



A LEGACY OF IMPACT

The Century Foundation 2024 Annual Report

“Century Foundation staff bring extraordinary dedication, creativity, and humanity to their work every day, fighting for a better world.

“Because of the foundation we’ve built together, TCF is stronger, more strategic, and more impactful than at any time in our history.”



—MARK ZUCKERMAN
TCF President, 2015–2025





Friends,

Serving as president of The Century Foundation has been one of the great honors of my life. When I announced in August that I'd be stepping down in early 2025, after ten years of leading this remarkable institution, two feelings in particular stuck out: a sense of *calm* and *confidence*.

Because I know, beyond any doubt, that **The Century Foundation is in the best position possible to build on the progress we've made and continue improving people's lives in the next decade.**

When people ask me what makes Century so special, the answer comes easy: its people. Our kind, passionate, talented staff who commit themselves every day to fight for a better, more equitable world. People who understand the immense power of public policy—and the immense power of ideas and research to transform public policy for the better.

It's because of TCF's people, our staff, that in the past decade we have accomplished so much, including:

- **Tripling TCF's annual budget** and **more than doubling its staff** by winning the **support of over sixty grantmaking institutions**, raising tens of millions of dollars.
- Winning **countless policy victories**, from protecting the **Affordable Care Act**, to leading the fight to secure over \$800 billion in **expanded aid to unemployed workers** during the pandemic, to first sounding the alarm about the nation's "**child care cliff**," and so much more.
- Building **powerful policy teams focused on equity and fairness** across pre-K-12, higher education, health care, Black maternal health, reproductive justice, the economy and labor, women's economic justice, workforce development, disability justice, and foreign policy.
- Creating a **first-of-its-kind think tank from scratch**, **Next100**, to build a new generation of diverse leaders and **change how policy gets made** by centering lived experience.
- Becoming the **most diverse organization in TCF's history**, with more than 50 percent of employees identifying as people of color.
- Changing **TCF's status from a private foundation to a public charity**, allowing TCF to increase its advocacy efforts and influence in state and local governments and in Congress.
- Setting a **new model for how think tanks work hand-in-hand with grassroots communities**, through initiatives such as the Industry and Inclusion program, the Bridges Collaborative, the Disability Economic Justice Collaborative, the National Newcomer Network, and more.

Today we are stronger, more strategic, and more impactful than at any time in our history. Whoever is fortunate enough to lead Century into the next decade is in the best of hands.

Thank you for your unwavering support of The Century Foundation over the years—whether you've donated to TCF, shared our research, or simply thought about an issue differently because of something we wrote. **Knowing our work makes a difference is what keeps us going.**

To the next decade—and century—of progress.

Onward,

Mark Zuckerman
President, The Century Foundation

HEALTHIER FAMILIES, STRONGER SOCIETY

As attacks on health care and reproductive rights escalate and families struggle with higher prices, TCF re-doubled its efforts this year to advance health equity, defend fundamental bodily autonomy, and make child care more affordable.

TWO NEW HEALTH CARE LEADS



Renowned strategist and advocate **Elizabeth Dawes** is TCF's new director of maternal and reproductive health, focused on eliminating the structural barriers facing Black women and people of color. She is a co-founder of Black Mamas Matter Alliance and helped establish the Black Maternal Health Week.



Acclaimed expert and public servant **Jeanne Lambrew** returns to TCF as director of health care reform, following a remarkable stint as Maine's commissioner of health and human services since 2019, where she helped bring the state's uninsured rate to its lowest point ever. She previously served as a senior health care official in President Obama's administration.



MATERNAL + REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH | TCF convenes the Black Maternal Health Federal Policy Collective, a go-to resource for Capitol Hill offices that centers the voices and expertise of Black women policy leaders. On reproductive health, our experts have been closely monitoring and publishing analysis on the surge in abortion bans and legal threats to mifepristone, a safe and effective drug used for medication abortion care.

CHILD CARE | TCF took its groundbreaking work on the nation's child care affordability crisis to the next level in 2024. Our research focused on the intersection of states and care policy has been used across the nation to spur legislation and increase investments in the care sector, including by Minnesota Governor Tim Walz, whose state we graded in the top five in the country on caregiving.



“Thank you to The Century Foundation and the Black Maternal Health Federal Policy Collective for your partnership today and every day... It is great to be in virtual community with you, our fierce thought leaders and advocates for reproductive freedom.”

—CONGRESSWOMAN AYANNA PRESSLEY, speaking at an October 2024 TCF event



43 PERCENT

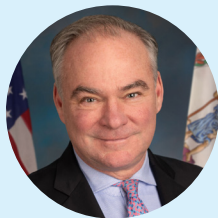
Increase in people enrolled in ACA Marketplace plans due to enhanced tax cuts passed during the Biden–Harris administration, but which will soon expire unless Congress acts, as TCF’s Jeanne Lambrew explained in testimony this fall before the Senate Finance Committee.



\$16 BILLION

Additional money requested by the White House to shore up the child care sector, a direct result of TCF’s advocacy and policy recommendations.

EQUITABLE, AFFORDABLE COVERAGE | TCF has provided hands-on guidance to state policymakers looking to lower health care costs and improve access. And with health care set to take center stage in 2025, we’re mobilizing to both defend and build on the progress made under the Affordable Care Act, just as Jeanne Lambrew did at TCF in the aftermath of the 2016 presidential election.



“The Century Foundation’s report underscores what I hear around Virginia—child care is unaffordable for many and providers are struggling to keep their doors open. This issue transcends parties and state lines.”

—U.S. SENATOR TIM KAINE



AN ECONOMY BUILT FOR DIGNITY

Too often, our economy keeps people in poverty due to low wages, excessive corporate power, a lack of quality job training and career pathways, and an insufficient social safety net. Women, disabled people, workers of color, and those with low incomes bear the brunt of these challenges. TCF is fighting for them, and for all workers, so that Americans can work and live with dignity.



“There are about 3,000 registered apprentices right here in Michigan, yet only about 8 percent of those positions were [held by] women and 12 percent were people of color. That’s why I am so excited about the Industry and Inclusion program and the work you all are doing.”

—U.S. REPRESENTATIVE RASHIDA TLAIB



1 IN 3 MOMS

TCF’s research shows that 33 percent of mothers in the United States say their stress has increased as a result of child care challenges.

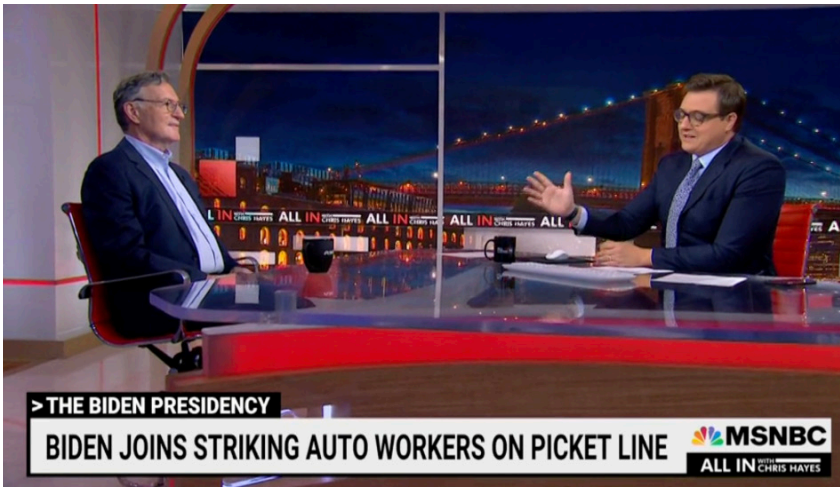


70 PERCENT

Of the roughly 100 disabled airline passengers TCF surveyed, 70 percent said they had passed up on airline travel in the previous year due to accessibility concerns.



CAREER PATHWAYS TO MOBILIZE THE ECONOMY | TCF has extended our efforts to address the lack of diversity in talent development pipelines to three critical workforces: engineering, medicine, and law. Our Industry and Inclusion project, now in its fifth year, works hand-in-glove with education and workforce partners to make the manufacturing sector more inclusive and equitable. In 2024, the coalition expanded into southern states, including Mississippi, Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas.



DISABILITY JUSTICE | TCF stewards the Disability Economic Justice Collaborative (DEJC), bringing together forty-six leading organizations to grow disability power. This spring, we released a major report on (in)accessibility in the airline industry—work that led to a meeting in which TCF briefed Airbus officials on how to improve the accessibility of their aircraft.

WORKERS AND UNION POWER | A must-read for anyone seeking to understand the labor movement today, TCF’s Steven Greenhouse documented the historic year in worker victories, from the UAW’s bar-raising contract with Detroit automakers to the surge in organizing at workplaces such as Starbucks and Trader Joe’s. And we were among the first to sound the alarm on how devastating Project 2025 would be for workers and organized labor.

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE | As fears of an economic downturn abound, people turned to TCF for guidance on how to prepare for potential job losses. We played a leading role in developing comprehensive unemployment reform legislation that was introduced in the Senate. Elsewhere, our team worked directly with advocates, state officials, and the U.S. Department of Labor to modernize the nation’s beleaguered unemployment system and upgrade its technology.



“Now that I use a wheelchair, I am terrified of traveling alone. I’ve heard all the horror stories about [airlines] destroying wheelchairs and I’ve already spent so much just trying to get these devices.”

—A disabled traveler TCF surveyed for our major report on airline accessibility, “Trips Not Taken, Money Not Made”



TCF BY THE NUMBERS

At TCF, we know that policy can make people's lives either better or worse. Every day, our team of experts and advocates does research that makes change possible. We bring grassroots voices directly to the halls of power—and **our impact is clear.**



**6,000
STUDENTS**

TCF's Industry and Inclusion program has supported some 6,000 students to attain manufacturing credentials, the vast majority coming from historically underrepresented communities.



\$16 BILLION

The amount of money that the Biden-Harris administration has invested in HBCUs over the course of their term—new investments that are the result of TCF's efforts to shine a light on these institutions and their chronic underfunding.



100+ QUESTIONS

Through our partnership with industry-leading polling firm Morning Consult, TCF has fielded more than 100 national survey questions that have made headlines—helping us show that our ideas aren't just good policy, but also have broad public support.



\$1 BILLION

TCF's pathbreaking work helped secure \$1 billion in additional funding for child care and early learning in the federal appropriations process this past year—another step forward on the road to building a truly affordable, nationwide child care system.



38 STATES

TCF's National Newcomer Network, founded by fellow Alejandra Vázquez Baur when she was a Next100 policy entrepreneur, now includes members representing thirty-eight states who are fighting on behalf of immigrant students and their right to a quality, supportive education.



\$20.8 MILLION

In the last year, eight members of TCF's Bridges Collaborative were awarded landmark grants from the federal government to support their school integration efforts, totaling \$20.8 million over the next five years.



“Congratulations on the launch of [TCF’s] new state care policy report card. In Minnesota, we know just how important your work is. Thank you for fighting for care for everyone, everywhere, because people deserve it.”

—MINNESOTA GOVERNOR TIM WALZ, speaking at a March 2024 TCF event



3.5 MILLION

Since its launch in 2020, TCF’s school integration initiative, the Bridges Collaborative, has worked with leaders from more than sixty school districts, charter schools, and housing organizations that together represent more than 3.5 million children nationwide.



200,000 WORKERS

In Mississippi, an estimated 200,000 workers each year will have easier access to job training stipends thanks to TCF developing a new workforce development strategy for the state.



4.8 MILLION

The Biden–Harris administration’s debt relief efforts have brought life-altering forgiveness to about 4.8 million student borrowers, including many who work in public service, victims of predatory schools, and lower-income and disabled students—groups that TCF has long championed.



EDUCATION THAT PUTS STUDENTS FIRST

While the country grapples with the impacts of the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling on affirmative action, rising college costs, and K-12 schools that are underfunded and segregated, TCF is reimagining an education system that gives every student the opportunity to reach their full potential. We're fighting for diversity in our classrooms; greater support for foster youth, English learners, and immigrant students; debt relief for those who need it most; equitable funding for HBCUs; and more.

THE CENTURY DIFFERENCE

At TCF, we don't just do research and write reports from our offices: **we hit the ground and engage directly with impacted communities**, relying on individuals' lived experiences to inform our research and recommendations. Nowhere is this model more evident than in our education work.

- For a report on **New York's foster system**, Next100 alum and TCF fellow Chantal Hinds interviewed seventy-five different people, including current and former foster youth and parents. The youth-centered research galvanized efforts at both city and state agencies to better support this unique student population.
- For our pioneering work on **English Learners (ELs)**, TCF researchers have met with eighty teachers working with ELs in eight focus groups, and visited schools from New Orleans to Indianapolis to California's Coachella Valley.



“We have desegregated many schools. But we have never committed ourselves to integrated schools.... So the question now becomes: will we develop the will and find a way to integrate?”

—U.S. REPRESENTATIVE JAMES E. CLYBURN, speaking at TCF’s event marking the seventieth anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education*



**3.9
MILLION**

Nearly 4 million parents owe more than \$110 billion in outstanding student loans. But thanks to TCF’s work, many of them would be eligible for loan relief under proposed debt forgiveness plans—and millions have already received relief.



**18
PERCENT**

A majority of Americans support TCF’s proposal for Congress to create a new fund to boost the endowments of HBCUs, while only 18 percent of Americans oppose it.



HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES (HBCUs)

TCF’s landmark research into the underfunding of HBCUs has put these institutions at the center of the national debate, spurring legislation at the federal level and action by the U.S. Department of Education. In 2024, we organized a remarkable group of leaders in the field, including litigators, university officials, and policymakers, to develop a state-based policy strategy to address HBCU underfunding in Southern states.

MAKING COLLEGE AFFORDABLE | In 2024, TCF released a headline-grabbing report on the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA) rollout fiasco, finding that delays in the financial aid form ended up hurting students in need the most. Our work on behalf of parent borrowers led to the introduction of new legislation to ensure that this often overlooked group is included in loan forgiveness. And our team represented the nation’s students during critical federal rulemaking sessions over debt relief.

SCHOOL INTEGRATION AND THE BRIDGES COLLABORATIVE

In May, TCF hosted more than 300 education leaders, including the inspiring Congressman James E. Clyburn, to commemorate the seventieth anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education* at the National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington, D.C. The event was the capstone of yet another impactful year for TCF’s Bridges Collaborative, which saw eight different members receive newly established grants from the federal government to invest in their local school integration efforts.

SUPPORTING NEWCOMER STUDENTS | TCF is now home to the National Newcomer Network, a first-of-its-kind coalition of more than 250 researchers, advocates, and educators committed to supporting immigrant students in U.S. schools. Amid growing debates over immigration, the National Newcomer Network has quickly become a leader in the media and among educators and policymakers.

NEXT100

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 policymaking. We put people who are usually excluded from policymaking in the driver's seat, **modeling what a think tank built for the next generation can—and should—look like.**



Next100 Policy Entrepreneur Derrell Frazier presenting Oprah Winfrey with the U.S. Dream Academy Legacy Award in October 2024 (photo courtesy of Robert Roberts).

HITTING THE GROUND RUNNING

“A garbage bag is a garbage bag—a symbol of dehumanization, whispering to young people ‘you’re not enough.’ Ending the use of trash bags helps recognize the inherent dignity of every child, as humans worthy of being seen and valued.”

—SOFIE FASHANA, Next100 policy entrepreneur

After emigrating from Ethiopia at the age of 9, Sofie Fashana spent seven years in foster care in Oregon. On multiple occasions, she was given a plastic trash bag to pack her belongings in when transitioning homes.

Sofie came to Next100 with a clear goal: get trash bags out of New York's foster system, and replace them with duffle luggage. In under a year, between publishing op-eds and winning awards for her leadership, Sofie managed to build relationships with city and state lawmakers and co-authored a bill with New York City Councilmember Rita Joseph to ensure that foster youth in the city receive appropriate, dignified luggage during their moves. The legislation was introduced this October, with Sofie and Next100 being called out on the floor of the City Council.

That's the power of Next100—and the power of lived experience.

Support Next100 policy entrepreneurs like Sofie who are building a better, more equitable tomorrow by emailing development@tcf.org.

In 2024, Next100 launched its third cohort of policy entrepreneurs, a new group of six remarkable young leaders who are already making a mark in their respective policy fields.



Kier Blake is a second-generation Jamaican organizer who is dedicated to disrupting the status quo in climate education. At Next100, Kier is working to expand access to interdisciplinary, justice-centered climate education in New York’s K–12 schools, in response to the lack of climate education Kier received while in school in Los Angeles and New York.

“Next100 believes those closest to the problem are also closest to the solution. This cohort of incredibly talented PEs looks like America—they bring a fresh, humanizing perspective that the policymaking process so often lacks.”

—STEFAN LALLINGER, Next100 executive director



Cheyenne Deopersaud is a fierce advocate for young people with child welfare involvement. At Next100, Cheyanne is developing innovative, sustainable solutions that address the root causes of housing instability among youth in, and transitioning out of, the foster care system.



Sofie Fashana is a champion for foster youth and cash transfer programs, driven by a deep commitment to ensuring every young adult has their basic needs met. At Next100, her work centers around dismantling systems that dehumanize and replacing them with initiatives that empower and uplift, especially for foster youth and the unhoused.



Derrell Frazier is an unwavering advocate for justice-impacted young people, an expert in criminal justice reform, and a champion for community transformation. At Next100, Derrell’s work focuses on removing barriers for young people in the justice system and decriminalizing poverty.



Rudrani Ghosh is a storyteller and an advocate for migrant rights, hailing from the city of Kolkata, India. At Next100, she focuses on increasing access to affordable and dignified housing for refugees and asylum seekers, shaped by her experiences as a first-generation immigrant from a low-income family.



1 IN 2

Next100’s survey with GenForward of more than 2,000 young people revealed that half of Black young adults, and 40 percent of young women, don’t feel like they have “full and equal rights and protections that others have in this country.”



Nia Johnson is a labor organizer and economic policy researcher who centers racial equity and intersectionality in her approach to policy development. At Next100, Nia works to increase labor bargaining power and uplift corporate accountability movements that promote equity.

CENTURY INTERNATIONAL

INDEPENDENT. CRITICAL. PROGRESSIVE.

Century International’s work bridges the gap between what’s happening on the ground and how governments around the world should respond. During one of the most tragic years in recent Middle East history, Century International has been a steadfast voice in calling for peace, justice, and security—and outlining exactly how to achieve it. Whether briefing senior officials on the National Security Council or leveraging the insights of our best-in-class pollster in Tel Aviv, Century International has consolidated its position as a leading independent authority on what’s happening in the Middle East.

TOWARD PROGRESSIVE U.S. POLICY IN THE MIDDLE EAST

For more than 100 years, TCF has promoted policies to secure peace and prosperity at home and abroad, from the short-lived League of Nations to nuclear arms control and negotiated settlements to bitter wars. This work has always shown an understanding that domestic and international matters are inextricably linked.

This year, Century International released a wide-ranging blueprint for a progressive foreign policy in the Middle East. Our research is rooted in a simple fact: most of the supposedly intractable problems in the Middle East are, in fact, solvable. The solutions require leaders willing to act in the long-term interests of the United States and the Middle East—rather than worrying about the next election or news cycle. **That’s where Century International comes in.**



“American values do not disappear beyond America’s borders. It is both possible and realistic to do good by doing right in the Middle East.”

—THANASSIS CAMBANIS, director of
Century International

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“Many near- and long-term Israeli and Palestinian needs and goals are closely linked, and—strange as it may seem—converge on the need for a lasting ceasefire to the war.”

—DAHLIA SCHEINDLIN, Century International fellow



19
PERCENT

TCF's polling with Morning Consult finds that only one in five voters believe the United States should continue sending Israel weapons *without any conditions.*

Photo top: Palestinian emergency services and local citizens search for victims in buildings destroyed during Israeli air raids in the southern Gaza Strip on November 18, 2023 in Khan Yunis.

Photo right: Laborers work on building a water reservoir to serve the town of Hamanna to the east of Beirut in Lebanon, under the Employment Intensive Infrastructure Programme in Lebanon, in a 2018 photo. Source: ILO



THE PEOPLE POWERING CHANGE



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FINANCIALS

FY24 UNAUDITED

INCOME	FY24	%	NOTES
Foundations	\$6,330,481	50%	
Individuals	\$164,560	1%	
Other	\$1,191,114	9%	Investment Income
Endowment Contribution	\$5,000,000	39%	
Total Income	\$12,686,155	100%	
EXPENSES	FY24	%	NOTES
Program	\$10,110,110	84%	
Development	\$601,377	5%	
Administrative	\$1,278,702	11%	
Total Expenses	\$11,990,189	100%	

HONORING A PROGRESSIVE TITAN

REMEMBERING BERNARD L. SCHWARTZ



In March, we mourned the passing of Bernard L. Schwartz, a longtime supporter of TCF, one of the most accomplished businessmen of the past century, and a tireless advocate for progressive causes. Bernard wasn't just a selfless donor to The Century Foundation; he became a key partner with us, shaping the direction of economic policy for the benefit of working people and communities left behind. As TCF President Mark Zuckerman remarked at the time of his passing:

“Bernard knew better than anyone that free markets aren’t always fair, and that a strong, active government is critical to level the playing field. His Rediscovering Government Initiative at TCF helped lay the groundwork for the expansion of the Child Tax Credit and the revitalization of manufacturing, among many other accomplishments.”

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Mark Zuckerman, *President*

WELCOMING TWO NEW TRUSTEES

This year TCF welcomed two new incredible leaders to its Board of Trustees:



Teresa Younger is a renowned advocate, public speaker, organizational strategist, and proven leader in the philanthropic and policy sectors. Having spent thirty years on the frontlines of critical battles for comprehensive equity and the elimination of institutionalized oppression, she has served as the president and CEO of the Ms. Foundation for Women for more than a decade.



Jonathan Metzl is an acclaimed physician and sociologist who speaks, teaches, and writes on a range of topics including mental illness and gun violence, race and whiteness in America, and health care. He is the author of the groundbreaking book, *Dying of Whiteness: How the Politics of Racial Resentment Is Killing America's Heartland*, which examines why so many working-class white Americans support politicians whose policies are literally killing them.

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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).

