Climate Emergency Fund supports disruptive, non-violent climate activism because it is the fastest way to create transformative change.
Executive Summary

The climate crisis poses an existential threat to humanity. Our window to prevent catastrophic runaway heating has nearly closed, and if emergency decarbonization does not begin in earnest in the next five years, Earth will be locked into an unlivable future. Continued inaction will bring about mass death and human suffering on an unprecedented, unfathomable scale.

Only a powerful, nonviolent, disruptive climate protest movement can create the political conditions for rapid decarbonization. History has shown over and over again that organized people disrupting business-as-usual can bring about incredible societal transformation. Numerous academic studies have documented the large positive impact and cost-effectiveness of disruptive protests. Yet today, these movements are critically underfunded.

The Climate Emergency Fund exists to fill that gap. We fund the bold, nonviolent, disruptive climate groups building the much-needed people power that can push back against the power of the fossil fuel industry. By funding these groups and campaigns with huge ambitions in their early stages, our grantmaking has commonalities with venture capital; some consider us a “venture philanthropy.” We have developed a proven methodology for picking winners, and our grantees have achieved incredible results.

In 2022 and 2023, Climate Emergency Fund made grants to 65 organizations. In those two years, our grantees have mobilized over 260,000 people for climate protest and generated over 65,000 news stories covering their activities.

We have funded almost all of the bold, disruptive protests in the United States and Europe that have garnered international media attention. Across the world, our grantees are at the absolute forefront of the climate movement, and we are proud to support their brave activities.

As a non-endowed fund, we must raise any money that we grant out. We remain under-resourced and unable to fully cover the needs of the disruptive climate movement, which in turn limits the potential impact of the entire climate movement. With additional funding, we believe we could provide enough support for the movement to reach a pathway of exponential growth, building enough power to win the transformative climate policies we so desperately need.
World leaders have known about the threat of climate breakdown for decades. Their continued inaction is not driven by a lack of awareness or a lack of technological solutions. Fossil fuel extraction continues because the fossil fuel industry wields incredible power, and it uses that power to ensure that government policies continue to protect fossil fuel profits at all costs.

If climate catastrophe is to be prevented, humanity must find a way to marshal a force more powerful than the money and influence wielded by the fossil fuel industry. There is only one potential source for that power: organized people using strength in numbers to achieve their goals. For groups of organized people seeking to exert power, nonviolent disruptive protest is the most efficient and most effective approach.

Disruptive nonviolent protest has many unique characteristics that make it more impactful than other methods of advocacy. By disrupting business-as-usual, protesters can inflict a tangible cost on climate villains for their crimes in the form of lost profits, or on political leaders for their inaction in the form of damaged reputation. The costs imposed by disruption allow protesters to directly exert hard power in a way that no other tactic can, making their actions impossible to ignore.

The dramatic scenes generated by disruptive protest also allow organizers to break through into the media, dramatically amplifying the message behind the protest. In fact, disruptive protest is often the only way for organizers to force the media and the public to pay attention to the issue at hand. For example, Google Trends data comparing Extinction Rebellion’s “Big One” and Just Stop Oil’s Snookers disruption in April 2023 show that it is possible for a high-level disruptive action from one person to generate as much interest as 100,000 people marching peacefully in the streets.

More anecdotally, ask yourself: How many climate protests did you hear about in the past year? And how many of those were disruptive? If you are reading this, you are probably somewhat in the “climate bubble.” Try asking someone in your family or social life how many climate protests they have heard about in the last year. The protests they are likely to mention—throwing soup, or the US Open Disruption—were some of the most shocking disruptions of “normalcy” that occurred.

The unfortunate truth for climate organizers is that disruption is essential to generate press coverage.
Building narrative power through media attention is a critical first step in the process of winning policy victories. Disruptive protests change the political landscape on which policy decisions are made by fundamentally reframing the issue.

The concept of the Overton Window offers a useful heuristic for understanding how this process plays out: By changing the political landscape, protests can help move a policy solution from the “radical” political fringe squarely into the realm of “common-sense” solutions. In addition, protests can raise the salience of an issue, pushing it to the forefront of an incredibly overcrowded media ecosystem and forcing people across the political spectrum to engage with the issue. If the protesters have a common-sense demand that has widespread popular support, raising the issue’s salience leads directly to an increase in popular support, which in turn indirectly leads to positive policy outcomes.

Disruption not only forces leaders and reporters to pay attention to the protests, it also has transformative impacts on the thoughts and feelings of the public. Humans are social creatures; when we go about our daily lives and see the people around us act as though everything is fine, we subconsciously assume that it is. But when we see someone put themselves in danger during a protest, the illusion of normalcy is shattered, making the climate crisis feel real.

If bold climate policy is to be passed, millions of people will need to transition from feeling like things are “normal” to feeling like the world is ending. Perhaps the fastest way to bring about that large-scale shift in consciousness is for people to see thousands upon thousands of people acting as though the world is ending by participating in disruptive protest.

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In early 2022, Climate Emergency Fund established an internal policy to only fund groups that engage in or directly support disruptive tactics. The performance of our grantees before and after we implemented this “disruption-only” criteria clearly demonstrates the narrative power of disruptive protest. For all forms of measurement, disruptive grantees received greater than 10x the press coverage than non-disruptive grantees.

The difference in media hits per protest attendee is especially striking—an individual protester on average generated 39 times as much narrative impact from participating in a disruptive protest as a non-disruptive protest. When looking at median performance, disruptive protest had 290 times the impact per attendee. The choice is clear from the perspective of an individual activist—if they want to maximize their narrative impact, they must engage in disruption.
History has proven that disruptive protest creates results over and over again. From labor strikes in the early 20th century winning crucial worker protections, to the Civil Rights movement ending legal segregation, to the immigrants rights movement successfully pushing Obama to institute DACA, movements have proven that governments respond to people power. All of these successful movements relied extensively on disruptive tactics to force corporations and governments to meet their demands.

Climate Emergency Fund grantees have also proven the effectiveness of disruption. In the last two years, our grantees have secured many concrete victories against polluting industries, from banning the creation of new factory farms in Spain to banning gas infrastructure across New York State to banning private jets at Schiphol Airport in Amsterdam. Our grantees have also played a critical role in winning large-scale climate policies such as the Great British Insulation Scheme and the Inflation Reduction Act.

Even when disruptive protest groups do not secure short-term material victories, the positive impacts of their protests can still manifest in other ways. For example, many researchers have found that protests are very effective at securing election outcomes aligned with the interests of protesters. A 2018 study found that protests supporting progressive policies led to a higher vote share for Democrats, whereas protests supporting conservative policies led to a higher vote share for Republicans. A 2021 study examining the impacts of the 2020 BLM uprisings found that larger BLM protests led to a higher vote share for Democratic candidates. These studies offer further evidence of the transformative impact of disruptive protest on the fundamental political landscape.

A healthy movement ecosystem includes many groups pursuing many different, complementary methods to create change, all of which play an important role in securing policy change.
Without a disruptive component, movement ecosystems are often rendered toothless, with non-disruptive tactics all too easily ignored by leaders. When a movement does have a disruptive flank, on the other hand, groups pursuing more insider-focused strategies find themselves with significantly higher negotiating power.

The disruptive elements of a movement ecosystem can open up new possibilities for change by altering the political landscape itself; once that occurs, insider-focused groups are perfectly positioned to consolidate momentum and secure wins. These dynamics are well-understood in academia – in a recent survey of social movement experts, “the strategic use of nonviolent disruptive tactics” was named as the most critical element determining an overall movement’s likelihood of success.

Disruptive protest is the engine that drives major social change. Without it, the climate movement will remain incapable of overcoming the power of fossil fuel corporations, and governments will continue to enable the destruction of the Earth’s climate for the sake of private profit.

From the perspective of an individual protester, disruptive action is the most effective way to get their message across. And from the perspective of a philanthropist, funding disruptive protest is arguably the most cost-effective way to fight the climate crisis. A 2021 analysis by Giving Green found that each dollar spent on protest could lower emissions by 6 metric tons of carbon through the impact on legislative outcomes. Another study, published in the Stanford Social Innovation Review found that giving to Extinction Rebellion or the Sunrise Movement was 6–12 times more impactful than giving to top-rated climate charities.
Insulate Britain provides potentially the most clear-cut example of the significant but indirect impact protest has on policy, as well as the unmatched return on investment of funding disruptive climate protest.

Insulate Britain launched in September 2021 and wound down its activities in February 2022. In that time period, Insulate Britain spent a total of $175,000, 93% of which came from Climate Emergency Fund grants. Those funds primarily covered recruitment and training costs for Insulate Britain. In total, the group mobilized 150 people for roadblocks and generated over 250 news stories covering their protests. Their core demand was for the British government to insulate all social housing by 2025 and retrofit all homes with improved insulation by 2030.

Their actions, as the Guardian put it, placed home insulation “firmly on to the political agenda”. In October 2021, polling found that even though Insulate Britain was deeply unpopular, support for its core demand of home insulation was extremely high. By April 2022, the British public viewed home insulation as the top priority for reducing dependence on gas from Russia. Insulate Britain’s intervention was not necessarily to build support for its demand—which was common-sense and didn’t face significant opposition from the British public—but rather to increase the salience of its demand by making it a central topic of conversation within the British political and media landscape.

With increased public focus on home insulation as a solution to both the climate crisis and the cost-of-living crisis gripping the UK, politicians felt significant pressure to respond in some way to the group’s common-sense, popular demand.
The Labour Party moved first, in April 2022, when it announced that it was adding home insulation to its core party platform. Then, in November 2022, the conservative government announced the Great Britain Insulation Scheme, which dedicated $1.2 billion to thermal insulation, partially meeting Insulate Britain’s core demand almost 10 months after the group stopped protesting.

By all accounts, the UK’s home insulation spending would not have happened if home insulation hadn’t been forced onto the political agenda by Insulate Britain. If you assume that Insulate Britain caused that commitment of funds, then each $1 invested by Climate Emergency Fund yielded $6,857 in government spending. Even under a pessimistic analysis that assumes Insulate Britain only deserves 10% of the credit for the policy outcome, each dollar spent on disruptive activism yielded a 68,000% return on investment.¹

ACTIVIST WIN: INSULATE BRITAIN

Measured a different way, the UK government projects that the Great British Insulation Scheme will eliminate 130,000 metric tons of carbon emissions per year, and a total of 650,000 between 2026 and 2032. To put that amount in context, those emissions reductions are roughly equivalent to taking 82,000 cars off of UK roads. By these estimates, Climate Emergency Fund support for protest activities by Insulate Britain will result in 3.45 tons of carbon emissions prevented per $1 spent; that number will likely go up as home insulation continues to reduce emissions beyond 2032. To put that 3.45 tons per dollar number in perspective: According to calculations from Clean Air Task Force, the top-rated climate charity in terms of emissions reductions per dollar, Clean Air Task Force, yielded 0.1-1 ton of carbon emissions reductions per dollar spent.¹

¹ View this spreadsheet for details on this and subsequent impact per dollar calculations.
The passage of the Inflation Reduction Act in the US provides a more complex but equally compelling example of the stupendous impact of funding climate protest. The passage of the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act (IIJA) and Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) in the United States, a multi-part compromise version of Biden’s originally proposed Build Back Better plan, was a highly complex process, but climate protests played a key role in bringing those bills into existence. Taken together, the IIJA and IRA were essentially a watered down Green New Deal (GND).

The Sunrise Movement deserves credit for placing the concept of a GND onto the political agenda and elevating climate into a top issue in the 2020 election cycle. Their breakthrough protest in Nancy Pelosi’s office in 2018 helped spark explosive growth for the movement. Over 300 Sunrise chapters emerged across the US, which in turn executed thousands of protest actions. As a result of the momentum built by Sunrise, alongside efforts by other movements including the Youth Climate Strikes, the 2020 presidential election was the first in American history in which climate was named as a key issue. Every major Democratic presidential candidate endorsed the Green New Deal. In September 2020, climate was the top issue for Democratic voters. Sunrise helped to create incredible political willpower for climate action, which eventually culminated in the IIJA and the IRA.

Between 2018 and 2022, Sunrise spent a total of roughly $37 million. The IIJA and IRA invested a combined $416 billion in energy and climate measures ($47 billion from IIJA and $369 billion from IRA). Even if Sunrise only deserves 20% of the credit for the IIJA and IRA (a very conservative estimate), each $1 spent on Sunrise resulted in $2,249 in investment from the government.

Measured another way, researchers estimate that the IRA alone will result in cumulative emissions reductions of at least 6.5 billion tons over the next decade. Still assuming 20% credit for Sunrise, each dollar spent removed a whopping 35.1 tons of carbon emissions, not taking into account the IIJA’s impact, or any other local or state policy Sunrise played a role in passing.

Without funding from visionary philanthropists supporting Sunrise’s efforts to fundamentally change the political landscape in the US, the IIJA and IRA would not have passed, and those emissions would still be entering the atmosphere.

Climate Emergency Fund grantees played a critical role in pushing the IRA across the finish line. While Manchin was blocking the final passage of the deal, Climate Emergency Fund grantees repeatedly targeted Manchin and successfully drew national attention to his climate villainy. They targeted his yacht, his coal plant in West Virginia, and his participation in the Congressional Baseball Game.
Together, these projects mobilized 800 people and generated 263 press hits. We believe this pressure was instrumental in securing a yes vote from Manchin.

By August 2022, he was polling as the least popular politician in America. Ultimately, he announced his “yes” vote the night before the Congressional Baseball Game protest, possibly out of fear of enduring another negative media cycle.

In total, Climate Emergency Fund spent roughly $200,000 on these hyper-targeted protests. Even if those protests were only 0.1% responsible for the final passage of the IRA, they resulted in $1,845 of government investment and an astounding 32.5 tons of carbon removed for each $1 spent on protest.

**ACTIVIST WIN: INFLATION REDUCTION ACT**

These examples only provide a rough approximation for the true impact of climate protests. The process of social pressure leading to policy change is extremely complex, with thousands of unique, deeply interconnected factors contributing to final outcomes. Powerful protests have ripple effects on the fundamental playing field within which all of those factors are operating, leading to potentially transformative outcomes. No other form of climate advocacy can come close to comparing to the impact of disruptive protest.
The Nonviolent Disruptive Climate Movement Needs Funding

Despite the massive and proven impact of disruptive protest, the disruptive flank of the climate movement remains critically underfunded. According to ClimateWorks, only 1% of European foundation giving went to grassroots and movement building; only a fraction of that 1% actually funded disruptive protest. Similar data does not exist for the US, but we suspect the picture is even more dire.

Groups that want to register new climate-conscious voters, or run public awareness campaigns on social media, or lobby for technocratic climate policies have access to hundreds of millions of dollars of philanthropic funding. Groups seeking support to run disruptive protest campaigns have virtually no options for financial support besides crowdfunding/direct donations and the Climate Emergency Fund.

Most disruptive climate groups are unlikely to achieve large-scale success without financial support. There are many common costs connected to organizing that need to be covered: space rental fees, printing costs, art supplies, tech infrastructure, etc. If groups cannot secure funding for these baseline operating costs, their whole organizing effort will be held back, making them much less likely to break through and create a major impact.

But perhaps most importantly, movements need dedicated people in order to succeed, and people need money to survive. Most successful movements, including the majority of Climate Emergency Fund’s grantees, depend primarily on volunteers to move day-to-day work forward. But the addition of a handful of staff can dramatically boost a movement’s capacity. Full-time organizers are much better equipped to coordinate work among dozens or hundreds of volunteers, keep an eye on the big picture, and ensure critical work doesn’t fall through the cracks. Movements benefit immensely from having people who can devote all of their time and energy to the cause, rather than being forced to find time to organize alongside the demands of one or more other paid jobs. The majority of Climate Emergency Fund’s grants go toward organizer wages.

Disruptive climate movements are able to achieve outstanding results on a shoestring budget compared to the annual fundraising of large climate NGOs, or even mid-sized climate advocacy groups. Movement staff hired by our grantees are often paid “needs-based” compensation, which means that their wages cover the cost of their living expenses and nothing more. In other words, movement staff are often paid relatively little, especially in relation to their counterparts at large NGOs. Movement staff treat their activities as an act of service, and not as a career. These modest wages, combined with low operational overhead and a high degree of volunteer commitment, allow protest groups to achieve the stunning return on investment described above.
Climate Emergency Fund’s Unique Role

8.9 Million in Grants made to 115 organizations since 2019
While there are a handful of other philanthropies, such as the Equation Campaign and Movements’ Trust, that are willing to support disruptive climate activism in some cases, we are the only organization in the world that is fully focused on this theory of change. Activists seeking funding for disruptive protest will often tell us we are their only lead for potential support. And for many of our grantees, Climate Emergency Fund ends up covering 50%-95% of their annual operating costs.

We are supported by 5,800 donors, large and small
A non-endowed foundation, Climate Emergency Fund acts as an intermediary and a bridge between funders and the disruptive climate movement. We help funders understand protest movements, and we help train activists in fundraising. Our extensive networks within the climate movement allow us to stay up-to-date on the most exciting and visionary projects that emerge and fund them in the critical early phases. And our experience evaluating grantees helps us to identify applicants with strong potential and screen out those who are unlikely to succeed.

78% of spending in Grants
Our lean structure allows us to maximize our grant-making. In 2023, 78% of our spending was grant-making, 16% was to overhead, and 6% was to our programming of strategy development, as well as educating philanthropy and the public about the need to fund the disruptive climate movement.

A safe, legal, and tax-deductible way to support climate activists
Climate Emergency Fund provides a safe, tax-deductible way to support the disruptive climate movement. All of the activities supported by Climate Emergency Fund grants are legal and 501(c)3 compliant. Although we support groups that utilize disruptive tactics as part of their overall campaign strategy, Climate Emergency Fund funds are used to support legal activities - public education, recruitment, training, and promotional expenses related to those campaigns, as well as organizer wages and other operating costs. We are guided by legal counsel with expertise in activism and social movements. Our donors are fully insulated from legal risk, and we accept anonymous donations.

Our Board of Directors

Rory Kennedy  
Rose Zheng Abramoff, PhD  
Shannon O’Leary Joy  
Geralyn Dreyfous  
Adam McKay  
Jeremy Strong
Our Team

Our Board of Directors includes award-winning filmmakers and producers Rory Kennedy, Shannon O’Leary Joy, Geralyn Dreyfous, and Adam McKay, award-winning actor Jeremy Strong, as well as climate scientist and activist Rose Abramoff. They support the work of Climate Emergency Fund with their expertise in communications as well as their extensive networks, focused in Hollywood but spanning the country.

Our Advisory Board includes experts from different areas of the climate movement: Bill McKibben and Zain Haq are leading climate organizers with extensive on-the-ground experience; David Wallace Wells, Bich Ngoc Cao and Laura Dawn Murphy help us navigate the communications and media space; and Jane Kachmer and Steve Kretzmann offer expertise in fundraising and philanthropy.

Our team brings a unique combination of activist experience, thought leadership, professionalism in development, and hard work.

Our Executive Director, Margaret Klein Salamon, PhD, was a founding advisor to Climate Emergency Fund in 2019, and has been Executive Director since 2021. She oversees all programming and leads our fundraising activities, focused on major gifts. She also works to build our public profile through op-eds, such as in the New York Times and Chronicle of Philanthropy, as well as public speaking engagements.

Margaret studied social anthropology at Harvard, and has a PhD in Clinical Psychology. She applies her insight to intervene in the mass denial around the climate emergency. Margaret’s book, Facing the Climate Emergency – How to Transform Yourself with Climate Truth (2023), is shared as a thank-you gift with donors, and shared with prospects as a way to learn about Climate Emergency Fund. All author proceeds support Climate Emergency Fund.

Our Program Officer Russell Gray is a climate organizer, with extensive knowledge of movement theory and deep connections with climate organizers in the streets. He manages our grantmaking and strategy development process, evaluates incoming applications and past grants and maintains relationships with grantees. He also assists with communicating outcomes from our grantmaking program to potential donors and the broader public.

Our Operations Director Sophie Tong-Try handles our finances, including bookkeeping and annual audits. She also handles HR, supports communications, and is our board liaison.

Our Development Officer Yusra Razouki focuses on small to medium gifts, donor communications, event planning, and donor research. Our Executive Assistant Crystal Craig supports the team through processing gifts and sending acknowledgment letters, and executing mailings.
Climate Emergency Fund’s Grantmaking Strategy

Climate Emergency Fund can be viewed as a “Venture Philanthropy” in terms of our preference for ultra-ambitious projects, i.e. “Unicorns,” our willingness to take risks, and our interest in funding early-stage efforts. Climate Emergency Fund primarily supports three varieties of grantees:

- In countries with an under-developed climate movement ecosystem, we look to support groups who can execute bold, high-stakes, targeted actions that can capture the public imagination, push the climate crisis to the top of the agenda, and force politicians and regular people to re-evaluate how they engage with the crisis.

- In countries with a well-developed climate movement with a healthy disruptive flank, we look to support groups who are capable of organizing large-scale disruptive climate protests with mass participation, building toward exponential growth.

- We also support elements of movement infrastructure that create the pre-conditions for movement success or allow the movement to operate at maximum effectiveness, such as large-scale training programs, technological or financial infrastructure, or network-building projects that can coordinate actions among many groups.

Across all grantmaking categories, we prioritize supporting multi-racial, cross-class organizing, including high-impact Indigenous- and BIPOC-led groups, as well as groups in the Global South fighting on the front lines of climate catastrophe. For all applicants, we look at a variety of factors to assess their likelihood of success, including: organizing experience and expertise among core leaders; a bold and compelling vision of society that can build large public support; an advanced, well-thought-out organizing strategy; decentralized & volunteer-driven structures to move work forward; strong connections to other elements of the movement ecosystem; and healthy internal cultures.
We are also always looking to see growth potential in our grantees. While we will provide limited support for one-off actions in certain circumstances, we are primarily focused on supporting grantees who can not only make a major impact with their protests, but who also have a plan to transform that impact into growing momentum. To this end, we look for groups with the infrastructure and strategy in place to support rapid growth: decentralized structures, strong DNA, and a robust recruitment/onboarding system.

We are constantly improving our grantmaking. In early 2022, we made several key adjustments to our grantmaking strategies. We committed to only supporting groups that utilized disruptive tactics, which led to a dramatic increase in our grantees’ performances. We also instituted a rigorous grantee evaluation system. We measure the degree to which grantees built active support by tracking the number of people joining groups and attending their activities. We measure passive support by tracking media and narrative impact. We also look for qualitative factors to assess grantee performance, such as progress toward policy victories and impact on the broader movement ecology.

These strategic adjustments yielded incredibly strong results. In 2021, only 40% of our grantees received a B- grade or above; in 2022 and 2023, 80% of our grantees scored a B- or above. Our quantitative results saw a massive jump as well, with our median media hits per $1,000 granted jumping from 0.12 in 2021 to 2.7 in 2022 — a 2,247% increase. Qualitative assessments of our grantees increased across the board as well. Our grantees’s strong performances helped drive a 400% increase in fundraising for Climate Emergency Fund between 2021 and 2022.
With time running out to avert the worst impacts of the climate crisis, the need for a disruptive climate movement has never been higher. That movement will need funding in order to succeed. Climate Emergency Fund has identified a winning strategy to build movement participation and generate concrete results. In part thanks to our support, the climate movement is resurgent. Now, we need additional support to scale up our activities and push the global disruptive climate movement to the next level.

Climate Emergency Fund does not currently have sufficient resources to cover the needs of the disruptive climate movement. We made roughly $5 million in grants in 2022 and made $3.5 million in grants in 2023. While we were able to achieve very strong results with those amounts, we were forced to turn away many promising grantees, and make smaller grants than we would like. We estimate that an annual budget of $12 million would allow us to provide full support for the disruptive climate movement. That amount of funding could unlock exponential growth within the movement, as key financial bottlenecks are removed and a critical mass of protest groups begin to build momentum.

Funders who are willing to fund disruptive protest are rare, but they have the opportunity to change the world. We hope you consider joining us in supporting these brave, effective activists with us.

Conclusion