

Where is
the money for
**Black
feminist
movements?**

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The Black Feminist Fund (BFF) is a global fund dedicated to significantly increasing the resources available to Black feminist movements.

Website: www.blackfeministfund.org

Where is the Money for Black Feminist Movements?

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Weaving the Threads

By Tynesha McHarris and Hakima Abbas



Summary

When we started the Black Feminist Fund, it was under the premise, and with the knowledge, that Black feminist movements globally were under-resourced and largely ignored by philanthropy. This knowledge came from our own experiences as activists and as Black women in philanthropy, as well as from that of the Black women, girls and gender expansive people in our communities and movements. Time and again, over a decade, as we seeded, built and discussed the possibility of a global fund for, by and with Black feminist movements, we heard the same refrain: we are overlooked, underfunded and expected to transform systems with crumbs. With a growing community committed to building the Black Feminist Fund, we are determined to change that.

One of the first undertakings of the Black Feminist Fund was to bring together Black feminist researchers and experts to gather the data on the state of funding for Black feminist movements and to examine the extent and the impact of that under-resourcing. Together, Awa Fall Diop, Cynthia Eyakuze, Maie Panaga Babker, Yannia Sofía Garzón Valencia and Timiebi Souza-Okpofabri, five Black feminists from around the world brought their brilliance to bear to create ***Where is The Money for Black Feminist Movements?*** This is not just a report, it is a provocation and a call to action. It is the outcome of a year-long process of unearthing and dialogue. The words are, at times, matter of fact, at other times it is filled with the emotion of our knowing, because the process was not disconnected from our own pain, frustration, joy and resistance. These pages are our own account, using fact and data, to uncover the story of a movement so poignant and powerful, deeply connected, yet neglected and harmed. A movement from which theory and practice are often drained, whitewashed, and commodified. These pages are a celebration of Black feminisms in their multitudes.

This is not just a report, it is a provocation and a call to action.

Each chapter of this body of work is both a stand alone contribution and a piece of a story that should rattle philanthropy.

To get us started Timiebi Souza-Okpofabri put together an annotated bibliography of ten resources published in the last three years of relevance to funding and the intersections of racial and gender justice. Timiebi found that important strides have been made in analyzing and publishing data on philanthropy and aid that enable advocacy at multiple levels. Activist funds have, likewise, published several studies on the power of Black feminist movements in many contexts, and demonstrated their underresourcing. While many of the reports and data reviewed tackle a piece of the puzzle of funding to Black feminist movements, none provided a global picture of the funding ecosystem of Black feminist movements: *Where is The Money for Black Feminist Movements?* is an intervention in that space.

In her opening chapter, *A Movement View*, Awa Fall Diop undertook a groundbreaking and expansive study of Black feminist movements perspectives, relationships and insights into funding. Through interviews and a survey of close to four hundred Black feminist activists globally, Awa reveals the power and scale of Black feminist organizing as well as the deep seated biases Black feminists face in accessing the resources to sustain their work.

A Movement View provides insights into the types of formations that Black feminists create and organize, their strategies, priorities and their relationships to resources of all kinds. “Registration has a strong political connotation. (...) But the refusal to register also offers Black feminist organizations a space to challenge the power of the government and the power of donors.” —Awa Fall Diop.



The precarity of Black feminist groups is starkly revealed by this new data:

61%

of Black feminist organizations
have annual budgets of less
than 50,000 USD

59%

of Black feminist organizations
have never received core
funding


75%

of Black feminist groups receive
the majority of their funding
through project-specific grants

53%

of Black feminist groups do not
have funds available for the next
fiscal year

While showing a clear pattern of under-resourcing, some may wonder whether the small amount of funding, in real terms, is enough. Are these groups, their goals and their impact small enough that the trickle of funding meets their needs? We asked. What we heard back is that 81% of Black feminist organizations do not have the financial resources to meet their goals. This is more than a number; it is an indictment. An indictment of a sector that claims to want to see the transformation that Black feminist movements are creating but refuses to put the resources to bear for them to win.




Turning our lens towards the philanthropy sector, Cynthia Eyakuze takes a deep dive into the data and literature produced by philanthropy itself. *Through the Philanthropic Lens* uncovers that:

- a mere 0.1%–0.35% of foundation giving globally went to Black women, girls and trans people
- 5% of human rights funding went to Black women, girls and trans people
- 0.22% of climate funding went to feminist organizations and only two of the top 10 countries receiving climate related aid were in Africa
- 5.9% of US foundation funding for (what is called) sub-Saharan Africa went to local organisations
- 0.4% of international humanitarian assistance was received directly by local and national organisations in Africa
- many countries in the Caribbean did not receive any development aid for gender equality

Behind these numbers, is the indisputable verdict: the global funding system has a deeply rooted racialized and gendered trust gap. As Cynthia writes: “there are many ways that biases show up and are experienced in funding, from perceptions about capacity and risk, to opaque processes, to accessibility of funders and funding opportunities, funder proximity to certain organisations coupled with distance from marginalised contexts and communities, and burdensome application and reporting requirements. We must be clear that these barriers are not essential technical barriers for due diligence, but rather systemic barriers rooted in white supremacy that come from the ‘civilising’ and ‘charity’ roots of development and philanthropy.”

Black feminist funds are critical in the funding ecosystem for Black feminist organizations and a clear intervention in a funding landscape that otherwise under-resources Black feminist organizing. Despite the growth in recent years in the number (and budgets) of Black feminist funds, our research found that these institutions can still only meet between 12–40% of the demand they receive for funding from Black feminist groups. We cannot make the change alone. Rather we need philanthropy to heed the long echoed call for investment at scale for Black feminist movements.






Through the Philanthropic Lens reveals that only a single grant for Black women, girls and trans people went to the Middle East and North African regions. As Maie Panaga Babker writes, “this contrasted with our knowledge of Black feminist contributions and movements in the regions.” Maie took on the task of mapping Black feminist organizing and interviewing Black feminist activists in the regions. In *Embarking on a Quest*, she brings together both a critique of so-called feminist activism that ignores or obfuscates Black women, girls and trans peoples existence and realities, and sheds light on the ways that Black feminists are not only resisting the intersections of the oppression they face but also creating their own narratives and knowledge.

“It is then the hegemony of such dismissive discourses, ones that override racism as a secondary topic, as opposed to freedom, economic and social rights, that makes it hard to open an effective, profound, and critical debate on race and its various intersections.”

—Maie Panaga Babker

Rather than empty hope, Maie’s contribution is filled with anchored aspirations for the power of Black feminists in the regions to turn their visions into concrete freedoms. She poignantly writes: “we have the ability and potential to create discourses that are fueled by the political imaginary, extending from the ancestral heritage to the generations that will prosper in the change we will achieve.”

Philanthropy is not monolithic. There are large swaths of philanthropy that are against Black feminist ideas and agendas and are supporting agendas that harm Black women, girls, and gender diverse people. In her chapter, Yannia Sofía Garzón Valencia, reveals that trillions of dollars are channeled every year to causes that are against bodily autonomy, reproductive rights, just economies, dignified labor, peace, ecological care and stewardship, all of which are agendas that Black feminists advance.



Since 2007, the Christian Right in the United States has delivered at least \$270 million dollars globally against the rights of women and gender expansive people. Contrasting Black women's mobilization for peace and life, Sofia takes a deeper look at the billions pouring in and made in profits by the global military industrial complex: "During 2020, military spending reached 1,981 billion dollars in the world." Going further, she shows the link between extractive industries and militarisation and far right agendas, using the example of Colombia: "Over 70 companies in the mining-energy sector have signed more than 1,229 military cooperation agreements for the defense of the sector's infrastructure and welfare programs for the military, who participate in 20 special mining, energy and roadside barracks that exist in the country." In her scathing critique, Sofia underscores the corporate profits drawn from the prison industrial complex in which "racialization continues to be one of the criteria that determines which womxn are present in the criminal justice system" the world over. Despite the myth that Africa and countries in the Global South are resourced by the Global North, Sofia emphasizes that Africa's losses to capital flight (i.e. theft and siphoning, exceed the development cooperation Africa received by over USD 6 billion), "in other words, the African continent has become a net creditor to the world." Placing philanthropy and aid in the broader context of racial, gender and economic justice, *In Opposition to Black Feminist Agendas*, reminds us that overlooking Black feminist movements is ruinous.

If the last few years have proven anything, it's that we have to recreate this world. Those who are able to get us out of this ecological crisis, away from the precipice of war, out of the scourge of mass impoverishment, are those who against all odds have survived, those whose creativity and innovation have enabled their communities to thrive, despite the hegemonic system. Black feminism is a thought and practice that emerges from the realities and the alchemy of Black women and gender diverse people. Black feminism offers the solution to a world in crisis. Continuing to ignore, under value, overlook and under-resource Black feminist movements will cost us everything.



Black feminism

**offers the solution
to a world in crisis.**

Continuing to

**ignore,
under value, and
under-resource**

**Black feminist movements
will cost us everything.**

Through the Philanthropic Lens

By Cynthia Eyakuze



Chapter 1

Overview

Despite Black feminist movements holding the line against authoritarianism, mobilizing and leading social movements, and advancing visions of a more just world, this report validates the concerns that too little funding is going directly to Black feminist organizations and movements.

While not seeking to make a case for the importance and impact of Black feminist organizations and movements (please refer to *A Movement View* chapter to learn more), this chapter unveils the ever-present barriers and challenges faced by these organizations in resourcing their work. These barriers include trust deficits, disconnects by funders between stated priorities or commitments and practices, and deeply rooted institutional biases to accessing funders and funding opportunities.

The information in this chapter was drawn primarily from the two databases that have been collecting and analyzing funding on human rights, women's rights and gender equality by private philanthropy and governments, Candid (used in the Human Rights Funders Network (HRFN) report) and OECD DAC Network on Gender Equality (Gendernet). Additional information was obtained through a review of published reports and articles, including mappings of funding to Black communities in the US, Canada and the UK, and primary source interviews with Black and other feminist funds.

The research revealed that too little data about funding to Black feminist organizations is systematically collected and analyzed, rendering the important work done by these organizations and movements, often documented in gray literature or orally, invisible. It makes having a comprehensive and diverse view of efforts to fund Black feminist work

across issues/sectors and geographies almost impossible at present. This chapter is a small contribution in that direction.

The lack of data also makes it difficult to assess the commitment to feminist, racial justice and equity and anti-colonial funding that many donors are increasingly expressing. The racial justice-focused commitments are relatively new outside the United States context in particular, and may not yet be documented. Donor tracking and analyses that have been taking place for some years, such as the Candid/Human Rights Funders Network annual review of human rights funding indicates that the current reporting by donors is insufficient to provide a clear picture. Specifically, the data that is reported does not allow capturing of intersectional funding such as that done by Black feminist and women's funds.

On the other hand, this chapter shows how important feminist funds are in providing resources for intersectional efforts, while some Black feminist funds are becoming more successful in mobilizing resources, and more funds focused on Black feminists and communities are being established around the world.



What do we know about the funding

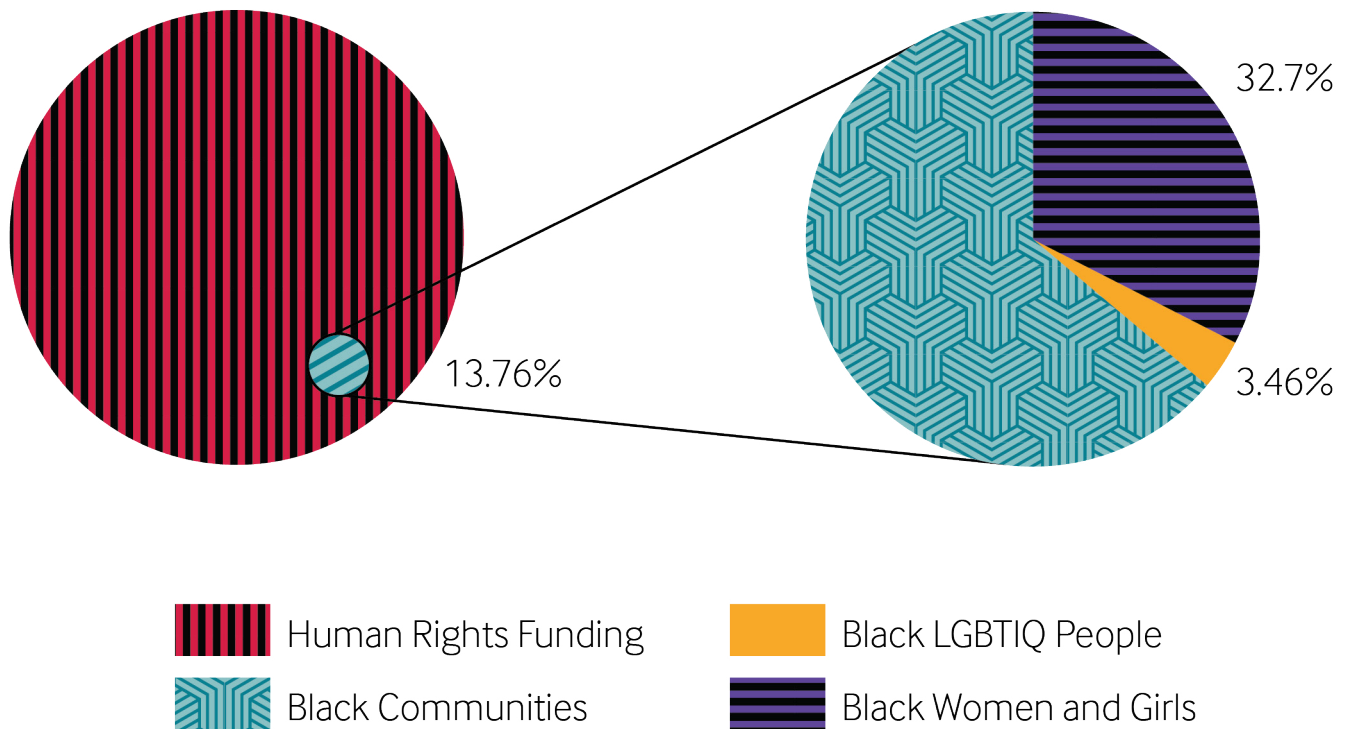
Human rights funding is increasing overall.¹ Women and girls received \$752 million or 20% of overall human rights funding, though only 33% of the funding analyzed included population specific data. Deepening this analysis, our research shows that an additional \$198 million was also coded to transgender people. Bilateral funding on gender equality has been steadily increasing with \$53 billion committed in 2018–2019, comprising 44.5% of bilateral official development assistance (ODA). The majority of this, \$47.4 billion (40% of ODA), went to programs with a focus on integrating gender while just \$5.6 billion (5% total ODA) went to efforts with gender equality and women's empowerment as the principal objective. Only \$690 million (1.3% of total ODA for gender equality) went to women's rights organizations and

1 Candid and HRFN, *Advancing Human Rights: Annual Review of Global Foundation Grantmaking*, 2021.

movements as part of government and civil society sector giving.²

13.76% of human rights funding goes to serve Black communities globally (USD 511,093,082 annually)

of the human rights funding for Black communities, 32.7% goes to Black women and girls and 3.46% goes to Black LGBTIQ people.



On the other hand, only 6% of philanthropic dollars supported racial equity work and only 1% supported racial justice work.³ While there is a positive trend, particularly in the last two years, of commitments to increased funding to racial justice and equity—Candid data showed an increase in funding or pledges from \$3.3 million between 2011–2019 to \$4.2 billion by mid 2020⁴—and commitments to respond

² GenderNet, Development finance for gender equality and women’s empowerment: A 2021 snapshot, 2021.

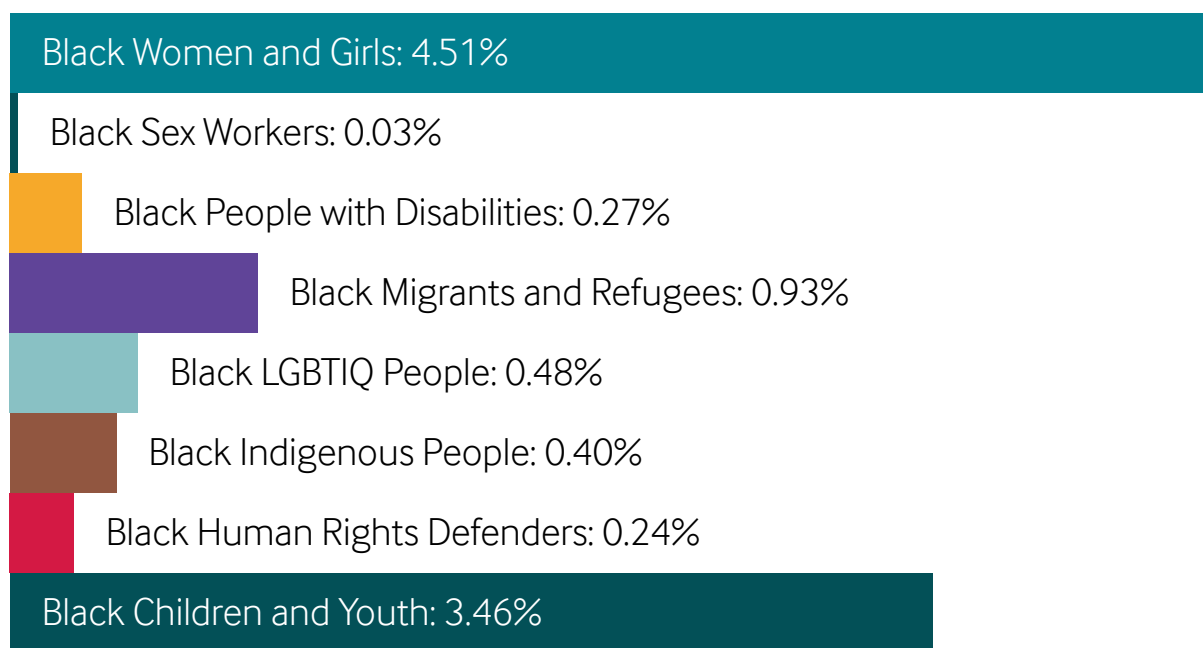
³ Philanthropy Initiative for Racial Equity (authors Malkia Devich Cyril, Lyle Matthew Kan, Ben Francisco Maulbeck, and Lori Villarosa), Mismatched: Philanthropy’s Response to the Call for Racial Justice, 2020.

⁴ Anna Koob, What does Candid’s grant data say about funding for racial equity in the United States, 2020.



to the impact of the pandemic on particularly vulnerable communities,⁵ there are concerns about whether pledged funding came through and whether this funding will be sustained; only \$1.5 billion of the \$11.9 billion public pledges in 2020 for racial equity could be tracked to recipients.⁶ Of human rights funding, \$511 million was coded as benefiting people of African descent globally (\$291 million to sub-Saharan Africa and \$220 million to people of African descent in other regions). Evidence suggests that funding is not going to the full range of work needed for transformative change, and is insufficient to address historical underfunding of Black groups.⁷ The meager funding to Black-led groups was also highlighted in research showing that only 0.5% of 66.9 billion in US foundation giving reported in 2018 went to women and girls of color⁸ and an even lower 0.7% of grants in 2017–18 in Canada went to Black-serving organizations, and 0.07% to Black-led ones.⁹

Percentage of human rights funding (in dollar amounts) that goes to Black communities globally



5 The Black Trans Fund described seeing an increase in funding to trans-led groups during the pandemic but also noted that this funding has not been sustained.

6 PolicyLink and Bridgespan, Moving from intention to impact: funding racial equity to win, 2021.

7 PolicyLink and Bridgespan, Moving from intention to impact: funding racial equity to win, 2021.

8 Ms. Foundation and Strength in Numbers (Erin Howe and Somjen Frazer authors), Pocket Change: How Women and Girls of Color Do More With Less, 2020.

9 Network for the Advancement of Black Communities and Carleton University's Philanthropy and Nonprofit Leadership program, Unfunded: Black Communities Overlooked by Canadian Philanthropy, 2020.

What we can extrapolate from these figures on the funding of gender and the funding for racial justice for Black feminist work was the impetus for our research.

Of all human rights funding—\$3.7 billion in 2018—only \$178 million, about 5% of funding (in money terms and number of grants), went to Black women, girls and trans people. Meaning that a mere 0.1%–0.35% of overall foundation giving globally went to Black women, girls and trans people.¹⁰

Years of advocacy and hard work by feminist and women’s rights organizations and movements are bearing fruit, with the last few years seeing particular emphasis on funding and funding practices that are ‘decolonial’ and contribute to racial and gender justice. While celebrating this trend, which has contributed to some increases in funding, the figures still tell a story of dire underfunding and there are concerns about how genuine the commitment is and whether it will be sustained or turn into a passing trend.

Issue and sector funding

It is difficult to ascertain sector- or issue-focused funding going to Black feminist groups. However, even on issues where evidence shows feminist groups have the most impact, such as violence against women, there is a dire underfunding of constituency-led groups. Of the \$541 million funding to violence against women (VAW) from official development assistance (ODA) for example, \$138 million (25% of VAW funding) was allocated through civil society organizations, which may or may not be women’s rights or feminist organizations. Of the dollars going to human rights funding, 0.75% goes to freedom from violence for Black women, girls and trans people.¹¹

Bilateral funding data reveals that gender equality-related giving is lowest in the energy and humanitarian aid sectors.¹² In at least two sectors that are heavily resourced, and where women are most affected and simultaneously instrumental

10 Hakima Abbas and Kellea Miller, *The Dire State of Funding for Black Feminist Movements—and What Donors Can Do About It*, 2021.

11 Candid and HRFN, *Advancing Human Rights: Annual Review of Global Foundation Grantmaking*, 2021.

12 GenderNet, *Development finance for gender equality and women’s empowerment: A 2021 snapshot*, 2021.



in finding solutions, climate change and humanitarian responses (much less so for women, peace and security within that sector), it is safe to say that little to perhaps no resources are going to Black feminist groups. In the case of bilateral resources to climate change, for example, of the \$18.9 billion (57% of the \$33.1 billion of ODA in 2018–2019 to climate-related issues) for integrating gender or dedicated to gender equality/women’s empowerment, \$2.4 billion (12.6%) went to NGOs but only \$43 million (0.22% of climate funding and 1.8% of what went to NGOs) went to “feminist, women-led and women’s rights orgs and movements and institutions.”¹³ The report did not specify where the organizations receiving this funding were based, however, only two of the top 10 countries receiving climate-related aid, were in Africa— Ethiopia and Mozambique—and the rest were in Asia. None were in the Caribbean despite the region being disproportionately impacted by climate change. Of the dollars going to human rights funding, just 0.37% goes to the environmental and resource rights of Black women, girls and trans people.¹⁴

0.22% of bilateral climate funding went to feminist organizations and only two of the top 10 countries receiving climate related aid were in Africa.

0.37% of human rights funding goes to the environmental and resource rights of Black women, girls and trans people

In the women, peace and security/humanitarian sector, ODA is the second largest source of external funding after remittances. Of the \$20.3 billion in aid integrating or dedicated to gender equality in 2018–2019,¹⁵ only \$199 million went to “some type of women’s rights civil society organization” and a meager \$25 million (between 12%–13% of total aid to feminist/women’s rights groups) went directly

13 Gendernet, Development finance for gender equality: the Generation Equality Forum Action Coalitions, 2021.

14 Candid and HRFN, Advancing Human Rights: Annual Review of Global Foundation Grantmaking, 2021.

15 OECD data from 2017–2018 describes total bilateral aid from DAC countries to fragile contexts as reaching \$46.8 billion, representing 45% of bilateral aid. Gendernet, Twentieth Anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325: financing gender equality and women’s empowerment in fragile contexts, 2020.

to an organization in a partner country. This is corroborated by a 2020 survey of local women's organizations funded by the UN Women's Peace and Humanitarian Fund, which showed that 60% of local women's organisations surveyed noted how insufficient funding opportunities and information put their organisations at risk and how inflexible funding doesn't take into account crisis and fragile working contexts. Out of 154 respondents, 98 were from Africa, 40 from Arab states and 6 from Latin America and the Caribbean. Of the dollars going to human rights funding, just 0.09% goes to the transitional justice and peace and and 0.10% to migration and displacement.¹⁶



1.46% of human rights funding goes to sexual and reproductive rights for Black women, girls and trans people



0.98% to equality rights and freedom from discrimination of Black women, girls and trans people



0.75% goes to freedom from violence of Black women, girls and trans people



0.37% to environmental and resource rights of Black women, girls and trans people



0.33% to health and wellbeing of Black women, girls and trans people



0.22% economic and labor rights of Black women, girls and trans people



0.10% to migration and displacement of Black women, girls and trans people



0.07% to civic and political participation of Black women, girls and trans people



0.09% to access to justice/equality before the law of Black women, girls and trans people



0.09% to transitional justice and peace of Black women, girls and trans people



0.01% to expression and information rights of Black women, girls and trans people

16 Candid and HRFN, Advancing Human Rights: Annual Review of Global Foundation Grantmaking, 2021.





Is funding going to the diversity of Black feminist groups?

Funding in majority Black regions and US mapping reports shows that overall, there is limited disaggregated data to give a good picture of funding going to a diverse range of Black feminist groups. Our research reveals the very small funding benefiting Black women, girls and trans communities. Similarly, the mapping by Mama Cash of Black and Muslim feminist movements in Europe showed the lack of a “reliable mechanism for tracking or identifying philanthropic giving to Black girls because most funders do not disaggregate giving by race and gender”¹⁷ and that “a colorblind approach to funding predominates in philanthropy [with] grantmaking that specifies a focus on people of color [that] is substantially smaller than the proportion of the population they represent.”¹⁸ As noted earlier, a targeted secondary analysis of the data shared in the HRFN report revealed that just 5% of total human rights funding in 2018–2019 went to Black women, girls and transgender communities.¹⁹

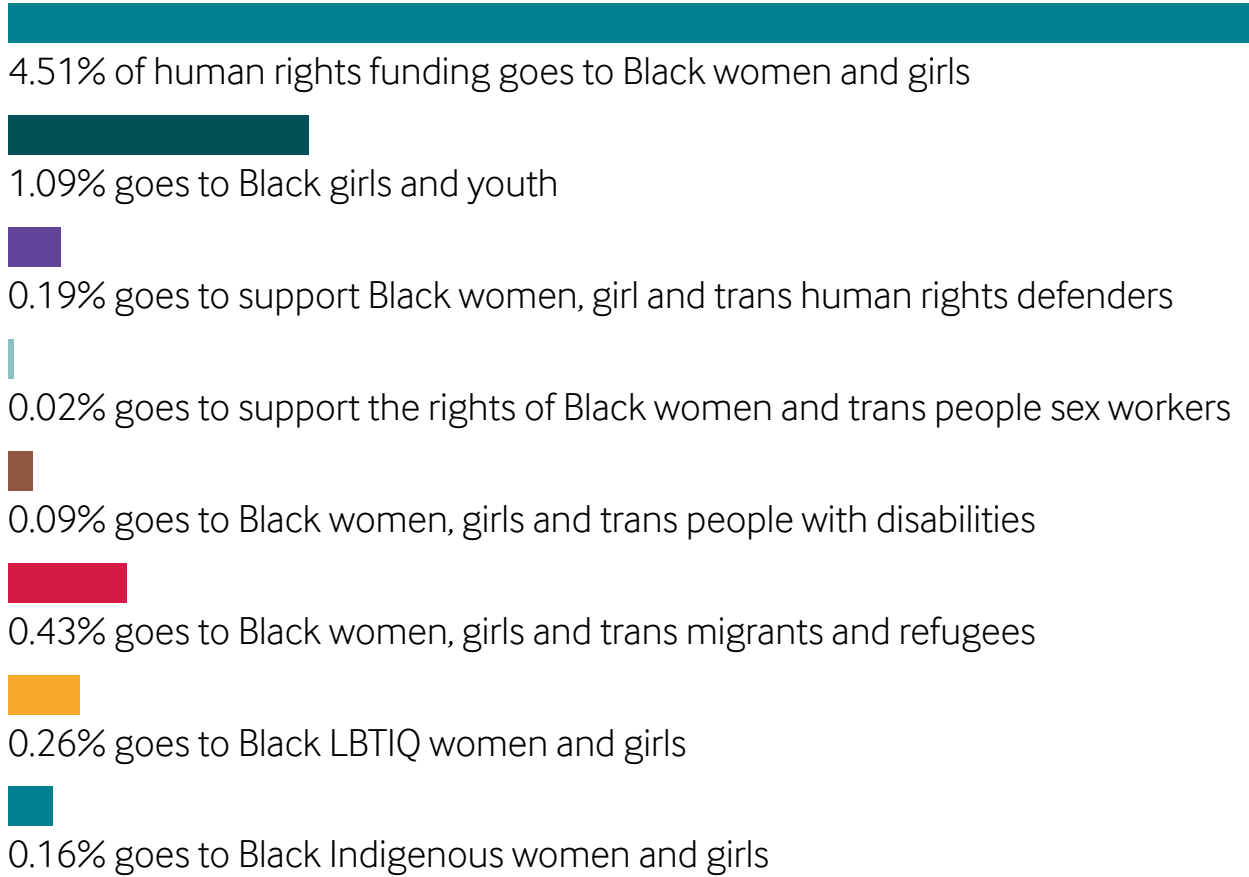


17 Urban Institute, *Assessing the Funding Landscape for Programs in Support of Black Girls*, 2021.

18 Anna Koob, *What does Candid’s grant data say about funding for racial equity in the United States*, 2020.

19 Candid and HRFN, *Advancing Human Rights: Annual Review of Global Foundation Grantmaking*, 2021.

less than five percent goes to the following areas



4.51% of human rights funding goes to Black women and girls

1.09% goes to Black girls and youth

0.19% goes to support Black women, girl and trans human rights defenders

0.02% goes to support the rights of Black women and trans people sex workers

0.09% goes to Black women, girls and trans people with disabilities

0.43% goes to Black women, girls and trans migrants and refugees

0.26% goes to Black LGBTIQ women and girls

0.16% goes to Black Indigenous women and girls



Given that human rights grants make up 2% to 7% of foundation funding globally, even at the most broadly defined, this means that:

less than one percent goes to the following areas

- 0.09%–0.31% of foundation dollars annually goes to support the rights of Black women, girls and trans people globally
- 0.02%–0.08% of foundation dollars annually goes to support the rights of Black girls and youth
- 0.002%–0.006% of foundation dollars annually goes to support the rights of Black women, girls and trans people with disabilities
- 0.003%–0.011% of foundation dollars annually goes to support the rights of Black Indigenous peoples
- 0.004%–0.013% of foundation dollars annually goes to support the rights of Black women, girls and trans human rights defenders
- 0.005%–0.018% of foundation dollars annually goes to support the rights of Black LGBTIQ people
- 0.009%–0.03% of foundation dollars annually goes to support the rights of Black women, girls and trans migrants and refugees
- 0.0004%–0.0014% of foundation dollars annually goes to support the rights of Black women and trans people sex workers

Regional funding trends

\$674 million (comprising 1.3% of the \$53 billion total ODA to gender equality) was committed annually in 2018–19 to supporting “feminist, women-led and women’s rights organizations, movements, institutions.” Of this, only \$40 million (6% of the funding to feminist and women’s rights groups, but 0.08% of ODA on gender equality) went to a local feminist or women’s rights civil society organization based in a partner region. The majority went to “donor-based NGOs,” followed by multilateral institutions, public sector institutions, and international NGOs.



Africa

For Africa, between 2011–2015, just 5.9% of the \$9 billion in US foundation funding for sub-Saharan Africa went to local organizations and in 2017, a mere 0.4% of the \$21.2 billion in total international humanitarian assistance was received directly by local and national organizations.²⁰ Another report cited data from Candid and the African Grantmakers' Affinity Group (AGAG) showing that, while "US foundation funding to Africa jumped more than 400% from \$288.8 million in 2002 to nearly \$1.5 billion in 2012... [m]ost of this funding, however, went to organizations headquartered outside Africa."²¹ This trust gap is discussed further in the section on barriers to and challenges around accessing funding experienced by Black organizations. For bilateral funding, while the Gendernet report does have some summary information on funding to feminist organizations and movements, this is not disaggregated enough on recipient organizations.

North America

For North America, a total of \$356 million in grants to women and girls of color account for a miniscule "one half of one percent" of the \$66.9 billion in foundation giving to those populations, as a proportion of the population they represent based on the 2017 US census. While much less information is available for Canada, the first systematic report²² on funding to Black organizations revealed almost negligible funding of Black-led organizations with only 6 of 40 public and private foundations surveyed funding Black-serving organizations and only 2 funding Black-led organizations. The report, in addition, notes that this funding was "miniscule, sporadic, unsustainable, and not investing in long term capabilities" and concludes with a call for the creation of a Foundation for Black Communities.

20 African Philanthropy Forum and The Bridgespan group, Disparities in Funding for African NGOs: unlocking philanthropy for African NGOs as pathway to greater impact, 2021.

21 Bhekinkosi Moyo and Kenny Imafidon, Barriers to African Civil Society: building the sector's capacity and potential to scale-up, 2021.

22 Network for the Advancement of Black Communities and Carleton University's Philanthropy and Nonprofit Leadership program, Unfunded: Black Communities Overlooked by Canadian Philanthropy, 2020.

Europe



Data from Europe, while very thin, indicates very low levels of funding to Black communities and Black-led organizations. Some insights from targeted research did, however, reveal a poor funding situation; a report²³ on funding in 2020 to Black-led organizations and communities experiencing racial injustice in the United Kingdom showed that only 44.5% of approximately 100 million pounds went to Black and Minority Ethnic voluntary and community organizations, including a number focusing on women and one fund specifically targeting Black and Minority Ethnic organizations. Much of this funding focused on COVID-19 responses and “lacked funding for... wider strategy, core infrastructure beyond March 2021.” Relatedly, a mapping of Black and/or Muslim feminist movements in Europe underscored the challenges, described further below, that such movements face accessing funding.²⁴

23 Baobab Foundation UK, Dilhani Wijeyesekera, Digging deeper: insights on tailored funding to organizations led by Black people and communities experiencing racial injustice in 2020, 2021.

24 Mama Cash and Elpida, Fatima Ali (author), Mapping the European landscape of Black and/or Muslim feminist movements, 2021.

Very little published information is available about private or bilateral funding to Black feminist organizations in Latin and Central America.

Funding Lesson: Name Black Feminists

In an interview with Central American Women's Fund (FCAM), which has been operating for 18 years, they reported receiving very few proposals from Black feminist organizations. This changed in 2019 when they did their first ever call for proposals with active outreach to women with disabilities as well Afro-descendant women, girls and trans people and that, along with an environmental justice focused funding call. FCAM actively reached out to Afro-descendant-led groups, which resulted in their funding to 10 Black feminist organizations, including trans- and youth-led organizations, in 5 countries (Panama, Belize, Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua). These grants amounted to approximately \$210,000, with grants ranging from \$10,000 to \$30,000, and organizations working on a range of issues including sexual and reproductive rights, violence against women and environmental justice. FCAM's targeted call came on the heels of a mapping by two private foundations, and that information was subsequently shared with FCAM, enabling them to do targeted outreach to Black feminist organizations. The grants are multi-year and flexible and FCAM intends to continue both the grantmaking and other engagement by actively engaging Black feminist organizations so as to better understand their priorities and needs. FCAM's experience underscores the importance of funders explicitly naming commitments to supporting Black feminists if they want to be more successful in reaching them.

The Caribbean

There was quite a bit of variation in the information available about funding in the different regions where there are large populations of Black women, girls and trans people. The region with the least available published information was the Caribbean. A secondary analysis of the Gendernet database revealed a total of aid to that region in 2018 and 2019 of approximately \$ 1.235 billion, with a significant reduction in 2019 (~\$448 million) compared to 2018 (~\$786 million). However, many of the countries in the Caribbean (according to Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) definition) did not receive development aid for gender equality in those years. Haiti received the most aid for gender equality in both those years, with Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica and Montserrat and regional funding rounding up the top 5 recipients (not consistently in that order across the years). There was a 25% reduction in regional funding (i.e. not specific to a country) between 2018 and 2019, while funding to Jamaica doubled. The data did not indicate whether funding went to feminist organizations. One important funding effort has been the Canadian government's initiative Women, Voice and Leadership, which has distributed approximately \$3.6 million (CAD 4.8 million) over five years for women's rights organizations and LGBTQI+ groups in the region (excluding Haiti).²⁵

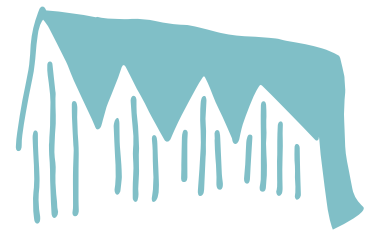
Middle East and North Africa + Global

Notably just 1 grant went to Black women, girls and trans people in the Middle East and North Africa and a single global grant was intended to serve Black women, girls and trans people. The chapter *Embarking on a quest* reveals the important activism of Black women, girls and trans people in the Middle East and North Africa regions, which further begs the question of why this activism is not being supported. Similarly, "Black feminist organizing has always been transnational and deeply internationalist. Black feminist activism and agendas are global, while rooted in the local, and funding should reflect that."²⁶

25 <https://equalityfund.ca/what-we-do/womens-voice-and-leadership-caribbean/>

26 Hakima Abbas and Kellea Miller, *The Dire State of Funding for Black Feminist Movements—and What Donors Can Do About It*, 2021.

The Barriers and Biases



Our research reveals that a number of barriers and biases exist that obstruct access to funding for Black feminist groups globally. The barriers need to be torn down and the biases systematically addressed.

Stated donor priorities and funding practices don't always match

Stated funder priorities are also not always aligned with who is directly funded to do the work. The Black Trans Fund, for example, shared their experiences of funders claiming to support trans communities but not actually funding trans-led community organizations directly.²⁷ Similarly, philanthropy is fickle and can often be more interested in funding an issue when there is visibility around violence, rather than consistently supporting transformation. As Tynesha McHarris, of the Black Feminist Fund, put it “funders are often mobilized around Black death, but less interested in funding Black life”.

The Black Trans Fund described the experience of organizations in their community receiving large amounts of resources one year and funding then ending abruptly, resulting in instability for the organizations and their work. The surge in funding was also described as being project-focused and therefore not contributing to the long-term sustainability of organizations on the frontlines.

Funding continues to be largely siloed by issue or population, making it difficult for organizations doing intersectional work across issues, populations and movements, and using a range of different strategies to get funded. Yet, most Black feminists work in intersectional ways across multiple issues, such as racial, economic and gender justice, among many others.

Despite funders increasingly describing their work as trust-based funding, most maintain burdensome application and reporting practices that are not experienced as trust-based by recipients. While Black feminist funds might be the solution for many community groups to receive low-barrier funding, feminist funds themselves

27 Interview with the Black Trans Fund, December 7, 2021.

expressed concerns about how the conditionalities attached to some of their own funding and the heavy reporting requirements risked turning them into compliance technocrats.²⁸ However, during the COVID-19 pandemic some private foundations introduced significant flexibility in reporting requirements, including being able to submit oral reports on phone calls—suggesting that such flexibility is in fact possible and a matter of will. Project-specific and inflexible funding is particularly challenging for constituency-led Black feminist groups at this time of increased attack on Black feminist agendas and a world experiencing multiple crises. The global moment demands of Black feminist groups agility and boldness that only flexible and core funding can support.

The racialized and gendered trust gap

The current funding system has a deeply rooted and racialized trust gap globally as demonstrated in how funding intended for work in Global South or with Black and other marginalized communities of color in the Global North flows. The gap is particularly wide for Africa and the Caribbean, both majority Black regions. Only 33% of human rights funding went directly to organizations based in Africa, with just 8% of this as flexible funding, while for the Caribbean, only 18% went directly to organizations based there, with a meager 2% that was flexible. Contrast this with North America, where 100% of the funding was directly received by groups, with 29% of it flexible, followed by Western European groups receiving 87% in direct funding, with 11% flexible. Next was Latin America, with 60% in direct funding and 20% flexible, then the MENA region, at 46% in direct funding and 9% flexible funding.²⁹ The “Disparities in Funding for African NGOs” corroborates this, showing that just 5.9% of US foundation funding in Africa in 2011–2015 went to African based organizations, with one interviewee noting that generally there is a “significant lack of trust related [to] the capacity of African NGO leadership.... That’s how most people think... Local leaders can’t deliver on contracts, they could be involved in corruption, they won’t report honestly, all those things are part of the image that frequently dominates international donor thinking about Africa.”

Unsurprisingly, the trust gap is both racial and gendered with some of the clearest

28 Interview with Urgent Action Fund-Africa, December 6, 2021.

29 Candid and HRFN, Advancing Human Rights: Annual Review of Global Foundation Grantmaking, 2021.

data coming from a report by Echoing Green about their own work, showing that in the 2019 US applicant pool of early-stage groups considered to be the most promising, the disparities amounted to a \$20 million gap between Black-led and white-led early-stage organizations—492 Black-led organizations raised \$40 million compared with \$61 million raised by white-led ones—and that these disparities grew as organizations try to grow. Even more concerning is that unrestricted net assets of Black led organizations, “a proxy for trust,”³⁰ were 76% smaller than the white-led organizations. They also noted that Black women leaders received less support than Black men and white women. Echoing Green also highlighted intersectional inequalities seen in their applicant pool, noting specifically that “along gender lines, Caucasian, European, and white female applicants have a median funds raised \$25,000 less than their male counterparts—though the effects of race and ethnicity on funding are evident, as well, with African, African-American, and black women applicants raising a median \$47,400 less than Caucasian, European, and white men.”³¹ Further evidence came from an interview conducted for this research with Women Fund Tanzania Trust where they described how international NGOs received more funding for work related to constitutional reform than national/local organizations that know more about their context and were therefore better placed to do the work.

Region	Direct Funding	Flexible Funding Percentage
Africa	33%	8%
Caribbean	18%	2%
North America	100%	29%
Western Europe	87%	11%
Latin America	60%	20%
MENA	46%	9%

30 Savage, B., Dorsey, C., Kim, P., Daniels, C., & Sakaue, L. (2020). Overcoming the Racial Bias in Philanthropic Funding. *Stanford Social Innovation Review*.

31 Echoing Green, State of Social Social Entrepreneurship 2019, 2019.



Multiple biases

The trust gap resulting in disparities in geographic, racial, and gendered funding described above is rooted in historical biases that continue to play out to this day. These biases include racial ones described in the previous section that manifest in more funding to white-led organizations; familiarity bias where preference is given to organizations that are known to funders or have credentials that funders are more familiar with, as discussed more below; and cultural bias³² that manifests through preference for Western communication styles, English as the main language of communication, and subjective, largely Western-defined terms like “polish” and “professionalism,” used to assess capacity.

“Donors prefer funding international NGOs because they are professionalized, urban, and have the required skills, credibility, and resources to deal with donors’ architecture. In addition, INGOs understand ‘donor jargon,’ including accountability and the reporting requirements that are seen to ensure value for money and project effectiveness. It is also convenient for Northern donors to fund Northern organizations working on African issues rather than local African organizations.”³³

Biases and barriers in funding practices

There are many ways that biases show up and are experienced in funding, from perceptions about capacity and risk, to opaque processes, to accessibility of funders and funding opportunities, funder proximity to certain organizations, coupled with distance from marginalized contexts and communities, and burdensome application and reporting requirements. We must be clear that these barriers are not essential technical barriers for due diligence, but rather systemic barriers rooted in white supremacy that come from the ‘civilizing’ and ‘charity’ roots of development and philanthropy.

32 The framing of racial, familiarity, and cultural biases was drawn from “African Philanthropy Forum and The Bridgespan group, Disparities in Funding for African NGOs: unlocking philanthropy for African NGOs as pathway to greater impact, 2021.”

33 Bhekinkosi Moyo and Kenny Imafidon, Barriers to African Civil Society: building the sector’s capacity and potential to scale-up, 2021.

1

Risk assessments are loaded with bias. The Black feminist-led and serving organizations and funds interviewed for this research described being faced with excessive requirements to “prove themselves” and extra scrutiny during due diligence, as coming from biased perceptions about their capacity and the ‘risk’ of funding them. They challenged donors who say “trust Black women” to actually show it in practice. A related, though less documented bias is expressed through concerns by donors (often behind closed doors) about the “absorptive capacity” of constituency-led and community grounded (often described as ‘local’ and mis-associated as ‘small’) organizations, which results in much lower funding to these groups or donors preferring to fund Northern based organizations to then subgrant small amounts to constituency-led groups. Of course this narrative is self-fulfilling: because funders do not provide larger, core, flexible and long-term funding to constituency-led and community grounded organizations, these groups face constraints to growing their work, reach and impact, have a harder time attracting more funding, do not have the funding to pay staff or grow their staff and can rarely sustain their work over the long term (and thus become well-established). More funders must consider funding Black feminist groups in ways that intentionally build their absorptive capacity, their organizational strength and support their resilience and sustainability in the long term.

2

There is an established practice of gatekeeping access to funding. With funders largely based in the Global North, organizations that don’t have previous connections or personal recommendations have easier formal and informal access to them that puts them in a privileged position to access information about and advocate for funding opportunities. The “Moving more money to drivers of change”³⁴ report, for example, discusses the difficulty of accessing donors for organizations. The Black feminist organizations and funds interviewed for this research shared similar experiences along with tensions they experienced in establishing autonomy from global organizations which had incubated them and had direct lines to funders which they were now establishing independently. Building and maintaining relationships with donors takes a significant amount of time for Black feminist groups and funds.

34 AWID, Mama Cash and Count Me In Consortium, Moving more money to the drivers of change: How bilateral and multilateral funders can resource feminist movements, 2020.

3

Compounding the impact of the previous bias are what the “Moving more money to the drivers of change” report describes as “stumbling blocks within philanthropy” which include limitations in internal capacity, such as lack of experience and/or knowledge about feminist organizing. This stumbling block is particularly exacerbated for Black feminist organizations in a context where few Black women and gender expansive people occupy positions of power in philanthropic organizations. Such staffing is important as the report discusses how foundation staff who are connected with feminist movements sometimes work closely with the movement on strategies to help them shift their institutions from the inside, despite the often isolated space for change within institutions. This can be transformative for Black organizations; the Black Trans Fund, for example, described the support they get from Black and other staff of color in philanthropic institutions. The staffing issue reinforces the importance of spaces such as the Bringing it B(l)ack conference which created an important opportunity to bring Black women in philanthropy together in community to share, learn from each other and collectively strategize about how to better resource Black feminist movements. This is also important given the documented racism and patriarchy experienced by Black women and trans people working in philanthropy.³⁵

4

Application and reporting requirements are opaque, burdensome, and expensive. Participants in the Civil Society Organizations (CSO) Survey on Women, Peace and Security and Humanitarian Action, reported how “cumbersome and complex application processes and procedures act as a deterrent for engaged and qualified local women’s organizations,”³⁶ how funding is not flexible for smaller organizations and doesn’t consider the realities and constraints of working in crisis and fragile contexts. Indeed, Black feminist groups globally face the barrier of short and strict budgets, policy time frames and funding thresholds that are either too high or too low, and formulaic approaches to due diligence and risk mitigation.³⁷

35 Maria. S. Johnson, Black Women Face Multiple Forms of Racism in Philanthropy, 2021. <https://johnsoncenter.org/blog/black-women-face-multiple-forms-of-racism-in-philanthropy/> accessed March 14, 2022.

36 Women’s Peace and Humanitarian Fund, CSO Survey on Women, Peace and Security and Humanitarian Action, 2021.

37 AWID, Mama Cash and Count Me In Consortium, Moving more money to the drivers of change: How bilateral and multilateral funders can resource feminist movements, 2020.

The Problem with Data

Our research has revealed several challenges with the data collected and reported that make it difficult to truly assess the funding going to Black feminist groups globally.

The majority of data on funding that we reviewed can be described as “intersectional blind” in that the data does not allow for a cross-sectional analysis of funding of issues, populations, identities and organizations receiving the funding. This lack of intersectional funding data makes it difficult to assess what “populations” are receiving the funding and who is driving the work. When funders are not explicit about supporting intersectional efforts, including in particular those undertaken by constituency-led Black feminist groups it makes it difficult for these organizations to know about funding that might in fact be available to them. This could include, for example, COVID-19-responsive funding opportunities that do not explicitly mention a focus on equity and/or specific racial and ethnic groups, which could discourage organizations focusing on these issues and communities from applying. This analysis will also allow for a better view of how well funders stated intentions about intersectional funding (i.e. funding to organizations working on multiple issues concurrently and using multiple strategies, match actual giving, identify gaps and indicate where funding practices need to change). At present, the data shows a real disconnect between statements about the importance of supporting Black women and feminists and the reality of how these organizations and movements are resourced.



Human Rights Funders Network (HRFN) —Moving Toward the Intersection

While covering different issues and populations, HRFN recognises that their reports have thus far been done so in a siloed way, with little to no analysis on funding of multiple issues and populations with multiple identities. HRFN has recognised this as a shortcoming and plans to improve in future reports with, for example, explicitly analyzing racial and ethnic data. HRFN wrote in its 2021 report that not previously including racial and ethnic groups—amounting to approximately 5,000 grants and 25% of grantmaking dollars in 2018—into their analysis “has been a gap in... past analyses and hampered [their] contributions to supporting a more coordinated philanthropic response to systemic racism and inequality.” HRFN is now working to deepen their understanding of intersectionality and how it can be used in future reports to address this bias in data reporting, collection and analysis.

Overall, too little data is regularly and systematically collected that provides a good picture of funding available and going to Black feminist organizations, and indeed, intersectional funding writ large. Similar to the Ms. Foundation report, Pocket Change, the Urban Institute’s report, *Assessing the Funding Landscape for Programs in Support of Black Girls*, found that for the US, there is “no reliable mechanism for tracking philanthropic giving to Black girls because funders don’t disaggregate by race or gender.”³⁸

One of the main challenges is how donors and funders themselves categorize and subsequently report on their funding. Human rights funders might, for example, use different language for similar issues, and often work on multiple issues and support work on multiple populations and report on their work in broad ways that do not allow for nuanced understanding. They could also be supporting multiple issues and populations in siloed ways as would sometimes appear to be the case, for example,

38 Urban Institute, *Assessing the Funding Landscape for Programs in Support of Black Girls*, 2021.

of the 64% of grants that name any of the nine populations reported on, $\frac{2}{3}$ name just one population despite most activism addressing more than one identity.³⁹ This data gap makes it difficult to assess the stated intentions of donors to increase racial and gender justice funding with their actual practice. A worrying implication about this lack of data is that the work of Black feminist organizations is not adequately captured and reflected, thereby rendering the work invisible.

Black Feminists Changing the Game




Despite these challenges, there are also rays of hope that illuminate potential pathways for funding Black feminist movements in ways that match the boldness of their vision.

For Us By Us: Black and Black Feminist Funds

The top 12 human rights funders based in the Global South and East by grant dollars are either women's or feminist funds.⁴⁰ These funds are most likely to both support community groups and intersectional efforts. The African Women's Development Fund, for example, is at the top of the list of funders based in the Global South and East by grant amounts, with an annual giving in 2018–2019 of \$6 million (representing 0.16% of human rights funding captured in the report). Black feminist funds are critical in the funding ecosystem for many Black feminist organizations. The past 2–3 years have also seen the creation of new Black-led funds, feminist and otherwise. These have come out of gaps identified through research and include, the Black Feminist Fund (global), The Black Trans Fund (US, Caribbean), the Black Girl Freedom Fund (US), the Baobab Foundation (UK), and Foundation for Black Communities (Canada). Existing Black feminist funds are also growing in number and budgets. For example, UHAI-EASRI's budget has grown from an annual budget of \$200,000 at its creation, to \$10 million over 10 years. UAF Africa underwent similar

39 Candid and HRFN, *Advancing Human Rights: Annual Review of Global Foundation Grantmaking*, 2021.

40 Candid and HRFN, *Advancing Human Rights: Annual Review of Global Foundation Grantmaking*, 2021.



growth over 10 years, from \$250,000 when it was created, to \$13.5 million in 2021. Other funds indicated ongoing and planned slow and steady growth.

Despite the increased budget and numbers of Black feminist funds, primary source interviews for this chapter with Black feminist funds that support Black feminist movements revealed a significant gap in meeting the demand for funding. While the majority of Black feminist funds mentioned increasing their resources and budgets, the ability to meet demand was as low as 12% for some funds and only as high as around 40%. Urgent Action Fund Africa, for example, covers 55 countries and has gone from giving 87 grants in 2018 to 450 in 2021, though they could only meet 40% of expressed demand, while the relatively new Black Trans Fund awarded 60 grants by the end of 2021 that included small community care response grants to general operating and capacity strengthening support. This is of great concern considering how critical feminist and women's funds have been to resourcing feminist movements. In 2018, women's funds were the top funders based in the Global South and East, despite having significantly smaller budgets in grant dollars compared with other private philanthropic funders in particular.⁴¹ Several of the Black feminist funds we talked to had reserves. However, there are no Black feminist funds that hold an endowment for their work into the long term.

41 Candid and HRFN, *Advancing Human Rights: Annual Review of Global Foundation Grantmaking, 2021*.

**These
barriers**

are not essential technical
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but rather

**systemic barriers
rooted in white
supremacy**

**that come from the
'civilizing' and 'charity'
roots of development and
philanthropy.**

We are our own pillars: the depth and breadth of autonomous resourcing

There is a long history of feminists self-funding in a variety of ways from volunteering time to giving in kind services, financial and other resources. This type of giving that comprises significant resources is not comprehensively documented, often captured in gray literature that is not readily accessible to a wide audience or, increasingly, in reports mapping Black-led and/or Black feminist led organizations. In this report, the chapter *A Movement View* documents for the first time how Black feminist organizations autonomously resource their own work and collectively resource each other. One European organization noted that “we are self-funded; we share our finances and our biggest resource is ‘people’”⁴² and another report about giving by communities of color in the United States highlights the different ways these communities fund their organizations, including through mutual aid groups and crowdsourcing.⁴³ While these other resources are very important, Black feminists deserve to be robustly financially supported by philanthropy for their bold visions and should not be left to fund their movements alone.

Strength in numbers: Black feminists in philanthropy

Recognising the power of collective organizing, the Black Feminist Fund organized “Bringing it B(l)ack,” the first ever global conference for Black feminists in philanthropy in November 2021. The conference brought together over 100 Black feminists working in different capacities in the broad range of philanthropic institutions and entities around the world. The conference provided a space for community, celebration, solidarity, strategizing and more. This and other spaces that will continue to be created also provide critical coalition-building opportunities that can strengthen efforts to increase funding to the community through collective efforts. An organized and connected group of Black feminists in philanthropy is also important given how relatively new funding to feminist movements is for many

42 Mama Cash and Elpida, Fatima Ali (author), Mapping the European landscape of Black and/or Muslim feminist movements, 2021.

43 Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, Everyday Donors of Color in the US - diverse philanthropy during times of change, 2021.

funders. The expertise they would bring in feminism and Black feminist organizing is critical to not only increasing funding, but doing so in an informed way. It would also mitigate against the isolation that Black women in philanthropy often experience in the sector and, with their connections to the wider movement and communities, help them effectively bridge the movements with the donor community.⁴⁴

Conclusion and recommendations: “If you trust Black feminists, fund them!”

This research is a first attempt to get a holistic picture of funding to Black feminist organizations and movements around the world. A challenging, though rewarding exercise. What is clear is that Black feminist movements are making a huge imprint on social change. The question remains, will philanthropy follow?


Recommendations

Many of these are not new and have been recommended for many years by feminist and Global South organizations and organizations working with Black and other marginalized communities in the Global North. It is long past time to listen and act on them and it is encouraging that some funders are doing just that.

Close the trust gap

First, there is a need to honestly acknowledge that the trust gap exists and how it perpetuates lack of funding directly to Black feminist-led organizations. Then philanthropy has to work to close it! Closing this gap will necessitate interrogating where biases exist, how they manifest and their impact then identify concrete and measurable ways to address them. This work will be uncomfortable but critical to shifting the current systems whereby those closest to the issues funding seeks to

44 AWID, Mama Cash and Count Me In Consortium, Moving more money to the drivers of change: How bilateral and multilateral funders can resource feminist movements, 2020.



address receive the least funding. The oft heard mantra to “trust (Black) women” must be accompanied by funding Black women, girl and trans-led organizations and doing so commensurate with the well documented impact of their work, the huge demand for resources for the work and that is expressed by the communities they represent and work with. The evidence about the impact of Black feminist organizations and movements is clear and funders need to stop requiring more evidence in order to fund them, but rather show trust through robust and long-term funding.

Shifting power means giving up control

Funders need to be intentional about listening to the people from the places where funding is intended to have impact, and to ensure that these voices and perspectives are in the rooms where decisions about money and where it goes are made. This shift means giving up control and trusting, in word and deed, those who are most grounded in the context and communities. It also means providing the kind of funding that allows constituency-led groups to do the generational work of social change, without the barriers of conditions and with the flexibility of core funding.

Align intentions with funding practices

The disconnects between intention and practice in priority setting through grantmaking processes need to be urgently addressed. This again includes centering the voices of the most affected in determining priorities, as well as assessing internalized biases and how they affect access to funding and make grantmaking processes burdensome. Critically, funding should never be racial- and gender-“neutral” if it is to be truly intersectional and meet the needs of communities identified as a priority. This is particularly important for sector-specific funding such as climate change and funds broadly targeting Black communities. Finally, making funding priorities explicit and clear helps increase access to often excluded communities and organizations.

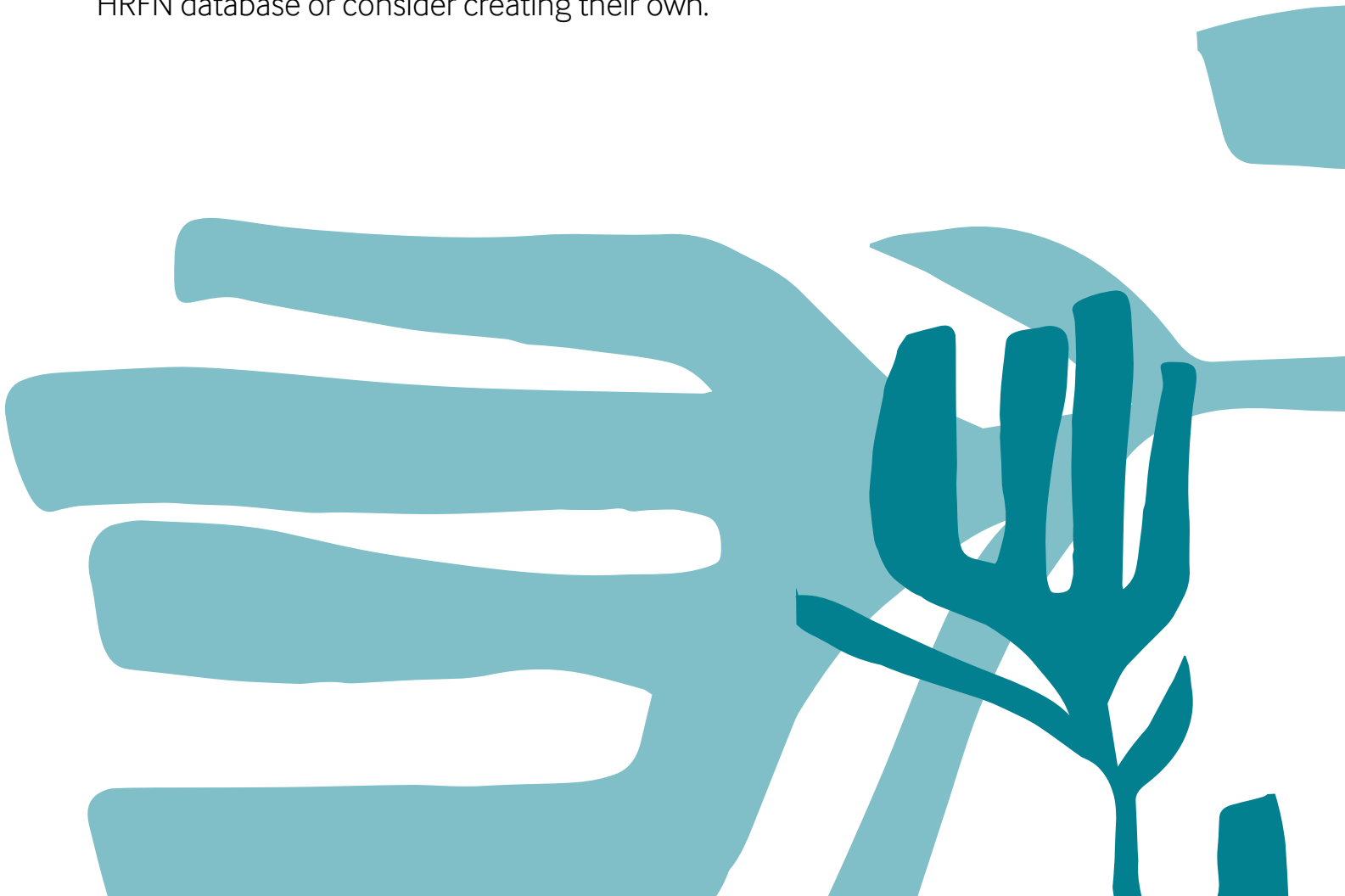
Support the Black feminist ecosystem to thrive

For Black feminist organizations to thrive, there will need to be significant investments to ensure organizational and ecosystem sustainability. Given that their

work focuses on addressing and redressing long-standing systemic issues, a stable ecosystem of well-funded organizations is critical. Black feminists are in it for the long haul and short-term or trend-driven funding risks destabilizing them and their important work.

More and better data

Collecting and disseminating data about funding going to Black feminist organizations is essential to get a good picture of what is available, which organizations are getting funding, the types of funding (flexible or not) and duration of funding. Such data is important in making visible the critical work of Black feminist organizations. Importantly, the data needs to capture intersectional funding and which organizations are receiving (or not) resources in different countries and regions, especially the Caribbean and Latin and Central America. Multilateral organizations in particular need to make the significant resources they receive for gender equality work more transparent through, for example contributing to the OECD database. Feminist, women and other funds can also provide valuable information about their funding and should be encouraged to contribute to the HRFN database or consider creating their own.



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A Movement View

By Awa Fall Diop



Chapter 2

This study seeks to:

- understand how Black feminist movements are organised;
- understand the priority issues facing Black feminist movements;
- understand, from a movement perspective, the landscape and access to funding for Black feminist movements;
- understand the level of financial resources, sustainability and resilience of Black feminist movements;
- celebrate the contributions of Black feminist movements to social change.

Using a qualitative approach, this chapter and study on the funding for and to Black feminist movements used a literature review, interviews and an online survey in a cross-referenced manner. 388 Black feminist leaders and organizations working in Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, North America and Europe responded to the survey and were interviewed. Both the interviews and the survey were held virtually, due to the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. Several working languages were used for data collection: English, French, Portuguese and Spanish.

The results of the study reveal the current landscape of the Black feminist movement based on data collected from leaders and structures. They show the priority issues on which these structures mobilize, their level of external or internal resource mobilization and their contribution to the advancement of women's rights and feminism in a multifaceted and interconnected way. We also look at the funding realities for Black feminist organizations (BFOs), their perceptions of the funding landscape and their messages to donors.

The landscape of Black feminist movements


In order to describe the landscape of Black feminist movements, we have to clarify who and where Black feminist organizations are, how long they have existed, their status, their membership and geographic scope.

Black feminists are everywhere


Black feminist movements are made up of a multitude of organizations, associations, groups and individuals around the world, all committed to advancing feminist agendas.

Black feminists occupy multiple geographies and territories, hold multiple intersecting identities and experience several forms of oppression at once.

Africa


 The Strategic Initiative for Women in the Horn of Africa (SIHA) Network is an indigenous African feminist organization working along the Horn of Africa to defend women's rights. SIHA was established in the mid-1990s by a group of women activists from Somaliland, Ethiopia, Sudan, and South Sudan.

HORN OF AFRICA, AFRICA


 I am Shayden, feminist, artist, songwriter, singer, and radio and TV show host in Côte d'Ivoire. As a semi-finalist in 2016 of "The Voice—Afrique Francophone," during my participation, I realized that all women artists from all countries shared the same problems.

IVORY COAST, AFRICA




-  Federation of Deaf Women Empowerment Network Kenya (FEDWEN) an organization of people living with disabilities was established on 18 September 2008 to advance the rights of deaf women and girls and to lobby for their inclusion.

KENYA, AFRICA


-  Green Girls Platform was established in 2018 to address the violence girls face due to the impacts of climate change.

MALAWI, AFRICA


-  The Regional Women's Solidarity Committee for Peace in Casamance, (CRSFPC/USOFORAL), was created in 1999 in Senegal, with the aim of contributing to the emergence of an active female citizenship for peace and sustainable development in Casamance.

SENEGAL, AFRICA


The Caribbean

-  Intersect is a queeribbean feminist collective committed to gender justice that prioritizes the needs and experiences of the most marginalized women, including queer, trans and non-binary people and people living with disabilities who are Black, Indigenous, or identify and people of color.


ANTIGUA, THE CARIBBEAN

-  Fanm Yo La—Les femmes sont là, Collectif Féminin Haïtien pour la Participation Politique de Femmes, has been in existence since 2002.

HAITI, THE CARIBBEAN

-  Founded in 2015, Négès Mawon is a feminist organization that fights for the emancipation of women and their liberation from all forms of violence and oppression. The organization was created thanks to the meeting of young socio-professionals and artists revolted by the condition of women in Haiti.

HAITI, THE CARIBBEAN


-  The EVE for Life organization supports teenage mothers living with HIV, 45% of whom were raped as girls.

JAMAICA, THE CARIBBEAN

-  The Jamaica Domestic Workers' Union (JHWU) was formed in 1990 as an association that has evolved into a union of domestic workers. It is a member of the Association of Women's Organization in Jamaica (AWOJA).

JAMAICA, THE CARIBBEAN


Europe

-  We are three friends who founded the Susu collective in Belgium and the Netherlands. Three friends who have lived through stories of migration, following the political events in Congo in 1960. Coming from Africa and living in Europe, a whole series of obstacles arise: administrative, institutional, education, health, work, etc.

BELGIUM AND THE NETHERLANDS, EUROPE

-  GLADT is an association of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Queer, and Intersex, (LGBTQI), racialized, and non-white people based in Berlin.


BERLIN, EUROPE

-  W XOOD is a film festival in France whose program features films by Afro-descendant women directors.

FRANCE, EUROPE




Latin America

-  Sex workers, in the state of Minas Gerais (Brazil), created Associação das Prostitutas de Minas Gerais (APROSMIG) in 2009. Since then, APROSMIG has been running a self-help group and projects for more than 2,000 sex workers in the city of Belo Horizonte and its surroundings.


BRAZIL, LATIN AMERICA

Middle East


-  The Collective for Black Iranians strives to make the voices of Black and African Iranian women heard throughout the Iranian community.

IRAN, MIDDLE EAST

North America

-  Black Feminist Future (BFF) is a political hub working on the dynamics that galvanize social and political power of black women, girls and people towards liberation.

USA, NORTH AMERICA

-  Kilomba, a collective of Black Brazilian women in the United States was created in 2019, birthed by five women born and raised in different regions of Brazil, who met in the United States. The name, Kilomba, resonates with the Quilombos, the self-supporting revolutionary communities that represent the resistance and liberation of Black people from enslavement and colonial power.

USA, NORTH AMERICA

Since when have they been in existence?

Of the groups and organizations that provided their date of creation, $\frac{1}{3}$ were created in the last 5 years, $\frac{2}{3}$ in the last 10 years and just under $\frac{3}{4}$ in the last 15 years. The youthfulness of Black feminist organizations may lead to the assumption that the membership is also youthful. Indeed, a scan of Black feminist organizations' materials suggests that a generational renewal has given rise to many young feminist organizations that renew the commitment to a better future for Black women and gender expansive people and that contribute to the building of the movement.

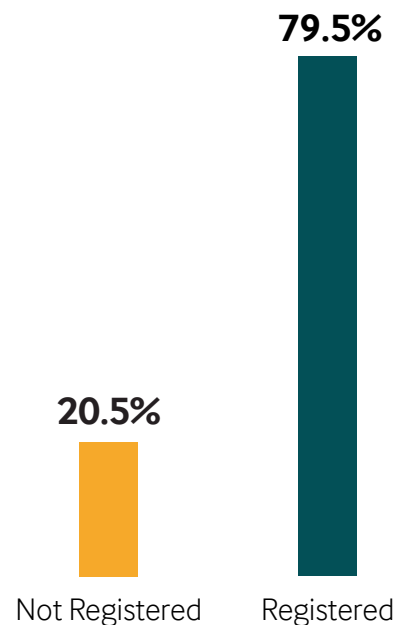
Typology of Black feminist organizations

Black feminist organizations (BFOs) come in many forms and statuses: NGOs (53%), groups (13%), associations (9%), and networks (8%). But the movement also includes individuals: bloggers, journalists and artists.

79.5% of organizations that responded to the question of registration status are legally registered.

In relative terms, there are more organizations registered in Francophone countries compared to Anglophone or Lusophone countries. They focus more on compliance with the laws established in their countries.

Registration status of the organizations



I feel like a feminist and I wanted to mobilize online, through the media and social networks that allow me to express my positions online...

—Nesmon de Laure, Côte d'Ivoire.

Source: Words of activists and recommendations for the Generation Equality Forum in Générations féministes en Afrique de l'Ouest. Equipop, July 2020.

Some arguments in favour of registration are economic. Indeed, some funding partners require that an organisation be formally registered before any funding is granted. In their own words, BFOs are registered:



“At the request of the funding partners.”

GENDER LAB—GHANA



“To give legitimacy to our organisation and make our operations legitimate. Some donors ask for a certificate of registration before engaging with an organisation.”

HAKI NAWIRI AFRIKA—KENYA



“So as to carry out actions in a credible way and to have access to donors.”

VOICE OF THE VOICELESS (VoVo)—ZIMBABWE

But, if access to financial resources is a motivation to register, lack of financial resources also emerges as a reason for not registering. Registration requires financial costs.



“We are still looking for support to enable us to register,”

PWANI FEMINIST FUTURES ALLIANCE—KENYA



“Because of lack funds,”

BLOGUEIRAS NEGRAS—BRAZIL



“Because of financial difficulties,”

COLETIVA DE MULHERES NEGRAS ABAYOMI—BRAZIL

Without financial resources, you can't register, without registration you can't access funding. It's a real vicious circle.

While registering is easy for organizations with educated, urban, more or less affluent members, it is not so for Black feminists with little formal education or living in disadvantaged or rural areas. Sometimes it is lack of knowledge or ostracism or the length of procedures that hinders registration.




“We don't know how to register.”



“We are in the process of registration. The administrative procedures are long.”

HEALTH AND EQUAL RIGHTS ORGANIZATION (H.E.R.O.)—RWANDA



 “The documents were submitted to the prefecture in July 2021, and due to administrative red tape, we have not yet received our registration certificate.”

WAKE UP LADIES—CAMEROON

Younger organizations are the least compliant with registration, sometimes out of convenience, sometimes out of ostracism. Some have given up on registration, either because they do not find legal recognition necessary and/or their work is based on virtual spaces. In addition, incidents of sexual harassment and intimidation have led one organisation to stop the registration process.

 “We do not consider it necessary to register.”

JUNTA DE PRIETAS—REPÚBLICA DOMINICANA

 “Registration has not been a topic of interest so far,”


AKOBEN COLECTIVA AFROFEMINISTA—COSTA RICA

 “We work with a fiscal sponsor.”

OUR BODY POLITIC—USA


 “Working with communities is done online.”

Registration also has a political feature when it is used to confront the government using its own laws. This is done in anticipation of restrictions on citizens’ rights by taking into account the multiple political and social characteristics of our era and in view of the cyclical crises that manifest themselves in the different contexts of the lives of Black feminists.

 “We are registered to protect the organisation from the dangers of shrinking civic space in the Horn of Africa region.”

SIHA NETWORK—SUDAN

 “To face the challenge of shrinking citizen space, we are registering to use the state’s business provisions.”

 “In order to be held accountable for all our actions in the Campaign instead of the ‘parent organisation’ that hosted us.”

ONE IN NINE CAMPAIGN—SOUTH AFRICA

 “Our registration is also a political statement as a queer feminist organisation.”


VOICE OF THE VOICELESS (VoVo)—ZIMBABWE



On the other hand, political arguments are put forward to challenge these state institutions and to claim autonomy and freedom for organizations to register or not. The rejection of administrative formalities, an expression of great associative freedom, is part of the argument in favour of non-registration.


 “We wanted to test our approach first without getting caught up in the bureaucracy of registration.”

YOUNG WOMAN THRIVE—SOUTH AFRICA


 “It is easier to organise without the registration and bureaucratic requirements.”

#WEARES2PC —KENYA

Other equally political reasons are given against registration, such as in the case of undeclared work, in the case of a legal suit against those in power, which also raises questions about the security of organizations and members in this situation.


 “Because we are working against anti-gender groups deeply rooted in the government. We prefer to remain anonymous to protect our identity.”

STRATEGIC ISSUES & RESEARCH COUNCIL—KENYA

 “For security reasons. Mainly because of the type of political work we do. We use a registered NGO as fiscal sponsor for our funding.”

COLECTIVA FEMINISTA EN CONSTRUCCIÓN—COSTA RICA


Within this same political context, it is also necessary to include the fact that LGBTQ organizations cannot register in many countries because of discriminatory laws, and are forced to operate as informal structures.

 “The LBT concept is considered illegal by the government. We are fighting the evils of society without compromise, so the government and its policies do not make it easy for us.”

FILLES EN ACTION—BENIN

This brief overview of organisational registration shows that it is not just a technical and administrative issue. Registration has a strong political connotation. The obligation to register is not only a means of control and repression on the part of the government and/or its agents, but it is also of influence, as it is a condition for donors. The literature review indicates that smaller and/or unregistered grassroots





organizations have less access to funding, particularly those that lack capacity in grant writing, data collection and financial management. But the refusal to register also offers Black feminist organizations a space to challenge the power of the government and the power of donors. If the government is essentially an instrument of domination, it is up to funders and Black feminist organizations working for freedom and social justice to rethink the legal environment for interventions and funding to be more flexible.



79%

of Black feminist organizations have individual members.

"With COVID-19, we lost many members. About thirty of our members left."

Membership

79% of the organizations have a total of 137,742 individual members.

73% of the organizations that mobilize individual members have fewer than 101 members out of a total of 2,474. 27% have more than 101 members and a total of 135,268.

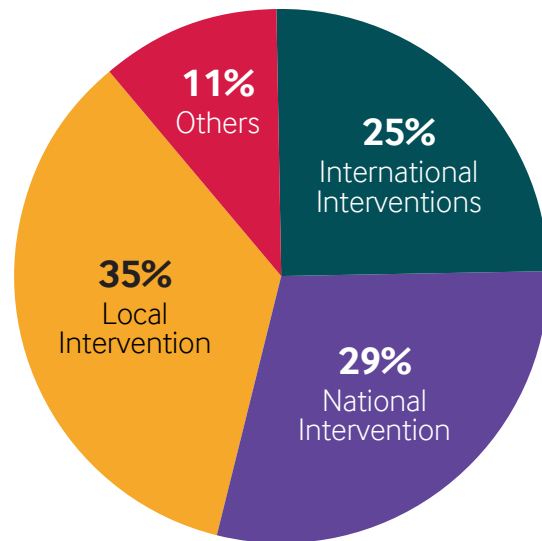
Some structures are intertwined networks. Others are made up of networks of individuals, groups and associations. They are not in a position to count the number of members. Some do not operate on a formal membership basis; the membership system does not apply to them. These different aspects taken together show the overall immensity of Black feminist dynamics. There are many ways of identifying with Black feminist movements and of being an activist in Black feminist movements in physical and virtual spaces.

Geographic scope

25% of the responses attest to a transnational level of intervention, covering 2 to 7 countries within the same continent, or across several continents (for example Africa and the Diaspora). 29% of the organizations work nationally, with their activities covering the whole country. 35% work in geographic proximity (locally) according to the administrative division in their context (province, district, region, department, community, village, etc.).

It is worth noting that there is no dichotomy between the different levels of intervention as some organizations who work at international level also cover countries in one or more continents, while those who work proximately (locally) also engage transnationally.

Area of Intervention





We work with organizations on the margins of mainstream movements and we find that even with deliberateness our feminist spaces often marginalise. That's our zone of honey and happiness.

—Bella Matambanadzo, Zimbabwe


Priority Issues

Why were they created?




 “We decided that we needed to get organised. So we invited women farmers’ associations and women’s groups from Southern Africa to come and discuss the issues we were all facing across the region—even though we have national boundaries, Southern Africa is one territory and we all have to co-exist. The HIV/AIDS pandemic was a regional crisis and Southern Africa is one of the poorest regions in Africa and the world. Therefore, we were looking at how we could build feminist solidarity, a way of sharing, thinking and acting together.


MERCIA ANDREWS—RURAL WOMEN’S ASSEMBLY—SOUTHERN AFRICA

 In the Great Horn of Africa, women are regularly portrayed and perceived as victims, but Strategic Initiative for Women in the Horn of Africa (SIHA) challenges this notion of the status quo. SIHA recognises that almost all the challenges women face are based on socially constructed norms and that these norms actively subordinate women. We work and believe strongly in the collective power of African women. Defying assumptions about African women, SIHA has been supported by many African women’s rights activists and has been sustained by their unwavering commitment to their cause. SIHA approaches the struggle for women’s rights as a political struggle, and as such, we keep our goals of fundamental political transformation at the forefront.


STRATEGIC INITIATIVE FOR WOMEN IN THE HORN OF AFRICA—HORN OF AFRICA

 Minas Programam is an initiative created in 2015 by girls and young women to challenge the gender and racial stereotypes that influence our relationship with the fields of science, technology and computing. Minas Programam promotes learning opportunities for girls and women, prioritising those who are Black or Indigenous. A society marked by racism and machismo often determines who has the opportunity to learn, engage and work with technology. For instance, this context ends up being exclusionary: for Black women, Indigenous people and for LGBTI people.

MINAS PROGRAMAM—BRAZIL

 I seek to serve as an international reference on dialogue on Brazil. As a worthy heir of the Quilombos, I build counter-narratives to those of anti-Black people and groups in order to show and value perspectives and realities of the Brazilian Black people.

KILOMBA COLLECTIVE—USA

 Eldoret Women for Development (ELWOFOD) is a women's organisation in Kenya founded by two ex-prisoners in the Eldoret-Langas slum who had been convicted and imprisoned for six years of a crime they did not commit. ELWOFOD seeks to improve the reintegration of ex-prisoners into their communities through skills development, economic security and justice.

ELDORET WOMEN FOR DEVELOPMENT—KENYA

Rights issues targeted by Black feminist organizations (BFOs)

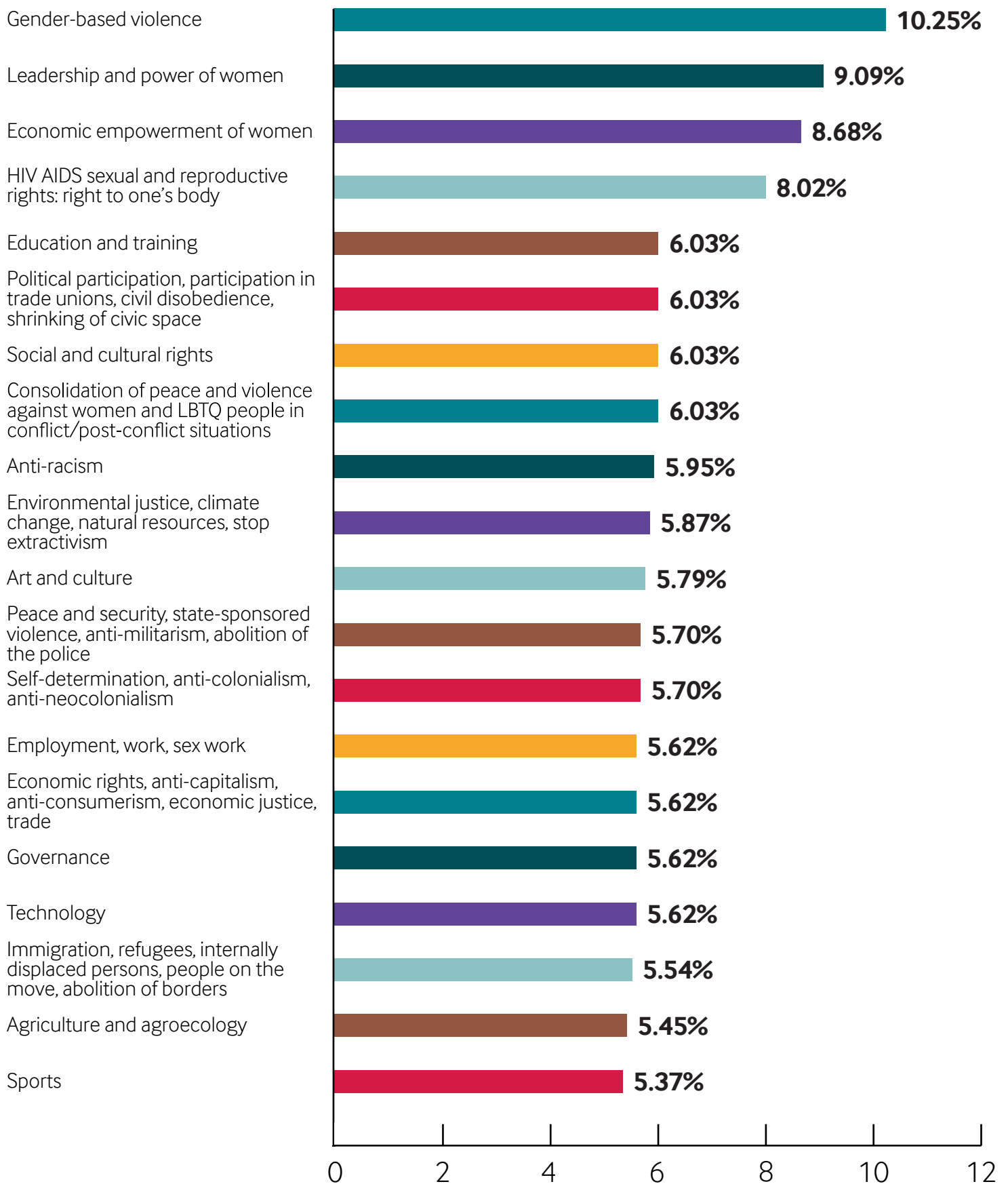
Gender-based violence tops the list in terms of issues that BFOs work on, along with women's leadership and power, women's economic empowerment, and women's health, sexual health (including HIV and AIDS), sexual and reproductive rights, and rights to control their bodies.

Azanian Women Remember

We are a group of Black feminists engaged in the political project of Black Conscious Pan Afrikanism. We use memory as a site of revolution and creation site.... Until the last one of us falls.

We work against state-sponsored violence, against violence against women and LGBTQ people in conflict/post-conflict contexts, for anti-militarism, the abolition of the police and the abolition of borders. We stand for self-determination, anti-colonialism, anti-neo-colonialism.

Rights issues targeted by Black feminist organizations





These 20 issues are not mutually exclusive, Black feminist organizations operate at the intersection of multi-faceted, interlocking and interdependent oppressions, exercised in the family and societal sphere, perpetuated by the government and/or stemming from life trajectories marked by enslavement, colonisation, neo-colonisation, neo-liberalism and militarism as well as various forms of fundamentalisms, patriarchy and cis hetero-normativity. It is this multifaceted environment and these interrelationships between oppressions that Awa Thiam described in her 1978 book *La parole aux Négrresses*, the first of its kind to provide a cross-cutting sociological analysis of the suffering endured by African women, a historiography of the cross-cutting, interlocking, interdependent persecution in which African women are entangled and which are shared by other Black women outside the African continent. This finding was later conceptualised as intersectionality by Kimberley Crenshaw in her book, *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics*. The concept of intersectionality describes the ways in which “systems of power and oppression co-construct to create complex and unique forms of systemic harm and injustice.”¹ Greater visibility of some forms of oppression hides other, more insidious, more devastating forms. Armed with this clear understanding of intersectionality, the struggles of Black feminist organizations intersect with the issues and activities that they work on.

- Strategic Initiative for Women in the Horn of Africa’s (SIHA) work covers 5 strategic areas: reducing violence against women and girls, strengthening women’s access to justice and transforming negative and harmful religious and cultural dogmas, empowering women economically towards the realisation of their economic, social and cultural rights, mixed migration of women and girls from the Greater Horn of Africa and building inclusive women’s movements
- In 2010, in Colombia, the International Meeting of Women and Peoples of the Americas spoke out against militarisation and the installation of US military bases.²

1 Crenshaw, Kimberle - “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics,” University of Chicago Legal Forum: Vol. 1989: Iss. 1, Article 8. Available at: <http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/>

2 Giraud, I. (2012). Radicalisation and youth presence in the World March of Women: a process of construction of new forms of contemporary feminist radicalities. *Lien social et Politiques*, (68), 63-78. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1014805ar>


- Launched in December 2014 by the African American Policy Forum (AAPF) and the Centre for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies (CISPS), the #SayHerName campaign raises awareness of the often-invisible names and stories of Black women and girls who are victims of racist police violence and provides support to their families. Black women and girls as young as 7 and as old as 93 years have been killed by police. We rarely hear their names. Knowing their names is a necessary but not sufficient condition for preserving their stories, which, in turn, provides a much clearer picture of the wide-ranging circumstances that make Black women's bodies disproportionately subject to police violence. In order to tell their stories and highlight police violence against Black women, we need to know who they are, how they lived and why they suffered at the hands of the police.
- For the Rural Women's Assembly, the struggle for land rights is a struggle against patriarchy and customary laws which are enforced by men and give them authority and prevent women from owning land. "It is a system that is very dominant in Africa and strongly linked to religion—be it Islam or Christianity—and patriarchy. Our work starts with the land, but it doesn't stop there."³
- Black Girls Glow (Ghana) brings together women artists to create content that is not defined or limited to the outer boundaries imposed by the male-dominated structure of the art scene. They bring together women who showcase their own issues and styles and their own vocal patterns and creativity through art.
- Our feminism is anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, anti-patriarchal and anti-capitalist. Our politics are multifaceted. 'Wadadli,' formerly known as 'Wa'ladli,' and 'Wa'Omoni' are indigenous names for the islands of Antigua and Barbuda. We have adopted 'Wadadli feminism' to demonstrate our rejection of colonial and neo-colonial definitions of personhood, nation and development.


INTERSECTANTIGUA, OUR POLITICS

3 News preview 6 Nov 2019: Rural women's assembly: land is their livelihood, but who owns it <https://www.mamacash.org/fr/nouvelles>

harmful practices, (such as female genital mutilation and child marriage), and strengthening the women's movement in Africa.


Achievements

-  My cultural production, *NO!* a documentary on rape, which is subtitled in Spanish, French, Portuguese and German, is being used as a resource in movements to end sexual violence—throughout the United States and in several countries in Europe, the Caribbean, South America, Asia and Africa.
AISHAH SHAHIDAH SIMMONS—FOUNDER/CULTURAL WORKER—AFROLEZ® PRODUCTIONS

-  Strategic Initiative for Women in the Horn of Africa (SIHA) in Sudan mobilized and supported a cross-section of women from across Sudan to develop the Sudanese Women's Manifesto—a policy document and public statement of key demands that must be met for Sudan to adopt a discourse and action plan that focuses on women's rights and critical issues during and after the transition period.

The documentary “Women in the Revolution” traces involvement and women leadership during political mobilisations and resistance activities. Women were at the forefront of the [2018-2019] popular uprising, making up between 60% and 70% of the protesters. SIHA led an anti-rape campaign called #Justice4Hamdi to raise awareness and draw attention to the prevalence of sexual violence against women and girls in Somalia. The campaign, triggered by the horrific rape and murder of Hamdi, garnered support from national, regional and international actors, highlighting the urgency of challenging the trend of gender-based killings.

STRATEGIC INITIATIVE FOR WOMEN IN THE HORN OF AFRICA (SIHA)—HORN OF AFRICA

-  In 2020, with *Mulheres Ao Vento*, we organized a workshop on Black feminism and favelas. This initiative was meant to deconstruct retrograde and pejorative discourses on the body, memory, culture, race, favelas and gender. We criticized the poetic and artistic components that form the so-called Brazilian culture and politically affirmed it as an Afro-American culture. Based on a bibliography composed mainly of Black women's writings, we reconstructed histories and memories of Black women and slums and experimented with forms of knowledge production from



corporeal and poetic stimuli.

Every second Tuesday of the month via Zoom, or every Monday on Clubhouse, online community events provide a safe and informative space for Black Brazilian immigrant women and opportunities to discuss a variety of topics related to their livelihoods.

With volunteers, we organized free professional development workshops for Black Brazilian women, how to write a CV and how to succeed in a job interview in the US.

One year after the first case of COVID-19 in Brazil, the country surpassed the over 400,000 mark of lives lost. More than 4,000 people have lost their lives in a 24 hour-period... Therefore, in collaboration with other organizations, we raised R\$11,000 in funds and identified 22,895 families in vulnerable situations throughout the country, mainly in Brazilian favelas, riverside communities and Quilombos. These families received support, based on the number of people in their household, for three months during the COVID-19 pandemic.

KILOMBA COLLECTIVE—USA





The Rural Women's Assembly (RWA) has been raising awareness among rural women through programmes such as the 'annual feminist school' which provides an understanding of patriarchy and the intersections between patriarchy, capitalism and climate change. It is an intergenerational space, with equal participation of older and younger women. "The future is in the hands of young women, and the sustainability of this movement depends on intergenerational relationships and practices: we need to incorporate new knowledge, but also learn from the past experiences of others.

What we are most proud of is the fact that ten years on, RWA has remained a grassroots organisation... The fact that it is a movement for women farmers, led by women farmers themselves, is something to be proud of.⁴

MERCIA ANDREWS AND LUNGISA HUNA—RURAL WOMEN'S ASSEMBLY—SOUTHERN AFRICA

4 News preview 6 Nov 2019: Rural women's assembly: land is their livelihood, but who owns it <https://www.mamacash.org/fr/nouvelles>



 In Casamance (Senegal) by using a subversive culture with songs, dances, drama, we deconstructed the myths that prevented women from owning land, improved women's access to land, education, civil status, registration of marriages, etc. Women gained more power.


When Idrissa Sagna, a schoolboy, was killed by the police during a strike, women stood up and put an end to the unrest, both on the side of the people and on the side of the government forces so as to give chance to justice.

While maintaining our initial focus on fighting a subversive culture, involvement of women in conflict resolution and the strengthening of their income generating activities was becoming increasingly important... Women set up organisational federations, then networks of federations, which today include more than 11,000 women in the Ziguinchor region alone.

We formalised our group and created the Comité Régional de Solidarité des Femmes pour la Paix en Casamance [Regional Committee for Women's Solidarity for Peace] (CRSFPC/USOFORAL) in 1999, with the aim of contributing to the emergence of an active female citizenship initiative for peace and sustainable development in Casamance, Senegal.

Many researchers also deepened the knowledge on the processes of transformation of women's status, analysing the changes we have generated within traditional societies.

USOFORAL — SENEGAL

 With COVID-19 we lost our jobs because our welfare files had not been processed, unlike those of white women who were in the same situation as us. And we ended up on the street. We knew we were living in a context of institutionalised racism, we were involved in anti-racism and equality work, but in a sporadic, unstructured way (distributing meals during winter, organizing workshops for young people, etc.). What happened to us with our social welfare files was the trigger for us to get involved in a structured way.

After settling our cases and being reinstated, we investigated and found out that there was a fund for the support of illegal immigrants and that it targeted single mothers. But they did not benefit from it because of the

language barrier, ignorance of the procedures and racism.

So, we created Susu, which is the name of an ethnic group in the Sahelian region in Africa, to consolidate our attachment to our roots, as a sign of recognition for the African community.

We obtained free support from Belgian lawyers for information on asylum procedures and regularisation procedures. The Belgian government, on the other hand, encourages undocumented immigrants to return to Africa. For these procedures, criminals made the women pay in exchange for false information.

In partnership with other organizations, we help them to find decent housing in unoccupied but habitable buildings because many of these women have little schooling, are undocumented and work illegally... We also do a lot of awareness-raising on racism, equality and the oppression of women because many come from backgrounds where this oppression seems to be taken for granted. We set up a system of endogenous mutual aid such as school support, solving problems of indebtedness, medical care resulting from injuries suffered from police violence attacks on immigrants.

COLLECTIF SUSU—FRANCE



We are running a 'Beddings, Mattress and Food' campaign to help provide shelter for homeless trans women members of our organisation. The funds help to brighten the lives of the recipients and create a better home for a soul who faces stigma and discrimination and is vulnerable because of being outside of hetero-normativity. The situation has further deteriorated during this time of global pandemic.

PRIDE 4 YOUTH INITIATIVE—UGANDA


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Black feminist organizations are:

- led by women and gender expansive people of various identities and statuses
- intergenerational
- positioned on all continents of the globe
- in general they are registered or for reasons of political choice, lack of resources and distance from administration choose not to be registered
- mobilizing collective power at the intersections of many forms of oppression
- profoundly and positively transforming the lives of Black women/girls, gender expansive people, communities and the world

Funding Black feminist movements

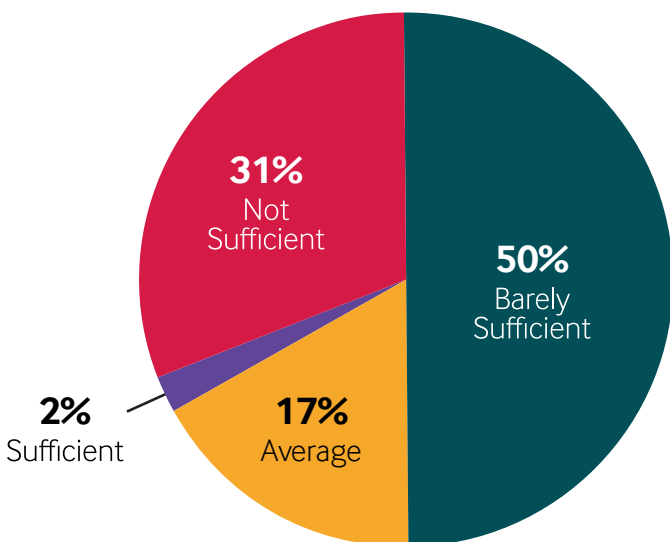
Funding is a critical issue for the development of Black feminist organizations, the strengthening of their initiatives and the sustainability of the changes they bring about that eliminate the multiple oppressions faced by Black women and gender expansive people. The short-sightedness of philanthropic interventions regarding intersectionality leads to the systematic erasure of strategic themes and leads to the funding of single-issue projects that do not always respond to the nuanced, intertwined issues of Black feminist movements. Despite threats, dangers, risks and repression, often with few resources, Black feminist organizations are reinventing a better world and daily contributing to building a society of social justice. On the other hand, the united and networked forces and dynamics of oppression, have at their disposal huge monetary and non-monetary resources (see chapter *In Opposition to Black Feminist Agendas*). Therefore, it is vital to understand, from the perspective of the Black feminist movement, the landscape and access to funding that they experience and how they would like it to be.



The short-sightedness of philanthropic interventions regarding intersectionality leads to the systematic erasure of strategic themes and leads to the funding of single-issue projects that do not always respond to the nuanced, intertwined issues of Black feminist movements.

Financial resources, sustainability and resilience

- With €25,000, Trans Empowerment Initiative (TEI—Kenya) addresses the fundamental right of trans people to health, wellbeing and housing to mitigate the challenges that make them vulnerable to systemic oppression. The organisation provides safe houses for homeless transgender people, educates them on sources of income that can support them, provides those who have undergone harsh and abusive experiences with mentors to guide them through the process of self-confidence, self-awareness and self-love, as well as a safe space for trans people to be free, without fear of prejudice or discrimination. TEI also advises them on the



Assessment of Black feminist organizations on their level of funding to achieve the objectives for Black women, girls, trans, intersex and non-binary people

81%

of Black feminist organizations feel the funding they receive is slightly or not at all sufficient to achieve their goals.

61%

of Black feminist organizations have annual budgets of **less than \$50,000 per year.**

safe use of hormones and on the best doctors to consult.

- In Malawi, Green Girls Platform is addressing violence girls face due to the impact of climate change. It works on capacity building, promoting climate justice, raising awareness of sexual and reproductive health rights and providing leadership skills. It also teaches public speaking skills and organises dialogues and debates with other girls, as well as with decision makers. It organises tree-planting activities and advocates for the use of solar energy. All this with a budget of \$30,000.
- With a budget of \$5,000, Her Choice aims to build communities free of child marriage and strengthen the leadership, power and voice of young girls.

That is to say, Black feminist organizations are crushed by the weight of survival strategies which, in the end, risk limiting their mobilisation and annihilating the changes achieved.

While the ability of Black feminists to innovate in the face of historical underfunding and insufficient budgets is a testament to their resilience, much remains to be done to change the culture that normalises this struggle for survival. Black feminists and their movements deserve the resources and support they need to thrive.





Black feminists

and their movements

deserve


the resources and support they need

to thrive.



How much do Black feminist organizations dream of?


Black feminist organizations are not asking for the impossible, they are simply asking for what is necessary to consolidate the gains they have contributed to women, gender expansive people, communities and the world.

 Because of the position of the French language in the world, we have difficulty in applying for international funding, thus we have not yet received any funding. While this situation cannot be directly linked to the pandemic, it probably, once again, hijacked energy that could have been mobilized around fundraising.


W̃ XOOL—FRANCE

 We have only obtained funding for short-term projects lasting between 2 and 3 months.


HAKI NAWIRI AFRIKA—KENYA

 Donors do not trust us because we are a young organization even though we are represented in Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Namibia, Rwanda, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

**DEVELOPMENT AGENDA FOR GIRLS AND WOMEN IN AFRICA NETWORK—
ANGOLA, BOTSWANA, MALAWI, NAMIBIA, RWANDA, SOUTH AFRICA, SWAZILAND,
TANZANIA, ZAMBIA, ZIMBABWE**

 Approximately \$60,000 would be required to achieve the goals of the organization.

MANO AMIGA DE LA COSTA CHICA—MEXICO

 \$275,000 per year for 5 years would also allow us to build the team and resources needed to collaborate more broadly at the national and continental levels and with the Black diaspora.

STRICTLY SILK—KENYA

 The annual dream budget is one million dollars to do everything we need to do.

REDE NACIONAL DE MULHERES NEGRAS NO COMBATE Á VIOLÊNCIA—BRAZIL



~\$525,170

is the median dream budget of Black feminist organizations

59%

of Black feminist organizations have never received core or general support funding.

75%

of Black feminist organizations receive the majority of their funding through project-specific grants.

53%

of Black feminist organizations do not have funds available for the next fiscal year.

52%

of Black feminist organizations have only received funding for less than two years.

Types and duration of grants

The response time to requests does not seem to be a problem: the longest is 3 to 6 months, in general, although some requests have waited a year to receive a response.

While the anti-women's, anti-LGBTQI, and anti-gender rights movements have significant access to money, the feminist movement, and specifically Black feminist organizations, are crumbling under the weight of destitution, standing firm thanks to a strong, unflinching commitment.

The impact of the COVID-19 pandemic



Our direct services have stopped due to the pandemic, lack of funding to meet the needs of the single parent program, and the access to justice program.

LIBERIA ASSOCIATION OF FEMALE SOCIOLOGISTS—LIBERIA



Team members lost family to COVID-19, another was hospitalized, and this had a significant impact on our regular flow of operations. The pandemic has resulted in more demands on our time and efforts and less emotional and mental capacity to deliver services to beneficiaries.

INTERSECT—ANTIGUA

- 🗣️ The organization was formed during COVID-19 as a result of what was happening and getting funding was not easy.

SMART TRANSITIONS

- 🗣️ Uganda, like many other African countries, remains a heteronormative society with deep-rooted hostility towards its transgender community. In 2021, President Museveni issued a detailed directive on preventive measures to combat the COVID-19 virus that resulted in the arrest of many transgender women.

In late March 2020, 20 members of Uganda's lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex community were arrested, detained, and spent more than 50 days in pre-trial detention after allegedly disobeying the country's COVID-19 containment rules.

On May 31, 2021, another 44 members of the trans women's community were arrested and remanded in Kitalya prison.

In late October 2021, another group of 40 members of the Wave of Legacy shelter were threatened with arrest if they did not move to another location.

These incidents and events have raised various safety issues regarding transgender women's shelters in Uganda, which has made us realize that our safety needs to be updated.


PRIDE FOR YOUTH INITIATIVE—UGANDA


- 🗣️ Initially, the community-based part of our work was limited by mandatory government lockdowns and curfews. We also had to address and fight gender-based violence, anti-racism, and increasing migration inequalities as part of the government's response to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Initially, we primarily served our members at in-person events. We shifted to digital outreach and digital community building in 2020, and as a result, we have built an extensive network across Ohio of activists and community builders who lead civic engagement campaigns and community care efforts.

OHIO WOMEN'S ALLIANCE—USA






 Our organization is an organization of people living with disabilities and therefore we cannot keep social distance because of the nature of our movement, communication becomes a challenge with the mask because some of us rely on lip-reading for communication. Most of our core funding comes from our income generating activities which have been severely affected and therefore office maintenance and staff remuneration is now a big challenge.


KISUMU DISABLED SELF-HELP GROUP—KENYA

 We have laid off some employees.

MALIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF YOUNG GIRLS AND WOMEN—MALI

 With COVID-19, field activities came to a halt. But we continued to work online, and there was need to spend money on phone calls to follow up with survivors of rape and sexual harassment, as well as transphobia for regular, personal follow-up. These expenses were unexpected.


GIRLS IN ACTION—BENIN

 Restrictions and protocols during artistic performances have decreased participation and project management has suffered. Also, the priorities of the funders have shifted to other things like health.


KALALU DANZA CENTRO DE INVESTIGACION CULTURAL Y ACCION CREATIVA AFRO CARIBEÑA— DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The COVID-19 pandemic has profoundly changed the way Black feminist organizations (BFOs) work. Government and anti-rights actions most affected the ways in which BFOs work but there was also increased scarcity and redirection of financial resources towards health, unforeseen circumstances that have caused Black feminists to lose their jobs, organizations to drastically reduce their expenses and slow down their activities. On a human level, activists have been personally affected by the pandemic (hospitalization, loss of loved ones), and this has also contributed to slowing down their activities. They have consistently been able to find answers, either by changing the modalities of the interventions, or working virtually, or reviewing their priorities, without disconnecting from the things they live for. Some Black feminists have lost their lives, leaving their colleagues distraught, others have lost loved ones and have been emotionally devastated, while some have been affected by the virus themselves. But in the face of COVID-19, interventions for the psychological and emotional care of the feminists themselves was not mentioned


by respondents. This lack of attention of self, while laudable and generous, is still a risk to the movement. COVID-19 has made even more evident the need and necessity for Black feminists to take care of themselves as one of the conditions for the sustainability of the movement. To fail to provide for these moments of individual and collective care, to fail to take into account these periods of regeneration of energies and consolidation of sisterhood, to fail to integrate individual and collective care into personal life and activism, is to diminish the capacity for resilience, it means putting the movement in danger. Thus, the well-being of Black feminists is critically important for movement-building purposes, and funding must support it accordingly.

 In spite of the pandemic, we had a small number of donors who continued to support our organization.


CALL.ACTIVIT—PALESTINE

 Although we still have very little funding, our funder has supported us during COVID-19.

PATINAAI OSIM—KENYA

 While most of our funders are flexible with the use of funding for COVID-19 related work, some funders have restructured future funding or grant proposals, thus primarily reducing our funding for the next fiscal year.







COLECTIVA FEMINISTA EN CONSTRUCCIÓN—PUERTO RICO

 We had to change our thematic areas and target groups in order to raise funds.

WOMANDLA FOUNDATION—ZIMBABWE



-  Donors were generous and understanding with us and willing to shift priorities to provide additional support.
FUND FOR CONGOLESE WOMEN—DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO
-  There has been greater flexibility on the part of donors.
OBSERVATORIO VIGIAAFRO—COLOMBIA
-  In some ways, COVID-19 has increased our funding and strengthened our relationships with our partners.
LEAP GIRL AFRICA—CAMEROON
-  Funding for YWA has been cut in half.
YOUNG WOMEN IN ACTION (YWA)—ZAMBIA
-  Most of our funding goes to specific activities and not to general support, we used to take a lot of time to convince the donor of the importance of online workshops, how much money they cost, why salaries are paid from the project and other details such as psychological support and its importance, and we are still engaged in these discussions even during the time of COVID-19.
GANOUBIA HORA—EGYPT
-  Donors have favored COVID-19's health, prevention and care-oriented actions.
RED DE MUJERES AFROLATINOAMERICA AFROCARIBEÑA Y DE LA DIASPORA COLOMBIA—COLOMBIA
-  Yes, because there was a decrease in public competitive funding, which affected our work.
COLECTIVA DE MUJERES AFRODESCENDIENTES LUANDA—CHILE
-  Funding was suspended because donors found monitoring difficult or impossible due to border closures and confinement.
ALTERNATIVES MÉNAGES, NATURE ET MARCHÉS—DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO
-  We are experiencing a 45% reduction in funding.
ASSOCIATION MALIENNE POUR LA PROMOTION DE LA JEUNE FILLE ET DE LA FEMME—MALI

- 
-  The impact is that we do not have enough funding to work and to extend our actions to other beneficiaries in other regions who are in need or who are needy.
ENVOL—ASSOCIATION ACTION SANTÉ TRANS—BENIN
 -  Yes, the way to acquire them has been difficult because it is difficult to execute projects during pandemics due to our rural context, working virtually does not help much for the implementation of our projects.
MANO AMIGA DE LA COSTA CHICA—MEXICO
 -  We are left with fewer funding opportunities for our rights-based work.
VOICE OF THE VOICELESS—ZIMBABWE
 -  There has been a significant impact on the funding of our organization in terms of membership fees.
ACTION FEMME ET ECO JUSTICE—DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO
 -  COVID-19 has had no impact on our financing because our actions are self-financed since the creation of our association.
WAKE UP LADIES—CAMEROON

COVID-19 has had an impact on the funding of Black feminist organizations (BFOs) and their relationships with donors. Some foundations have been flexible and have had an open conversation among partners about what to do and what the collective responses to this unpredictable disaster should be. Other donors have reduced or withdrawn their funding and redirected their efforts to health and the fight against this pandemic. Even self-financing BFOs, with no donors, felt the impact of COVID-19 because of the decline in income of members who contributed or led income-generating activities.





Autonomous resourcing

“The resources that fuel feminist social change come in many forms—financial, political as well as in everyday acts of resistance, care, survival, and in the construction of new feminist realities...”¹

The Black feminist organizations (BFOs), although largely dependent on funding foundations, are developing strategies to generate their own resources. BFOs report having between 0.2 and 100% of their income generated through autonomous resourcing. The median percentage of income generated autonomously by Black feminist organizations is 10%.


The median percentage of income generated autonomously by Black feminist organizations is 10%.

 Pendeza Weaving Project (Kenya), empowers rural women and youth through self-employment in cotton growing, processing and value-adding. It has self-generated \$20,000 this year.

 At the time of the first Lel'ai Festival, I had saved money because I started working when I was 18 and I am not a spender. I financed the first festivals with \$10,000. It was a total success. It is at this moment that parents, family, friends, acquaintances and art lovers have accepted to give this 'love money' with nothing in return. We have collected \$7,000, which is 70% of the expenses of the previous festivals. Then cultural centers lent us rooms, which reduced the costs.

SHAYDEN—FEMINIST, ARTIST—IVORY COAST

Name of Organization	Actions to Generate Financial Resources
Centre Africain pour l'Education aux Droits Humains	Sale of games developed by the organization
WILDAF	Provision of services
Rede de Mulheres Negras do Estado do Rio de Janeiro	Artistic training, performances
Black Feminist Future	Online sales of goods and collection of training fees
Call.Activit	Magazine sales and conference services
Federation of Women Lawyers	Processing of files for access to justice
Her Choice	Agriculture
Pendeza Weaving Project	Sale of hand-spun yarns and hand-woven products
Sanyu Center for Arts and Rights	Consultations, dance classes, book sales
UbyLulu	Consultancy fees
Voice of the Voiceless	Rental of sound equipment and space for events
Women's Action Group	Consultancies, rentals

- 
- With our own means, our salaries, our motorcycles, our commitment, we first developed the aspect of 'new culture' which is a subversive culture with songs, dances and theater that showed that women could, and should, occupy another place than the one that society reserves for them.

USOFORAL—FAN KUNDÉ MA SILÓO: ON THE WAY TO EMPOWERMENT—SENEGAL

With or without funding, from small grants or with our own modest funds, BFOs try to carry out promising initiatives, to reduce the dependence on foundations and donors. They demonstrate their deep determination to confront problems head on and to offer appropriate solutions to the situations of women and gender expansive people. They also demonstrate, whatever the field of intervention, their proven capacities for innovation that can be strengthened and consolidated to allow BFOs to build their financial autonomy little by little, but surely. There are many other initiatives by BFOs to raise non-monetary resources, because it is not only money that counts.

- Nous Sommes la Solution/We are the Solution is a pan-African rural women's movement: from 2000 to 2009, lengthy consultations between peasant organizations on strategies to fight against the agricultural policies imposed by the agro-industrial multinationals did not yield any results. So, we, rural women, decided to launch a campaign to fight against this conventional agriculture and for the preservation of our environment. In each country, we identified resource persons and organizations with expertise in agroecology. We have set up networks of rural women's organizations and they are supported by these resources persons who make their expertise available to them. With demonstrations on model plots graciously provided by families, agricultural practices have improved. The role and place of women in the family farm has improved as they become the holders of knowledge and techniques useful for agricultural production. After 3 years of this campaign that started in 2014, the organization moved from 12 associations at the beginning, to 500 bringing together 175,000 members in 2017. From there, the campaign became a movement, despite the lack of support from the authorities of our countries because our objectives are contradictory to theirs which are linked to conventional, chemical, destructive agriculture.

NOUS SOMMES LA SOLUTION/WE ARE THE SOLUTION—GHANA, BURKINA FASO, SENEGAL, MALI, GUINEA

- 📖 We created content on gender and sexuality in the African context and, in recent years, we have published and translated books for Portuguese speakers (with appropriate recognition of the authors) that are sold at a symbolic price and we give back the money for the upkeep of the organization.

ARQUIVO DE IDENTIDADE ANGOLANO—ANGOLA

- 📖 We organize bingos, bazaars, raffles and collect individual donations.

COLETIVA DE MULHERES NEGRAS ABAYOMI—BRAZIL

BFOs use non-monetary resources for their interventions, but they also offer them to other associations and groups.

- 📖 Our intervention has grown because of solidarity between feminists. A sister organization like L'Association pour la Promotion de la Femme Sénégalaise (APROFES), in Kaolack (Senegal) which was invited to an international conference on women's involvement in conflicts, passed its invitation on to us because it was not its area of intervention, and that opened the first doors for us. APROFES also put us in touch with donors by telling them about our work.

USOFORAL—(FAN KUNDÉ MA SILÓO! ON THE ROAD TO EMPOWERMENT)—SENEGAL

- 📖 We recently sent young women farmers from Zambia and Zimbabwe to Mauritius, for an 'ecology school' that we're involved in, and they said, 'We brought our seeds and made a presentation because we want them to see what African seeds look like—this is our biodiversity.' This spiritual resistance is something they believe in very strongly. Multinational companies are crowding out small-scale farmers' seeds and indigenous seeds so they can sell their own. If multinational seed companies can send their seeds all over the world, why can't we promote local seeds?

RURAL WOMEN'S ASSEMBLY—SOUTHERN AFRICA



Barriers to Funding

Black feminist organizations name the following as barriers to accessing funding:

- Competition between youth organizations or youth organizations and organizations that have been established for years.
- Donor requirements (registration, bank account, audit report).
- The amount—the size of the funding does not allow for large scale interventions while the needs of the struggle for social justice are enormous and the anti-rights movements are comfortably funded.
- The lack of necessary support for the functioning of Black feminist organizations and therefore the lack of support staff and the risk of burnout among leaders and activists.
- Neglected categories of rights such as the rights of trans people, girl children, non-binary and intersex people, people living with disabilities and people living in rural areas. Those who identify with more than one of these identities are further marginalized.
- The risk of organizations changing course to conform to the scope defined by donors, rather than pursuing their own momentum and the needs of their beneficiaries.
- Insufficient attention to themes such as sports, arts and culture which are powerful channels of social transformation.
- Shorter term funding when it takes a longer time frame to produce change that can be sustainable.





The promise to fund feminist collective action has certainly materialized in recent years, but still, the tragic underfunding of Black feminist movements persists. The commitment, the knowledge, the organizations and the technologies to develop and consolidate Black feminist movements, to change the world, exist. Extraordinary initiatives are carried out every day, sometimes with limited resources and a lot of commitment and creativity, which is exhausting in the long run. It is high time to make important choices to increase Black feminists' access to monetary and non-monetary resources. They need unprecedented levels of funding—in terms of duration, scope and quality—from all sources, at all levels. They need targeted and coherent resources, flexible resourcing of programs, and also resources in terms of investments in order to construct and build their autonomy step by step so as to be in a position to empower. The resources to support Black feminist organizations must be as meaningful and transformative, as purposeful as the immense leadership, commitment, and capacity of Black feminist movement organizations themselves.

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Conclusion

This chapter reveals the strength and power of Black feminist movements. The findings also highlight the deep precarity of Black feminist organizations in relation to funding and gives voice to Black feminist leaders and organizations' demands of philanthropy.

The message to donors does not only address application procedures and criteria but also the amount of funding. Black feminist organizations call for more justice, equity and trust, which constitute the basis for a real, fruitful and productive partnership.

- 1 Ensure sufficient time for the application period to make funding more accessible.
- 2 Simplify the process of application and disbursement of funds.
- 3 Include examples of information to be entered to help applicants understand what is required.
- 4 Understand that building trust will take time, as these problems are systemic and therefore deeply rooted.
- 5 Engage marginalized groups in discussions, negotiations and decision-making concerning funding decisions and the determination of eligibility criteria.
- 6 Take a proactive stand on equity, diversity and inclusion.

Given the multiple crises facing the world and the transformative potential of Black feminist movements, Black feminist organizations in all their diversities deserve significant resourcing.



Messages to Funders

Black feminists deserve a chance. Trust Black feminists!

I recommend that funders make their funds more flexible for groups or organizations that have unique ideas and innovations to access funds. In addition, I recommend capacity building and networking opportunities for organizations that are just starting out or even establishing themselves for the first time.

Funders should abolish inaccessible eligibility requirements. Funders should largely shift to core funding and allow organizations to use grants to address the direct needs of their communities. This is because different communities have different problems. Funders should trust young women-led organizations and fund them properly with grants that are not limited to 50% of their last budget.

Think about the future you want to experience and invest in the groups that are already working to make it a reality.

Increase funding percentages for women's organizations in a strategic and deliberate manner.

Black women's organizations must be adequately funded. In Brazil, more than half of Black women are not gainfully employed. We are exhausted and we need support for effective day to day struggle against structural racism.

They need to work on their unconscious biases.

Do not base processes on suspicion but on trust. Leave room to learn from your mistakes. Leave room for innovation, which means taking risks.

Compare organizations with similar status rather than comparing international organizations with local civil society organizations.

Embarking on a Quest

By Maie Panaga Babker



Chapter 3

Black Feminist Movements in the Middle East and North Africa

In the past decade, feminist movements in the Middle East and North African (MENA) regions have gained attention in studies and funding, especially with the maturation of discourse when it comes to countering patriarchy and its intersection with militarization, fundamentalism, war, gender, and sexual-based violence. These movements have hence embarked on localizing analytical and theoretical frameworks to establish a strong foundation for these developments and everyday battles—to mention some: intersectional feminist theories, reproductive justice, and post-colonialism. Despite these advancements, there is a scarcity when it comes to knowledge about Black and Afro-descendant women's organizing and struggles.

When research for *Where is the Money for Black Feminist Movements?* began, a stark figure was uncovered about human rights funding to Black women, girls, and trans people: only a single grant went to the MENA regions (see chapter *Through the Philanthropic Lens*). This contrasted with our knowledge of Black feminist contributions and movements in the regions and instigated this chapter that takes a deep dive into the work and thinking of Black feminists in MENA. As the Black Feminist Fund is interested in focusing its efforts on the lived realities of the global and transnational Black and Afro-descendant feminist movements, we expanded our invitation to all those who identify as feminists, activists, organizers, writers, and storytellers in MENA.


This chapter focuses on linking the different threads and contexts that contributed to shaping/weaving the identities and political awareness of Black Afro-descendant women in the regions, and the most used tools in their pursuit to highlight their struggles and relation to other social

movements. In an attempt to map the Black feminist movement in the regions and understand their ways of organizing, we conducted interviews with fifteen Black and Afro-descendent women from ten countries and asked them to share with us their journeys. Their responses gave us insight into the multi-layered and nuanced experiences and meanings of being a Black/Afro-descendant woman in the regions.

Tyranny of erasure and denial

Throughout the summer of 2020, various individuals, organizations, groups, and even public figures in and from MENA took to the internet showing solidarity with the “Black Lives Matter (BLM)” movement in the US. Websites were flooding with statements against racism and discrimination, which opened up a conversation that wasn’t the first, but perhaps the most visible, on racism and the situation of Black and Afro-descendant communities in the region. These were met with a spectrum of discourses, from defensive to offensive. There were those who rejected the idea that their culture and countries had racist manifestations, premising their refutation on Islamic religious texts that asserts the equation of white and Black skinned in Islam, and cordially in Arabic cultures. Meanwhile, some others requested ‘proof’ of any legal or societal discrimination towards Black people in the region. Thirdly came those who rendered these ‘accusations’ of racism as ‘unfair,’ claiming they centralize the American ‘western’ history of racism as the benchmark, and stating that even if the culture involved racist actions, they were ‘individual incidents’ that may include jokes, but doesn’t reach hatred for Blackness. All of the prior mentioned arguments had insinuations around the truthfulness of these confrontations, and the ‘americanization’ of those trying to pose the question of historical regional racism, and doubting the intention of Black community members who pose them, that they use a fantasized historical injustice.

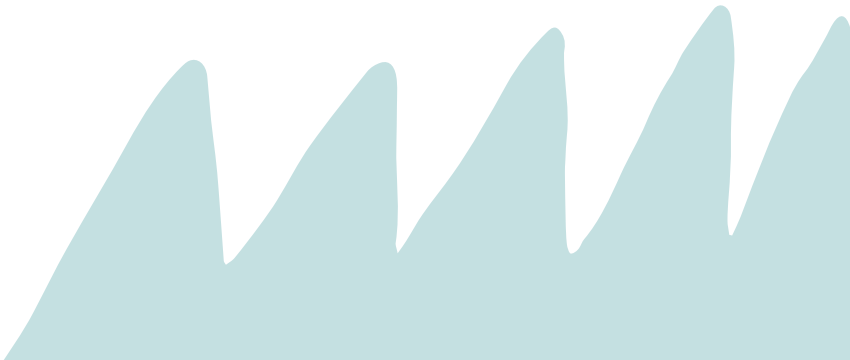
In fact, there are various factors that enforce such an ignorant and dismissive discourse, and, concordially, the historical and contemporary state of Black communities and individuals in the region. As a start and most importantly, formal education in its various stages and curricula, that overlooks education on racial, cultural and ethnic diversity and inclusion, and completely disregards the local and regional history of enslavement and the slave trade. Popular culture and media also lack positive representation of Black/Afro-descendent people. Further, it contributes to the normalization and familiarization of an inferior gaze towards Black people.



In shows and movies, Blackness is relegated to comedy: using black face to present stereotypical racist views, mostly as “Sudanese” characters talking in broken Arabic accents. Black women are not represented outside the roles of domestic workers and oversexualized sex workers. Attempts to call for halting these stereotypical racist images are met with dismissive, “you are too sensitive,” responses, exclaiming that such representation does not call for violence against Black people, they are but a mere joke.

The hegemony of such dismissive discourses, ones that override racism as a secondary topic, as opposed to freedom, economic and social rights, that makes it hard to open an effective, profound, and critical debate on race and its various intersections. This moreover burdens the Black and Afro-descendant communities with the full weight of proving, not only their presence and belonging, but also their right to express the ramifications of prolonged structural and institutional oppression.

Black women have tried to explore their histories in the experiences of those before them, of ancestors, in an attempt to understand their present and pick up the pieces of the racial, sexual and gender interweavings in their identities. Rummaging official and alternative historicities of the region, and reading literature fiction and non, falls short to vague mention by historians and academics, and the repulsive stereotyping. Although there is an increasing interest in knowledge production and historicization of figures and stages of feminist movements in the region, it is race and Black feminists contribution, that we fall short in. It is far from an actual reflection of Black women’s voices and causes, on the communities and in various other forms of organizing.





Tracing the past, narrating the present

Part of the impressive maneuverings we noticed while tracing the content of Black and Afro-descendant feminists online in the region is that a lot of the Black feminists took it upon themselves to fill the gaps of knowledge by providing their own version in the narrative. And here they are displaying not only how they make their knowledge production, but how knowledge production is in its own right a tool to develop communities and networks of care.

“It gave me an opportunity to actually link up with Black women, one of my main goals when I started this platform was giving it to Black women specifically and that’s why you will see most of the articles we had on our platform are by Black women because I always felt that with Black men even in the region they tend to have a space where they can speak up it’s not the same case for us and unfortunately they don’t even advocate for our causes and they don’t allow us to share the platforms they have.”

—Nareeman Dosa, Black Pearl

“[Black Pearl](#)” is a platform focusing on the stories of Black and Afro-descendant communities from the region, and providing these stories and historicities in the form of written personal narratives, interviews, podcasts, and panels. The founder was given the opportunity to write about her experience as a Black and Afro-descendant woman in Qatar. Through this opportunity, she realized the thirst for more stories, and that she has the capacity to involve more people, more voices of Black and Afro-descendant people, to shed light on the multitudes of layerings, that one or two people alone cannot describe. Black Pearl is evolving with the growth of the feminist consciousness of the people involved in it.

It was their desire to make their stories visible, their identities seen and their views taken into consideration. This is the start of “[The Collective for Black Iranians](#).” The collective is premised on the desire to bring to life the experiences of Black Iranians not only inside Iran but in the relationships of Black Iranians with their identities through various geographies and generations. The collective is committed to two main things: engaging with the linguistic relation to “Blackness” which is used as a

With the collaboration with artists, storytellers, filmmakers, the collective redraws the socio-political imaginaries of the everyday life of Iranians in Black.

derogatory term, and reclaiming it as an experience. Its important to note that there is still no actual terminology to refer to “anti-blackness” or to “racism” in Farsi. The second is engaging with the histories of Black communities in South Iran. They do that by involving historians on the one hand, and engaging with the oral history of their own family members on the other. This balance is a mode of disruption in the face of institutionalization of historical narrative. With the collaboration with artists, storytellers, filmmakers, the collective redraws the socio-political imaginaries of the everyday life of Iranians in Black.

“The reason we even share our stories is not to educate, it’s to send an echo, so that Black women and girls in Iran can know they are beautiful.” —Priscillia Kounkou-Hoveyda, The Collective for Black Iranians.

One of the oldest traces of online Black feminist narratives is found in Brownie; a blog that dates back to 2007 by displaced Nubian African Muslim feminist Fatma Emam. Fatma’s blog is her reflection on the constellation of causes she represents but is usually forced to let go of one over the others of her identities. It engages with the rights of return, Blackness in Egypt, African feminisms, literature, and creating a space of solidarity with places that are usually underrepresented in the Egyptian mainstream human rights realm, such as; women living under Muslim laws, and broadening the scope of this realm from the North, to the rest parts of Africa, as a reflection to her own references as a Pan-Africanist, Muslim feminist and land-rights activist. All of which is written in Arabic, and Egyptian dialect.



“The idea of writing a very clear identity disclaimer in the blog is very important, I was writing in English all the time and my readers were foreigners then a friend said to me ‘please write in arabic.’ I started writing in Arabic after the 2011 Egyptian revolution and I do my best to write the posts not in very academic way or activist way, I try to write it in simpler ways to be understood.” —Fatma Emam, Brownie.

In the light of the aforementioned scarcity of spaces, it has led to various forms of online disruptions. While some created separate platforms of their own, others brought their voices to the most famous social media platforms. This is the experience of the [Black Arab Collective](#), which focused on engaging with dismissive discourses of racism in the region. The Black Arab Collective is led by an outspokenly queer woman, who brings to the table not only the experience of race but also the role her queerness plays in shaping her experience of race and gender.

“Sometimes you want a seat at the table; I would rather build my own table and have the ability to talk about the issues and the nuanced experience that we Black women go through.” —Amuna, Black Arab Collective.

Samah Fadl’s [Twitter Space](#), is striking in the way she exhibits Blackness and politics, in a context where Blackness is unfamiliar, Palestine. Based in Canada, Samah is a stateless woman who uses her Twitter account as a family album, and an assemblage of Black Palestinian life, existence, and pasts in audiovisual form.

“Our history is not just struggle we have a beautiful culture, poetry, and food more than just the occupation we are so much more than that, and by using social media I think that has been the way to show it and I’ve been getting a lot of good feedback, it’s so important to document the occupation and what’s happening and it’s equally as important to show the good times, the happiness, the humanity we deserve those things.”
—Samah Fadl, Afro-Palestinian writer



The reason

we even share our stories
is not to educate, it's to

send an echo

so that Black women and
girls in Iran can know they
are beautiful.

Priscillia Koukou-Hoveyda
The Collective for Black Iranians

Expanding from the margin

In the previous section, we showed the expansion of the MENA feminist discourse; and the blind spots that this expansion reveals. That is Black women are at the margin of the bigger margin of MENA feminist movements. Several organizations have also emerged to organize Black women.

“The situation here is very difficult and racism is very prevalent, especially with Mauritania’s history of slavery, I come from the Haratines who were enslaved in the past, and of course, this inferiority will continue to follow you wherever you go because of your past, fortunately, the areas we work in are very poor and of the same category as we are, so we find there is more cooperative, but when you try to convince people from other groups, they may not take you seriously for them you are just a Black girl.”

—Salka Hmeida, ONG Taghadom

[ONG Taghadom](#) works on GBV and its manifestation in the access to education, poverty, FGM, and child marriage in Mauritania with a focus on the Arabic-speaking Black population. In this sense, they face significant pushback: firstly the ostracization in the Black community for trying to combat generations-old practices and economies that are founded on them; secondly, the regional marginalization due to the invisibility of Mauritanian social justice work in human rights and women’s rights in the MENA.

“You fight for BLM but you don’t have Black people in your organizations it’s good and we appreciate they fight for Black lives; but at the same time you should allow us to be part of the movement this is the truth.”

—Banchi Yimer, Egna Legna Besidet

[Egna Legna](#) works on domestic labor in Lebanon, interacting with one of the most violent labor systems in the MENA, the Kafala system. Migrant women workers, following their homeland exodus from multiple forms of oppression, are subjected to a multitude of violences: sexual, racial, economic, and gender-based. When COVID-19 struck in Lebanon, domestic workers were abandoned by their employers and their embassies, without their wages, and stranded in the streets. Challenging the way humanitarian support and community service interventions are perceived, Egna Legna not only framed their actions as humanitarian support but feminist

intervention. One of their goals is to expand the work against the Kafala system with other domestic workers who suffer under it.

In Tunisia, Khawla Ksiksi co-founded “[Voices of Tunisian Black Women](#),” and is involved in multiple intersectional feminist groups in the country. Khawla was chased out of Tunisia after a parliamentarian mentioned that she and the movement were ‘using’ their colour to push for sexual and reproductive rights, and ‘alleging’ violations that did not exist.

“It was really difficult for us to be part of the activist dynamics; until now we don’t have enough representation even if there are some events that talk about the problems of Black people, they don’t invite Black people.”
—Khawla Ksiksi, Voices of Tunisian Black Women

“The general mentality that anything to do with feminism comes from Cairo does not speak to our issues and our geographical nature and that we do not want the ‘whites’ to show us the way, so it was important for us to say that we the women of this community, we also aim to support the community activists who work in issues similar or intersecting with ours, we help the women’s movement to grow, but in local, grassroots frameworks.”
—Ayat Osman, Ganoubia Hora.

Feminists and activists often feel compelled to work from capital cities, to make their voices more heard. [Ganoubia Hora](#), on the other hand, took a conscious political decision to work on and from Upper Egypt. They focus their work on sexual and reproductive health and rights, GBV, and land rights of Southern Egyptian women. They argue that feminist work is strengthened by diversification of localities and solutions, making the shift from the “savior” approach that organizations and activists based in capital cities acquire.



Daunting norms

Black feminist activists, groups, platforms, and organizations in MENA, as in most regions of the globe, are doing critical work with limited resources and support. This raises a question about the long-term sustainability of their work. There is currently a great deal of voluntarism and free labor involved. The majority of Black feminists interviewed noted having to maintain other jobs to fund their activism work. This doesn't only hinder the sustainability of their activist work but also affects their quality of life, and the capacity to give more to the causes they fight for.

Despite this, there is hesitation among Black feminists to seek funding opportunities. This is due to the difficulties of funding mechanisms and applications, and the strict terms and conditions of eligibility that, for the most part, do not serve the groups and organizations that apply. For decades, there has been a dire need to amend those policies according to the changes in social movements and mobilizations that are happening. This is also to say that the policies of funding cannot fall back in the face of the changes happening in feminist and social movements.

The following are some of the barriers and biases that prevent Black feminists in MENA from accessing funding:

1

The obligation of institutional registration

This disregards the contexts where there is a restriction on civil society registration and work, and an impossibility for non-citizens in the same context. This is a part of the systematic reduction of non-governmental social justice work, especially that opposes government violations.

2

The lack of diversity in funding modalities

Current modalities necessitate projects-based funding, with rigid criteria; as well as less core funding. This limits the capacity that people can work on in regards to the intersections of issues they face.

3

Lack of funding to enhance capacity building in an array of jobs that are vital for the sustainability and efficiency of the Black feminist movement

This assumes and necessitates individuals desiring work in these forms of organizations come fully equipped with all the needed and fathomed expertise. There is no consideration of the opportunities and needs to improve their capacities, in order to adapt to changes of work environments and economies. In this way, funding, or lack thereof, creates a rigidity in the ways people can innovate and rejuvenate their movements and communities and grow individually.

4

There is minimal investment in knowledge production

Knowledge production is a process that needs lots of skills and resources for every person involved. The lack of funding dismisses the importance of knowledge production as a break free from the enforced molding of official knowledge portals.

5

Blind spot to holistic wellness

While funders pay a great attention to the terms and conditions to guarantee the materialization of their funding allocations, the wellness of the people working to produce these services are almost as neglected as the systems oppressing their stakeholders. From health insurances, to medical services, to therapy sessions, to even quality time allocation, none are addressed in the funding process, in a type of labor where chronic stress-related illnesses and disorders are far more common than addressed.



Collective dreams

“When it comes to Black feminist movement I would say plurality. I do not want to see just one movement. People complain about how there is no unity but I want to see thousands of groups popping up representing their own needs. Why not?” —Kawthar, queer Sudanese writer

The visions of Black feminists did not start yesterday and will not wane tomorrow, neither will its momentum decrease anytime soon. On the contrary, we have the ability and potential to create discourses that are fueled by the political imaginary, extending from the ancestral heritage to the generations that will prosper in the change we will achieve. This chapter and the Black feminists who were interviewed remind us of the vitality of creating spaces that transcend borders and localities, to the aspirations of collective dreams.





In Opposition to Black Feminist Agendas

By Yannia Sofía Garzón Valencia



Chapter 4

Investing in Causes, Capitalizing on Effects: Extraction, Militarization, Illegal Flows and Anti-Rights Agendas

COVID-19 is by far one of the biggest cautionary experiences we have endured in this time—one that calls us to focus our attention to the vital resources that sustain life. And, with the limited emergency resources that Black feminist women and gender-expansive people¹ received and managed, we were able to discuss unconditional access to emergency assistance and resources, which included a conversation about the ways in which the acceptance of these resources often came with certain conditions, namely, structural adjustment measures, an increase in public debt, the ways that social investments and support were administered based on clientelism. We argued that access to vaccinations should have started with annulling patents and that direct monetary transfers should have been redistributed with the purpose of stopping the increase in informality, unemployment, underemployment, and hunger, together with the increase in the many forms of violence that occurred during confinement. Some may think that 52 years after the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and 40 years after the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women entered into force, that Black women and gender-expansive people across the world would have a multilateral governance framework that would place the enjoyment of our rights and our fundamental freedoms as a priority within State agendas. However, to date, racialization and gender formation continue to be social constructions that are instrumentalized as a perpetual indicator of progress, based on neoliberal expansion and the unlimited accumulation of capital.

¹ Translator note: After speaking with the author, we agreed to translate “mujer” as women and gender-expansive people to communicate that she is speaking about all people who identify as women—cis, trans and non-binary beloveds.

The following sections offer a look at how the money flows from extraction, defense, security, and tax evasion. These elements fuse together with an anti-rights agenda that aims to dismantle the reproductive, social, economic, political and cultural rights achieved by women and gender-expansive people, ultimately creating a common front, with unquestioned links undermining the agendas of Black feminists across the world. We reveal the consequences of this capital flow and how it has translated into controlling, hindering and eliminating the conditions and guarantees for dignified and self-determined life for Black women and gender-expansive people.



Extractive Capital Flows and the Dismantling of the Collective Life of Black women and gender-expansive people

Between 1998 and 2008, the value of world trade in natural resources increased six-fold, from \$600 billion to \$3.7 trillion. In 2019, the World Trade Organization estimated that among the 10 main importing economies of products from extractive industries, the participation of the economies of the European Union, China and the United States is 50.7% of the total, equivalent to \$1,631 trillion, while the total imports of the 47 least developed economies totaled approximately \$272 billion.² In the last two decades, of the 73 lower-middle-income countries in the world, 63 increased their dependence on extractive industries.³

In the report *World Extractivism and Racial Equality*,⁴ Tendayi Achiume characterizes the components of the extractive economy as driven by:

2 https://www.wto.org/spanish/res_s/statis_s/wts2020_s/wts2020chapter06_s.pdf page 92; 96

3 <https://www.unep.org/explore-topics/extractives/why-does-extractives-matter> & Policy brief: transforming extractive industries for sustainable development may 2021

4 <https://undocs.org/es/A/HRC/41/54>

“Industries, actors and financial flows, as well as the economic, material and social processes and products linked to the globalized extraction of natural resources. The economics of extractivism encompasses the extraction of minerals and fossil fuels, and large-scale monoculture, agricultural, forestry, and fishing operations. The terms of this economy are established by a set of actors, of which the most influential are, among others, States, national and transnational companies and their shareholders, international financial and development institutions, and multilateral bodies and institutions of governance.”


The financial leverage of the extractive industries often comes from their participation in different capital market mechanisms, whose operations encrypt the details of the financing model because it behaves fragmentarily with a series of specific contractual and financial instruments for each phase/stage of the project: exploration, extraction, exploitation. Extractive projects usually have an average operating time between 15 to 40 years and each phase chains its financing apparatus to multiple actors and instruments of transnational and national nature. The same thing happens with military defense research projects, or the construction of mega infrastructures.



Without concessions and without consent: mobilizations of Black women and gender-expansive people for the care of life and ancestral territories, against racism, violence and for good living.

It was November 2014 in Colombia and November 2015 in Brazil, when Black women and gender-expansive people decided to walk to the capital cities to create a path, a quilt of resistance—where at each step, at each meeting, at each rally, between the halls, in the public squares, the community rooms, throughout the corridors of justice buildings and in the street—they exposed how extractive economies operate and continue to sabotage good living (buen vivir), and threaten life and ancestral territories. The racial operation of State institutions disintegrates the democracy that they seek to create, while also failing to delegitimize violence against future life.

The strategy of dispossession is simple and well-known: (i) illegal interests arrive to exploit illicit economies in biodiverse territories or submit petition/request for urban renewal. Such interests and requests usually come from local and international foreigners, who come to 'stimulate the economy' and establish patterns of consumption and economic dependence. Consequently, employment and access to economic resources is derived from illegal action on the part of these foreign actors; (ii) The conflict of values is caused by a broader circulation of resources that weakens the community value system. The origin of these tensions and conflicts include: forced recruitment into groups through weapons and/or infatuation. Intentionally, the community authority is supplanted by forcing strategic kinship ties between foreign/outside actors and youth. What follows are threats to women and gender-expansive leaders and their families and other indications that these foreign bodies do not want the local community to prosper. In this phase, the newly arrived actors and their interests usually have the institutional support of the State, either through actions such as militarization or increasing militarized presence on the ground, and granting titles/permits to work in the territory; (iii) A third element of these actors, whose imposed economic interests intend to profit from dispossession, is that they possess the conditions to generate legal measures and actions to provide services—such as construct tertiary roads, provide materials for



construction or housing development, fund 'political' parties, gain the locals trust in order to regulate and formalize the illegal situation of these foreign institutions being there and working in the first place. This is done by using short term local labor, controlling the ownership and ways land is used, and inserting foreign cultural values that attempt to thwart local resistance. This is what we see in the case of Anglo Gold Ashanti, a South African company that has been complicit in exploiting and illegally and unconstitutionally obtaining local mining titles since 2001 in the territory that is known today has the *Community Council of La Toma*.⁵ In 2009, the Ministry of the Interior formally confirmed that there were no Black people residing in that territory, acutely unaware that the people of La Toma can trace their settlement back to the year 1636. The people of La Toma are descendants of African people forcibly brought to those lands under conditions of chattel enslavement for the purposes of mining gold in Gelima, a hollow ground mine in La Toma, and who, once self-emancipated, purchased these lands and left them as an inheritance to their descendants.

In 2010, some of the mining title owners who had obtained permission to mine in La Toma, but who did not live, come from, or were otherwise connected and invested in the La Toma community, wanted to sell their titles to Anglo Gold. They obtained "permission" from the Colombian State to evict around 7,000 people from the Community Council of La Toma territory, thus starting a juridical fight that led to the presence of more than 200 backhoes guarded by paramilitary groups in the town. The purpose of these machines was to wash the gold that was mined, removing the dirt on the riverbed of the Ovejas river, a being that represents the Mother and Father⁶ of the community. A being that was protected during the 1980s when the Colombian government wanted to drain the river and reroute its waters to maintain the energy production capacity of the hydroelectric dam, La Salvajina. La Salvajina is a mega project that was installed in 1986, and it redirects water from the Cauca River to provide irrigation for the Cauca region's sugar mills while also providing energy to neighboring municipalities, except of course to the families and communities that lost their lands due to its construction.

5 The Community councils are manifestations of collective territorial organization of Black people in Colombia. They exist in rural, semi-rural and urban areas. They were made possible thanks to the collective movement that resulted in the Law 70 of the 1993 constitution. Collective titling another movement achievement that is guaranteed through the 1745 Decree of 1995.

6 <https://mujeresnegrascaminan.com/comunicado-1/>



In Colombia,

70+

COMPANIES

in the mining-energy sector
have signed more than

1229

MILITARY COOPERATION AGREEMENTS

for the defense of the sector's
infrastructure and welfare
programs for the military,
who participate in 20 special
mining, energy and roadside
barracks that exist in the
country.

This unconstitutional mining is part of the deepening of the extractive model in Colombia since 2010. Over 70 companies⁷ in the mining-energy sector have signed more than 1,229 military cooperation agreements for the defense of the sector's infrastructure and welfare programs for the military, who participate in 20 special mining, energy and roadside barracks⁸ that exist in the country.⁹ Illegal mining, on the other hand, is associated with crops that have been declared for illicit use such as the coca leaf. Both the coca paste and gold have been used as a means of exchange and are resources that help these foreign institutions evade record keeping and invoicing so that there is no evidence that there was any exchange—monetary or otherwise—between these actors and the local community. An example of this type of resource exchange

7 <https://ligacontraelsilencio.com/2019/07/24/petroleras-y-mineras-financian-a-la-fuerza-publica-y-a-la-fiscalia/>

8 <https://www.ocmal.org/fuerzas-militares-colombianas-al-servicio-de-las-empresas-extractivistas/>

9 https://media.business-humanrights.org/media/documents/files/documents/DEBATE_CONGRESO-CONVENIOS_FUERZA_PÚBLICA_-_EMPRESAS.pdf

can be seen through a particularly cruel type of violence against women and gender-expansive people's bodies. The male foreigners are ordered to sleep with young people in exchange for leftover material from the mining process, which is often used to obtain smaller particles of gold. Sometimes the members of the young womxn's family allow this exchange and still this type of violence is part of the laundering and capital flight environment occurring in the territory. It is estimated that between 2010 and 2018 at least \$5.6 billion remained in the hands of illegal actors.¹⁰

In November 2014, the Mobilization of Black Women for the Care of Life and Ancestral Territories traveled more than 470 kilometers (300 miles), because neither the Joint Command No.2 of the Southwest, nor the energy mining battalion No.8¹¹ operating in Cauca removed the backhoes that the ancestral miners had been facing for several months. The mobilization managed to position the illegal and unconstitutional mining operation in both alternative and traditional media networks, until Anglo Gold publicly withdrew its intention to exploit the mining titles in that area. However Anglo Gold maintains their presence in the country through subsidiaries in at least 336 municipalities.¹² Despite Anglo Gold's withdrawal from Cauca, the Mobilization of Black Women rose from the negotiating table with the State without achieving the claim of obtaining a mining moratorium that suspends the exploration and exploitation of mining titles granted without prior consultation. This laid a path for the issuance of a mining code, without the process of prior consultation. This mining code obliges traditional miners to register with the State, to limit the amount of gold they can mine, and how much and to whom they can sell their gold to. Here you can see how the strategy of dispossession is followed to the letter.


Though the Black women and gender-expansive people who left for the mobilization and returned back home are not exclusively miners, their relationship

10 <https://gfintegrity.org/press-release/informe-revela-debilidades-de-la-mineria-de-oro-en-colombia-que-la-hacen-muy-vulnerable-a-actividades-ilicidas-y-criminales/>

11 They are two bodies within the military armed forces of the Colombian government who are responsible for the protection of mining extraction in the region.

12 <https://www.cetim.ch/mining-and-human-rights-violations-in-colombia-the-case-of-anglo-gold-ashanti-vy-the-afri-descendant-community-of-la-toma-cauca/>





to this activity arises from the place of interdependence¹³ as opposed to exploitation. Interdependence is the most common word used when describing the type of relationship that has been established in communities who have been mining in an artisanal way since colonial times. Extracting gold, just like fishing, washing clothes, cooking, seeing if the families that work by *por corte o por filó*¹⁴ get enough from their work to pay for the things that are not cultivated from the land. For Black women and gender-expansive people, in many cases, it meant the purchase of their emancipation, that of their family, and a space where they could live. Traditional interdependent relations for the reproduction of life were mediated by the need to obtain what was necessary in order to sustain collective bonds: cooperation, solidarity, generosity under a common sense whereby we could not be good or well off in my house knowing that another house was not. It is here that this common sense was born into the collective consciousness; an awareness about the times for harvesting, about the shoal, how disease and ailments can be avoided by eating well, knowing how to walk the roads well, accepting that the rainy seasons along with the sun and moon are the ones who control the hours to cook, get up, to move, to meet and gather and hunt.

Extraction, as a mega-industrialized sector, interrupted this interdependent relationship, automated it, and in exchange for money, time was stolen for other activities. Foreign technologies and machinery were imposed, replacing the tools that did not harm the land, the air, and water sources. The desire for a quick profit destroys the common sense of being well, including the diversity of interdependent relationships that weave well-being from localized knowledge and intimate relationships. These knowledges, practices, and ways of being in relationship are replaced by foreign ones. And with this replacement, we see the proliferation of skin, respiratory, motor-functioning illnesses, which cause spontaneous abortions and birth and fetal health complications. These diseases become chronic because they are preceded by resistance struggles against speeches and actions that seek to

13 Although the term can convey the idea of instrumentalization, the meaning is more in the direction of interdependence, taking advantage of the exchange value of the mineral with the purpose of obtaining those goods and services that cannot be provided by the same land or community. Interdependence, meaning, the depletion of the mineral is not being pursued. On the contrary, it is rationed according to seasons and the community's own indigenous extraction techniques with the intention that future generations can count on those same techniques, as well as gold, who, as a being in and of itself, can continue to exist.

14 This is a traditional way of doing mining based on family/kinship networks where people come together to make sure that families have enough to sustain themselves when they are not mining.

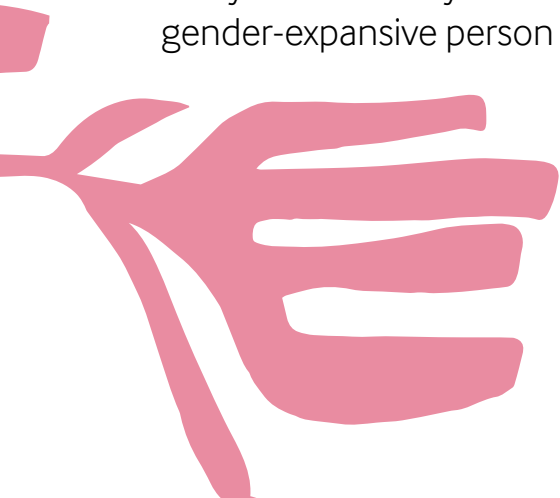
The desire for a quick profit destroys the common sense of being well, including the diversity of interdependent relationships that weave well-being from localized knowledge and intimate relationships.

construct roads and energy infrastructures, which forcibly uproot communities and resettle towns, criminalize, and prosecute local community members. Additionally, these foreign institutions use legal and illegal forces to recruit youth with the use of weapons and to exploit girls throughout their illegal outpost. Similar patterns can be seen from country to country regarding how foreign status is established through the control of weapons, jobs, and salary. Consequently, these foreign entities reorder how contributions to the community are recognized, altering the relations between those who once participated as equals in the social-familial tasks. During these foreign institutions illegal and informal phase (as there was no formally granted title for exploration), they make use of small capital -sums of money- that cover the costs of entering and operating yellow machinery (backhoes and dredgers for example), that together with the promotion of the use of cyanide and mercury, produce dispossession, sick territories and sacrificed bodies. These bodies and territories are then constructed as being “rescued from informality” which remains present in the formal phase of the process—a phase characterized by a state of degradation where large capital generated through employment and meager tax payments represent the final beneficiaries of this illegality. Extractive control replaces collective self-sufficiency with individual acquisition. Furthermore, the way to sustain life becomes increasingly separate from the relationship to the land, the most egregious consequence. What Black feminists are up against is not allowing that distance between life and earth to grow.

Concession is perhaps the most recurring word I came across during the investigative process in writing this article. It is conceptualized as the action and effect of granting, which, in principle, is about coming to agreements so that a third

party assumes their own tasks/obligations. This implies connecting the generation of monetary surpluses to the responsibility of promoting and guaranteeing collective well-being. Collective well-being is becoming less and less public, and it is usually interpreted under a narrow gaze; one that assumes that its content and manifestation is the same for all people around the world.

However, Black women and gender-expansive people are outside the parties who agree and authorize ceding domain, especially because our agenda does not give up the right to how, where and with whom we work and dream our present and future. For this reason, approximately 55,000 Black women and gender-expansive people from all over Brazil gathered on November 18, 2015 to make visible the genocide against Black people, especially against young people.¹⁵ The Black Women's March Against Racism and Violence and for Good Living expands the framework of Caring for Life. The March is part of a long legacy of political organization of Black women and gender-expansive people in Brazil and in the African diaspora and represents a paradigm shift in the social contract. It goes far beyond the guarantee of human civil and political rights, towards one that focuses the ways of being and doing in the world, from a place of re-creating (realizing) values, such as cooperation and interdependence as responses to the demands for the well-being of Black women and gender-expansive people. In this sense, reducing racial and gender inequality and guaranteeing social and political rights is conveyed as going beyond a one-time mobilization. Instead, it is part of an ongoing political process, which denounces that every hour and fifty minutes¹⁶ a breath is cut short as a result of a Black woman or gender-expansive person in Brazil being murdered.



15 http://celacc.eca.usp.br/sites/default/files/media/tcc/etno_-_juliane_cintra_-_marcha_das_mulheres_negras.pdf

16 <https://www.cartacapital.com.br/sociedade/marcha-das-mulheres-negras-a-marcha-que-faz-sentido-7941/>

Fighting us as a warlike enemy¹⁷: imprisonment and defense expenses

“Law enforcement” funding comes from two sectors of the nation State: defense and public security. Keeping this distinction in mind allows us to reevaluate in quantitative terms the resources that offer guarantees and the conditions for sustaining the value chains of the extractive industry globally. These same conditions and guarantees are denied to Black women and gender-expansive people who defend the land, occupy buildings, and organize neighbors to guarantee the right to a roof. In effect, these conditions result in our criminalization and imprisonment.

During 2020, military spending reached \$1.981 trillion¹⁸ in the world. The United States, China, Russia, India and the United Kingdom represented 62% of military spending on the planet.¹⁹ Disaggregated by region, we find that: North America makes 43% of military spending; East Asia 17.9%; Western Europe 13.6%; and the other regions of the world combined make 28.13% of global military spending. Military spending across the entire African continent is similar to that of South America representing


17 Taken from the 3rd Report on gender-based violence against Afro-Colombian women and gender-expansive people available at <http://vigiaafro.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/TerecerInformeVBG-PCN-Marzo2019.pdf>

18 https://sipri.org/sites/default/files/2021-04/fs_2104_milex_0.pdf and <https://sipri.org/sites/default/files/Data%20for%20world%20regions%20from%201988%E2%80%932020%20%28pdf%29.pdf> not including information from Cuba, Djibouti, Eritrea, North Korea, Somalia, Syria, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, or the former Yugoslavia

19 <https://www.sipri.org/media/press-release/2021/world-military-spending-rises-almost-2-trillion-2020>

1.981 trillion

was spent globally on military in 2020



less than 2.6%.²⁰ A portion of this spending is delegated to border protection. The budget spent during 2021 on border defense, including the construction of fences, land and sea patrolling, surveillance, and deportation of undocumented migrant population, totaled 26 billion dollars for the United States,²¹ equivalent to 98.07% of the spending of the European Union. in the period 2014–2020²² and 87.3% of the total expenditure projected for the period 2021–2027.²³

In the crosshairs

The United States and Brazil are respectively the first and third countries with the largest prison population in the world.²⁴ In the prison system, Black women and women of color are overrepresented in the total prison population. In Brazil, about 50% of women in prison are between 18 and 29 years old, and 67% are Black.²⁵ By 2019, the incarceration rate for Black women in the United States was almost double that of white women:²⁶ they represented 30% of the female prison population and 44% of women in jail.²⁷ One-third of women sentenced to life imprisonment and 25% of all those sentenced to death were Black women.²⁸ Using the indicator for the prison population per 100,000 inhabitants, El Salvador, Rwanda, Cuba, Panama, the Virgin Islands and the Bahamas are on the list of countries with a majority Black

20 <https://sipri.org/sites/default/files/Data%20for%20world%20regions%20from%201988%E2%80%932020%20%28pdf%29.pdf> (Other Regions such as Central America and the Caribbean, South America, Central Asia, Oceania, South Asia, Southeast Asia, Central Europe and Eastern Europe)

21 <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/the-cost-of-immigration-enforcement-and-border-security> and <https://www.americanactionforum.org/research/the-budgetary-and-economic-costs-of-addressing-unauthorized-immigration-alt/>

22 [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2021/690544/EPRS_BRI\(2021\)690544_EN.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2021/690544/EPRS_BRI(2021)690544_EN.pdf) *Sin incluir gastos de asilo, refugio y fondos que lo cubren * Not including expenses for asylum, shelter and funds that cover them.

23 https://european-union.europa.eu/institutions-law-budget/budget/spending_en

24 https://www.prisonstudies.org/sites/default/files/resources/downloads/world_prison_population_list_13th_edition.pdf

25 <https://sur.conectas.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/sur-28-espanhol-juliana-borges.pdf>

26 <https://www.sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Incarcerated-Women-and-Girls.pdf>

27 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/02/12/criminal-justice-reform-wont-work-until-it-focuses-black-women/>

28 <https://www.nbwji.org/post/extreme-sentences-disproportionately-impact-and-harm-black-women>

**In Brazil,
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are Black.**

population in prison. In the United Kingdom, Black women are 3% of the population, yet they represent 6% of those who enter the penal system for the first time. And from there, 29% of them will receive preventive detention and 25% will obtain custodial sentences in relation to white women.²⁹ Racialization continues to be one of the criteria that determine which women are represented in the criminal justice system globally.³⁰

Prison overcrowding and mass incarceration are driving contracts that expand the operation of the prison infrastructure (the prison industrial complex), under the framework of public-private alliances in the United Kingdom, Peru, Mexico, Chile, Guatemala, Brazil, and South Africa (among other nations). Between 2014 and 2019, 54,806 prison units have been built in Central America.³¹ Countries such as Barbados, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago spend approximately 0.4% of GDP on prison maintenance, the highest in the region. Between 2010 and 2014, the entire Latin American and Caribbean region used around \$14 billion annually to maintain the prison system. In the United States, the government spends around \$80.7 million on public prisons, even though since the late 1970s, it began privatizing the operation and construction of prisons, which gave rise to the industrialization of the sector. This can also be seen in the border detention centers, which to date have around 41 holdings or management companies—mostly made up of banks and technology companies—who mobilize investments equal to approximately \$648 million.³²

29 <https://prisonreformtrust.org.uk/publication/counted-out-black-asian-and-minority-ethnic-women-in-the-criminal-justice-system/>

30 [https://www.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/44337_10_\(final\).pdf](https://www.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/44337_10_(final).pdf) page 464.

31 <https://fundesa.org.gt/content/files/mg/Resumen-Ejecutivo-IDD-e-Infraestructura-Penitenciaria-febrero-2020.pdf>

32 <https://prisonfreefunds.org/fund/blackrock-lifepath-index-series/LIPKX/prison-industrial-complex-investments/FSUSA0BDPU/F00000MAPG>

The same gears: illicit financial flows

According to the NGO, Global Financial Integrity (GFI), illicit financial flows are “cross-border movements of money that have been illegally obtained, transferred or used.” These movements are made to avoid loss of profit and loss of performance or control thereof.³³ In 2016, the issue of illicit financial flows gained attention due to the “Panama Papers”³⁴ publication that linked businessmen, high-ranking public officials, and celebrities—the wealthiest on the planet—to tax and other evasions, and brought to light their connections to other illegal activities.

Illicit financial flows are recycled through financial centers and come back in the form of debt or investments.³⁵ These flows impact the agendas of Black feminists because they are excluded from State revenues, which tend to sacrifice social investments. Sacrifices usually include programs designed for diverse women and gender-expansive people and ethnically and racially differentiated peoples, who are exposed to conditions of vulnerability and criminalization when we defend human and collective rights. In these situations, we are met with crueller, longer, and immediate penalties in the criminal and immigration justice system. Black feminist agendas are then forced to focus on protecting our lives and restoring our right rather than tending to our imagination and our dreams of socially just and anti-racist realities.

33 <https://taxjustice.net/topics/capital-flight-and-illicit-financial-flows/>

34 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panama_Papers

35 <http://www.latindadd.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/document.pdf>

\$240 MILLION PER YEAR
lost by the global treasury in illicit financial flows

This is not insignificant, particularly since the global treasury loses \$240 million a year,³⁶ with the African continent being among the most affected. Additionally, capital flight is estimated at \$88.6 billion per year,³⁷ \$6 billion more than the amount received in 2018 for development cooperation.³⁸ In other words, the African continent has become a net creditor to the world when its debt in 2018 is \$770 billion but the financial flows are around \$836 billion, where 50% is generated by fraudulent invoices in the extractive sector of international trade.³⁹ In the Middle East, the annual loss is estimated between \$60 billion and \$77.5 billion per year, which exceeds the sum of foreign direct investment flows and development aid received by Arab countries.⁴⁰ Unlike the latter, erroneous or fraudulent invoicing related to the extractive industry of non-renewable natural resources totaled \$135 million between 2004 and 2013 in Latin America. The economic dependence on the extractive sector facilitates erroneous or fraudulent invoicing, increases illegal financial flows, impacting Black women and gender-expansive people, and those living in the global south disproportionately.

36 <https://www.cepal.org/es/publicaciones/40921-flujos-financieros-ilicitos-america-latina-caribe>

37 https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/aldcafrica2020_en.pdf

38 https://www.un.org/sites/un2.un.org/files/final_regional_brief_on_extractive_industries.pdf and https://www.unodc.org/documents/NGO/AU_ECA_Illicit_Financial_Flows_report_EN.pdf

39 <https://www.cadtm.org/Flujos-financieros-ilicitos-Africa-como-principal-acreedor-del-mundo>

40 <https://archive.unescwa.org/sites/www.unescwa.org/files/publications/files/illicit-financial-flows-arab-region-english.pdf>

\$88.6 BILLION PER YEAR
in capital flight from Africa

Pro-life? beyond the narrative of “gender ideology” and the anti-rights agenda.

The exercise of sexual and reproductive rights in the last century are a starting point in the discussion of women and gender-expansive people’s rights. Although, we know that for African and Afro-Diasporic women and gender-expansive people, reproduction and sexuality are traversed by historical facts that to this day seek to take advantage and profit in our name and at the expense of the control of our bodies. That said, the transformative action that feminists are promoting globally is undeniable. Our actions are removing the institutionalized and normalized foundations with which the subjugation of women and gender-expansive people has been built and transmitted. We are dismantling heteronormativity as one of the only ways to fully experience and be in relationship. Over the past 15 years, the Catholic Church, evangelical churches, parent organizations, and conservative political parties, among many others increasing in numbers, have polarized narratives about access to abortion, gender expression, sexual orientation and its expansiveness, and treated them as anomalies that diminish the moral integrity of society. An example of this is the ACI Catholic Information Agency, a transnational communication network that reaches at least 85 million homes in over 110 countries.⁴¹ Currently, due to its local and grassroots operation, it is financed by individual donations, including funds transferred from the Vatican, the sale of information services and knowledge products. Moreover, in Latin America, such activities are considered tax exempt. As a result, the true nature and scope of this situation is opaque, making it difficult to monitor the annual amounts of their financing. ‘Strategic secularism’ in countries such as Colombia, Peru, Argentina, Ecuador and Chile consists of translating religious arguments into legal arguments in order to stop the legislative and judicial agenda in favor of women and gender-expansive people’s rights and sexual diversity.⁴²

41 <https://www.aciprensa.com/quienes.php> and <https://www.aciprensa.com/noticias/ong-millonarias-financian-medios-para-atacar-movimiento-provida-y-profamilia-38308>

42 <https://www.nodo50.org/xarxafeministapv/?+Estrategias-camufadas-para-frenar+>

A concrete example of this occurred at the 74th Session of the World Health Assembly, where Family Watch International (FWI) lobbied and managed to exclude an entire paragraph in the resolution that aimed to implement an action plan that favored over one billion people, which sought to: end violence against children by strengthening health systems and multisectoral approaches. They were able to pass the resolution by omitting the word 'sexuality', arguing that it was a problematic term that broadens the understanding of biological sex imposed at birth. This suppression was promoted and sponsored by the FWI delegation from the Russian Federation, Eswatini, Egypt, Mozambique and Zambia.⁴³ Open Democracy interviewed Érika Guevara, the Director of Amnesty International, where she explains how anti-rights rhetoric transformed into public policies because of events such as Jair Bolsonaro becoming president of Brazil and the conservative political turn in other countries such as Guatemala and Paraguay.

In September 2022, Wikileaks has made public the networks involving politicians

43 <https://vientosur.info/movilizacion-antigenero-en-la-asamblea-mundial-de-la-salud/>

**Since 2007, the Christian
Right in the United States
has delivered at least**

\$270

**MILLION DOLLARS GLOBALLY
against the rights of women
and LGTBI+ people.**



and opposition activists from more than 50 countries that receive funding to create and promote campaigns to dismantle “gender ideology.” “Gender ideology” is a narrative framework that was developed mostly by religious fundamentalists. The discourse has been used to participate or finance political candidates in conservative parties with the aim of repealing and dismantling constitutional guarantees of fundamental freedoms, largely obtained by women and gender expansive people. Countries such as Spain, Mexico, the United States, Canada, Brazil and Argentina⁴⁴ are financing this endeavor. Since 2007, the Christian Right in the United States has delivered at least \$270 million globally against the rights of women and LGBTBI+⁴⁵ people, and during the period between 2009-2018, it has directed \$707.2 million exclusively to the European continent.⁴⁶

Closing

Black women and gender-expansive people’s global feminist agendas are woven together with abundant experiences and social technologies that support the defense of and the radical care of life. These experiences and technologies confront the gaze that seeks to commoditize biodiversity as an asset and service. For example, tradable goods that once transformed are supposed to be aimed at improving collective well-being. However, this kind of “well-being” is neither produced nor is it sustainable. Rather, the predominance of the extractivist perspective and attitudes, incites us to defend our lives and the spaces where we work. We organize ourselves because of the negative externalities of megaprojects that strip away communal territories and exploiting communal relations.

We have seen how this ecosystem of extractivism has an interlocking strategy for its operation; one that is not very transparent. This strategy is often updating its measures and instruments, which are grounded in logic of a “colonial burden” that insists on conditioning, controlling, limiting, and even eradicating the ways of being and living life for Black women and gender-expansive people. Based on the case of the Mobilization of Black Women for the Care of Life and Ancestral Territories, it

44 <https://unassemillitas.com/2021/09/14/la-financiacion-de-la-ultraderecha/>

45 <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/trump-us-christian-spending-global-revealed/>

46 <https://www.epfweb.org/sites/default/files/2021-06/Tip%20of%20the%20Iceberg%20June%202021%20Final.pdf>

is possible to identify how the circulation of these financial resources among the extractive sectors finances the legal framework that protects them. Specifically, the privatization of public forces ordered to protect their infrastructure, which includes, alliances with illegal actors, the violation of human rights, the criminalization and laundering of money that escapes local economies and evades taxes. These financial flows undermine Black feminist agendas and Black women and gender-expansive people's ability to be full in the world. Our resistance continues.

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Appendices: Sources to consult/ track/monitor information

Military spending

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Anti-rights agendas in Latin America

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Incarceration and the Prison industrial complex

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Annotated Bibliography

By Timiebi Souza-Okpofabri




Chapter 5

Alison Powell, Simon Morfit, and Michael John. Releasing the Potential of Philanthropic Collaborations: The power of making collaborative giving platforms a part of every donor's portfolio. The Bridgespan Group. December 2021.

<https://www.bridgespan.org/insights/library/philanthropy/philanthropic-collaborations>

This research provides crucial information on the growth and function of collaborative philanthropy, as well as pathways to increased collaborative giving. It builds on recent research on funder collaboration that found that collaboratives have the potential to produce significant impact. Using data from surveys with 97 collaborative initiatives, as well as interview and group discussions with about 100 donors and fund leaders, this report goes further, to examine the momentum and scale of “a trend toward more collaborative giving platforms.” In this research, collaboratives are defined broadly as “entities that either pool or channel resources from multiple donors or nonprofits.”

According to the survey, there has been significant growth in the number of collaboratives since 2010, with more than half of the respondents launching their collaboratives after 2015, and 16 of them being formed in 2020. Research attributes this surge to wealth accumulation over the past decade, as well as increasing interest in new ways of giving. Since their founding, the collaboratives in this survey have facilitated roughly \$10–12 billion in investments. Ninety-seven respondents estimated their total grantmaking in 2020 fell between \$2 billion and \$3 billion, making





an average of 44 grants a year, with most grants totalling less than \$500,000 each. The respondents noted that they have the potential to disburse substantially more resources—amounting to \$15 billion a year, “with minimal growth in current staffing.”

One primary survey finding was that collaborative funding strategies differ from traditional philanthropy—“they tilt toward equity and justice, field and movement building, leaders of color, and, for some, power sharing.” Generally, the research found that collaboratives have more diverse leadership than institutional philanthropy. Almost half of the funds were led by people of colour, compared to only 10% of US foundations.

This diverse leadership held significant sway on the issues given attention: for example, 15 collaboratives identified racial justice as their primary focus, while all of the funds “referenced racial inequities, centered Black, Indigenous, and people-of-color (BIPOC) populations, and/or challenged engrained power hierarchies when describing their change objectives.” Economic mobility and climate change were also popular areas of focus stated by respondents. It was also found that collaboratives pursue impact in a way that differs from institutional philanthropy, especially in terms of supporting systems change and comfort with power sharing. The most favoured approach to systemic change among the respondents was through “building fields and movements,” while 10 respondents said they approach impact by “transferring decision-making power to nonprofit leaders and community groups.”

The study also identified three interlinked factors influencing the recent trend toward collaborative giving—efficiency, effectiveness and engagement—which give funders “the opportunity to tackle more





problems at a greater scale than they could do alone.” Efficiency and effectiveness came from outsourcing to the collaboratives’ staff who have specialised knowledge, skills and relationships, and are able to engage with funders’ peers, allowing funders to “fill knowledge gaps and broaden their giving horizons”—all while disbursing funds.

**Damjan Denkovski and Annika Kreitlow.
Funding (in)equality? A comparative look
at the funding landscape for pro- and anti-
gender initiatives and campaigns in the
European Union (EU). Centre for Feminist
Foreign Policy. Berlin. 2021.**

[https://static1.squarespace.com/static/57cd7cd9d482e9784e4ccc34/t/61c487052cdc8459485fea83/1640269574434/Funding_\(in\)equality_cffp_V3.pdf](https://static1.squarespace.com/static/57cd7cd9d482e9784e4ccc34/t/61c487052cdc8459485fea83/1640269574434/Funding_(in)equality_cffp_V3.pdf)

This brief provides a concise overview of the funding landscape of actors mobilising for and against human rights in the EU, with specific focus on existing threats to feminist and LGBTQI+ freedoms. Building on research done by the Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy, the European Parliamentary Forum on Sexual and Reproductive Rights (EPF), Open Democracy, AWID, and Prospera, as well as a roundtable discussion organised by CFFP and Open Democracy for EU policymakers and civil society in June 2021, the brief highlights data gaps regarding anti-gender funding in the EU.





According to the briefing, EPF found that “European anti-gender actors have received USD 707.2 million between 2009 and 2018, with a fourfold increase in terms of annual financing (from USD 22.2 million in 2009 to USD 96 million in 2018).” Three main geographic regions were detected as sources of these actors’ financing, including the US (11.5% of total funding), the Russian Federation (26.6%), and the EU (66.9%). Funding from US Christian Right was largest from the US, and two conservative oligarchs, Vladimir Yakunin and Konstantin Malofeev, contributed the largest share of funding from the Russian Federation. Funding from the EU came from about 20 foundations whose largest donors are Catholic foundations from France, Italy, Germany, Spain, and Poland. However, the report notes that the lack of financial transparency and disclosure requirements in the EU means that data on funding to anti-rights actors from within the EU is scarce, and what is available very likely underestimates the actual sums flowing into European anti-gender movements.


The brief identifies four complex funding mechanisms through which anti-gender actors in the EU can acquire large sums of money. While these mechanisms mirror fundraising tactics that have typically been used by feminist civil society, the anti-gender movement has raised much more money through these mechanisms, suggesting that greater networking and fundraising is required among feminist civil society actors to counter these activities. One mechanism mentioned fundraises through grassroots initiatives with petition-based mobilisation, contributing to the mobilisation of large groups of individuals to donate small amounts of money, as well as billionaires and millionaires from social and economic elites who donate larger sums.

Anti-gender activities are also funded through state support, “for

example, by setting up pseudo crisis pregnancy counselling centres or indoctrinating youth through school curricula, anti-gender actors gain access to official government funding, which can be abused to spread anti-equality political messages.” Anti-gender actors also have access to the usage of religious networks, “predominantly Catholic and other faith-based networks through which donations and contributions can be mobilised.” The brief also mentions the role of language in the anti-gender movement and its ability to amass funds, pointing to how “anti-gender language and the rejection of feminism and gender, which does not, on the surface, appear to be extreme positions, makes more ‘traditionally’ exclusionary stances socially acceptable.”

Also included in this brief is information on the availability of funding for progressive civil society and a section on “the risks inherent for rights, freedoms, and democracy in the context of rising authoritarianism and shrinking civil society space in the EU.” It concludes with recommendations to policymakers and civil society in the EU to better address these issues, including to invest in internal capacity and knowledge development to better understand the strategies of anti-gender actors, and to increase the funding for feminist civil society by EU institutions and EU member states so as to effectively challenge the anti-gender movement.





Ellie Buteau, Satia Marotta, Hannah Martin, Naomi Orensten, and Kate Gehling. New Attitudes, Old Practices: The Provision of Multiyear General Operating Support. The Center for Effective Philanthropy (CEP). 2020.

http://cep.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Ford_MYGOS_FNL.pdf

This report seeks to identify barriers preventing foundations and program officers (POs) from providing more multiyear general operating support (GOS) to NGOs. It uses data from a survey of 168 foundation CEOs and 105 POs of private and community foundations giving at least \$5 million annually, as well as 212 nonprofit CEOs/executive directors. It also draws from a series of in-depth interviews, which were conducted with foundation leaders working at foundations that provide multiyear GOS. The findings were compared with data from 300+ funders who used CEP's Grantee Perception Report (GPR) published about 10 years before the COVID-19 pandemic. That report revealed that while 57% of grants distributed during this time were multiyear, and 21% were GOS, only 12.4% were both multiyear and GOS. It is important to note that the methodology for this report did not test for statistical differences between responses from POC-led organizations and non-POC-led organizations.

The report presents three findings from the data collected. The first being that non-profit leaders understand the many benefits of multiyear GOS to

to the health of their organizations, despite barriers that exist to receiving these grants. Some (29%) believed that foundations provide few multiyear GOS grants due to “a lack of trust in nonprofits and a desire to maintain control.” This issue of a lack of multiyear GOS precedes the COVID-19 pandemic. The report notes that only 41% of grantees interviewed reported receiving multiyear GOS during the year before the pandemic, contributing to a “pre-pandemic financial strain.” This strain has been exacerbated during the pandemic, forcing nonprofits to further “reduce staff, reduce services, and spend more time fundraising.”

The second finding reveals a disconnect between the attitudes and practices of foundation leaders. The study shows that there is a growing understanding among foundation leaders that GOS and multiyear grants are an effective means for supporting grantees’ work, ultimately enabling greater foundation and grantee impact. However, while the majority of foundation leaders are more in favour of providing multiyear GOS to their grantees, many of their foundations do not, and “those that do only provide it to a small percentage of the nonprofits that they support.” Many (63%) of foundation CEOs surveyed reported being in favour of increasing the percentage of grantees receiving multiyear GOS, however most did not report plans to change current practices. The report notes that it is possible that these plans have now changed as a result of the pandemic, based on the pledge hundreds of foundations signed to “make new grants as unrestricted as possible, so nonprofit partners have maximum flexibility to respond to this crisis.”

The third finding suggests that the study could not identify significant shared barriers foundations leaders experience in providing multi year GOS. The most common explanation was that multiyear GOS does not fit with many foundations’ approaches to grantmaking. Some (10) CEOs of

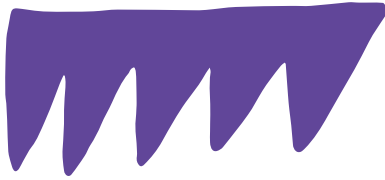


community foundations noted that providing multiyear GOS “is not possible with their limited levels of discretionary funding.” Those foundations that do provide multiyear GOS “have made it an intentional choice borne of their belief that it can build trust, strengthen relationships, and increase impact.”

The report offers the following closing questions: “Will the benefits experienced by the foundations providing more multiyear GOS lead others to provide or increase their provision of multiyear GOS? Will the COVID-19 pandemic, the related economic crisis, and the increased attention to longstanding inequities have an impact on the provision of multiyear GOS? Or will foundations continue to operate as they have been, in spite of the calls for change?”

Also published by CEP alongside this report are, “Making the Case: Foundation Leaders on the Importance of Multiyear General Operating Support” and “Making it Happen: Multiyear GOS Discussion Guide,” which includes profiles of five foundations that participated in interviews for this study.






Erin Howe and Somjen Frazer. Funding to Meet Changing Realities: LGBTI Organisations on the State of Funding in Europe and Central Asia. Strength in Numbers Consulting Group for ILGA-Europe. 2021.

<http://strengthinnumbersconsulting.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/Funding-to-Meet-Changing-Realities-ILGA-Europe.pdf>

This report, which provides data on the activities and funding gaps of LGBTI organizations in Europe and Central Asia, was produced by ILGA-Europe in 2021 as a resource for LGBTI organizations and donors. It is informed by survey responses from nearly 300 LGBTI organizations and interviews with 20+ LGBTI activists from all subregions of Europe and Central Asia gathered in 2020. Findings from this survey are also compared to the 2017 ILGA-Europe needs assessment survey to illustrate what changes may have occurred during this period.

The data shows that there are a growing number of LGBTI organizations in Europe and Central Asia since 2017, as well as a higher percentage of LGBTI organizations receiving external funding. While there was greater representation of LGBTI organizations with external funding, paid staff and savings in 2020, one third of all of these organizations had budgets under 20,000 euros, and about a quarter of LGBTI organizations in Europe and Central Asia had no external funding in 2020. Central and West Asian organizations, as well as Southern European organizations



and those that focus on subsections of LGBTI rights organizing, such as the rights of transgender, gender non-conforming and intersex people—were more likely to lack external funding and have budgets less than 20,000 euros. For example, a larger percentage of TGNC organizations had no paid staff compared to those that focus on LGBTI groups more broadly.

According to the report, foundation and intermediary funding were the most common funding sources for LGBTI organizations in Europe and Central Asia in 2020. Most LGBTI organizations in the survey did not have flexible, long term funding to support the activities they prioritize, such as community organizing and social and health services. It was also noted that some funders require organizations to spend money in ways that make it difficult to save or develop reserves. This contributed to significant financial strain during the pandemic (between March 2020 and March 2021), when the most common social service activities provided by these organizations were psychological support to LGBTI people and facilitating and/or providing space for peer support groups. Most organizations relied on core funding to support this work, or did the work without funding.

Several organizations expressed the desire to do more cross-population work in the LGBTI community to reach the groups most in need, but lack the funding and skills necessary to do this work. Some noted pandemic-specific challenges to accessing funding, such as an increase in negative experiences contributing to stress and burnout among staff, as a result of COVID-19 and anti-LGBTI rhetoric, threats and attacks. This was especially prevalent in Eastern Europe, where organizations have also faced difficulty accessing funds due to changes in national laws. These issues highlight a primary challenge mentioned in the report—that “funding

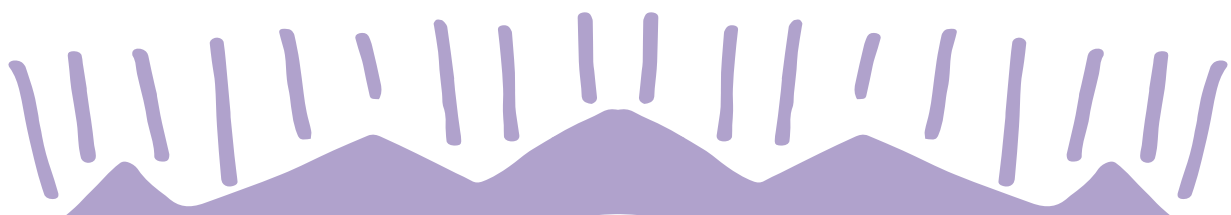
is not keeping pace with the changing realities experienced by LGBTI organizations.” The lack of alignment between funders’ priorities and the immediate and long term needs of LGBTI organizations in the pandemic hinders their ability to support their communities and forces them to compromise on the most urgent areas of action in order to ensure their survival.


Financing Women, Peace and Security in fragile contexts. OECD. 2021

<https://www.oecd.org/gender/data/financing-women-peace-and-security-in-fragile-contexts.htm>

This notice by the OECD calls on donors to provide more aid in support of gender equality, particularly in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, which has exacerbated gender inequalities and increased the risk of conflict and violence towards women and girls around the world. In light of the 20th anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) in 2020, the notice encourages us to consider the progress that has been made over the past 10+ years, as well as areas for improvement. For example, while aid to support gender equality in the economic and productive sectors represented 47% of DAC members’ total bilateral aid in these sectors in 2021, this funding only accounted for 2% of aid to these sectors targeting gender equality as a principal objective.

Given the impact of the ongoing pandemic on women’s livelihoods and their engagement as economic actors, the brief calls on donors to “consider the crucial role of women in crisis response and recovery,”





and to ensure that “development co-operation programmes and financial stimulus packages fully take into account a gender equality perspective.” Noting that DAC members are reprogramming their agendas and their support of developing countries in response to the pandemic, the notice also makes mention that ODA is the second most important source of external finance after remittances in fragile contexts. Building on the progress that has been made in aid toward gender equality in fragile contexts, the notice emphasizes the importance of donors providing more aid toward gender equality in this political moment, with specific attention to the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda.

**Isabella Cordua and Sabrina Mahtani.
Forgotten by Funders: An exploratory
report on the challenges of resourcing work
with and for incarcerated women and girls
worldwide. Women Beyond Walls. December
2021.**

<https://www.womenbeyondwalls.org/forgottenbyfunders>

This report by Women Beyond Walls sheds light on funding challenges faced by organizations that work with and for incarcerated women and girls around the world. In August 2021, Women Beyond Walls, “a new movement-building platform, amplifying voices to end the over-incarceration and over-criminalisation of women worldwide,” reached out to 34 organizations spanning 24 countries across five continents, involved in this work to better understand the funding challenges they





face, in terms of the quantity and quality of funding.

The report compiles key findings from the survey results which point to a general lack of support for organizations that work with and for incarcerated women and girls. While these established organizations are using diverse strategies to do important work, they are struggling to survive in a context where addressing women's incarceration is not a priority for most donors. One key finding revealed that 71% of respondents do not receive funding from foundations that identify as women's rights or feminist foundations—pointing to a larger issue within feminist movements, where “work with and for incarcerated women and girls is often left out of mainstream women's rights and human rights dialogues, convenings and movements.” The report noted the harmful impact of such exclusion, referencing the Generation Equality Forum in July 2021 as an example. The Forum, which aimed to “foster an intersectional, intergenerational, and intersectoral approach to gender equality,” garnered \$40 billion in pledges to support gender equality. However, due the lack of attention to issues affecting incarcerated women, they were not prioritized in the resulting funding commitments.

Women Beyond Walls' report also revealed that government and multilateral funding to organizations working with and for incarcerated women and girls was low—only 44% of respondents said they received government funding (29% from national government sources and 15% from local government sources), and only 21% had received funding from multilateral organizations between 2020 and 2021. Some participants in the survey felt that this lack of prioritization was “a reflection of the negative public perception around incarceration, which impacts donor agendas and also makes it challenging to access corporate or individual support.” Political and social environments

have also created challenges for organizations working with and for incarcerated women, such as lack of access to prisons and a restricted civic space. These challenges have been exacerbated during the COVID-19 pandemic.

In general, these organizations spoke of a lack of access to flexible, core funding, difficulties with the funding process and funding key staff positions, and a need for non-financial support for sustainability. Organizations also noted receiving insufficient funding to fully implement all their strategies, particularly their work with women and girls post-incarceration, including “work with and for women on release from detention, legal services and strategic litigation, research and policy work, national, regional and international advocacy, ability to test new strategies/innovative ideas, and scaling up work to different areas/countries.” The report concludes with a number of recommendations, including to make funding more accessible to organizations working with and for women and girls impacted by the criminal justice system, as well as to explore funding gaps and how to better support investments in these areas.






Linda M. Saleh and Neha Sood. Vibrant Yet Under-Resourced: The State of Lesbian, Bisexual and Queer Movements. Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice and Mama Cash. 2020.

<https://www.astraeafoundation.org/stories/vibrant-yet-under-resourced/>

This report showcases the important, intersectional work of LBQ-led groups around the world and makes the case to increase funding to these groups. Presenting findings from surveys conducted in 2018 with 378 LBQ groups from all regions of the world, the report also builds on data from 67 donors, including public and private foundations, and provides four case studies of LBQ groups based on follow-up interviews. Respondents in the survey belonged to groups that are “self-governing or autonomous,” and “work specifically on LBQ issues or with LBQ communities, with LBQ people comprising the majority (50% or more) of the group’s leadership.”

According to the report, LBQ groups and LBQ activism have grown significantly in the last two decades in every region of the world. Most groups (89%) have been founded in the last twenty years, with more than half (61%) being established since 2010. Most (90%) of the groups use diverse strategies in their activism, including movement building, advocacy, and capacity-building, as well as cultural change strategies, such as creating media and art, preserving LBQ history, and engaging in research and knowledge production. Several groups (63%) offered direct




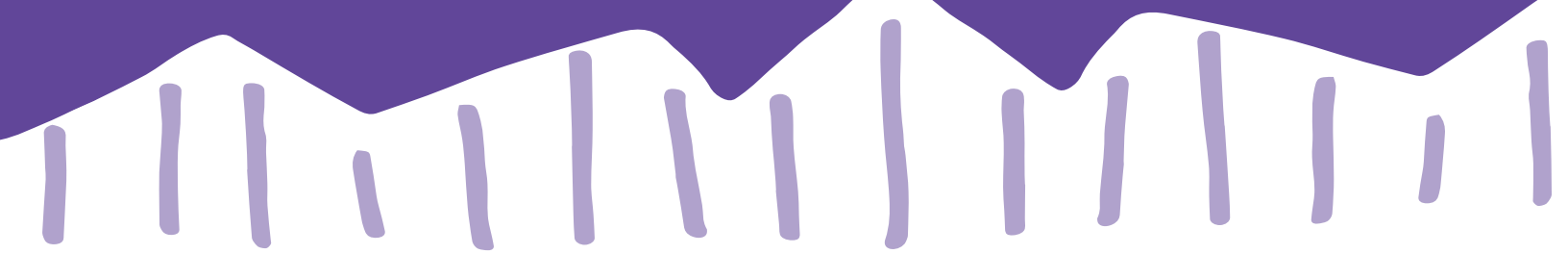
health and social services, as well as mental health and wellness support to LBQ communities, with more than half (56%) using safety-related strategies in their work.

The survey also revealed that nearly three-quarters (72%) of LBQ groups operated on annual budgets of less than \$50,000 USD per year, while the median budget for LBQ groups in 2017 was \$11,713 USD. Almost half (40%) of the groups reported an annual budget of less than \$5,000 USD, and one-third (34%) of groups received no external funding. Nearly half (48%) of the groups' external funding was \$5,000 USD or under, indicating that LBQ groups have small budgets and limited access to external funding. Additionally, the majority of the groups had very few, if any, paid staff, and had to rely on volunteers. Most (70%) LBQ groups did not have savings and some (27%) had no assets.

While funding to LBQ groups was scarce in every region, there were significant regional differences. For example, "the median external funding for LBQ groups in North America was \$244,000, and in every other region the median external funding received was less than \$10,000." Groups in Europe and Central Asia and in Asia and the Pacific had the lowest median external funding. The report highlights how this lack of funding to LBQ groups reduces their ability to implement their strategies and address priority areas of action. More than half (56%) of LBQ groups have never received multi-year funding and less than a quarter (22%) received unrestricted funding, hindering their ability to do long-term work. A third (34%) of LBQ groups are generating community funding to resource their work.

The report highlights some of the barriers LBQ groups face in accessing long-term funding are "a lack of requests for proposals reflecting their






priorities and strategies, requirements to present a successful fundraising track record, a lack of donor response to their queries, and delays in payments once funding is awarded.” It also makes recommendations to donors, who have been presented with an important opportunity to adjust funding strategies to ensure that they meet the needs and priorities of the growing LBQ movement. These recommendations include: “1) increase funding for LBQ communities and direct it to LBG groups, 2) make funding more accessible to LBG groups, 3) improve the quality of funding for LBQ groups, 4) direct funding to regions where LBQ groups’ access is especially limited, 5) invest in research and knowledge production and service provision, two priorities of LBG groups that are particularly underfunded, 6) increase non-financial support to LBG groups and ensure it meets their needs, 7) for donors without LBQ-specific portfolios, ensure that funding intended to be LBQ-inclusive actually reaches LBQ communities and 8) seek to “de-silo” funding for LBQ groups’ intersectional work.”

**Malkia Devich Cyril, Lyle Matthew Kan, Ben Francisco Maulbeck, and Lori Villarosa.
Mismatched: Philanthropy’s Response to the Call for Racial Justice. Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity. September 2021.**

<https://racialequity.org/mismatched/>

This report presents an analysis of funding trends over time to show that while funding to support racial equity and racial justice work has



increased over the past decade, it is still a small proportion of overall foundation funding and does not meet the demands of racial justice movements. Following an increase in mass organizing against police brutality and racial injustice in 2020, corporations and foundations pledged large amounts of funding for racial equity. As a result of “incomplete data, double counting, and inclusion of commitments for broad multi-year pledges and internal corporate spending,” there have been misperceptions about the scale of financial support that has been distributed to grassroots organizations and movements mobilizing for racial equity and justice.

This report was produced in this context and relies on the Philanthropic Initiative for Racial Equity (PRE)’s yearlong analysis of the comprehensive funding data collected by Candid, as well as new research criteria developed to identify grants specifically for racial equity and racial justice. It differs from other reports of its kind by highlighting the confirmed grants that were awarded, and by examining trends, contradictions and divergences in funding for racial equity and racial justice efforts over the past decade, with particular focus on the years 2015–2018 and 2020.

According to the report, there has been steady growth in the scale of funding and the number of funders engaged in racial equity and racial justice over the last five years, with funding for racial equity reaching nearly \$5.8 billion and funding for racial justice reaching \$925 million in 2018. Grassroots organizing for equity and justice has also grown significantly between 2015 and 2018, contributing to several legislative victories. Despite this progress, “only 6 cents of every philanthropic dollar is devoted to racial equity, and only 1 cent toward racial justice,” indicating that there are clear “mismatches” between the needs of grassroots movement organizers and the responses and priorities of philanthropists.




The report found that the top 20 funders of racial justice work accounted for 60% of all racial justice funding in 2015–2018, pointing to an overreliance on a small group of funders that puts vulnerable grassroots organizations at risk. Misinformation about the scale of funding going to racial equity and justice has also negatively impacted these organizations, suggesting that if funders believe that these movements are well-funded, or even over-funded, they are less likely to invest.

The report also points to the co-optation of movement language by corporations and white-led organizations to raise money for their own diversity and inclusion efforts, or to market “mortgages and other products to Black and Brown communities, rather than to external community grants.” For example, it mentions that more than one third of the top 20 racial equity recipients were founded by white billionaires and large corporations advancing their own ideas of social change, often with minimal or no input from grassroots organizations led by and for communities of colour.

As a result, funding for racial justice, grassroots organizing and long-term movement-oriented work has suffered, while most funding has focused on meeting short-term needs. Funding for grassroots organizing made up 1.3% (\$276.2 million) of the total racial equity funding for 2015–2018, and 9.1% (\$252.3 million) of the total racial justice funding for the same period. Annual funding for specific communities of colour was particularly low, and within some Black, Latinx, Asian Pacific American (APA), and Native American communities, the funding for grassroots organizing totaled approximately 1% of the total funding for that community between 2015 and 2018.

To combat these issues—summarized as the tendency of corporations





and foundations “to answer the movement’s call for deep, structural change with support for shallow individual-level change”—the report makes a number of recommendations, including “to

- 1) devote more resources to racial equity and racial justice,
- 2) sustain funding for racial equity and racial justice,
- 3) engage communities of colour and movements in strategy and funding decisions,
- 4) fund transformational change beyond an equity framework, and
- 5) improve data about racial equity and racial justice grant making.”

Scamell, Dave. The State of Intersex Funding: Funder Briefing. Global Philanthropy Project, American Jewish World Service, Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice and GATE. New York. 2019.

<https://s3.amazonaws.com/astraea.production/app/asset/uploads/2019/09/2019-Intersex-Funding-Brief.pdf>

This brief is based on a comparative analysis of data from two reports—The State of Intersex Organizing (2017, 2nd Edition), which used data from a global survey of 54 intersex organizations in 2016 about their organizational structure, budget, funding needs and priorities, and the 2015/2016 Global Resources Report: Government and Philanthropic Support for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex Communities (2018), which analyzed data on 12,964 grants awarded by 511 foundations, intermediaries, and corporations and by 15 government and multilateral agencies during 2015 and 2016.

In comparing this data, the report identified a number of primary funding challenges, noting that in 2015–2016, intersex funding represented a tiny fraction of total global LGBTI grantmaking (0.59% of all global funding on LGBTI issues), with only 0.29% of this funding going directly to intersex organizations. These numbers suggest that a substantial amount of the scarce funding flowing into intersex movements is going to LGBTI organizations rather than to intersex-led organizations. When funding is not directed to intersex-led groups, there is a risk that intersex issues and organizations will be overlooked. This is demonstrated by another funding challenge identified in the report, which reveals that less than 10% of funders of global LGBTI issues supported intersex organizations in 2015–2016.

Another primary funding challenge listed is the lack of funding to intersex-led organizations in the Global South and East. While funding is limited to intersex groups around the world, those in the Global South and East experience the greatest challenge in accessing resources. Between 2015–2016, no grants were awarded to intersex organizations in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, and only \$40,000 was given to intersex organizations across the Caribbean, Central America, and South America.

Other challenges noted are the lack of external support from donors, which leaves intersex organizations to work with little financial resources and few paid staff, and a lack of general flexible support that would give intersex organizations the resources to work at multiple levels. Additionally, the report pointed to the need for more resources for community organizing and movement building, and more support from children and youth rights funders, very few of whom are funding intersex organizations.



Scamell, Dave. The State of Trans Funding: Funder Briefing. Global Philanthropy Project. American Jewish World Service, Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice and GATE. New York. 2019.

<https://s3.amazonaws.com/astraea.production/app/asset/uploads/2019/09/2019-Trans-Funding-Brief.pdf>

This brief is based on a comparative analysis of data from two reports—The State of Trans Organizing (2017), which used data from a 2016 survey of 455 trans organizations and groups working in 99 countries, representing every region of the world, about their organizational structure, budget, funding needs and priorities, and the 2015–2016 Global Resources Report: Government and Philanthropic Support for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex Communities (2018), which analyzed data on 12,964 grants awarded by 511 foundations, intermediaries, and corporations, and by 15 government and multilateral agencies during 2015 and 2016.

In comparing this data, the brief outlines a number of funding challenges faced by trans-led organizations with the goal of driving greater attention and funding to trans issues within individual funding institutions and philanthropic fields. In particular, the data demonstrated that the growing international trans movement is significantly under-resourced and continues to receive only a small amount of total global funding on LGBTI issues.

Between 2015 and 2016, funding to trans organizations accounted for only 3.5% of the total amount of global LGBTI funding over those two

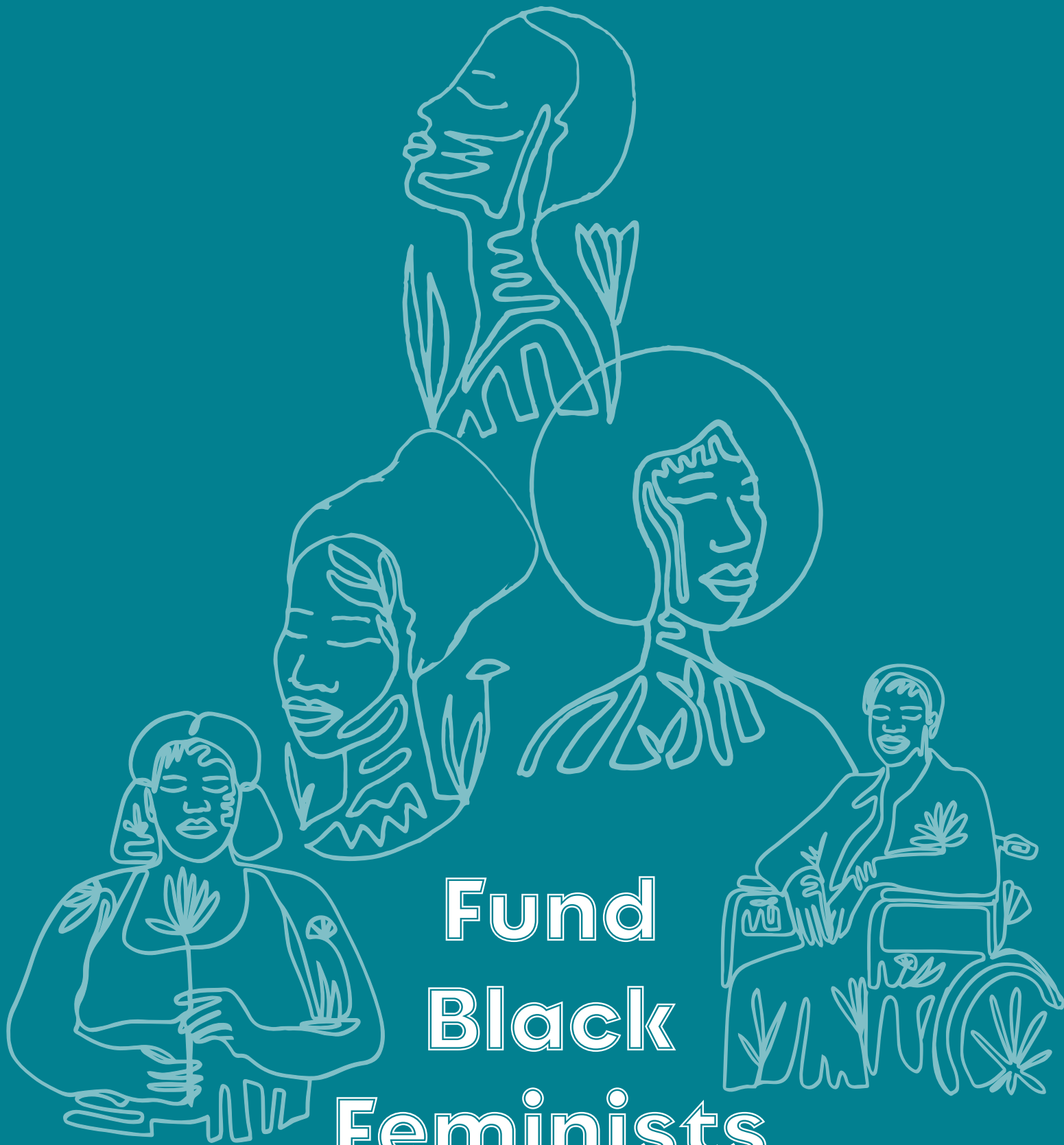


years, and only 2.7% of all global LGBTI funding outside of the U.S during the same period, pointing to another funding challenge—that the limited funding reaching trans organizations is not evenly distributed across the globe. Data from both reports suggests that while trans organizations in every region lack access to external funding, it is particularly difficult for trans groups in the Caribbean, Central America, South America, the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), Asia and the Pacific, Australia, and New Zealand. Between 2015 and 2016, there was only one recorded grant to a trans organization in MENA, while there were no recorded grants to trans organizations in the Pacific, Australia, and New Zealand.

Between 2015 and 2016, trans organizations generally received smaller grants than other organizations funded to do LGBTI work, with the average grant size to trans organizations (\$23,000) making up almost half of the global average grant size for LGBTI work (\$44,700). This points to another challenge identified from the data, which shows that only a fraction of funding on trans issues actually reaches trans-led organizations, whose expertise is informed by lived experience and makes them well-placed to find the best solutions to the challenges faced by trans communities. According to the Global Resources report, between 2015 and 2016, \$26,134,000 was awarded for work with trans communities outside of the US and only \$7,032,700 (26.9%) was awarded to trans organizations directly. These organizations are also at the front lines of the HIV response within their communities but they receive a very small amount of global HIV funding.

Other challenges identified in the brief are the concentration of trans funding among a small number of foundations, the lack of financial support to trans organizations from government and multilateral funders, and the lack of funding to trans organizations working at local and international level outside of the US.





**Fund
Black
Feminists**