbuing a coherent vision of the social and economic transformation of the Czech society towards greater social and climate justice
25	Skogsupproret	Sweden	20000	An environmental justice organisation working on both Sámi land rights and forest protection
26	Trans Mreza Balkan	Croatia	20000	Network focused on growing a regional intersectional trans feminist movement to protect the rights of LGBTQIA+ individuals and a focus on trans people
27	Ulex Project (Associació Col·lectiu Eco Actiu)	Spain	20000	Organisation that develops programs to strengthen movement capacity for social and ecological justice
28	Wild Carpathians Initiative	Poland	15000	A grassroots civic movement that aims to halt the exploitation of the Carpathian Forest in Poland





REFLEX GRANTS

No	Who	Country	Amount	Short Description
1	Abortion Summer Camp	Poland	7000	A collective that is educating, campaigning and enabling self-help-groups around abortion and reproductive rights
2	Associação CASA T	Portugal	8000	Shelter for trans, migrant, BIPOC individuals in Lisbon, providing housing as well as political organising against transphobia, racism and anti-migration sentiments
3	Associação Unidos em Defesa de Covas do Barroso	Portugal	9000	Climate justice association battling to halt the construction of lithium mines in Portugal
4	Berlin Tenant Organising Partnership hosted by Plan B:e.v	Germany	7000	Support five tenant organizers for training of the self-organization of tenants in the portfolios of large housing corporations and make them capable of speaking and acting in order to achieve certain social goals like preventing displacement
5	Borderline-Europe Menschenrechte ohne Grenzen	Germany	9000	Group that protests against EU border violence towards asylum seekers, advocating for the creation of safe passages in the mediterranean sea

No	Who	Country	Amount	Short Description
6	Collectif Sensé	France	6000	Feminist self-organised collective aiming to challenge racist, colonial and patriarchal norms in Marseille and beyond by facilitating mutual aid and solidarity as well as building resilience with marginalised people
7	Collective Y?!	Lithuania	3000	Network operating in the Baltics that connects grassroots movements and organisations within the region working on issues such as decolonisation, environmental justice & human rights
8	Common Ecologies School	Austria	5000	Initiative that brings together activists, organisers, researchers, and students for translocal social movement learning through online courses and a summer school
9	Climate Justice Action	Italy	5000	Informal network of climate justice activists based in Europe working across issues of racial, class, and gender justice
10	Climáximo	Portugal	9000	Climate justice collective in Portugal working towards ending the use of fossil gas in the country before 2030
11	Degrowth.info	Austria	5000	Online resource platform and network of the degrowth community
12	Dialogos municipalistas	Spain	7500	Trainings, resources and meetings for municipalist actors and platforms in Spain

No	Who	Country	Amount	Short Description
13	Electra Energy	Greece	7000	Cooperative that supports community-led and owned energy projects, with the aim to activate the engagement of citizens in the energy transition in Greece, the Balkans and beyond
14	Fridays for Future Lisbon	Portugal	7500	Climate justice group working specifically with students to end fossil fuels
15	Genova Che Osa	Italy	5000	A grassroots organisation that acts locally in Genova towards building a more equal and solidaric city
16	Golden Dawn Watch	Greece	7000	An initiative supported by the Hellenic League for Human Rights that monitors the Golden Dawn trial from the courtroom, and spreads information to the public about the case against the right wing organisation
17	Institute for Political Ecology	Croatia	9000	Research and educational organisation that designs programs and trainings as well as an annual summer school for activists from the region
18	Kreni Promeni	Serbia	7000	Online campaigning platform that allows affected citizens to mobilise and organise around their lived challenges
19	LevFem	Bulgaria	3000	Network of feminist, labour and migrant organisations from Eastern and Central Europe, organising around social reproduction to unearth and expose the interconnections between patriarchal, capitalist and racist violence

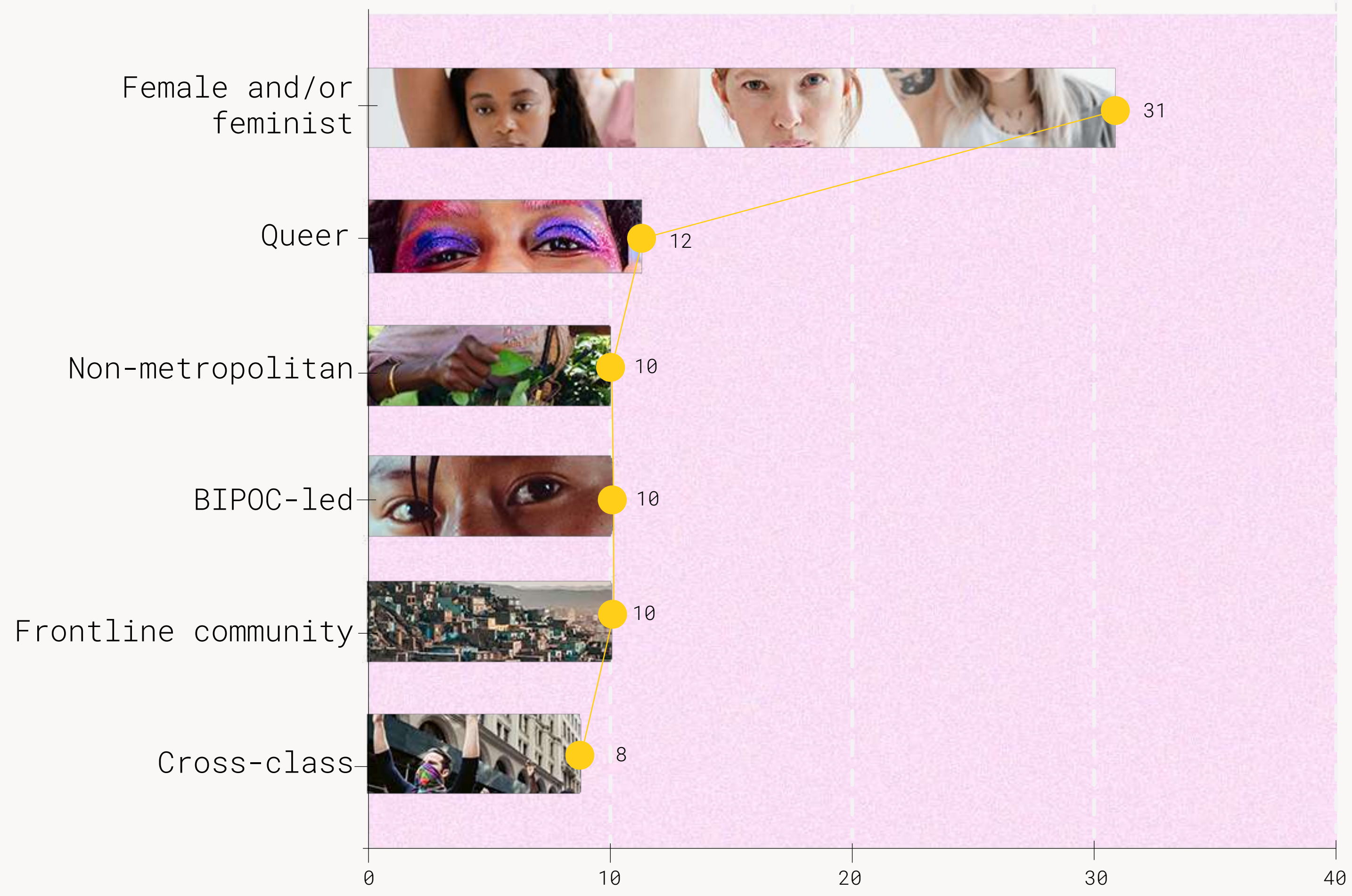
No	Who	Country	Amount	Short Description
20	Nen-ke-mu Afrofeminist Collective	Spain	7500	Anti-racist organisation developing events to bring together and discuss with African femmes their perspectives on the anti-racist movement and their needs
21	Pandora Mirabilia	Spain	6800	Organisation that provides domestic workers information about their labour rights and discrimination, as well as access to health care and housing
22	Pembe Hayat KuirFest	Turkey	7500	Grassroots collective developing the first and only queer film festival in Turkey
23	People vs Inequality Podcast	Italy	5000	Podcast that reflects and learns with changemakers on how to tackle inequality globally
24	Rise Up Community	Italy	5000	Group of community organisers campaigning in Italy against new EU energy taxonomy law
25	Respect - Protect - Fulfill	Lithuania	6500	Organisation promoting human rights - with a specific focus on refugees- in Belarus and beyond through impact litigation in public interest
26	Sobremesa	Spain	7500	A collective of activists from different social and environmental justice movements and organisations who develop trainings, debates and strategic alliances among Spanish activists

No	Who	Country	Amount	Short Description
27	Talas	Serbia	7500	Group of trans and non-binary activists that address the problems of the TIGV (trans, intersex and gender variant) community in Serbia with a broader intersectional-feminist approach.
28	welcome united	Germany	7500	Anti-racist organisation working on fighting deportations, the conditions in refugee camps and the overall situation at the European borders
29	Werkstatt für Bewegungsbildung	Germany	9000	Training events for worker organisers from different fields with the goal to build a network of committed worker organisers for fairer and more equal labour conditions.
30	With Wings and Roots	Germany	9000	A campaign advocating for citizenship rights for people living in Germany unable to receive a passport
31	8th of March Institute	Slovenia	5000	Feminist organisation that highlights injustices and inequalities in Slovenia with innovative people-centered campaigns.

GRANTMAKING ANALYSIS

Out of 59 grants made in 2022...

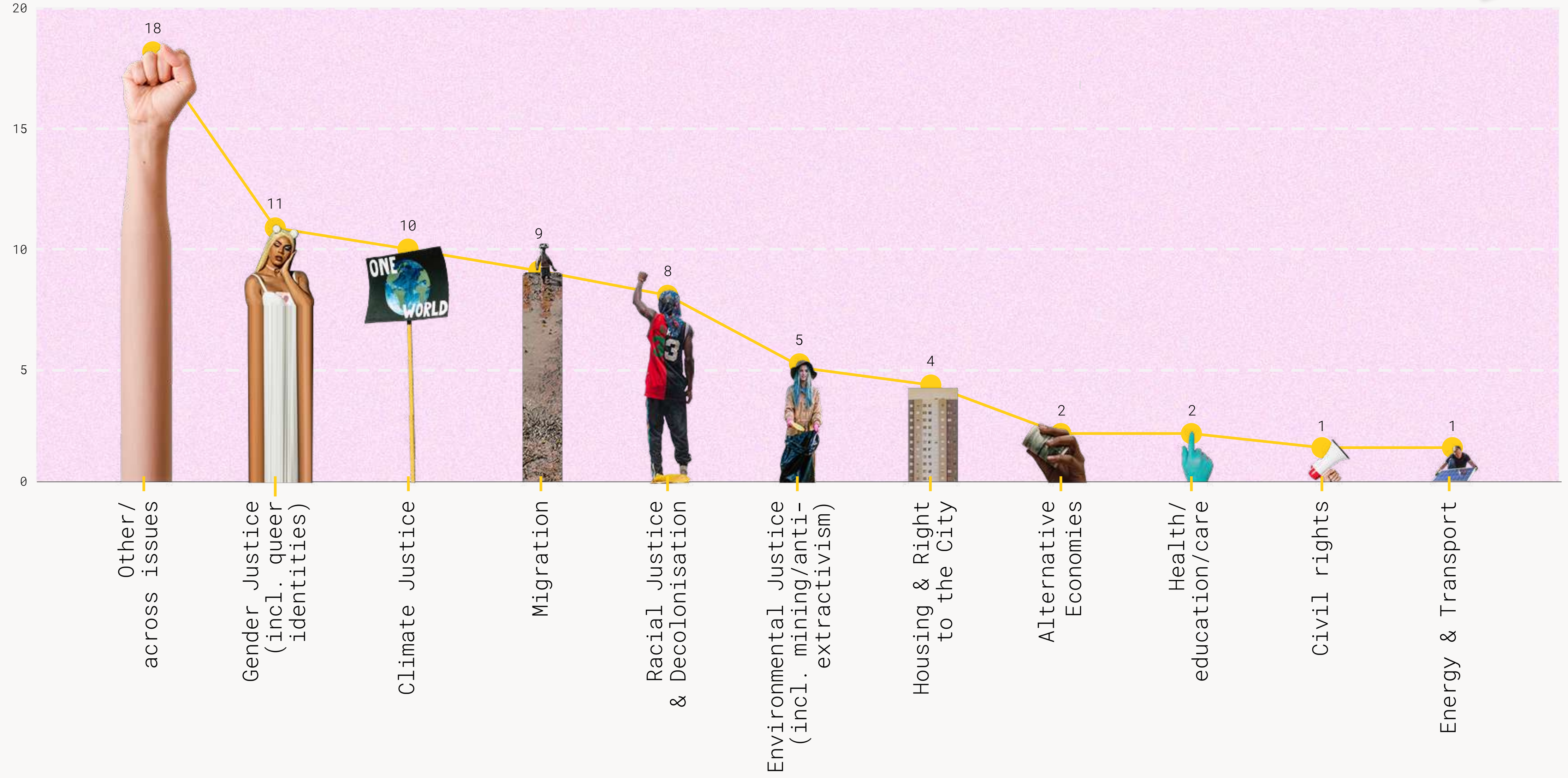
Characteristics of the core leadership (several might apply):



Core issue area (several might apply):

Out of 59 grants
made in 2022...

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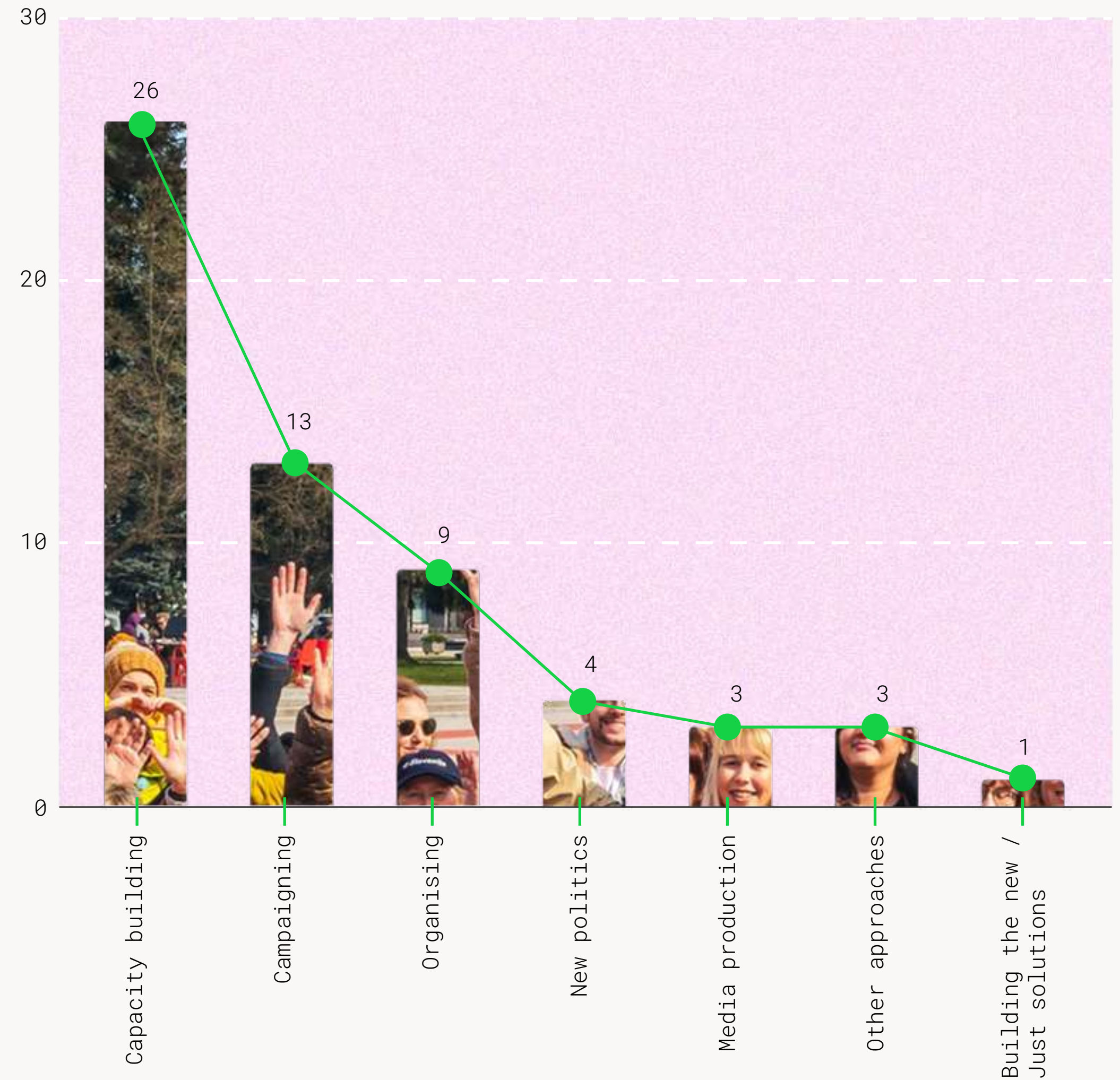
Reach of the grant activity:



Number of grants where we gave early-stage funding (among the first 3 institutional donors): **35**

Main approach to achieve change:

Out of 59 grants made in 2022...



Supporting small grassroots collectives and new initiatives

and putting them on the map for other funders is one of our key contributions to the European social movement ecosystem. For 35 of our 59 grantees of 2022 we were among the first three institutional donors. Overall, we realise over and over again the importance of small grants, which is also why we intend to grow our Reflex budget in the coming years. Repeatedly, other foundations reach out to us asking whether we would be able to support organisations in their network with a small grant because they themselves cannot support these kinds of requests because the minimum grant amount is 20, 30 or even 50k. On the other hand, all of them find movement building and supporting grassroots collectives important. It seems there is a mismatch between the aspiration to support grassroots movements and the grantmaking practices and administrative capabilities of these funders.

If you want to support grassroots groups, you as a funder need to be prepared for going through the administrative nightmare of spending weeks trying to figure out a way to get 5k to a small unregistered collective in another country. That is our commitment and we make the resources available to make these things happen and encourage other funders to do the same.

Funding the underfunded: While we are good at funding groups with female leadership and feminist values, we still need to step up our efforts to resource more organisations and collectives that are located in rural areas, led by people of colour, members of frontline communities and that are cross-class. Overall, we find that a class analysis has become more important for us in the last year. We increasingly feel the challenge of having a written application form in English and are aware that in many countries this is a serious limitation to resourcing groups

not led by members of the 'professional managerial class'. Our Activist Council already helped expand our reach and brought in more diverse groups than would have reached out to us and we are committed to finding ways to be more accessible with their help.

In terms of **issue areas**, we were able to reach more groups working in the field of migration, racial justice and decolonisation (17, up from 10 last year) while the other numbers are almost identical to those of last year. What is invisible behind those labels is the challenge to identify groups that are deeply embedded in their ecosystem, have a truly intersectional analysis and are in solidarity with other struggles beyond lip service. Refining our application process and ability to have conversations with candidates and grantees about these issues is an ongoing process of collective learning and sensemaking. Providing a space where groups can reflect and expand their analysis and ties with other struggles is another way in which we hope to contribute to the field. For example, we went into a conversation with a climate group that we supported after we received feedback from others that their event was not inclusive and did not focus on climate justice as much as we had hoped when funding it. Building intersectional movements is work, takes time and requires the space and openness to be able to challenge narratives about urgency and reflect upon how groups show up in their organising and relating to each other.

Multi-year grants. We'd love to make more of these but our current financial set-up does not allow for it - something we would love to change as we onboard new members into our Funders Circle. However, last year we committed to stop making multi-year commitments to rather established groups in the UK but also move our multi-year support to underfunded geographies where that kind of core support is much more needed. The **Common Thing Foundation** in Poland and the Right to Housing arm of **Re-set** in the Czech Republic are the two organisations that received a bit of breathing room through a two year core grant.



BEHIND THE RADICAL FUNDING SCENES

ONE YEAR OF PARTICIPATORY GOVERNANCE

In January 2022, the Guerrilla crew left the comfort and cosiness of a small private foundation to embark on a journey towards a **Guerrilla Foundation reloaded**. Toni took the lead in inviting others into a **Funders Circle** (FC) ([read his reflections](#)) and the team set off to recruit a kick-ass inaugural **Activist Council** (AC). While the details are in the blog posts and an overview of our new participatory governance model can be found below, we still want to reflect upon the journey up until now with a couple of lessons learned.

Participation is demanding

To those who think that participatory grantmaking means less work for the team: think again! Setting up the tech and processes for 11 Council members to smoothly give feedback on grant candidates and being involved in filling our grant candidate pipeline, multiple requests and questions from AC and FC as they were figuring out their roles and responsibilities, long emails to report back, coordinate - the team had a lot in its hands this last year! While some of that surely was part of the set-up process, other aspects however, will continue to demand more team time. As the team is moving more from being decision-makers to being coordinators, managing communication flows and facilitating decision-making spaces are skills and areas of work we need to expand into.

Funders Circle ●

Helps to bring in funds for redistribution, serves as strategic advice & sounding board for staff, space for radphil peer education

Team ●

Does operations, grantee support & scouting, narrative & storytelling, radphil activities



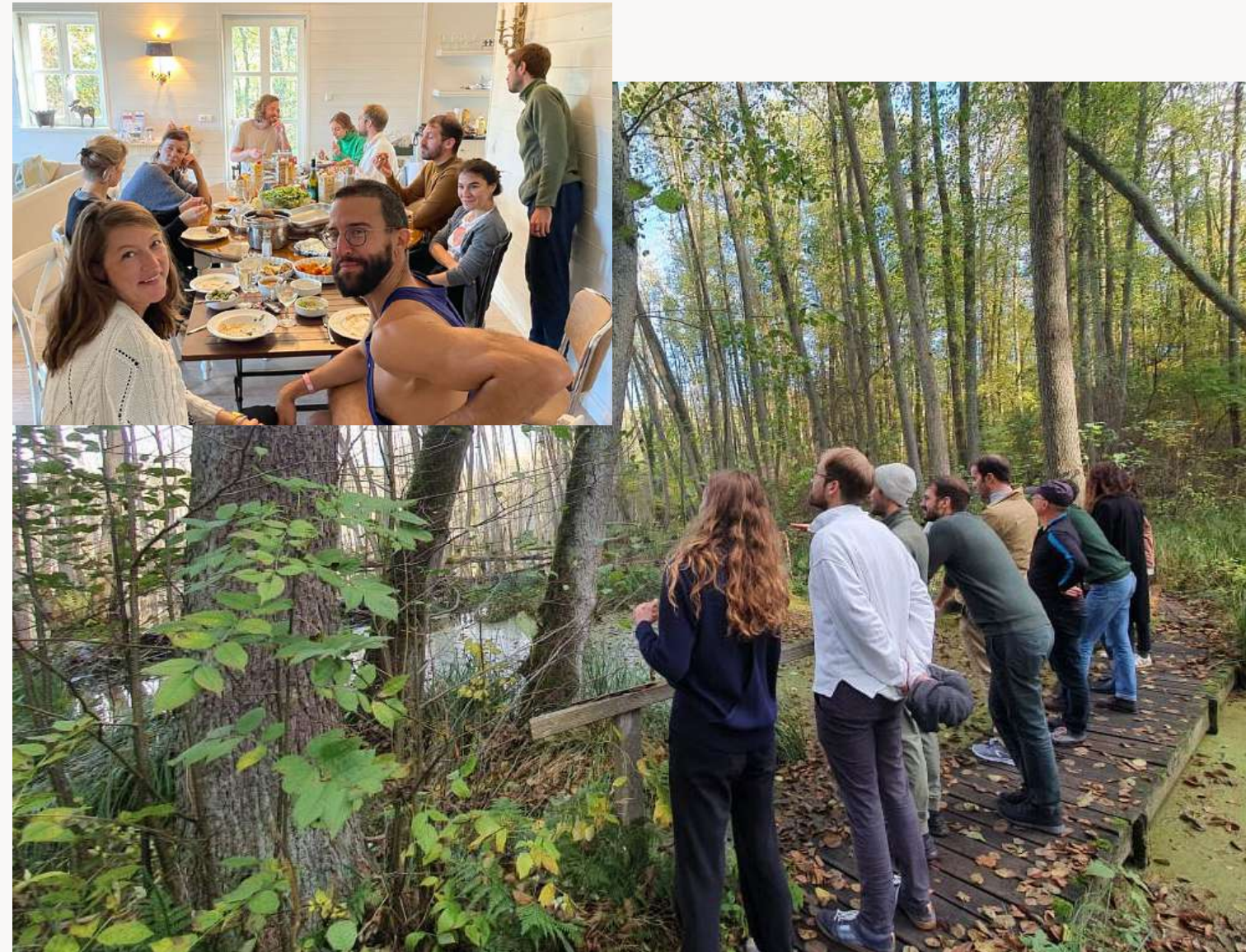
● Activist Council

Decides on grants >10k EUR, scouts grant candidates, gives strategic advice & is a sounding board for team

We also set up the 'Staff Liaison Committee' (SLC) with three AC and FC members each to answer some of the information needs that emerged in our collective organising process and provide support to the team in case of conflicts. The SLC meets quarterly with Romy to receive operational updates about the status of activities, projects and budget. These are being fed back to the wider AC and FC and inform their conversations. For the team, the SLC is a sounding board and first point of contact for input and feedback on ideas and emergent projects. For example, the team requested both AC and FC through the SLC to give input into designing an evaluation process for our governance trial.

Challenges of self organisation, meaning & belonging

Both, the AC and FC also had to grow together as groups and generate their own self organising forces. Being activists, the AC were quick to decide for a regular monthly meeting at a fixed time as well as a set of smaller working groups to tackle specific tasks. A coordinator was found to take on communication with the Guerrilla team and all we had to do was offer a couple of open door meetings from our side to discuss any emerging issues before they turned into problems. Also the funders decided for a regular meeting, not as often as the AC and with rotating facilitation as well as more effort spent on finding meeting times and structure. Both groups struggled with the openness of the task of self organising and contributing to conversations within Guerrilla about their role and identity. Building real belonging to this emerging new organisation (or shall we say organism?) that the Guerrilla Foundation set out to become and creating a collective consciousness



The value of agendaless time spent walking in the forest, chatting by the fire and cooking meals together is impossible to quantify but it's very present in what we internally now only refer to as 'the Kiki vibe'.



as well as a sense of meaning and identity among the sub-groups will take time, conversations and a willingness to grow together as individuals and collectively. This is an experiment after all!

Personal connection building is the essence

What we did realise when coming out of the Guerrilla Kiki - an informal 3 day get-together of five funders, four activists and the Guerrilla team - was that we need more opportunities for building personal connections among everyone involved.

Inspired by the Kiki and a need for more trust and connection building, both the AC and FC are now planning their own gatherings. I feel there is a sense among many that it might be worth it to spend some time to dig deeper and uncover what's beneath a superficial commitment to give money and expertise into this experiment. Not that these commitments aren't substantial but there is a sense in the air that we collectively might unearth a commitment to and vision for a fundamentally different kind of philanthropy. For that to happen we need to know each other and trust more.

Flow funding & transparent compensation are great ideas but hard to practice

Speaking of unbelievable amounts of extra work: never design a flow fund for free distribution by activists if you don't know how you get that money out in a way that's in line with charitable requirements! Period. We had the idea for each AC member to redistribute 2500 EUR annually into the European social movement ecosystem in whatever way they felt relevant. What ended up happening is that some of this money has not yet been claimed because it's unclear how to do this if not as additional personal income that needs to be taxed. Other flow funds have been claimed but were distributed as small grants which requires admin and time on all sides which could have been better used in other ways.

We use **Open Collective** for transparently compensating Council members and still believe in the benefits of the tool in terms of possibly moving towards a scenario where the Council collectively manages a budget for its work and where everyone is fairly compensated for their contribution. However, setting up a working system and getting people to use the correct invoice templates suitable for their individual circumstance was an administrative nightmare some of us would prefer not to repeat.



Pandora mirabilia

Forum apulum

Golya community house

Les soulements de la terre

Trans Mreza Balkan

Wild Carpathians Initiative

Redistribution is messy

Setting up a funder collective with a redistribution focus to resource our work and grow our impact has been a dream for a while. As we are making it happen, we realise more and more that every individual is on their own journey towards radical philanthropy and ultimately redistribution. Some FC members have not 'come out' yet as wealthy towards even their closest friends, others want to be anonymous for fear of their family's safety, others are setting up more traditional family foundations, while also funding more radically through Guerrilla. Others cannot identify (yet?) with a redistribution narrative while wholeheartedly agreeing to other systems change goals we stand for. When we envisioned the Guerrilla Foundation as a vehicle for the so-called 'high net worth' folks to redistribute their wealth, these complexities seemed somehow... less complex. The structures and narratives of philanthrocapitalism are powerful and hard to challenge. But we're on it and we know that there's a growing field of radical systems change philanthropy out there for whom abolishing philanthrocapitalism is not a crazy thought.

It's totally worth it!

Even though many things were built on the go and everyone on the team put in extra work and lots of thinking #massiveshoutoutandteamlove, overall the transformation has been a largely rewarding experience. We're happy to see our grantmaking and pipeline changing towards more grassroots, intersectional, cross-class and minority-led groups and have already funded a couple of incredible organisations we had not been aware of if it wasn't for the AC's scouting magic. Having established rapport with our AC members also means that the team now benefits from a quick feedback loop when

it comes to local knowledge and other expertise. For example, a quick email exchange with Maria Francesca from the AC was enough to discover that a Reflex grant candidate had been running as a candidate for a right-wing party in Italy a couple of years before, resulting in a clear no for funding. Having broadened the Guerrilla crew also means that we can step aside and let other voices be heard in spaces that are often inaccessible. In the summer, Joris from the AC joined the PEX Forum in his hometown Istanbul to be our spokesperson on **Why philanthropy should fund social movements** and build connections with other funders.

We are also grateful for the many inspiring individuals who joined the AC and FC - getting to know them has been such an enriching (and ongoing) experience for me and also other team members.

We keep discovering ways in which we can collaborate and support each other and that there are layers upon layers still to be peeled away to break with separation and silos to learn from and with each other and not fall back into the superficial labels of 'rich', 'activist', 'staff' etc. that do not fully represent any of the individuals we bring together in this experiment.

It's obvious that we are only beginning to understand what it means to raise this messy, growing infant of a participatory foundation into a responsible, accountable and fun-to-be-around grown up that truly lives the value of participation and makes an important contribution to the ecosystem of European social movements. Do get in touch if you have thoughts, feedback or support to offer us on this journey (romy@guerrillafoundation.org).



Festival y_!



Ljubljana Odprto Mesto



Kuir fest



Casa T



Organisez-vous

Some insights from a conversation between a Guerrilla team member and an Activist Council and a Funders Circle member

Three members of each governance body of the Guerrilla Foundation chatted about the organisation's governance transition, showcasing some of the inner workings of each new group - the Activist Council and the Funders Circle - and their member's thoughts on changing the wider charitable-industrial complex that Guerrilla affects into a field where funding grassroots movements is key, embracing the much needed accountability and reparations work that is often lacking in philanthropy.

Heartfelt thanks to both members of the AC and FC for a fruitful and insightful conversation around Guerrilla's governance transition and your commitment to growing this organisation into a mature participatory model that can inspire change in the field. Due to the interview's length, we are featuring the full piece in our G Blog, check it out: "[In Conversation with an Activist Council and a Funders Circle member](#)".

Teresa: "I must say for us at the GF it was also very important to reflect on our embeddedness in the ecosystem. Growing the organisation into a body that has much more in depth knowledge about the groups we resource really allowed us to better understand the ecosystem we are connected to."

Binta: "it's kind of this idea that the people who have direct lived experiences of the systemic inequalities that are impacting them are not the experts of their own experiences. But they are the ones who can put in place solutions. So money is deeply tied to how far you can push your vision and how successful you can be in achieving some of your political outcomes"

Claudia: "Essentially, [we want to become] a group that has a shared understanding about each other and some clear questions that we're accountable to, being those: how can we influence the philanthropic sector that we're embedded in to resource more grassroots movements and second, how can we be advocates of the participatory model?"



DEEP DIVE INTO KEY ISSUES

Layered, Systemic, Intersectional Organising

Intersectional feminism is “a prism, for seeing the way in which various forms of inequality often operate together and exacerbate each other”. A systemic approach to taking on interconnected oppressions is working on various pressure points simultaneously, and before pressure is applied, making these interconnections apparent is what movement builders need to do. Solidarity is built when individual groups can step out of their silos and find ways to collaborate with others, even if their work revolves around a single form of oppression. Intersectional movement building centres the expansive, collective vision, while finding functional forms of complementary, strategic action. Some of our grantees model the theory in practice, the **Camera Femina** crew, for instance, organise film festivals and cultural events to challenge, entertain and educate audiences with ideas around identity, queerness, gender, feminist principles but do so in a lateral, non-didactic way. The spaces are open to everyone, events are free to overcome financial barriers and there is great care taken to address accessibility, either physical when choosing partner venues but also linguistic (e.g. via translations/sign language provision at events). Similarly **Alda**, a Basque grassroots group which aims at defending working-class people’s rights, connects a lot of dots in the pursuit of holistic, working class justice. While improving the housing conditions in Basque Country is their long-term goal, one part of the larger vision of this group centers around involving low-income people & neighbourhoods in the wider social and ecological metamorphosis of the society. But when we zoom into the particular activities needed to get

there, we find: 1) community-organising groups on housing, 2) free press newspaper to counter dominant media (35,000 copies), 3) awareness raising campaigning on ecological & climate issues 4) tangible bridge building with alternative industries (energy, transport, food, finance). A Balkan sister example comes from the **8th of March Institute** in Slovenia, where the initial focus of raising awareness around gender inequality blossomed into a multi-issue grassroots movement for various human rights campaigns. 8th of March first initiated the Slovenian #metoo (**#jazitudi**) campaign, which evolved into wider mobilisations around sexual health and reproductive rights within the country, countering the neoconservative tendencies of the current government from a systemic angle. This policy-oriented approach was translated into the Employment Relationships Act Amendment which supports the police officer trade union to protect rebel police officers who resist authoritarian state rule and are being disciplined by the state. The skills needed to mobilise people led the team to sway the political climate in the country overall, resulting in the win of the non-right wing candidate last year. They’re now actively holding the new president accountable who’s not right-wing but also not the left progressive they’d want - currently they are trying to prevent the privatisation of the health system. A little further south in Italy, the **Spore Collective** have been researching how a Just Transition (socially & ecologically) might be supported with IT tools while connecting individual local struggles to national-level debates around putting these values into political infrastructure. They have been conducting virtual mapping of renewable energy projects while discussing the nuances in climate organising through a social justice lens. Whether it is the No TAP movement, Fridays for Future Italy, anti-extractivist or anti mega off-shore wind farm projects, they dissect the energy sector and expose neocolonial, greenwashed or top-down/undemocratic projects. In parallel they contribute to the ongoing public and bottom-up debate on energy, with commoning solutions and thus a much more comprehensive, intersectional narrative around a wider, Italian Just Transition.



Care & Solidarity, the Bedrock of Sustainable Movements

“Neoliberalism is uncaring by design”, writes **The Care Collective in The Care Manifesto**, a book on the politics of interdependence. “Dependence on care has been pathologised, rather than recognized as part of our human condition”, therefore normalising care and bringing care-practices into social movement culture is one step at embracing interdependencies and nurturing one another rather than contributing to collective burn out. Most explicitly, **Boiling Point (Wrzenie)**, a queer-care collective in Poland, have been centering mental health support, burn-out prevention and spreading of tools and practices that protect, safeguard and offer healing resources especially for trans youth and queer people in the countryside. They put together a publication about safe activism, ran a burn-out camp for lgbt+ activists, and organised ad hoc support for displaced Ukrainian queer people arriving in Poland. Care was a topic that emerged in several of our Deeper Inquiry sessions, most notably **Embodied Revolution** with Skeena Rathor and the **Feministisation of Politics** with Maria Francesca de Tullio & Irene Zugasti. Investing time and effort into relationships is what leads to resilient, long-term allyship. Skeena’s insights from her work in tending to the vision of Extinction Rebellion, highlights the importance of grief, acknowledging the collective pain body and the vast inequities between global south and north that breed wider social/ecological harms. She says, “we need to organise at the speed of trust”, trust being at the core of building deep, functional relationships - an honest critique behind

some of XR’s major shortcomings. In addition, the narrative of feminised politics, a core tenet of radical municipalism, brings many questions around care into how we conduct political organising. Anti-patriarchal practices shape how we run meetings, how parental duties are accommodated in the workplace, and how mental health is conceived politically. This year we also started a novel collaboration with writer and researcher **Anthea Lawson** who is mapping out patterns and trends in varied European activist scenes with one clear cluster of inquiry being burnout and how to curb it. And not just curb it, but create an entirely different culture, one that doesn’t lead to burnout by default. These discussions have inspired us on our own journey and organisational transformation as we aspire to align our political values and organisational practices through what we call Care-illa. But care takes on many forms and guises. The Care Manifesto continues, “The decimation of public spaces renders a sense of communal life increasingly difficult. There are fewer places for people to congregate, whether for relaxation and enjoyment, or to discuss issues of common concern or participate in collaborative projects. This heightens the competitive individualism that so often leads to loneliness and isolation, while having devastating repercussions for our ability to participate in democratic decision-making”. Grantees such as **Index**, the police accountability lab which uses tech to dig up evidence and support cases of police brutality in France, an off-shoot of **Forensic Architecture**, is modelling citizen care - peer-to-peer support between citizens when the state fails to protect and serve. Moreover, this type of work supports wider, ecosystemic movement health, the space to dissent, the right to protest, the freedom to oppose injustice. Here work of groups such as Index and **Article 11 Trust** is absolutely essential. They ensure that laws protect people and allow civil disobedience to continue as an essential part of democratic discourse and worldbuilding. Care emerges as an underlying theme in “**Defending Dissent**” with Kevin Blowe, caring for social justice means also caring about the laws and systems that allow us to safeguard it.



Radio afrolis



Camera femina



Pandora mirabilia



Alda



Climaximo

8 of march institute

Communication Activism

“The revolution will be podcasted”, reads an **Upstream** sticker, right alongside “You Don’t Hate Mondays, You Hate Capitalism”. Upstream is a podcast that offers a quarterly Documentary series and a bi-monthly In Conversation series exploring a wide variety of themes pertaining to economics - from an anti-capitalist perspective. They have been multi-year grantees and collaborators, releasing accessible in-depth content on layered topics such as **The Green Transition** or **Feminism for the 99%** or **Workers Cooperatives** and have mushroomed from a small DIY project into a media platform with significant reach. Similarly, we have supported more niche audio-content initiatives with a satirical or politically fresh spin. For instance, the **People vs Inequality Podcast**, spotlights inequality as a root-cause issue behind contemporary social injustice and centres each episode around bridging divides with practical tactics & ideas. Over in Spain, feminist cultural collective, **Pandora Mirabilia** together with an informal domestic workers union **Territorio Domestico**, produced a podcast series specifically designed to appeal to domestic workers (predominantly from Latin America), which they can listen to while doing housework and the podcast centers around the workers knowing their rights, how to get support if an employer refuses to pay or where to seek help if they experience any form of harassment at work. In neighbouring Portugal, **Radio Afrolis** is a storytelling project about the lived realities of the African diaspora from Lagos to Porto. It explores family dynamics, discrimination, identity development, police/state violence, systemic racism, cultural celebration and grief. The Radio Afrolis podcasts has a specific audience, and the success of the podcast is measured by the people receiving the content

THE OPPRESSOR
WOULD NOT BE
STRONG
IF WE DID
NOT HAVE
ACCOMPLICES
AMONG THE
OPPRESSED

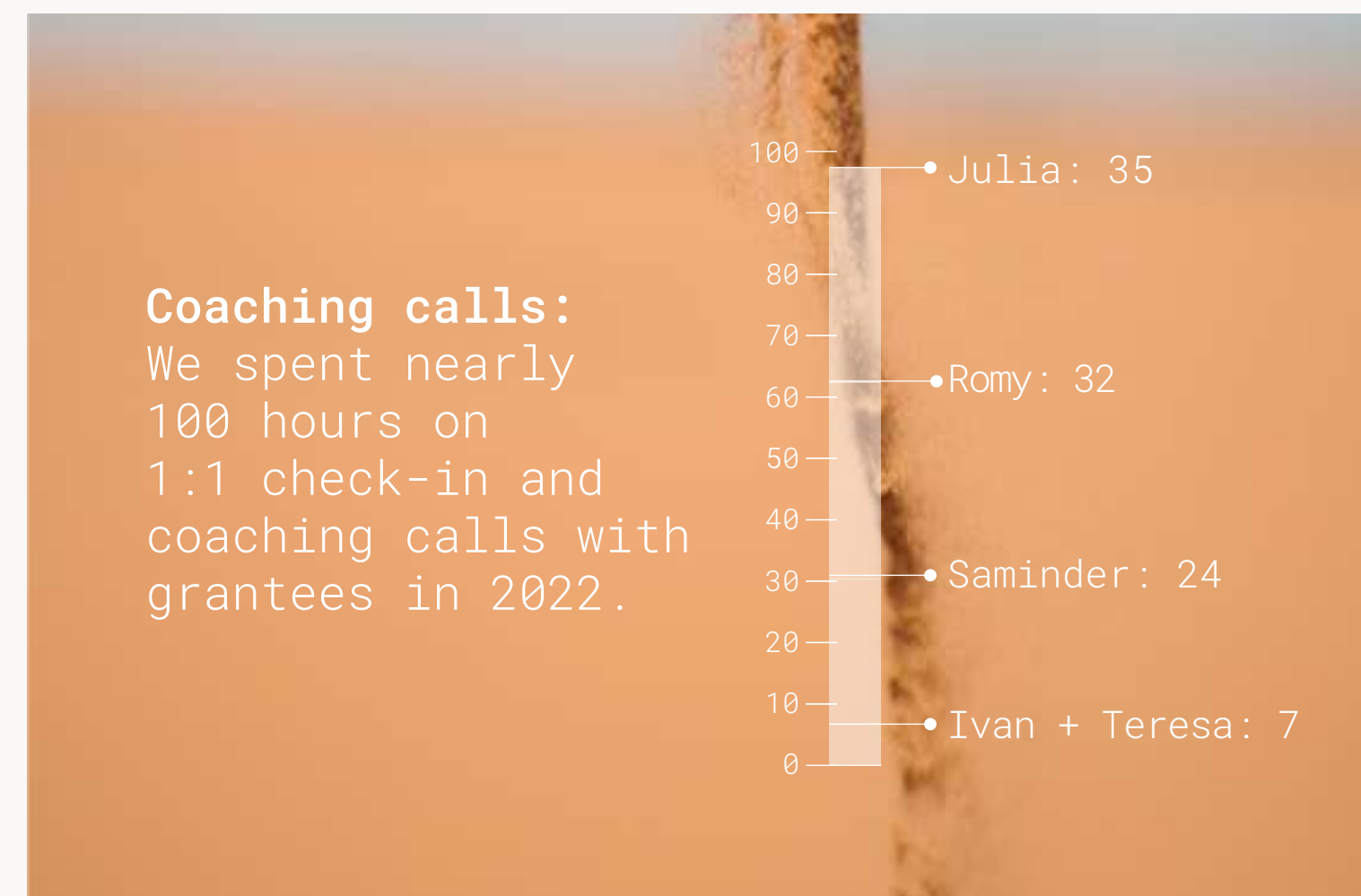
– Simone de Beauvoir

who are meant to receive it and use it as a source of empowerment. Mainstreaming is not the goal, rather an uplifting, healing or edifying experience for those who are oppressed and marginalised - who the mainstream misses out on. Similarly in Serbia, the **Radar Left Podcast**, brought political, feminist satire into a videoblogging format and has been steadily gathering its public. The political discourse is refreshing, new, accessible and familiarises common urban & rural dysfunctions, while being unlike anything screened on tightly-regulated state TV. Similarly, a bit further SouthEast in Romania **Forum Apulum** uses political media literacy classes and guerrilla field journalism as a way to politically educate Romanian youth and give them the skills and resources so that they may start producing their own stories and political content. And of course, content production is just one realm of comms work, creating the spaces for discourse, dialogue, integration, processing, reflection and sustained learning is how this content is channelled, absorbed or lost. **Pembe Hayat KuirFest** for instance, is the only queer festival in Turkey that hosts films screening, talks, performances and workshops and it is in these discursive sessions that the public can interact with artists, activists and one another. The need to get more in-depth content but in an interactive space, is what led us to begin the **Guerrilla Deeper Inquiry** series of videopodcasts both with grantees and other allies in the field. To probe even deeper into notions of radicality and who are the rebels grabbing oppressions by the roots, we started **The Radicals**, a storytelling initiative reclaiming and reconceptualising radical thinking and action. To paraphrase McLuhan, we become what we behold, we shape our stories and then our stories shape us.

BUILDING COMMUNITY

STRUCTURE

In 2022, we kept on growing our community ties by doing events with the activist and grantee community that we are accountable to. We did 3 P2P events for our grantee community, meant to dive deep in specific issues relevant to activist modus operandi. To strengthen our grantee network and widen our perspectives while building relationships, we conducted 5 Deeper Inquiry sessions with an overall number of 120 participants and more than 660 online views as of the time of writing.



Spreading rad phil ideas: We shared our version of radical philanthropy for systems change, our move to participatory grantmaking with HNWI and other foundations in 1:1 conversations and funder webinars (over 25 hours total). Apart from contributing to changing philanthropy in the long run, these conversations (and countless emails) help make funds available to grassroots groups and movements. It's hard to track, though, how much money exactly we were able to mobilise because people don't always report back

how much funding flowed as a result of our work and the 50+ introductions we made between funders and activist groups (250k+ of funding were reported back to us though).

Leap & CJ working group: Together with Tatiana from our Activist Council, Romy continued her work with the Leap collective. In 2022, Leap hosted one experiment on climate justice (CJ) and developed proposals for other experiments to influence European philanthropy. With funding from the Bosch Foundation, the first active Leap experiment brings together a group of CJ activists from across Europe to develop ideas for how the European CJ ecosystem wants to be supported. The experiment will continue in 2023 to put these recommendations into practice and influence more (climate) funders.

Other activist engagements and connections: Teresa and Romy are both part of a **municipalist working group** in Berlin that is exploring opportunities for creating a city-wide left platform as a civil society-based counterweight to mainstream politics in the city. Besides, Teresa is knee deep in the **EMN project**, a network that is connecting to different municipalist organisations on the ground while creating alliances that foster networked political action in this field. She's also active in the Feministisation of Politics working group, which rallies for putting feminist principles into practice in municipalist and activist groups in and outside of the EMN network. In Greece, Ivan is at the heart of an activist community that is in a constant pulsing rhythm of enquiry & regeneration for spirit, land, and political nourishment. In the city of Athens he is supporting self-organised groups like **Communitism** to politicise the use of public spaces for commoning, besides being busy with his own queer activism, artistic and experimental projects. Eve, who joined Guerrilla in the summer, is active in defending migration rights for freedom of movement and analysing political violence, especially against people on the move.

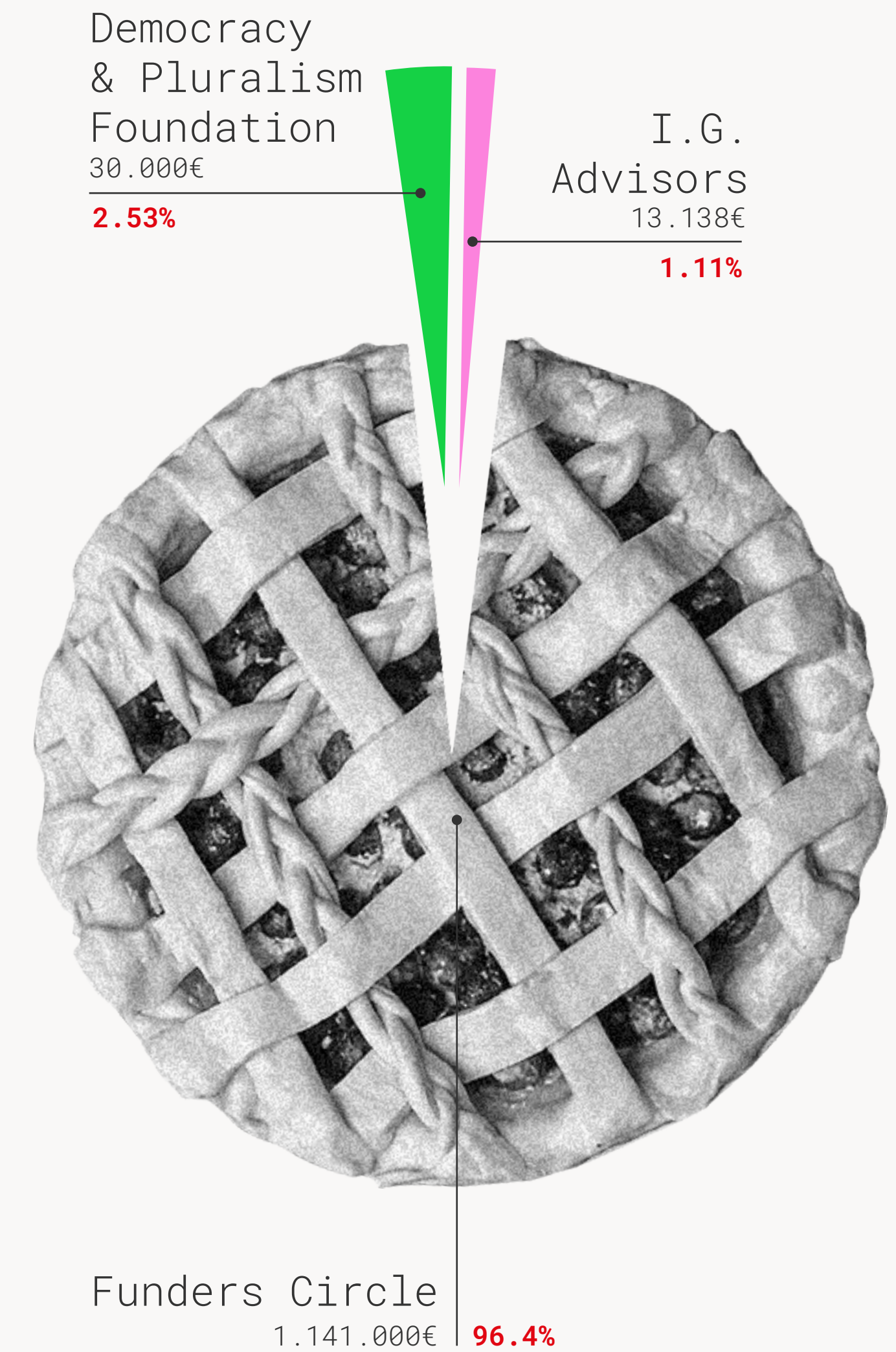
FINANCES

In an effort to be accountable to the ecosystem we support and to our funders, we are transparent about the sources and about how we spend our money. At the same time, we want these pages to be accessible, though, and don't believe in dumping a whole lot of numbers here that only a small percentage of our target group would be able to understand because they lack specialised financial knowledge. In the end, it's also rather simple: what do we spend our funding on and where does it come from? This shouldn't be complicated.

Sources of Funding

The vast majority of our funds comes from the private individuals in our Funders Circle. On top of that we received one additional donation from an anonymous private individual vetted by I.G. Advisors in the UK and one grant from the Swedish Democracy & Pluralism Foundation.

We do not have a capital stock and do not invest money ourselves. Our Funders Circle members disburse their contributions upon request and according to their funding commitment at the beginning of the year. While this allows us to stay nimble as an organisation in terms of financial administration, we do recognise the lack of transparency and control this creates about the sources of that money. Therefore, part of our governance trial period is for the Funders Circle to develop internal guidelines about what kind of money they accept coming into Guerrilla. We encourage FC members to have an internal discussion and hold each other accountable regarding their respective individual commitments when it comes to 'real spending down for true wealth redistribution' vs. 'just' spending the proceeds of their investments and also about their transparency about their identity being public on our website. At the same time, we acknowledge that each individual has their own personal process and that change takes time.



Total donations:
1.184.138€

Spending



Activist compensation

48.962€

6.48%

Reflex Grants

209.800€

27.75%

Action Grants

497.200€

65.77%

Total program cost:

754.962€

Program costs

The bulk of our outflowing funding is spent on grants (93,52% of total funding). On top of that, we channel money directly to activists through fair compensation of Activist Council members and other individuals who we pay for contributing to our work, e.g. by writing blog posts or providing strategic advice. In total, we redistributed 754.962 EUR or 72,08% of our total budget into the European activist ecosystem.

Team & freelancers

We have a relatively equal pay structure with the highest paid person making only 1,83 times as much after taxes as the lowest paid person. However, it needs to be pointed out that the only full time employee is currently also the highest paid person, our Managing Director. While some people on the (freelance) team chose to work part time to be able to have more time for their activism and other projects, others would like to increase their hours to make more money.

As we are moving towards more self organisation in the future, we expect to have more conversations about the 4-day work week, individual financial needs depending on location and life circumstances, the distribution of labour and responsibility, as well as the 'valuation' of different types of expertise and contributions to team and organisational functioning.

A note on 'overhead': We spend 22,5% of our annual funding on 'team and freelancers' and are regularly being asked whether that is not too much. We don't believe it is:

Our contribution to the ecosystem by making lots of small grants that many other foundations simply are not set up to make. Many times, the time needed for administering a 5k grant to a small activist collective is multiple times that of making a much larger grant to a registered charity. If we received a 10k grant every time we're being asked to make a small donation to a group that is 'too small' for the big funder contacting us, our grant budget could be much higher!

WE LIVE IN A WORLD
WHERE THERE IS MORE
AND MORE AND MORE
INFORMATION,
AND LESS AND LESS
MEANING

- Jean Baudrillard

Our communication and other activities to radicalise philanthropy in Europe create ripple effects in the sector - not only in terms of grants that we facilitate to groups in our ecosystem but also in terms of influencing the strategy and grantmaking of other (newly set up) foundations. It's hard to track and measure these impacts but the feedback we receive on this work tells us to not stop it.

The events, network building and coaching we do to support thinking and connection among actors in the activist ecosystem are similarly important and have contributed to increased connection, coordination and better outcomes of social movement activities.

GUERRILLA FOUNDATION
Team & freelancers

2022 8:36:18 AM

QTY	DESC	AMT
1	Salaries and regular freelancers (3,125 FTE* across 5 people)	236.002€
2	Social security, pension and health employer contributions in Germany	26.308€
AMOUNT		262.310€



*FTE = 40 hours/week (our friends at Autonomy would not agree ;)

Other costs and infrastructure

56.788 EUR

5,41 % of our costs fall into this last category which includes developing and maintaining our own open source grant management software, website development & hosting, memberships in philanthropic associations, education materials, conference and travel budget, insurances, accounting & bookkeeping costs, legal support, as well as retreats for our virtual team and governance structure (team, AC, FC) to meet and connect.

Total spent in 2022:

1.048.752 EUR

Funds raised but not spent in 2022 will be carried over to 2023. While some of that money is still earmarked for e.g. outstanding invoices, the remainder will be added to our program budget.

BRAIN FOOD

Reading

- How to Raise a Feminist Son, Sonora Jha (2021)
- Ministry for the Future, K.S. Robinson (2020)
- Post-capitalist Philanthropy, A. Ladha & L. Murphy (2022)
- Capitalist Realism, Mark Fisher (2009)
- Fully Automated Luxury Communism, Aaron Bastani (updated 2020)
- Abolish the Family by Sophie Lewis (2022)
- The Future Is Degrowth by Matthias Schmelzer, Aaron Vansintjan, Andrea Vetter (2022)
- Overtime by Kyle Lewis and Will Stronge (2021)
- A World Without Police by Geo Maher (2021)
- Feminist City by Leslie Kern (2020)
- Psychopolitics by Byung-Chul Han (2014)
- Capital Is Dead by McKenzie Wark (2019)
- Females by Andrea Long Chu (2019)

Listening

- [Feminism for the 99%](#)
- [Green Transition - Part 1: The Problem with Green Capitalism](#)
- [Green Transition - Part 2: A Green Deal for the People](#)
- [Revolutionary Leftism with Breht O'Shea](#)
- [Novara Media](#)
- [Stolen Focus with Johann Hari](#)



Watching

- In the Loop (2009)
- All the Beauty and the Bloodshed (2022)
- How To With John Wilson (TV Series 2020-)
- Athena (2022)
- Succession (TV Series 2018-)
- Is That Black Enough for You?!? (2022)
- Collective (2019)
- Summer of Soul (...Or, When the Revolution Could Not Be Televised) (2021)
- Can't Get You Out of My Head (2021)
- The Weather Underground (2002)
- Douglas by Hannah Gadsby (Comedy Show 2022)
- Euphoria (TV Series)

ART **ACTIVISM** SHOULD COMFORT
THE DISTURBED AND
DISTURB THE COMFORTABLE

– Cesar Cruz



Annual Report 2022