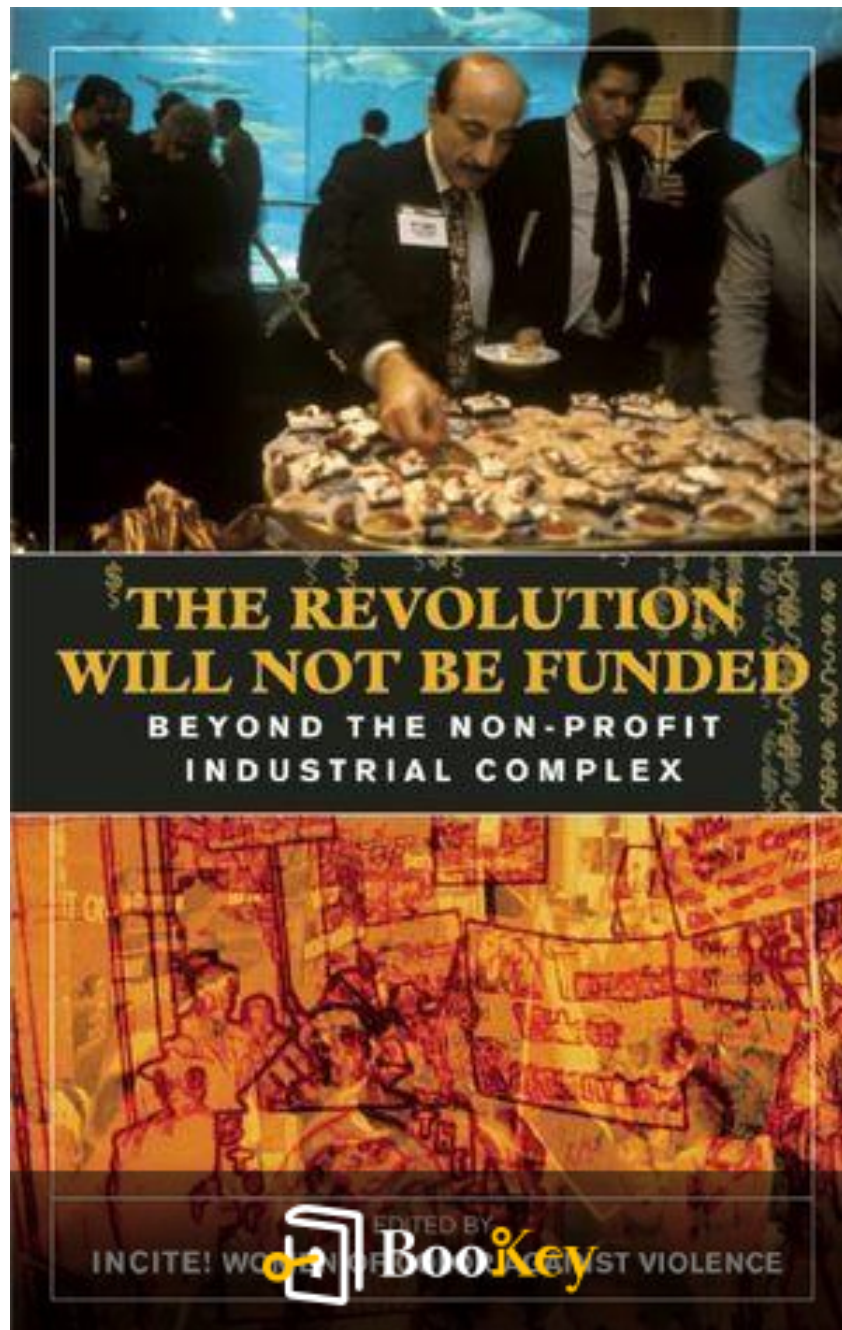


The Revolution Will Not Be Funded PDF (Limited Copy)

Incite! Women of Color Against Violence



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The Revolution Will Not Be Funded Summary

Challenging Funding Structures to Empower Grassroots Activism.

Written by New York Central Park Page Turners Books Club

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About the book

In "The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex," the anthology compiled by INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence invites readers to engage critically with the complex dynamics between funding and activism in social justice movements. This work argues that the traditional reliance on non-profit organizations often hinders genuine revolutionary progress, as these entities frequently act as gatekeepers, shaping the narratives and goals of grassroots efforts in ways that may dilute their original radical intentions.

The contributors—activists, scholars, and practitioners—share powerful essays and personal testimonies that dissect the ramifications of chasing grants and institutional support. They reveal how dependence on external funding sources can compromise the integrity of activist work, steering it away from transformative aims and towards appeasement of funders' interests. This commodification of activism raises uncomfortable questions about the authenticity of initiatives that claim to advocate for liberation while operating within restrictive parameters set by those holding the purse strings.

As the anthology unfolds, it challenges readers to envision alternative models that uplift grassroots movements. By highlighting innovative strategies and communal practices, the contributors urge a reimagining of

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liberation that is free from corporate influence and more aligned with the needs and desires of marginalized communities. The text serves as a call to action, igniting discussions about the true meaning of liberation amid systemic oppression, and inspiring activists to reclaim the narrative and practice of social justice beyond the confines of established funding structures.

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About the author

****Summary of The Chapter on INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence****

In the late 1990s, Incite! Women of Color Against Violence emerged as a grassroots organization dedicated to addressing the pervasive violence affecting marginalized communities, particularly those faced by women of color. This collective arose in response to a pressing need for a platform where these women's voices could be not only heard but also amplified. Their mission intertwines activism, scholarship, and artistic expression, creating a rich tapestry of resistance against systemic inequalities emanating from racism, sexism, and classism.

Incite!'s structure is characterized by a commitment to collective liberation, emphasizing the structural factors that lead to violence and the importance of empowering communities from within. The organization critically engages with social justice issues, challenging conventional narratives and practices that often overlook the intersections of identity and experience for women of color.

One of the pivotal works produced by Incite! is "The Revolution Will Not Be Funded." This publication offers a scathing critique of traditional funding mechanisms in the nonprofit sector, arguing that such practices can

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perpetuate dependency and fail to truly empower marginalized communities. Instead, Incite! champions grassroots organizing, advocating for a model that not only channels resources into the hands of those most affected by violence but also fosters self-determination and agency.

Overall, Incite! embodies a crucial voice in the feminist movement, advocating for transformative change that recognizes and responds to the unique challenges faced by women of color. Their influential work highlights the importance of intersectionality in discussions of justice, urging society to confront and dismantle the root causes of violence rather than merely addressing its symptoms. Through their activism and scholarship, Incite! continues to inspire a new generation of advocates striving for a more equitable and just world.

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Chapter 1 Summary: The Political Logic of the Non-Profit Industrial Complex

Summary of Chapter 1: The Political Logic of the Non-Profit Industrial Complex

In this chapter, Dylan Rodriguez explores the intricate relationship between two significant systems of power: the prison industrial complex (PIC) and the non-profit industrial complex (NPIC). He argues that the NPIC, composed of organizations that often align with liberal and progressive values, has co-opted radical social movements. This convergence has not only shaped resistance efforts across the United States but has also facilitated the state's ability to exert violence while stifling authentic revolutionary potential.

Historical Context

Rodriguez frames the evolution of state repression since the 1960s, noting how Black liberation movements faced significant challenges as liberal philanthropies intervened, absorbing more radical elements into the mainstream discourse. This co-optation has solidified a "law and order" ideology that rationalizes racist state violence and criminalizes dissent. The NPIC has become a crucial tool for managing public dissent, significantly funded by philanthropic organizations that often have ties to governmental interests.

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Impact of Fear on Progressive Action

Emphasizing the notion of a "cavern of fear," influenced by activist Mumia Abu-Jamal, Rodriguez explains how state narratives manipulate public perceptions of safety versus disorder. This fear is exploited to justify escalating state violence and positions the NPIC as a necessary stabilizing influence against marginalized groups striving for change.

Non-Profit Industrial Complex as Historical Shackle

Rodriguez critiques the NPIC's dependency on government and foundation funding, asserting that this reliance leads to a redirection of radical dissent into moderate reform. Consequently, organizations often prioritize financial sustainability over fostering genuine revolutionary movements, resulting in the bureaucratization of social activism which diminishes its impact.

Call for Radical Practices

In response to these constraints, Rodriguez asserts the necessity for re-imagining and dismantling the NPIC. He champions the pursuit of grassroots movements that can effectively confront systemic violence and challenge oppressive frameworks without being limited by the conventional structures of non-profits.

Conclusion

Rodriguez calls for a critical reassessment of how social movements interact



with non-profit organizations and the state. He advocates for radical resistance strategies that look beyond the confines imposed by the NPIC, drawing inspiration from historical struggles against colonialism to inspire contemporary movements toward genuine liberation. This chapter sets the stage for reconsidering the pathways of activism and the true possibilities for revolutionary change.

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Chapter 2 Summary: In the Shadow of the Shadow State

Chapter 2: The Revolution Will Not Be Funded - Summary

Introduction to Philanthropy's Role

Ruth Wilson Gilmore opens the chapter by examining the nuanced role of organized philanthropy in the African American community, referencing the insights of Ira Reid from 1944. Reid observed that many Black activist groups relied heavily on foundation gifts, a dependence that, while well-intentioned, could inadvertently reinforce the very oppressive systems they sought to combat. This irony underscores the critical need to analyze philanthropic practices within the broader fight against empire and systemic inequality.

Understanding the Non-Profit Industrial Complex

Gilmore introduces the term Non-Profit Industrial Complex (NPIC), likening it to the well-established Military and Prison Industrial Complexes. The NPIC operates as a powerful network that shapes social policy but often aligns with existing power dynamics rather than challenging them. Despite its influence, the complex is politically neutralized, often shackled by regulations that hinder organizations from pursuing meaningful systemic

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changes.

The Shadow State and Non-Profits

Non-profits have increasingly absorbed functions traditionally performed by public agencies, creating what Gilmore refers to as a "shadow state." This transition towards professionalization and reliance on state contracts has led many grassroots organizations to compromise their original radical missions. The resulting dynamics expose the perils of dependency on state funding, demonstrating how it can dilute the quest for true social justice.

Historical Context and Case Studies

To elucidate the complexities of funding and activism, Gilmore highlights four historical examples of grassroots organizations that navigated funding landscapes creatively while remaining true to their liberation missions:

1. **Pacifica Radio Formation (1949):** A pioneering grassroots media initiative that relied on community subscriptions, thereby avoiding commercial sponsorship and maintaining its independence.
2. **Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955):** An organized grassroots movement that effectively challenged the segregation of public transportation by mobilizing community support and collective action.



3. Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (1956): This labor activism focused on empowering workers through ownership and participation, laying the groundwork for future successes in unions.

4. Coffee-Table Politics (1962): A case study illustrating grassroots organizing that inadvertently contributed to the rise of the New Right, serving as a cautionary tale against co-optation of organizational efforts.

Conclusion: Moving Forward

Gilmore concludes by advocating for grassroots organizations to prioritize core funding over project-specific donations, emphasizing that such a shift is essential for sustaining their missions. She stresses the importance of forming coalitions with like-minded allies and reiterates the complexities of navigating funding environments. Ultimately, Gilmore argues that the fight for radical change must foreground liberation efforts rather than the mere survival of organizations, urging activists to reclaim their vision for social justice.



Chapter 3 Summary: From Black Awakening in Capitalist America

Summary of Chapter 3 from "The Revolution Will Not Be Funded"

This chapter delves into Robert L. Allen's examination of the Black Power movement's evolution in the late 1960s, particularly through the lens of the Ford Foundation's financial influence on Black liberation efforts in the United States.

The Context of 1967

In 1967, significant urban revolts and organized protests marked a turning point in the quest for Black liberation. This year saw the rise of groups like the Black United Front, which aimed to shift power balances and promote Black leadership in urban landscapes. These movements were a response to systemic injustices and aimed at establishing Black control over their communities.

Organizational Challenges

However, the movement faced persistent challenges, primarily the risk of co-optation by conservative factions within Black organizations. While

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many militant groups aimed for radical transformation, they often lacked the structure of established institutions like the NAACP and the Urban League. This disorganization allowed elite leaders to overshadow grassroots voices, resulting in a dilution of the original, militant goals of Black liberation.

Political Strategies of CORE

With the expulsion of influential Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) pivoted towards advocating for political representation. This shift involved discussions around creating an independent political apparatus, transforming CORE from a revolutionary entity into a political lobbying group focused on navigating existing power structures.

Ford Foundation's Role

In 1967, the Ford Foundation began channeling significant funds to established organizations like the NAACP while simultaneously attempting to engage with more militant groups to quell potential unrest. Their strategic funding aimed to pacify dissent and align disruptive elements with broader, less confrontational goals. For instance, their support for the Metropolitan Applied Research Center (MARC) sought to leverage grassroots discontent without promoting genuine systemic change.



CORE's Financial Vulnerability

CORE's financial struggles made it susceptible to corporate influence, which led to a strategic pivot that, despite outward appearances of radicalism, leaned toward accommodation of the existing power hierarchy. This reliance on funding from wealthy benefactors compromised their ability to enact true revolutionary change.

The Cleveland Project

The Ford Foundation's initiative to support CORE's Cleveland chapter exemplified this trend. By funding programs aimed at youth leadership and voter registration, the foundation aimed to minimize violence and promote stability. While these efforts appeared successful on the surface, they ultimately distracted from deeper systemic issues, entrenching the existing social order instead of challenging it.

Black Capitalism as a New Narrative

The chapter also explores the emergence of Black capitalism, framed as a form of empowerment through Black business ownership. However, this narrative often conflicted with the community's genuine needs. Proposals for community control over education reflected this moderate approach, which, while advocating for some reform, failed to disrupt the capitalist framework



fundamentally.

Nationalist Dissent

Within CORE, voices advocating for more radical separatist positions emerged, highlighting dissatisfaction with the mainstream push for integration. Leaders like McKissick attempted to encapsulate Black aspirations within a reformist agenda that aligned more with elite interests, potentially overlooking the broader community's urgent needs.

Concluding Thoughts

The interplay between CORE's evolving strategies and the Ford Foundation's financial support illuminates a troubling trend where reformist objectives were cloaked in the language of radicalism. Ultimately, instead of liberating Black communities from capitalist exploitation, the movement risked reinforcing existing inequalities and elevating a small Black middle class, thereby undermining the revolutionary essence of Black nationalism. This chapter presents a critical view of how external funding and internal divisions can hinder the pursuit of genuine liberation.

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Chapter 4: Democratizing American Philanthropy

Democratizing American Philanthropy

Wealth Inequality in America

The rise of wealth inequality in the United States has reached alarming levels since the Gilded Age, a period marked by rapid industrial growth and significant economic disparity. The wealthiest individuals have amassed unprecedented fortunes—evidenced by the striking increase in the average income of the richest 400 Americans from \$46.8 million to \$174 million between 1992 and 2000. Meanwhile, 12% of the population remains below the federal poverty line, illustrating a stark divide. This inequality is compounded by cuts to essential public services, thrusting philanthropy into the spotlight as a makeshift remedy for social issues that government support can no longer adequately address.

The Flaws of Philanthropy

Despite being seen as a compassionate response to social ills, philanthropy often fails to provide genuine solutions, reflecting a flawed assumption that voluntary charity is a sufficient replacement for systematic public intervention. This perspective is rooted in the tradition of noblesse oblige,

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which expects the wealthy to help those less fortunate. However, it overlooks critical power dynamics inherent in wealth accumulation and the undemocratic nature of private foundations, suggesting that philanthropy often perpetuates inequality instead of challenging it. Wealthy elites, lacking accountability to the public, frequently prioritize their own agendas over the needs of the communities they aim to serve.

Tax Policy and Philanthropy's Impact

Tax policies have been disproportionately favorable to the wealthy, allowing them to contribute less to the public purse. As charitable donations increase, the benefits often accrue to the affluent rather than resolving pressing social challenges. Strategies such as estate tax avoidance through philanthropic foundations further strain public resources, diverting funds that could be utilized for essential government services.

Lack of Accountability and Representation

Private foundations are predominantly controlled by boards of wealthy, white males, which shapes their funding priorities in ways that marginalize diverse voices. Consequently, only a small fraction of philanthropic resources is directed toward underserved communities. Instead, the majority of grants support established organizations, overlooking grassroots efforts that might inspire more robust social transformation.



The Payout Dilemma

The payout requirements placed on foundations exacerbate the situation, as they are only mandated to disburse a fraction of their assets each year. Often, this payout encompasses administrative costs rather than addressing urgent social needs. Many foundations resist increasing their payout rates, prioritizing the growth of their endowments over desperately needed interventions aimed at combating the root causes of poverty and inequality.

Advancing an Elite Agenda Through Philanthropy

Historically, philanthropy has frequently been employed to advance elite agendas. Conservative foundations, in particular, align their funding with broader ideological objectives, often to the detriment of systemic change. While some liberal foundations pursue pragmatic solutions to social issues, they risk inadvertently perpetuating underlying problems—an example being the Green Revolution, which prioritized higher agricultural yields at the cost of farmers' livelihoods.

Public Relations Tactics and Accountability Concerns

Philanthropic initiatives are sometimes less about altruism and more about strategic public relations, concealing corporate accountability. A case in

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point is Bill Gates' philanthropic efforts, which, while saving lives, may also contribute to obstacles in accessing affordable medications. This duality obfuscates the true implications of wealth within the realm of philanthropy.

Conclusion: Reforming Philanthropy for Greater Accountability

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Chapter 5 Summary: The Filth on Philanthropy: Progressive Philanthropy's Agenda to Misdirect Social Justice Movements

The Filth on Philanthropy: An Overview

This overview dissects the intricate relationship between progressive philanthropy and social justice movements, particularly highlighting how well-intentioned efforts may inadvertently uphold existing power structures while neglecting the needs of marginalized communities.

Progressive Philanthropy's Agenda to Misdirect Social Justice Movements

Since its inception in the 1970s, progressive philanthropy emerged as a means to fund social change. However, the movement has often aligned itself with the non-profit industrial complex (NPIC), which has paradoxically contributed to the suppression of radical movements advocating for wealth and power redistribution, particularly those led by people of color. This trend began with the Donee Group formed in 1974, which, in collaboration with the Filer Commission, aimed to safeguard the interests of private foundations in the wake of the 1969 tax reforms affecting charitable donations.

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Role of Progressive Philanthropy

Despite a public commitment to social justice causes, progressive philanthropy has frequently reinforced the status quo. White-led organizations, which dominate these philanthropic practices, broker their influence while often sidelining the urgent needs of communities of color. This dynamic perpetuates white privilege within philanthropic networks, disrupting efforts to empower oppressed communities and stifling the potential for radical social change.

Maintaining Racial Hierarchies Through Philanthropy Reform

Progressive philanthropic organizations often claim to support oppressed communities, yet they are primarily driven by their relationships with affluent donors. This creates a troubling conflict of interest where initiatives designed to assist marginalized groups may inadvertently serve to protect the interests of wealthy white individuals over the systemic issues facing those very communities. Such a framework ultimately perpetuates existing inequalities within social justice movements.

Co-opting People of Color to Uphold the Status Quo

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Philanthropic efforts frequently misrepresent grassroots fundraising as a sufficient strategy for organizations led by people of color. This diversion directs focus towards cultivating relationships with the wealthy rather than demanding collective reparations or challenging the very systems that limit their access to wealth and resources. Organizations like the Grassroots Institute for Fundraising Training (GIFT) contribute to this perspective, redirecting revolutionary potential toward fundraising instead of genuine structural change.

Implications of Philanthropic Relationships

The overreliance on philanthropic funding results in a troubling co-optation of Black and other people of color-led organizations by white nationalist agendas. This undermines efforts for genuine reparations and wealth redistribution. White-led organizations often become complicit in maintaining inequity by failing to meaningfully question the origins of wealth while instead reinforcing existing societal disparities.

Funding Models That Perpetuate Power Imbalances

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Progressive philanthropy typically circulates funds based on established relationships rather than the equitable distribution of resources based on need. While grassroots fundraising is promoted as a means to support social justice, it often diverts efforts away from transformative initiatives, ultimately benefiting established power structures rather than dismantling them.

Concluding Thoughts on Philanthropy and Social Justice

At its core, philanthropy is deeply intertwined with capitalist structures and systems of exploitation. For social justice movements to be genuinely impactful, organizations must reevaluate their relationships with philanthropic entities, seeking alternative funding strategies that align with their missions without perpetuating oppression or compromising their integrity.

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Chapter 6 Summary: Between Radical Theory and Community Praxis: Reflections on Organizing and the Non-Profit Industrial Complex

Reflections on Organizing and the Non-Profit Industrial Complex: A Summary

Background of Sisters in Action for Power

In 1999, the community organization Sisters in Portland Impacting Real Issues Together (SPIRIT) was disbanded, primarily due to internal conflicts with its parent organization, the Center for Third World Organizing (CTWO). This closure left a void for advocacy focused on critical issues affecting girls of color in Portland. Consequently, the remaining members faced a pivotal choice: either dissolve or transform into an independent non-profit organization dedicated to community empowerment.

Challenges of Non-Profit Structures

The author observes that while SPIRIT's mission was noble, its challenges reflect pervasive issues in the non-profit sector. Many organizations grapple with the constraints of foundation funding, which can skew priorities towards market-driven demands. Such influences often lead to a corporate

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ethos within activism, detracting from the grassroots objectives essential to effective community organizing.

Navigating Funding and Organizational Growth

Initially, the organization concentrated on improving its administrative structure to attract funding. However, this focus frequently created a disconnect between their foundational goals and the requirements imposed by funders. The rush for financial support led to resource overextension and a divergence from the core mission of nurturing leadership among low-income girls.

Resisting Pressure for Expansion

As Sisters in Action for Power began to achieve significant milestones, external entities pressured them to broaden their reach and increase membership. The organization, however, chose to prioritize the quality of engagement over mere numerical growth, emphasizing the importance of deep, grassroots leadership development rather than superficial expansion.

Developing a Political Framework

In response to previous challenges, Sisters in Action for Power undertook a critical political reflection to produce a systemic analysis of colonialism.

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This framework informed their organizing strategies, revealing historical oppression's lasting effects and helping them navigate the contemporary socio-political landscape.

Current Campaign Focus and Organizational Culture

The organization's current campaigns center around vital issues, including educational equity, particularly in light of federal constraints like the No Child Left Behind Act. Sisters in Action for Power prioritizes both the processes and outcomes of their initiatives, fostering an organizational culture that embraces revolutionary principles rather than conforming to corporate norms.

Innovative Practices for Sustenance

To ensure longevity and alignment with their mission, Sisters in Action for Power has developed grassroots fundraising methods while placing a strong emphasis on collective reflection and evaluation. These strategies aim to create supportive internal dynamics that resonate with their values and mitigate burnout among their members.

Critical Examination of the Non-Profit Model

The author critically assesses the sustainability and political integrity of the

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non-profit model, suggesting that administrative demands often overshadow the essential mission of promoting social justice. There is a call to rethink dependency on foundation funding and corporate models that can drain grassroots organizations of their vitality.

Conclusion and Call to Action

The chapter concludes with a crucial reminder for activist organizations: they must navigate the complexities of non-profit structures while remaining true to their initial goals. Activists are urged to champion practices that uplift grassroots leadership, ultimately fostering a movement that is rooted in liberation and justice rather than corporate mimicry.

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Chapter 7 Summary: Native Organizing Before the Non-Profit Industrial Complex

Summary of Chapter 7 from "The Revolution Will Not Be Funded"

In Chapter 7, Madonna Thunder Hawk, a seasoned activist rooted in the Red Power movement, reflects on her journey through Native organizing and the evolution of activism amidst the rise of the non-profit industrial complex. As a prominent figure in the American Indian Movement (AIM) and co-founder of Women of All Red Nations (WARN), Thunder Hawk recalls pivotal moments in Native activism, such as the Occupation of Alcatraz and the Wounded Knee takeover. These events were heavily influenced by the strategies of the Black Panther Party, which sought to empower marginalized communities and challenge systemic oppression.

In the early days of organizing, fundraising was not the central concern; instead, activists relied on community solidarity and support from religious groups. This grassroots approach fostered a sense of ownership and engagement, allowing Native activists to achieve significant milestones without the bureaucratic constraints that often accompany funded initiatives.

However, Thunder Hawk observes a significant transformation in activist landscapes with the emergence of non-profit organizations. She criticizes the

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current tendency for many groups to prioritize securing funding over grassroots work, resulting in a shift in motivations for activists. This environment often favors financially driven initiatives over authentic passion for social change, thereby narrowing the focus and diminishing the overall impact of their efforts.

The chapter also highlights WARN's investigation into environmental racism at the Pine Ridge Reservation, particularly the detrimental effects of uranium mining on community health. Through this grassroots research, they shed light on contamination and environmental injustices, leading to some governmental recognition, but ultimately limited accountability and action due to persistent funding limitations.

Thunder Hawk asserts that the non-profit sector's transformation has stifled creativity and collaboration in activism. She critiques the current emphasis on specialized funding and roles, which often detracts from a broader vision for radical social change. Her argument advocates for a return to community-driven processes that prioritize the needs of the people rather than succumbing to bureaucratic frameworks.

In conclusion, Thunder Hawk calls for a resurgence of more radical and autonomous organizing, free from the restrictive confines of the non-profit model. She urges activists to champion direct action and grassroots empowerment, positioning community solidarity at the forefront of their



efforts for genuine social transformation.

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Chapter 8: Fundraising Is Not a Dirty Word: Community-Based Economic Strategies for the Long Haul

Community-Based Economic Strategies for the Long Haul

Fundraising as an Opportunity

Fundraising often faces skepticism from activists who see it as a compromise within capitalism. However, when approached as an essential organizing tool, it can significantly contribute to building community-based economies. Two primary funding sources exist: foundation income, reliant on larger institutional grants, and grassroots income, which is generated through individual donations and local support. While foundation funding can provide substantial resources, an overreliance on it risks compromising accountability and creating disconnection from the very communities that organizations aim to serve.

Grassroots Fundraising as an Organizing Strategy

In Atlanta, Project South demonstrates the power of grassroots fundraising as a core component of its mission to promote racial and economic justice. Rather than employing professional fundraisers, the organization hires

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community organizers, enhancing connections and fostering a sense of accountability to those most impacted by social injustices. This strategy not only allows for genuine engagement but also empowers the community to take an active role in the justice movement.

Challenges with Foundation Dependency

Project South's experiences highlight the potential pitfalls of relying on foundation funding. Foundations often dictate trends that can pressure nonprofits to alter their missions and compromise their effectiveness. Additionally, small organizations—especially in the South—struggle with limited regional funding opportunities and the inherent competition for these resources, which hampers their long-term planning and movement-building efforts.

Community-Based Economics

Community-based economies thrive on the principle of resource exchange within the community itself. Project South aims to secure 40% of its income from grassroots initiatives, including educational toolkits and collaborative events with local groups. This approach strengthens the community fabric and reinforces a sense of reciprocity among members, in stark contrast to more conventional fundraising.

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Integrating Fundraising with Base Building

Project South strategically aligns its fundraising efforts with its overarching mission by ensuring that the voices of affected communities are represented in leadership roles. The organization utilizes a sliding scale for membership fees, acknowledging and valuing diverse contributions while fostering a strong support network among community members. This integration of fundraising into base building fortifies the organization's roots within the community.

Evaluating Organizational Effectiveness

Grassroots fundraising serves as a barometer for gauging community interest and assessing program efficacy. Project South is committed to regularly evaluating its initiatives to ensure they meet the evolving needs of the community. While financial pressures do pose risks, the organization remains dedicated to maintaining its social justice commitments without sacrificing its principles for monetary gain.

Conclusion

By reimagining fundraising as a fundamental element of community organizing, organizations like Project South can cultivate stronger movements and advance towards sustainable, community-centered economic



systems. The goal is to enhance financial independence and accountability to the communities served, acknowledging that true liberation necessitates equitable access to resources for all.

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Chapter 9 Summary: “we were never meant to survive”: Fighting Violence Against Women and the Fourth World War

Fighting Violence Against Women and the Fourth World War

Introduction to the Fourth World War

The Fourth World War, as articulated by Subcomandante Marcos, emerged from the Zapatista uprising in Mexico on January 1, 1994, a reaction against the neoliberal policies embodied by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) that disproportionately affected indigenous communities. This conflict represents not just military struggle but economic violence that commodifies life, threatening the very foundations of social movements. The rise of the non-profit industrial complex (NPIC) complicates the landscape, as it risks compromising the original principles that guide these movements, leaving them vulnerable to co-optation.

Reflections on Movement Complicity

The author, drawing on a decade of experience in the anti-violence movement, recounts the inspiring commitment of women across generations. However, she candidly acknowledges moments where the movement's

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practices have diverged from its core mission. Here, funding has often redirected efforts away from dismantling violence and towards reinforcing the status quo. There exists a troubling reluctance to confront state violence, shaped by the threat of losing financial support and exacerbated by institutional racism.

Reproducing Racist Violence

Within the anti-violence sphere, race-specific initiatives often inadvertently perpetuate existing racial inequities, sidelining the needs of women of color in favor of predominant white narratives. Although these programs aim to offer culturally sensitive support, they frequently miss the mark by not addressing the systemic racism entrenched in society. The result is an obscured understanding of the unique violence faced by diverse communities.

Non-Profitization Impact

The trend toward non-profitization has diminished the political independence of anti-violence efforts, shifting focus from grassroots activism to professionalized response mechanisms. Such reorientation frames violence against women primarily as a criminal or medical issue, overshadowing its roots in social injustice. This approach favors punitive measures, neglecting more comprehensive solutions that address the



foundational causes of violence.

State Criminalization of Violence

The collaboration between the state and anti-violence movements has led to the criminalization of domestic abuse, allowing the state to portray itself as a guardian of safety. However, this narrow framing fails to deeply address the complexities of violence, reinforcing the prison-industrial complex and disproportionately punishing communities of color.

Medicalization of Violence

The interplay between the medical and criminal systems further complicates survivors' experiences. Medical frameworks individualize violence and often pressure survivors into interactions with law enforcement, which can lead to greater victimization. This tendency reflects a broader societal trend that sidelines social justice perspectives while reinforcing existing inequities and hierarchies.

Calling Out the Anti-Violence State

The state deploys strategic violence that obscures its active role in systemic injustices. By neglecting the intersectionality of race, class, and gender, it perpetuates inequalities while presenting itself as the protector against

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violence, thus complicating the narrative of safety and justice.

Globalization's Influence

On a global scale, U.S. organizations export NPIC and state ideologies, imposing their frameworks without regard for local cultural contexts. Such imposition undermines indigenous practices and aligns global movements more with capitalistic goals than with authentic social justice objectives.

Towards Resistance

The author takes a stand for skepticism toward funding sources, underscoring the importance of grassroots organizing. By withdrawing support from the NPIC and critically reassessing funding structures, activists can refocus on genuine movements against violence that prioritize the voices and needs of marginalized communities.

Conclusion

The necessity for critical introspection regarding the movement's entanglement with oppressive systems propels the call to resist non-profitization and pursue authentic alternatives. By joining forces with broader anti-globalization initiatives, the anti-violence movement can reclaim its radical roots and strive toward meaningful systemic change.



Chapter 10 Summary: Social Service or Social Change?

Summary of Chapters: "Social Service or Social Change?"

Social Service or Social Change?

The chapter opens with a critical examination of the relationship between social service efforts and their potential to instigate genuine social change. The author highlights the Oakland Men's Project, which focused on community education aimed at reducing male violence rather than solely intervening with individual offenders. Despite an expanded network of survivor services, the broader movement to combat male violence remains stagnant. This transition from advocacy to service-oriented approaches raises concerns about whether social services merely maintain the status quo rather than challenge ingrained inequalities.

The Economic Pyramid

Introducing the metaphor of an economic pyramid, the author illustrates the stark disparity of wealth distribution, with the wealthiest 1% controlling 47% of the total riches. This concentration of resources leads to widespread struggles among the majority for basic necessities, embedding the notion of systemic economic inequality into social service and change initiatives. The ruling elite shapes societal norms and dictates key decisions, thus perpetuating the cycle of disadvantaged experiences for the lower classes.

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Questions to Reflect On

The author invites readers to introspect on their socioeconomic backgrounds, their current societal roles, and how historical contexts inform their community involvement. This self-reflection is paramount in understanding one's potential to either contribute to or challenge systemic inequalities, emphasizing the importance of awareness in the quest for social justice.

The Buffer Zone

The "buffer zone" concept is introduced to describe occupations that serve as intermediaries between the ruling class and lower classes, which address immediate needs without confronting the systemic inequalities that underlie poverty and violence. These roles, while offering temporary relief, often obscure the realities of oppression, ultimately maintaining a façade of hope regarding upward mobility.

Co-opting Social Change

The chapter discusses how social movements have been historically appropriated by the ruling class to create superficial programs that neglect the root causes of social issues. It references the civil rights and battered women's movements as examples where authentic grassroots efforts have been transformed into service-oriented approaches, reinforcing existing power dynamics rather than dismantling them.



The Role of Non-Profits

Critique of the non-profit sector reveals its role in perpetuating wealth and power among the elite. Non-profits often operate under funding constraints that shape their missions and limit their capacity for genuine change. The author argues for greater accountability to the communities served, rather than to funders or bureaucratic interests, advocating for a more responsive and engaged approach to service work.

Getting Ahead or Getting Together?

The author scrutinizes the prevailing narrative of individual success prevalent in capitalist societies, where the focus on "getting ahead" often exacerbates the plight of the marginalized. Emphasizing the value of community solidarity, the chapter advocates for collective empowerment and action as essential elements necessary for achieving meaningful social change.

Domestic Violence as a Case Study

Two contrasting frameworks are analyzed regarding domestic violence: the dominant paradigm perceives it as an interpersonal issue, while a more critical perspective understands it as a systemic problem rooted in economic disparities and entrenched cultural norms. The latter advocates for women's empowerment and leadership, moving beyond mere individual support to foster a collective effort against violence.



Accountability and Community Engagement

The chapter wraps up with a strong call for accountability, encouraging those positioned in the buffer zone to actively engage with grassroots social justice struggles. The importance of continuous dialogue with community members is stressed to ensure alignment with their real needs and aspirations, moving beyond perpetuating existing power structures.

Final Thoughts

In conclusion, the author asserts that despite the obstacles posed by the non-profit industrial complex and systemic inequalities, individuals can still contribute to social justice through collaboration with grassroots movements and collective action. Reclaiming the vision of an equitable society necessitates awareness of systemic issues, genuine community engagement, and the cultivation of solidarity to effect lasting change.

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Chapter 11 Summary: Pursuing a Radical Anti-Violence Agenda Inside/Outside a Non-Profit Structure

Summary of Chapter 11: The Revolution Will Not Be Funded

In the historical backdrop of the anti-violence movement, 1999 marked a turning point with the closure of Seattle Rape Relief (SRR), an organization that had been a cornerstone of feminist activism since its inception in 1972. SRR's decline stemmed from a shift from grassroots involvement to a more professionalized approach, which distanced the organization from the community it served and marginalized crucial voices. This disconnect ultimately led to a struggle for identity and the organization's unfortunate demise.

In the wake of SRR's closure, former volunteers established the Communities Against Rape and Abuse (CARA). Unlike its predecessor, CARA was designed to emphasize community organizing and prioritize the needs of marginalized survivors who often lacked essential support services. The formation of CARA signified a renewed commitment to empowering voices within the community.

Initially, CARA succeeded in securing funding from the city, which strained its relationships with more established anti-violence organizations that felt

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threatened by this new entity. CARA's radical leadership, predominantly composed of diverse, younger activists, faced resistance rooted in ageism and racism, which complicated their efforts to gain acceptance in the broader anti-violence movement.

Between 2000 and 2002, CARA underwent a significant transformation, evolving from a multicultural organization focused on social change to one firmly grounded in radical feminist and anti-oppression principles. Influenced by thinkers such as Paulo Freire and bolstered by alliances with organizations like INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, CARA embraced a more intersectional approach to violence, highlighting the various social injustices affecting survivors.

This evolution paralleled shifts in the political landscape, particularly under George W. Bush's administration, which prompted CARA to incorporate critiques of militarism and racism into their anti-violence work. The organization took a public stance against the war in Afghanistan, illustrating a connection between their mission against sexual violence and broader critiques of state violence and oppression.

To navigate the challenges of funding while maintaining political integrity, CARA developed innovative survival tactics. They built alliances with other marginalized organizations and adopted a "dual identity" approach to meet funding requirements while staying accountable to their community.

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However, this relationship with city government became increasingly fraught due to the imposition of conservative policies and values.

CARA emphasized the importance of mutual accountability within communities, viewing survivors not merely as clients but as vital allies in the anti-violence movement. Their focus on inclusivity and accessibility led to the organization of community events and the fostering of personal relationships, which enriched their work and strengthened community ties.

In conclusion, CARA's journey reflects the complex dynamics of radical activism operating within the non-profit framework. Their evolving practices highlight the challenges and opportunities of staying committed to community accountability and collaboration in the face of oppressive structures, paving the way for a more resilient and inclusive approach to anti-violence work.

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Chapter 12: The NGOization of the Palestine Liberation Movement: Interviews with Hatem Bazian, Noura Erekat, Atef Said, and Zeina Zaatari

Summary of Chapter 12: The NGOization of the Palestine Liberation Movement

Introduction

Chapter 12 explores the complex role that non-governmental organizations (NGOs) play in shaping the Palestinian liberation movement. It critiques how many of these organizations often align with U.S. government interests, potentially undermining the goals of genuine liberation advocates. The narrative is enhanced by perspectives from key figures in the Palestinian struggle, including activists Hatem Bazian, Noura Erekat, Atef Said, and Zeina Zaatari.

Impact of NGOs on Palestinian Liberation

The chapter underscores the prominent influence of NGOs on Palestinian activism, revealing a shift in funding and political agendas. Bazian compares the focus of solidarity movements in other parts of the world, which emphasized economic sanctions, to the Palestinian context, where NGOs



frequently refrain from advocating for divestment from Israel. Instead, they often promote a “two-state solution” that many argue compromises Palestinian rights.

Historical Context

Providing a historical backdrop, the chapter outlines the Palestinian liberation movement's origins, tracing back to the mass displacement of Palestinians since the 1948 Nakba, a term referring to the catastrophic events surrounding Israel's creation. It highlights the ongoing struggles faced by Palestinian refugees and the ineffectiveness of international resolutions in ensuring their right to return.

Mechanisms of Control

The text illustrates how NGOs, despite their portrayal as champions of social change, often stifle authentic grassroots movements. Funding restrictions can lead organizations to conform to donor expectations, which dilutes the radical potential of liberation efforts. Zaatari points out that while NGOs possess vital resources, their focus tends to prioritize the maintenance of funding streams over addressing the pressing needs of Palestinian communities.

Development of NGOization in Palestine

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Bazian traces the phenomenon of NGOization back to the actions of Christian missionaries and colonial powers in the region, which aimed to mold local political leaders. This historical context reveals that many NGOs continue to serve broader imperial interests rather than truly represent the grassroots struggles of Palestinian activists.

Oslo Accords and Funding Dynamics

The chapter discusses how the Oslo Accords shifted the focus of Palestinian activism from liberation towards achieving statehood. This marked a significant change in funding dynamics, with an increased emphasis on projects that promote coexistence. Issues central to the Palestinian cause, like the right of return, became sidelined, while humanitarian aid was prioritized over strategies aimed at liberation.

Alternative Approaches to Support

Activists argue that there are viable alternatives to the prevailing NGO frameworks. They advocate for grassroots movements and political parties, although these initiatives face their own obstacles. Some organizations have resisted NGOization by concentrating on community support and mobilization that do not rely on external funding sources.



Conclusion

The chapter delivers a critical examination of the NGOization process and its ramifications for efforts to achieve Palestinian emancipation. It calls for a reevaluation of funding structures and stresses the importance of empowering genuine grassroots movements over externally-led initiatives, which could dilute the potential for meaningful change in the quest for liberation.

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Chapter 13 Summary: Radical Social Change: Searching for a New Foundation

Radical Social Change: Searching for a New Foundation

In her insightful discourse, Adjoa Florência Jones de Almeida examines the meaning of revolution and the pressing need for radical social change, particularly within the context of recent movements in Latin America. While she acknowledges the complexity of achieving a complete revolution, her belief in the potential for transformative change remains strong. De Almeida urges a deeper examination of oppression, highlighting that it extends beyond mere financial inequalities.

Understanding Radical Change

De Almeida asserts that radical change necessitates the dismantling of systemic injustices that hinder communities, akin to uprooting weeds in a garden. She critiques the current landscape of social justice movements in the U.S., lamenting that many organizations have become overly dependent on funding from foundations. This reliance often stifles their radical vision and diminishes accountability to the very communities they aim to serve.

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The Impact of Non-Profits on Activism

Reflecting on her experiences with the Sista II Sista Collective, de Almeida illustrates the challenges faced when social justice groups transition into 501(c)(3) organizations. This shift tends to alter their focus, steering attention toward securing funding rather than engaging in grassroots activism that tackles foundational issues. Such funding necessitates viewing communities primarily as victims, which undermines their inherent potential and agency.

The Essential Role of Imagination and Spirituality

The author advocates for the significance of imagination in revolutionary movements, drawing on historical examples where spirituality played a crucial role in activism. She cites figures like Malcolm X and Ella Baker, arguing that successful social change often occurs when spiritual beliefs are intricately woven into the fabric of activism. De Almeida emphasizes that true transformation arises from profound commitment and faith.

Lessons from Latin American Movements

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De Almeida references pivotal movements in Latin America, such as the Zapatistas and the Landless Workers Movement in Brazil, which exemplify the integration of spirituality with radical political activism. These movements prioritize community engagement and envision structures that promote justice and equality within society.

Challenges Faced by Contemporary Activism

Pointing out the shortcomings of the NGO model, de Almeida notes that this structure often undermines grassroots initiatives and neglects critical class analyses, perpetuating hierarchical dynamics. The biases in funding can result in the marginalization of local struggles led by grassroots activists in favor of more polished proposals that appeal to corporate donors.

The Urgency for New Approaches

Concluding her argument, de Almeida stresses the need for social justice movements to forge new paths independent of corporate influence. By adopting holistic, community-centered methods, these movements can reclaim their original missions focused on social justice and transformative change. She envisions a future where activism is rooted in personal conviction and collective empowerment.



Inspiration and a Call to Action

Through her personal narratives and historical references, de Almeida inspires readers to explore the interplay between spirituality and activism. Her underlying message is clear: meaningful transformation is possible only when personal beliefs align with broader efforts for social change, continuously challenging oppressive structures.

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Chapter 14 Summary: Are the Cops in Our Heads and Hearts?

Summary of Chapter 14 from "The Revolution Will Not Be Funded"

Introduction

In this chapter, Paula X. Rojas shares her insights as an activist with experience in both the United States and Latin America. She emphasizes the necessity of re-evaluating organizing strategies and critically examining the structures of the non-profit system. Central to her argument is the empowerment and autonomy of marginalized communities, which she believes should be prioritized.

Lessons from Latin America

Rojas draws from the experiences of Latin American activists, who question the traditional reliance on police permits for protests and the growing professionalization of organizing efforts. Highlighting recent revolutionary movements in the region, she illustrates how grassroots initiatives have profoundly altered social, political, and economic landscapes, often functioning outside conventional non-profit frameworks.

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Movements and Practices

A notable example cited by Rojas is the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN), which embodies successful grassroots organizing through its focus on autonomy, horizontal decision-making, and community-led initiatives. This model contrasts starkly with typical state-engaged activism, as it prioritizes the development of new social structures over merely contesting established powers. Rojas also references significant movements in Brazil, Ecuador, and Argentina, which have successfully politicized everyday life and created innovative forms of community governance.

Challenges to the Non-Profit System

Rojas critiques the hierarchical structures often found within non-profit organizations. She argues that these structures can stifle grassroots activism and impose bureaucratic limitations that hinder authentic community engagement. Instead of relying on conventional frameworks, she advocates for organizing models that emphasize collective power and promote political education integrated into daily life.

Internalized Capitalism and Patriarchy

Addressing the internalized influences of capitalism and patriarchy within activist spaces, Rojas underscores the vital need to dismantle these

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oppressive systems. She critiques the hierarchical dynamics that may emerge even within activist collectives and stresses the importance of fostering egalitarian relationships to ensure genuine liberatory movements.

New Relationships with Non-Profits

While acknowledging the intrinsic challenges posed by the non-profit system, Rojas suggests that it can be strategically utilized to bolster movements, so long as accountability is upheld. This approach allows for a supportive relationship that enhances grassroots organizing rather than undermining it.

Conclusion

Concluding the chapter, Rojas calls for activists to envision new, inclusive organizing modes that reflect the diverse experiences of women and marginalized communities. She emphasizes the importance of drawing inspiration from successful global movements to cultivate effective, community-driven changes in the United States.

Acknowledgments

Rojas expresses her gratitude to the community collectives and individuals who have contributed to her understanding of organizing and activism,



recognizing their influence in shaping her insights.

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Chapter 15 Summary: Non-Profits and the Autonomous Grassroots

Eric Tang on Non-Profits and the Autonomous Grassroots

In recent social movements, the intertwining of grassroots activism with state-affiliated non-profits (NPs) has reshaped traditional perceptions. Once seen as counterproductive to authentic grassroots efforts, many organizers are now working through NPs, which require compliance with governmental regulations and often seek state funding. This reliance can create a disconnect from their originally radical missions, complicating the landscape of activism.

Fractured Left

Activist Suzanne Pharr highlights the fragmentation and disorganization within the Left, attributing these issues to historical factors, including the FBI's COINTELPRO program, the NP model, and the influences of capitalism. Pharr argues that the NP system inadvertently stifles grassroots unity by pitting organizations against each other in pursuit of limited resources, thereby diminishing collective political power. This disunity raises critical questions about the core values of grassroots activism and what the future holds for social movements.

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Heavy Legacies

New leaders in grassroots activism inherit a profound legacy of social justice efforts but are increasingly skeptical about the viability of organizations reliant on NP funding. This scrutiny illuminates tensions between traditional grassroots ideals and the realities imposed by NP structures, such as accountability and funding restrictions. As these leaders navigate their roles, discussions on authenticity and political engagement become pivotal in preserving the integrity of grassroots movements.

Non-Profit Blues

Many grassroots leaders articulate their frustrations with the NP framework, citing its limitations on radical decision-making and action. While some view engagement with NPs as a strategic necessity in challenging political environments, there exists a notable lack of expansive dialogue on these pressing issues. Concerns linger about the long-term goals of movements and how participation in NPs might alter their foundational missions.

Civil Society on the Horizon

The United States Social Forum (USSF) emerges as a vital initiative aiming to unify a spectrum of grassroots movements in opposition to neoliberal



policies. This forum reflects a collective aspiration to reframe civil society by marrying the efforts of autonomous movements with NPs. Drawing inspiration from the Zapatistas in Mexico, who prioritize community autonomy over state influence, the USSF seeks to reclaim grassroots agency in activism.

Complementary Roles

As activists work to align the missions of autonomous movements with those of NPs, the hope is for a synergistic relationship that enhances both sides. NPs can offer valuable resources and support; however, it is crucial that they do not overshadow grassroots voices. Organizations like Project South exemplify this vision by striving to ensure community-driven activism remains pivotal in the fight for social change.

Conclusion

Reflecting on the future of activism, the chapter underscores that meaningful revolution cannot merely be financed; it must emerge organically from the struggles within communities. The dynamic relationship between NPs and grassroots movements will significantly shape the trajectory of social activism. The focus must remain on maintaining grassroots autonomy while strategically leveraging resources to foster genuine change, rather than merely perpetuating existing power structures.



Chapter 16: On Our Own Terms: Ten Years of Radical Community Building With Sista II Sista

Ten Years of Radical Community Building with Sista II Sista

Introduction

Sista II Sista (SIIS) was founded a decade ago with the mission of creating a supportive environment for young women of color. Understanding the complexities of their identities, SIIS aims to facilitate their holistic development and empower them to challenge systemic societal structures, fostering collective strength among its members.

Vision

Based in Bushwick, Brooklyn, SIIS has grown from a grassroots volunteer initiative into a full-fledged non-profit organization dedicated to nurturing self-determination and leadership among women of color. Central to its mission are principles that recognize the layered nature of oppression, encourage personal empowerment as a form of political expression, and advocate for creative community engagement that transcends conventional activism.



Foundations

In response to external pressures following events such as September 11, SIIS faced decreased funding from foundations that deemed its anti-war and anti-brutality efforts too radical. This prompted a reevaluation of their funding approach and a pivot toward developing community-led initiatives, like Sistas Liberated Ground, which aim to address issues of violence without relying on police intervention.

New Directions

Recognizing the need for sustainability and autonomy, SIIS transitioned back to a volunteer-based framework with an emphasis on grassroots fundraising. This change signifies a return to its foundational values, allowing SIIS to reclaim its independence from corporate nonprofit models while enhancing collective power.

A Global Perspective

Historically, the increasing involvement of NGOs in grassroots movements has often diluted revolutionary potential. SIIS acknowledges the vital role of community-led leadership and aims to maintain its independence from external organizations that impose rigid oversight, which can stifle authentic grassroots activism.



Reality Check

Despite perceptions of stability among youth organizations regarding funding, data reveals a concerning trend: minority-led organizations often

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