



# INFILTRATED

# THE IDEOLOGICAL CAPTURE OF HOMELESSNESS ADVOCACY

A report by Capital Research Center In cooperation with Discovery Institute

Foreword by: CHRISTOPHER F. RUFO

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# FORWARD

he crisis of homelessness is not merely a failure of public policy or social services. It is the visible expression of a deeper ideological capture that has redefined the terms of debate, reshaped the flow of billions of taxpayer dollars, and subordinated the most vulnerable citizens to the ambitions of activist organizations. To understand homelessness today, one must understand not only tents on sidewalks and needles in public parks, but also the institutional networks and ideological projects that perpetuate the problem under the guise of solving it.

In early 2025, President Donald J. Trump issued a series of executive orders that signaled a decisive shift. His administration rejected the prevailing narrative that homelessness is solely a problem of housing supply and discrimination-and sought instead to restore order to public spaces, strengthen accountability for public spending, and redirect resources toward treatment, rehabilitation, and the enforcement of basic civic norms that will actually benefit the homeless and the public at large. The backlash was immediate. The National Homelessness Law Center, the Southern Poverty Law Center, and allied groups denounced the reforms as "attacks on human rights" and pledged to fight them in court. This response revealed what had long been hidden: the homelessness debate is not about compassion versus cruelty, but about which ideology will govern America's civic life and actually help her citizens.

This report traces how a vast array of nonprofit organizations, legal activists, and ideological entrepreneurs have built a sophisticated infrastructure around homelessness. Groups such as the Southern Poverty Law Center, the National Homelessness Law Center, the Western Regional Advocacy Project, and the National Low Income Housing Coalition position themselves as defenders of civil rights, yet their work increasingly de-

taches from the concrete needs of people living on the streets. Rather than delivering services to the needy, many of these organizations devote their resources to litigation, lobbying, and ideological campaigns that expand their own power while leaving the wretched conditions in homeless encampments unchanged—or worse.

The Grants Pass case provides the most striking example. In that Oregon city where the case arose, local leaders sought to enforce basic ordinances prohibiting public camping. Contrary to activist portrayals, Grants Pass was not simply interested in sweeping encampments off the streets. The city had made shelter facilities available, offering humane alternatives to life on the sidewalks. Its aim was to pair enforcement with services, creating a system of accountability and compassion. Yet advocacy groups intervened, filing lawsuits that tied the city's hands and forced residents to endure sprawling encampments, open-air drug markets, and the erosion of public order. Billions in taxpayer dollars, funneled through federal, state, and municipal contracts, now underwrite organizations that press for similar outcomes nationwide: the removal of enforcement tools, the normalization of encampments, and the expansion of ideological influence under the hypocritical banner of compassion.

The result is a paradox. At precisely the moment when policymakers should be demanding measurable results—fewer people on the streets, more individuals in treatment, cleaner and safer public spaces—our institutions have been persuaded to measure success in ideological terms. The rhetoric of "housing is a human right" and "abolish homelessness" is seductive, but it functions as a smokescreen. Behind it lies a set of interests dedicated to dismantling enforcement, expanding bureaucracies, and keeping streams of funding flowing into activism rather than into effective service delivery to those in desperate need.



I have spent the better part of my career exposing how ideological movements capture institutions. Whether in universities, corporations, or government bureaucracies, the pattern is the same: activists quietly introduce radical premises, redefine language, and exploit moral sentiment to consolidate power. The homelessness industry follows this template with precision. The language of rights replaces the language of responsibility; the pursuit of ideological victory replaces the pursuit of tangible results. And ordinary citizens—whether they are small business owners swept off sidewalks, families priced out of neighborhoods, or the homeless themselves, trapped in cycles of addiction and dysfunction—bear the cost.

This struggle is not peripheral. It represents the future of civic governance in America. If activists succeed in defining homelessness as a protected political identity, immune from enforcement and subsidized without accountability, then the principle of equal citizenship collapses. Public order becomes impossible. The city itself is transformed into an ideological playground, where activists dictate policy and taxpayers are conscripted into funding their projects.

The alternative is not cruelty, as critics allege, but clarity. Cities can and must enforce basic standards of public order. They must distinguish between those who are temporarily down on their luck and those who are deeply enmeshed in addiction, crime, and dysfunction. They must direct resources toward treatment programs, recovery services, and pathways back into productive citizenship. And they must hold accountable the organizations that receive billions in public money, demanding measurable outcomes rather than ideological pronouncements.

This report, titled Infiltrated, documents the mechanics of ideological capture in the homelessness sector with remarkable precision. It reveals how activists and their institutional allies have embedded themselves within the very systems meant to serve the homeless, redirecting resources toward ideological projects rather than practical solutions. It uncovers how networks of activists, lawyers, and nonprofits have leveraged sympathetic rhetoric to mask destructive agendas. It follows the money, showing how taxpayer dollars sustain not only service providers but also political campaigns and litigation strategies. And it provides a clear view of the stakes: if we fail to reassert civic responsibility and institutional accountability, we will condemn our cities to permanent disorder.

For policymakers, the lesson is urgent. Executive orders and legislative reforms must be paired with a deeper understanding of the forces arrayed against reform. Journalists must resist the temptation to reproduce activist talking points and instead investigate the networks of money, power, and ideology that shape homelessness policy. Citizens must demand that their leaders reclaim public space, restore order, and resist the drift toward ideological extremism disguised as compassion.

Homelessness is not an unsolvable problem. It is a problem that requires courage, clarity, and the willingness to challenge entrenched interests. The path forward is not to double down on the failed experiments of the past four decades, but to reclaim the principles of order, accountability, and genuine compassion that can restore both dignity to the homeless and safety to our communities.

This report is an indispensable guide for that task, building on decades of research on how to serve the needs of the homeless better than we now do.

- CHRISTOPHER F. RUFO

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In response to the escalating challenges posed by homelessness across American cities, President Donald Trump issued a series of executive orders in 2025 aimed at addressing both immediate public safety concerns and underlying systemic issues. The first, signed in March, Making the District of Columbia Safe and Beautiful, focused on revitalizing the nation's capital by directing the National Park Service to swiftly clear homeless encampments and graffiti from federal lands in Washington, D.C. This move was driven by a desire to restore aesthetic order and ensure public spaces remained accessible and safe for all citizens, reflecting broader frustrations with urban decay that had allowed such encampments to proliferate in the first place.1

Building on this momentum, Trump's May executive order, Keeping Promises to Veterans and Establishing a National Center for Warrior Independence, established the National Center for Warrior Independence, a dedicated facility designed to provide comprehensive care, benefits, and support services exclusively for homeless veterans. Motivated by a recognition of the unique sacrifices made by military personnel and the disproportionate impact of homelessness on this group—often exacerbated by untreated PTSD, substance abuse, and bureaucratic hurdles—this initiative sought to honor their service while tackling root causes through targeted rehabilitation and reintegration programs.<sup>2</sup>

Culminating these efforts, the July 2025 order, titled "Ending Crime and Disorder on America's Streets," took a more sweeping approach by mandating the removal of individuals experiencing homelessness from public thoroughfares, redirecting federal resources toward substance abuse treatment, and expanding civil commit-

ment options for those in need. Enacted amid rising crime rates and public outcry over openair drug markets and unsanitary conditions in major cities, it prioritized funding for jurisdictions enforcing bans on public camping and drug use, while emphasizing mental health interventions to foster long-term stability and enhance community safety.<sup>3</sup>

While President Trump's executive orders are designed to ensure public safety and address the root causes of homelessness to achieve long-term remediation, a confluence of advocates, policies, activists, and initiatives are working in direct opposition to these goals.

Nonprofits, often key service providers, have increasingly shifted toward political advocacy and legal activism, contributing to what is referred to as the Homeless Industrial Complex. Policy debates largely center on Housing First and Harm Reduction models, which emphasize immediate housing and risk reduction without fully addressing the primary causes of homelessness, including addiction and mental illness. Some providers support these approaches because they feel they are the most compassionate way to help the homeless, but others advocate Housing First and Harm Reduction policies to promote broader ideological goals under the banner of Housing Justice, framing homelessness as a symptom of capitalism's systemic oppression and resisting enforcement-focused policies like those introduced by President Trump.

This report seeks to uncover the vast network working to exploit America's homelessness crisis to further radical, intersectional agendas. Using financial data, legal records, and research, this report details how parts of the nonprofit sector have become vehicles for advancing ideological frameworks and legal activism, often with public funding. It

examines this through three lenses: funding networks, legal positioning, and ideology.

## **Key Findings**

- 1. Abundant Resources Flow to Help the Homeless: Well-funded networks, supported by government grants and private philanthropy, have enabled some activists to leverage the homelessness crisis as a platform for advancing extremist ideologies.
- 2. The shift from Charitable Work to Advocacy Work: Some nonprofits are increasingly engaged in coordinated advocacy campaigns that go beyond direct service to the needy. In the 2024 Supreme Court case City of Grants Pass v. Johnson, the Court ruled that ordinances banning homeless individuals from camping or sleeping on public property do not constitute cruel and unusual punishment under the Eighth Amendment. The decision allowed cities to enforce restrictions with fines and other penalties. A wide range of housing-related nonprofits-many publicly funded—filed legal briefs opposing public camping restrictions. This illustrates a growing convergence between service delivery and formal advocacy work among homelessness nonprofits.
  - In 2023 alone, 990 tax filings reveal that a majority of the over 700 non-profits that filed amicus briefs in the *Grants Pass* case received a combined \$2.9 billion in government grants—representing approximately one-third of their total reported revenues. Many of these groups also receive private funding from ideologically aligned foundations and donor-advised fund networks.<sup>4,5</sup>
- 3. Legal Protections and Tax Advantages Obscure True Intent: While 501(c)(3) charities

are prohibited from partisan political activity and limited in the amount of formal lobbying they can do, these same protections and tax benefits can be-and in some cases are-leveraged by extremist elements operating within the homelessness policy sphere. By structuring themselves as charities, such groups gain access to tax-deductible donations and, in many cases, public funding, all while pursuing advocacy campaigns, litigation, or pressure tactics that reflect controversial or ideological agendas. Donors and taxpayers often believe they are supporting humanitarian relief, yet their contributions may instead underwrite political activity that departs sharply from those expectations. This exploitation of charitable status blurs the line between service provision and ideological activism, obscures true intent, and undermines accountability for how both public and private resources are deployed.

- 4. Housing Justice as an Ideological Gateway:
  The Housing Justice framework has evolved beyond affordability campaigns into a radical movement linking homelessness to systemic racism, capitalism, and policing. Groups such as Causa Justa:: Just Cause (Bay Area) and City Life/Vida Urbana (Boston) originated as grassroots tenant advocates but now operate alongside many broader Housing Justice networks that resist enforcement, pursue litigation challenging state practices, and align at times with radical protest movements.
- 5. Intersectionality: Extremist networks involved in pro-Hamas activism are also active in homelessness advocacy coalitions. A 2024 report by the Capital Research Center, Marching Toward Violence, documented more than 150 U.S.-

based organizations that supported or defended Hamas after the October 7 terrorist attacks. While the report focused on campus protests, it also identified a deep ideological network of extremists that extends well beyond university campuses. Several of the same radical groups in that report are also key participants in Housing Justice coalitions and homelessness policy advocacy. The housing first/harm reduction approach to homelessness enables this infiltration by framing law enforcement as oppression and advancing the notion that policing and criminalization practices target and harm the homeless. And so we see a growing alignment between radical protest movements and some segments of the homelessness nonprofit sector—aka the Homeless Industrial Complex. In several cases, the same groups, leaders, and/ or fiscal sponsors are involved in both spaces raising questions about how American taxpayer-funded service groups may be influenced by, or connected to, groups that promote deeply polarizing and sometimes radical agendas.6

6. Exploitation by Extremist Groups: The cumulative effect is the exploitation of homelessness policy by extremist ideological movements. A growing fringe of U.S.-based activist organizations—some openly sympathetic to Marxist, anti-capitalist, or anti-American ideologies—is increasingly leveraging the homelessness crisis as a platform to advance broader political objectives. These groups often frame their work in the language of humanitarianism, but their activities reflect a deeper agenda rooted in systemic opposition to American institutions and liberal democratic norms. The inherent vulnerabilities of the homelessness response system namely, heavy public funding, weak oversight, and blurred lines between service and advocacy-have created fertile ground for this ideological capture. As a result, what appears to be a humanitarian policy infrastructure is, in some cases, functioning as a conduit for political radicalization under the guise of social justice. While many frontline groups act from genuine compassion, extremists exploit these policies to advance radical agendas.

This Capital Research Center report demonstrates how a growing number of organizations in the homelessness policy space are aligned with radical—even extremist worldviews, ranging from anti-police and anti-capitalist movements to groups that express support for foreign terrorist organizations. These actors have exploited structural vulnerabilities in the nonprofit sector—lax oversight, complex funding channels, and even the legal system —to push ideas that are not merely unorthodox but deeply destabilizing.



cross the country, Americans are witnessing cities unravel under the weight of a homelessness crisis that shows no signs of abating. Tent encampments line sidewalks. Public parks have been overtaken, and the fentanyl crisis has worsened every dimension of street-level homelessness. Enforcement efforts are delayed, defunded, or blocked outright. Citizens are afraid.

To many, the assumption is simple: this is a policy failure—one caused by a lack of resources, housing, or compassion.

But this report tells a different story.

Far from being under-resourced, the homelessness response system commands extraordinary levels of funding. Billions of taxpayer dollars and philanthropic grants flow annually into a vast network of nonprofit organizations. Much of this money is funneled into programs shaped by the Housing First and Harm **Reduction** models. Housing First prioritizes rapid, unconditional housing placements, while Harm Reduction emphasizes minimizing the harm of drug use rather than requiring abstinence or treatment before receiving services. These models are promoted as solutions, but the evidence is mixed at best. Housing First can produce temporary housing stability, yet it consistently fails to resolve underlying addiction or mental illness. Harm Reduction may lower immediate risks, but it often normalizes continued drug use and leaves people trapped in cycles of dependency. Far from "solving" homelessness, these approaches have left entire cities struggling with entrenched street-level disorder.

Layered on top of these approaches is the emergent Housing Justice movement. Unlike Housing First or Harm Reduction, which present themselves as policy frameworks, Housing Justice is explicitly ideological. It recasts homelessness not simply as a crisis of housing supply or public health, but as proof of systemic racism, capitalism, and policing. Housing Justice groups resist enforcement, mobilize protests, and litigate against ordinances they view as criminalizing poverty. The stakes of this advocacy came into sharp relief in City of Grants Pass v. Johnson, decided by the Supreme Court in 2024. The case tested whether cities could enforce camping bans against people with nowhere else to go without violating the Eighth Amendment's ban on cruel and unusual punishment. While the case began as a local dispute in Oregon, it quickly grew into a national referendum on how American society chooses to respond to homelessness. What made Grants Pass remarkable for our purposes was the sheer scale of nonprofit mobilization: hundreds of groups-many organized as 501(c)(3) charities—filed amicus briefs, making it one of the most heavily lobbied homelessness cases in U.S. history. Collectively, these amici reported more than **\$9.1** billion in revenue, underscoring that this debate is not only about ideology but also about the immense resources flowing through the sector.

This phenomenon underscores a broader transformation in the nonprofit sector. Organizations once devoted to direct aid—shelter, food, treatment, pathways to stability—have increasingly repositioned themselves as advocacy machines. Operating with the tax advantages

and public trust of charitable institutions, many now function less like charities and more like political actors: filing lawsuits, lobbying through pressure campaigns, and shaping public narratives with taxpayer-backed funding.

The protest dimension of this advocacy model has also proven highly vulnerable to capture. Extremist groups—some with histories of anti-capitalist, anti-police, or even pro-Hamas agitation—have embedded themselves within Housing Justice coalitions and related advocacy networks. They leverage the homelessness crisis to advance broader agendas that have little to do with getting people off the streets. These actors exploit the credibility of service-oriented nonprofits and the vast resources of the homelessness response system to cloak radical activism in the language of charity.

Our research shows that this overlap is not hypothetical. We identified scores of organizations that illustrate the convergence of radicalized housing justice groups that filed amicus briefs in *Grants Pass*. Some of these non-profits are heavily funded by taxpayers—several report that more than 80 percent of their revenue comes from government grants—yet their activities extend far beyond direct service into litigation, protest, and ideological campaigns. Bill Wilson Center (Santa Clara County,

CA) is one such example. Their audit shows that approximately 89 percent of its funding is from the government. Far from providing exclusive direct services, BWC maintains an explicit "Advocate / Take Action" hub that lists its top policy priorities and provides resources for contacting elected officials.<sup>7</sup>

The *Grants Pass* case crystallizes the central finding of this report: what looks like charity to the public often operates as advocacy—and sometimes as a conduit for extremist agendas—underwritten by taxpayer funds.

The chapters that follow tell a story of hundreds of charities—many heavily subsidized by both tax-deductible contributions and taxpayer dollars—that have been mobilized not to provide shelter or treatment, but to advance policy and ideological priorities ranging from radical to extremist.

Capital Research Center researchers spent many hours tracking how funding streams, legal strategies, and advocacy networks embed these dynamics into the homelessness response system. This report reveals how well-meaning resources meant for aid are increasingly diverted into litigation, protest, and ideological activism—leaving both the homeless and their communities without the solutions they urgently need.

# ABUNDANT RESOURCES

## MISPLACED PRIORITIES

Contrary to popular belief, America's homelessness crisis persists not because of underfunding but due to how resources are deployed. Each year, billions in taxpayer dollars and philanthropic grants support a sprawling nonprofit ecosystem—many operating under the banner of Housing Justice.

Rather than delivering shelter or treatment, these organizations increasingly shape laws, media narratives, and public policy, often opposing enforcement and advocating ideological positions that stretch beyond operational consensus and challenge recent Supreme Court rulings.

This shift reflects a nationwide evolution in the nonprofit sector. Many institutions once grounded in direct service delivery now act as political power centers, using their tax-exempt status and public credibility to fuel litigation, block legislation, and advance ideological campaigns with minimal scrutiny.

Some examples of that demonstrate the progression among divergent organizational types are as follows. In Washington, DC, North Capitol Collaborative, Inc. (NCCI) began its work in 1997 as a hyper-local direct services provider—staffed at a family success center in the historic DC area of Deanwood, offering rapid re-housing supports, food and diaper distribution, employment training, and case management to stabilize vulnerable families.8,9,10 Over time, it forged and then broadened its institutional partnerships (including with police, civic associations, and the Community Partnership for the Prevention of Homelessness) quietly building its organizational capacity and advocacy footing.11 That evolution was made explicit in 2024 when NCCI signed onto the Grants Pass amicus brief arguing against the criminalization of homelessness when people lack shelter—shifting from community-level services into legal-trail advocacy on national jurisprudence.<sup>12</sup>

In Los Angeles, LA CAN followed a parallel path of increasing emphasis on advocacy over services. Formed in 1999 by just 25 Skid Row residents, it initially centered on community organizing and basic services—civil rights protection, resistance to criminalization, housing access, healthy food, and economic development. Over the years, LA CAN broadened into grassroots policy engagement: launching tenant organizing campaigns that preserved low-income housing, filing litigation against discriminatory or punitive city policies (e.g., the Safer Cities Initiative), advancing public policy reforms (e.g., legal access to farmers' markets via SNAP/EBT), and issuing foundational works like a "Human Right to Housing" platform. 13,14,15 Interestingly, LA CAN is also a member of the Western Regional Advocacy Project (WRAP) coalition whose communications consistently frame policing as a structural enemy of housing justice and which organizes national campaigns against "criminalization of poverty." 16

A similar dynamic can be seen in organizations whose mission is not limited to housing. For instance, the Council on American Islamic Relations' Chicago branch (CAIR-Chicago) publicly aligned with Black Lives Matter, championing policy changes around police accountability and budget priorities. <sup>17,18</sup> By embedding itself in BLM's advocacy network, CAIR intersects with housing justice coalitions—most prominently the Right to the City Alliance (RTTC) which explicitly endorsed BLM's call to redirect public resources from policing to housing and community development. <sup>19</sup>

The third section of this report provides more information on RTTC and the connection between it and BLM

and CAIR, but to lay the groundwork let's look at one example of this intersection which appears with California Renters Power Assembly.<sup>20</sup> This assembly advocates for racial equity in housing by centering tenant power, organizing for housing justice, and explicitly grounding its work in principles of racial, economic, and gender justice.21 They are a member of RTTC. The California Renter Power Assembly and its lead organizations, including Tenants Together, have publicly affirmed support for the Black Lives Matter movement and have explicitly tied their housing justice work to the broader struggle for Black lives and racial justice. They claim to address systemic barriers by pushing for policies like expanding rent control, increasing tenant legal protections, and fighting displacement, which are fundamental to racial justice in housing.22,23

In July 2025, RTTC partnered with Popular Democracy in Action (PDA) and PolicyLink (PL) to write the report Our Homes, Our Future. PDA is a collection of over 50 organizations operating in the community organizing and racial advocacy space. PolicyLink is a 501(c)(3) organization describing itself as a national research and action institute advancing economic and social equity that focuses on climate change, economic justice, and housing issues. 24,25,26 CAIR lists PolicyLink as a partner organization in the 2021 annual report on its website.<sup>27</sup> It's a well-documented relationship that includes a joint lawsuit PolicyLink highlighted on an archived version of its website that included partner organizations AA-JC-Asian Law Caucus, Council on American-Islamic Relations, and ACLU of Northern California, suing to limit the FBI's Joint Terrorism Taskforce surveillance and intelligence gathering activities within local communities.28 CAIR is also listed as one of PolicyLink's funded partners within their Center for Equitable and Mixed Income Program (CEMI).<sup>29</sup> PL frequently invites CAIR representatives to partner in their community programming. This is one example of the intersection of an RTTC housing organization, BLM and CAIR.30

Intersections like these were critical in Seattle during the 2020 Capitol Hill Organized Protest (CHOP), where demonstrators embraced the broader "divest/invest" agenda—pressing the city to reallocate funds from law enforcement toward homelessness services and community resources.31,32,33 Throughout the CHOP occupation, many unsheltered individuals lived within the protest zone, serving as volunteers, organizing food distribution and basic medical aid, turning the area into a de facto encampment and visibly linking the protest to homelessness issues.34,35 ABC News reported that inside the zone, people can walk freely among murals, access free food, and gather to organize..."-highlighting the informal co-op provision of food and the atmosphere of communal living.36 Data analysis confirmed the concern over CHOP protests: crime within the CHOP area rose nearly 133 percent, compared to adjacent zones, challenging the notion that the protest's approach was compatible with public safety. This data raises a pivotal question for policymakers: when charitable funding morphs into political traction, are public resources still serving vulnerable individuals experiencing homelessness—or advancing a broader agenda?37

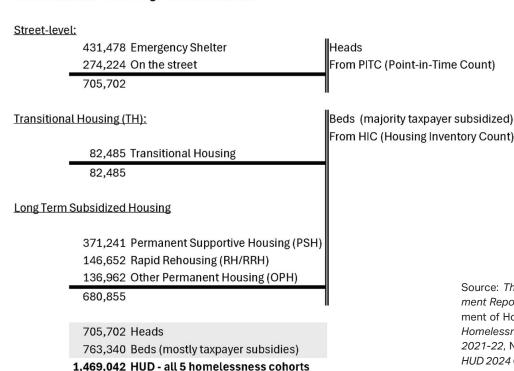
### **Escalating Homelessness Response**

Homelessness in the United States has surged to unprecedented levels, after a brief period of reprieve during the COVID-19 pandemic when extraordinary policy responses—expanded public and private funding, eviction moratoriums, and emergency relief programs—temporarily shielded many vulnerable individuals from losing housing. With those measures now expired, the systemic drivers of homelessness—ranging from strained mental health services, misaligned drug policies, unaffordable housing and stagnant wages—have re-emerged with greater force, fueling today's sharp escalation.<sup>38</sup>

United States Department of Housing and Urban Development and then (HUD)'s data illustrate the scope of the crisis. The Point-in-Time Count shows that on a single night in 2024, about **705,700 people** were experiencing street-level homelessness—either in emergency shelters (**431,478**) or unsheltered on the street (**274,224**). The Housing Inventory Count adds another **82,485 in transitional housing** and **680,855 in long-term subsidized housing** such as permanent supportive housing, rapid rehousing, or other permanent housing. In total, HUD reports about **1.47 million people across** 

the five major homelessness cohorts (street-level, transitional housing, permanent supportive housing, rapid rehousing, and other permanent housing). Most of these placements represent federally subsidized programs, though HUD's reporting does not always emphasize the scale of that public investment. While permanent supportive housing and rapid rehousing remain core elements of the system, many of the temporary subsidies introduced during the pandemic that briefly expanded capacity have since expired. The figures

#### 2024 AHAR and PITC 5 Mega Cohort Numbers



Source: The 2024 Annual Homelessness Assessment Report (AHAR) to Congress, The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development; Student Homelessness in America: School Years 2019-20 to 2021-22, National Center for Homeless Education; HUD 2024 Continuum of Care Homeless Assistance Programs Homeless Populations and Subpopulations, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development; and Student Homelessness in America: School Years 2019-20 to 2021-22, National Center for Homeless Education<sup>39</sup>

1,374,537 Department of Education - all 5 homelessness cohorts

2,843,579 HUD + ED Homelessness

Exhibit 1-3: Change in Number of People Experiencing Homelessness Over Time by Sheltered Status, 2007-2024

	Total Change 2007-2024		Total Change 2010–2024		Change 2020–2024		Change 2023–2024	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
All People Experiencing Homelessness	124,222	19.2%	134,403	21.1%	191,014	32.9%	118,376	18.1%
Sheltered People	105,855	27.0%	93,713	23.2%	142,870	40.3%	100,762	25.4%
Unsheltered People	18,367	7.2%	40,690	17.4%	48,144	21.3%	17,614	6.9%

Source: The 2024 Annual Homelessness Assessment Report (AHAR) to Congress, The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development<sup>40</sup>

therefore combine "heads," or people directly counted, with "beds," or program placements, offering a picture of both the population experiencing homelessness and the resources directed to them. (See chart on previous page)

Because HUD's lens centers on visible homelessness and formal program placements, it does not capture the full extent of instability among children and youth. The Department of Education (DOE), through the McKinney-Vento program, uses a different definition that includes students who are "doubled up" with relatives or friends due to loss of housing or economic hardship, as well as those living in hotels and motels, shelters, or unsheltered conditions. According to the 2024 National Center for Homeless Education report, schools identified more than 1.37 million pre-K-12 students as experiencing homelessness during the 2022–2023 school year under this alternate definition. Together, the HUD cohorts and DOE data reveal both the visible emergency and the hidden instability that define today's homelessness crisis.<sup>39</sup>

The regional distribution of homelessness adds another layer of complexity. West Coast states, particularly Cal-

ifornia and Washington, report the largest unsheltered populations. While housing costs and limited supply are frequently cited, the policies these jurisdictions adopt also shape outcomes. Approaches that allow open drug use or promote safe consumption sites, combined with limited enforcement of existing public order laws, make homelessness more entrenched and visible. By contrast, many states in the South and Midwest report lower per capita rates of unsheltered homelessness, reflecting stronger law enforcement and the absence of such permissive drug policies. These differences highlight how homelessness is influenced not only by economic pressures but also by regional choices about law, enforcement, and public health.<sup>40</sup>

Such uneven geography also helps explain why homelessness becomes a flashpoint for political and social conflict. In regions where visible encampments dominate public space, homelessness is framed as a crisis of order and safety. In areas where it is less visible but widely felt through schools and doubled-up families, it surfaces as a crisis of poverty and neglect. Both contexts can create vulnerabilities that more radical groups seek

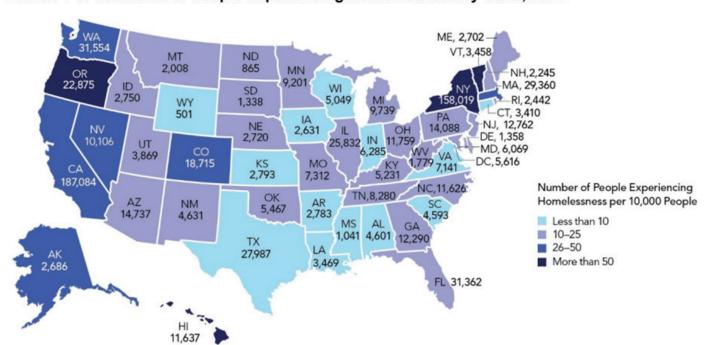


Exhibit 1-9: Estimates of People Experiencing Homelessness by State, 2024

Source: The 2024 Annual Homelessness Assessment Report (AHAR) to Congress, The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development<sup>43</sup>

to exploit—mobilizing frustration against government policy and channeling community anger into protest movements. In this way, the geography of homelessness not only shapes policy responses but also influences the broader social and political narratives that surround the crisis.

#### The Rise of "Housing Justice"

In current debates over homelessness policy, three approaches dominate discussion: Housing First, Harm Reduction, and Housing Justice. While each presents itself as a humanitarian solution, the latter has increasingly become a vehicle for radical activism. Extremist actors intentionally deploy terms like "Housing Justice"—and at times even "Housing First"—as anodyne expressions that mask broader ideological agendas.<sup>42,43,44</sup>

Among these, Housing Justice provides the largest opening for extremist infiltration because of its activist, protest-driven culture. Housing First has less overlap but still risks co-optation when framed as a rights-based entitlement rather than a recovery-oriented program.

#### **Housing First**

Housing First emphasizes providing immediate, permanent housing without preconditions such as sobriety or treatment compliance. Its rationale is that stable housing provides a foundation to address deeper issues like addiction or mental illness. The effectiveness of this approach, however, is questionable. Federal promises to "end homelessness" through Housing First, unsheltered homelessness rose 12 percent between 2022 and 2023, with projections worsening without reform. California epitomizes the failings of this approach. After the state mandated all funding flow exclusively to Housing First programs (2015–2019), unsheltered homelessness increased 47.1percent. <sup>45</sup>

By removing service participation requirements, Housing First often devolves into "housing-only," reducing access to treatment and recovery opportunities. Misaligned metrics are also at play, as success is often measured by voucher distribution rather than outcomes like sobriety, self-sufficiency, or long-term recovery. Robert Marbut, Senior Fellow at the Discovery Institute's Center on Wealth & Poverty, has consistently called Housing First a failure, advocating for integrated supportive services instead.<sup>46</sup>

#### Harm Reduction

Harm Reduction strategies aim to limit the negative health and social consequences of substance use, such as through needle exchanges or safe-use sites, without requiring abstinence. While Harm Reduction may be rooted in individual autonomy, critics believe it is also dangerously permissive, often consigning addicts to a slow death by normalizing dependency without accountability.47 Compassionate rhetoric and well-intentioned approaches fail to restore individuals to health and stability, thus perpetuating the root causes of homelessness. The July 2025 Executive Order explicitly rejected Harm Reduction along with Housing First, reaffirming a shift toward treatment-driven and recovery-oriented solutions.48

#### **Housing Justice**

Housing Justice frames housing as a human right, advocating tenant protections, eviction defense, and systemic reforms to ensure what advocates deem equitable access. Grassroots organizations frequently champion affordability and anti-displacement campaigns under this banner, but the movement also serves as a vector for extremist co-optation. Critics argue that Housing Justice, while rooted in calls for equity, often functions as a platform for radical agendas. Caitlyn McKenney, in Tipping the Scales of Housing Justice, published by the 501(c)(3) organization Discovery Institute, warned that sweeping tenant protections can overburden landlords, delay evictions, and shift costs from tenants onto property owners.49 Opponents labeled Tacoma's "Measure 1," a "socialist" policy and argued it would destabilize the local rental market by reducing inventory and increasing expenses for housing. While the language of Housing Justice stresses fairness and rights, in practice it often advances highly ideological agendas under the guise of reform.<sup>50</sup>

While advocacy groups such as *Causa Justa :: Just Cause and City Life/Vida Urbana* were traditionally focused on grassroots tenant defense, affordability campaigns, and anti-displacement efforts, elements of the Housing Justice movement have been co-opted by more radical actors. These activists leverage rhetoric about "systemic racism," "root causes," and anti-capitalism to advance ideological objectives that extend far beyond housing policy.<sup>51,52</sup>

By cloaking their agendas in the language of compassion and rights, they exploit public concern for the vulnerable while simultaneously promoting anti-enforcement and anti-accountability frameworks. Understanding this tension between legitimate tenant advocacy and ideological exploitation is essential for evaluating the effectiveness—and the risks—of current homelessness strategies. To that end, Housing First served as the bedrock for more radical approaches to emerge.

Complementing this, Harm Reduction strategies aim to minimize the risks associated with substance use through interventions like needle exchanges or supervised consumption sites (SCS). SCSs are designated locations where individuals can use their own drugs under the supervision of trained professionals, including nurses, physicians, social workers, community health specialists, and peer support staff, thereby reducing overdose risks and linking individuals to services.

When Housing First was officially adopted as the Federal Government's approach to end homelessness in 2013, the Obama Administration and advocates promised that Housing First would end all homelessness in the United States within 10-years. More specifically they promised Housing First would end veteran homelessness by 2015, chronic homelessness by 2016 and family homelessness by 2020. Indeed, early data from trials funded by the

Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration showed promising results for Housing First, demonstrating higher housing retention rates compared to "treatment first" models, which require individuals to achieve sobriety or engage in treatment before receiving housing.<sup>53</sup> Despite billions spent on Housing First programs, homelessness in the U.S. increased for six consecutive years as of 2022, with unsheltered homelessness rising 20.5 percent from 2014 to 2019 even as rapid rehousing and permanent supportive housing units rose.<sup>54</sup>

A 2024 report by HUD, indicates significant limitations in these strategies when applied to high-need populations.<sup>55</sup>

California serves as a prominent example, where widespread adoption of Housing First and Harm Reduction has not halted the growth of encampments. This situation underscores the formidable challenges in managing the continuous inflow of individuals experiencing homelessness, worsened by factors such as escalating housing costs and widening income inequality.<sup>56</sup>

These outcomes stand in stark contrast to the July 2025 Executive Order on Ending Crime and Disorder on America's Streets, which advocates a significant reorientation of federal priorities, moving away from a sole reliance on Housing First and Harm Reduction to a more multifaceted approach.

The new federal directives emphasize treatment and recovery services, institutionalization for at-risk individuals, and a greater emphasis on accountability in grant distribution, all with the overarching goal of fostering self-sufficiency among those experiencing homelessness. This shift reflects an evolving understanding of the complex factors contributing to homelessness and the need for a broader range of interventions to effectively address the crisis.

# Taxpayer-Funded Nonprofits and Policy Failures

Government spending on homelessness has become a massive driver of nonprofit activity, with some organizations deriving more than half of their total revenues from taxpayer funds. This financial dependency is illustrated clearly via *City of Grants Pass v. Johnson* (2024), a Supreme Court case that tested the limits of local authority to address public vagrancy and encampments. At issue was a municipal ordinance in Grants Pass, Oregon, prohibiting camping on public property.

Plaintiffs argued that such enforcement criminalized the status of being homeless and thus violated the Eighth Amendment's ban on cruel and unusual punishment. The Court disagreed, ruling 6–3 that such ordinances do not inherently constitute unconstitutional punishment. In doing so, the Court reaffirmed the right of local governments to regulate vagrancy and encampments in the interest of public safety and order—while acknowledging the parallel need for humanitarian considerations.

What made this case especially notable, however, was not only the ruling but the scale of advocacy opposition. Hundreds of nonprofit organizations, many heavily funded by government grants, filed amicus briefs urging the Court to strike down the ordinance. These amici did not simply defend the homeless from alleged overreach; this action was a direct opposition to enforcement measures themselves, including encampment clearances, ordinances against public camping, and similar accountability mechanisms. Their position reflected the deep ideological alignment of much of the homelessness advocacy community with Housing First, Harm Reduction, and increasingly, Housing Justice frameworks—approaches that resist enforcement and prioritize unconditional housing and services.<sup>57</sup>

The financial backdrop adds another layer of concern. The Capital Research Center's investigation analyzed the 2023 990 filings of many of these nonprofits, revealing they had collectively received \$2.9 billion in government grants, representing 32 percent of their total revenues (\$9.1 billion).<sup>58</sup>

Of the organizations comprising the \$2.9 billion in government grants, many also receive federal funding through the **HUD Continuum of Care (CoC) program**. The CoC is designed primarily to support direct

housing and homelessness interventions — such as rapid rehousing, permanent supportive housing, emergency shelters, and coordinated entry — along with limited planning and data-management functions. Its purpose is service delivery, not litigation or policy advocacy.

Yet a number of the groups active in advocacy and legal challenges are also substantial recipients of CoC funds. In a sampling of 28 CoC-funded amici organizations, 23 were awarded more than \$1 million each in HUD CoC dollars in a single year, with awards in some cases reaching tens of millions. These are taxpayer-funded allocations specifically designated for direct service programs.

- Services for the UnderServed (SUS) listed in HUD's NY-600 (New York City) FY2023 CoC awards for addiction services and support in the amount of \$3,063,587.00<sup>59</sup>
- Father Bill's & MainSpring (FBMS) included in HUD's FY2023 Massachusetts
  CoC awards (MA-511) for Father Bill's Project (\$3,591,164), among several other funded projects<sup>60</sup>
- Chief Seattle Club Originating as a direct-service provider for Native people experiencing homelessness, the group now operates multiple permanent supportive housing facilities, street medicine teams, and cultural support programs supported by more than \$16 million in government grants in 2023 alone. At the same time, CSC became a prominent policy advocate, aligning closely with the Biden–Harris Administration's ALL INside initiative and taking a leading role in shaping Seattle and King County's homelessness response.

The dual role shown by Chief Seattle Club—heavy reliance on taxpayer funding for direct services while simultaneously engaging in high-visibility advocacy—illustrates the blurred line between service provision and political activism in the current homelessness policy landscape. While it is not possible to assert that the specific dollars granted for direct services were diverted into advocacy or litigation, what is clear is that the financial incentives in the homelessness sector are reshaping organizational missions. Increasingly, nonprofits that once operated almost exclusively as charitable service providers now pursue policy influence, coalition work, and even courtroom strategies. Advocacy brings rewards that direct service alone does not: it raises visibility, attracts foundation money, strengthens political alliances, and can even safeguard service funding by aligning with prevailing policy priorities. It is also far less expensive to mount an advocacy campaign than to finance new shelter beds or supportive housing. For many organizations, the fastest way to grow or sustain influence is not through adding capacity for the homeless, but through adding staff to drive policy.

This dynamic has another consequence: it creates space for bad actors. Once advocacy becomes intertwined with service delivery, groups with other motives—whether ideological, litigious, or purely political — can embed themselves in the "homelessness-industrial complex." They may continue to qualify for government dollars on the basis of being service providers, while devoting increasing energy to shaping narratives, lobbying policymakers, or pursuing lawsuits that advance agendas only loosely connected to getting people off the streets.

Consider just a few examples:

- Friendship Place (DC) began in 1991 as a
  neighborhood drop-in center and shelter. Over
  the years it expanded into housing, employment,
  and wraparound services. Today, alongside
  those programs, Friendship Place runs robust
  advocacy campaigns delivering testimony at
  council hearings, orchestrating letter-writing
  drives, and coordinating with national partners
  to push for policy reforms.
- **Housing Up (DC)**, originally founded in 1990 as the Transitional Housing Corporation, started with a modest mission: transitional housing for homeless families. As federal funding priori-

ties shifted toward permanent supportive housing and rapid rehousing, Housing Up followed suit — and today its leaders are prominent in affordable housing advocacy and systems-change coalitions.

• Humility of Mary Housing (OH) was established in 1987 to provide eight transitional units for homeless families in Akron. Over three decades, it has evolved into a multi-county service provider with supportive housing programs and a growing advocacy footprint, explicitly incorporating policy change into its mission.

These are only a few examples drawn from the hundreds of amici filers in the Grants Pass case. Are they "chasing the money"? No single blanket statement can capture every organization's motivations. But the pattern is unmistakable: taxpayer dollars are underwriting nonprofits that no longer see themselves solely as service providers. They are also political actors — shaping debates, lobbying policymakers, and steering the direction of homelessness policy itself.

Further research uncovered an unexpected and disturbing truth: some amici organizations publicly claim they receive "no government funding," yet records show they are direct recipients of HUD Continuum of Care (CoC) dollars.

- Housing Alliance of Pennsylvania reported \$1,885,773 in total revenue on its 2023 IRS Form 990 and disclosed zero in government support. Yet HUD's records show the organization received a CoC award of \$617,716 in both 2022 and 2023 under PA-509 (project PA0736).<sup>61</sup>
- Solid Ground Washington likewise reported zero in government funding on its 2023 Form 990. Still, HUD lists it as receiving \$158,620 in CoC funds in both 2022 and 2023. 62
- Friendship Place (DC)—already noted for its evolution from service provider to policy advo-

cate — also reported *zero* government grants on its 2023 filing. In reality, HUD's official FY 2023 CoC press release for DC-500 shows Friendship Place receiving multiple awards for housing projects. Evidence confirms they also received CoC funding in 2022.<sup>63</sup>

How is this possible? Because these dollars often flow through **intermediaries such as local human services agencies**, the IRS allows organizations to categorize them as "program service revenue" instead of "government grants." On paper, the federal source is effectively hidden. Whether these omissions are the product of **careless accounting**, **a permissive reporting framework**, **or a deliberate effort to obscure the source of funds**, **the effect is the same**. The system is structured in a way that permits—and arguably encourages — this kind of opacity.

Due to the complexities in financial reporting, taxpayers and policymakers cannot easily discern how much federal funding is reaching organizations that, in addition to service delivery, are deeply involved in **advocacy**, **litigation**, **and policy campaigns**. This reporting gap does more than obscure financial accountability—it also makes it difficult to know whether groups are leveraging Americans' instinct to help the vulnerable as a **vehicle to advance other political or ideological goals**. In sum, it is virtually impossible to know the true scale of federal homelessness dollars that may be diverted from their intended purpose—or whether they are being deployed in ways that the public would knowingly support if the full picture were visible.

Taken together, the *Grants Pass* case illustrates a troubling paradox: **nonprofits sustained with taxpayer dollars often double as litigants and lobbyists, opposing enforcement measures that many communities see as essential to restoring public order.** Operating under the banner of compassion, these groups have become powerful defenders of policy orthodoxies—Housing First, Harm Reduction, Housing Justice—even when those frameworks conflict with accountability or safety concerns.

But taxpayer funding is only part of the picture. To fully understand how these approaches gained such dominance — and why they remain flashpoints in litigation and public debate — we must look to their enablers. Private philanthropy has not only poured billions into the homelessness sector, it has also amplified and entrenched particular ideological frameworks. In doing so, philanthropy often acts less as a neutral supporter of services and more as a force shaping the advocacy ecosystem itself.

# Private Philanthropy Fueling the Crisis

Philanthropy has become an influential force in shaping homelessness policy, often reinforcing government priorities but also steering the debate in its own direction. Since 2015, private giving to homelessness and housing has grown sharply. A July 2025 InsidePhilanthropy article reported that between 2015 and 2019, funders contributed about \$13.1 billion; from 2020 to 2024, that number jumped to \$19.2 billion, including \$9.4 billion targeted specifically to programs serving the homeless. This surge reflects both pandemic urgency and a deepening commitment from private foundations, many of which champion Housing First, Harm Reduction, or Housing Justice strategies.<sup>64</sup>

# Major Champions of Housing First and Supportive Housing

Several large funders have built their reputations on expanding Housing First—aligned programs. According to its own grants records, The Conrad N. Hilton Foundation has invested more than \$100 million in Los Angeles since 2016, backing permanent supportive housing and the LA4LA partnership, after earlier pioneering Housing First models with the Corporation for Supportive Housing. The Bezos Day One Fund has directed tens of millions nationwide into local and regional efforts such as The Way Home in Houston, credited with housing over 32,000 people at a 90 percent retention rate. 66

# **Funders Targeting Perception** and **Upstream Causes**

Other philanthropies focus less on beds and more on shifting narratives and addressing upstream drivers. The Ford Foundation funds tenant rights and anti-discrimination work, including efforts to dismantle the legacy of redlining.<sup>67</sup> The Kresge Foundation is one of the largest funders of the Fund for Housing and Opportunity collaborative, and through this has awarded over \$20 million to renter protection and income inequality initiatives.<sup>68,69</sup>

Ballmer Group, another participant in that collaborative, invests in cross-sector partnerships to expand affordable housing. The Oak Foundation and the Annie E. Casey Foundation emphasize narrative change and prevention, with Casey concentrating on child and family homelessness. The Harry and Jeanette Weinberg Foundation continues to prioritize stable housing for low-income households.<sup>70</sup>

# Advocacy-Oriented Philanthropy and Anti-Enforcement Campaigns

A different set of funders direct resources toward advocacy that resists enforcement measures. The Freedom Together Foundation has spent hundreds of millions since 2020, including \$3.4 million to the Southern Poverty Law Center and the National Housing Law Project (NHLP), the latter of which has fought anti-squatter measures and opposed encampment sweeps. The Foundation to Promote Open Society has provided at least \$5.6 million to the Center for Constitutional Rights and NHLP, underwriting litigation that challenges anti-camping laws as civil rights violations. The Tides Foundation has granted over \$57 million to the Working Families Organization. The Chicago Coalition has demanded UN investigations into U.S. policing, linking homelessness to systemic racism.

The National Low Income Housing Coalition (NLIHC), supported by at least \$2.7 million in funding in 2023, of which \$2.4 million was from the New Venture Fund (managed by Arabella Advisors), lobbies for expanded

federal vouchers as alternatives to enforcement.<sup>75,76</sup> New Venture Fund's 990 filings from four consecutive years, 2020, 2021, 2022, and 2023 alone show consistent support for groups with radical agendas.<sup>77,78,79,80</sup> The fund has backed the Poverty & Race Research Action Council, the National Harm Reduction Coalition, and the Alliance for Global Justice, to name but a few. <sup>81,82,83,84</sup> The Gates Foundation, meanwhile has a long and storied history of funding homelessness-focused initiatives, including those that support Housing First approaches and racial equality.<sup>85,86</sup>

# Donor-Advised Funds and Legal Challenges

Donor-advised funds (DAFs) further complicate the landscape by anonymously funneling millions into advocacy. Since 2020, DAFs like Network for Good have directed funds to the Somerville Homeless Coalition, the Coalition for the Homeless (Washington, D.C.), the Coalition on Homelessness (San Francisco), and the Western Regional Advocacy Project (WRAP) to name but a few. 87,88,89,90,91 Many of these same groups filed amicus briefs in *City of Grants Pass v. Johnson* opposing anti-camping ordinances. Several continue to litigate aggressively: the Coalition on Homelessness in San Francisco has sued over city sweeps, alleging violations of property rights, while the Somerville Homeless Coalition and the D.C. Coalition argue that camping bans criminalize homelessness itself. 92,93

# **Emerging Concerns in Advocacy and Extremism**

An examination of funding flows in the homelessness sector shows a consistent pattern: money supports not only direct services but also advocacy efforts that extend deep into policy and legal arenas. This dual role has significant implications. On one hand, it enables innovation and reform; on the other, it often entangles service providers in ideological activism that shapes public policy in ways far removed from shelter beds or treatment programs.

#### **Advocacy in Policy and Legal Arenas**

The Supreme Court case *City of Grants Pass v. Johnson* illustrates this dynamic. In that case, hundreds of nonprofits filed amicus briefs urging the Court to strike down a local ordinance restricting public camping. Their coordinated involvement underscored the scale of advocacy activity within the sector, revealing how philanthropic and taxpayer dollars are frequently deployed not only to address homelessness but also to challenge enforcement mechanisms and vagrancy laws.

This alignment matters. An increasing number of organizations that present themselves as service providers are, in practice, also powerful political actors. Many embrace Housing First, Harm Reduction, or Housing Justice frameworks in ways that lead them to resist enforcement, litigation, and accountability measures. While such advocacy is often framed in humanitarian terms, it carries direct policy consequences—shaping how cities and states are able to respond to encampments, public disorder, and chronic homelessness.

The convergence of philanthropy, government funding, and advocacy underscores a critical point for policy-makers: the homelessness crisis is no longer only about housing supply or social services. It has become a contested policy arena where ideology, activism, and litigation often drive outcomes as much as public investment does. Recognizing this dynamic is essential for designing reforms that preserve humanitarian commitments while restoring accountability and public order.

# **Key Organizations and Their Ideological Stances**

Several organizations are driven by distinct ideological frameworks:

• National Housing Law Project (NHLP):
This organization receives grants to litigate against restrictions on public camping, directly shaping municipal policies through court challenges. A notable initiative is their push for a National Tenants Bill of Rights, which aims to lim-

it evictions and address landlord harassment. Their framework often posits that enforcement measures exacerbate homelessness. 94,95

- Western Regional Advocacy Project (WRAP): Supported by various foundations, WRAP focuses on "housing justice" campaigns. They frame enforcement as oppression and are deeply embedded in networks with broader social change goals. WRAP has publicly demanded investigations into what they term "militarized" sweeps of encampments, labeling these actions as violations of rights and calling for an end to "banishment policing." <sup>96</sup> <sup>97</sup>
- Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR):

  CCR integrates homelessness advocacy with litigation on systemic issues. They occasionally align with entities that express anti-capitalist or anti-enforcement views. For instance, CCR has organized forums on the "criminalization of homelessness," emphasizing intersectional discrimination and advocating against police involvement in such issues.98
- LA Community Action Network (LA CAN): Building on these advocacy patterns, LA CAN exemplifies organizations where activism veers into more extreme positions. They receive funding for community organizing and frequently promote opposition to policing in encampments. LA CAN trains residents to document police actions, framing them as "human rights violations" in housing contexts.<sup>99</sup>
- National Harm Reduction Coalition
  (NHRC): Backed by philanthropies that emphasize risk minimization, this coalition extends its work to include groups with radical affiliations, some of whom are sympathetic to anarchist or communist ideologies. They advocate for healing from "racialized drug policies" and critique enforcement measures as perpetuating harm. 100,101

- Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC):
  While primarily focused on civil rights, the SPLC also engages in homelessness policy by submitting amicus filings that oppose enforcement. They have connections to networks previously documented in CRC reports regarding pro-Hamas activism crossovers. SPLC has filed briefs against statutes criminalizing solicitation by the homeless, arguing that such laws exacerbate poverty cycles. 102
- Alliance for Global Justice (AFGJ): As a fiscal sponsor for projects advocating for housing as a human right, AFGJ has ties to internationalist movements that critique U.S. institutions. They conduct workshops discussing foreclosure-homelessness links and advocate for what they term "radical global justice." 103
- **Sunrise Movement:** This environmental advocacy group incorporates affordable housing into its "Green New Deal for Communities." They align with coalitions that endorse disruptive tactics, such as those seen in the Stop Cop City protests. The Sunrise Movement has supported actions against police infrastructure, tying it to environmental and housing equity.<sup>104</sup>
- Tides-sponsored Dream Defenders: This organization has glorified and aligned itself with terrorism and violence perpetrated against Israel. They frame housing rights within abolitionist calls to dismantle capitalism and policing, explicitly identifying as abolitionists seeking to eliminate policing and prisons. 105,106
- Housekeys Action Network Denver (HAND): As a member of the Western Regional Advocacy Project, HAND participates in events with groups endorsing resistance movements abroad. HAND has reported on the negative impacts of anti-homeless ordinances, linking policing to increased stress and vulnerability among unhoused populations.<sup>107</sup>

- People's Housing Project in Portland:
   This group declares the U.S. government illegitimate and demands land decolonization as an integral part of Housing Justice.
- Equality for Flatbush (EQ4): Sponsored by the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization, EQ4 is a Black Lives Matter organization dedicated to fighting "gentrification, displacement, and police violence in Brooklyn." According to its mission, EQ4 seeks to "end NYPD murders and to stop the displacement of low-to-middle income people from Brooklyn, NY." The group believes in the abolition of the police, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), and prisons. 109
- October 22nd Alliance to End Homelessness: This alliance aligns with pro-Palestinian activism that defends actions by designated terrorist groups. They organize protests against defense contractors, framing homelessness within broader narratives of resistance.

The funding picture makes one reality hard to ignore: resources earmarked for homelessness are frequently repurposed to advance broader ideological goals. These goals are not confined to housing policy. They often call for defunding police, dismantling enforcement tools, or recasting housing as a lever for systemic overhaul—sometimes under explicitly anti-capitalist or anti-establishment banners.

What emerges is less a traditional service model than a movement infrastructure. Through grantmaking, litigation, and coordinated campaigns, these networks blur the line between humanitarian aid and political activism. Their influence extends beyond shelter beds and treatment programs, reaching into the heart of civic debates over law, order, and governance itself. In this way, philanthropic flows do more than fill service gaps—they help cultivate an ideological ecosystem that, intentionally or not, challenges democratic norms and the institutions designed to uphold them.

# Follow the Money: Nonprofits, Philanthropy, and the Politics of Homelessness

The evidence presented in this section highlights a paradox at the core of America's homelessness response. Rather than being underfunded, the field is flush with billions of dollars from public grants and private philanthropy. However, instead of directing the bulk of these resources toward direct services such as shelter, treatment, or recovery, a significant portion is diverted to advocacy and ideological campaigns. This redirection has altered the role of many nonprofits, evolving them from community service providers into influential political actors who shape public narratives, litigation strategies, and even national policy decisions.

The scale of funding is striking. Philanthropic foundations have poured nearly \$20 billion into homelessness and housing initiatives in the past five years, while tax-payer-funded programs like HUD's Continuum of Care channel billions more annually. Together, these flows sustain a vast nonprofit ecosystem whose influence now extends well beyond food banks, rehousing, or transitional care. Advocacy networks, coalitions, and litigants are increasingly prevalent in the space, redefining homelessness not merely as a humanitarian crisis but as a political battlefield over enforcement, policing, and systemic reform.

This evolution raises a crucial question: when financial incentives reward activism as much as, or more than, service delivery, how do we distinguish between organizations genuinely committed to alleviating homeless-

ness and those leveraging the crisis to advance broader ideological agendas? The implications go far beyond organizational mission statements. They reach into the courts, legislatures, and city halls where disputes over public order and accountability are being fought.

For this reason, the next section turns to the **City of Grants Pass v. Johnson** case, a pivotal moment where the full weight of this advocacy ecosystem became visible. The case illustrates how heavily taxpayer-funded and philanthropically supported organizations mobilized in opposition to local enforcement authority, not only shaping legal precedent but also exposing the degree to which the homelessness-industrial complex has been co-opted by more radical elements. In examining Grants Pass, we can begin to see how an ostensibly humanitarian sector is also a contested arena where billions of dollars and ideological campaigns intersect, with consequences extending far beyond the lives of the unhoused themselves.

Building on this foundation, **Part Two** will analyze legal activism through Grants Pass, showing how well-funded nonprofits strategically shape enforcement policy, while **Part Three** maps the ideological networks at the center of this movement—profiling groups with radical and extremist ties and detailing their impact on the national response. Taken together, these analyses reveal how money, ideology, and institutions intersect to shape the homelessness crisis, and why understanding this convergence is essential to designing reforms that reclaim resources for solutions that are both humane and accountable.

# THE GRANTS PASS NONPROFIT COMPLEX

When the Supreme Court agreed to hear *City of Grants Pass v. Johnson* in 2024, the case immediately drew national attention. At its core, the dispute was about whether a small Oregon city could enforce ordinances prohibiting camping on public land without violating the Eighth Amendment's ban on cruel and unusual punishment. But what began as a local controversy over public order quickly escalated into a defining test of how American society—and its institutions—chooses to respond to homelessness.

Within weeks of the Court's announcement, advocacy networks mobilized. Hundreds of nonprofits—most organized as 501(c)(3) charities—filed amicus briefs in support of the plaintiffs, opposing local enforcement of encampment bans, and in some cases the overall criminalization of homelessness. The scale of this engagement was striking, but so was its character: organizations the public often imagines handing out meals or running shelters were instead investing in a highly technical legal process before the Supreme Court. That incongruity is precisely why Grants Pass v. Johnson is such a revealing case study. It underscores how the charitable sector as a whole—far beyond any single group—increasingly devotes substantial resources to political advocacy, and how these organizations-and sometimes these very efforts—are often underwritten by taxpayer-funded grants.

This is why we identified *Grants Pass v. Johnson* as a central case study for our research. The briefs filed in the case expose a broader reality about the nonprofit sector: organizations the public associates with soup

kitchens, shelters, and other direct services are increasingly channeling attention—and taxpayer-backed funding—into shaping policy outcomes. That shift raises an uncomfortable question: should 501(c)(3) service providers be devoting scarce resources to advocacy, or should that work be left to groups with other tax statuses better suited for political engagement? However one answers, the trend is clear. A sector long presumed to focus on direct relief is becoming a force in political battles—an evolution that has opened the door for more ideologically driven actors to embed themselves within mainstream coalitions.

Part II of this report examines the *Grants Pass* amici in detail. It builds on Part 1's financial mapping to show how philanthropic and government dollars flow through these organizations—together reporting \$9.1 billion in total revenue—and how that funding mix blurs the line between aid and advocacy. In doing so, it sets the stage for a deeper discussion of how nonprofits influence—and sometimes distort—the policy landscape around homelessness.

### City of Grants Pass v. Johnson

The Supreme Court's 2024 decision on homelessness in *City of Grants Pass v. Johnson* serves as a valuable illustration of some counterintuitive realities about the contemporary charitable sector. First, some charities operate with very large budgets, and many are funded not by voluntary donations but by the taxpayer through government grants and contracts. Second, despite their 501(c)(3) status, some charities engage primarily in what could be better called activism, often with a clear

political bent. Occasionally, such activism can veer in radical directions.

This situation raises some important questions. Does the nonprofit sector's financial scale—particularly with respect to the government funding it receives—align with the public's conception of what charity is or should be? Is there a way to better distinguish between those groups that serve genuine humanitarian needs and those that try to shape the public policy process and the activism on often-controversial issues? Are taxpayers inadvertently (and involuntarily) subsidizing this activism?

When the Supreme Court agreed to hear *City of Grants Pass v. Johnson*, the case quickly became a flashpoint in national debates about homelessness, public space, and local authority. But the legal dispute also drew in a wide range of nonprofits—mostly charities—whose participation revealed broader dynamics at work in the nonprofit sector. Before turning to who these groups are, it's worth pausing to consider why homelessness sits at the intersection of public sympathy, charitable response, and policy complexity.

Homelessness is a serious and (in certain places) very visible problem—one with multiple complex causes and contributing factors that have thus far eluded effective solutions. There is broad public support for addressing the profound personal and societal costs of homelessness, and sincere efforts to do so are widely regarded as among the most essential expressions of charitable purpose. That makes homelessness a revealing lens through which to examine key features of the contemporary nonprofit sector, particularly 501(c)(3) public charities. On balance, the sector is a tremendous national asset. At the same time, not all charities fit the typical public image of small, local groups doing on-the-ground work to help those in need.

One way to illustrate this is through the hundreds of nonprofits that filed or signed on to amicus briefs supporting the plaintiffs/respondents in the Supreme Court case of *City of Grants Pass v. Johnson*, which was decided in 2024.<sup>111</sup> The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) called *Grants Pass* "the most significant court

case about the rights of people experiencing homelessness in decades," and it attracted much attention from those with an interest in its outcome, one way or the other.<sup>112,113</sup>

Grants Pass arose from an ordinance passed by the city of Grants Pass, Oregon, which prohibited camping on public property. Plaintiffs sued on behalf of the city's homeless population, arguing that the ordinance violated the Eighth Amendment's prohibition against cruel and unusual punishment. The Supreme Court ultimately disagreed, ruling 6-3 that generally applicable regulations against camping on public property did not violate the Constitution. The effect of the decision was to enhance the ability of local governments to deal with homeless encampments, which can cause serious problems for the communities in which they exist. 114,115

The Supreme Court agreed to take the case in January 2024. Before the end of the month, a group called the National Homelessness Law Center had set up a website devoted to it, where it ultimately posted 41 amicus briefs filed by over 1,000 different organizations and individuals opposed to "the use of arrest and fines to address homelessness."<sup>116</sup> These briefs, plus one more filed by a group called the National Coalition for Men, were all submitted in support of respondents (plaintiffs in the original lawsuit). On the other side, dozens of briefs were also submitted in support of the petitioner (defendant in the original lawsuit), the city of Grants Pass, Oregon.<sup>117</sup>

Amicus Curiae ("friend of the court") briefs are submitted by groups and individuals who are not themselves a party to the case but nevertheless claim an interest in its outcome. Amici present their perspective on issues raised by the case for the justices to consider. Aside from any influence these briefs may have over the decision itself, they can also be helpful for understanding where certain groups stand on controversial legal and/or public policy issues. In Grants Pass, amici submitted or joined briefs because they have an opinion on the nation's homelessness crisis and how to address it.

A comprehensive analysis of the amicus briefs filed in support of respondents/plaintiffs in *Grants Pass* reveals 759 distinct organizational amici, excluding individuals, government entities, and duplicate groups that joined more than one brief. Most (at least 85 percent) are non-profits with their own IRS tax-exempt status. The vast majority of these are organized as 501(c)(3) charities.

Over 60 additional groups are housed within an independent 501(c)(3), whether as a program or project, through a fiscal sponsorship, or some other arrangement. The identity and tax status of approximately three dozen amici could not be determined with an acceptable degree of confidence.<sup>118</sup>

#### Billions for Charity, Billions from Government

The National Homelessness Law Center described *Grants Pass* as the "case that made it a crime to sleep outside" and "a clear sign" that the Supreme Court and elected officials would rather side with billionaires and make homelessness worse than simply ensure everyone is safely housed." Such rhetoric—invoking the ultra-wealthy as political adversaries—is a familiar feature of modern advocacy. But it also invites a closer look at the financial realities of those weighing in on the case.<sup>119</sup>

Many of the nonprofit organizations that supported the plaintiffs are themselves exceptionally well-funded, and a significant share of their revenue comes not from private donations but from taxpayers.

Most nonprofits are required to file an annual tax return with the IRS called Form 990, disclosing their finances in considerable detail. These forms are publicly available, and using ProPublica's Nonprofit Explorer, it was possible to locate filings with financial information for just over 600 of the *Grants Pass* amici. Almost all of these (over 96 percent) covered the calendar year or tax year ending in 2023. For the small number of nonprofits where this was unavailable, the most recent available year was used instead (typically 2022, but in a few cases 2021 or 2024). For simplicity's sake, these were counted as if they were 2023 revenues.<sup>120</sup>

The combined 2023 revenues of the nonprofits that filed or signed on to amicus briefs supporting the plaintiffs/respondents in *Grants Pass* totaled over \$9.13 billion.

While this number was skewed high by the gargantuan AIDS Healthcare Foundation—which alone accounted for a full quarter of the total—it doesn't include those groups which could not reasonably be identified or differentiated, nor does it include fiscally-sponsored projects or programs of a nonprofit (such as a university center). It also doesn't include churches, which, despite being nonprofits, are exempt from the Form 990 filing requirement. Finally, it does not include those nonprofits that filed Form 990-N by virtue of having gross receipts of \$50,000 or less.<sup>121</sup>

Among the nonprofit amici with available financial data, more than half reported 2023 revenues under \$4 million. Others, however, operated at a much larger scale. At least 65 organizations reported revenues of \$30 million or more, including 10 that exceeded \$100 million. Of those 65, all but three were organized as 501(c)(3) public charities.

The largest was the AIDS Healthcare Foundation, followed by the Southern Poverty Law Center, which reported nearly \$170 million in total revenue. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), a 501(c)(4), reported over \$146 million in 2023 revenue, not including the revenues of its even larger 501(c)(3) affiliate, the ACLU Foundation, nor its network of state affiliates. 123 124

Even more interesting—particularly given the public interest currently surrounding government-funded nonprofits—is just how many of the *Grants Pass* amici receive most of their funding not from voluntary charitable donations, but from the American taxpayer. On Form 990, nonprofits are required to report how much money they receive from government grants, whether local, state, or federal. Adding up the amounts from this line gives a combined total of over **\$2.9 billion**, or 32 percent of the *Grants Pass* nonprofits' total 2023 revenue.<sup>125</sup>

This is at least a modest undercount for several reasons. First, some nonprofit churches, such as the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (which filed its own amicus brief), receive significant federal funding but are not required to file Form 990. Second, it is generally not possible to determine from Form 990 whether

projects or programs of a nonprofit may have received government funding, even if the parent nonprofit (such as a college or university) did.<sup>126</sup>

Finally, some nonprofits report their government grant/contract revenue in unconventional ways, such as by listing it as part of their program service revenue. While the source of these funds is often—though by no means always—reasonably clear, for the sake of consistency and because relatively few nonprofits report in this way, this method was excluded from the above analysis.

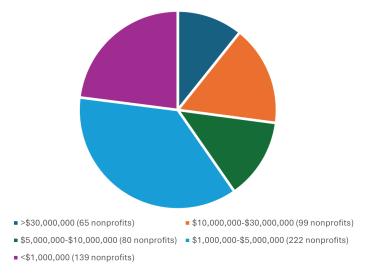
All that said, a total of 419 nonprofit amici with supporting respondents in the *City of Grants Pass* case reported receiving some amount of government funding on their respective 2023 Form 990s. This represents a remarkable 69 percent of all nonprofits for which financials were available and 83 percent of nonprofits reporting at least \$4 million in total revenue. Of those nonprofits that reported receiving any government funding, 58 percent received more than half of their total revenue from that source, 32 percent received at least three-quarters, and over 13 percent received 90 percent or more. Whether such high levels of government funding is a good or bad thing in any given case will naturally depend on the specifics.

Still, it is not difficult to understand why some people have suggested that these non-governmental organizations could be more accurately described as "basically governmental organizations."<sup>127</sup>

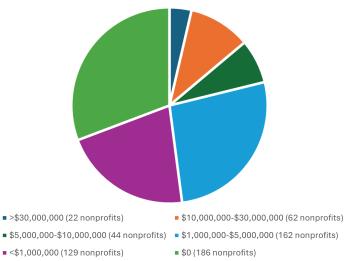
Some examples of 501(c)(3) charitable amici in *Grants Pass* that reported very high levels of government funding in 2023 include LA Family Housing (91 percent of \$71.5 million), the Children's Law Center of California (94 percent of \$82.1 million), Disability Rights California (94 percent of \$43.6 million), All Chicago Making Homelessness History (97 percent of \$62.9 million), Black Veterans for Social Justice (99 percent of \$67.9 million), the Defender Association of Philadelphia (99 percent of \$83.9 million), and the Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault (99 percent of \$30.7 million).

Among the Grants Pass amici, the nonprofit with the single highest percentage of government funding was

Nonprofits opposing the use of arrest and fines to address homelessness reported over \$9.1 billion in total revenue (2023)



Nonprofits opposing the use of arrest and fines to address homelessness reported over \$2.9 billion in government grants (2023)



New York County Defender Services, which reported \$22,376,163 in total 2023 revenue, all but \$159 of which came from government grants.

## **Charity or Politics?**

A few dozen nonprofits that joined amicus briefs supporting plaintiffs/respondents in *Grants Pass* were organized as 501(c)(4) social welfare organizations (e.g., Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights),

501(c)(5) labor organizations (e.g., San Francisco Labor Council), or 501(c)(6) business leagues (e.g., National Association of Social Workers). However, the vast majority were 501(c)(3) public charities. 128,129,130

What makes the *Grants Pass* amici striking, however, is not simply their tax status but the tension between public perception and actual practice. Americans tend to associate 501(c)(3) charities with work like sheltering the homeless or running food banks, and many amici indeed provide such services. The Court itself acknowledged their importance in supporting unsheltered individuals.

But that same tax status also applies to a smaller group of amici whose activities are rather less intuitively "charitable." These organizations focus primarily on advocacy, using litigation, lobbying-adjacent campaigns, and public messaging to advance broader political or ideological agendas. Despite operating under the same tax status as food banks and homeless shelters, their missions frequently stem from highly contested policy debates. Their involvement in *Grants Pass* underscores how elastic the definition of "charity" has become—and raises difficult questions about where, if anywhere, the boundary should lie.

Consider one brief filed by more than two dozen organizations with a professed interest in California's (and specifically San Francisco's) approach to homelessness. <sup>131</sup> It was joined by the National Harm Reduction Coalition, among the most prominent promoters of the eponymous (and controversial) approach to hard drug abuse, which itself is associated with homelessness. <sup>132,133</sup> The coalition accepts drug abuse "for better or worse" and tells those struggling with addiction that "no one knows what's best for you better than you. Whatever drugs you use, we want you to be safe and healthy." <sup>134 135</sup>

It supports calls to defund the police and claims that "racism drives both homelessness and health inequities," including the "inhumane" *Grants Pass* decision. <sup>136,137</sup> The National Harm Reduction Coalition operates as a 501(c)(3) charity, with a total 2022 revenue of \$12.8 million. That year, it derived 73 percent of its funding from government grants. <sup>138</sup>

Also joining the California brief was San Francisco Rising, a fiscally sponsored project of the 501(c)(3) Chinese Progressive Association. Despite its charitable tax status, San Francisco Rising describes itself as an "electoral alliance" working "to build political power with working-class communities of color."

PODER SF, an affiliate of San Francisco Rising that also joined the brief, aims to "build political power within targeted electoral districts through community organizing and strategic voter engagement strategies" to create "a powerful statewide progressive voter network." It is fiscally sponsored by the massive Tides Center, which is also organized as a 501(c)(3) public charity.

Another brief was submitted by the Center for Constitutional Rights, a 501(c)(3) charity that reported over \$14.8 million in total revenue in 2023. 145,146,147 An activist litigation group whose mission is to use the law to further left-wing sociopolitical movements, the Center leans heavily into radical causes. This has most disturbingly manifested in the group's acceptance of terrorism. 148

In an abhorrent same-day response to the October 7, 2023 Hamas-led attacks against Israel, the Center characterized them as "Palestinian armed resistance from occupied Gaza," referred to what it claimed was "the international legal right of colonized people to resist colonial domination," and declared that "Palestinian resistance fighters" were within their rights to "carry out attacks on military targets." Even while Hamas militants were still operating within Israel, the Center for Constitutional Rights was essentially saying that the Israelis deserved it.<sup>149</sup>

Presumably aware of this, numerous left-wing groups signed on to the Center for Constitutional Rights' brief in *Grants Pass*. One was Black & Pink, a 501(c)(3) charity that reported over \$1.8 million in 2023 revenues. <sup>150</sup> On its website homepage, Black & Pink declares in all caps that "WE FIGHT TO ABOLISH PRISONS." <sup>152</sup>

Another was the 501(c)(3) National Women's Law Center, which asserts that "abortion is love, community, and justice personified," and that "the fight for abortion

access is inextricably tied to the fight for Housing Justice." <sup>153,154</sup> Much of the Law Center's public commentary is devoted simply to attacking the Trump Administration and other elected Republicans. <sup>155</sup> It had \$28.3 million in total 2023 revenues. <sup>156</sup> Other activist signatories included the Transgender Law Center, the Human Rights Campaign Foundation, the Drug Policy Alliance, and the Black Alliance for Just Immigration, all of which are organized as 501(c)(3) charities. <sup>157,158,159,160</sup>

At least nine 501(c)(3) charities that reported receiving more than half of their funding from government grants in 2023 joined the Center for Constitutional Rights' amicus brief: New York County Defender Services (100 percent), the Sylvia Rivera Law Project (99 percent), the Center for Community Alternatives (82 percent), the Ruth Ellis Center (81 percent), the New York Legal Assistance Group (80 percent), the DC LGBTQ+ Community Center (76 percent), Housing Works, Inc. (69 percent), Rainbow Health Minnesota (66 percent, 2022 financials), and Make the Road New York (50 percent). 161,162,163

Make the Road New York—which had 2023 total revenues of over \$31.7 million—is another good example of a 501(c)(3) charity that functions as a taxpayer-funded left-wing political activist group, supporting everything from defunding the police to abolishing U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement.<sup>164,165,166</sup> It is also an example of the "megaphone philanthropy" phenomenon, as there is hardly a page on its website that does not feature imagery of protesters yelling into bullhorns and/or marching with signs that read things like "Proud Ashamed to be an American" and "Trump is not my President." For a group that gets half of its funding from the American taxpayer, that is some remarkable messaging to promote. <sup>167,168,169</sup>

Yet another brief led by Lambda Legal and the Juvenile Law Center was joined by the 501(c)(3) East Bay Community Law Center, which operates a homelessness services program. 170,171,172,173 Its platform prioritizes "the health, safety, economic, and *political* needs of women of color" (emphasis added) and specifically calls for universal basic income, universal healthcare, "an enforce-

able right to housing," including rent forgiveness and a moratorium on evictions, the cancellation of student loans, the "immediate release of all incarcerated youth," and the "release and reparations for all ensnared in the failed War on Drugs." In 2023, the East Bay Community Law Center had total revenues of over \$11.1 million, approximately 29 percent of which was from government grants.<sup>174</sup>

### **Homelessness Advocacy Groups**

All the nonprofit amici in *Grants Pass* demonstrated enough institutional interest in homelessness to weigh in before the Supreme Court, but among the more activist-oriented groups, relatively few focus exclusively on homelessness itself. Instead, they treat it as one part of a broader political and ideological agenda. Accordingly, it may be most useful to examine a handful of prominent organizations whose primary mission centers on homelessness or low-income housing.

All are organized as 501(c)(3) charities, and they tend to view homelessness not as the result of personal or situational hardship, but as the inevitable outcome of systemic social and economic injustices. Their policy prescriptions typically involve expansive government intervention and a larger welfare state. These groups also frame their work through the lens of race, gender, sexual orientation, and other identity-based categories. They are often supported by the same network of institutional funders and foundations.

One group that surprisingly did *not* appear in any of the *Grants Pass* amicus briefs (though it has strongly criticized the decision) is the National Coalition for the Homeless. <sup>175</sup> Founded back in the 1980s, the National Coalition for the Homeless argues that "structural racism and discrimination are root causes of homelessness" and that "the housing crisis is a symptom of structural inequity, based largely on institutionalized poverty and racism." <sup>176</sup> <sup>177</sup> <sup>178</sup> In 2023, the coalition had total revenues of \$1.75 million, with notable grants coming from the Melville Charitable Trust, the Network for Good, the National Football League Foundation, and the Arabella Advisors-managed New Venture Fund. <sup>179,180,181,182,183,184</sup>

The National Coalition for the Homeless also runs a campaign called Bring America Home NOW, which describes itself as "a comprehensive grassroots campaign to end homelessness in the U.S."<sup>185,186</sup> Like its parent, Bring America Home NOW claims that "homelessness is inextricably linked to systemic racism," and that in order to end it, society must (among other things) guarantee housing as a human right and "ensure livable wages and basic income for all Americans and link income to the local cost of housing." <sup>187</sup> It claims to have 680 coalition partners, though only a little over 200 are listed on its website. <sup>188</sup>

These groups run the gamut, with nonprofits, for-profits, and government entities all represented. Many deal more or less entirely with issues related to homelessness and/or housing, but some do not. Some are service providers, while others are activist groups. Among the latter, there is some minor overlap with the *Grants Pass* amici.

One group appearing on both lists is the National Homelessness Law Center, which engages in both policy advocacy and litigation, often with a distinctly political flavor. For example, in soliciting donations for its "Fight Back Fund," it accuses "Donald Trump and his billionaire allies" of pushing an "anti-homeless, anti-Black, anti-poor, anti-immigrant, and anti-LGBTQ agenda." 189

The Law Center operates a joint campaign with the National Coalition for the Homeless called Housing Not Handcuffs, which is yet another coalition of public officials (including Obama Administration attorney general Eric Holder) and approximately 270 local, state, and national organizations that oppose what they call the "criminalization of homelessness." <sup>190,191,192</sup> The National Homelessness Law Center is organized as a 501(c)(3) charity, and in 2023, it reported \$2.16 million in total revenue. <sup>193</sup> It counts numerous prominent American law firms among its supporters, alongside private foundations such as the Annie E. Casey Foundation and the Conrad N. Hilton Foundation. <sup>194,195,196</sup>

There is also the National Low Income Housing Coalition, which is a 501(c)(3) charity that had 2023 revenues of just over \$23 million. 197,198 Its mission is to achieve a

"racially and socially equitable public policy that ensures people with the lowest incomes have quality homes that are accessible and affordable in communities of their choice." 199

While the coalition contends that a lack of affordable housing primarily causes homelessness, it also acknowledges that half of the unsheltered homeless population suffers from "a combination of physical, mental, and substance use conditions."<sup>200</sup>

Despite this, it criticizes sobriety requirements at homeless shelters and supports the controversial Harm Reduction approach to substance abuse.<sup>201</sup> The coalition blames racial disparities in homelessness on "centuries of structural racism" intended to harm minorities and asserts that "the future of housing" lies in a concept it calls "Inclusion, Diversity, Equity, Anti-racism, and Systems-thinking (IDEAS)," through which it seeks to "build a racially and socially equitable society where everyone has a quality, accessible, and affordable home."<sup>202,203</sup>

In 2023, the National Low Income Housing Coalition received a massive \$15.1 million grant from the Chicago Community Trust, which dwarfed the group's entire annual revenue from the year before. Other recent significant funders have included the Charles and Lynn Schusterman Family Foundation, the Freedom Together Foundation (formerly known as the JPB Foundation), the New Venture Fund, and the GS Donor Advised Philanthropy Fund for Wealth Management (formerly known as the Goldman Sachs Philanthropy Fund). Other Policy Polic

Yet another prominent advocacy group is the National Alliance to End Homelessness, whose mission is "preventing and ending homelessness in the United States" through "equitable, socially just, and evidence-based strategies and policies."<sup>208,209</sup> It argues that homelessness is "primarily the result of structural drivers"—namely, the "systemic discrimination and marginalization" of minority communities by the government—though it also blames climate change and insists that "climate justice" must be prioritized in efforts to address homelessness. <sup>210,211</sup> The Alliance supports the "decommodification of housing," such as through government rent control

and social housing, alongside higher levels of direct federal funding for housing assistance and services. 212,213

The National Alliance to End Homelessness is a 501(c) (3) organization, and it reported over \$7.6 million in total revenue in 2023.<sup>214</sup> Large organizational funders that year included the Conrad N. Hilton Foundation (\$2,566,625), the Melville Charitable Trust (\$360,000), and the Oak Foundation (\$350,000).<sup>215,216</sup> Jeff Bezos is also listed as a \$500,000+ donor in the alliance's annual report for that year.<sup>217,218</sup>

The National Health Care for the Homeless Council, which is the self-described "premier national organization working at the nexus of homelessness and health care," also supports left-of-center public policy initiatives.219 Arguing that "contemporary homelessness is the product of conscious social and economic policy decisions that have retreated from a commitment to ensuring basic life necessities for all people," the National Health Care for the Homeless Council's core policy principles include universal healthcare, "affordable housing regardless of income," government-mandated "livable wages for persons able to work," and an end to what it calls "the criminalization of poverty and homelessness."220,221 The National Health Care for the Homeless Council is a 501(c)(3) organization that reported total 2023 revenues of \$9.1 million, 58 percent of which came from government grants.222

Finally, there is Funders Together for Housing Justice (previously Funders Together to End Homelessness), a 501(c)(3) nonprofit research advocacy group, which claims to be "the only philanthropic membership organization devoted to Housing Justice in the United States." It illustrates how even seemingly mainstream 501(c)(3) charities can harbor deeply radical views.<sup>223,224</sup>

In 2023, Funders Together had total revenues of over \$2.8 million. Large funders that year included the Melville Charitable Trust (\$300,000), the Conrad N. Hilton Foundation (\$275,000), the Northwest Area Foundation (\$260,000), the Allstate Foundation (\$170,000), and the Raikes Foundation (\$160,000).<sup>225,226</sup> Funders Together claims to work closely with the National Alliance to End Homelessness, the National Homelessness

Law Center, the National Low Income Housing Coalition, and the National Health Care for the Homeless Council, in addition to the American Bar Association, the Urban Institute, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, and many other organizations. <sup>227,228,229,230</sup>

Funders Together's vision is to highlight what it alleges is "the legacy of racism" in housing and homelessness and to "reimagine and transform systems to be Pro-Black and Pro-Indigenous using an intersectional lens to achieve housing and racial justice."<sup>231</sup> It believes that "homelessness is a racialized experience created and exacerbated by the forces of structural racism," and claims that "white supremacy has intentionally limited growth and opportunities" for minority communities in the United States. In pursuit of what it calls "housing abundance," Funders Together supports government reparations "in the form of money and land" as compensation for what it says are the "intentional and ongoing projects of slavery and subjugation" in the United States.<sup>232</sup>

The global economy, according to Funders Together, is similarly built upon "racial capitalism," which supposedly leverages "racial exploitation to facilitate capital accumulation." A so-called "liberated society" can only be achieved through what amounts to a socialist welfare state, in which "everyone's basic needs are met in full." Funders Together aims to "decommodify" the housing sector, replacing it with Green New Deal-style public housing."

#### The Blurred Boundaries of Charity

This analysis of the amici who supported the plaintiffs and respondents in *Grants Pass* highlights several important points about nonprofits in general and specifically about charities. First, despite the many different legal categories of nonprofits, the sector is dominated by 501(c)(3) public charities and private foundations. Second, while there is obviously significant variation, the charitable sector is tremendously wealthy. Third, a remarkably large number of charities receive most of their revenue not from voluntary donations, but rather from taxpayers via government grants and contracts. Final-

ly, it seems likely that many Americans would perceive a genuine qualitative difference between those 501(c) (3)s that operate traditionally "charitable" programs in which they directly serve the needy versus those that engage primarily in public policy advocacy. Such activism can be distinctly political in character and occasionally veers in radical directions.

Does this align with the public's understanding of what "charity" should be? Would it be possible to do more to protect the charitable sector from the taint of our divisive political climate and rhetoric? Addressing homelessness is especially important because the charitable sector plays a critical role in the lives of society's most vulnerable.

## What the City of *Grants Pass* v Johnson Reveals

The City of Grants Pass v. Johnson decision pulled back the curtain on more than just a constitutional dispute over local authority. It exposed the sheer scale and reach of a nonprofit sector where "charity" often means something very different from what the public imagines. Hundreds of organizations—most structured as 501(c) (3) charities and many heavily subsidized by taxpayer dollars—mobilized not to provide shelter or treatment, but to advance a set of policy and ideological priorities.

At the core of these priorities sit frameworks such as Housing First, Harm Reduction, and Housing Justice. Each is framed in humanitarian terms, yet their application within the *Grants Pass* amici network illustrates how advocacy can eclipse aid. Housing First, for instance, has become the dominant paradigm, promoted as the only acceptable response to homelessness despite mixed evidence about its long-term effectiveness. Harm reduction, once a clinical strategy, has been broadened into a policy stance that can normalize non-intervention. And the rhetoric of Housing Justice—rooted in systemic critiques of capitalism and policing—pushes the debate beyond shelter provision into the realm of broader social transformation.

The result is a sector in which public sympathy for homelessness is leveraged to advance political objectives, sometimes radical in orientation. The *Grants Pass* amici exemplify this shift: large, well-funded organizations, many dependent on government grants and contracts, aligning with grassroots networks and activist coalitions to shape legal and policy outcomes. What might appear as charity in the public eye often functions as lobbying by another name—backed not by voluntary giving alone, but by public subsidies.

This raises urgent policy questions. When taxpayer-funded nonprofits dedicate substantial resources to shaping constitutional law and lobbying against enforcement measures, are they still serving the charitable mission the tax code envisions? How should policymakers and the public distinguish between groups that deliver immediate relief—shelter, treatment, pathways to self-sufficiency—and those that pursue ideological goals under the same legal umbrella?

The *Grants Pass* case does not answer these questions, but it crystallizes them. It shows how debates over homelessness are not only about tents and ordinances but also about the proper role of the nonprofit sector in American civic life. As the sector continues to expand, scrutiny and accountability become essential. Without them, well-meaning public resources risk fueling activism at the expense of aid, leaving both the homeless and the communities they inhabit without the support and solutions they urgently need.

# Bridging the Analysis: The Overlap of Grants Pass Advocacy and Radical Networks

The *City of Grants Pass v. Johnson* case was pivotal not only for its constitutional implications but also because it brought together, in one docket, the largest assembly of organizations operating in the homelessness policy space. The amicus filings created a snapshot of the sector, offering unparalleled visibility into the actors that comprise what this report identifies as the "homelessness industrial complex."

Importantly, the groups represented in the litigation were not solely direct service providers; they were organizations willing to invest in advocacy, policy, and litigation strategies—revealing the degree to which the sector is shifting toward shaping law and public policy rather than simply delivering aid. Our research uncovered dozens of organizations that began as direct service providers and increasingly shifted toward advocacy.

But, it is when these amicus filers overlaid with the entities that the next section identifies as having extremist alignments, we see a troubling pattern emerging. Their dual position—participating in litigation at the Supreme Court level while also aligning with movements rooted in anti-police, anti-capitalist, or pro-terrorist narratives—demonstrates that the overlap is not incidental. Rather, it shows that elements of the homelessness industrial complex is both engaged in shaping American policy and permeated by ideological currents that extend well beyond housing policy.

This convergence underscores that the *Grants Pass* litigation should not be viewed only as a contest over

enforcement practices. It was also a revealing test case for how direct service providers merge with advocacy coalitions—funded in large part by government grants and philanthropic support—which then carry broader ideological frameworks into the policymaking process. It further underscores the urgent need to reassess how public and private resources are allocated, monitored, and leveraged within the homelessness response ecosystem. Understanding this intersection provides critical context for examining the ideological capture explored in Part III and raises fundamental questions about the nature and direction of modern homelessness advocacy.

Viewed in this light, the litigation campaign around *Grants Pass* cannot be understood in isolation; it is one facet of a broader ideological project. The next section turns directly to those extremist networks, tracing how they operate within the American advocacy landscape and how their convergence with the "homelessness industrial complex" has reshaped both the substance of homelessness policy and the institutions that administer it.



# EXTREMISTS HIJACKING THE FIGHT AGAINST HOMELESSNESS

A surprising conduit for anti-American extremism has emerged: the housing justice movement, a network of organizations originally formed to combat homelessness. What began as a call to provide shelter and support for vulnerable populations has, in many cases, transformed into a political movement driven more by ideology than by practical solutions.

Instead of focusing on proven interventions—such as mental health treatment, job training, and transitional housing—many groups within this space have shifted toward advocacy, policy activism, and ideological campaigns. They argue that housing is a human right that must be guaranteed by the state without conditions. Some go further, framing homelessness as a direct result of systemic racism, capitalism, and American imperialism.

This narrative has created an opening for radical actors. Activist groups with roots in Marxist, anarchist, and even Islamist ideologies have found a foothold within homelessness coalitions, using their influence to advance causes that extend far beyond housing. The result is a movement that, in certain segments, has become more concerned with dismantling perceived systems of oppression than with helping individuals off the streets.

The shift became particularly visible in the wake of the October 7, 2023 Hamas-led terrorist attacks against Israel. In response, several left-wing advocacy organizations—including those involved in homelessness policy—issued statements condemning Israel while downplaying or excusing the violence. These responses exposed a deeper trend: extremist organizations are leveraging their roles in housing coalitions to push radical, often anti-American agendas. This chapter investigates how and why this has happened. It identifies the advocacy groups promoting extremist rhetoric, maps the coalitions they influence, and uses their own words to show how efforts meant to serve the homeless have been co-opted for political ends that have little to do with getting people the help they need.

### **Exploiting Good Intentions**

The Housing Justice movement stems from the broader and more diverse homelessness advocacy embodied by proponents of the "Housing First" policy. Discovery Institute - a 501(c)(3) nonprofit with a program dedicated to addressing the

homelessness crisis and a record of questioning Housing First's effectiveness — defines the policy as follows:

The policy maintains that homelessness is fundamentally a housing issue that can be addressed by building additional housing. Proponents insist that housing is the main barrier to addiction and mental illness treatment, and that if individuals are provided with housing through taxpayer-funded housing vouchers, they will then be able to choose and focus on recovery for themselves. Per HUD and Housing First philosophy, treatment and program participation requirements cannot be mandatory. Housing First policy was formally adopted by the Federal Government under the Obama Administration in 2013. <sup>235,236,237</sup>

Funders Together for Housing Justice explains how "Housing Justice" is more ideological in nature:

Housing is a fundamental human right.

Housing justice is a building block for racial justice and liberation. A just housing society offers the assurance of safe, secure, affordable, and dignified living conditions where people have power and agency over how and where they live.

Housing justice recognizes that for generations equitable access to housing has been denied to Black and Indigenous people and other communities of color, which has fueled the disproportionate numbers of Black and other people of color experiencing homelessness.

By pursuing housing justice, Funders Together is unapologetically stating that homelessness is a racialized experience created and exacerbated by the forces of structural racism. Funders Together advocates for corrective action, such as reparations, to address the cumulative disparities and transform systems of accountability to ensure housing for all.<sup>238</sup>

The Housing Justice movement interprets the homelessness crisis through an oppressor-versus-oppressed framework, arguing that the root cause lies in the structural injustices of America's political and economic systems. From this perspective, actions such as clearing encampments or mandating addiction treatment are not seen as necessary interventions, but rather as extensions of systemic oppression.

At the same time, Housing First—a policy approach that prioritizes permanent housing for unhoused individuals without requiring treatment or sobriety—has gained widespread support, largely on moral and humanitarian grounds. Yet the Discovery Institute's *FixHomelessness. org* initiative has found that, in practice, Housing First policies often fail to reduce homelessness and may even worsen it, all while consuming significant public resources. The result, critics argue, is a morally questionable use of funding on programs with poor track records of success.

Several U.S. states have begun to echo those concerns. In 2023, Florida enacted HB 1267, which bars state homelessness funds from being used on Housing First initiatives, citing persistently high levels of unsheltered homelessness despite major investments. <sup>239</sup> Utah passed SB 238 to prioritize programs that require participants to engage in behavioral health or substance use treatment. Georgia followed with legislation that emphasizes transitional housing and links funding to measurable reductions in street homelessness. <sup>240</sup>

While several states have already moved away from Housing First, Missouri's action is especially notable. In 2022, Missouri enacted **House Bill 1606 (H.B. 1606)**, which formally abandoned the Housing First model by shifting funding away from permanent supportive housing toward short-term housing and mandatory treatment options.<sup>241</sup>

Although Missouri's Supreme Court later struck down H.B. 1606 on procedural grounds in late 2023—invalidating the criminal penalties and funding restrictions—it remains a landmark example of legislative resistance to Housing First. The episode underscores a broader pattern: states are increasingly questioning not just the effectiveness, but the ideological underpinnings of unconditional housing strategies.

These state-level policy shifts signal a broader national reevaluation of homelessness strategies—one increasingly skeptical of unconditional housing models. This emerging skepticism stands in stark contrast to the approach of many Housing Justice advocates, whose messaging around Housing First has become more ideological and polarizing.

By framing housing not just as a social need but as a right denied by oppressive systems, parts of the Housing Justice movement have created an ideological entry point for radical factions. Extremist groups—including anarchists, Marxists, and Islamists—have found common cause with this narrative, using homelessness not as a humanitarian crisis to be solved, but as a platform for broader revolutionary goals.

#### The Art of Coalitions

Revolutionary elements within the Housing Justice movement have advanced their position by exploiting what Hamas's parent group, the Muslim Brotherhood, describes as a "mastery of the art of coalitions." This strategy mirrors Sun Tzu's emphasis on adaptability, strategic alignment, and long-term positioning over open confrontation. Coalition-building allows actors with radical commitments to embed themselves in broader alliances, borrow legitimacy from more established organizations, and steadily redirect agendas. By aligning with commendable homelessness service providers – many of whom have expanded into advocacy, policy, and litigation—often under the banner of moral urgency—these movements gain credibility and momentum that would be unattainable on their own.

The *Grants Pass* case highlighted how this dynamic works in practice. Service-oriented nonprofits joined with advocacy organizations in filing amicus briefs, presenting a unified front that positioned them not only as caretakers but as policy-shapers. Within this coalition, a subset of groups identified in this report also intersect with extremist networks, showing how the coalition model provides radicals with cover and access. Marxist, anarchist, and Islamist-aligned actors have openly described how they use this strategy: build alliances with

diverse partners, absorb overlapping causes, and project cohesion that magnifies their influence. In doing so, they bend the discourse of homelessness advocacy toward radical ends disproportionate to their numbers.

#### Islamists in Their Own Words

The Muslim Brotherhood's U.S. wing wrote an internal strategic memo in 1991 that has since become public.<sup>242</sup>

The Brotherhood outlined its self-described "settlement mission" in the U.S. (a rather ironic terminology considering its condemnations of Israel and the U.S. as illegitimate "settler-colonialist" occupations).

It described its mission as a "kind of Grand Jihad in eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within and 'sabotaging' its miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers."

Because the memo is authored in the first person, it is clear that "their hands" is a reference to using the hands of Americans and Westerners against themselves. One of the "key" ways of doing so is practicing the "mastery of 'the art of coalitions,' the art of 'absorption,' and the principles of 'cooperation'" (U.S. v. Holy Land Foundation, Government Exhibit GX3-85, 2008).

If you examine the makeup of almost any "social justice" coalition, including homeless advocacy ones, you'll see pro-Hamas, Brotherhood-inspired groups like the Council on American-Islamic Relations 501(c)(3) non-profit and American Muslims for Palestine, a project of the Americans for Justice in Palestine Educational Foundation 501(c)(3) nonprofit.<sup>243,244,245</sup>

Per the Muslim Brotherhood leadership's own words, we know that Islamist extremists invest in these alliances because they are stepping stones for building an eventual revolutionary insurgency.

This framework underscores why the patterns of ideological overlap and coalition-building among activist groups—including those engaged in homelessness advocacy—warrant serious scrutiny. This dynamic is not theoretical; it surfaces in real-world coalitions that bring together Islamist-aligned organizations, racial-justice movements, and housing-justice networks.

Organizations we classify in this report as Islamism-aligned, including the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) and American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), regularly appear in broader social-justice coalitions. CAIR has publicly aligned with and participated in Black Lives Matter (BLM) actions, issuing BLM solidarity statements and joining BLM-led demonstrations at the chapter level (e.g., CAIR-NY, CAIR-Chicago, CAIR-Houston).

CAIR's connection to the homeless industrial complex is not in dispute. A few examples include:

- CAIR's Sacramento Valley office promoted and participated in the Poor People's Campaign stop in Sacramento and named CAIR-SV civil-rights attorney Saad Sweilem as a townhall speaker. The Poor People's Campaign's radical agenda includes homeless/housing policy <sup>246</sup>
- CAIR Pittsburgh called for law enforcement reform that includes getting them out of homeless/housing issues. <sup>247</sup>
- CAIR Philadelphia praised one of its board members as an advocate in "prison reform and homelessness." <sup>248</sup>
- A board member of CAIR California served as Senior Advisor of Homelessness to Governor Newsom's cabinet & previously served as a top homeless policy official for San Diego. <sup>249</sup>
- CAIR New York, CAIR Chicago, and the national CAIR have partnered with BLM (e.g., the Movement for Black Lives, M4BL) in local housing-justice and "defund the police" 250,251,252

M4BL's platform explicitly links housing to pro-Hamas, racial capitalism, policing, and incarceration, and advances a dedicated "Housing and Healthcare for All" plank. Within the housing-justice space, the Right to the City Alliance (RTTC) is a national coalition whose stated mission includes halting displacement and resisting police and state harassment in tenant communities—positions that overlap with BLM-aligned narratives. <sup>253,254</sup>

Notably, Alicia Garza—best known as a co-founder of BLM—was elected as board chair of RTTC in 2011, illustrating personnel and narrative proximity between BLM leadership and RTTC's housing-justice organizing Since 2011, Garza has advanced initiatives that echo RTTC's housing-justice and anti-policing themes. She co-founded Black Lives Matter in 2013, amplifying campaigns that pair "divest-from-policing/invest-in-communities" with calls for affordable housing and tenant protections via the Movement for Black Lives policy platform.<sup>255</sup>

In 2018, she launched the Black Futures Lab (BFL), which produced the Black Census Project and policy agendas tying Black voters' priorities to housing access and public-safety reforms (e.g., Black Agenda 2020; 2024 Black Economic Agenda). 256 BFL's 2023-24 Black Census work and follow-on releases explicitly elevate affordable housing as a top priority for Black voters and argue for government action—positions that align with RTTC's "Freedom from Police & State Harassment" and anti-displacement mission.257 Garza has also publicly framed defund-to-reinvest in terms of redirecting resources from police responses to housing and community services, reinforcing the invest/divest logic common to BLM-aligned housing campaigns. 258 In 2009, Garza served as executive director of People Organized to Win Employment Rights (POWER). In 2015, POWER merged into Causa Justa :: Just Cause, an RTTC member organization, which helps explain the continuing network proximity between Garza's orbit and RTTC's tenant-organizing lane (despite her serving as chair for just one year). Later in this section we will examine the Right to the City Alliance in greater detail, including its coalition strategies, funding ties, and political alignment.

Given the Muslim Brotherhood's own stated emphasis on coalition-building and the visible linkages between Islamist-aligned organizations and broader social justice networks—including those addressing homelessness—it is not unreasonable to raise concerns about ideological cross-pollination. Their participation in overlapping coalitions provides them with influence over narratives, language, and ultimately, policy agendas.

#### Marxists in Their Own Words

The strategy of ideological infiltration is not exclusive to Islamist actors. Established Marxist–Leninist organizations in the U.S. have also openly sought to use social justice movements as vehicles for influence and legitimacy. One of the clearest examples is the Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL), a U.S.-based group that actively participates in political campaigns, protest movements, and organizing efforts. Foreign terrorist organizations as well have openly declared their intent to use social justice movements as vehicles for influence and legitimacy. One of the clearest examples is the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a Marxist-Leninist terrorist group that participated in the Hamas-led October 7 attacks.<sup>259</sup>

Among the more than the 150 pro-terror groups active in the anti-Israel protest movement, which were identified in Capital Research Center's Marching Toward Violence Report, the PFLP arguably wields greater influence than Hamas itself.<sup>260</sup> This is because PFLP has made deliberate efforts to engage U.S.-based activist groups. In 2015, it held a formal meeting with the International Action Center (IAC), a registered 501(c)(3) nonprofit.<sup>261</sup> The PFLP stated the meeting aimed to deepen collaboration "between the Palestinian Arab left and progressive and democratic forces in the United States."<sup>262</sup>

The IAC, which identifies as Marxist-Leninist, openly advances an anti-capitalist and anti-American agenda, including campaigns demanding "affordable housing." It is also among the U.S.-based groups flagged in Capital Research Center's analysis of pro-terrorist activism within the anti-Israel protest movement.<sup>263</sup>

Similarly, the Palestinian Popular Struggle Front (PPSF), a Marxist political party, responded to the October 7 attacks by calling upon "communist, socialist, and leftist progressive parties in the world" to support the Palestinian "resistance." The PPSF boasts of its success in mobilizing the "global progressive movement" and holds formal affiliations with the Progressive Alliance—alongside the Democratic Party—and consultative membership in Socialist International. 265,266,267

The language used by these organizations is intentionally broad. Their appeals to "progressive" and "leftist" groups are designed to draw in allies across a wide range of domestic causes—not limited to Middle East policy. To engage with groups not explicitly focused on foreign affairs, they must embed themselves within those groups' existing advocacy missions.

Homelessness and Housing Justice are increasingly viewed as such strategic entry points.

### **Anarchist Coalition Strategy**

Anarchist groups like Antifa show up in political movements, but they almost never run their own nonprofits. They tend to see the nonprofit world as too dependent on big donors and government money, which they think takes away real independence.<sup>268</sup>

One group of anarchists from a "Stop the Sweeps" group in Texas wrote an article in November 2024 explaining how they radicalized the Housing Justice movement and utilized it to facilitate their independent militant actions "defending" homeless encampments from police.

"We developed a way of acting that emphasized autonomous principles without explicitly flagging ourselves as anarchists," they wrote in their article tellingly titled, "Insurgent Survival." <sup>269</sup>

By adopting deceptive names that sound innocuous and are unassociated with anarchism, they were able to "push the tactical repertoire of the movement without entering into direct conflict with other factions or alienating potential collaborators."

The anarchists explained how they benefited from the "Homes Not Handcuffs" (HNH) campaign by attending HNH meetings, specifically the breakout sessions related to "sweeps defense." The result was that "we ultimately absorbed the sweeps defense group into our efforts." The coalition meetings served as their recruitment ground.<sup>270</sup>

Humanitarian efforts at homeless encampments, particularly providing meals, was "a chance to build a founda-

tion for trust so as to collaborate in more militant sweep defense or combative activity around other issues."

Their involvement in the HNH coalition also gave them access to inside information about city council members and meetings and "pressure points and information about the effects of our actions on the departments enacting the sweeps." The anarchists say they were able to "produce scandals as a means of shaping the demands that [HNH] brought to City Council, which enabled us to exert influence on the negotiations without participating in them."

One pro-Hamas 501(c)(4) nonprofit in the coalition, the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), was used to access coalition resources. DSA's Libertarian Socialist Caucus used the coalition's contact lists to email and call Housing Justice supporters and encourage them to go to the homeless encampments that the anarchists planned to physically defend from the police.<sup>271</sup>

DSA applauded the October 7 attacks, praising "the just armed resistance in Palestine" for its "struggle against American imperialism." The group even cheered on Iran's direct missile and drone attacks on Israel, stating, "the Iranian defensive strikes have helped to further undermine the mantle of invincibility which the Zionist project has constructed." 273

It should be noted that the youth wing of DSA is currently listed as one of NCH's partners for its "Bring America Home Now" initiative.<sup>274</sup>

Seeing the value in "cross-pollination across different groups and fronts of the struggle," the anarchists decided to "increase the coordination and strategic intelligence of the movement" by forming a fusion center dubbed "The Hive."

The fusion center facilitated cooperation between Housing Justice "nonprofits, self-organized homeless collectives, the street newspapers, DSA, mutual aid groups, tenant organizers, and harm reduction groups." The Stop the Sweeps anarchists also "pull[ed] in friends from anti-fascist [Antifa] and anti-police organizing."

Later, "[t]his network also leaped into action with the George Floyd Rebellion" and other confrontations with the government and landlords that intend to "undermine and fragment the forces of the state and capital."

In addition to broadening its own coalition of extremists outside of the nonprofit sector, the anarchists were able to influence the more mainstream coalitions that mostly consist of nonprofits.

"As the only group still actively following, resisting, and shaping the narrative around the sweeps, we were able to shift the movement towards a more radical position," they wrote.

And what comes next?

The anarchists advise their comrades to "join forces with the forms of insurgent self-organization that emerge, such as encampments and migrant caravans."

The authors then specifically tell them to join the anti-Israel and oftentimes pro-terrorism "solidarity encampments on college campuses in the United States."

The extremist elements within the Housing Justice movement have done exactly that.

# Overlap of Amici Filers in *City* of *Grants Pass v. Johnson* and Extremist Organizations

Center for Constitutional Rights, The, New York, NY.

Democratic Socialists of America SF

Housekeys Action Network Denver

Kairos Center for Religions, Rights and Social Justice

National Housing Law Project

Poverty & Race Research Action Council

Stop the Sweeps Seattle

Western Regional Advocacy Project

### Case Study: Autonomous Tenants Union Network (ATUN)

Building on coalition tactics, the anarchist group perhaps most active in practicing this methodology is the Autonomous Tenants Union Network (ATUN), which hasn't attempted to conceal the fact that its branding of "tenants unions" fighting for "tenants' rights" is a ploy.

ATUN's website explains that its identification as a "tenants union" is merely a ruse:

We define a tenant as anyone who does not have control over their housing. For us, "tenants" includes unhoused tenants, tenants who are squatting, tenants inside the carceral punishment system, tenants in nursing homes, in university housing, and in state institutions...

...We believe in the right to housing, the right to the city, and the right to stay put. We fight for a world without landlords and without rent. We fight to build tenant power in order to end the immiseration of the poor and working classes that housing represents under capitalism and to contribute to the struggle to end capitalism itself.

ATUN says it sees itself as part of a global revolution:

We stand in solidarity with tenants in struggle around the world. We insist that tenants share interests across borders and we seek to build tenant power accordingly. We strive to adhere to an internationalist and anti-imperialist orientation in words and deeds.

It also writes North America in quotes to signify that it rejects the legitimacy of the countries on the continent. In other words, the U.S. shouldn't exist and should be abolished in order to end "the ongoing theft of Indigenous lands and genocide of Indigenous peoples."

ATUN's desire to extinguish the U.S. is confirmed in an Instagram <u>post</u> by ATUN member Los Angeles Tenants Union in April 2024. It promotes protests for their various issues, specifically "housing for all," "Free Palestine," "abolish colonial borders and the US war machine," and "stop US intervention in Cuba, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Haiti." <sup>275</sup>

Tenants and Neighborhoods Council, a member of ATUN, says it is a part of the same struggle as the Native Americans who fought colonialists, blacks who attacked former slave-owning landlords, and other violent actors.<sup>276</sup>

"[W]e should ready ourselves to disrupt state actions that defend the ruling classes as well as the political organizations and actions of those classes themselves," its website reads.

The group doesn't explicitly identify as anarchist, communist, or anarcho-communist, but ATUN's language is unmistakably of that mold. Anarchists promote ATUN as an organization that embodies their views.

A Chicago-based anarchist group, the Autonomous Tenants Union, described how it was formed "to complement the pioneering work of" ATUN. The anarchist group mentions receiving regular training and guidance from the national network.<sup>277</sup>

One of the organizers of the Los Angeles Tenants Union, a member of ATUN, identified as communist in a December 2024 interview. She said, "My dream is that one day not only [my tenant union] but all these tenants unions become communist." <sup>278</sup> <sup>279</sup>

An issue of ATUN's newsletter highlights how the Greater Boston Tenants Union, an ATUN member, participated in an anti-Israel rally. The article acknowledges their communist ideology.<sup>280</sup>

"As communists, we know that struggles for liberation around the world are all connected, but in the case of Palestine and the US these connections are especially direct," one of the demonstrators is quoted as saying.

It then mentions how the tenant union infrastructure enables these activists to "more effectively participate in disrupting the flow of resources from our neighborhoods to Israel." The Milwaukee Autonomous Tenants Union, an ATUN member, published an anti-American statement that refers to "the alleged evils of communism."<sup>281</sup> <sup>282</sup>

Stomp Out Slumlords, a Washington D.C.-based member of ATUN that is also part of the Democratic Socialists of America, said in August 2023 that its activism for tenants and housing was part of its quest to implement communism:

We're not going to get to communism without moving people to talk to their neighbors first, and more importantly, doing it ourselves. Here in DC, exercising tenant purchase rights or pushing for rent freezes aren't going to immediately decommodify housing, true. But these are the small-scale sites of disruption from which we can build working-class power into something much bigger.<sup>283</sup>

#### **Endorsements of Terrorism**

The Chicago-based Autonomous Tenants Union reacted to the October 7 atrocities by indirectly endorsing the attacks. It said it "stands with all peoples fighting for liberation, including the Palestinian people" without condemning the attacks. Above the statement is artwork glorifying violence and the destruction of police vehicles with, "Decolonize Palestine!" written above it.<sup>284</sup>

The statement recommended that readers interested in "accurate reporting on Palestine" follow the pro-terrorism media outlets Al-Jazeera and Quds News Network.<sup>285</sup> It encourages aspiring activists to get involved through the pro-terrorism U.S. Palestinian Community Network, a fiscally sponsored project of the WESPAC Foundation, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit, and Jewish Voice for Peace, another pro-terrorism 501(c)(3) nonprofit.<sup>286</sup> <sup>287</sup>

The larger ATUN, its members and its affiliates are frequently involved in anti-Israel protests and use Housing Justice rhetoric to depict Israel as an oppressive landlord that abuses Palestinian tenants and is responsible for Palestinian homelessness in Gaza.<sup>289</sup>

For example, a joint post published by ATUN member Los Angeles Tenants Union and the pro-terrorism Marxist group, Party for Socialism and Liberation on December 6, 2023, stated:

The same capitalist forces that evict Palestinians from their neighborhoods in Sheikh Jarrah are the same capitalist forces that displace families in Los Angeles! Working people reject Zionism & landlordism- we demand money for housing & education- not for war & occupation!<sup>290,291</sup>

The terrorists' destruction of Israeli homes, including burning them down with people inside, and Hamas's decision to deliberately provoke Palestinian suffering, including homelessness, goes unmentioned by ATUN and the broader Housing Justice movement.<sup>292</sup>

Another pro-Hamas anarchist group linked to ATUN is the Black Rose/Rosa Negra Anarchist Federation. It is a supporter of Palestinian terrorism that brags about its involvement in riots.<sup>293,294</sup> The group says its anarchist militants "have also participated in" ATUN and "built and participated in autonomous tenant unions around the US." It recommends that those in need of a tenant union join ATUN.<sup>295</sup>

The San Francisco-based Tenant and Neighborhood Councils, an ATUN affiliate, stated in its November 2023 newsletter that "we stand with working-class tenants who have resisted imperialist violence, whether those in Palestine facing violent displacement by Israeli settlers or those living in the Bay Area and larger United States due to Western intervention, war, and extraction in the third world."

It framed October 7 as a response to abuse by capitalist landlords and urged Housing Justice supporters to join the campaign against Israel and the U.S.:

"TANC demands an end to the occupation of Palestine and an end to U.S. collaboration with Zionist Israel on the backs of workers' hardearned dollars. Workers and tenants must resist Zionist propaganda, organize against eviction globally, and oppose U.S. imperialism." ATUN member Los Angeles Tenants Union publicly sided with the perpetrators of the October 7 attacks in an Instagram post co-authored with its sub-chapter named Union de Vecinos. It declared, "As tenants resisting displacement in LA, we stand in full support of the Palestinian resistance." <sup>297,298</sup>

The organization itself endorsed a major pro-terrorism conference in Detroit in May 2024 called the People's Conference for Palestine.<sup>299</sup> The event's speakers consistently expressed support for the October 7 attacks, Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Houthis and Hezbollah. The lineup even included members of the Marxist-Leninist PFLP terrorist group that took part in the October 7 atrocities.<sup>300</sup>

Although ATUN has not explicitly endorsed violence in the U.S., its language implies that violence is a legitimate course of action. Members and affiliates of ATUN have justified Palestinian terrorist attacks by drawing parallels between the oppression of Palestinians and the conditions faced by tenants in the U.S.—implicitly suggesting that similar acts of violence could be seen as justified within the American housing struggle.

For instance: In a 2023 communication, the Greater Boston Tenants Union wrote:

Our struggle in Boston is deeply intertwined with the Palestinian liberation struggle...Stopping this flow [of capital] requires U.S. cities and land to be used for people, not profit, which can only be won by a militant, independent tenant movement.<sup>301</sup>

Additionally, the Los Angeles Tenants Union claimed that the October 7 "resistance" is "connected to our resistance here in LA" because they both have abusive landlords and are being pushed out of their homes.<sup>302</sup>

If the Palestinians' violent response counts as legitimate "resistance," then people in the U.S. facing the same injustices would be justified in reacting the same way.

Another ATUN member, the Greater Boston Tenants Union, wrote on December 5, 2023, "For 75 years, Palestinians have shown us the way to fight back." <sup>303</sup>

ATUN's advocacy of illegal obstructions of justice is stated more directly. Its resources page has an Eviction Blockade Checklist that includes plans for impeding law enforcement and occupying the inside of the apartment.<sup>304</sup>

Stomp Out Slumlords, which is affiliated with both ATUN and the Democratic Socialists of America, wrote in 2023 that it had come close to adopting a militant posture. Its decision to remain non-violent, it explained, was not rooted in a rejection of violence but in pragmatism:

In the previous months we had seriously considered the possibility that we would have to physically resist mass evictions like the Communist militants of the 1930s. Once it became clear that the federal government was actually spending money to bail tenants out, we understood we needed to carry out a less dramatic but equally important struggle to ensure tenants actually got that money.<sup>305</sup>

### ATUN's Links to Housing Justice Coalitions and Nonprofits

ATUN eschews the formation of nonprofit organizations, claiming that receiving funding from major foundations or the government would jeopardize its independence.<sup>306</sup> It funds itself through donations and membership dues sent to an entity called Tenant Information Network, Inc.<sup>307</sup>

However, just like the aforementioned "Stop the Sweeps" anarchists in Texas, ATUN says it still works with non-profits within the Housing Justice movement.

#### Democratic Socialists of America's Links to ATUN

ATUN and Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), a 501(c)(4) nonprofit organization, have overlapping membership.<sup>308</sup>

The Metro DC chapter of DSA also goes by the name of Stomp Out Slumlords (SOS) and identifies itself as "Metro DSA's tenant organizing project."<sup>309</sup> <sup>310</sup> SOS also appears on ATUN's list of members.<sup>311</sup>

SOS's website proudly features a 2021 quote from the American Conservative describing them as "deeply radical, even revolutionary, and they want to change America in ways that would make it unrecognizable. They're serious about it and we should take them seriously."

The fall 2024 issue of ATUN's newsletter, the *Tenant Voice*, has two articles from SOS representative Stephanie Bastek talking about how it works with the national and international Housing Justice movements. She revealed that Housing Justice nonprofits in the U.S. provided them with actionable political intelligence.<sup>312</sup>

It describes how "friends and contacts who work in the 'affordable housing' nonprofit sector told us" about the DC Department of Housing and Community Development's private meetings. As a result, SOS "surprised our adversaries with an unexpected outcry at a politically inconvenient moment."

Another overlap exists through the California-based Tenant and Neighborhoods Councils, another ATUN member. The August 2021 issue of its newsletter says that it was founded in May 2018 by members of the DSA's Communist Caucus.<sup>313</sup>

#### Chicago Tenants Movement's Links to ATUN

The **Chicago Tenants Movement (CTM)** was launched in 2020 as a citywide coalition, with the Autonomous Tenants Union (ATU) listed as a charter member.<sup>314</sup> Over time, CTM and the broader Autonomous Tenant Union Network (ATUN) have become closely linked: CTM's website borrows heavily from ATUN's language and even directs supporters to ATUN's official tenant-organizing guide. The connection is unmistakable—rather than two unrelated projects moving in parallel, CTM functions as part of the same organizing ecosystem that produced ATUN.<sup>315</sup>

CTM's mission statement drives the point home. It calls for replacing the "current housing system with one of collective ownership and self-management" and pledges to "liberate" communities from "oppression and domination of all kinds," including "occupying police" and what it terms "racial-patriarchal capitalism." This rhetoric is not the language of a conventional tenants' rights campaign. While CTN is not a member of ATUN, it reflects the same revolutionary framework that defines ATUN's national agenda.

With its mirrored rhetoric and radical program CTM shows how housing justice networks draw directly from Chicago's long history of ideological activism. What presents itself as a tenants' coalition is in practice part of a broader project advancing systemic political change under the banner of housing rights.

#### Right to the City Alliance's Homes for All Campaign and Its Links to ATUN

The Right to the City Alliance (RTTC), a 501(c)(3) nonprofit, leads the national Homes for All campaign, which it says includes more than 90 organizations. Among its member groups are organizations with direct connections to the Autonomous Tenant Union Network (ATUN).

At least two ATUN entities are affiliated with RTTC: the **Autonomous Tenants Union (ATU)** and the Arizona-based **People's Defense Initiative (PDI)**. PDI's own social media identifies its parent organization as the **Tucson Tenants Union**, itself a member of ATUN. These overlapping memberships demonstrate the ways in which national alliances like RTTC's Homes for All campaign serve as hubs, linking local tenant unions and activist groups into broader advocacy networks.

PDI associates itself with the Antifa movement.<sup>316</sup> It posted a message from NYC Antifa on January 2, 2023.<sup>317</sup> PDI spreads anti-police bigotry by posting "ACAB," an acronym for "All Cops Are Bastards," and encourages lighting cop cars on fire.<sup>318,319</sup>

On December 19, 2023, RTTC's Instagram page published an Instagram post it jointly authored with the pro-Hamas 501(c)(3) nonprofits U.S. Campaign for Palestinian Rights (USCPR) and Grassroots Global Justice

Alliance that declared, "From Palestine to Mexico, all borders and militarized violence have got to go!"<sup>320,321,322</sup>

RTTC's statement on the first anniversary of the October 7 attacks blamed the entire conflict on Israel. It did say it "mourns the loss of innocent people in Palestine/ Israel on October 7," but that falls short of condemning the attacks and its perpetrators or calling for an end to terrorism and the pursuit of destroying Israel. It stated:

In the past months we've witnessed Israel expand its war on Palestine to Iran, Syria, and Yemen, and in the past week it has bombarded and invaded Lebanon...As an alliance fighting for housing justice, we are particularly appalled by Israel's systematic destruction of housing and other critical social infrastructure in Gaza, and now in Lebanon....We honor those who continue to struggle for an end to militarism, displacement, racism, fascism, and apartheid. We honor those who continue to struggle for peace, justice, dignity, and democracy—from Palestine, to our communities right here in the U.S.<sup>323</sup>

RTTC's website lists its "national housing partners" as 501(c)(4) nonprofit Action Center on Race and the Economy (ACRE); Alliance for Housing Justice, a project of the 501(c)(3) nonprofit Public Advocates; the Center for Popular Democracy (CPD) 501(c)(3) nonprofit and People's Action 501(c)(4) nonprofit. 324,325,326,327,328

Its "united front partners" includes groups that are pro-terrorism and coalitions that have pro-terrorism members. The list consists of:

- Climate Justice Alliance (CJA), a 501(c)(3) nonprofit that provides artwork for protests that glorify the October 7, 2023 terrorist attacks, call for the elimination of the state of Israel, and quote terrorists like Ghassan Kanafani from the Marxist-Leninist PFLP terrorist group.
- Indigenous Environmental Network (IEN), a 501(c)(3) nonprofit that refers to the U.S. as

Turtle Island, demonizes the country, incites violence, and describes the October 7 terrorist attacks as "the Hamas retaliatory strike" without condemning the atrocities. 335.336,337,338,339,340

• Grassroots Global Justice Alliance (GGJA), a 501(c)(3) nonprofit with an official statement that condemns Israel but not Hamas or its October 7 attacks and states, "We recognize many similarities between the Palestinian resistance movement and US movements" GGJA supports. The statement quotes an organizer from the Union of Palestinian Women's Committees, which is a front for the Marxist-Leninist PFLP terrorist group.<sup>341,342,343</sup>

GGJA has also posted advice for resisting law enforcement. It defended the Antifa-associated anarchist terrorists in the Stop Cop City / Defend the Atlanta Forest coalition and has served as a supporter.<sup>344,345,346</sup>

GGJA refuses to recognize the U.S.'s right to exist, instead referring to the country as "Turtle Island (so-called USA)." It says it seeks "to bring forth liberation and self-determination across Turtle Island." 347,348

Other extremist members of GGJA who have expressed support for terrorism or anti-Americanism include IEN, Arab Resource and Organizing Center (AROC), a fiscally sponsored project of the Tides Center 501(c)(3) nonprofit; Palestinian Youth Movement (PYM), a fiscally sponsored project of the WESPAC Foundation 501(c)(3) nonprofit; Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, the Jews for Racial and Economic Justice 501(c) (3) nonprofit, and Dissenters. 349.350,351,352,353,354,355

 It Takes Roots (ITR) says it is an "alliance of alliances" that consists of "sister alliances" with RTTC, IEN, CJA and GGJ.<sup>356,357</sup>

It responded to the October 7 attacks with an official statement that declared "we stand in un-

wavering solidarity with the Palestinian freedom struggle for self-determination" and condemned Israel without any criticism of the October 7 attacks, Hamas, or anti-Israeli terrorism.<sup>358</sup>

The statement then pushes readers to donate to the pro-terrorism groups AROC, PYM, USCPR, Adalah Justice Project, a fiscally sponsored project of the Tides Center and the Arab American Action Network 501(c)(3) nonprofit.<sup>359,360</sup>

 Green New Deal Network, a coalition that fundraises through the Tides Foundation 501(c)(3) nonprofit and has a significant number of extremist members.<sup>361,362,363</sup>

Its Steering Committee includes GGJA, CJA, People's Action and Sunrise, a 501(c)(4) non-profit. Members include RTTC, IEN, CPD, the Indivisible 501(c)(4) nonprofit and the Green-peace 501(c)(4) nonprofit, among others.<sup>364,365,366</sup>

- Rising Majority, a fiscally sponsored project of the Common Counsel Foundation 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization. It reacted to the October 7 attacks with a statement that failed to condemn the attacks and declared, "we see many similarities between the resistance movement of Palestinians to military occupation and the movements we are part of here." 367,368,369,370
- United Frontline Table, a coalition that includes CJA, IEN, GGJA, People's Action, It Takes Roots, and other organizations.

In addition to these "united front partners," RTTC has many state-level organizations listed among its members.

#### RTTC's Connections to CAIR, Black Lives Matter

As mentioned earlier in this report, the link between the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), Black Lives Matter (BLM), and RTTC is not conjecture—it

is visible in the coalition infrastructure that sustains BLM's intersectional activism. While there is no evidence of a formal partnership between CAIR and RTTC, both organizations move in parallel within the broader orbit of BLM's coalition politics.

CAIR has made its alignment with Black Lives Matter explicit. In the wake of nationwide protests, CAIR-Chicago declared that it "proudly stands in solidarity with Black communities and the Black Lives Matter Movement," while also acknowledging anti-Blackness within Muslim communities and pledging to confront it. At the national level, CAIR has joined Muslim advocacy coalitions advancing demands that mirror BLM's—from police accountability to shifting municipal budgets toward community services. These are not symbolic gestures; they represent CAIR's consistent integration into the BLM framework.<sup>371372</sup>

That framework itself is crucial. From its inception, Black Lives Matter has functioned as more than a protest slogan; it has served as a coalition hub. Its decentralized structure and wide appeal have allowed groups with disparate missions—civil rights advocates, faith-based organizations, housing justice organizers, and immigration activists—to collaborate under the same umbrella, amplifying one another's campaigns and normalizing cross-sector alliances.

Through its flagship "Homes for All" campaign, RTTC positions housing as a human right, connecting affordability and eviction defense to broader struggles against systemic racism. This mission dovetails with BLM's framing of racial inequality as both economic and social. RTTC affiliates regularly surface in BLM-aligned campaigns and demonstrations, from eviction defense actions to demands for reallocating public resources.

The overlap is not only thematic but also personal. Alicia Garza, one of the three women who co-founded Black Lives Matter, served as chair of RTTC's board in 2011, years before BLM became a nationally recognized movement. This leadership role underscores how the movements have been woven together from the beginning.<sup>373</sup>

The result is a structural pattern that merits attention.

CAIR and RTTC may not be operating hand-in-hand, but within BLM's coalition space they converge—signing onto the same demands, endorsing the same platforms, and appearing at the same rallies. Black Lives Matter has provided the connective platform through which Muslim civil-rights advocates and housing justice organizers reinforce each other's causes, broadening their reach and magnifying their influence.

#### Tenants Together and its Links to ATUN and Other Extremists

Tenants Together is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit that is a coalition of organizations in California. Tenants Together's website identifies it as a member of RTTC and its Homes for All campaign.<sup>374</sup> <sup>375</sup>

Its list of member organizations includes ATUN members Glendale Tenants Union, Los Angeles Tenants Union, Oakland Tenants Union, and Pasadena Tenants Union.<sup>376</sup>

Tenants Together's partner organizations include the Los Angeles, Sacramento, and Chico chapters of DSA.

### Housing Justice for All and its Links to ATUN and Other Extremists

Housing Justice for All, also known as the Upstate Downstate Housing Alliance, is a fiscally sponsored project of Voices of Community Activists and Leaders-New York (VOCAL-NY), a 501(c)(3) nonprofit.<sup>377,378,379</sup>

It says it is a coalition of over 80 organizations in New York. However, its list of members numbers over 200. The list includes ATUN member Crown Heights Tenants Union and ATUN affiliate Ridgewood Tenants Union.<sup>380</sup>

The coalition also includes:

- Nine chapters of DSA
- 527 (also known as a political organization) nonprofit Communist Party USA and its New York Young Communist League<sup>381</sup>
- 501(c)(4) nonprofit Socialist Alternative

- The New York City chapter of the extremist 501(c)(3) nonprofit Jewish Voice for Peace<sup>382</sup>
- Youth Alliance for Housing, whose statement addressing the October 7 attacks did not criticize the atrocities or Hamas.<sup>383</sup>
  - It declared that it "stands in solidarity with the Palestinian people and their fight against settler colonialism."
  - It also referred to the U.S. as "Amerikkka," a term used by anti-American extremists to depict the country as equivalent to the KKK white supremacist group. It says it is "operated under a Joint Plan of Work" with the Virginia Organizing 501(c)(3) nonprofit.<sup>384,385</sup>
  - Jews for Racial and Economic Justice, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit that made an anti-American post on the Fourth of July in 2024.<sup>386,387</sup>
  - Desis Rising Up and Moving (DRUM), a 501(c)(3) nonprofit that reacted to the October 7 attacks by endorsing an anti-Israel statement by Rising Majority, a fiscally sponsored project of the Common Counsel Foundation 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization. The text did not criticize Hamas or the attacks and stated, "we see many similarities between the resistance movement of Palestinians to military occupation and the movements we are part of here." 388,389,390,391,392

Housing Justice for All is involved in anti-Israel activism and endorsed demands that Israel cease military action on October 20, 2023.<sup>393</sup>

The post directly said the coalition was being led to join the cause by three of its members, ATUN member Crown Heights Tenants Union, DSA's New York City chapter, and DRUM.

The fiscal sponsor of Housing Justice for All, VOCAL-NY, has received "millions of dollars in funding from the city and state," according to City Journal.<sup>394</sup>

The Housing Justice National Platform for a Homes Guarantee is a project of the Alliance for Housing Justice (AHJ), which itself is a fiscally sponsored a project of the 501(c)(3) nonprofit Public Advocates.<sup>395,396,397</sup>

The AHJ website reads the organization is "powered by" the aforementioned groups RTTC, CPD (also known as Popular Democracy), People's Action, Housing Justice for All NY, also known as the Upstate Downstate Housing Alliance and the 501(c)(3) nonprofits National Housing Law Project, PolicyLink, PowerSwitch Action, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, Poverty and Race Research Action Council, Liberation in a Generation, and Public Advocates. 398,399,400,401,402

The Housing Justice Platform has a long list of organizational endorsers on the national, state and local levels.<sup>403</sup>

## Other Extremist Groups in the Housing Justice Movement

#### Western Regional Advocacy Project (WRAP)

The Western Regional Advocacy Project (WRAP), a 501(c)(3), has received support from Tides-affiliated entities and has coordinated anti-sweep campaigns across cities, tying housing to anti-capitalist critiques in publications like Street Spirit, which labels U.S. governance "neoliberal fascism." In fact, the nonprofit glorifies violence targeting law enforcement and is a state-level endorser of the Housing Justice platform. <sup>404,405,406</sup>

One of WRAP's board members, Jade Arellano, is currently RTTC's National Organizer for Infrastructure Development. $^{407}$ 

WRAP's Instagram posts dehumanize police officers by depicting them as malicious pigs. A December 2024 post refers to police officers that swept through a homeless encampment as "the kkkolonial [sic] army." 408 409

A post from 2020 says "Abolish the Police" and "black liberation" and shows a panther pouncing on a police officer drawn as a pig. Another <u>post</u> that year has the words "abolish police" and "cops kill" and shows law enforcement equipment in flames.<sup>410</sup>

A 2018 post idolizes anti-American extremist Assata Shakur, praising her as one of the "women of the resistance" and "potent model as an activist willing to risk her life and freedom for the liberation of oppressed peoples." 412

It acknowledges that she joined the Black Liberation Army terrorist group in 1971 and that the FBI considered it to be an anarchist group. It then mentions that she escaped from prison in 1979 and escaped to Cuba in 1984 where the communist government harbored her. It doesn't mention that she was in prison because she was convicted of murdering a police officer in 1973.

Its currently listed members include:413

- Housing and Neighborhood Defense (HAND), a fiscally sponsored project of Western Regional Advocacy Project (WRAP). HAND participated in ATUN's national conference in 2024 and held a joint session about "Neighborhood Crisis Response" with ATUN member Crown Heights Tenants Union. 414,415,416
- Colorado Palestine Coalition (CPC) because "We must support those evicted from their homes abroad!!!" Most of CPC's official members are pro-terrorism groups.<sup>417</sup>
  - CPC coauthored a post on the first anniversary of the October 7 attacks with artwork glorifying the violence, including a drawing of a paraglider. A post on August 2, 2024, read, "SUPPORT THE RESISTANCE! From Palestine; to Yemen, to Lebanon!" It is obviously referring to the various terrorist groups in Gaza and Israel, the Houthis in Yemen and Hezbollah in Lebanon.
- Los Angeles Community Action Network, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit.<sup>420</sup>
- Love and Justice in the Streets, which WRAP is the fiscal sponsor for Street Spirit, a newspaper started by WRAP founding member Paul Boden.<sup>421</sup> It published an article by Boden in May 2025, declaring that

"America has implemented the long-planned and inevitable work plan of neoliberal governance in the United States of America." 422

Stop the Sweeps Seattle

WRAP's list of national partners includes:

- Poor People's Campaign, which is currently receiving donations through the Tides
   Center's Kairos Center and the Repairers of the Breach 501(c)(3) nonprofit.<sup>423</sup>
- National Alliance of HUD Tenants
- National Association for the Education of Homeless Children and Youth, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit.
- National Health Care for the Homeless Council, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit.
- National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit. This is the legal name of the organization referred to above as the National Homelessness Law Center.

#### Sunrise Movement

Extending this pattern, the Sunrise Movement, with DAF support via Network for Good, integrates universal access to housing into its Green New Deal while endorsing Stop Cop City protests, linking climate activism to anti-police disruptions.<sup>426</sup>

Sunrise declared its support for Stop Cop City / Defend the Atlanta Forest coalition that is linked to anarchist terrorism in April 2023. It posted, "We continue to stand in solidarity with the forest defenders fighting to stop Cop City."<sup>427</sup>

Sunrise also tried to help them fundraise by writing, "to support the fight donate to the Atlanta Solidarity Fund," (ASF) which is an initiative of the Network for Strong Communities. <sup>428</sup> <sup>429</sup> ASF was helping the accused terrorists with bail funds and legal support. <sup>430</sup> Prosecutors al-

leged that three ASF leaders faced racketeering charges. Charges were later dropped.<sup>431</sup>

Sunrise does not appear to have actually condemned violence or terrorist groups like Hamas.

On the section of its website about its principles, it describes the government as a "violent, militarized state" and then says, "We, as Sunrise, will not win by confronting their violence with violent actions."

Sunrise's statement about Luigi Mangione, who murdered UnitedHealthcare CEO Brian Thompson on December 4, 2024, has a large photo of Mangione that appears to glorify him. It says "we hold fiercely to our principle of nonviolence" but doesn't condemn his violence.<sup>432</sup>

At least two Sunrise chapters have expressed support for Hamas and its atrocities on October 7, 2023.

The Pittsburgh and New Orleans chapters are official supporters of the Coalition to March on the DNC, which was an alliance that included over 150 extremist groups and endorsed the October 7 atrocities. 433 434 435

In October 2021, Sunrise announced it would withdraw from a rally promoting statehood for Washington, D.C., because three Jewish organizations that believe Israel has a right to exist were involved. Sunrise said it would not be a part of coalitions that include Zionists and condemned Israel as a "colonial project" without saying a single critical word about anti-Israel terrorism.<sup>436</sup>

Sunrise depicts the Chinese Communist Party as a victim of the U.S. and Sunrise caved to Chinese Communist Party supporters in June 2021 by cancelling a speaking engagement with an anti-CCP activist. 437 438

Sunrise condemned tourism to Hawaii in May 2022, and expressed its desire to see the state secode from the  $U.S.^{439}$ 

#### **Dream Defenders**

Dream Defenders (DD) is a fiscally sponsored project of the Tides Advocacy 501(c)(4) nonprofit organization.<sup>440</sup> <sup>441</sup> It believes housing is a human right. DD glorifies violence in toolkits praising Hamas tactics, framing housing rights within abolitionist calls to dismantle capitalism and policing.<sup>442</sup>

DD identifies itself as socialist, Black feminist, internationalist, and abolitionist. It explains that its definition of abolitionism is eliminating all prisons, policing, surveillance, and punishment.<sup>443</sup> It advocates for "nonviolent resistance" in order to achieve "the destruction of the political and economic systems of Capitalism and Imperialism as well as Patriarchy."<sup>444</sup>

However, it has a long history of supporting terrorist groups and glorifying anti-American violence.<sup>445</sup> It is one of about 250 anti-Israel organizations that condemned the Fourth of July holiday in 2024 or expressed anti-American sentiment instead of patriotism.<sup>446</sup>

DD's reaction to the October 7, 2023 terrorist attacks was to create and distribute a "Black and Palestinian Solidarity Organizing Toolkit" with an image of a Hamas paraglider committing the attacks with the words "Black Liberation for Palestinian Freedom" above it. The guide also included links for three guides endorsing illegal acts like property destruction, taking over buildings, blockades, economic sabotage, using false IDs, and obstructing law enforcement.<sup>447</sup>

Although DD is supportive of Hamas, it is more supportive of Hamas's Marxist ally, PFLP. It has repeatedly praised PFLP for fighting "global imperialism" and "capitalist oppression." 448,449,450,451,452

#### Alliance for Global Justice

Likewise, the 501(c)(3) nonprofit Alliance for Global Justice (AFGJ), receiving foundation grants, sponsors campaigns reclaiming housing through takeovers, defending it as resistance to "structural genocide" while backing PFLP fronts.<sup>453</sup>

An April 2022 article on its website asserts:

While the international community defends the right to housing as a fundamental and inalienable human right, the denial of housing rights to Black and Brown communities remains foundational to U.S.

policy-making and law enforcement. For centuries now, lawmakers have facilitated and law enforcement has promoted deadly displacement and dispossession of historically colonized communities. From "Black Lives Matter" to "housing is a human right," movements are confronting structural genocide. 454.455

The article states that AFGJ is the fiscal sponsor for the Poor People's Economic Human Rights Campaign that is "organizing housing takeover campaigns in Philadelphia and other cities across the country, [and] affirms that people have the right to reclaim the basic necessities of life, including housing." <sup>456</sup>

AFGJ is the fiscal sponsor for PFLP front Samidoun.<sup>457</sup> The U.S. and Canadian governments designated and sanctioned Samidoun in October 2024 for being a "sham charity" set up to finance PFLP.<sup>458</sup>

AFGJ seeks the overthrow of the U.S.'s "liberal democracy" and "global capitalism."<sup>459</sup>

AFGJ originates from a group called the Nicaragua Network that advocated for the communist Sandinistas. It consistently defends enemies of the West, particularly the communist and Marxist-influenced governments in Cuba, Venezuela, Nicaragua, China, and North Korea. 460 It also endorsed Russia's invasion of Ukraine. 461

#### People's Housing Project

On March 25, 2024, the Peoples Housing Project posted in support of "Palestinian's right to resistance" and demanded "Full Liberation of Palestine NOW!" and the release of all Palestinian "political prisoners," which is the term that supporters of anti-Israel terrorism use for detained and imprisoned terror suspects. It declared, "Fund Housing, Not Genocide!"<sup>462</sup>

#### Equality for Flatbush

The Brooklyn-based Equality for Flatbush (E4F), a fiscally sponsored project of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization 501(c)(3), promotes police abolition in gentrification fights, declaring solidarity with Palestinian "resistance" post-October 7.463

E4F promotes housing as a right and believes "in the abolition of the police, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), and prisons."<sup>464</sup> <sup>465</sup> It describes itself as a Black Lives Matter group.<sup>466</sup>

One day after the October 7, 2023 terrorist attacks, E4F declared:

(E4F) stands in solidarity with the people of Palestine as they fight for their liberation from a genocidal Zionist apartheid state....As Black people, we know, there cannot be a call for "Peace" until there is Justice!...As we fight to stop police murders and displacement caused by the gentrification of Brooklyn, NY, we will continue to support the Palestinian Resistance Movement until Palestine is FREE!<sup>467</sup>

#### October 22<sup>nd</sup> Alliance to End Homelessness

South Florida's October 22<sup>nd</sup> Alliance to End Homelessness, led by Jeff Weinberger, organizes anti-Israel protests framing Hamas actions as self-defense, chanting genocidal slogans while advocating an end to homelessness. 468 Weinberger was described by a local news outlet as one of the "lead organizers" of a protest against a subsidiary of the Israeli defense contractor Elbit Systems in Boca Raton in November 2023. 469

The protest included activists from the pro-terrorism groups Students for Justice in Palestine, Dream Defenders, and Food Not Bombs Fort Lauderdale, which glorifies the use of Molotov cocktails.<sup>470,471,472</sup> Food Not Bombs Fort Lauderdale also displays the anarcho-communism flag.<sup>473</sup>

Weinberger claimed that Palestinians "do not support nor condemn the action of Hamas."

He framed the October 7 attacks as acts of self-defense, saying, "We recognize that what Hamas did was a desperate act borne out of deep, deep oppression, living in what's been called the largest concentrated open air concentration camp on the planet."

He accused Elbit Systems of being "a merchant of death and genocide and apartheid" and said, "This is in the DNA of Zionism."

Protestors chanted "From the River to the Sea, Palestine Will Be Free," which is a genocidal call for the elimination of the state of Israel.

#### What's Really at Stake

The evolution of the housing-justice movement shows how a cause rooted in humanitarian concern can be transformed into a vehicle for ideological struggle. By redefining homelessness as evidence of systemic oppression—capitalism, racism, imperialism—activist organizations have created an opening for groups whose priorities extend far beyond housing. Coalition structures allow these actors to embed themselves within legitimate advocacy networks, borrow credibility, and redirect campaigns toward broader political aims.

That redirection has consequences. Policies once centered on treatment, transitional housing, and measurable reductions in street homelessness are increasingly displaced by unconditional housing guarantees and rhetoric framed in revolutionary terms. The response of several housing-justice groups to the October 7 Hamas attacks exposed the degree of ideological alignment: organizations dedicated to homelessness issued statements that excused or minimized terrorism, revealing how advocacy for the unhoused can be repurposed to serve foreign or extremist causes.

The point is not that every housing advocate is complicit, but that the movement has become porous to infiltration. When humanitarian platforms are co-opted in this way, policy debates risk being driven less by evidence of what reduces homelessness and more by ideological commitments imported from unrelated struggles. Recognizing that dynamic is essential for separating interventions that genuinely serve the unhoused from those that instrumentalize their suffering.

## CONCLUSION

This report has traced how America's homelessness response has been shaped not by a lack of money or goodwill, but by the institutions and coalitions that channel both. Government and philanthropic funding together sustain a nonprofit sector of extraordinary scale. Yet too often, those groups engage in litigation, lobbying, and ideological campaigns rather than to interventions that demonstrably reduce unsheltered homelessness. The Grants Pass case made this visible: hundreds of well-financed nonprofits rallied, not to expand shelter or treatment, but to limit local authority to address encampments—illustrating the increasingly dominate role advocacy plays in this field.

The analysis also shows how coalition structures have enabled a different kind of capture. By framing homelessness primarily as evidence of systemic oppression, parts of the movement have created space for extremist factions to embed themselves, borrow legitimacy, and redirect advocacy. The responses of a component of the housing-justice organizations to the October 7 Hamas attacks revealed the extent of this shift: rhetoric once centered on shelter and services now echoed foreign ideological battles. What began as a fight against homelessness has, in many quarters, become a stage for broader political projects.

Coalition dynamics make this danger even clearer. The Right to the City Alliance (RTTC), one of the most prominent national housing-justice coalitions, illustrates the point. In 2011, Alicia Garza chaired RTTC's board; two years later, she co-founded Black Lives Matter. Since BLM's emergence in 2013, RTTC and BLM-aligned networks have often operated in parallel. Those same coalitions have repeatedly intersected with the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), an organization with documented Muslim Brotherhood roots. Together, these overlapping networks issued statements after the October 7 Hamas attacks that condemned Israel while declining to denounce terrorism—evidence that housing-justice advocacy has become entangled with factions advancing pro-Hamas and openly anti-American agendas.<sup>474</sup>

The implications are stark. Without clearer boundaries between service and advocacy, and without transparency in how public and philanthropic dollars are used, the United States will continue to spend at scale while leaving tens of thousands on the streets. Reform requires more than funding: it requires accountability, a focus on recovery-oriented programs with measurable results, and vigilance against the misuse of humanitarian platforms for ideological ends. Only then can the nation's compassion be turned into solutions that genuinely help people off the streets rather than into instruments for agendas that have little to do with homelessness at all.

# APPENDIX A Amici Supporting Respondent in Grants Pass

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
League of Women Voters of SF	501(c)(3)	94-2804620
Abused Adult Resource Center	501(c)(3)	45-0363127
ACLU	501(c)(4)	13-3871360
ACLU of Alaska	501(c)(4)	92-0126141
ACLU of Arizona	501(c)(4)	86-0205157
ACLU of Delaware	501(c)(4)	51-0240032
ACLU of Hawai'i	501(c)(4)	99-0156207
ACLU of Iowa	501(c)(4)	42-0892616
ACLU of Kansas	501(c)(4)	91-2090691
ACLU of Kentucky	501(c)(4)	61-0597514
ACLU of Missouri	501(c)(4)	32-0295491
ACLU of Montana	501(c)(4)	81-0431527
ACLU of New Hampshire	501(c)(4)	02-6019538
ACLU of New Mexico	501(c)(4)	85-0197858
ACLU of Northern California	501(c)(4)	94-2151925
ACLU of Oklahoma	501(c)(4)	82-5301552
ACLU of Oregon	501(c)(4)	93-0556378
ACLU of South Carolina	501(c)(4)	27-1942885
ACLU of Southern California	501(c)(4)	95-0490250
ACLU of Utah	501(c)(4)	27-1307106
ACLU of Washington	501(c)(4)	91-0683589
Advancing Real Change, Inc.	501(c)(3)	35-2518417
Alabama Criminal Defense Lawyers Association	501(c)(6)	63-0814840
Ann Frances Outreach Foundation (Pottstown/Norristown, PA)	501(c)(3)	85-0989593
Autistic Women and Nonbinary Network	501(c)(3)	27-5133111
Bay Area Lawyers for Individual Freedom, San Francisco, Cal.	501(c)(6)	94-3184483
Bend the Arc: A Jewish Partnership for Justice	501(c)(3)	52-1332694
Better Days Ahead Outreach Inc.	501(c)(3)	86-2061215
Bill Wilson Center (Santa Clara County, CA)	501(c)(3)	94-2221849
Black & Pink National, Omaha, Neb.	501(c)(3)	27-3930676
Black Alliance for Just Immigration, Brooklyn, N.Y.	501(c)(3)	27-1911378
Black Trans Nation, Brooklyn, N.Y.	501(c)(3)	85-0778873
Black Veterans Project	501(c)(3)	83-4476025
CANGRESS (Los Angeles Community Action Network)	501(c)(3)	02-0661629
Center for Constitutional Rights, The, New York, NY.	501(c)(3)	22-6082880
Center on Budget and Policy Priorities	501(c)(3)	52-1234565
Chicago Coalition for the Homeless	501(c)(3)	36-3292607
Church Housing Corp. (Phoenixville, PA)	501(c)(3)	23-2932709

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
28,424	-966	-3.40%	
4,113,662	0	0.00%	
146,699,874	0	0.00%	
296,828	0	0.00%	
1,471,333	0	0.00%	
234,096	0	0.00%	
276,670	0	0.00%	
343,873	0	0.00%	
288,132	0	0.00%	
567,829	0	0.00%	
856,671	0	0.00%	
485,673	0	0.00%	
404,358	0	0.00%	
961,067	0	0.00%	
8,539,200	0	0.00%	
391,551	0	0.00%	
2,207,126	0	0.00%	
440,725	0	0.00%	
4,628,647	0	0.00%	
292,238	0	0.00%	
4,063,097	0	0.00%	
1,197,886	0	0.00%	
233,692	0	0.00%	
100,441	0	0.00%	
648,739	0	0.00%	
230,281	0	0.00%	
4,398,647	0	0.00%	
150,217	0	0.00%	
26,847,693	0	0.00%	
1,841,454	0	0.00%	
2,467,887	0	0.00%	
674,716	0	0.00%	2022 Financials
88,895	0	0.00%	
2,558,875	0	0.00%	
14,848,424	0	0.00%	
32,208,552	0	0.00%	
5,395,321	0	0.00%	
493,308	0	0.00%	

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
Coalition for Homeless Concerns (Lawrence, KS)	501(c)(3)	74-2834826
Coalition on Homelessness San Francisco	501(c)(3)	94-3111898
Colorado Criminal Defense Bar	501(c)(6)	84-0795823
Community Justice Project	501(c)(3)	47-2777185
Community Solutions (National)	501(c)(3)	27-3523909
Constitutional Accountability Center	501(c)(3)	52-2063854
DARE Center (Lawrence, KS)	501(c)(3)	74-2834826
Democratic Socialists of America SF	501(c)(4)	82-2194307
Door of Hope (Memphis, TN)	501(c)(3)	20-2773923
Drug Policy Alliance, New York, N.Y.	501(c)(3)	52-1516692
Education Law Center-PA	501(c)(3)	23-2581102
Elmahaba Center (Nashville, TN)	501(c)(3)	84-2467001
Emmanuel House	501(c)(3)	38-3303758
Empower Missouri	501(c)(3)	44-0547548
Episcopal Housing Corporation	501(c)(3)	52-1939344
Equality Federation, Portland, Or.	501(c)(4)	81-0670152
Evergreen Treatment Services (Washington State)	501(c)(3)	91-0903529
Evident Change	501(c)(3)	13-1624111
Families and Friends of Louisiana's Incarcerated Children	501(c)(3)	20-5924561
Family Abuse Shelter of Miami County, Inc. (Troy, OH)	501(c)(3)	31-0966177
Flagstaff Shelter Services (Flagstaff, AZ)	501(c)(3)	20-4921369
Florida Housing Coalition	501(c)(3)	59-2235835
Florida Justice Institute	501(c)(3)	59-1878598
Florida Legal Services	501(c)(3)	59-1436126
Florida Supportive Housing Coalition	501(c)(3)	26-0021281
Fountain House, New York, N.Y.	501(c)(3)	13-1624009
Friendship Place (Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3)	52-1925494
Full Picture Justice	501(c)(3)	26-0564961
Fund for Empowerment	501(c)(3)	82-3772127
Funders Together to End Homelessness	501(c)(3)	27-3033048
Georgetown Ministry Center (Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3)	52-1577694
Georgia Advancing Communities Together, Inc.	501(c)(3)	58-2661528
Georgia Supportive Housing Association	501(c)(3)	27-1111452
Gideon's Army Grassroots Army for Children (Nashville, TN)	501(c)(3)	82-1741628
Greater Indianapolis Multifaith Alliance	501(c)(3)	84-4429131
Harbor Country Mission (Bridgman, MI)	501(c)(3)	46-4817933
Help Right Here (Chattanooga, TN)	501(c)(3)	84-1969666
Hindus for Human Rights	501(c)(3)	36-4952444
Homing Project, The (Tucson, AZ)	501(c)(3)	87-2151738
Housing Alliance of Pennsylvania	501(c)(3)	23-2218001
Human Rights Campaign Foundation, Washington, D.C.	501(c)(3)	52-1481896
Human Rights for Kids	501(c)(3)	82-2971359

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
74,831	0	0.00%	
1,114,608	0	0.00%	
407,598	0	0.00%	
2,897,342	0	0.00%	
25,480,276	0	0.00%	
4,497,232	0	0.00%	
74,831	0	0.00%	
83,601	0	0.00%	
1,113,794	0	0.00%	
10,609,731	0	0.00%	
2,857,604	0	0.00%	
171,416	0	0.00%	
713,512	0	0.00%	2022 Financials
607,468	0	0.00%	
1,883,995	0	0.00%	
1,906,619	0	0.00%	
42,439,573	0	0.00%	
18,320,143	0	0.00%	
1,785,224	0	0.00%	2021 Financials
1,355,918	0	0.00%	
5,389,991	0	0.00%	
3,221,278	0	0.00%	
608,451	0	0.00%	
4,479,354	0	0.00%	
228,930	0	0.00%	
33,679,978	0	0.00%	
20,745,776	0	0.00%	
1,757,620	0	0.00%	
111,033	0	0.00%	
2,840,190	0	0.00%	
1,008,788	0	0.00%	
627,036	0	0.00%	
126,736	0	0.00%	
369,254	0	0.00%	
89,186	0	0.00%	
430,948	0	0.00%	
328,137	0	0.00%	
1,280,549	0	0.00%	
480,538	0	0.00%	
1,885,773	0	0.00%	
24,922,971	0	0.00%	
701,171	0	0.00%	

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
If/When/How: Lawyering for Reproductive Justice, Oakland, Cal.	501(c)(3)	90-0181944
Illinois Housing Council	501(c)(4)	03-0394941
Impact for Equity	501(c)(3)	36-2675852
Integrated Services for Behavioral Health (Southeastern Ohio)	501(c)(3)	31-1472366
Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America	501(c)(3)	20-1664531
Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, Inc.	501(c)(4)	53-0226294
Judge David L. Bazelon Center for Mental Health Law	501(c)(3)	23-7268143
Juvenile Defenders Association of Pennsylvania	501(c)(3)	20-8303179
Juvenile Law Center	501(c)(3)	23-1976386
Law Enforcement Action Partnership	501(c)(3)	16-1645758
Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law	501(c)(3)	52-0799246
Lazarus Ministries Inc, (Atlanta, GA and Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3)	33-1207955
Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights	501(c)(4)	52-0789800
League of Women Voters California	501(c)(4)	94-1506251
LGBT Bar of New York, New York, N.Y.	501(c)(3)	13-3828712
Lifeology AZ, Inc	501(c)(3)	84-3468961
Local Progress Impact Lab	501(c)(3)	86-3590543
Lone Star Justice Alliance	501(c)(3)	82-2345921
Lutheran Social Service of Minnesota	501(c)(3)	41-0872993
Miriam's Kitchen (Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3)	52-1331552
Montgomery County Coalition for the Homeless, Inc. (Rockville, MD)	501(c)(3)	52-1735674
Mothers Against Murderers Association	501(c)(3)	13-4257073
Nashville Launch Pad (Nashville, TN)	501(c)(3)	81-3538014
National Alliance on Mental Illness	501(c)(3)	43-1201653
National Alliance to End Homelessness	501(c)(3)	52-1299641
National Association for Rural Mental Health	501(c)(3)	39-1461320
National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers	501(c)(6)	74-1916260
National Black Women's Justice Institute	501(c)(3)	46-3198451
National Center for Law and Economic Justice	501(c)(3)	23-7311208
National Center for Transgender Equality, Washington, D.C.	501(c)(3)	41-2090291
National Coalition for Homeless Veterans	501(c)(3)	52-1826860
National Coalition for Men	501(c)(3)	11-2592580
National Council on Independent Living	501(c)(3)	74-2291620
National Low Income Housing Coalition	501(c)(3)	52-1089824
National Organization for Women (NOW) Foundation	501(c)(3)	52-1477004
National Organization of Sisters of Color Ending Sexual Assault	501(c)(3)	16-1634707
National Police Accountability Project	501(c)(3)	13-4045142
National Safe Place Network	501(c)(3)	20-4343628
National Women's Law Center, Washington, D.C.	501(c)(3)	52-1213010
National Women's Shelter Network, Inc.	501(c)(3)	93-4940981
National Youth Justice Network	501(c)(3)	81-3221807

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
13,672,583	0	0.00%	
607,162	0	0.00%	
5,171,436	0	0.00%	
45,816,392	0	0.00%	
1,337,846	0	0.00%	
2,359,553	0	0.00%	
1,801,534	0	0.00%	
43,883	0	0.00%	
3,498,365	0	0.00%	
1,220,705	0	0.00%	
16,716,889	0	0.00%	
126,811	0	0.00%	
1,955,679	0	0.00%	
646,266	0	0.00%	
342,724	0	0.00%	2024 Financials
835,099	0	0.00%	2022 Financials
7,532,480	0	0.00%	
2,065,340	0	0.00%	
159,877,420	0	0.00%	
11,369,396	0	0.00%	
18,702,726	0	0.00%	
46,398	0	0.00%	
445,645	0	0.00%	
38,156,209	0	0.00%	
7,656,753	0	0.00%	
74,864	0	0.00%	
9,671,069	0	0.00%	
679,974	0	0.00%	
3,858,749	0	0.00%	
4,093,660	0	0.00%	
1,672,869	0	0.00%	
479,824	0	0.00%	
1,460,303	0	0.00%	
23,087,189	0	0.00%	
1,408,198	0	0.00%	
421,033	0	0.00%	
690,491	0	0.00%	
537,789	0	0.00%	
28,362,796	0	0.00%	
210,000	0	0.00%	
486,091	0	0.00%	

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
Nebraska Appleseed Center for Law in the Public Interest	501(c)(3)	47-0798343
NETWORK Lobby for Catholic Social Justice	501(c)(4)	52-0984255
Nevada Homeless Alliance (Las Vegas, NV)	501(c)(3)	65-1291029
Nevada Housing Coalition	501(c)(3)	30-1171619
New Disabled South	501(c)(3)	88-2606879
New York Civil Liberties Union	501(c)(4)	13-5628799
Off The Streets (Danbury, CT)	501(c)(3)	27-0979787
OPEIU 29	501(c)(5)	94-0730155
Open Table Nashville (Nashville, TN)	501(c)(3)	27-3514899
Orange Tent Project	501(c)(3)	88-0980122
Organized Communities Against Deportations	501(c)(3)	82-0840451
Pacific Juvenile Defender Center	501(c)(3)	27-3192302
Partnership for Strong Communities	501(c)(3)	20-0882009
Phoenix Foundation, NFP (Chicago, IL)	501(c)(3)	85-3672498
Poverty & Race Research Action Council	501(c)(3)	52-1705073
Project Outpour (Charlotte, NC)	501(c)(3)	82-4237112
Project Understanding (Ventura, CA)	501(c)(3)	95-3246871
Prosperity Indiana	501(c)(3)	35-1695379
Queen Anne Helpline (Seattle, WA)	501(c)(3)	91-1187354
Red Line Service Institute	501(c)(3)	84-4267306
Rights Behind Bars, Washington, D.C.	501(c)(3)	84-3084416
Rogue Retreat	501(c)(3)	93-1261999
ROSE Community Development Corporation	501(c)(3)	94-3144895
Rutherford Institute	501(c)(3)	52-1267484
Sacramento Loaves & Fishes (Sacramento, CA)	501(c)(3)	68-0189897
Samaritan Inn, The (McKinney, TX)	501(c)(3)	75-1984285
San Francisco Labor Council	501(c)(5)	94-0835955
San Francisco Tenants Union	501(c)(4)	94-3059241
Service Women's Action Network	501(c)(3)	27-1316232
SHILO NJ (New Brunswick, NJ)	501(c)(3)	87-1030570
Shower the People (Nashville, TN)	501(c)(3)	47-3404538
Sisters of the Road	501(c)(3)	93-0748169
SOAR WV	501(c)(3)	85-0586081
Soldiers' Angels	501(c)(3)	20-0583415
Solid Ground Washington (Seattle and King County, WA)	501(c)(3)	23-7421892
Southern Legal Counsel	501(c)(3)	59-1726382
Southern Poverty Law Center	501(c)(3)	63-0598743
Southwestern Oregon Veterans Outreach	501(c)(3)	20-3891132
Street Books	501(c)(3)	45-4081674
Street Democracy	501(c)(3)	20-5175478
Supportive Housing Network of NY	501(c)(3)	13-3755149

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
4,684,788	0	0.00%	
797,111	0	0.00%	
1,142,476	0	0.00%	
661,838	0	0.00%	2022 Financials
2,159,529	0	0.00%	
4,965,830	0	0.00%	
438,587	0	0.00%	
3,325,583	0	0.00%	
698,457	0	0.00%	
244,802	0	0.00%	
1,078,730	0	0.00%	
173,762	0	0.00%	
1,717,536	0	0.00%	
62,040	0	0.00%	
1,557,176	0	0.00%	
215,129	0	0.00%	
239,595	0	0.00%	
703,405	0	0.00%	
578,480	0	0.00%	
267,178	0	0.00%	
573,050	0	0.00%	
6,914,904	0	0.00%	
4,599,091	0	0.00%	
745,109	0	0.00%	
9,827,045	0	0.00%	
7,596,980	0	0.00%	
1,717,240	0	0.00%	
149,316	0	0.00%	
281,065	0	0.00%	
85,000	0	0.00%	
182,149	0	0.00%	
1,000,738	0	0.00%	
203,111	0	0.00%	
30,050,970	0	0.00%	
29,715,481	0	0.00%	
622,064	0	0.00%	
169,857,376	0	0.00%	
77,489	0	0.00%	
257,697	0	0.00%	
236,795	0	0.00%	
3,628,514	0	0.00%	

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
Talent Yield Coalition/Marcelous-Williams Resource Center (Highlands, TX)	501(c)(3)	76-0344493
Texas Housers	501(c)(3)	74-2499910
Tom Homann LGBTQ+ Law Association, San Diego, Cal.	501(c)(6)	33-0823987
Trans Pride Initiative, Dallas, Tex.	501(c)(3)	45-4469758
Transformative Justice Project of Colorado	501(c)(3)	27-2021425
Transgender Assistance Program of Virginia, Virginia Beach, Va.	501(c)(3)	47-4938459
Transgender Law Center, Oakland, Cal.	501(c)(3)	05-0544006
Triune Mercy Center (Greenville, SC)	501(c)(3)	20-0503624
True Colors United	501(c)(3)	45-2489069
Unity Housing of Johnson City (Johnson City, TN)	501(c)(3)	92-1689515
Valley Youth House (Bethlehem, PA)	501(c)(3)	23-7178820
Veterans Legal Institute	501(c)(3)	47-1608069
Veterans Strong Community Center Veterans Integration Center	501(c)(3)	82-3194091
Vets First Life Management	501(c)(3)	92-3084563
Washington Legal Clinic for the Homeless	501(c)(3)	52-1545522
Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	91-1507028
Welcome Home Coalition	501(c)(3)	92-2769279
West Virginia Center on Budget and Policy	501(c)(3)	56-2653132
Western Regional Advocacy Project	501(c)(3)	26-1982806
Women With A Vision, New Orleans, La.	501(c)(3)	72-1202185
Women's Center, The (Raleigh, NC)	501(c)(3)	58-1316004
Women's Foundation of California	501(c)(3)	94-2752421
Yaya por vida (Miami and Port St. Lucie, FL)	501(c)(3)	85-2186407
Youth Oasis (Baton Rouge, LA)	501(c)(3)	72-1406254
YWCA USA	501(c)(3)	13-1624103
Hope of Mooresville (Mooresville, NC)	501(c)(3)	85-2551385
GLMA: Health Professionals Advancing LGBTQ+ Equality, Washington, D.C.	501(c)(3)	94-2901694
Hawaii Appleseed Center for Law & Economic Justice	501(c)(3)	76-0748976
Hygiene4All (Portland, OR)	501(c)(3)	84-3785530
New York Transgender Advocacy Group, New York, N.Y.	501(c)(3)	81-1370263
Lady Veterans Connect	501(c)(3)	46-0848546
VNA-Community Services, Inc. (Norristown, PA)	501(c)(3)	23-2363504
Texas Appleseed	501(c)(3)	74-2804268
Street Samaritans	501(c)(3)	82-1752622
Veteran Housing Corp	501(c)(3)	26-4498411
Child and Family Services Northeast (DBA) NE MI Family Resource Center	501(c)(3)	38-2118104
Unity House of Troy (Troy, NY)	501(c)(3)	23-2378930
Open Link, The (Pennsburg, PA)	501(c)(3)	23-2003150
Coalition for Nonprofit Housing and Economic Development (Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3)	52-1750323
Immanuel Community Services (Seattle, WA)	501(c)(3)	26-0881300
Pottstown Beacon of Hope (Pottstown, PA)	501(c)(3)	84-4773729

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
91,881	0	0.00%	
260,946	0	0.00%	
145,491	0	0.00%	
103,789	0	0.00%	
175,901	0	0.00%	
61,278	0	0.00%	
18,537,203	0	0.00%	
1,320,097	0	0.00%	
3,386,191	0	0.00%	
23,864	0	0.00%	2024 Financials
42,964,487	0	0.00%	
2,265,572	0	0.00%	
104,379	0	0.00%	
0	0		
2,380,267	0	0.00%	
3,432,564	0	0.00%	
420,265	0	0.00%	
1,569,185	0	0.00%	
779,805	0	0.00%	
3,350,000	0	0.00%	2022 Financials
1,192,173	0	0.00%	
11,694,983	0	0.00%	
47,921	0	0.00%	
1,918,548	0	0.00%	
15,437,792	0	0.00%	
313,746	379	0.12%	
473,110	2,500	0.53%	
1,592,657	3,339	0.21%	
202,156	5,000	2.47%	
533,642	10,000	1.87%	
170,182	12,000	7.05%	
174,312	14,800	8.49%	
9,621,854	17,239	0.18%	
176,283	20,618	11.70%	
97,949	23,022	23.50%	
1,193,762	25,000	2.09%	
35,710,989	35,277	0.10%	
1,295,450	36,325	2.80%	
2,593,485	40,444	1.56%	
870,375	42,268	4.86%	2021 Financials
270,745	42,759	15.79%	

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
LYTE Collective	501(c)(3)	47-1784239
Paralyzed Veterans of America	501(c)(3)	13-1946868
National Consumer Law Center	501(c)(3)	04-2488502
Virginia Housing Alliance	501(c)(3)	54-1542730
Housing Oregon	501(c)(3)	93-1174536
National Alliance to End Sexual Violence	501(c)(3)	04-3701833
Bucks-Mont Collaborative (Harleysville, PA)	501(c)(3)	23-2463434
Alaska Coalition on Housing and Homelessness	501(c)(3)	92-0137326
Compass of Carolina (Greenville, SC)	501(c)(3)	57-0381870
TransSOCIAL, Inc., Miami, Fla.	501(c)(3)	61-1845659
Fenix Youth Project Inc.	501(c)(3)	47-3206078
Beacon, The (Des Moines, IA)	501(c)(3)	42-1253088
National Network for Youth	501(c)(3)	52-1009952
Families First of Monroe County, Inc. (Tomah, WI)	501(c)(3)	39-1862568
Real Change Homeless Empowerment Project	501(c)(3)	91-1817387
Treatment Action Group, New York, N.Y.	501(c)(3)	13-3624785
Family Services of Montgomery County, PA (Norristown, PA)	501(c)(3)	23-1352361
Alliance of Tribal Coalitions to End Violence	501(c)(3)	46-4028439
Friends of the Homeless of Tuscarawas County, Inc. (New Philadelphia, OH)	501(c)(3)	20-1125477
Family Promise of the Chippewa Valley, Inc. (Eau Claire, WI)	501(c)(3)	39-1799434
United Way of Greater Lorain County (Lorain, OH)	501(c)(3)	34-1011104
PDX Saints Love	501(c)(3)	86-2850243
National Homelessness Law Center	501(c)(3)	52-1633883
Eddie's House	501(c)(3)	26-1837490
Housing Justice Center	501(c)(3)	41-1930525
Goodwill Northern Michigan	501(c)(3)	38-1976268
Disability Rights Advocates	501(c)(3)	94-3189313
Connecticut Veterans Legal Center	501(c)(3)	27-0963659
Room at the Inn (Marquette, MI)	501(c)(3)	80-0524559
Massachusetts Public Health Association	501(c)(3)	04-2326503
Cayuga Community Health Network (Auburn, NY)	501(c)(3)	16-1552889
UP for Women and Children (Louisville, KY)	501(c)(3)	82-3049204
Springfield Eugene Tenant Association	501(c)(3)	84-2059661
Seattle/King County Coalition on Homelessness	501(c)(3)	82-1831734
MontCo Anti-Hunger Network (Lansdale, PA)	501(c)(3)	85-3356626
Independence Again (Cookeville, TN)	501(c)(3)	81-4145049
Minority Veterans of America	501(c)(3)	82-3767850
Think Dignity (San Diego, CA)	501(c)(3)	33-1146733
National Housing Law Project	501(c)(3)	94-2400196
Safe Harbour Inc. (Carlisle, PA)	501(c)(3)	23-2405118
Massachusetts Housing & Shelter Alliance	501(c)(3)	22-3068653

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
771,725	45,821	5.94%	
88,986,577	48,192	0.05%	
19,660,295	60,000	0.31%	
887,991	63,551	7.16%	
598,919	70,000	11.69%	
866,646	70,000	8.08%	
236,021	82,163	34.81%	
726,082	82,735	11.39%	2024 Financials
615,019	85,901	13.97%	2022 Financials
807,239	86,940	10.77%	
125,499	92,446	73.66%	2022 Financials
590,770	96,713	16.37%	
952,046	101,335	10.64%	
296,528	103,789	35.00%	
1,541,249	106,725	6.92%	
4,736,176	109,441	2.31%	
18,760,385	137,365	0.73%	
149,734	140,494	93.83%	
668,347	150,000	22.44%	
447,002	151,830	33.97%	
2,768,185	156,574	5.66%	
245,032	167,292	68.27%	
2,161,218	168,324	7.79%	
1,250,362	169,316	13.54%	
1,482,103	171,995	11.60%	
6,342,648	188,133	2.97%	
8,317,254	208,026	2.50%	
2,305,614	214,496	9.30%	
419,636	219,248	52.25%	
987,080	229,823	23.28%	
1,045,240	231,406	22.14%	
700,321	232,717	33.23%	
242,565	234,604	96.72%	
671,855	234,825	34.95%	
508,330	235,654	46.36%	
529,015	254,679	48.14%	
475,986	255,200	53.62%	
671,701	261,590	38.94%	
2,661,473	274,140	10.30%	
607,826	275,204	45.28%	
27,780,548	290,000	1.04%	

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
Partners for a Hunger Free Oregon	501(c)(3)	20-4970868
Family Promise Montco PA (Ambler, PA)	501(c)(3)	22-2708420
United Community Services of Johnson County (Johnson County, KS)	501(c)(3)	48-0914699
Housing Rights Committee of SF	501(c)(3)	88-2200155
OSL Serves (Seattle, WA)	501(c)(3)	91-1658187
First Step Domestic Violence Services (Fostoria, OH)	501(c)(3)	34-1376773
FISH/Friends in Service to Humanity of Northwestern Connecticut (Torrington, CT)	501(c)(3)	06-0878637
SquareOne Villages	501(c)(3)	46-0801991
Transgender Resource Center of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N.M.	501(c)(3)	39-2076744
Alliance for Children's Rights	501(c)(3)	95-4358213
Habitat for Humanity of Oregon	501(c)(3)	93-1180321
Citizens' Committee for Children of NY	501(c)(3)	13-5618593
Cape and Islands Veterans Outreach Center	501(c)(3)	22-2747295
Haus of Codec	501(c)(3)	87-1199109
National Council of Jewish Women	501(c)(3)	13-1641076
National Association of Social Workers	501(c)(6)	13-5643515
Autistic Self Advocacy Network	501(c)(3)	26-1270198
Farmworker and Landscaper Advocacy Project	501(c)(3)	36-4306362
Lambda Legal Defense & Education Fund	501(c)(3)	23-7395681
National Center for Lesbian Rights, San Francisco, Cal.	501(c)(3)	94-3086885
ECHO, Inc. (Janesville, WI)	501(c)(3)	39-1222279
Interfaith Community Shelter (Santa Fe, NM)	501(c)(3)	27-0736366
Sea Haven Youth Services	501(c)(3)	57-0713478
Center for Children's Advocacy	501(c)(3)	06-1489575
EVE Incorporated (Marietta, OH)	501(c)(3)	31-0972235
The Road Home Dane County, Inc. (Madison, WI)	501(c)(3)	31-1618925
Arc of the United States, The	501(c)(3)	13-5642032
Impact Fund	501(c)(3)	94-3161863
Homeless Advocacy Project	501(c)(3)	23-2619480
GLBTQ Legal Advocates & Defenders, Boston, Mass.	501(c)(3)	04-2660498
Youth Represent	501(c)(3)	20-8034010
Youth Advocate Programs, Inc.	501(c)(3)	23-1977514
YWCA of the Greater Capital Region (Troy, NY)	501(c)(3)	14-1338577
Kings United Way (Hanford, CA)	501(c)(3)	94-6130925
Joseph & Mary's Home (Cleveland, OH)	501(c)(3)	34-1901676
Bucks County Health Improvement Partnership (Newtown, PA)	501(c)(3)	23-2862339
Tahoe Youth & Family Services	501(c)(3)	94-2145042
Resource Center for Independent Living (Utica, NY)	501(c)(3)	22-2518284
Chicago Rehab Network	501(c)(3)	36-2928136
NJ Coalition to End Homelessness (Lawrenceville, NJ)	501(c)(3)	45-3700939
Gault Center, The	501(c)(3)	02-0620456

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
903,534	296,138	32.78%	
1,440,635	303,822	21.09%	
989,346	338,964	34.26%	
523,592	346,196	66.12%	
10,477,309	352,423	3.36%	
417,887	358,706	85.84%	
967,564	361,072	37.32%	
2,389,448	363,693	15.22%	
1,629,382	363,754	22.32%	
10,720,432	383,152	3.57%	
1,360,923	385,297	28.31%	
4,597,658	399,668	8.69%	
1,692,153	405,012	23.93%	
700,381	410,983	58.68%	
6,227,311	415,182	6.67%	
37,900,432	429,278	1.13%	
2,106,698	437,979	20.79%	
2,136,490	438,347	20.52%	
35,364,569	471,020	1.33%	
5,005,371	475,165	9.49%	
4,871,186	517,631	10.63%	
1,482,084	519,959	35.08%	
2,024,551	548,108	27.07%	
2,600,301	565,873	21.76%	
675,067	569,137	84.31%	
2,902,449	574,487	19.79%	
13,460,105	575,245	4.27%	
2,737,475	578,427	21.13%	
2,129,740	584,001	27.42%	
4,659,358	587,922	12.62%	
2,939,410	599,892	20.41%	
103,653,551	637,389	0.61%	
1,525,966	643,847	42.19%	
863,458	653,356	75.67%	
2,201,526	655,745	29.79%	
810,179	662,980	81.83%	
1,121,093	673,896	60.11%	
97,776,363	680,296	0.70%	
1,120,029	682,380	60.93%	
3,928,693	687,260	17.49%	
1,753,541	690,029	39.35%	

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
Tennessee Valley Coalition for the Homeless (Knoxville, TN)	501(c)(3)	26-2881347
Disability Rights Legal Center	501(c)(3)	95-2960607
Covenant House Michigan	501(c)(3)	38-3351777
Montana Coalition Against Domestic and Sexual Violence	501(c)(3)	81-0433126
ROOTS Young Adult Shelter (Seattle, WA)	501(c)(3)	91-2110379
Devereux Center, The (Coos Bay, OR)	501(c)(3)	93-0822406
St. Paul's Center (Rensselaer, NY)	501(c)(3)	56-2499960
CHATT Foundation (Hamilton County, TN)	501(c)(3)	62-1151413
Children's Rights	501(c)(3)	13-3801864
Covenant House Illinois	501(c)(3)	81-2061485
Violence Free Colorado	501(c)(3)	84-0742604
Sexual Violence Law Center	501(c)(3)	35-2644078
Housing and Community Development Network of New Jersey	501(c)(3)	22-2982197
Fair Housing Center of Central Indiana	501(c)(3)	45-3252296
Sonoma Applied Village Services (Sonoma County, CA)	501(c)(3)	83-4609220
Oregon Sexual Assault Task Force	501(c)(3)	27-0056693
ACCESS Shelter (Akron, OH)	501(c)(3)	34-1395246
Legal Voice	501(c)(3)	91-1047900
Transgender Legal Defense & Education Fund, New York, N.Y.	501(c)(3)	04-3762842
Mississippi Coalition Against Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	64-0656865
Hawai'l State Coalition Against Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	99-0235218
Youth MOVE National	501(c)(3)	45-3792486
Violence Free Minnesota	501(c)(3)	41-1381433
Washington Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and Urban Affairs	501(c)(3)	52-1784938
Harbour, Inc., The	501(c)(3)	36-2827480
DC LGBTQ+ Community Center, Washington, D.C.	501(c)(3)	20-0118307
YWCA Hamilton (Hamilton, OH)	501(c)(3)	31-0537167
Cross-Lines Community Outreach (Kansas City, KS)	501(c)(3)	48-0697177
Coordinadora Paz para las Mujeres	501(c)(3)	66-0550935
Bridge Home, The (Ames, IA)	501(c)(3)	42-1252893
Shriver Center on Poverty Law	501(c)(3)	36-3151279
Hope Partnership (Kissimmee, FL)	501(c)(3)	80-0855060
Legal Council for Health Justice	501(c)(3)	36-3563802
Greater Kansas City Coalition to End Homelessness (Kansas City, MO)	501(c)(3)	43-1844751
Cia Siab, Inc.	501(c)(3)	81-3606765
Missouri Coalition Against Domestic and Sexual Violence	501(c)(3)	43-1479799
St. John Center (Louisville, KY)	501(c)(3)	61-1135907
SWFL Regional Coalition to End Homelessness (Fort Myers, FL)	501(c)(3)	04-3610154
Georgia Coalition Against Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	58-1854962
HOPE Shelters (Pontiac, MI)	501(c)(3)	38-3571989
Western Center on Law and Poverty	501(c)(3)	95-2897721

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
826,607	690,981	83.59%	
1,145,898	692,965	60.47%	
5,367,691	708,416	13.20%	
794,653	726,749	91.45%	
1,704,329	748,611	43.92%	
1,012,785	754,207	74.47%	
1,802,082	759,975	42.17%	
2,340,641	773,972	33.07%	2022 Financials
6,519,676	790,697	12.13%	
5,729,890	791,225	13.81%	
1,052,016	801,599	76.20%	
1,310,859	811,000	61.87%	
3,943,413	814,619	20.66%	
1,108,595	828,762	74.76%	
912,608	828,898	90.83%	
877,568	849,298	96.78%	
1,757,128	860,077	48.95%	
4,770,972	863,689	18.10%	
3,686,651	873,134	23.68%	
1,040,388	893,883	85.92%	
1,014,301	897,056	88.44%	
1,129,354	914,050	80.94%	
1,071,639	918,721	85.73%	
4,622,436	921,469	19.93%	
2,646,389	933,720	35.28%	
1,232,731	946,094	76.75%	
2,097,736	973,954	46.43%	
2,628,977	986,364	37.52%	
2,448,255	989,471	40.42%	
2,735,602	991,166	36.23%	
5,895,603	999,572	16.95%	
3,875,465	1,000,000	25.80%	
3,573,338	1,015,621	28.42%	
1,041,683	1,023,097	98.22%	
1,845,781	1,040,435	56.37%	
2,825,943	1,046,580	37.03%	
2,249,952	1,050,265	46.68%	
1,704,448	1,070,871	62.83%	2022 Financials
1,477,229	1,091,434	73.88%	
1,686,312	1,123,289	66.61%	
8,106,500	1,127,536	13.91%	

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
Iowa Coalition Against Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	42-1285094
James B. Moran Center for Youth Advocacy	501(c)(3)	36-3180725
Educational and Treatment Council, Inc.	501(c)(3)	72-0761245
Covenant House International	501(c)(3)	13-2725416
Legal Counsel for Youth and Children	501(c)(3)	27-3006526
Big Brothers Big Sisters of Connecticut	501(c)(3)	06-0850379
Humility of Mary Housing, Inc. (Cuyahoga Falls, OH)	501(c)(3)	25-1592420
Housing Alliance DE	501(c)(3)	51-0403362
Townspeople (San Diego, CA)	501(c)(3)	33-0623634
Mobile Loaves & Fishes, Inc. (Austin, TX)	501(c)(3)	74-2956081
Oregon Coalition Against Domestic and Sexual Violence	501(c)(3)	93-0739389
West Virginia Coalition Against Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	31-1011750
Wisconsin Coalition Against Sexual Assault	501(c)(3)	39-1560486
Sts. Joachim & Ann Care Service (St. Charles, Lincoln, and Warren, MO)	501(c)(3)	35-2203101
American Association on Health and Disability	501(c)(3)	52-1864887
Freedom Network USA	501(c)(3)	81-0758952
Coalición de Coaliciones Pro Personas sin Hogar de PR, Inc.	501(c)(3)	66-0635464
Nevada Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence	501(c)(3)	94-2910861
New York State Coalition Against Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	22-2337608
DC Coalition Against Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	52-1515600
Embrace Services, Inc.	501(c)(3)	39-1372488
American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry	501(c)(3)	13-1958990
Center for Children & Youth Justice	501(c)(3)	20-4457248
CAWS North Dakota	501(c)(3)	45-0367596
Safe Exit Initiative	501(c)(3)	81-3646918
New Visions Homeless Services	501(c)(3)	81-2668778
Jesse Tree of Idaho	501(c)(3)	82-0534777
World Institute on Disability	501(c)(3)	94-2911623
Women's Law Center of Maryland, The	501(c)(3)	52-1238912
Michigan Veterans Foundation	501(c)(3)	38-2857628
Horizon House	501(c)(3)	35-1759503
Delaware Coalition Against Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	51-0354794
South Carolina Coalition Against Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault	501(c)(3)	57-0760811
Utah Domestic Violence Coalition	501(c)(3)	87-0524312
Sylvia Rivera Law Project, New York, N.Y	501(c)(3)	81-0640342
Mental Health Advocacy Services, Inc.	501(c)(3)	95-3371166
Minnesota Housing Partnership	501(c)(3)	41-1649643
Legal Rights Center	501(c)(3)	41-0961835
Nebraska Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence	501(c)(3)	47-0606289
Covenant House Florida	501(c)(3)	59-2323607
One Roof (Birmingham, AL)	501(c)(3)	63-1051908

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
1,461,534	1,136,725	77.78%	
2,394,003	1,138,226	47.54%	
2,418,278	1,175,527	48.61%	
88,308,947	1,177,332	1.33%	
4,209,293	1,184,059	28.13%	
2,771,937	1,192,124	43.01%	
2,960,718	1,206,526	40.75%	
1,388,142	1,210,985	87.24%	
2,485,829	1,215,287	48.89%	
37,561,005	1,218,466	3.24%	
1,369,108	1,225,832	89.54%	
1,454,700	1,236,779	85.02%	
1,410,291	1,250,491	88.67%	
4,087,314	1,257,567	30.77%	
1,449,685	1,261,103	86.99%	
1,817,895	1,266,602	69.67%	
1,855,407	1,304,353	70.30%	
1,531,152	1,325,717	86.58%	
1,611,543	1,348,845	83.70%	
1,715,758	1,358,851	79.20%	
1,706,656	1,385,603	81.19%	
11,580,173	1,400,915	12.10%	
2,787,615	1,404,121	50.37%	
1,482,537	1,406,188	94.85%	
4,107,899	1,420,351	34.58%	
4,545,638	1,453,033	31.97%	
3,226,915	1,457,918	45.18%	
2,752,413	1,484,853	53.95%	
1,658,973	1,496,298	90.19%	
1,696,591	1,497,053	88.24%	
5,946,119	1,506,585	25.34%	
1,798,943	1,506,981	83.77%	
1,591,872	1,512,325	95.00%	
1,887,790	1,524,033	80.73%	
1,577,532	1,560,266	98.91%	
2,363,945	1,590,550	67.28%	
3,135,018	1,597,719	50.96%	
2,244,164	1,602,550	71.41%	
2,218,523	1,617,166	72.89%	
7,320,907	1,617,930	22.10%	
2,080,355	1,689,815	81.23%	

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
National Federation of the Blind, Inc.	501(c)(3)	02-0259978
3Keys	501(c)(3)	58-1899845
Collaborative Solutions, Inc.	501(c)(3)	85-0485864
Quest Communities	501(c)(3)	58-2634738
Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund	501(c)(3)	94-2620758
Michigan Coalition Against Homelessness	501(c)(3)	38-2960348
Carpenter's Shelter (Alexandria, VA)	501(c)(3)	54-1571849
Covenant House Texas	501(c)(3)	76-0050882
Community Access Network (Lynchburg, VA)	501(c)(3)	47-5194456
Lafayette Transitional Housing Center	501(c)(3)	35-1781229
North Carolina Coalition to End Homelessness (Raleigh, NC)	501(c)(3)	56-2227722
Fair Housing Council of Oregon	501(c)(3)	93-1044769
Laurel House (Montgomery County, PA)	501(c)(3)	23-2172743
Hands On Hartford (Hartford, CT)	501(c)(3)	06-0861268
Domestic Abuse Intervention Services (Madison, WI)	501(c)(3)	39-1268238
Open Hearth, Inc. (Phoenixville, PA)	501(c)(3)	23-2652023
Cardea Health (Oakland, CA)	501(c)(3)	87-0906271
Pathways of Hope (Orange County, CA)	501(c)(3)	90-2373679
Amethyst Place	501(c)(3)	43-1887442
Connecticut Coalition to End Homelessness (Connecticut)	501(c)(3)	06-1126880
Albany Housing Coalition Inc.	501(c)(3)	14-1633606
Mountain CAP of West Virginia, Inc., a CDC (Buckhannon, WV)	501(c)(3)	55-6026584
Volunteer Lawyers Project of CNY Inc. (Syracuse, NY)	501(c)(3)	46-1593349
National Runaway Safeline	501(c)(3)	36-2726331
North Marin Community Services (Novato, CA)	501(c)(3)	94-1735064
Community Alliance for The Homeless (Memphis, TN)	501(c)(3)	62-1616145
Extended Housing, Inc. (Lake County, OH)	501(c)(3)	34-1400918
Indiana Coalition Against Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	31-1009769
Services for the Underserved	501(c)(3)	91-1918247
Kansas Coalition Against Sexual and Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	48-1010928
Virginia Sexual and Domestic Violence Action Alliance	501(c)(3)	52-1225600
Applied Behavioral Rehabilitation Institute, d/b/a Homes for the Brave (Bridgeport, CT)	501(c)(3)	06-1520511
Regional Housing Legal Services	501(c)(3)	23-1901416
Foster Forward	501(c)(3)	05-0486797
Milestone Recovery (Portland, ME)	501(c)(3)	01-6024344
Tennessee Coalition to End Domestic and Sexual Violence	501(c)(3)	58-1632437
Community Alliance of Tenants	501(c)(3)	31-1571929
Sanctuary of Hope	501(c)(3)	27-3273118
Briarpatch Youth Services	501(c)(3)	39-1391737
Homeless and Housing Coalition of Kentucky (Frankfort, KY)	501(c)(3)	61-1191524

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
17,550,174	1,698,258	9.68%	
2,784,589	1,705,699	61.25%	
3,601,908	1,753,544	48.68%	
6,140,768	1,771,055	28.84%	
3,259,198	1,773,025	54.40%	
2,797,437	1,774,364	63.43%	
6,748,784	1,777,067	26.33%	
14,125,688	1,801,143	12.75%	
22,528,923	1,830,567	8.13%	
3,679,330	1,837,436	49.94%	
2,893,326	1,845,050	63.77%	2022 Financials
1,991,876	1,863,408	93.55%	
4,457,478	1,866,590	41.88%	
5,215,222	1,890,924	36.26%	
3,818,547	1,891,116	49.52%	
3,138,465	1,902,439	60.62%	
10,159,493	1,927,336	18.97%	
3,750,328	1,977,815	52.74%	
6,491,439	1,995,061	30.73%	
3,458,562	2,007,623	58.05%	
2,363,609	2,017,671	85.36%	
3,927,999	2,023,993	51.53%	
3,447,255	2,067,387	59.97%	
2,316,802	2,077,485	89.67%	
6,239,811	2,085,425	33.42%	
2,459,328	2,091,479	85.04%	
2,767,164	2,123,084	76.72%	
3,338,824	2,123,451	63.60%	
34,560,020	2,132,670	6.17%	
2,514,782	2,152,595	85.60%	
3,075,024	2,181,382	70.94%	
3,307,311	2,209,281	66.80%	
4,057,886	2,308,806	56.90%	
2,779,504	2,315,329	83.30%	
5,122,093	2,328,619	45.46%	
2,478,182	2,376,186	95.88%	
2,658,978	2,410,313	90.65%	
3,439,535	2,511,648	73.02%	
3,486,504	2,525,985	72.45%	
3,078,114	2,549,215	82.82%	

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
Connecticut Fair Housing Center	501(c)(3)	06-1453727
PALSS, Inc. (Columbia, SC)	501(c)(3)	57-0841427
La Fondita de Jesús (San Juan, PR)	501(c)(3)	66-0426787
Harm Reduction Therapy Center	501(c)(3)	94-3363781
Housing and Economic Rights Advocates (California)	501(c)(3)	20-2573758
South Dakota Network Against Family Violence and Sexual Assault	501(c)(3)	36-3792912
HIPS (Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3)	52-1847137
Housing Action Illinois	501(c)(3)	36-3585238
Sakhi for South Asian Women, New York, N.Y.	501(c)(3)	13-3593806
Deborah's Place	501(c)(3)	36-3382973
Maryland Network Against Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	52-1233434
Night Ministry, The	501(c)(3)	36-3145764
St. Mary's Center (West Oakland, CA)	501(c)(3)	68-0172229
Center for the Study of Social Policy	501(c)(3)	52-1254948
SMYAL	501(c)(3)	52-1394900
Disability Rights Oregon	501(c)(3)	93-0686170
Alaska Network on Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault	501(c)(3)	92-0087216
Kanawha Valley Collective	501(c)(3)	73-1629065
Support Center for Child Advocates	501(c)(3)	23-2048664
Lubbock Open Door (Lubbock, TX)	501(c)(3)	51-0687541
Victim Rights Law Center	501(c)(3)	02-0588944
Coalition on Homelessness & Housing Ohio	501(c)(3)	31-1189029
Homeless Leadership Alliance of Pinellas, Inc.	501(c)(3)	59-2935116
Children's Center, Inc., The (Texas)	501(c)(3)	76-0074326
YWCA Binghamton and Broome County (Binghamton, NY)	501(c)(3)	15-0532275
Friends of the Family (Waterloo, IA)	501(c)(3)	42-1390144
Veterans Northeast Outreach Center, Inc.	501(c)(3)	04-2879409
Healthy Alternatives to Violent Environments	501(c)(3)	94-2499361
East Bay Community Law Center	501(c)(3)	94-3042565
Disability Rights Washington	501(c)(3)	91-0956784
Phoenix Community Development Services (Peoria, IL)	501(c)(3)	37-1173520
DC Doors, Inc. (Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3)	61-1637906
Venice Community Housing Corporation (Los Angeles, CA)	501(c)(3)	95-4200761
Texas Homeless Network	501(c)(3)	74-2646586
American Psychiatric Association	501(c)(6)	52-2168499
North Capitol Collaborative, Inc. (Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3)	52-2212275
North Suburban Legal Aid Clinic	501(c)(3)	47-2859426
Ability Housing, Inc.	501(c)(3)	59-3087085
Law Center for Better Housing	501(c)(3)	36-3134577
Safe Haven Family Shelter (Nashville, TN)	501(c)(3)	62-1807653
Oasis Center (Nashville, TN)	501(c)(3)	62-0968273

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
3,572,042	2,585,155	72.37%	
4,824,439	2,587,719	53.64%	
4,732,021	2,633,861	55.66%	
2,933,246	2,665,061	90.86%	
3,085,255	2,670,316	86.55%	
2,887,290	2,697,383	93.42%	
3,903,417	2,714,125	69.53%	
3,577,625	2,737,361	76.51%	
6,305,420	2,738,814	43.44%	
5,005,088	2,744,901	54.84%	
2,991,128	2,773,595	92.73%	
12,060,037	2,781,450	23.06%	
5,145,525	2,788,320	54.19%	
14,561,589	2,789,097	19.15%	
5,334,619	2,791,670	52.33%	
3,881,316	2,817,163	72.58%	
3,422,419	2,851,587	83.32%	
2,918,492	2,856,421	97.87%	
6,801,573	2,931,136	43.09%	
4,254,031	2,942,265	69.16%	
3,807,942	2,942,764	77.28%	
4,233,887	2,955,576	69.81%	
3,001,212	2,969,147	98.93%	
3,887,013	2,978,654	76.63%	
5,392,913	2,985,386	55.36%	
4,360,644	3,136,659	71.93%	
4,288,274	3,170,681	73.94%	
4,038,333	3,250,662	80.50%	
11,158,063	3,290,227	29.49%	
5,782,596	3,291,774	56.93%	
5,544,032	3,306,861	59.65%	
3,507,124	3,357,703	95.74%	2021 Financials
16,512,379	3,367,993	20.40%	
3,935,349	3,389,575	86.13%	
64,631,488	3,436,337	5.32%	
3,459,669	3,458,414	99.96%	
4,078,558	3,479,883	85.32%	
8,470,374	3,510,161	41.44%	
5,721,235	3,543,699	61.94%	
6,167,220	3,567,980	57.85%	2022 Financials
6,797,640	3,573,101	52.56%	

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
Manna on Main Street (Lansdale, PA)	501(c)(3)	23-2287252
National Indigenous Women's Resource Center	501(c)(3)	27-4971660
North Carolina Coalition Against Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	61-1077481
StrongHearts Native Helpline	501(c)(3)	84-4818989
Vermont Network Against Domestic or Sexual Violence	501(c)(3)	03-0315710
Youth Services of Tulsa	501(c)(3)	73-0785251
National Resource Center on Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	30-0681646
Pathfinders Milwaukee, Inc.	501(c)(3)	39-1185304
New Jersey Coalition to End Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	22-2370010
Ruth Ellis Center, Highland Park, Mich.	501(c)(3)	38-3501697
Everyone Home DC (Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3)	52-0853501
Ascencia (Glendale, CA)	501(c)(3)	20-4233822
National Disability Rights Network	501(c)(3)	59-2333653
South Suburban Public Action to Deliver Shelter	501(c)(3)	36-3744405
California Partnership to End Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	77-0347420
Asian Pacific Institute on Gender-Based Violence	501(c)(3)	46-2288278
Wellspring, Inc. (Kentucky)	501(c)(3)	31-1020023
National Center for Youth Law	501(c)(3)	94-2506933
Alaska Native Women's Resource Center	501(c)(3)	47-4099129
FosterAdopt Connect	501(c)(3)	43-1895965
Covenant House New Jersey	501(c)(3)	13-3537710
National Network to End Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	52-1973408
Metro Lutheran Ministries (Kansas City, MO)	501(c)(3)	43-0970991
Coalition for the Homeless (Louisville, KY)	501(c)(3)	61-1118307
WI Balance of State CoC (Wisconsin)	501(c)(3)	27-5491167
Our Piece of the Pie (OPP) (Hartford, CT)	501(c)(3)	06-0939659
American Public Health Association	501(c)(3)	13-1628688
Somerville Homeless Coalition, Inc. (Somerville, MA)	501(c)(3)	04-2897447
Rhode Island Coalition Against Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	05-0384580
Children & Families of Iowa (Des Moines, IA)	501(c)(3)	42-0680416
End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin	501(c)(3)	39-1380437
Youth Collaboratory	501(c)(3)	25-1614988
Project Community Connections, Inc. (Atlanta, GA)	501(c)(3)	58-2373779
Chicago Urban League	501(c)(3)	36-2225483
Network, The: Advocacting Against Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	36-3331605
ShelterCare (Eugene, OR)	501(c)(3)	23-7115003
National Healthcare for the Homeless Council	501(c)(3)	62-1475145
reStart Inc. (Kansas City, MO, Kansas City, KS, and Shawnee, KS)	501(c)(3)	43-1349378
BEDS Plus, Inc.	501(c)(3)	36-3741040
Daily Planet Health Services (Richmond, VA)	501(c)(3)	54-0900368
Shelter House Iowa	501(c)(3)	42-1231451

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
8,187,937	3,584,891	43.78%	
6,025,934	3,743,882	62.13%	
3,930,169	3,768,335	95.88%	
3,928,328	3,804,495	96.85%	
4,203,224	3,825,809	91.02%	
7,519,400	3,865,090	51.40%	
4,014,291	3,976,806	99.07%	
7,100,355	4,002,555	56.37%	
4,160,774	4,090,004	98.30%	
5,146,010	4,164,950	80.94%	
7,260,342	4,177,635	57.54%	
5,519,386	4,194,772	76.00%	
7,550,627	4,233,117	56.06%	
6,546,547	4,234,292	64.68%	
5,190,584	4,244,310	81.77%	
7,954,615	4,258,565	53.54%	
7,796,871	4,271,579	54.79%	
13,795,088	4,275,711	30.99%	
4,624,336	4,338,941	93.83%	
20,791,342	4,384,413	21.09%	
14,566,819	4,404,080	30.23%	
8,462,709	4,425,236	52.29%	
8,832,849	4,489,405	50.83%	
5,477,708	4,502,407	82.20%	
6,055,574	4,754,283	78.51%	
7,905,028	4,861,074	61.49%	
25,343,879	4,874,261	19.23%	
7,160,568	4,923,798	68.76%	
5,229,002	4,994,030	95.51%	
18,037,147	4,997,684	27.71%	
5,263,273	5,006,422	95.12%	
5,487,527	5,012,648	91.35%	
11,993,107	5,070,713	42.28%	
17,571,950	5,203,361	29.61%	
7,187,864	5,313,278	73.92%	
7,436,072	5,325,694	71.62%	
9,173,786	5,391,878	58.77%	
7,297,709	5,521,520	75.66%	
6,985,146	5,599,500	80.16%	
12,243,160	5,855,991	47.83%	
8,826,587	5,941,583	67.31%	

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
Alabama Coalition Against Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	63-0907890
Central City Hospitality House	501(c)(3)	94-6171319
Ritter Center	501(c)(3)	94-2675517
Lawyers For Children	501(c)(3)	13-3202043
My Sister's Place (Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3)	52-1263256
Guidance Center, The (Leavenworth, KS)	501(c)(3)	48-1139846
Operation Dignity	501(c)(3)	94-3176007
Helping Veterans And Families	501(c)(3)	35-1890547
Coalition for the Homeless (Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3)	52-1245499
West Virginia Coalition to End Homelessness	501(c)(3)	55-0784381
180 Degrees	501(c)(3)	23-7153536
Homeless Alliance, The (Oklahoma City, OK)	501(c)(3)	11-3718005
Illinois Public Health Institute	501(c)(3)	26-2757523
Ohio Domestic Violence Network	501(c)(3)	34-1622848
SAGE, New York, N.Y.	501(c)(3)	13-2947657
Healthcare Alternative Systems, Inc.	501(c)(3)	23-7432930
Community Hope	501(c)(3)	22-2647038
Institute for Community Alliances (Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Alaska, Idaho, Wisconsin, Vermont, New Hampshire)	501(c)(3)	42-1352902
Friendship Shelter, Inc. (South Orange County, CA)	501(c)(3)	33-0219404
Save, Inc.	501(c)(3)	43-1465268
Pathways Vermont (Burlington, VT)	501(c)(3)	30-0604758
Keys to Change (Phoenix, AZ)	501(c)(3)	46-3333160
Community Connections (Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3)	52-1349382
Partners for HOME (Atlanta, GA)	501(c)(3)	47-3476724
Pathways to Housing PA	501(c)(3)	45-2612118
Serving Seniors (the Organization)	501(c)(3)	95-2850121
Covenant House Alaska	501(c)(3)	13-3419755
Arizona Coalition to End Sexual and Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	86-0593601
San Francisco Pre-Trial Diversion Project	501(c)(3)	94-2333038
Rainbow Health Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.	501(c)(3)	41-1524746
National Harm Reduction Coalition	501(c)(3)	94-3204958
Englewood Community Development Corporation	501(c)(3)	35-2003744
Community Human Services (Monterey, CA)	501(c)(3)	94-6367167
Pathways to Housing DC (Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3)	37-1464353
Collaborative Solutions for Communities (Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3)	52-2328876
Caring Works, Inc	501(c)(3)	56-2370081
Legal Aid Society of Palm Beach County	501(c)(3)	59-6046994
Housing Collective, Inc., The (Western Connecticut)	501(c)(3)	20-5529890
United Housing Connections (Greenville, SC)	501(c)(3)	57-1032202
El Centro de la Raza	501(c)(3)	91-0899927

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
6,050,191	6,016,697	99.45%	
7,086,686	6,025,098	85.02%	
12,247,118	6,030,611	49.24%	
9,146,283	6,035,613	65.99%	
7,656,977	6,098,441	79.65%	
16,858,294	6,229,886	36.95%	
8,060,758	6,314,793	78.34%	
9,521,246	6,393,714	67.15%	
6,972,201	6,436,649	92.32%	
6,923,640	6,568,773	94.87%	
8,454,804	6,577,719	77.80%	
15,708,964	6,643,914	42.29%	
7,329,687	6,725,378	91.76%	
7,705,624	6,740,352	87.47%	
17,179,548	6,751,064	39.30%	
13,500,389	6,892,006	51.05%	
13,301,053	7,084,590	53.26%	
16,155,808	7,363,488	45.58%	
12,819,178	7,480,735	58.36%	
9,883,290	7,850,049	79.43%	
10,928,362	8,031,781	73.49%	
12,902,961	8,097,506	62.76%	
32,448,224	8,227,000	25.35%	
16,080,533	8,567,524	53.28%	
18,955,356	8,655,057	45.66%	
13,428,924	8,721,175	64.94%	
15,430,421	9,012,418	58.41%	
9,248,285	9,014,126	97.47%	
11,234,970	9,224,676	82.11%	
13,975,786	9,325,173	66.72%	2022 Financials
12,817,781	9,446,527	73.70%	2022 Financials
11,839,852	9,677,294	81.73%	
12,917,283	9,841,124	76.19%	
17,911,073	10,193,784	56.91%	
15,107,154	10,241,057	67.79%	
11,325,070	10,243,760	90.45%	
13,644,159	10,498,466	76.94%	
11,573,036	10,564,432	91.28%	
13,008,738	10,653,802	81.90%	
26,222,794	10,719,013	40.88%	

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
Harris County Domestic Violence Coordinating Council (Houston, TX)	501(c)(3)	76-0533828
Transitional Housing Corporation d/b/a Housing Up (Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3)	52-1675958
One-Eighty Place (Charleston, SC)	501(c)(3)	57-0789483
SAFE Alliance	501(c)(3)	74-2320657
Covenant House California	501(c)(3)	13-3391210
Hopelink (Redmond, WA)	501(c)(3)	91-0982116
Columbus House, Inc. (Connecticut)	501(c)(3)	22-2511873
Carrfour Supportive Housing, Inc.	501(c)(3)	65-0387766
Community Forward SF	501(c)(3)	94-2335626
Interface Children & Family Services	501(c)(3)	95-2944459
Cascade AIDS Project	501(c)(3)	93-0903383
Access Services, Inc. (Montgomery County, PA)	501(c)(3)	23-2003056
Changing Homelessness, Inc. (Jacksonville, FL)	501(c)(3)	59-3676999
Hoosier Uplands EDC	501(c)(3)	35-1115492
Center for Housing & Health	501(c)(3)	26-4287202
Janus Youth Programs	501(c)(3)	23-7345990
Veterans Inc. (Worcester, MA)	501(c)(3)	04-3098024
Inner City Law Center	501(c)(3)	95-3697572
Waypoint NH	501(c)(3)	02-0222164
Center for Community Alternatives, Syracuse, N.Y.	501(c)(3)	16-1395992
Ali Forney Center, The	501(c)(3)	30-0104507
Downtown Women's Center	501(c)(3)	31-1597223
Chief Seattle Club (Seattle, WA)	501(c)(3)	91-0852503
Healthcare for the Homeless Baltimore	501(c)(3)	52-1576404
Make the Road New York, Brooklyn, N.Y.	501(c)(3)	11-3344389
Compass Family Services	501(c)(3)	94-1156622
Corporation for Supportive Housing	501(c)(3)	13-3600232
LifeWorks Austin (Austin, TX)	501(c)(3)	74-2137189
Yakima Neighborhood Health Services	501(c)(3)	91-0928817
National Domestic Violence Hotline	501(c)(3)	75-1658287
Larkin Street Youth Services	501(c)(3)	94-2917999
San Francisco AIDS Foundation	501(c)(3)	94-2927405
Community Legal Services of Philadelphia	501(c)(3)	23-1671562
Asian Counseling and Referral Service	501(c)(3)	91-0916176
Covenant House New York	501(c)(3)	13-3076376
Collaborate Support Program of New Jersey (Hackensack, NJ)	501(c)(3)	22-2589018
Minnesota Assistance Council for Veterans	501(c)(3)	41-1694717
Regional Task Force on Homelessness (San Diego, CA)	501(c)(3)	11-3723093
Heartland Alliance Health	501(c)(3)	36-3775696
Oregon Food Bank	501(c)(3)	93-0785786
Respect Together	501(c)(3)	23-2067636

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
11,385,513	10,781,156	94.69%	
12,228,222	10,925,821	89.35%	
14,208,705	11,596,861	81.62%	
28,705,316	11,682,751	40.70%	
22,334,502	12,234,348	54.78%	
92,967,480	12,611,427	13.57%	
15,830,197	12,733,071	80.44%	
24,975,502	12,896,609	51.64%	
13,894,125	13,221,382	95.16%	
15,424,229	13,414,244	86.97%	
28,654,092	13,481,546	47.05%	
47,077,529	13,488,830	28.65%	
13,943,753	13,523,115	96.98%	
19,982,390	13,535,204	67.74%	
31,893,060	13,923,281	43.66%	
15,622,652	13,946,296	89.27%	
23,466,512	14,291,163	60.90%	
20,782,375	14,632,423	70.41%	
27,979,071	14,849,542	53.07%	
18,928,608	15,634,491	82.60%	
25,563,928	15,667,485	61.29%	
27,162,816	15,727,674	57.90%	
19,294,517	16,078,676	83.33%	
30,717,652	16,112,051	52.45%	
31,759,111	16,124,582	50.77%	
23,357,823	16,172,886	69.24%	
75,294,816	16,958,258	22.52%	
22,323,969	17,898,521	80.18%	
48,880,286	18,116,848	37.06%	
22,495,376	18,609,486	82.73%	
31,046,609	18,657,377	60.09%	
39,450,318	18,786,710	47.62%	
25,260,692	18,787,474	74.37%	
45,496,253	18,978,548	41.71%	
32,609,249	19,102,295	58.58%	
21,311,212	19,219,920	90.19%	
26,731,640	19,993,879	74.79%	
26,093,432	20,017,945	76.72%	
34,707,130	20,019,235	57.68%	
108,974,543	20,179,739	18.52%	
22,218,563	20,333,146	91.51%	

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
Family & Community Services, Inc.	501(c)(3)	34-1902451
ZeroV	501(c)(3)	61-1110432
Youth in Need	501(c)(3)	43-1033862
New York County Defender Services, New York, N.Y.	501(c)(3)	11-3361008
Illinois Coalition Against Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	37-1056288
Community of Hope (Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3)	52-1184749
Enterprise Community Partners	501(c)(3)	52-1231931
American GI Forum-National Veterans Outreach Program	501(c)(3)	74-2033203
Dignity Moves (California)	501(c)(3)	87-1111468
Connecticut Coalition Against Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	06-0985675
HELP of Southern Nevada	501(c)(3)	88-0108496
Swords to Plowshares	501(c)(3)	94-2260626
Unity Health Care, Inc. (Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3)	52-1572431
YWCA Seattle King Snohomish (Washington State)	501(c)(3)	91-0482890
AIDS Foundation Chicago	501(c)(3)	36-3412054
Illinois Coalition Against Sexual Assault	501(c)(3)	37-1063491
Safer Foundation	501(c)(3)	36-2762168
Father Bill's & MainSpring (Brockton, MA)	501(c)(3)	22-2538039
Nation's Finest	501(c)(3)	94-2699571
Neighborhood House (Seattle, WA)	501(c)(3)	91-0568305
Housing Works, Inc., New York, N.Y.	501(c)(3)	13-3584089
New York Legal Assistance Group, New York, N.Y.	501(c)(3)	13-3505428
Disability Rights California	501(c)(3)	94-2505916
AIDS Healthcare Foundation	501(c)(3)	95-4112121
Pennsylvania Coalition Against Domestic Violence	501(c)(3)	23-2052886
Lantern Community Services	501(c)(3)	13-3910692
Thresholds	501(c)(3)	36-2518901
Episcopal Community Services of SF	501(c)(3)	94-3096716
Mid-Willamette Valley Community Action Agency	501(c)(3)	23-7056987
All Chicago Making Homelessness History	501(c)(3)	36-4272272
LA Family Housing (Los Angeles, CA)	501(c)(3)	95-3920560
Black Veterans For Social Justice, Inc.	501(c)(3)	11-2608983
U.S. VETS	501(c)(3)	95-4382752
Children's Law Center of California	501(c)(3)	95-4252143
Defender Association of Philadelphia	501(c)(3)	23-1445669
Low Income Housing Institute	501(c)(3)	94-3155150
A Way Home America	501(c)(3)	93-2585159
Access Housing Inc. District of Columbia	501(c)(3)	52-1918702
Advocates for Empowerment CA	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
African American Juvenile Justice Project	Unknown	N/A

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
38,408,613	20,437,451	53.21%	
20,776,808	20,575,414	99.03%	
30,331,596	21,677,631	71.47%	
22,376,163	22,376,004	100.00%	
22,759,018	22,471,546	98.74%	
55,786,693	22,507,241	40.35%	
110,122,180	23,391,198	21.24%	
25,273,281	24,764,992	97.99%	
32,304,888	24,931,590	77.18%	
25,881,778	25,394,429	98.12%	
30,132,140	26,211,359	86.99%	
37,321,790	26,978,728	72.29%	
167,878,190	28,922,111	17.23%	
42,438,771	29,826,301	70.28%	
35,444,643	30,288,565	85.45%	
30,746,028	30,674,803	99.77%	
39,151,800	31,296,787	79.94%	
41,018,318	31,312,172	76.34%	
31,601,179	31,397,295	99.35%	
36,879,461	33,107,678	89.77%	
51,762,615	35,925,870	69.41%	
47,414,824	38,047,858	80.24%	
43,619,941	41,332,489	94.76%	
2,291,607,567	41,877,318	1.83%	
44,825,437	43,267,988	96.53%	
47,384,655	46,019,631	97.12%	
109,774,551	46,499,578	42.36%	
61,587,026	51,800,219	84.11%	
62,878,401	56,769,361	90.28%	
62,933,761	61,223,134	97.28%	
71,522,800	65,569,273	91.68%	
67,922,446	67,557,512	99.46%	
95,257,794	72,501,190	76.11%	
82,121,014	77,807,785	94.75%	
83,916,027	83,611,334	99.64%	
129,287,303	87,882,079	67.97%	
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Project of Tenants and Owners Development Corporation
N/A	N/A		

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
American Friends Service Committee	501(c)(3)	23-1352010
Andrxgenisis LLC	For-Profit	N/A
Arkansas Coalition of Housing and Neighborhood Growth for Empowerment	501(c)(3)	20-4812245
Barton Child Law and Policy Center, Emory Law School	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Battered Mothers Custody Conference	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Betty and Michael D. Wohl Veterans Legal Clinic at Syracuse University College of Law	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Brown Initiative for Policy	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Catholic Charities of Cortland County (Cortland, NY)	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Catholic Charities of Onondaga County (Syracuse, NY)	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Catholic Charities USA (National)	501(c)(3)	53-0196620
Center on Race, Inequality, and the Law at NYU School of Law	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Chicago Women Take Action	501(c)(3)	82-3290576
Children & Family Justice Center	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Children's Advocacy Institute	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Civil Rights Education and Defense Fund	Unknown	N/A
Civitas ChildLaw Center, Loyola University of Chicago School of Law	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Code Blue Emergency Shelter (Lansdale, PA)	Unknown	N/A
Coelho Center for Disability Law, Policy and Innovation	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Colby's Army Inc. (Nashville, TN)	501(c)(3)	27-1023432
Collective Justice	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
College Student Basic Needs Program (Montgomery County, PA)	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Community Bridges Inc. (Tennessee)	501(c)(3)	83-2919789
Community Housing Network	Unknown	N/A
Community Veteran Justice Project, The	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Cornell Law Veterans Law Practicum	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
CrossRoads Emergency Shelter (Wichita, KS)	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
CUREIL	Unknown	N/A

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Housed at Emory University School of Law
N/A	N/A		Project of California Protective Parent Association
N/A	N/A		Housed at Syracuse University College of Law
N/A	N/A		Housed at Brown University
N/A	N/A		"Area Office" of Catholic Charities of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Syracuse, NY
N/A	N/A		"Area Office" of Catholic Charities of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Syracuse, NY
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Housed at NYU School of Law
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Housed at Northwestern Pritzker School of Law
N/A	N/A		Housed at University of San Diego
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Housed at Loyola University of Chicago School of Law
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Housed at Loyola Marymount University
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Fiscally sponsored by Rainier Valley Corps
N/A	N/A		Project of TriCounty Community Net- work
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Could not identify
N/A	N/A		Project of Social and Environmental Entrepreneurs
N/A	N/A		Housed at Cornell Law School
N/A	N/A		Operated by Wichita Children's Home
N/A	N/A		

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
Desiree Alliance, Calabasas, Cal.	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Disability Rights Bar Association	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Dixon Center for Military and Veterans' Services	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon	501(c)(3)	93-0625359
Emory Civil Rights Society	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Equality New York, New York, N.Y.	Unknown	N/A
Fines and Fees Justice Center	501(c)(3)	92-0642786
Flagler Housing and Homeless Services at St. Joseph's Villa (Richmond, VA)	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Florida Housing Umbrella Group	Unknown	N/A
Formerly Incarcerated, Convicted People and Families Movement	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Free to Be Youth Project, New York, N.Y.	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Friends General Conference	501(c)(3)	23-1352148
GBV Consulting	Unknown	N/A
Gorman & Company	For-Profit	N/A
Gray Panthers of San Francisco	501(c)(3)	94-2514721
Gulf Coast Homeless Coalition (Galveston County, TX)	Unknown	N/A
h3 Project, The (Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Harvard LGBTQ+ Advocacy Clinic, Cambridge, Mass.	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Harvey Milk LGBTQ Democratic Club	Unknown	N/A
Hearts and Hands of Hope (Birmingham, AL)	Unknown	N/A
Helping HandUps (Anaheim, CA)	501(c)(3)	84-2349181
HOM, Inc. (Arizona)	For-Profit	N/A
Homeless Legal Services, University of California, San Francisco School of Law	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Hoosier Housing Needs Coalition	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Hope and Help Network, The (Philadelphia, PA)	501(c)(3)	83-4335961
Hope Inspired, LLC (Madison, WI)	For-Profit	N/A
HOPICS (Homeless Outreach Program Integrated Care System) (Los Angeles, CA)	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Housekeys Action Network Denver	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Housing Arkansas	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Housing First Lee County (Fort Myers, FL)	Unknown	N/A

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
N/A	N/A		Fiscally sponsored by Social and Envi- ronmental Entrepreneurs
N/A	N/A		Hosted by Burton Blatt Institute at Syracuse University
N/A	N/A		Project of Fedcap Rehabilitation Services
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Housed at Emory University School of Law
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Program of St. Jospeh's Villa
N/A	N/A		"Unincorporated statewide association"
N/A	N/A		Fiscal sponsor: A New Way of Life Reen- try Project
N/A	N/A		Project of Urban Justice Center
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Fiscal sponsor: Social Good Fund
N/A	N/A		Housed at Harvard Law School
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Housed at University of San Francisco School of Law
N/A	N/A		Housed at Prosperity Indiana
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		"Division" of Special Services for Groups
N/A	N/A		Fiscal sponsor is Western Regional Advocacy Project
N/A	N/A		Fiscal sponsor is Arkansas Coalition of Housing & Neighborhood Growth
N/A	N/A		

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
Housing Justice for Survivors Project, Legal Services Center of Harvard Law School	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Interfaith Assembly on Homelessness and Housing	501(c)(3)	13-3279158
Iowa Balance of State Continuum of Care (Iowa)	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Jaydot LLC (Washington, D.C.)	For-Profit	N/A
Jefferson Berkeley Alliance (Ranson, WV)	Unknown	N/A
Judi's Midnight Diner (Medford, OR)	Unknown	N/A
Justice for Children Project at the Moritz College of Law, The	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Kairos Center for Religions, Rights and Social Justice	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Knoxville Area Tenants' Union (Knoxville, TN)	Unknown	N/A
La Puente Home Inc.'s Adelante Family Resource Center (Alamosa, CO)	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Lake Washington United Methodist Church Safe Parking (Kirkland, WA)	501(c)(3)	91-1273930
Linda and Friends Helping Hands (Lansdale, PA)	501(c)(3)	99-1682048
Los Angeles Catholic Worker	Unknown	N/A
Louisville Outreach for the Unsheltered (Louisville, KY)	501(c)(3)	87-3230530
Love and Justice in the Streets, Oakland	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Mary's Angels Independent Living (Kingstree, SC)	501(c)(3)	06-1781886
Metropolitan A.M.E.	501(c)(3)	52-0783755
Morgantown RAMP	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Multnomah Monthly Meeting	501(c)(3)	93-0815614
National Association for Rights Protection and Advocacy	501(c)(3)	52-1212052
National Association of Social Workers - NJ	Unknown	N/A
National Clergy Council of National Union of the Homeless	Unknown	N/A
National Law School Veterans Clinic Consortium	501(c)(3)	81-4079156
National Trans Bar Association, San Francisco, Cal.	501(c)(3)	83-1737301
Neighbors in Need Alliance (Durango, CO)	501(c)(3)	84-3464035
New Hope Housing, Inc.	Unknown	N/A
Nykitas Homeless to Home Christian FaithBased Project (Las Vegas, NV)	501(c)(3)	88-1125015
Pallet PBC (Everett, WA)	For-Profit	N/A
Partners for Our Children	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
PATH	Unknown	N/A
Patterson & Company (Knoxville, TN)	Unknown	N/A
Pennsylvania Coalition to Advance Respect	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
People for Fairness Coalition (Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3) Project	N/A

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
N/A	N/A		Housed at Harvard Law School
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Accepts donations through Institute for Community Alliances
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Housed at Moritz College of Law
N/A	N/A		Fiscally sponsored by Tides Center
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Program of La Puente
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Fiscal Sponsor: Western Regional Advo- cacy Project
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Fiscal sponsor: "local First Presbyterian Church"
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Could not identify
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Housed at University of Washington School of Social Work
N/A	N/A		Could not identify
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		"Division" of Respect Together
N/A	N/A		Fiscal Sponsor: Coalition for Non Profit Housing & Economic Development

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
People's Mission Coalition, The	Unknown	N/A
Phoenix Transition Program, Atlanta, Ga.	501(c)(3)	85-1580942
PODER SF	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Policy Advocacy Clinic, U.C. Berkeley School of Law	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Presentation Partners in Housing (Fargo, ND)	Unknown	N/A
Project Love Coalition	501(c)(3)	81-2235730
Project Rainbow	501(c)(3)	92-1048214
Providence Community Radio	501(c)(3)	74-3234570
Public Counsel's Center for Veteran Advancement	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
PYD Solutions and Support	For-Profit	N/A
Rhode Island Homeless Advocacy Project	Unknown	N/A
Richmond District Democratic Club	Unknown	N/A
Rights4Girls	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Riverside Church in the City of New York	501(c)(3)	13-1624157
ROAR Center at the University of Maryland Baltimore, The	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Rogers & Rosewater Soup Kitchen (Oakland, CA)	Unknown	N/A
Sacramento Homeless Organizing Committee	501(c)(3)	81-4523361
Safe Harbor Mission (Pleasanton, KS)	Unknown	N/A
Safe Places for Youth Central Illinois	501(c)(3)	92-3124935
Safe Spaces Inc. (Raleigh, NC)	501(c)(3)	87-4673281
Safety Net Project of the Urban Justice Center	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Salvation Army Emergency Disaster Services of Western Pennsylvania (Pittsburgh, PA)	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
San Francisco Rising	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Sayra and Neil Meyerhoff Center for Families, Children and the Courts	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Serendipity Alliance Healthcare Consultants (San Antonio, TX)	501(c)(3)	46-0660188
Signify Consulting, LLC	For-Profit	N/A
Sisters of Mercy of the Americas	501(c)(3)	52-1653282
Small Business Forward	501(c)(4)	93-3761960
South Mountain Friends Meeting	501(c)(3)	93-1163560
Stop the Sweeps Seattle	Unknown	N/A
Street Spirit, Berkeley	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Street Wise	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Supportive Housing Advocates - NJ	Unknown	N/A

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Fiscal Sponsor: Tides Center
N/A	N/A		Housed at University of California, Berkeley School of Law
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Project of Public Counsel
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Project of Tides Center
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Housed at University of Maryland, Baltimore
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Project of the Urban Justice Center
N/A	N/A		Candid profile on website links to EIN: 13-5562351
N/A	N/A		Fiscal Sponsor: Chinese Progressive Association
N/A	N/A		Housed at University of Baltimore School of Law
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Fiscal Sponsor: Independent Arts and Media
N/A	N/A		Part of YWCA Metropolitan Chicago
N/A	N/A		

Organization	Tax Status	EIN
Synergy Project, The - Valley Youth House	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Tenderloin People's Congress	Unknown	N/A
Tennessee for Safe Homes	501(c)(4) Project	N/A
Tennessee Valley Continuum of Care (East Tennessee)	Unknown	N/A
Texas A&M School of Law Family and Veterans Advocacy Clinic	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Timao Center (Fall River, MA)	501(c)(3)	85-0756606
Trans Sistas of Color Project, Detroit, Mich.	501(c)(3)	84-4166704
Trans(forming), Atlanta, Ga.	Unknown	N/A
UCLA School of Law Veterans Legal Clinic	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Unhoused Neighbors Union, Missoula	Unknown	N/A
Unitarian Universalist Association	501(c)(3)	04-2103733
United States Conference of Catholic Bishops	501(c)(3)	53-0196617
University of Detroit Mercy Veterans Law Clinic	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
University of Illinois College of Law Veteran's Legal Clinic	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Vecinos Unidos, Inc. (Hartford, CT)	501(c)(3)	06-1483368
Venice Justice Committee	Unknown	N/A
Venugopals Consulting Services	Unknown	N/A
Veterans Advocacy Law Clinic at the University of Arizona James E. Rogers College of Law, The	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Welcome Home Skagit (Mount Vernon, WA)	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Westside Tenants Association	Unknown	N/A
Women Veterans Interactive Foundation	501(c)(3)	85-0500106
Women's Housing, Equality and Enhancement League	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Worcester County Youth Action Board	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Youth Advocacy & Policy Lab, Harvard Law School	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Youth Correctional Leaders for Justice	501(c)(3) Project	N/A
Youth Law Center	Unknown	N/A

Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)	Notes
N/A	N/A		Program of the Valley Youth House
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Project of Southern Crossroads, itself a project of Showing Up for Racial Justice
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Housed at Texas A&M School of Law
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Housed at UCLA School of Law
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Housed at University of Detroit Mercy
N/A	N/A		Housed at University of Illinois
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Housed at University of Arizona
N/A	N/A		Fiscal Sponsor: Angels for Angels
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		
N/A	N/A		Project of Seattle Housing and Re- source Effort
N/A	N/A		Program of LUK
N/A	N/A		Housed at Harvard Law School
N/A	N/A		Housed by Catalyze Justice, itself fiscally sponsored by Possibility Labs
N/A	N/A		Could not identify

## APPENDIX B

## Sample of Amici Filers in *City of Grants Pass* v. Johnson With Housing Justice/Radical/Extremist Leanings

Organization	Tax Status	EIN	Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)
Alaska Coalition on Housing and Homelessness	501(c)(3)	92-0137326	726,082	82,735	11.39%
Arkansas Coalition of Housing and Neighborhood Growth for Empowerment	501(c)(3)	20-4812245	N/A	N/A	
Center for Constitutional Rights, The, New York, NY.	501(c)(3)	22-6082880	14,848,424	0	0.00%
Chicago Coalition for the Homeless	501(c)(3)	36-3292607	5,395,321	0	0.00%
Coalition for the Homeless (Louisville, KY)	501(c)(3)	61-1118307	5,477,708	4,502,407	82.20%
Coalition on Homelessness & Housing Ohio	501(c)(3)	31-1189029	4,233,887	2,955,576	69.81%
Coalition on Homelessness San Francisco	501(c)(3)	94-3111898	1,114,608	0	0.00%
Community Alliance for The Homeless (Memphis, TN)	501(c)(3)	62-1616145	2,459,328	2,091,479	85.04%
Community Alliance of Tenants	501(c)(3)	31-1571929	2,658,978	2,410,313	90.65%
Connecticut Coalition to End Homelessness (Connecticut)	501(c)(3)	06-1126880	3,458,562	2,007,623	58.05%
Democratic Socialists of America SF	501(c)(4)	82-2194307	83,601	0	0.00%
Florida Housing Coalition	501(c)(3)	59-2235835	3,221,278	0	0.00%
Florida Supportive Housing Coalition	501(c)(3)	26-0021281	228,930	0	0.00%
Greater Kansas City Coalition to End Homelessness (Kansas City, MO)	501(c)(3)	43-1844751	1,041,683	1,023,097	98.22%

Notes	Link to Amicus Brief	Link to Second Amicus Brief	Link to Third Amicus Brief
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/23/23-175/306659/20240 403153933655_23-175bsacTheLawyersCommitteeForCivilRightsUnd erLaw.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/23/23-175/306659/20240 403153933655_23-175bsacTheLawyersCommitteeForCivilRightsUnd erLaw.pdf	N/A	N/A
"Extremist" - Pro-October 7	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306581/20240403115608514_23-175%20Amic- us%20Brief.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306481/20240402114056835_23-175%20Amic- us%20Brief%20of%20Chicago%20Coalition%20for%20the%20 Homeless%20et%20alpdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice group - Service org - added advocacy	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306648/20240403151850877_2024.04.03%20Amic- us%20Brief%20In%20Support%20of%20Respondents.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306635/20240403144759107_23-175_Brief.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice group - Service org - added advocacy	https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/23/23-175/306489/20240 402122038723_23-175bsacWesternRegionalAdvocacyProject.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice group - Service org - added advocacy	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306648/20240403151850877_2024.04.03%20Amic- us%20Brief%20In%20Support%20of%20Respondents.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306657/20240403153157627_23-175%20Amic- us%20Brief%20of%20Oregon%20Food%20Bank%20et%20alpdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice group - Service org - added advocacy	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306648/20240403151850877_2024.04.03%20Amic- us%20Brief%20In%20Support%20of%20Respondents.pdf	N/A	N/A
"Extremist" - Pro-October 7, Pro-Hamas	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306469/20240402100128028_23-175%20-%20 Amici%20Brief.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/23/23-175/306659/20240 403153933655_23-175bsacTheLawyersCommitteeForCivilRightsUnd erLaw.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306635/20240403144759107_23-175_Brief.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306648/20240403151850877_2024.04.03%20Amic- us%20Brief%20In%20Support%20of%20Respondents.pdf	N/A	N/A

Organization	Tax Status	EIN	Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)
Homeless Alliance, The (Oklahoma City, OK)	501(c)(3)	11-3718005	15,708,964	6,643,914	42.29%
Homeless and Housing Coalition of Kentucky (Frankfort, KY)	501(c)(3)	61-1191524	3,078,114	2,549,215	82.82%
Hoosier Housing Needs Coalition	501(c)(3) Project	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Housekeys Action Network Denver	501(c)(3) Project	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Kairos Center for Religions, Rights and Social Justice	501(c)(3) Project	N/A	N/A	N/A	
LA Family Housing (Los Angeles, CA)	501(c)(3)	95-3920560	71,522,800	65,569,273	91.68%
Michigan Coalition Against Homelessness	501(c)(3)	38-2960348	2,797,437	1,774,364	63.43%
National Homelessness Law Center	501(c)(3)	52-1633883	2,161,218	168,324	7.79%
National Housing Law Project	501(c)(3)	94-2400196	2,661,473	274,140	10.30%
Neighborhood House (Seattle, WA)	501(c)(3)	91-0568305	36,879,461	33,107,678	89.77%
Nevada Homeless Alliance (Las Vegas, NV)	501(c)(3)	65-1291029	1,142,476	0	0.00%
Nevada Housing Coalition	501(c)(3)	30-1171619	661,838	0	0.00%
NJ Coalition to End Homelessness (Lawrenceville, NJ)	501(c)(3)	45-3700939	3,928,693	687,260	17.49%
North Carolina Coalition to End Homelessness (Raleigh, NC)	501(c)(3)	56-2227722	2,893,326	1,845,050	63.77%
People for Fairness Coalition (Washington, D.C.)	501(c)(3) Project	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Poverty & Race Research Action Council	501(c)(3)	52-1705073	1,557,176	0	0.00%

Notes	Link to Amicus Brief	Link to Second Amicus Brief	Link to Third Amicus Brief
Housing Justice group - Service org - added advocacy	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306648/20240403151850877_2024.04.03%20Amic- us%20Brief%20In%20Support%20of%20Respondents.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306648/20240403151850877_2024.04.03%20Amic- us%20Brief%20In%20Support%20of%20Respondents.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/23/23-175/306659/20240 403153933655_23-175bsacTheLawyersCommitteeForCivilRightsUnd erLaw.pdf	N/A	N/A
"Extremist" - Member of extremist group Western Regional Advocacy Proj- ect (which is also its fiscal sponsors)	https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/23/23-175/306489/20240 402122038723_23-175bsacWesternRegionalAdvocacyProject.pdf	N/A	N/A
"Extremist" - Parts of Tides Center, handles donations for Poor People's Campaign	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306604/20240403125739144_No.%2023-175_ Amici%20Brief.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice group - Service org - added advocacy	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306648/20240403151850877_2024.04.03%20Amic- us%20Brief%20In%20Support%20of%20Respondents.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/23/23-175/306659/20240 403153933655_23-175bsacTheLawyersCommitteeForCivilRightsUnd erLaw.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306583/20240403120258573_23-175%20bsac%20 NHLC%20PDFA.pdf	N/A	N/A
"Extremist" - "Powers" Alliance for Housing Justice alongside extremist groups	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306529/20240402152545743_NhlpGrants_Amici%20 Document%20April%202%202024%20EFile.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice group - Service org - added advocacy	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306648/20240403151850877_2024.04.03%20Amic- us%20Brief%20In%20Support%20of%20Respondents.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306648/20240403151850877_2024.04.03%20Amic- us%20Brief%20In%20Support%20of%20Respondents.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306635/20240403144759107_23-175_Brief.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306648/20240403151850877_2024.04.03%20Amic- us%20Brief%20In%20Support%20of%20Respondents.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306648/20240403151850877_2024.04.03%20Amic- us%20Brief%20In%20Support%20of%20Respondents.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice group - Service org - added advocacy	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306648/20240403151850877_2024.04.03%20Amic- us%20Brief%20In%20Support%20of%20Respondents.pdf	N/A	N/A
"Extremist" - "Powers" Alliance for Housing Justice alongside extremist groups	https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/23/23-175/306659/20240 403153933655_23-175bsacTheLawyersCommitteeForCivilRightsUnderLaw.pdf	N/A	N/A

Organization	Tax Status	EIN	Revenue (2023)	Government Grants (2023)	Percent Government Funded (2023)
Project Love Coalition	501(c)(3)	81-2235730	N/A	N/A	
Regional Task Force on Homelessness (San Diego, CA)	501(c)(3)	11-3723093	26,093,432	20,017,945	76.72%
Sacramento Homeless Organizing Committee	501(c)(3)	81-4523361	N/A	N/A	
Seattle/King County Coalition on Homelessness	501(c)(3)	82-1831734	671,855	234,825	34.95%
Somerville Homeless Coalition, Inc. (Somerville, MA)	501(c)(3)	04-2897447	7,160,568	4,923,798	68.76%
Southern Poverty Law Center	501(c)(3)	63-0598743	169,857,376	0	0.00%
Stop the Sweeps Seattle	Grassroots Coalition	Unregistered	N/A	N/A	
Tennessee Valley Coalition for the Homeless (Knoxville, TN)	501(c)(3)	26-2881347	826,607	690,981	83.59%
West Virginia Coalition to End Homelessness	501(c)(3)	55-0784381	6,923,640	6,568,773	94.87%
Western Regional Advocacy Project	501(c)(3)	26-1982806	779,805	0	0.00%

<sup>\*</sup>Categories include: Housing justice groups with intense advocacy focus; Service organizations with an increasing housing justice advocacy focus; groups that are considred extremist, to include supporting violent or pro-Hamas sentiment

Notes	Link to Amicus Brief	Link to Second Amicus Brief	Link to Third Amicus Brief
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306643/20240403150239869_23-175%20bsac%20 UCLA%20Veterans%20Final.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306648/20240403151850877_2024.04.03%20Amic- us%20Brief%20In%20Support%20of%20Respondents.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice group - Service org - added advocacy	https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/23/23-175/306489/20240 402122038723_23-175bsacWesternRegionalAdvocacyProject.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/303410/20240319144025652_23-175%20Amic- us%20Brief.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice group - Service org - added advocacy	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306648/20240403151850877_2024.04.03%20Amic- us%20Brief%20In%20Support%20of%20Respondents.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice focus	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306701/20240403173047451_23-175%20Amic- us%20Brief.pdf	N/A	N/A
"Extremist" - Member of extremist group Western Regional Advocacy Project	https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/23/23-175/306489/20240 402122038723_23-175bsacWesternRegionalAdvocacyProject.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice group - Service org - added advocacy	https://www.supremecourt.gov/Docket- PDF/23/23-175/306648/20240403151850877_2024.04.03%20Amic- us%20Brief%20In%20Support%20of%20Respondents.pdf	N/A	N/A
Housing Justice group - Service org - added advocacy	https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/23/23-175/306659/20240 403153933655_23-175bsacTheLawyersCommitteeForCivilRightsUnderLaw.pdf	https://www. supremecourt. gov/Docket-	N/A
"Extremist" - incites anti-police violence, idolizes Assata Shakur	https://www.supremecourt.gov/DocketPDF/23/23-175/306489/20240 402122038723_23-175bsacWesternRegionalAdvocacyProject.pdf	N/A	N/A

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