Sanctuary and Resistance 2025:
Evolving Strategies in an Uncertain Landscape

A Policy Report

Produced by Soli*City Research Network and Zolberg Institute for Migration and Mobility

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Table of Contents

Executive Summary

Between January and May 2025, the [Soli*City Research Network](#) and the [Zolberg Institute on Migration and Mobility](#) brought together people who care deeply about protecting migrants and refugees in the United States. Through five roundtable conversations, we connected municipal leaders, legal advocates, scholars, and community organizers from across the United States and internationally. What started as focused discussions grew into a network of over 120 people working together toward shared goals.

These conversations created vital space for people to share what they were learning, reflect on challenges, and coordinate their efforts. Together, participants documented what the new federal administration was doing and tracked how states, cities, and community groups were responding. Panelists described alarming increases in anti-immigrant actions—including mass deportation plans, expanded ICE enforcement, and attempts to criminalize those who help immigrants. But the discussions also revealed powerful reasons for hope: the resilience and creativity that emerges when people work together. Communities are building stronger coalitions, cities are mounting legal defenses, and local organizations are creating more welcoming and inclusive ways to support everyone who needs help.

This report is for the people on the front lines of this work: city officials, community organizations, legal advocates, and researchers who are committed to protecting migrant and refugee rights. We're also speaking to policymakers and funders who want to strengthen welcoming communities and ensure that human rights are protected where people actually live their daily lives. We're clear about our audience because this report has two important purposes: to give local communities practical tools they can use right now, while also influencing bigger conversations about migration and sanctuary at national and international levels.

Key Findings

The human cost of federal policy changes has been devastating and swift, going far beyond what many expected. The new administration has rapidly dismantled legal protections, targeted service providers, and criminalized aid efforts. Mass deportation plans, expanded ICE enforcement, militarized borders, and the weaponization of immigration law have stripped away due process protections. Children and people seeking asylum—some of our most vulnerable community members—have been hit hardest by these changes.

Local governments and communities remain the backbone of immigrant protection, but they're under enormous pressure. Cities and non-profit organizations are dealing with severe funding cuts, legal uncertainty, and intense political attacks while trying to keep essential services running for people who need them most. Federal "clawbacks," canceled refugee resettlement contracts, and frozen emergency aid are forcing local leaders to make impossible choices about how to care for their residents.

Strategic litigation and administrative resistance create valuable outcomes even when unsuccessful in court. European cases demonstrate how "losing" legal battles can generate important precedent and build public support, while cities assert autonomy through Human Rights City frameworks and refusal to cooperate with federal enforcement.

Community-centered service models that prioritize relationships and trust prove essential for safeguarding dignity amid fear and disinformation. Programs integrating migrant services into broader community support—such as one-stop shops and trauma-informed spaces—position migration as a community asset while building the interpersonal connections that sustain resilience.

Cross-sector coalition-building strengthens protective networks and amplifies impact. Faith groups, businesses, academics, and municipalities each contribute vital resources and legitimacy, with unexpected partnerships expanding sanctuary policies beyond traditional advocacy boundaries and creating webs of mutual support.

Narrative strategies remain central to long-term success. Reframing migration as shared civic responsibility counters fear-based politics and fosters solidarity, while moving beyond "good vs. bad migrant" dichotomies enables broader coalitions rooted in shared humanity rather than deservingness.

Sanctuary must evolve beyond legal definitions and geographical boundaries, embracing frameworks that recognize migration as structural and global, linked to labor rights, racial equity, and climate justice while addressing asylum and refugee protection through international human rights obligations.

Strategic Implications

This research demonstrates that while federal hostility toward immigrant communities has intensified dramatically, local resistance rooted in human connection remains both viable and essential. Cities can institutionalize sanctuary frameworks within municipal governance, develop alternative funding strategies, and leverage legal ambiguity to maintain protections for their residents. Success requires balancing urgent response with strategic patience, building inclusive coalitions that can navigate internal tensions through sustained relationship-building, and learning from international experiences to adapt creative approaches that strengthen local communities.

The path forward demands reimagining sanctuary as a fundamental civic value that extends to all residents—one that promotes social cohesion through interpersonal care, supports the economic vitality of communities, and upholds human dignity in an interconnected world shaped by migration. This vision recognizes that the strength of sanctuary lies not just in policies and legal frameworks, but in the everyday relationships and mutual support that make communities resilient and welcoming places for everyone to thrive.

Introduction

Between January and May 2025, the [Soli*City Research Network](#) and the [Zolberg Institute on Migration and Mobility](#) brought together people working to protect immigrant communities through a five-part roundtable series titled *Sanctuary and Resistance in 2025*. The series emerged from conversations among several members of the Soli*City Research Network in late 2024, as they recognized the urgent need to connect with others facing the anticipated federal administration's actions toward migrant communities across the United States. The initiative was designed to create meaningful space for researchers and practitioners to document what was happening, learn from each other's experiences, and coordinate efforts to track how sanctuary jurisdictions and other stakeholders—including states, municipalities, and civil society organizations—were responding to federal immigration policy.

These roundtables offered essential space for knowledge sharing, reflection, collaboration, and mutual support. Participants from across North America and Europe examined how national rhetoric intersects with local action and transnational solidarity. While this report offers a thematic synthesis, it is important to acknowledge the diversity and at times fragmentation of sanctuary efforts across jurisdictions. This reality underscores both the urgency and the value of bringing diverse people together to coordinate strategies, share knowledge, and strengthen the networks of care that sustain this work.

The roundtables were held as invite-only online sessions, connecting an expanding network of municipal leaders, legal advocates, scholars, and community organizers across the United States and internationally. Over the course of five months, what began as focused conversations grew into a community of over 120 contributors and participants united by shared commitment to protecting and supporting immigrant communities.

Each session addressed a specific angle of the sanctuary and resistance landscape:

Session 1 (January): Set the stage by examining community fears and expectations ahead of the incoming U.S. administration. Participants identified early signs of escalated enforcement and shrinking civic space for immigrants.

Session 2 (February): Focused on policy developments during the first 30 days, emphasizing legal fragility and the vulnerability of key service providers and the communities they serve.

Session 3 (March): Took a deep dive into New York City, analyzing municipal challenges in service delivery, funding, and narrative control amidst federal hostility.

Session 4 (April): Shifted the focus to Europe, exploring innovative community-centered approaches in cities like Utrecht, Berlin, and London that offer models for U.S. adaptation.

Session 5 (May): Synthesized the shifting dynamics over the previous four sessions, examining how predictions had been exceeded and highlighting emerging grassroots, academic, and policy-based networks of resistance and mutual support.
Produced by the Soli*City Research Network and the Zolberg Institute on Migration and Mobility, this document offers a thematic synthesis of the *Sanctuary and Resistance in 2025*

roundtable series, as well as a strategic toolkit capturing the evolution from early concerns to actionable strategies and emerging tools for ongoing resistance rooted in community solidarity.

This report serves as both an archive of these five conversations and a resource for people working to protect immigrant communities. It synthesizes the key insights and action items from these discussions to inform ongoing sanctuary efforts and guide responsive policymaking. While the events were not recorded to protect the identities and safety of speakers and participants, this report reflects the essential points of the conversations collected through collaborative notetaking and supplemented by relevant resources and documents referenced or developed by participants throughout the network.

Throughout the discussions, participants raised urgent concerns about disinformation, enforcement overreach, and eroding protections, even in designated sanctuary jurisdictions. Yet the sessions also revealed something powerful: the deep resilience and creativity that emerges when people work together. Coalitions are expanding across traditional boundaries, cities are advancing legal defenses through coordinated efforts, and community-centered service models are becoming more inclusive and intersectional, strengthening the bonds of mutual support that sustain this work.

Key Themes

1. Federal Policy Impacts and Community Response

- Escalating Federal Repression: Participants described a dramatic expansion of anti-immigrant actions, with nearly [200 administrative measures](#) including mass deportation plans, expanded ICE enforcement, militarization of borders, and criminalization of humanitarian aid. This escalation has exceeded many expectations in both scope and speed.

- Legal Precarity and Targeting: Legal advocates, NGOs, and individual attorneys face unprecedented threats, investigations, and defunding. Immigration law is being weaponized to undermine due process (see [Alien Enemies Act](#) and [Mahmoud Khalil deportation case](#)), with children and asylum seekers bearing disproportionate harm. The targeting of service providers represents a strategic attempt to dismantle support networks.

- Municipal Strain and Financial Repercussions: Cities are navigating federal funding cuts, "clawbacks," and unclear mandates while trying to maintain essential services. The cancellation of refugee resettlement contracts, frozen FEMA aid, and increased legal uncertainty have forced municipalities to make difficult choices about resource allocation and service delivery.

- Fear, Disinformation, and Community Impact: Migrant communities experience growing distrust and confusion, worsened by political rhetoric framing migrants as threats. This atmosphere has led to self-isolation and reduced access to healthcare, education, and protection services, even in designated sanctuary jurisdictions. Participants noted how confusion itself has become a tactic, with sudden policy reversals and vague directives leaving communities disoriented and fearful to engage with services or advocacy.

2. Municipal Resistance Strategies and Legal Innovation

- Legal and Administrative Resistance: Even when legal victories are limited, strategic litigation serves multiple purposes. Cases in [Berlin (Germany)](#), [Riace (Italy)](#), and other cities demonstrate how "losing" legal battles can generate valuable precedent, build public support, and strengthen community networks around shared values.

- Asserting Municipal Autonomy: Cities are asserting their autonomy through [Human Rights City frameworks](#) and refusing to cooperate with federal enforcement. This includes [resisting 287(g) agreements](#), refusing to share personal data with federal agencies, and declining to honor voluntary detainer requests. [Sanctuary jurisdictions are creating protective protocols](#) and selectively implementing federal demands.

- Policy Innovation and Protection: Local governments have developed creative protective measures including language access funds, legal defense funds, and streamlined naturalization services. They are embedding sanctuary protections within broader community services and human rights mandates to shield programs from political interference and ensure sustainability across electoral cycles.

- Legal Infrastructure and Rights Education: Communities are expanding Know Your Rights campaigns, particularly in under-resourced areas, while building robust legal defense networks. However, participants emphasized the importance of not relying solely on courts, given inconsistencies in enforcement and the targeting of legal practitioners.

3. Service Models and Coalition Building

- Community-Centered Integration: Programs in Utrecht (Netherlands) and other locations demonstrate the power of integrating migrant services into broader community support systems. These approaches position migration as a community asset while building interpersonal connections that sustain resilience. One-stop service hubs and trauma-informed spaces create dignified access points that serve diverse needs.
- Cross-Sector Partnerships: Effective sanctuary work draws strength from unexpected alliances across faith communities, private corporations, universities, academic institutions, and local businesses. Examples like Cities for Action and corporate partnerships with companies (e.g., Ben & Jerry's, IKEA) demonstrate how multi-level and cross-border networks can amplify capacity and visibility while leveraging different forms of political legitimacy.
- Academic and Research Collaborations: Legal clinics, university partnerships, and community-responsive research initiatives help fill critical gaps in documentation and analysis. Participants discussed "guerrilla research" as a model for rapid, community-responsive scholarship that supports urgent advocacy and resistance efforts while building evidence for longer-term policy development.
- Digital Security and Communication: In response to growing surveillance risks, organizations are shifting to secure digital platforms (e.g., RiseUp and Proton), and establishing identity verification protocols. This infrastructure development represents both a defensive necessity and a foundation for sustained organizing.

4. Challenges and Internal Tensions

- Resource Competition and Community Dynamics: Participants acknowledged tensions between different migrant communities, particularly between long-settled immigrants and newly arrived groups. Competition for limited resources (e.g., housing, legal aid, social services) can create division, especially when funding is conditional or restricted. This "funding cannibalism" undermines coalition solidarity.
- Strategic and Tactical Differences: Organizations vary significantly in risk tolerance, political strategy, and institutional alignment. Some engage in civil disobedience or operate outside legal frameworks, while others work within government constraints. These differences in approach can create friction but also offer complementary strengths when managed through values-based coalition building.
- Trust and Institutional Credibility: A recurring concern emerged around the disconnect between public sanctuary commitments and quiet compliance with federal enforcement. This gap erodes community trust and complicates organizing efforts. Legal experts noted how confusion and inconsistent enforcement are used tactically to discourage community engagement (see The Conversation).
- Sustainability and Burnout: The pace and intensity of resistance work, combined with resource constraints, creates significant challenges for maintaining long-term organizing capacity. Participants stressed the need for strategic patience alongside urgent response, particularly within overstretched community-based organizations that form the backbone of sanctuary support networks.

Strategic Directions

1. Sustaining Local Resilience Against Federal Pressure

Cities and grassroots organizations face the dual challenge of expanding protections for migrant communities while navigating aggressive federal pushback. Building sustainable resistance requires embedding sanctuary values deeply within community infrastructure and governance systems.

- Institutionalizing Sanctuary Frameworks: Municipal governments must integrate sanctuary policies within core governance structures to outlast electoral cycles and administrative volatility. This means moving beyond symbolic resolutions to concrete policy frameworks that shape budget decisions, service delivery, and intergovernmental relations.
- Shielding Community Programs: Local initiatives can gain protection by embedding them within broader community services and human rights mandates rather than operating as standalone immigration programs. This integration makes programs harder to target while demonstrating how sanctuary values benefit entire communities.
- Developing Alternative Funding Strategies: As federal and state-level support becomes unreliable or politicized, communities must diversify funding sources through private foundations, faith partnerships, local business coalitions, and innovative municipal financing mechanisms that prioritize long-term sustainability over short-term grants.

2. Balancing Urgency with Strategic Patience

While some responses must be immediate and reactive—such as rapid legal defense or ICE operation responses—sustainable sanctuary work requires deliberate, long-term planning that can weather changing political conditions.

- Protecting Vulnerable Populations: Both immediate interventions and structural reforms must prioritize those most at risk, including youth, asylum seekers, and undocumented migrants. This means designing services and advocacy that can respond quickly to crises while building systemic protections that address root causes of vulnerability.
- Responsive Research and Documentation: Academic and research partnerships should adapt their agendas to support the immediate needs of vulnerable immigrant populations and their supporting organizations, while maintaining rigorous documentation that can inform longer-term policy development and legal strategies.
- Preventing Organizational Burnout: Communities must manage pace and expectations, especially within overstretched community-based organizations that form the backbone of sanctuary networks. This includes building redundancy in leadership, creating sustainable volunteer systems, and acknowledging that meaningful change happens across multiple political cycles.

3. Building Inclusive Coalitions Through Relationship and Trust

Effective sanctuary work depends on coalitions that can navigate internal differences while maintaining shared commitment to protecting all community members. This requires intentional relationship-building and values-based organizing.

- Addressing Resource Competition: Communities must confront tensions between long-settled immigrants and newly arrived groups over access to legal aid, housing services, and other resources. Solutions include expanding resource availability, transparent allocation processes, and programming that brings different communities together around shared challenges and mutual support.
- Navigating Strategic Differences: Organizations will continue to vary in risk tolerance, political strategy, and institutional relationships. Rather than viewing this as weakness, successful coalitions leverage complementary approaches—some working within government constraints while others engage in civil disobedience—through coordination based on shared values and clear communication about different roles.
- Values-Based Coalition Building: Sustainable alliances center trust, mutual aid, and shared political education rather than just tactical coordination. Examples like Utrecht's migrant-led partnerships with health and housing providers demonstrate how co-designed systems rooted in dignity and shared governance can withstand political pressures while serving community needs.

4. Strengthening Legal and Digital Defense Infrastructure

Legal strategies remain essential but must evolve to match new enforcement realities while building community capacity for long-term resistance.

- Expanding Rights Education: Know Your Rights campaigns must reach under-resourced areas and adapt to changing enforcement tactics. This includes not just individual rights but collective strategies for community protection and mutual aid during enforcement actions.
- Digital Security and Autonomy: Organizations must shift away from vulnerable platforms and protect personal data within organizing networks. This infrastructure development serves both defensive and offensive purposes, enabling secure coordination while demonstrating community self-reliance and technological sovereignty.
- Documentation and Knowledge Sharing: Communities should systematically document and share legal precedents, successful lawsuits, and policy blueprints for broader adaptation. This includes not just victories but also lessons from setbacks and creative workarounds that other jurisdictions can adapt to local contexts.

5. Reimagining Sanctuary Beyond Borders and Legal Definitions

True sanctuary requires moving beyond defensive responses to envision and implement approaches that recognize migration as part of broader social, economic, and political transformation.

- Sanctuary as Universal Civic Value: Rather than special protections for migrants, sanctuary should be positioned as a fundamental civic value applying to all residents. This framing connects immigrant protection to broader questions of community safety, economic opportunity, and social cohesion that benefit everyone.
- Responding to Demographic and Social Change: Migration, aging populations, and urbanization are reshaping communities in ways that require inclusive frameworks promoting social cohesion and equitable access to rights. Sanctuary policies must be understood as responses to these structural changes rather than temporary accommodations.
- Economic Integration and Labor Rights: Sanctuary frameworks must address connections between migration and economic development, labor markets, and worker protections. This means recognizing how sanctuary policies can strengthen local economies while protecting all workers regardless of immigration status.
- International Responsibilities and Global Solidarity: Communities must address asylum and refugee protection through international human rights obligations, including concepts like "responsibility to protect" that ground local action in global commitments. This includes learning from international experiences to adapt creative approaches involving private-sector engagement, decentralized networks, and strategic litigation.
- Structural Analysis and Intersectional Connections: Migration must be understood as connected to foreign policy, labor rights, racial equity, and climate justice, while acknowledging that these connections vary in directness and universal applicability. This broader analysis enables coalitions that can address root causes while supporting immediate protection needs.
- Narrative Transformation: Communities must actively counter fear-based politics through messaging that centers shared civic responsibility, human dignity, and community interdependence. This includes moving beyond "good vs. bad migrant" dichotomies toward inclusive narratives that strengthen broad-based coalitions rooted in shared humanity.

Unanswered Questions and Future Directions

As the landscape continues to evolve, several critical questions require ongoing attention and collaborative problem-solving:

- Sustainability and Institutionalization: How can sanctuary policies be embedded within governance systems to ensure long-term sustainability beyond electoral and administrative changes? What mechanisms can protect community programs from political interference while maintaining democratic accountability?
- Coordination and Network Building: What systems can improve coordination and reduce fragmentation among sanctuary jurisdictions, civil society organizations, and other stakeholders? How can communities share resources, strategies, and lessons learned across geographical and organizational boundaries?
- Evaluation and Impact Measurement: How can communities effectively measure the impact of sanctuary policies while ensuring the privacy and security of migrant communities? What evaluation frameworks can distinguish between effective protection and performative policy while supporting continuous improvement?
- Expanding Protection and International Responsibility: How can sanctuary efforts fully include asylum seekers and refugees while upholding international responsibilities? What role should local communities play in addressing global displacement and supporting international cooperation?
- Communication and Counter-Narrative: How can narratives around migration and sanctuary be reframed to counter disinformation, reduce fear-based politics, and promote shared civic responsibility? What messaging strategies can build broader public support while maintaining authentic community voice and leadership?

Resources and Partners

Research and Policy Organizations

- **Soli*City Research Network:** Urban sanctuary and solidarity initiative hosted at Toronto Metropolitan University, focusing on municipal responses to migration and community-based research. https://www.torontomu.ca/urban-sanctuary-solidarity-hospitality
- **Zolberg Institute on Migration and Mobility:** Academic institute at The New School dedicated to migration research, policy analysis, and public engagement through scholarship and advocacy. https://zolberginstitute.org
- **Migration Policy Institute (MPI):** Independent, nonpartisan think tank providing analysis and evaluation of migration and refugee policies at local, national, and international levels. https://www.migrationpolicy.org

Municipal and Advocacy Networks

US-based

- **Cities for Action:** Cities for Action: Coalition of nearly 200 U.S. mayors and county executives advocating for pro-immigrant public policies and launching innovative, inclusive programs and policies at the local level. https://www.citiesforaction.us
- **National Partnership for New Americans (NPNA):** National network of immigrant-serving organizations advocating for inclusive policies and immigrant integration through local governance and civic engagement. https://partnershipfornewamericans.org
- **Sanctuary Campus Network:** Monthly convening of student organizers, faculty, and staff supporting campus sanctuary practices and coordinating rapid response efforts.
- http://bit.ly/sanctuarycampusnetwork
- **Welcoming America:** National nonprofit building more welcoming communities for immigrants and refugees through local government partnerships, community organizing, and resource sharing. https://welcomingamerica.org/

International

- **City of Sanctuary (UK):** National movement promoting local sanctuary efforts across UK cities and towns, building community-led networks of support and advocacy. https://cityofsanctuary.org
- **Moving Cities:** Europe-wide network of municipalities committed to advancing inclusive migrant policies and sharing best practices across borders. https://moving-cities.eu
- **Safe Harbor Coalition (Seebrücke):** German grassroots network of cities and civil society organizations committed to providing safe reception for migrants and refugees, challenging restrictive federal policies. https://www.seebruecke.org/en

Legal and Policy Analysis:

- **Just Security Litigation Tracker:** Ongoing database documenting legal challenges to Trump administration immigration policies, tracking case outcomes and legal precedents. https://www.justsecurity.org/107087/tracker-litigation-legal-challenges-trump-administration/

- **Migration Policy Institute Policy Analyses:** In-depth examination of Trump-era immigration strategies, mass deportation planning, and legal mechanisms including the Alien Enemies Act:
    - Trump 2.0 Immigration First 100 Days: https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/trump-2-immigration-first-100-days
    - Mass Deportation Priorities: https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/trump-mass-deportation-priority
    - Alien Enemies Act Analysis: https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/trump-registration-alien-enemies-insurrection
- **NYC Bar Immigration Law Analysis:** Legal analysis of Trump administration's 2025 immigration law changes, focusing on asylum restrictions and deportation policy shifts. https://www.nycbar.org/reports/the-trump-administrations-early-2025-changes-to-immigration-law/
- **The Conversation – Sanctuary Cities Legal Analysis:** Explains the legal boundaries of sanctuary city policies, ICE enforcement limitations, and federal-local jurisdictional questions. https://theconversation.com/sanctuary-cities-cant-protect-people-from-ice-immigration-raids-but-they-dont-actually-violate-federal-law-255831
- **Zolberg Institute – Unsettled Podcast:** Examines immigration policies within broader constitutional, historical, and social contexts, analyzing Trump administration impacts on migrant communities. https://zolberginstitute.org/series/unsettled/

Toolkits and Practical Resources

- **ACLU Firewall for Freedom Toolkit:** Comprehensive legal guide for states and localities to defend immigrant rights and assert autonomy under federal enforcement pressure. https://www.aclu.org/firewall-for-freedom-states-must-safeguard-our-rights
- **American Bar Association Pro Bono Platform:** National platform connecting lawyers and volunteers with opportunities to provide free legal defense and representation for immigrants and asylum seekers. https://www.americanbar.org/groups/public_interest/immigration/pro-bono-at-the-commission-on-immigration/pro-bono-opportunities/
- **NPNA Pathways:** Comprehensive resource platform supporting immigrant legal pathways, community navigation services, and civic engagement opportunities. https://npnapathways.org
- **Welcoming America Resources:** Resource library with over 100 toolkits, reports, and webinars on immigrant inclusion topics like refugee support, civic engagement, and economic development. https://welcomingamerica.org/welcoming-interactive-additional-resources

Community Support and Accompaniment Programs

- **Immigrant ARC – Friend of the Court Program:** Network of attorneys and trained volunteers who assist in immigration hearings, helping ensure due process and documenting potential rights violations. https://www.immigrantarc.org/friend-of-the-court
- **Jesuit Refugee Service USA – Court Accompaniment:** Program promoting solidarity presence in immigration courts and rights advocacy, coordinated with legal defense resources and community organizing efforts. https://www.jrsusa.org/resource/accompany-advocate-immigration-court/

- **New Sanctuary Coalition – Accompaniment Program:** Community initiative providing in-person support for individuals in immigration proceedings, offering moral support, translation, and documentation during interactions with immigration authorities. https://www.newsanctuarynsc.org/get-involved
- **Organized Communities Against Deportation (OCAD):** Chicago-based grassroots organization focused on deportation defense, rapid response coordination, and community-centered advocacy. https://www.organizedcommunities.org
- **Project Citizenship:** Nonprofit agency providing free, high-quality legal services to immigrants throughout Massachusetts and New England, partnering with cities and towns to organize Citizenship Days serving hundreds of immigrants in single large events. https://projectcitizenship.org/

Acknowledgments