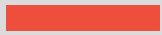


Meeting the Moment



THE CENTURY FOUNDATION
2023 ANNUAL REPORT

When our *systems*
are broken,

It's *people* who
pay the price.



Friends,

The past year brought its fair share of challenges for our country—from escalating conflict overseas, to abortion rights and affirmative action under attack here at home. This year showed just how much public policy matters.

I could not be more proud of the work that TCF has done to confront those challenges and push progress forward. Our 2023 Annual Report, *Meeting the Moment*, is a testament to the incredible work of TCF researchers and advocates, alongside our many partners, to put people at the center of policy making.

So, how did TCF meet this critical moment for America this year? For starters, we:

- **Transformed the national conversation around child care, putting the care affordability crisis at the center of political debate.** Our research into what we coined as the “child care cliff” led to unprecedented media attention, growing bipartisan public support for child care funding, and new legislative action, from state governments all the way to the White House.
- **Fought back against the assault on abortion rights**, becoming a go-to resource for states looking to safeguard and expand reproductive freedom and justice, as well as **the attacks on race-conscious affirmative action**, for example by advising institutions on what they can do to maintain diversity on campus and leading the charge for **greater support for HBCUs**.
- **Stood up for unions and workers everywhere**—from **advocating for low-wage workers** at UAW, Starbucks, and Amazon who are joining together to demand dignity on the job in record numbers, to **bringing the voices of disabled workers directly to the halls of power** through our landmark Disability Economic Justice Collaborative.
- **Protected vulnerable students and held for-profit colleges accountable**, helping to enact the strongest-ever set of consumer protections in higher education this year (the “Gainful Employment” rule) and ensuring that colleges are serving students, not shareholders.
- **Supported diverse, dynamic, next-generation leaders**—preparing to launch the **third cohort of Next100**, our first-of-its-kind spinoff think tank; helping more than **3,000 students, many of them students of color, attain credentials to work in the manufacturing industry**; and ensuring that our future leaders are prepared for an increasingly diverse workforce and world through TCF’s **Bridges Collaborative, which has served more than 3.5 million children**.

TCF is bigger and stronger than at any time in our 104-year history. Our network and impact continues to grow—but so too do the challenges facing Americans of all backgrounds.

In 2024, we’ll keep fighting for the underdog in everything we do—people that have been excluded from decision-making, families struggling to make ends meet, and vulnerable communities whose rights are under growing threat. **Because public policy that helps *them* succeed, helps us all succeed.**



Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Mark'.

Mark Zuckerman
President, The Century Foundation

A Better Life for Women and Families

Women, people of color, and people with low incomes are the backbone of the American economy and society. But too often, public policy makes their lives difficult—resulting in child care costs that are out of reach, vast disparities in health outcomes, increasing attacks on reproductive rights, and more. At TCF, we’re leading efforts to overcome those barriers and guarantee affordable child care for all, advance reproductive justice, and make maternal health and health care more available and equitable.



CHILD CARE | In 2023, TCF transformed the conversation around child care in the United States—putting the care affordability crisis at the center of national debate. Our June report, which sounded the alarm on the impending “child care cliff,” resulted in around-the-clock media coverage for TCF experts, from *CBS* and *NBC Nightly News* appearances to the *New York Times* and *NPR*. Working closely with allies on Capitol Hill, our research and advocacy spurred the introduction of federal legislation and was even cited during a GOP Presidential Debate—a testament to the growing, bipartisan momentum to finally address the nation’s care crisis.



U.S. SENATOR PATTY MURRAY

“As The Century Foundation’s report makes clear, the coming cliff could force providers to lay off staff or shut down, force parents to leave work when they lose their child care, and take a wrecking ball to our economic recovery—unless we take action.”

3.2 MILLION

The number of children who are at risk of losing child care due to the expiration of federal stabilization funding, based on TCF’s analysis.



21 STATES

Since the overturning of *Roe v. Wade*, which ended the constitutionally protected right to abortion, twenty-one states have banned abortion or restricted the procedure earlier than what was allowable under *Roe*, including fourteen states where abortion is banned in almost all circumstances.

REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE | With reproductive rights under attack, TCF is a leading resource for those seeking to safeguard abortion access and justice. Our team has made the case for expanding the availability of mifepristone, an overwhelmingly safe and effective medication abortion drug, in the face of multiple legal challenges. And we helped draft a visionary new bill in Congress, the *Abortion Justice Act*, while tracking in real-time the steps the Biden administration has taken to bolster abortion access.



JENNIE JOSEPH, FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT, COMMONSENSE CHILDBIRTH, ONE OF THE BLACK-LED COMMUNITY-BASED ORGANIZATIONS TCF IS HELPING TO ACCESS FEDERAL FUNDING OPPORTUNITIES

“[TCF] is like a support group right now. Thank goodness you’re running interference.... ’Cause if you weren’t doing this, guess what would be going on? Nothing.”

MATERNAL HEALTH | TCF’s Black Maternal Health Policy Collective has become the go-to place for Capitol Hill lawmakers and advocates working to improve health outcomes for Black pregnant women. In the past year, more bills were added to the “*Momnibus*,” a comprehensive package of maternal health legislation that TCF experts have been instrumental in developing. Outside of Washington, D.C., our team is working directly with local Black-led birth justice organizations, helping groups get much-needed new federal funding.

EQUITABLE HEALTH INSURANCE COVERAGE | We’re working to expand health insurance coverage and affordability at the state-level, where there are considerable opportunities to make meaningful progress. And as state lawmakers look to lower health care costs, TCF is making sure that equity, inclusion, and access are at the center of those efforts—not an afterthought.

Partnering with Communities for a Strong Economy

The economy is stacked against everyday Americans—whether it’s because you’re disabled or a low-wage worker, can’t afford to save for retirement, or lack opportunities to enter high-quality career fields. But this year, working people of all backgrounds have banded together to fight for higher wages and better conditions in historic numbers. At TCF, we work hand-in-hand with these communities, from the disabled worker struggling to get by on subminimum wage to the autoworker on the picket line, helping deliver wins for workers and unions both in the workplace and Congress.



COE COLETTE, A CONTRIBUTOR TO TCF'S VOICES OF DISABILITY ECONOMIC JUSTICE SERIES

“By sharing our narratives and uniting in collective action—together—we can forge a future that prioritizes economic justice, compassion, and stability for every person.”

DISABILITY JUSTICE | In less than two years, our groundbreaking Disability Economic Justice Collaborative has grown to include nearly fifty think tanks, research organizations, and advocacy groups working toward economic security for disabled people—and winning policy change. In 2023, we launched a new *Voices of Disability Economic Justice* project, which brings the first-person experiences of disabled people directly to the halls of power.

MOBILIZING THE WORKFORCE OF TOMORROW | In our *Industry and Inclusion* project, we’ve partnered with twenty-three community colleges and workforce organizations across thirteen states to lead a first-of-its-kind initiative to promote diversity and reduce racial disparities in manufacturing. In addition, our pre-K–12, higher education, and workforce teams are combining forces on a project to develop diverse talent pipelines across STEM and legal fields, with a particular focus on medicine and engineering career paths.

1 IN 2 MOMS

TCF's analysis reveals that a shocking 50 percent of mothers in the United States have no retirement savings at all, compared to 32 percent of fathers.



PROTECTING YOUR RETIREMENT | With Social Security under renewed threat in Congress, TCF stepped up its work this year to defend Americans' retirement security, playing both offense and defense. When needed, we've shone a light on the drastic consequences of proposals to undermine retirement security; at other times, we've made the case to lawmakers and the public for new, outside-the-box solutions to strengthen Social Security and retirement for future generations.



STEVEN GREENHOUSE, TCF SENIOR FELLOW
AND VETERAN LABOR JOURNALIST

“Workers are more enthusiastic about unions than they’ve been for decades—and we’re seeing that especially among young workers, who see unions as a way to improve their lives. Just look at Starbucks: there have been more than 360 unionization victories at its cafes across the U.S, in what has been one of the most successful union drives in decades.”

FIGHTING FOR WORKERS | As workers have organized in historic numbers this year, TCF has been there at every turn. TCF's labor team has chronicled the struggles of workers on the frontlines, from Amazon to the UAW to Starbucks, and are go-to experts for union partners, lawmakers, and the media alike. Thanks to our advocacy on unemployment insurance (UI), several states are taking steps to make unemployment benefits more readily available, including for striking workers.



4 PERCENT

It is estimated that Black women will be hired for only 4 percent of the 800,000 new manufacturing jobs expected to be created as a result of the federal infrastructure law.

TCF BY THE NUMBERS

Driving Policy Change to Improve Lives

At TCF, we know that policy can make people's lives better—or more difficult. Every day, our team of experts and advocates does research that makes change possible. We work hand-in-hand with communities on the ground, bringing their voices directly to the halls of power. **And our impact is clear.**

\$16 Billion

Our “child care cliff” report led 100-plus lawmakers, in both the Senate and House of Representatives, to introduce the Child Care Stabilization Act—legislation that would provide \$16 billion annually in new funding to help stabilize the child care sector.

46 Groups

The number of leading think tanks, research organizations, and advocacy groups who now comprise TCF's Disability Economic Justice Collaborative—which, in less than two years, has become a go-to for policymakers and an indispensable voice for change for disabled people.

2.5 Million Views

We launched a multi-platform digital campaign to focus attention on the child care cliff, including producing a compelling thirty-second video ad targeted at Beltway media and congressional offices. In total, our campaign reached over 800,000 people and our ads were seen 2.5 million times.



38 States

To improve maternal health outcomes, thirty-eight states have now extended pregnancy-related Medicaid coverage to twelve months postpartum—a policy change TCF has long championed, as Medicaid covers four in ten births in this country. Now, eight more states are planning to implement a twelve-month postpartum extension.

3,000 Students

In recent years, TCF's Industry and Inclusion coalition, which is focused on diversifying the manufacturing sector, has helped more than 3,000 students attain credentials to work in the manufacturing industry, through better engagement with and training for students of color.

75 Percent

TCF's work to build momentum behind an innovative higher education reform—the federal government placing a “cap” on tuition costs—was buoyed by message research we conducted with Lake Research Partners, which revealed that 75 percent of voters, including 81 percent of Democrats and 70 percent of Republicans, support government action to cap tuition.

120,000 Questions

This year, TCF started a partnership with industry-leading polling firm Morning Consult, allowing us to field survey questions to roughly 120,000 adults over the course of a year—helping us make the case that TCF's policy ideas are not only sound, but are also broadly popular.

\$3,400

TCF has led the push for federal guardrails that steer students toward college programs that leave graduates better off than they started. Our analysis shows that the Biden administration's “Gainful Employment” rule, finalized this fall, will boost the average earnings for all students who rely on financial aid by \$3,400 annually—and up to \$10,000 for students currently trapped in low-quality programs.



Ensuring Everyone Gets a Quality Education

This year brought immense challenges in higher education, including the undermining of race-conscious affirmative action and student debt relief. Many pre-K–12 students have yet to make up for pandemic-era learning losses and the nation’s education system remains highly segregated. TCF is working to overcome these barriers, developing innovative solutions to lower college costs, increase diversity on campuses, boost funding to HBCUs, and hold for-profit colleges accountable. And we’re leading the movement to ensure that all students can attend high-quality, integrated schools.

HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES (HBCUs) | TCF’s research has put a spotlight on decades of chronic underfunding of HBCUs, quintessential institutions of upward mobility for countless Black students. Thanks to our steadfast advocacy, the U.S. Department of Education called on states to ensure equitable funding of land-grant HBCUs, while members of Congress introduced legislation to finally address 100-plus years of discriminatory treatment and underfunding.

COLLEGE AFFORDABILITY + ACCOUNTABILITY | TCF made headlines by championing a new policy idea to lower college costs: *tuition caps*, which our public opinion research shows is broadly supported by Americans. We have led the push to ensure that a college education is worth its cost for graduates, work that recently culminated in the strongest-ever set of college accountability rules (“Gainful Employment”)—which TCF not only helped develop, but has worked tirelessly to defend, negotiate, and improve for over a decade. And our team has dug into the weeds on how colleges receive accreditation, how they manage their online programs, and whether community college should be free.



8 IN 10

Our polling with Morning Consult shows that 80 percent of voters agree: college programs should demonstrate a record of leaving graduates with enough earnings to pay back their student loans.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION | TCF has been a vocal opponent of the Supreme Court’s devastating decision on race-conscious college admissions policies this summer. Even before the ruling came, our team was springing to action—laying out available paths to maintain diversity on campuses; advising colleges, universities, and K–12 schools about their options; and launching a new, large-scale project examining the current state of racial equity in college admissions.



STEFAN LALLINGER, TCF SENIOR FELLOW AND NEXT100 EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SUPREME COURT’S RULING ON RACE-BASED AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

“The majority of Americans who still believe in diversity will need to stand for its principles. For in a country made up of denizens of every hue, race, color, and creed—if democracy matters, then diversity matters.”

SCHOOL INTEGRATION + BRIDGES COLLABORATIVE | This year, TCF’s pioneering work on school integration led to the creation of a new \$10 million federal grant to spur local solutions to desegregation, with several of TCF’s Bridges Collaborative members being selected as inaugural grant recipients. Now in its fourth year, Bridges has worked with more than fifty organizations representing 3.5 million children, demonstrating that bringing together diverse education and housing leaders behind a common goal can yield tremendous benefits for students.



DR. MIA HALL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF EQUITY AND COMMUNITY INITIATIVES, FORT WORTH ISD, A BRIDGES COLLABORATIVE MEMBER SCHOOL DISTRICT

“Before coming to [Bridges], I only could aspire or imagine in my head what an inclusive, integrated, high-performing high school would look like. It’s now no longer an aspiration... it’s now more of a destination. It’s a real place that actually exists that I can see.”

ENGLISH LEARNERS | English learners (ELs) are a large and growing student group in the United States, but they face unique and systematic challenges. To better support these students, TCF spent two years developing a first-of-its-kind database which analyzed 1,600 dual-language programs, serving 1.1 million students across thirteen states and Washington, D.C.—research that is already proving instrumental in helping advocates, educators, and policymakers alike improve English learners’ academic development.

7X

TCF’s research shows that at public colleges, the average endowment per student at non-HBCUs is 3.5 times larger than at HBCUs. At private colleges, the gap increases to seven times as wide.

Policy *by* Those with the Most at Stake, *for* Those with the Most at Stake



Next100 is a one-of-a-kind think tank launched by TCF in 2019 to change the face and future of policy making. We put people who are usually excluded from policy making in the driver's seat. We recruit and hire differently. We train and develop talent differently. And we engage communities differently. **We're modeling what a think tank built for the next generation can—and should—look like.**

Next100 recently concluded its second cohort of policy entrepreneurs (PEs), who brought both lived experience and professional expertise to their work on immigration, climate change, education, housing and design, and national service. The team is now gearing up to welcome an incredible new slate of PEs. In December, the third cohort will come together for the first time and travel to Montgomery, Alabama, to visit the Equal Justice Initiative's Legacy Museum and Memorial and reflect on how the legacy of slavery informs their work today.



ALEJANDRA VÁZQUEZ BAUR

SPOTLIGHT: THE NATIONAL NEWCOMER NETWORK

Alejandra first joined TCF in 2020, as a Summer Scholar. She had recently wrapped up teaching math at a Miami high school, where she was one of the only teachers who spoke Spanish. There, Alejandra saw firsthand the lack of support for newly arrived and multilingual students as they tried to navigate a complex, unfamiliar school system. As she says: **"My students deserved better."**

One year later, Alejandra joined the second cohort of Next100, committed to bringing her personal and professional experiences to work on behalf of immigrant students across the country. As a Next100 PE, she launched the National Newcomer Network, a first-of-its-kind coalition of 100+ educators, community leaders, and advocates working to improve the policies that most affect the educational experiences of newcomer students. Today, she is continuing to grow the network as a full-time education fellow at TCF, where she also supports the Bridges Collaborative.

Alejandra's trajectory from TCF intern, to Next100 PE, to TCF fellow is a testament to her excellence and extraordinary work. It also underscores TCF's enduring commitment to develop talent and propel the careers of emerging leaders. As Alejandra puts it: **"It is so rare to find an opportunity like Next100. In the past two years, I had unparalleled opportunities to push the needle on what's possible in newcomer education policy, all with the autonomy and trust of my managers and teammates that enabled me to succeed."**

POLICY
ENTREPRENEURS
(2021–2023)

Suryani Dewa Ayu
Housing + Design

Alejandra Vázquez Baur
*Education + Early Years,
Immigration*

Lindsey Cazessus
Economic Opportunity

Robert Godfried
Public Service

Vidal Guzman
Criminal Justice

Chantal Hinds
Education + Early Years

Dan Mathis
Housing + Design, Climate

Diana Martinez Quintana
Climate + Immigration

Century International



INDEPENDENT. CRITICAL. PROGRESSIVE.

Century International (CI), TCF's global policy arm, works with an independent research network to spotlight the human impact of international policy. Century International bridges the gap between what's happening on the ground and how governments around the world can—and should—respond.

FAITH AND FRACTURE | This year, Century International capped off three years of pathbreaking work as part of its Faith and Fracture project, releasing numerous studies about Islamist politics aimed at policy change in the United States and Middle East. CI's latest book, *Shia Power Comes of Age*, showcases Iraq as a test lab for new approaches to religion, politics, and power—prompting congressional staffers to organize private briefings about the book's findings.

TACKLING THE CLIMATE CRISIS | The CI team launched a major new initiative and working group on the climate emergency unfolding in the Middle East, connecting the environmental crisis to a broader governance breakdown. Twenty years after the United States invaded Iraq, Century International brought together fifteen leading scholars to explore the Iraq War's continuing legacy. And to serve our expanding Middle Eastern audience, Century International now has a dedicated Arabic-language presence on TCF's



CENTURY INTERNATIONAL DIRECTOR THANASSIS CAMBANIS

“This is a time for sound policy judgment and restraint—not revenge. The United States should lend any support within the bounds of international law, with an eye toward political next steps that can realize genuine, durable security for Israelis and Palestinians alike.”

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Financials

FY23 (Unaudited)

INCOME	FY23	%	NOTES
Foundations	7,802,666	67%	
Individuals	271,399	2%	
Other	3,690,029	31%	Investment Income
Total Income	11,764,094	100%	

EXPENSES	FY23	%
Program	9,717,118	83%
Development	564,152	5%
Administrative	1,440,239	12%
Total Expenses	11,721,509	100%

AN ICONIC TCF TRUSTEE

Remembering Richard Ravitch



The Century Foundation this year mourned the passing of Richard Ravitch, a renowned businessman, lawyer, and former elected official. Ravitch served on TCF's Board of Trustees for more than twenty-five years, providing invaluable guidance to TCF's leadership with his trademark grace and diligence. As TCF President Mark Zuckerman and Chairman Bradley Abelow remarked:

“Dick was always deeply optimistic about the government's ability to solve the nation's biggest policy challenges, by doing the hard work of studying the problem, building consensus, and engineering policy solutions that improve people's lives. We honor that optimism today in remembering our dear colleague and friend, Dick Ravitch, and carrying on his legacy in our work.”

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At TCF, we stand for equity and justice for all and believe that diversity is a strength. We are committed to building a more diverse and inclusive organization that continues to value all voices and perspectives and treats everyone with respect, fairness, and integrity.

Learn more and see TCF's most recent demographic data at: tcf.org/about/diversity-and-inclusion/.



The Century Foundation is a progressive, independent think tank that conducts research, develops solutions, and drives policy change to make people's lives better. We pursue economic, racial, gender, and disability equity in education, health care, and work, and promote U.S. foreign policy that fosters international cooperation, peace, and security.

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Learn more at [tcf.org](https://www.tcf.org).