

RESPONDING TO ANTI-GAY RELIGION

Strategic Issues Briefs



MAP

movement advancement project ▶

December, 2006

Movement Advancement Project

Launched in 2006, the LGBT Movement Advancement Project (MAP) is an independent, intellectual resource for LGBT organization executives and donors, funded by a small number of committed, long term donors to the movement. MAP's mission is to speed achievement of full social and political equality for LGBT people by providing donors and organizations with strategic information, insights and analyses that help them increase and align resources for highest impact. In short, MAP's purpose is to stimulate additional contributions to the LGBT movement, as well as additional productivity from those contributions. See www.lgbtmap.org for more information on MAP.

Strategic Issues Briefs

This report is one of a series of MAP strategic issue briefs. These briefs examine key issues facing the LGBT movement and aim to help funders and organizations put the issues in their current and long-term perspective, understand strategies for solving the problem, prioritize giving and action plans, and, ultimately, make the most effective use of limited resources. In addition, by outlining the broad scope of work underway to solve a specific issue, MAP hopes to spark both funders and organizations to think expansively and to collaborate with other funders and organizations working to solve the same problem.

The opinions expressed in this report reflect the best judgment of MAP and are based on extensive research and examination of the issue, including data gathering and analysis, review of current literature and media, numerous in-depth expert interviews, attendance at key conferences, etc.

MAP strategic issue briefs are based on a point in time and while MAP will periodically update the briefs, current events advance rapidly and, therefore, this report may not reflect the most recent changes in the landscape.

Contact Information

LGBT Movement Advancement Project (MAP)

2215 Market ST
Denver, CO 80205
303-292-4455

www.lgbtmap.org

Table of Contents

Executive Summary	2
1. Why LGBT Movement Donors Should Respond to Anti-Gay Religion	4
Religious Opposition May be Largest Problem Faced by LGBT Movement	4
A Large and Growing Number of Americans are Conservative Christians	4
Religious Teachings Drive Anti-Gay Attitudes and Actions	7
2. Understanding the Work Underway to Counter Anti-Gay Religion	10
Denominational Work	10
Clergy Coalition Work	13
Media and Public Figure Work	14
Seminary Work	15
Religious Resourcing	15
3. Promising Avenues for Investment in Countering Anti-Gay Religion	16
Denominational Work	17
Clergy Coalition Work	17
Media and Public Figure Work	17
Seminary Work	17
Religious Resourcing	17
Hypothetical Funding Portfolio	17
4. Conclusion	19
Appendix	
Appendix A: Brief Profiles of Organizations Working on Behalf of LGBT People in Religion	20
Appendix B: Methodology and Sources	23

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Why LGBT Movement Donors Should Respond to Anti-Gay Religion

In the past decade, the power of the “Religious Right” has surged in America, as it influences politics, the media, the public, and US government policy with enormous media presence, consistent messaging, organized politicking, and influential preaching. Conservative Christian denominations not only have the most members (78 percent of all Christians versus 16 percent and 6 percent in moderate and liberal denominations, respectively), but they are also by far the fastest growing, having increased membership by 14 percent in the 1990s. (Moderate and liberal denominations actually shrank in the 1990s, by 5 percent and 11 percent respectively.)¹

While most Americans are not part of the extreme right, the average American is still very much swayed by religion, with over 84 percent of Americans saying that religion is important in their lives – second only to Mexicans’ 86 percent. Additionally, 37 percent of Americans say that religious leaders should try to influence government policy – the highest among western nations.²

For the most part, religion has not been a friend to the LGBT movement, with the majority of large denominations espousing anti-gay doctrines and actively preaching against homosexuality, creating a strong link between religious beliefs and anti-gay attitudes. For example:

- ▶ Seventy-five percent of Americans with “high” religious commitment oppose gay marriage, whereas just 35 percent of those with “low” religious commitment do so.³
- ▶ Four of the top seven reasons for denying marriage rights to same-sex couples in a 2005 Colorado poll were religious: “the Bible,” “keep marriage sacred,” “being gay is morally wrong,” and “homosexuality is a sin.”⁴
- ▶ Fifty-five percent of Evangelicals who regularly hear anti-homosexual sermons have a “very negative view of gay men.” Just 32 percent of Evangelicals who do not regularly hear such sermons view gay men very negatively.⁵

That said, the Religious Right certainly does not speak for all people of faith, and there is a growing movement that challenges Americans to embrace a more tolerant, compassionate faith perspective. However, thwarting anti-gay religion will require sustained and concerted effort for three reasons.

First, American religious institutions are highly fragmented, necessitating many tailored, small-scale interventions. Christian faiths (most important by far as they comprise 95 percent of religious Americans) split into 12 major denominations, about 140 sub-denominations, and 350,000 individual congregations. Each denomination and sub-denomination can have widely different views (e.g., on homosexuality, on the infallibility of the Bible; on how to interpret scripture), as well as widely varying governance, decision-making, legislative and judicial processes.

Second, virulently anti-gay Evangelical leaders who incessantly agitate and fundraise about homosexuality have very sub-

stantial financial backing. Thirty-seven conservative foundations gave \$168 million to 700 evangelical groups in 1999-2002. Jerry Falwell Ministries spends \$200 million annually. James Dobson’s Focus on the Family has a \$136 million annual budget and a radio audience of 200 million.⁶ There are no significant similar progressive religious organizations.

Finally, challenging a person’s religious beliefs can go to the heart of his or her identity. In this realm, progressive policy analysis and rational arguments – progressive foundations’ stock in trade – are rarely persuasive. Only 8 percent of denominations consider “human reason” foundational to their beliefs, whereas 82 percent of denominations rely on “sacred scripture” and 60 percent on “the Holy Spirit.”⁷ Clearly, change must come through leaders and lay people who speak to religious individuals on their terms and about their values.

Understanding the Work Underway to Counter Anti-Gay Religion

MAP has grouped the many nascent efforts of both religious and secular organizations to oppose anti-gay religion into five steams of work: denominational work, clergy coalitions, media work, religious resourcing and seminary work.

Denominational work is conducted within specific denominations (e.g., United Methodism, Presbyterianism, etc.) by members of those denominations. LGBT issues have been a source of friction in almost all moderate denominations and this work aims to make them more accepting of LGBT people. Currently within Christian denominations, only the United Church of Christ (UCC) officially and publicly welcomes LGBT people, though many individual congregations of other denominations welcome gays.

Denominational work takes two primary forms:

- ▶ Attempting to increase the number of individual congregations and clergy who are affirming of LGBT people.
- ▶ Trying to change overall denominational policies regarding LGBT people on issues such as church membership, ordination of LGBT clergy, and same-sex unions.

Similar in nature to the activities of secular politics, this work involves grassroots organizing among pastors and within congregations, as well as lobbying and electioneering church governing bodies. Pro-LGBT denominational groups are grossly underfunded versus their conservative counterparts.

Clergy coalitions draw attention to and leverage faith leaders who are already supportive of LGBT issues. This work is similar to that of secular lobbying groups that seek to influence the public, the media, and public officials. State-based clergy coalitions’ tactics typically include grassroots organizing, lobby days, meetings with legislators, postcard campaigns, prayer breakfasts, speeches, and media work.

Having visibly supportive clergy in the public and political realms changes the nature of the debate by silencing or softening the opposition. It prevents opponents of LGBT equality from claiming the religious high ground and/or purporting to represent all people of faith.

¹ Glenmary Research Center, 2000. “Religious Congregations and Membership Study.”; MAP analysis. ²AP/Ipsos Public Affairs poll, May 2005. ³Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life poll, August 2006. ⁴Lauer Research Inc. Colorado Statewide Baseline Poll, August 2005. ⁵Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life poll, October 2003. ⁶Holy War, The Religious Right’s Crusade Against Gays Heats Up, Intelligence Report, Spring 2005; NCRP, January 2005. ⁷“Funding the Culture Wars.” Hartford Institute for Religion Research, March 2001. “Faith Communities Today.”

State clergy coalitions are primarily limited by finances. Only four groups (Washington, Oregon, Massachusetts and New York) have budgets over \$50,000. The remaining groups operate using only volunteer and/or part-time staff.

Faith-based media work aims to publicize faith-based support for LGBT issues in the mainstream media. It takes three primary forms:

- ▶ Developing public faith leaders and getting them into the media via PR, speaking tours, TV appearances, etc.
- ▶ Media and advertising campaigns, including all forms of public relations and paid advertising. Due to the high cost of mass media, these have been used only sporadically.
- ▶ Cultural influence projects that integrate religious support of LGBT issues into broader arts and culture (e.g., visible clergy attendance at pride parades).

Given the generally high cost and impact of media work, it is critical that message development and testing be done to create a consistent and compelling voice.

Seminary work both trains future faith leaders and provides leading-edge thinking to current faith leaders. Seminaries reach student clergy before their opinions are set, and give existing religious leaders the necessary language to speak confidently on LGBT issues.

Only three US-based seminaries have specific LGBT centers of study: the Pacific School of Religion, Chicago Theological Seminary, and Hebrew Union College (of Reform Judaism). These seminaries also engage in external work such as hosting roundtables on LGBT issues, making media appearances, engaging in debates, and creating LGBT resources that can be accessed by the public.

Religious resourcing provides tools for use in all of the above efforts. Resourcing primarily falls into two categories:

- ▶ Educational and infrastructure resources used to educate clergy, the media, the public, and politicians. Examples include scriptural arguments, sample advertisements, brochures, DVDs and videos, speeches and talking points, sample faith statements, and open letters.
- ▶ Tools that supportive clergy can use within their congregations, including sample sermons, lectionary resources, children's time ideas, ceremonies and liturgies, reference materials, and theological frameworks.

The Institute of Welcoming Resources (IWR), a project of The Task Force, seeks to centralize some of the various religious groups' resource development. However, the need for customized materials of all sorts (e.g., for various faith traditions, denominations, youth, and people of color) means that, while it will be possible to re-use a core set of materials, there will always be a need for those materials to be adapted to specific circumstances.

Promising Avenues for Investment in Countering Anti-Gay Religion

While an increasing number of donors recognizes the importance of LGBT religion work, funding levels remain extremely low. LGBT religious groups are severely under-funded and have very few fundraising avenues. They are almost never funded by their denominations (which are generally not supportive of LGBT issues), are often run by clergy lacking non-profit fundraising expertise, and face resistance from secular donors reluctant to get involved in religion.

MAP has identified promising funding opportunities in each of the five areas of religion work outlined previously.

Denominational groups need general operating and infrastructure support, fundraising assistance, and skills building (particularly in grassroots organizing, speaker training, and congregational change strategies). Given limited funding availability, MAP recommends focusing funds on the faith traditions that are either more moveable than others or more influential than others.

State clergy coalitions are also severely under-funded and it is unlikely that enough funding will arise to fully fund coalitions in all 50 states. Rather than spread "bare-bones funding" across all states, MAP recommends adequately funding six to ten key battleground states such as California, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Washington, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

Faith-based media work could most benefit from a national plan and a set of tested messaging that would enable coordination across organizations and initiatives. There are also numerous opportunities to fund leadership development, paid advertising, and cultural activities.

Seminary work is long-term in nature and requires both basic infrastructure funding and financing of key faith leaders to do theological work (e.g., through research or sabbatical funding). Donors could encourage promising young faith leaders to attend progressive institutions with scholarship funds.

Finally, in *religious resourcing*, while IWR is taking the lead on developing materials for use across denominations, specific needs include filling gaps in audience-specific materials (e.g., especially for people of color and youth), materials that humanize the LGBT community (e.g., videos, DVDs), and support materials for LGBT people of faith – especially youth who struggle with conservative personal religious convictions that they hold to be immutable truths.

While the United States is a religious nation, the feminist and civil rights movements – which were also initially countered by conservative Christians on Biblical grounds – have shown that when voices are lifted for equality, even very conservative denominations can eventually be persuaded to interpret the Bible in new, more accepting ways. There is much to be done, and many organizations fighting anti-LGBT religion are woefully under-resourced. However, the good news is that these same organizations are staffed by dedicated and tireless individuals who believe it is their mission, and even their calling, to help end religion-based discrimination against LGBT people. In the fight against anti-LGBT religion, a little additional funding and support can go a long way toward making progress in changing the hearts and minds of religious Americans.

1. WHY LGBT MOVEMENT DONORS MUST RESPOND TO ANTI-GAY RELIGION

Religious Opposition May be Largest Problem Faced by LGBT Movement

For LGBT people and their allies fighting for equality, it has often been emotionally difficult to embrace efforts to reach out to people of faith. After all, the Religious Right has made no secret of its anti-homosexual agenda, effectively creating the perception that virtually all of religion is no friend to the LGBT community.

However, the LGBT movement has recently come to understand that it ignores people of faith at its peril. The last decade has seen a huge surge in the power of the Religious Right, which influences policy, the media, and the public with its enormous media presence, consistent messaging, organized politicking, and influential preaching. Allowing the extreme Right to go unchallenged in claiming to speak for all people of faith – or, more audaciously yet, for American values in general – allows them to define faith and values on their own terms, as well as to spread highly prejudicial anti-gay doctrine. As long as the extreme Right is the only voice claiming to speak for religious Americans, it will be difficult to win the hearts and minds of the mainstream. We believe that the best way to counter the extremist faith voice is not to ignore it, but to instead help a growing movement that challenges Americans to embrace a more compassionate, tolerant faith perspective.

A Large and Growing Number of Americans are Conservative Christians

The US is a highly religious society. Eighty-six percent of Americans are members of an organized religion and over 84 percent say that religion is important in their lives (second only to Mexicans' 86 percent). Similarly, 37 percent say that religious leaders should try to influence government policy. This makes the United States more religious than any other developed country, including all of Europe and Canada. (See Figures 1 and 2)

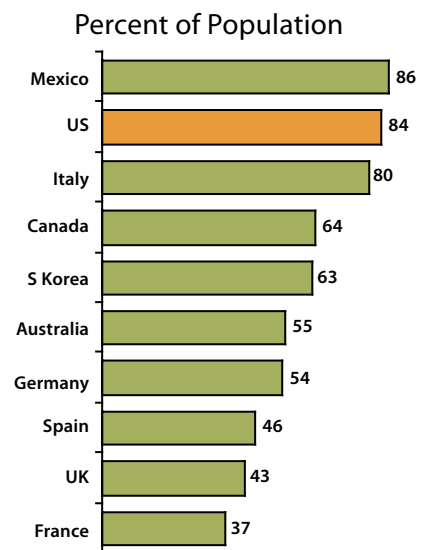
Furthermore, Americans are overwhelmingly Christian, with 96 percent of religion members identifying as Christian, 1.5 percent as Jewish, and 0.7 percent as Muslim. All other religious traditions combined account for only 2 percent of members.⁸ Thus, despite growing cultural diversity, America is predominantly a religious, Christian nation. (See Figure 3)

That said, Christians are deeply fragmented among various faith traditions within Christianity. The three major branches of Christianity – Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox – further split into 12 significant denominations, about 140 sub-denominations (including 57 types of Baptists alone), and 350,000 individual churches or congregations.⁹ (See Figure 4)

“America is a profoundly religious society. If the 2004 election taught us anything, it’s that we can’t afford to cede religion to the religious right.”

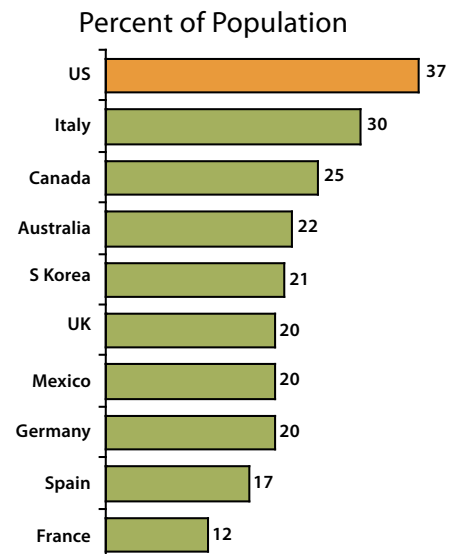
—Marco Grimaldo,
Center for American Progress

Figure 1: “Religion is Important in My Life”



Source: AP Ipsos Public Affairs poll, May 2005

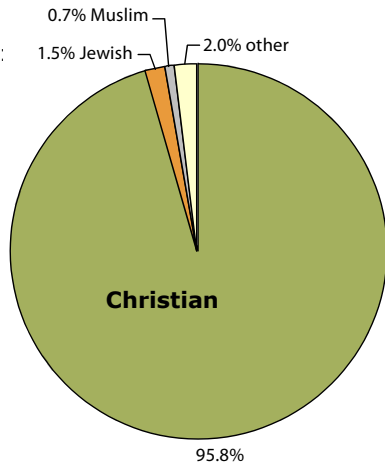
Figure 2: “Religious Leaders Should Try to Influence Government Decisions”



Source: AP Ipsos Public Affairs poll, May 2005

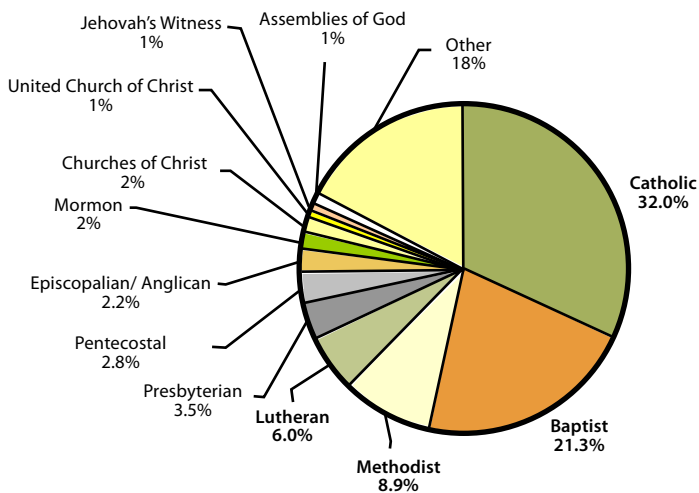
⁸ People for the American Way, September 2006. “American Values Survey.”; Baylor Institute for the Study of Religion, September 2006. ⁹ City University of NY, 2001. “American Religious Identity Study.”

Figure 3: Faith Traditions of Religious Americans
% of religious Americans



Source: People for the American Way "American Values Survey" September 2006; Baylor Institute for the Study of Religion, September 2006; American Religious Identification Study, 2001, City University of NY

Figure 4: Christian Americans by Denomination



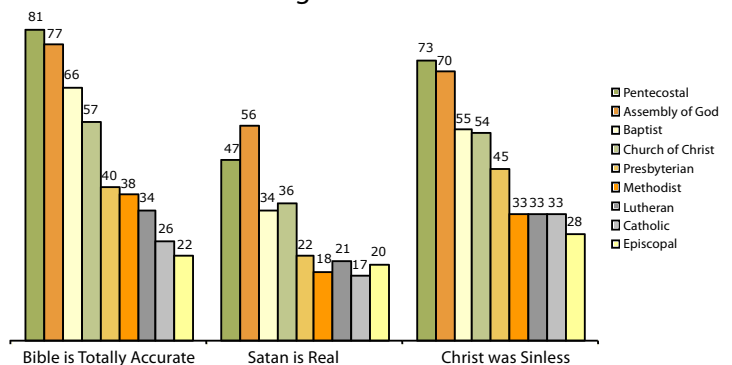
Source: "American Religious Identity Study," 2001, City University of NY.

To further complicate the religious landscape, each denomination and sub-denomination can have widely different views, for example, American Baptists, which are fairly moderate in their views, may have more in common with Methodists than with their Southern Baptist counterparts. (See Figure 5) Furthermore, the views of church members may not match those of the institution. Roman Catholics, in particular, have fairly liberal views despite very conservative church teachings. These factors have led some Christians of different denominations but with similar theologies to work together, known as "ecumenical work," and also to work with non-Christian faith traditions in what is known as "interfaith work."

The most helpful way to categorize faith traditions then is not by denomination, but by the types of beliefs that the denomination espouses. Like politics, these beliefs can fall on a spectrum from Liberal to Mainline to Conservative. Liberal denominations tend to be open to diverse views of God; interpret the Bible in a historical context, taking it seriously but not literally; often have progressive views on social justice, peace, and environmental issues; ordain women; and sometimes ordain openly LGBT clergy. On the other end of the spectrum, conservative denominations see the Bible as infallible and inerrant, believe that scripture must be interpreted literally, do not ordain women or LGBT clergy, and have right-wing political views – especially on hot-button topics such as "family values," militarism, and creationism. Mainline denominations fall in the middle, and usually ordain women but not openly LGBT clergy.

Unfortunately, unlike politics, which splits almost evenly between progressives and conservatives, 78 percent of American Christians are members of conservative denominations, while 16 percent belong to moderate denominations and only 6 percent belong to liberal denominations. More worrisome is that conservative denominations are growing fairly quickly (by 14 percent over the 1990s), while moderate and liberal denominations are shrinking (losing 5 percent and 11 percent, respectively, during the 1990s).¹⁰ (See Figures 6 and 7 on next page)

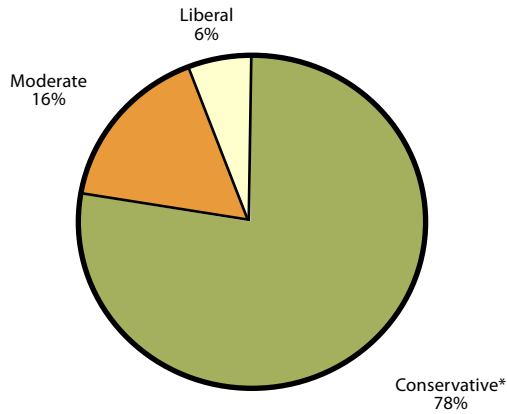
Figure 5: Theological Beliefs
% who agree with statement



Source: "Barna Poll on U.S. Religious Belief, 2001."

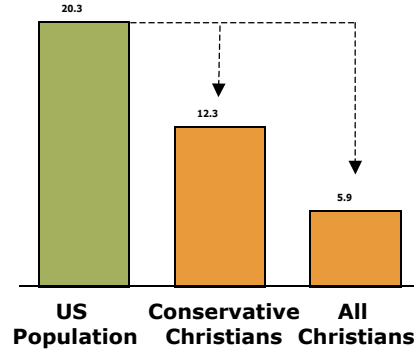
¹⁰Source: MAP's classification and analysis of 133 denominations in *Religious Congregations and Membership Study 2000* (Glenmary Research Center).

Figure 6: Membership by Denominational Type
100% = 133 million



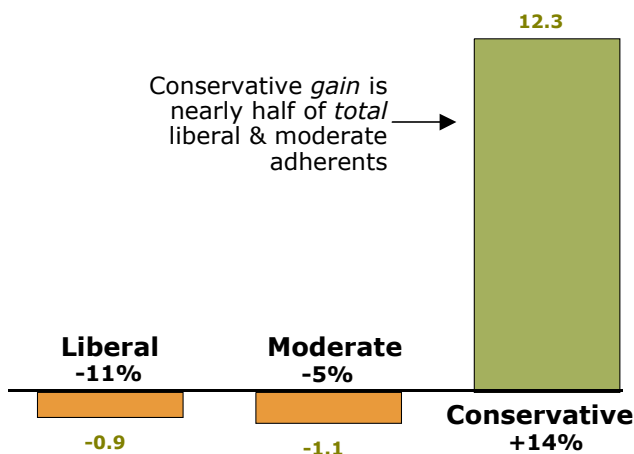
Source: MAP's grouping of 133 denominations in Religious Congregations and Membership Study 2000 (Glenmary Research Center). MAP analysis to classify as liberal, moderate and conservative, so, for example, American Baptists were split as moderate while Southern Baptists are conservative.
*Includes Roman Catholics due to official church policies, however, average Roman Catholic attendee is moderate or liberal.

Figure 8: Member Growth 1990-2000
Percent



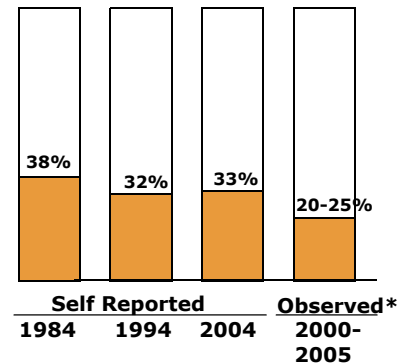
Source: MAP's grouping of 133 denominations in Religious Congregations and Membership Study 2000 (Glenmary Research Center)

Figure 7: Member Growth 1990-2000
Millions



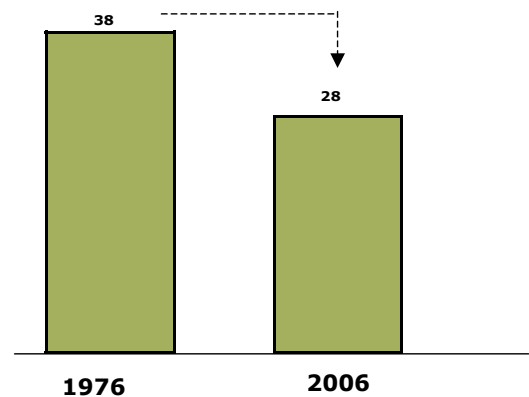
Source: MAP's grouping of 133 denominations in Religious Congregations and Membership Study 2000 (Glenmary Research Center). MAP analysis to classify as liberal, moderate and conservative, so, for example, American Baptists were split as moderate while Southern Baptists are conservative.
*Includes Roman Catholics due to official church policies, however, average RC attendee is moderate or liberal.

Figure 9: Attend Church Weekly/Almost Weekly
Percent



Source: General Social Survey Data 2004; other polls such as Barna show church attendance numbers up to 47% in 2004 however these are anomalies. Observed data is from "What the Polls Don't Show: A Closer Look at U.S. Church Attendance," American Sociological Review; and University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research.

Figure 10: Believe Bible is Literally True
Percent of Americans



Source: Gallup Polling 1976 and 2006, Barna Group Polling 2006, Opinion Dynamics Corporation Polling June 2004

We must note, however, that while America still appears to be a profoundly religious nation, there are signs that Americans' religious convictions are softening, potentially opening up a growing moveable middle. First, even conservative denominations are growing at a slower pace than the overall US population. Second, many people who identify as a member of a conservative religion are going to church less often, with observed rates of church attendance even lower than self-reported rates. Finally, the number of believers in some traditional conservative tenets appears to be waning. In 2006, just 28 percent of Americans believe that the Bible is literally true, down from 38 percent in 1976. Slightly fewer than half (49 percent) of poll respondents called the Bible the "inspired word of God," while 19 percent said it was an "ancient book of fables."¹¹ (See Figures 8, 9, and 10)

The challenge for the LGBT movement and its allies, then, is to counter the often hateful rhetoric of the Religious Right, while growing the allied and support base within mainline and liberal denominations.

Religious Teachings Drive Anti-Gay Attitudes and Actions

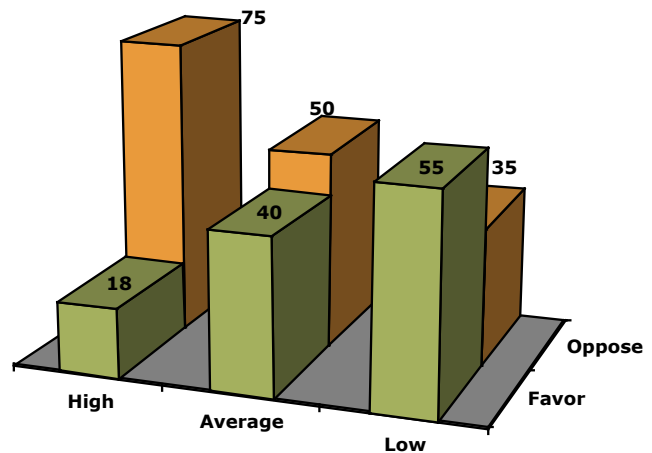
Most large denominations espouse anti-gay doctrines, and there is no question that religiosity and the message from the pulpit directly impact attitudes on LGBT issues. The more religiously committed a person is, the more likely he or she is to be unsupportive of LGBT equality, regardless of whether that issue is marriage, employment discrimination, or LGBT adoption.¹² (See Figure 11)

Four of the top seven reasons for denying marriage rights to same-sex couples in a 2005 Colorado poll were religious: "the Bible," "keep marriage sacred," "being gay is morally wrong," and "homosexuality is a sin." (See Figure 12)

Across all denominations, congregants are almost twice as likely to have very unfavorable views of homosexuality if they attend a church that actively preaches against homosexuality versus if their church is silent on the issue.¹³ This means that even if the Religious Right never becomes supportive, the LGBT movement can gain ground simply by silencing opponents or deflecting them toward other topics. (See Figure 13)

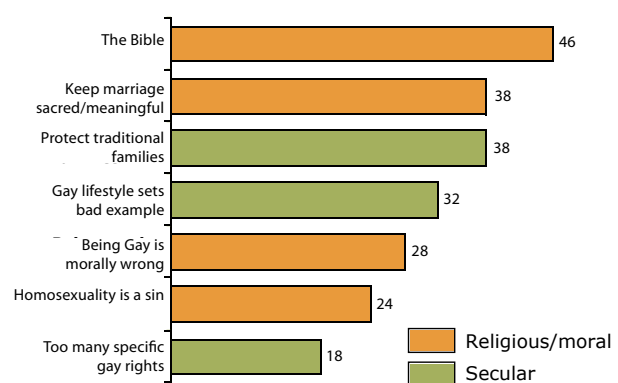
Countering the Religious Right will not be an easy task. Challenging long-held religious beliefs goes to the heart of a person's identity. Religion is not just the belief in God or some other transcendent, sacred order; it provides individuals with a system of thought shared by a group, a code of behavior by which to judge their own and others' actions, and a frame of reference for how to relate to society and the universe at large. In this realm, progressive policy analysis and rational arguments – progressive foundations' stock in trade – are rarely persuasive. Only 8 percent of denominations consider "human reason" foundational to their beliefs, whereas 82 percent of denominations rely on "sacred scripture" and 60 percent on "the Holy Spirit."¹⁴

Figure 11: Stance on Gay Marriage
Percent



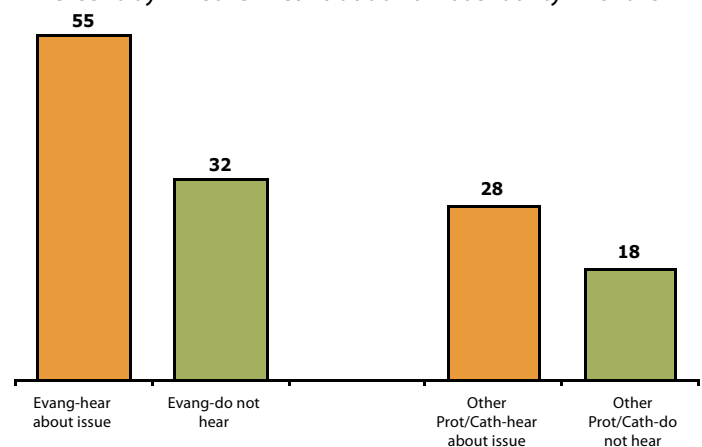
Source: Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life poll, August 2006

Figure 12: Reasons to Limit Marriage to 1 Man-1 Woman



Source: Colorado Statewide Baseline Poll, August 2005, Lauer Research Inc.

Figure 13: Very Unfavorable View of Gay Men
Percent by whether hear about homosexuality in church



Source: Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life poll, October 2003. Analysis compares regular churchgoers whose clergy do and do not speak out on homosexuality

¹¹ Gallup polling, 1976 and 2006; Barna Group polling, 2006; Opinion Dynamics Corporation polling, June 2004. ¹² Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life poll, August 2006; People for the American Way, September 2006. "American Values Survey," ¹³ Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life poll, October 2003. Analysis compares regular churchgoers whose clergy do and do not speak out on homosexuality. ¹⁴ Hartford Institute for Religion Research, March 2001. "Faith Communities Today."

Interestingly, while we see the Religious Right as on the offensive, trying to roll back and cement regressive values, members of the Religious Right themselves feel that they are under attack from a rapidly changing society in which everything they hold dear is dismissed, mocked, and eroding – and in which the only stabilizing force in their lives is their faith tradition.

That psychology is nowhere more cemented than in the LGBT movement's deepest opponents – Christian Evangelicals. While there is no one agreed-to definition of Evangelical, the term normally refers to deeply conservative Protestant Christians who believe in an infallible and inerrant Bible, focus on personal salvation through acceptance of Jesus Christ (as opposed to being saved by their deeds or actions), and believe in a duty to spread their belief to others to secure others' salvation as well. (See Figure 14)

Understanding these faith tenets provides insight into Evangelicals' growth in numbers and political power over recent decades. To save non-believers, Evangelicals have made heavy investments in faith personalities and TV and radio. This media outreach creates new converts, who then donate funds to save the next wave of converts, which in turn allows Evangelicals to grow their outreach programs, media presence, and power structure. Simultaneously, because salvation is the most important faith tenet and can be accomplished by belief in Jesus Christ alone, Evangelicals are less concerned about modern societal problems and can concentrate on growing their base. Evangelicals grew 15 percent in the 1990s, versus a 1.4 percent decline in non-Evangelical Protestants.¹⁵ (See Figure 15)

Among faith adherents, Evangelicals are the most ardently opposed to homosexuality in general, but especially to same-sex marriage. Anti-gay appeals to rally members and raise funds include outrageous and vitriolic claims – from accusing the LGBT movement of kidnapping young boys and working to legalize sex with children, to false "research" findings by the Family Research Institute's disgraced "social scientist" Paul Cameron, including that "the typical sexual practices of homosexuals [include] drinking urine, ingesting feces and experiencing rectal trauma on a regular basis." Focus on the Family's James Dobson warns parents, "The [LGBT movement] is of particular danger to your wide-eyed boys, who have no idea what demoralization is in store for them."

Success with anti-gay fundraising (along with a growing membership and focus on tithing) has helped the Religious Right amass huge financial resources. The 12 largest national evangelical organizations alone have annual budgets totaling \$750 million.¹⁶(This does not include donations to local or mega-churches, state groups, etc.) (See Figure 16)

While LGBT issues have been a large focus of these evangelical organizations, their reach into civic and political life is broad, eroding the separation of church and state. Evangelical organizations are involved in the public school system (lobbying for creationism and school vouchers and against sex education and gay-straight alliance [GSA] student groups), politics (from judicial nominations to electioneering to the new federal faith-based funding initiatives, which allows religious institutions to apply for and receive federal money for social services agencies), reproductive rights (from abortion to availability of contraceptives to stem cell research), and a myriad of other issues.

The erosion of separation of church and state has been astounding. For example, the Republican Party of Texas affirmed in its 2004 platform that "the USA is a Christian nation...Our party pledges to...dispel the myth of separation of church and state." The Bush Administration's "Faith-based Initiatives" program, which allows religious organizations to apply for government social services funding, appears to disproportionately fund faith leaders and churches that actively support the current administration. Evangelical churches, whose non-profit 501(c)3 status is, on paper, legally dependent on not being involved in active lobbying or electioneering, are breaking IRS guidelines with activities such as Ohio's "Patriot Pastors" campaign to register voters "able to shine a light for [specific Republican] Godly candidates" in 2006.

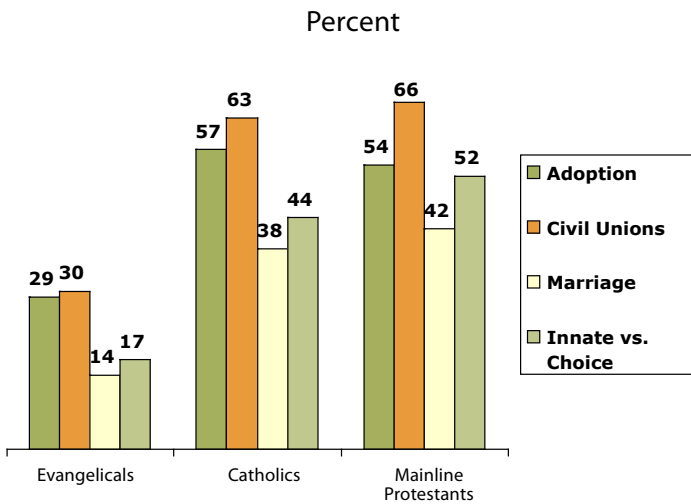
The effectiveness of the Religious Right and Republican's joint approach is nowhere more apparent than in the inroads made in the Black church. Black pastors who receive federal faith-based funding are showcased on "Justice Sundays," where they preach about conservative values. Messaging around "special rights" has effectively positioned the LGBT movement as illegitimately trying to usurp the Black civil rights movement.

However, while the success of the Religious Right has been disheartening, there are many worthwhile efforts underway to provide a progressive response.

¹⁵Source: MAP's classification and analysis of 133 denominations in *Religious Congregations and Membership Study 2000* (Glenmary Research Center).

¹⁶"Holy War, The Religious Right's Crusade Against Gays Heats Up," *Intelligence Report, Spring 2005*; Charity Navigator; GuideStar; NCRP, January 2005, "Funding the Culture Wars."

Figure 14: Support for LGBT issues



Source: Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life poll, August 2006; People for the American Way "American Values Survey" September 2006

Figure 15: Growing Evangelical Influence

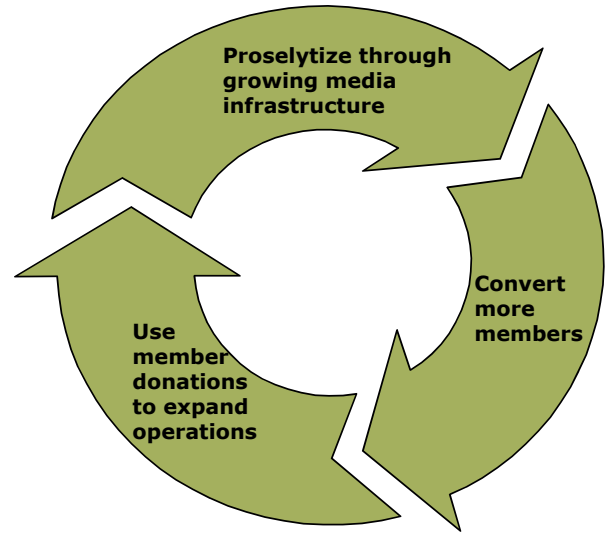
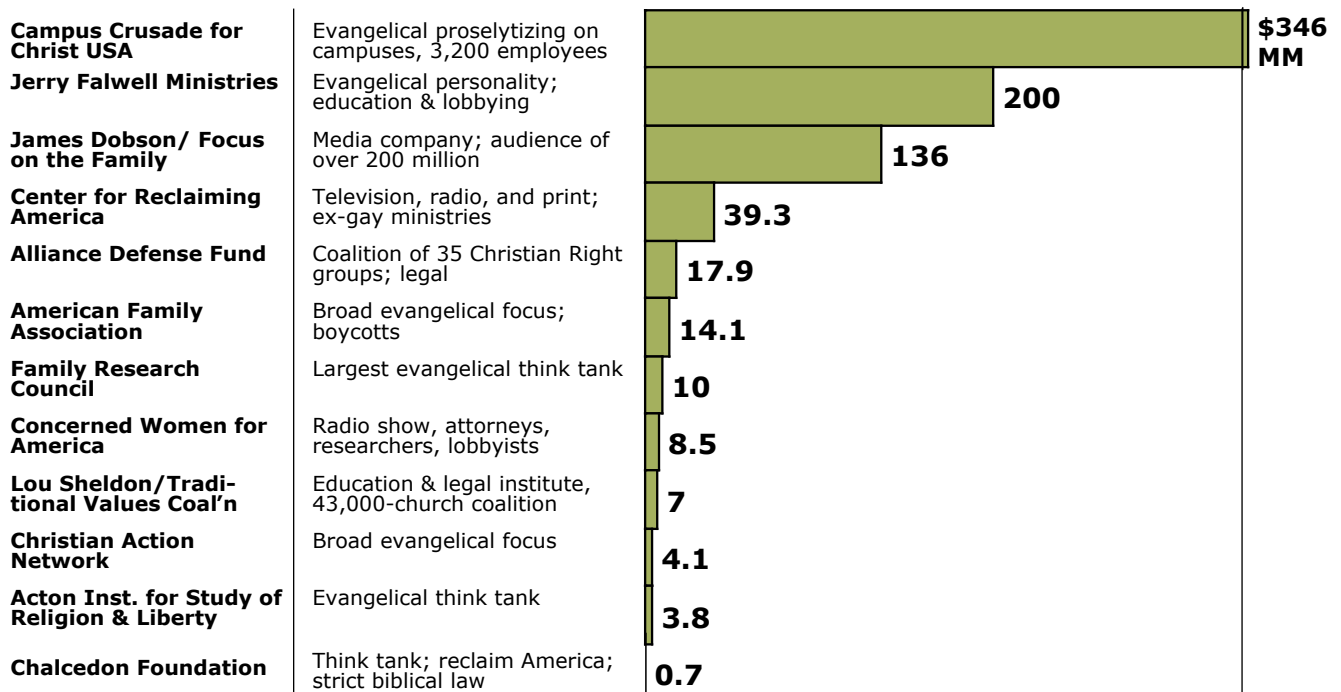


Figure 16: Funding of 12 Largest National Evangelical Organizations



Source: "Holy War, The Religious Right's Crusade Against Gays Heats Up", Intelligence Report, Spring 2005; Charity Navigator; GuideStar; Funding the Culture Wars, NCRP, 1/05

2. UNDERSTANDING THE WORK UNDERWAY TO COUNTER ANTI-GAY RELIGION

"I can't stress enough that we need to use multiple strategies because this is a multi-headed hydra. The Religious Right is not just fighting on one front." – Rev. Susan Thistlethwaite, President, Chicago Theological Seminary

MAP has created a conceptual framework that groups the many nascent efforts by both religious and secular organizations to oppose anti-gay religion into five streams of work, each of which will be described in this section: (See Figure 17)

1. Work within religious denominations to make them more affirming of LGBT people.
2. Coalitions of supportive clergy who engage in lobbying for LGBT equality.
3. Faith-oriented media and public relations activities that promote LGBT equality.
4. Progressive seminary work that fosters supportive religious leadership and theology.
5. The creation and distribution of religious resources that enable all elements of pro-LGBT religion work.

Denominational Work

Denominational work is conducted within specific denominations (e.g., United Methodism, Presbyterianism, etc.) by members of those denominations. It generally aims to make the institutions more accepting of LGBT people by growing the portion of leaders, congregations, and members who are supportive.

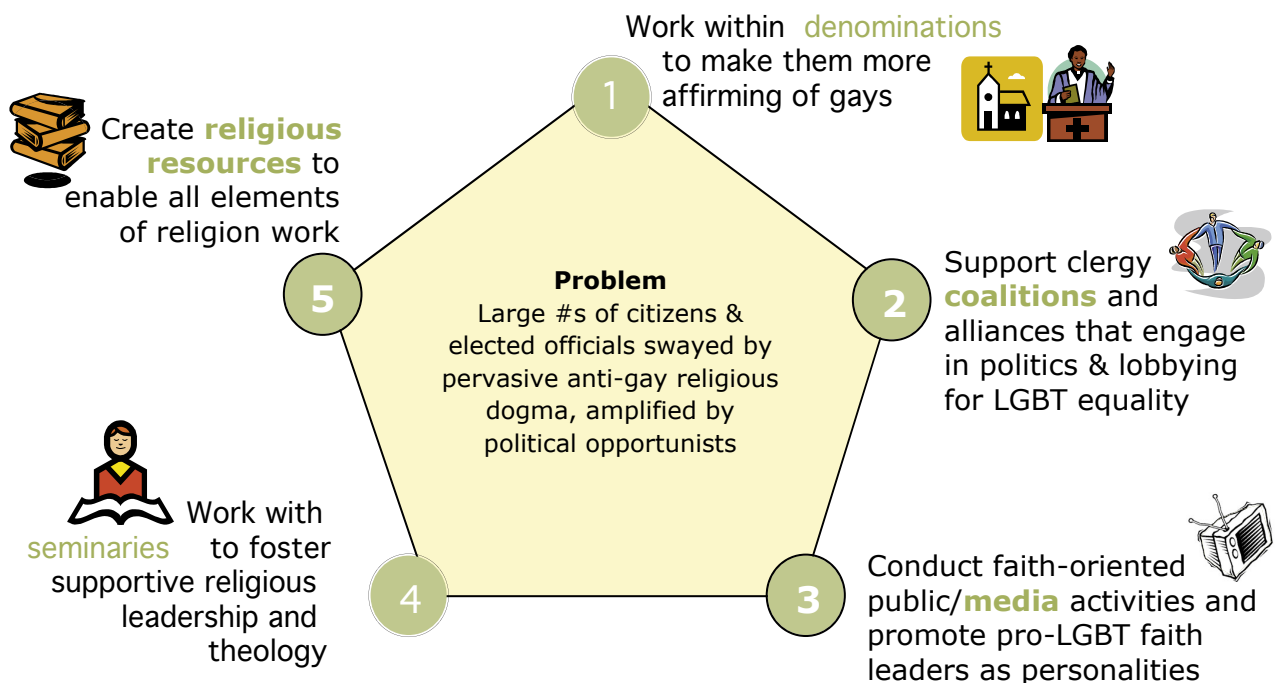
Denominational work takes two primary forms:

- ▶ Attempting to increase the number of individual congregations and clergy who affirm LGBT people.
- ▶ Trying to change overall denominational policies that affect LGBT people on issues including church membership, ordination of LGBT clergy, and performance of same-sex union ceremonies. (See Figure 18)

Within mainline Protestant denominations, this work is conducted by para-denominational "welcoming" groups consisting of LGBT and allied members (generically referred to as "Welcoming Programs"). For example, Lutherans Concerned lobbies for change in Lutheran sub-denominations and the UCC Coalition for LGBT Concerns lobbies for change in the United Church of Christ. Welcoming Program groups are affiliated with their denominations, but generally do not receive the denomination's financial or other official support.

On the surface this work may appear irrelevant outside of the particular denomination and its adherents. In fact, the work does have a broader impact for several reasons. Church organizing provides the movement with economies of scale, as enlisting a supportive minister normally also yields the support of the vast majority of his or her congregation. Churches can be excellent places to reach the "moveable middle" in a bi-partisan, non-political setting. When clergy become allies and messengers, they often are able to move the general public. Finally, the existence of even a few visible LGBT-supportive clergy impedes the Right's framing of our issues as "people of faith versus the LGBT movement."

Figure 17: Five Streams of Work Underway to Counter Religious Opposition



It is important to emphasize that each denomination operates virtually as a nation unto itself in terms of the theology, governing structure, hierarchy, church laws and policies, and current levels of LGBT acceptance. For example, the Presbyterian Church mimics the structure of the United States system of federal government in that it involves various levels of local, regional, and centralized control governed by geographically based elected delegates, whose votes in a General Assembly are subject to ratification by the equivalent of a Senate. By contrast, the Pope and appointed bishops of the Catholic Church maintain strict hierarchical control. This complete dichotomy of organizing structures means that not only does denominational work need to be done by members of the denomination, each denominational welcoming program must also tailor its goals, strategies, and tactics to the opportunities and limitations of that denomination.

Actions to increase the number of welcoming churches within a denomination are similar to secular political grassroots organizing. Actions to change church policies and laws are similar to the lobbying, electioneering and litigation tactics used by secular lobby groups – from ensuring election of the right voting delegates to drafting legislation and educating key influencers and decision makers.

Depending on the denominational structure, a supportive vote passed at a national level may sometimes be ignored at the local level, or a supportive local church may not be able to act under a national law. For example, the United Church of Christ (UCC) is currently the only denomination to officially welcome LGBT people as a matter of national policy, but it allows local control, resulting in only 10 percent of congregations officially endorsing its “Open and Affirming” welcoming program. This makes the work quite challenging as not only must the welcoming group know the key decision makers, church structure, and laws inside and out, they must also cover an enormous scope, often having only one to three staff members working with over 10,000 individual congregations.

In addition, welcoming groups face organized opposition from within their denominations. Much of this opposition is funded by the Institute on Religion and Democracy (IRD), a rightwing non-profit organization with about eight times the funding of a typical denomination’s LGBT welcoming program.¹⁷ (See Figure 19 on next page).

Figure 18: Denominational Doctrine on Homosexuality

Denominations in green are embattled over LGBT issues

— Declining size in US —>

	Roman Catholic	Baptist	Methodist	Lutheran (ELCA)	Presbyterian	Pentecostal	Episcopalian	Mormon	Churches of Christ	United Churches of Christ
Rough % of 2001 Christians	32%	21	9	6	4	3	2	2	2	2
Supportive of homosexuals	x hostile	x very hostile	— leans hostile	— split 50/50	x hostile	x very hostile	✓ mixed	x very hostile	x very hostile	✓ nat'l support, indiv'l. congs vary
Ordains women clergy	x	x	✓	✓	✓	x	✓	x	x	✓
Ordains practicing homosexual clergy	x	x	x	— some; against official policy but penalties not enforced	x	x	✓ some, but divisive	x	x	✓
Welcomes homosexual members/participation	x	x	✓ usually	✓	✓	x	✓	x	x	✓
Blesses same-sex unions	x	x	x	✓ some	✓ some	x	✓ some	x	x	✓
Blesses same-sex marriage	x	x	x	✓ some	x	x	✓ some	x	x	✓
Sharply divided over homosexuality	x	x	✓	✓	✓	x	✓	x	x	— some

Note: reflects stance of largest sub-denomination within the denomination. * American Baptists are mainline and are also embattled. Source: Wikipedia, Adherent.com.

¹⁷ Leon Howell, 2003. *United Methodism @ Risk, A Wake-Up Call*; National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, 2005. “David vs. Goliath: A Report on Faith Groups Working for LGBT Equality.”

Given the challenges discussed above, it is not surprising that welcoming groups are currently quite small. Their small size can belie their influence, however. UCC's national assembly approved a same-sex marriage amendment despite just 10 percent of individual churches officially registering as Open and Affirming. Methodists voted 45 to 35 percent in favor of LGBT issues at their general conference, even though less than 1 percent of churches signed up to support the "Reconciling in Christ" welcoming program. (See Figure 20)

It appears that the best route to increasing acceptance of LGBT people within denominations is to gain pastors' support. Here there is a common misconception that the biggest barrier to obtaining pastors' support is their scriptural interpretation. Actually, otherwise progressive pastors are far more likely to resist supporting LGBT issues for fear of conflict and loss of funding over an issue that they see as just one among many priorities. (See Figure 21)

Conservative clergy, due to their literal interpretation of the Bible, are more likely to have scriptural concerns, although scripture can be a convenient cover for homophobia, and (as noted earlier) anti-LGBT preaching can be effective in increasing giving and attendance.

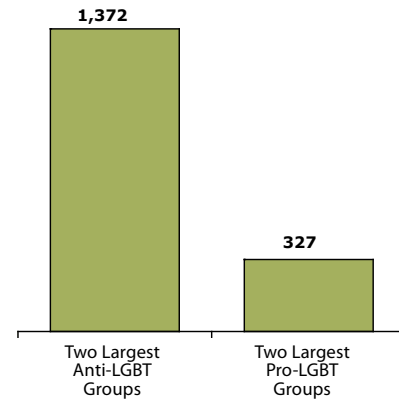
Many church-going Americans want to be fair to LGBT people but lack the knowledge of scripture and confidence in their own interpretation to break ranks with their faith leader. Success in changing attitudes seems linked to humanizing LGBT people of faith. In interviews with religious leaders who experienced a conversion from hostility to acceptance on LGBT issues, they almost universally cited some incident in which they came to know an LGBT person who did not reflect their stereotypes. The LGBT person might have been a relative, a congregant, or a fellow faith leader. The religious leaders' opinions first changed when they felt that it was wrong to discriminate. This dissonance led to a willingness to consider the well-documented alternative Biblical interpretations around homosexuality, in the same way that Biblical passages around slavery and women's rights are now interpreted differently than they were a century ago.

While scriptural debates around LGBT issues are winnable, they usually lead down the "rabbit hole" of clashing Biblical texts unless the faith leader first becomes personally interested in considering different interpretations. Therefore, tools that help humanize the LGBT faith community are extremely helpful, as are approaches that make the issue personal to the faith leader. For example, it is helpful for faith leaders to understand that their sermons are hurting real people within their congregations (that is, LGBT people and their family and close friends) and that intolerant sermons contribute to high suicide rates, high rates of HIV/AIDS, and other health and mental health issues impacting the LGBT community.

We should note that Judaism currently has no equivalent to the welcoming program structure, though Reform and Reconstructionist Judaism have accepting attitudes toward LGBT people. Conservative Judaism voted in December 2006, to allow synagogues to individually decide whether to accept or reject gay rabbis and same-sex commitment ceremonies, while Orthodox Judaism is non-accepting.

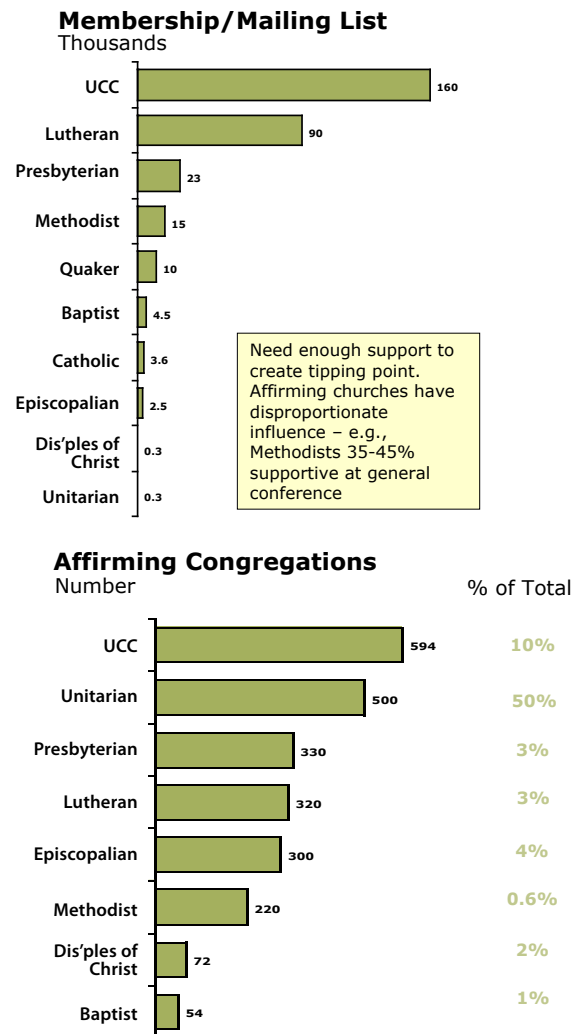
In churches of color, LGBT organizing has been much decentralized. Most of the work has been conducted via non-denominational structures led by religious or secular organizations, such as the African American Roundtable, hosted by the Pacific School of Religion, and The Social Justice Network run by the National Black Justice Coalition.

Figure 19: Funding of Methodist Advocacy Groups¹
\$ thousands



¹Anti-gay groups: *Good News and The Confessing Church Movement*; pro-gay groups: *Affirmation and Reconciling Ministries*. Source: Leon Howell, 2003. *United Methodism @ Risk, A Wake-Up Call*; Task Force, 2005. "David vs. Goliath: A Report on Faith Groups Working for LGBT Equality."

Figure 20: Welcoming Groups are Relatively Small



Note: Presbyterian figures are total among three welcoming groups. Source: *David vs. Goliath: A Report on Faith Groups Working for LGBT Equality*, Task Force; MAP interviews

Clergy Coalition Work

Clergy coalitions leverage leaders of all faith traditions who are already supportive of LGBT issues. For the most part, this work is equivalent to the work of secular lobbying groups in that it seeks to influence the public, the media, and the political realm. Clergy coalitions are normally state-based. Their tactics include grassroots organizing, lobby days, meetings with legislators, postcard campaigns, prayer breakfasts, speeches, and media work. Having supportive clergy made visible in the public and political realm changes the nature of the debate on LGBT issues. Not only can supportive clergy silence or soften the opposition, they prevent opponents of LGBT equality from claiming the religious high ground. Clergy coalitions can also help politicians understand that their religious communities are divided on LGBT issues, and that framing opposition to LGBT issues in religious terms is an attack on religious traditions that welcome the LGBT community.

Some clergy coalitions operate independently but ideally they collaborate extensively with geographically relevant secular LGBT groups. They may lend support to secular efforts, for example, by showing up for a pride parade or secular lobbying event. They also may rely on secular allies to support their efforts, for example, by asking a PFLAG mother to speak to a pastor.

Clergy coalitions use lobbying and advocacy tactics that are similar to those honed in the secular world. A clergy coalition may act as the coordinator of faith efforts within a state, working with secular and religious groups to create a broader strategy, build relationships, and empower local organizations to do the work. Some clergy coalitions also provide resources and tools to help local denominational groups grow their support base. Finally, they may act as a centralized state religious resource, providing information, databases, and state political information.

Currently state clergy coalitions are limited primarily by budget. Only four groups (Washington, Oregon, Massachusetts, and New York) have budgets over \$50,000. The remaining groups all operate using volunteer and/or part-time staff. In addition to budget challenges, coalition work is made more difficult by the varying political landscapes in each state, the lack of integration with secular groups' planning, and the need to work with clergy volunteers, who often have intense demands on their time and priorities, dealing with everything from a parishioner's sudden family death to other issues such as poverty, war, and the environment. (See Figure 22)

Figure 21: Common Barriers to Action by Progressive Clergy

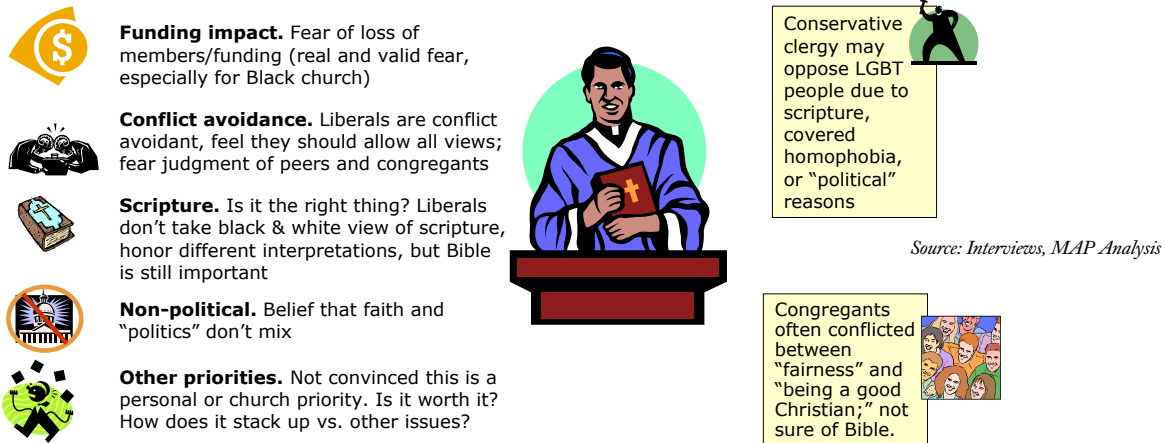
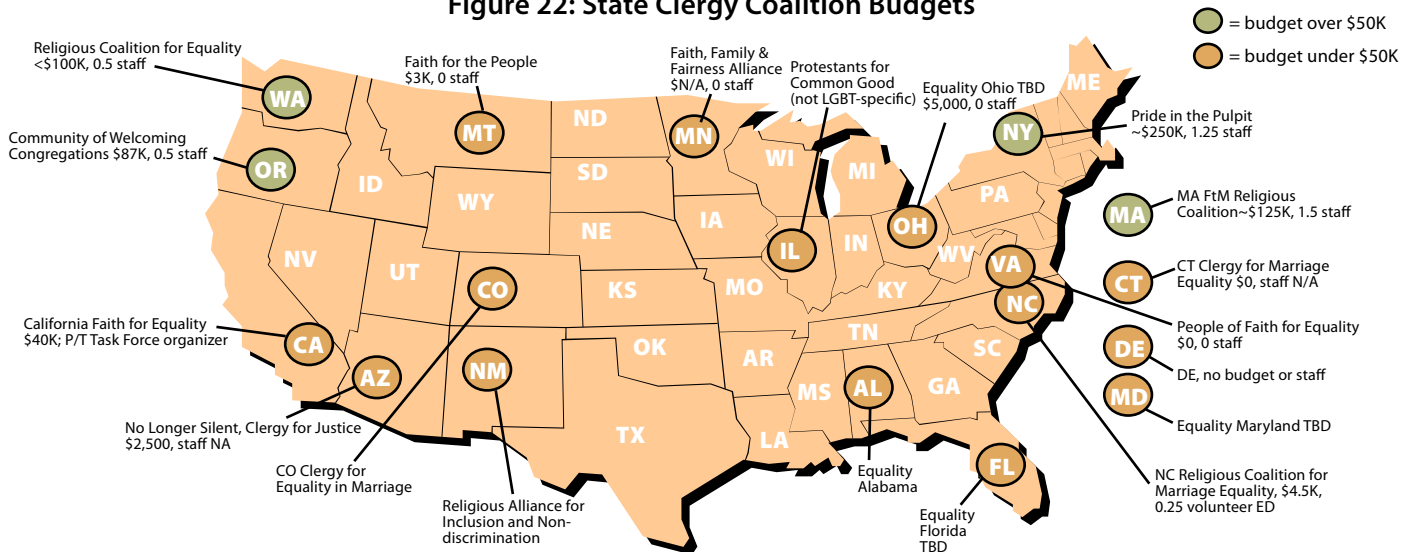


Figure 22: State Clergy Coalition Budgets



One successful coalition is the Religious Coalition for the Freedom to Marry in Massachusetts, which has signed on 600 supportive clergy from 21 denominations and faith communities. It has organized clergy to generate open letters, legislative meetings, and faith statements, all on a budget of about \$125,000 per year. (See Figure 23)

There are several national clergy coalition efforts, in addition to the state-based groups. The National Black Justice Coalition is organizing faith leaders of color. The Task Force and HRC bring faith leaders together through events such as the National Religious Leadership Roundtable. Some progressive allies such as the Center for American Progress, People for the American Way, and the Religious Coalition on Reproductive Choice also organize faith leaders. However, they are broader progressive efforts that are not LGBT focused. LGBT issues are often still divisive within broader progressive alliances.

Media and Public Figure Work

The primary aims of faith-based media work are to “pry the bullhorn” from the Religious Right and present the mainstream media with a broader view of faith support for LGBT issues. Until now, the Religious Right’s exceptional organization has allowed it to present itself as the only faith voice in America. Religious right organizations have been so successful that many Americans are surprised that there are any congregations that accept LGBT people.

Faith-based media work will publicize an alternative faith perspective to the American public (i.e., the Religious Right represents

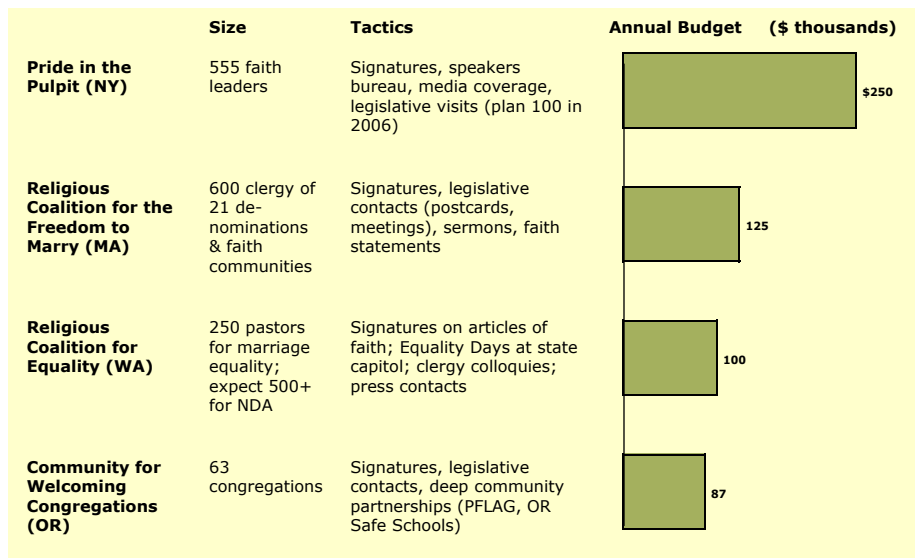
a faith voice, but certainly not the only faith voice), as well as helping the media recognize that, to date, it has been presenting only one, limited point of view. Faith-based media work takes three primary forms:

1. Developing public faith leaders. This includes getting faith leaders into the media via PR, speaking tours, TV appearances, etc. HRC has been leading an initiative to train and promote ten high-profile faith leaders, while the Task Force and others have been providing some media training to faith leaders. It is imperative that faith leaders who act as media spokespeople learn to speak in soundbites, are ready to handle all types of opponents and counter arguments, and are able to tailor their messages for the media program’s topic and audience.

2. Media and advertising campaigns. This includes all forms of advertising and public relations. Media work has been sporadic due to the high cost of mass media. While UCC has developed and self-funded (from national denominational funds) some inclusive TV advertisements, the only other significant effort has been by the start-up Faith in America, which launched a handful of campaigns in small test markets. These campaigns take a somewhat provocative approach, equating intolerance of LGBT people to historical religion-based prejudices against African Americans and women. Other work in this area includes one-off ads placed by state clergy coalitions and other groups.

3. Cultural influence projects. This includes any form of activity that integrates religious support of LGBT issues into broader arts and culture. It includes clergy attendance at gay pride pa-

Figure 23: Four Largest State Clergy Coalitions



“We had clergy all over the politicians saying, ‘You can’t impose your values on my faith. By saying same sex marriage is wrong, you are attacking the United Church of Christ. You are attacking the Reform Jews.’ We shocked the hell out of the legislators.”

– Josh Friedes, MA Freedom to Marry.

rades, Soulforce’s non-violent protests at Christian campuses, and the “Shower of Stoles” project, a traveling exhibit of religious stoles made by LGBT and allied clergy and laity to describe how religious intolerance has impacted them. (See Figure 24)

The biggest current challenge to faith-based media work is a lack of factual information for determining the approach and messages that work best (or even at all). UCC uses humor in its campaigns and asserts that “God never rejects anyone.” In contrast, Faith in America produces hard-hitting ads addressing “religion-based prejudice.” State clergy coalitions have issued advertisements listing supportive clergy, while supportive pastors have focused on humanizing the LGBT community in media interviews.

To our knowledge, none of these efforts has allocated any significant resources to message testing or rigorous quantitative pre- and post-polling. Given the generally high cost of mass media purchases, it is critical to undertake some message development and testing to understand what messages will have the most impact.

Seminary Work

Seminaries train future faith leaders and produce leading-edge thinking that can influence current faith leaders. They are similar to secular think tanks or progressive leadership schools like the Kennedy School. Seminaries can reach student clergy before their opinions are set, as well as give existing religious leaders the necessary language and references to speak confidently on LGBT issues.

Most seminaries grant four-year degrees to future clergy of one or more moderate or liberal denominations. (Conservative clergy typically train at two-year Bible colleges that are almost exclusively hostile to LGBT issues.) More than 50 seminaries nationwide ap-

pear to be supportive of LGBT issues, but only three have dedicated LGBT centers of study: the Pacific School of Religion in San Francisco, Chicago Theological Seminary, and Hebrew Union College (Reform Judaism) in Los Angeles.

The three LGBT centers of study at these seminaries train resident students and provide continuing education to existing clergy. They are also heavily engaged in external work such as hosting roundtables on LGBT issues, having key faculty make media appearances, engaging in debates, and creating LGBT resources that can be accessed by the public. Just as the Center for American Progress and People for the American Way supply progressive policy analysis, the LGBT centers at seminaries provide an important progressive faith voice.

Seminary work faces a funding challenge in that it rarely produces short-term results. Those who support this work must be patient with longer term outcomes, knowing they are creating a body of supportive theological interpretation, building supportive future faith leaders, and building up a key component of the progressive faith voice.

Religious Resourcing

Religious resourcing provides the tools needed for all of the above efforts. Many state clergy coalitions and denominational groups face similar challenges and execute similar tactics and strategies. Generalized resources to share across groups can create economies of scale.

Religious resourcing primarily falls into two categories: tools for educating clergy, the media, politicians, and the public at large; and tools for supportive clergy to use within their congregations.

Figure 24: Shower of Stoles; Soulforce Demonstration at Focus on the Family



“It has taken the Religious Right 30 years to build their messaging and influence, and if we think it will happen for us by the next election, that’s just nuts.”

– Mary Tolbert, President, Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies, Pacific School of Religion

The first category includes scriptural arguments, sample advertisements, brochures, DVDs, videos, speeches, talking points, and sample faith statements and open letters. Resources that humanize the LGBT community are particularly useful, given the effectiveness of that approach to clergy and laity. While ideally the family of a gay person would broach the subject with their pastor (either to seek his support or ask him to refrain from anti-gay preaching), many LGBT people of faith and their allies do not feel safe leaving the closet. A compelling video or DVD can be extremely helpful in making the LGBT community “real” to people of faith and opening their hearts.

There is also a need to address the scriptural concerns of both clergy and parishioners. This requires translation of theological frameworks and Biblical scholarship on LGBT issues into compelling and easily distributed materials.

The second category – tools for use by supportive clergy within their congregations – includes sample sermons, lectionaries (books or lists of scriptural passages or lessons to be read at church services during the year), children’s time ideas, ceremonies and liturgies, reference materials, and theological frameworks.

Currently, LGBT and allied religious groups develop most of their resources on a one-off basis as needed, often developing materials honed for their specific faith tradition and audience (e.g., youth, people of color) from scratch. There are large gaps particularly in materials for youth, African Americans, and videos that humanize the LGBT community.

The Institute of Welcoming Resources (IWR; recently acquired by The Task Force), seeks to centralize some of the resource development by and for welcoming programs. IWR intends to create templates that can be repurposed as needed. Other national resourcing efforts include the following:

- ▶ HRC is creating an LGBT lectionary-based preaching resource.
- ▶ Lutherans Concerned is working on a welcoming program training program, including a Spanish language version and the organization of 6,000 pages of content.
- ▶ Soulforce produces booklets and videotapes.
- ▶ Hebrew Union College maintains an online resource center on the Old Testament.
- ▶ Pacific School of Religion provides materials on marriage.

The need for expertise to tailor templated materials to specific sub-denominations and audiences poses a challenge for resourcing efforts. Additionally, even when resources are centralized, it may be difficult to create awareness and usage of the tools.

3. PROMISING AVENUES FOR INVESTMENT IN COUNTERING ANTI-GAY RELIGION

There is a great need to fund LGBT and allied organizations working in religion. While more institutional funders are recognizing the importance of financing work to counter anti-gay religion, funding levels are still very low. LGBT religion groups have very few fundraising avenues because their denominations don’t fund them and the volunteer clergy running them both lack secular fundraising expertise and have other priorities (“repairing the church roof comes first”). Additionally, funders are often reluctant to get involved in religion and uncomfortable working with clergy who prioritize spiritual matters alongside social change work.

That said, dollars invested in LGBT-supportive religion work can go a long way. The groups are accustomed to doing a great deal with little money and volunteer labor. MAP has identified promising investment opportunities in all five areas of religion work.

“Funding religious work requires

a new language, a new set of

grantees and new staff.

Freedom to Marry funded a

‘Claim the Blessing’ liturgy

in the Episcopal Church.

What’s a liturgy?

What makes a successful one?”

– Andrew Park, Wellspring

Denominational Work

Denominational groups need general operating and infrastructure support, fundraising assistance, and skills building, particularly in the areas of grassroots organizing, speaker training, and congregational change strategies. Given limited funding availability, MAP recommends focusing funds on the faith traditions that we have identified as either more moveable than others or more influential than others.

Mainline Protestant welcoming programs for the Methodists, Lutherans, American Baptists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and the UCC all work in denominations that are both moveable and influential. Some smaller denominations may still be important in key geographies (e.g., the Mennonites in Pennsylvania).

The Catholic Church, while not moveable at a hierarchical level, should not be ignored both because it represents a third of the American public, and because the average Catholic adherent is not nearly as intractable as the hierarchy. Organizations such as New Ways Ministries, The National Association of Lesbian and Gay Diocesan Ministries, and Women Church, all attempt to influence Catholic adherents outside of a welcoming program structure (which is not able to gain much traction given the current church leadership).

Support from Judaism is also important, and this can take the form of funding key influential leaders to funding progressive Jewish seminaries such as Hebrew Union College to funding Jewish Mosaic, which educates Jewish secular and religious institutions on LGBT inclusion.

Finally, the black church will be difficult to move, but it is a very important voice, and existing projects in this area include NBJC's Social Justice Network, the African American Roundtable at PSR, and others. One current gap is a national African American faith initiative led by the faith community. (NBJC is making important contributions in this area and should receive continued support, but it is still a secular LGBT lobbying organization as opposed to a plan developed and led by faith leaders.)

Clergy Coalition Work

Clergy coalitions are severely underfunded. Unfortunately, it is unlikely that enough funding will arise to enable full funding of coalitions in all 50 states, and therefore MAP recommends adequately providing the six to ten most important states (e.g., California, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Washington, Ohio, Pennsylvania) with enough funds to help them become self sufficient over time, as opposed to "starvation funding" spread across all states.

Media and Public Figure Work

Media and public figure work could most benefit from a national plan and tested messaging set that allows for coordination across organizations and initiatives. Additional opportunities to fund leadership development, paid advertising and cultural activities are numerous. (See *organizational listing in Appendix*)

Seminary Work

Seminaries require basic infrastructure funding, though theological development could also be progressed by funding key faith leaders to do theological work (e.g., through research or sabbatical funding) and promising young faith leaders could be encouraged to attend progressive institutions with scholarship funds.

Religious Resourcing

While IWR is taking the lead on developing materials for use across denominations, specific needs include gaps in audience-specific materials (e.g., especially for people of color and youth), materials that humanize the LGBT community (e.g., videos, DVDs), and support materials for LGBT people of faith who have been attacked by their own communities. Ideally, these materials would be gathered into a centralized, online location accessible by all LGBT faith-based groups, with templated core materials that could be tailored to specific audience needs. This broad spectrum of materials could be available online and on order.

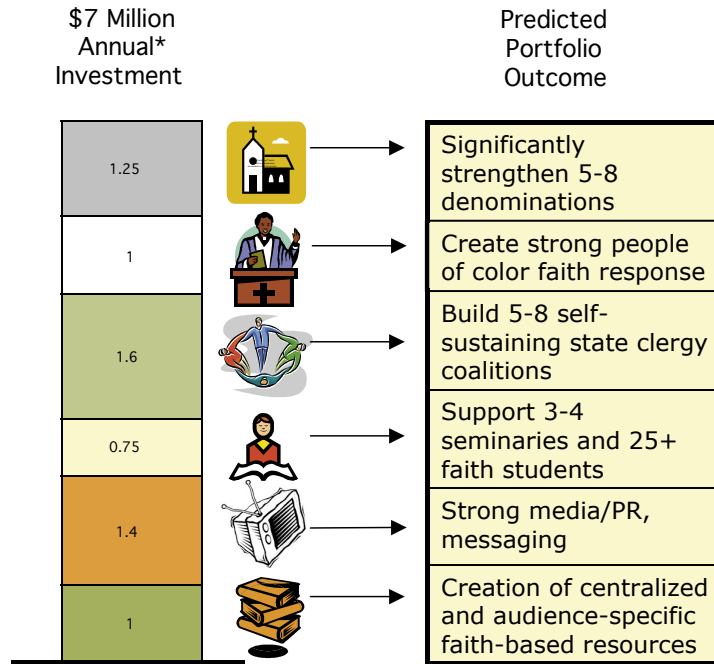
Hypothetical Funding Portfolio

Adequately funding the above efforts to counter anti-gay religion will require a fairly significant increase in overall levels of support. Most organizations fighting anti-gay religion struggle with budgets that are insufficient for general operations and staffing, including hiring full-time staff – let alone a development director – or building basic infrastructure elements. To help funders envision what a religion funding portfolio might look like, MAP performed a hypothetical exercise to show how funds might be allocated across the different religion work streams. *Note that this exercise is not meant to endorse any specific organization, or to suggest there are not other funding opportunities that are worthwhile.* However, this exercise does show that even when making aggressive trade-offs (e.g., funding five to eight state clergy coalitions instead of all state clergy coalitions), the need for additional funds is significant. (See *Figures 25 and 26 on next page*)

That said, MAP's hypothetical funding portfolio of \$7 million breaks down into six distinct areas. First, funders should consider providing general operating support for specific **denominational groups** including the welcoming groups of the five or six largest mainline denominations (e.g., Lutherans, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, American Baptists, UCC). Assuming each of the five or six welcoming groups receives about \$100,000 in support (though some would likely receive more and others less), total new funds of \$600,000 would be required. Catholic and Jewish groups, which may not be structured as welcoming programs, could nevertheless also benefit from support (cost estimate of \$250,000). In addition to general operating support, the denominational groups could also benefit from common training in fundraising and field organizing (cost estimate of \$100,000), in addition to the development of toolkits and best practices for bringing on new congregations (cost estimate of \$100,000). Finally, economies of scale could be realized by funding field organizers through the Institute of Welcoming Resources that could be leveraged across the welcoming groups (cost estimate of \$200,000).

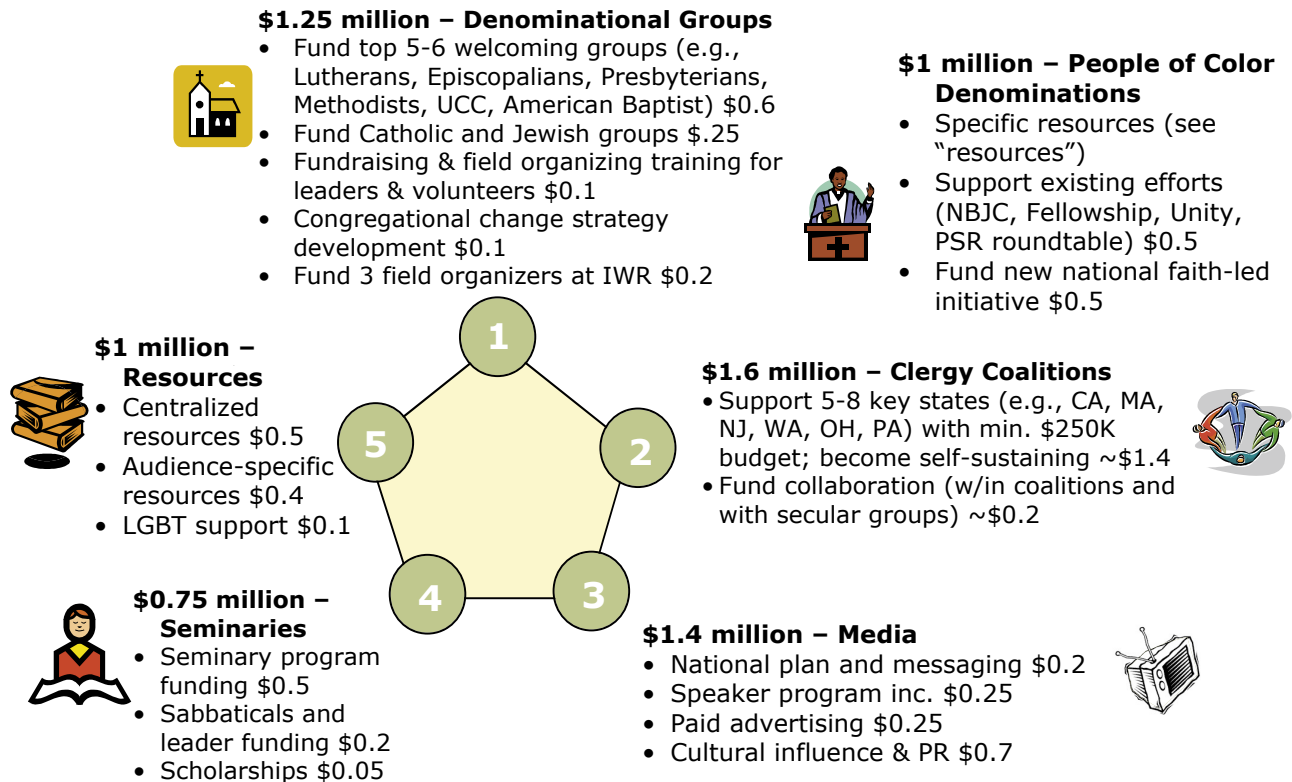
Secondly, the sample funding portfolio explores work to counter anti-LGBT religion within the **black church**. Assuming general operating support for the handful of existing initiatives costs approximately \$500,000, interviewees also expressed strong views that there should be a national initiative led by African American faith leaders (as opposed to being led by secular LGBT organizations.) The additional \$500,000 estimated cost of an African American faith-led initiative includes funding African American faith leaders to do initial strategy development, and funding implementation including hiring staff and setting up infrastructure elements.

Figure 25: Sample \$7 Million Funding Portfolio



*Note: Cost will decrease over time; Year 1 includes initial religious resource development; training denominational groups and clergy coalitions toward self-sustaining fundraising; and messaging and communications plan. Could cut or redeploy ~\$1MM in year 2 and another ~1.5MM in year 3.

Figure 26: Sample \$7 Million Funding Portfolio



Third, the MAP sample portfolio shows \$1.6 million in funding for **state clergy coalitions**. Assuming between five and eight state coalitions are brought up to a total budget of \$250,000 (enough to hire a few full-time staff and a part-time or full-time development resource), an infusion of \$1.4 million is needed for these groups. Note that many of these groups expressed a need for a short-term funding infusion that would allow them to establish their own fundraising expertise and work towards becoming self-sufficient. In addition to helping key state coalitions become established, the sample funding portfolio allocates \$200,000 for collaborative efforts between the various coalitions and between the coalitions and secular groups.

Next, the sample portfolio allocates \$1.4 million to **media work**, including \$200,000 for the creation of a national media plan and key messages, \$250,000 to support the training and exposure of key LGBT and allied faith leaders, \$250,000 in paid advertising (which would not support a large campaign, but would support bare minimum media placements in regards to timely issues) and \$700,000 for public relations and other activities to influence the broader culture.

In terms of supporting **seminaries**, the sample portfolio allocates \$500,000 to support the top few progressive seminaries, \$200,000 to support key faith leaders to take “sabbaticals” in which they work to advance LGBT equality, and \$50,000 in scholarships to LGBT and allied seminary students.

Finally, the MAP sample portfolio allocates \$1 million to **faith resources**, including \$500,000 for the development of centralized resources that can be leveraged by a variety of faith groups, \$400,000 for the customization of those resources to specific target audiences, and \$100,000 for the development of resources to help LGBT youth and adults understand that it is possible to reconcile their faith and their sexuality. Note that this issue is especially difficult for LGBT youth who discover their sexuality while growing up in a hostile faith tradition. These youth have often so absorbed conservative theology that they hold as self-evident and immutable truths ideas such as “they are going to hell.” Social workers who support LGBT youth have also expressed a need for materials to help LGBT youth understand that they do not need to choose between their sexuality and their spirituality.

MAP recognizes that most funders will not be able to contribute at the levels outlined above, however, there are myriad of opportunities to make a difference. For individual and institutional funders who are interested in funding efforts to counter anti-LGBT religion, the appendix lists LGBT religion organizations, along with a brief description of their mission, and contact information.

4. Conclusion

In the past decade, organizations on the Religious Right have been effective in monopolizing the religious discourse around LGBT equality. They have expertly inserted their private beliefs into matters of public policy, claiming that their religious values reflect the views of all Americans. But times are changing. There is a burgeoning consensus among some religious LGBT activists, funders, and scholars that faith-based strategies can be used not only to counter the Religious Right’s anti-LGBT attacks, but also defeat them. There is historical precedent. The feminist and civil rights movements – which were also initially countered by conservative Christians on Biblical grounds – have shown that when voices are lifted for equality, even very conservative denominations can eventually be persuaded to interpret the Bible in new, more accepting ways.

There are already nascent efforts to take on this challenge, with thoughtful mainstream and progressive people of faith – both LGBT and allies – speaking out against anti-gay attacks from the Religious Right and anti-religious attacks from the secular left. They realize that full LGBT equality cannot be won without additional support from religious communities and people of faith, and are willing to do the hard work that is necessary to engage them in a respectful, thoughtful, and effective way. Of course not every mind on the Religious Right can be changed, but that is not the goal. Instead, the goal is to build an infrastructure that allows progressive and mainstream people and institutions of faith to have their own thoughts, beliefs, and perspectives on LGBT equality actually be heard.

Accomplishing this goal, however, will not be easy, and requires a serious investment of time, talent, and money. The LGBT religious infrastructure is thin, at best, and needs considerable strengthening. However, the good news is that this effort is led by dedicated and tireless individuals who believe it is their mission, and even their calling, to help end religion-based discrimination against LGBT people. Supporting this effort will speed the LGBT movement’s fight for equality and can go a long way to making progress in changing the hearts and minds of religious Americans. Ignoring or merely reacting to the Religious Right is no longer an option.

APPENDIX A: BRIEF PROFILES OF ORGANIZATIONS WORKING ON BEHALF OF LGBT PEOPLE IN RELIGION

Note that the below is a list of the most prominent organizations uncovered during MAP's analysis of the issue of anti-LGBT religion. It is not a complete list of all organizations working on anti-LGBT religion. Additionally, inclusion on this list is not necessarily an endorsement by MAP, nor is exclusion from this list an indication that MAP does not recommend funding for this organization. Donors are advised to do their own due diligence before making funding commitments.

Denominational and Welcoming Groups

Mainline Protestant

▶ *American Baptist*, The Association of Welcoming and Affirming Baptists (AWAB). Churches, organizations, and individuals who are willing to go on record as welcoming and affirming all persons without regard to sexual orientation or gender identity, and who have joined together to advocate for the full inclusion of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender persons within Baptist communities of faith. Contact: Ken Penning, Executive Director, 608-255-2155, mail@wabaptists.org, www.wabaptists.org.

▶ *Episcopalian*, Claiming the Blessing. An intentional collaborative ministry of leading Episcopal justice organizations (including Integrity, Oasis, Beyond Inclusion and the Episcopal Women's Caucus) in partnership with the Witness magazine and other individual leaders in the Episcopal Church focused on promoting wholeness in human relationships, abolishing prejudice and oppression, and healing the rift between sexuality and spirituality in the Church. Contact: www.claimingtheblessing.org.

▶ *Episcopalian*, Integrity. A witness of God's inclusive love to the Episcopal Church and the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender community. Contact: www.integrityusa.org, 800-462-9498.

▶ *Lutheran*, Lutherans Concerned. We believe that God values and embraces each person as a beloved child, that the Spirit gives a diversity of gifts for the common good, and that Jesus Christ calls us to work for justice. The ministries of Lutherans Concerned / North America (LC/NA) embody, inspire, and support the acceptance and full participation of people of all sexual orientations and gender identities, their families, friends and allies, within the Lutheran communion and its ecumenical and global partners. Contact: Emily Eastwood, exec@lcna.org, 651-665-0861, www.lcna.org.

▶ *Presbyterian*, More Light Presbyterians, a network of people seeking the full participation of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people of faith in the life, ministry and witness of the Presbyterian Church (USA). Contact: www.mlp.org, Michael Adee, (505) 820-708, Michaeladee@aol.com.

▶ *Presbyterian*, That All May Freely Serve. Called by the life and teachings of Jesus, compelled by our faith and charged by our conscience, we advocate for an inclusive church that honors diversity and welcomes lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender persons as full members. Contact: www.tamfs.org, (585) 325-4000.

▶ *United Church of Christ*, UCC Coalition for LGBT Concerns. The Coalition provides support and sanctuary to all our lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender sisters and brothers, their families and friends; advocates for their full inclusion in church and society; and brings Christ's affirming message of love and justice for all people. Contact: Rev. Ruth Garwood, National Coordinator, 800.653.0799, NationalCoord@uccCoalition.org, www.uccoalition.org.

▶ *United Methodist*, Affirmation. Affirmation is an activist, all-volunteer, not-for-profit organization with no official ties to The United Methodist Church. Contact: www.umaffirm.org.

▶ *United Methodist*, Reconciling Ministries Network. Reconciling Ministries Network is a national grassroots organization that exists to enable full participation of people of all sexual orientations and gender identities in the life of the United Methodist Church, both in policy and practice. Contact: Troy Plummer, 773/736-5526, troy@rmnetwork.org, www.rmnetwork.org.

African American

▶ *NBJC's Black Church Social Justice Community Action Network*, conducts Black Church Summits on the importance of the spiritual connectedness and religious inclusion of all of God's children. Also established the Black Church Social Justice Community Action Network, designed to support on-going state, local and national actions intended to energize a pro-GLBT Black faith-based movement. Contact: Dr. Sylvia Rhue, srhue@nbjcoalition.org, www.nbjc.org.

▶ The Fellowship is led by Bishop Yvette Flunder, and supports African American pastors who have come out in support for LGBT equality. Contact: www.arkofrefuge.org.

▶ African American Roundtable, Pacific School of Religion, is a roundtable of African American religious scholars and clergy who meet on the issue of advancing LGBT equality. Contact: see "Seminaries" below.

▶ Unity Fellowship, an African American LGBT church. If you are looking for a church home that is rooted in spirituality and not in religion, one that celebrates all of God's diverse creation, please feel free to come and worship with us. **Contact: www.ufc-usa.org**.

▶ People for the American Way "African American Ministers in Action" (general progressive religious roundtable versus focus on LGBT issues). Contact: www.pfaw.org.

Catholic

▶ Dignity Catholics, DignityUSA works for respect and justice for all gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender persons in the Catholic Church and the world through education, advocacy and support. Contact: www.dignityusa.org, 800-877-8797.

▶ New Ways Ministries – national group does Catholic signature campaigns, analysis of Vatican policy, education, etc. Contact: NewWaysM@verizon.net, www.newwaysministry.org, 301/277-5674.

▶ Nat'l Assoc. of Lesbian & Gay Diocesan Ministries – safe space for LGBT lay people and allies, external focus is LGBT pastoral care. Contact: office@nacdlgm.org, www.nacdlgm.org, 510-849-8281.

▶ Women Church Convergence, Catholic feminist organization, Contact: www.women-churchconvergence.org.

Jewish

▶ Hebrew Union College (see "Seminaries")

▶ Jewish Mosaic – the first national organization dedicated to helping the Jewish world become more open, accessible, and welcoming to LGBT Jews and their families. It educates Jewish secular and religious institutions about LGBT inclusion. Contact: www.jewishmosaic.org.

Other Denominations

▶ Brethren Mennonite Council for LGBT Interests, Contact: bmc@bmclgbt.org, www.bmclgbt.org, (612) 343-2060.

▶ Christian Church/Disciples of Christ, Glad Alliance. The Gay, Lesbian and Affirming Disciples Alliance, Inc., is a presence working for the full dignity and integrity of gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgendered and affirming people within the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Contact: glad@gladalliance.org, www.gladalliance.org.

▶ Metropolitan Community Churches, Christian denomination with majority LGBT clergy and members. Contact: info@mccchurch.net, www.mccchurch.org, 310-360-8640.

▶ Mormon, Affirmation: Gay and Lesbian Mormons. Serves the needs of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender LDS and their supportive family and friends through social and educational activities. Contact: www.affirmation.org.

▶ Quakers, Friends for LGBTQ Concerns. A North American Quaker faith community that affirms that of God in all people. Gathering twice yearly for worship and play, we draw sustenance from each other and from the Spirit for our work and life in the world. Contact: www.quaker.org/flgbtqc/

▶ Unitarian Universalist, Interweave. A membership organization actively working to end oppression based on sexual orientation and gender identity, recognizing that we will not be free until all oppression is a thing of the past. We are an affiliate organization of the Unitarian Universalist Association, and our work is guided by Unitarian Universalist principles, Contact: www.qrd.org/qrd/www/orgs/uua/uu-interweave.html.

State Clergy Coalitions

▶ Arizona, No Longer Silent, Clergy for Justice. We are Christian Clergy grounded in the witness of the Bible, convinced of God's unconditional love for all people, raising a voice against Christian intolerance that promotes condemnation, discrimination, and hatred. Contact: Jeff Procter-Murphy, www.nolongersilent.org, info@nolongersilent.org.

▶ California, California Faith for Equality. Working to educate, support and mobilize California's faith communities to promote civil marriage equality for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people and safeguard religious freedom. Contact: Jonathan Boland, Field Director, 310-855-7386, jboland@thetaskforce.org, www.carcfm.org.

▶ Colorado, Clergy for Equality in Marriage. An interfaith coalition of religious leaders committed to three goals: 1) To build support within our respective religious communities for equal marriage rights for same sex couples; 2) To support and work for legislation that will establish equal marriage rights, thus providing the same legal and civil marriage benefits for same sex couples as currently exist for heterosexual couples; 3) To work against all legislation that, extant and proposed, that codifies discrimination in marriage. Contact: clergy@cocem.org, www.cocem.org.

▶ Connecticut, Connecticut Clergy for Marriage Equality. Contact: Rev. Joshua Mason Pawelek, revpawelek@sbcglobal.net.

▶ Illinois, Protestants for the Common Good (not LGBT specific, but doing welcoming work as part of their platform within the state). Protestants for the Common Good educates and mobilizes people of faith to participate in political democracy for the sake of social justice and the beloved community. Contact: 312-223-9544, www.thecommongood.org.

▶ Delaware, (just starting up). Contact: Rev. Jack Abel, jabel@epworth-rehoboth.org, (302)227-7743.

▶ Florida, Equality Florida (just starting up). Contact: Rev. Phyllis E. Hunt, Metropolitan Community Church of Tampa, pastor@mcctampa.com, (813) 239-1951; Rev. Jim MerrittJoy Metropolitan Community Church, revjim@joymcc.com, (407) 894-1081.

▶ Maryland, Religious Coalition for Civil Marriage Equality. A group of clergy and lay leaders organized to provide a religious voice in support of equality under the law for families headed by same-gender couples in Maryland. Contact: www.equalitymaryland.org/RCCME/

▶ Massachusetts, Religious Coalition for the Freedom to Marry. A group of more than 700 rabbis, ministers, and faith leaders, as well as congregations and faith-based organizations from 23 faith traditions. We support civil marriage rights for same-sex couples and families as a matter of religious freedom and civil rights. Contact: info@rcfm.org, www.rcfm.org, 617.878.2390.

▶ Minnesota, Faith, Family and Fairness Alliance. A faith-based coalition of people in Minnesota from diverse religious backgrounds and beliefs. As people of faith we are committed to upholding the inherent humanity of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender (GLBT) people as beloved children of God, and as Americans equally deserving of full rights, responsibilities, and legal protections for themselves and their families. Contact: www.faithfamilyfairness.org.

▶ Montana, Faith for the People. Contact: Karl Olson, karlpride@aol.com.

▶ New Mexico, Religious Alliance for Inclusion and Non-Discrimination (RAIN). Contact: Ellen Novak, co-chair, venovak@comcast.net, (505) 345-8850, www.eqnm.org/religion.htm.

▶ New York, New York State Pride Agenda 'Pride in the Pulpit' Program. The mission of Pride in the Pulpit is to build a network of congregations and leaders of faith throughout New York State who advocate for the full equality and justice for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) New Yorkers and their families. Contact: prideagenda@prideagenda.org, 212.627.0305. www.prideagenda.org/pulpit/about.html

▶ North Carolina, Religious Coalition for Marriage Equality. Aims to build the capacity of religious leaders and communities of faith in North Carolina to advocate for marriage equality for same sex couples and full human rights for members of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) communities in North Carolina. An integral aspect of the work toward full equality for the LGBT community involves fully engaging the hearts and voices of religious leaders and communities of faith. Contact: www.ncrc4me.org, (919) 828-089.

▶ Ohio, Contact: Lynn Bowman, volunteer ED working in partnership with Equality Ohio, lynne2269@aol.com, (614) 202-8869.

▶ Oregon, Community of Welcoming Congregations. An Oregon and SW Washington interfaith ministry and association of religious and spiritual congregations that welcome and affirm people of all sexual orientations and gender identities. Contact: Tara Wilkins, ED, tara@welcomingcongregations.org, (503) 665-8741, www.welcomingcongregations.org.

▶ Virginia, People for Faith for Equality. Just starting up, run by part-time volunteer seminarian. Contact: Rev. Dr. Robin H. Gorsline, revrobing@mccrichmond.org, (804)519-3196.

▶ Washington, Religious Coalition for Equality. An interfaith association of lay persons and clergy committed to this twofold purpose: to educate Washington State citizens about and to advocate for marriage equality for all couples and the civil rights of all. Contact: Stan Kehl, E.D., stankehl@religiouscoalition-wa.org, www.religiouscoalition-wa.org.

Media and Public Figure Work

▶ Faith in America, a national organization dedicated to the emancipation of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people from bigotry disguised as religious truth. Such religion-based bigotry has been used throughout history to justify discrimination against other groups of people, including women, racial and ethnic minorities, and people of minority religious beliefs. Contact: Jimmy Creech, 888-913-2484, jimmycreech@faithinamerica.com, www.faitinamerica.info.

▶ HRC, Religion and Faith Program. Trained and supported 10 high-profile faith leaders; assigned professional PR team to "give them a megaphone." Contact: Harry Knox, Director, Religion and Faith Program, www.hrc.org, 800/777-4723.

▶ Shower of Stoles. A collection of over a thousand liturgical stoles and other sacred items from gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender persons from twenty-six denominations in six countries. Each stole contains the story of a GLBT person who is active in the life and leadership of their faith community in some way: minister, elder, deacon, teacher, missionary, musician, administrator or active layperson. Contact: www.showerofstoles.org.

▶ Soulforce. The purpose of Soulforce is freedom for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people from religious and political oppression through the practice of relentless nonviolent resistance." Contact: Jeff Lutes, Executive Director, info@soulforce.org, www.soulforce.org.

▶ United Church of Christ, God is Still Speaking. Ad campaign centered on UCC inclusiveness. Contact: www.stillspeaking.com

Seminary Work (LGBT Centers of Study)

▶ Center for Gay and Lesbian Studies in Religion and Ministry, Pacific School of Religion. Focus on resourcing for churches, research (e.g., writing books), education, advocacy including People of Color roundtables, national workshop series, etc. Contact: www.clgs.org, 1-800-999-0528.

▶ Lesbian and Gay Religious Studies Center, Chicago Theological Seminary. LGBT program was launched in February 2006. Contact: www.ctschicago.edu.

▶ Institute for Judaism and Sexual Orientation, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion. HUC trains seminary students for all 900 Reform congregations in US. The Institute for Judaism and Sexual Orientation has a large online resource center on LGBT issues and the Old Testament. Contact: Joel Kushner, Director, jkushner@huc.edu, www.huc.edu.

Religious Resourcing

▶ Institute of Welcoming Resources, The Task Force. An ecumenical resource clearinghouse. IWR is in the process of developing templated religious resources. Contact: Rev. Rebecca Voelkel, Program Director, rebecca@WelcomingResources.org, 612-821-4397, www.welcomingresources.org or www.thetaskforce.org/ourprojects/iwr/index.cfm.

▶ Other – HRC (LGBT lectionary), Hebrew Union College (Jeff Herman Online Resource Center on old Testament and LGBT issues), PSR (marriage project), Lutherans Concerned (training video for Welcoming programs, 6,000 pages of content), Religious Institute on Sexual Morality, Justice and Healing (theological frameworks, open letters on marriage), Soulforce (booklets/videotapes on what Bible says, DVDs). Other scattered efforts – other denominational groups, other seminaries, state clergy coalitions, etc.

APPENDIX B: METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

Methodology

MAP's findings and recommendations are based on over eight months of research and examination of the issue of anti-LGBT religion, including data gathering and analysis, review of current literature and media, numerous in-depth expert interviews, attendance at key conferences, etc. To complete this report, MAP:

- ▶ Read over 80 articles
- ▶ Performed 38 expert religion interviews
 - 5 national LGBT organizations with religion programs
 - 6 welcoming programs across 5 denominations
 - 6 state clergy coalitions
 - 5 progressive faith organizations
 - 28 faith leaders including 15 significant local or national religious leaders and 3 Jewish leaders
 - 7 people of color faith representatives
 - 4 seminaries (3 Christian, 1 Jewish)
 - 3 national organizations involved in media or resourcing
 - 1 religion funder, 1 national activist faith organization, 1 church start program
- ▶ Performed extensive online research, watched 5 videos, performed analysis of denominational data
- ▶ Did site visits and attended workshops and conferences
 - Focus on Family tour, IWR Conference, Religious Workshops at Creating Change, NBJC Black Church Summit, National Religious Leadership Roundtable Tapestry

Interviewees

- ▶ Dr. Michael J. Adee, Executive Director, More Light Presbyterians
- ▶ Rev. Steven Baines, Director of Interfaith Outreach, People for the American Way
- ▶ Chris Cormier, Community Organizer, NY State Pride Agenda (Includes 'Pride in the Pulpit' Program)
- ▶ Rev. Ann B. Day, Open and Affirming Program Coordinator, UCC Coalition for LGBT concerns
- ▶ Jimmy Creech (former Methodist Reverend, de-frocked for performing same-sex unions), Executive Director, Faith in America

- ▶ Emily Eastwood, Executive Director, Lutherans Concerned
- ▶ Bishop Dr. Yvette Flunder, Senior Pastor, City of Refuge United Church of Christ; Presiding Bishop, Refuge Ministries/Fellowship
- ▶ Josh Friedes, Advocacy Director, Freedom to Marry Foundation (MA)
- ▶ Rev. Darlene Garner, Reverend Elder, Latin American Bishop, Metropolitan Community Church
- ▶ Marco Grimaldo, Religious Outreach Director, Center for American Progress
- ▶ Rev. Debra Haffner, Director, Religious Institute on Sexual Morality, Justice and Healing
- ▶ Rev. Cedric Harmon, Field Director for Religious Outreach, Americans United for Separation of Church and State
- ▶ Rev. Dr. Jay Johnson, Acting Executive Director, Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies in Religion and Ministry, Pacific School of Religion
- ▶ Stan Kehl, Executive Director, Religious Coalition For Equality (WA State)
- ▶ Ken Kirkey, Organizing Committee, CA Faith For Equality; Former co-chair of the Massachusetts Religious Coalition for the Freedom to Marry
- ▶ Rabbi Sharon Kleinbaum, Congregation Beth Simchat Torah, New York
- ▶ Cathy Knight, Executive Director, Church within a Church Movement
- ▶ Harry Knox, Director, Religion and Faith Program, HRC
- ▶ Jeff Krehely, Deputy Director, National Center for Responsive Philanthropy
- ▶ Dr. Joel Kushner, Director, Institute for Judaism and Sexual Orientation, Hebrew Union College
- ▶ Rabbi Devon Lerner, Co-Chair, Religious Coalition For Freedom to Marry (MA State)
- ▶ Rev. Martie McMane, Senior Pastor, United Church of Christ, Boulder, CO
- ▶ Dave Noble, Political Director, The Task Force

- ▶ Rev. Troy Plummer, Executive Director, Reconciling Ministries
- ▶ Alvan Quamina, Managing Director, Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies in Religion and Ministry, Pacific School of Religion
- ▶ Rev. Benjamin Reynolds, Senior Pastor of Emmanuel Missionary Baptist Church, Colorado Springs
- ▶ Dr. Sylvia Rhue, Director of Religious Affairs and Constituency Development, National Black Justice Coalition
- ▶ Bishop John Selders, Inter-denominational Conference of Liberation Congregations & Ministries
- ▶ Tim Sweeney, Program Director, Evelyn & Walter Haas, Jr. Fund
- ▶ Rev. Dr. Susan Thistlethwaite, President, Chicago Theological Seminary
- ▶ Dr. Mary A. Tolbert, Executive Director, Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies in Religion and Ministry, Pacific School of Religion
- ▶ Carmen Vasquez, Deputy Executive Director, NY State Pride Agenda (Includes 'Pride in the Pulpit' Program)
- ▶ Rev. Rebecca Voelkel, Program Director, Institute for Welcoming Resources, The Task Force
- ▶ Dr. Fred Weidman, Director, Center for Church Life, Auburn Theological Seminary
- ▶ Deborah Weil, Executive Director, Dignity
- ▶ Rev. Dr. Mel White, Founder, Soulfource
- ▶ Rev. Tara Wilkins, Director, Community of Welcoming Congregations (OR State)
- ▶ Thailia Zepatos, Field Director, The Task Force

A Word on Data Sources

MAP acknowledges that the data in this report is imperfect. There are many sources of data on religious identification of Americans, but the data often varies widely. This can be a problem based on methodology, sample size, or even the definitions used in the study (e.g., how does the study define a term such as "Evangelical"?). MAP has made every attempt to review all potential sources and to choose those which have solid methodology, commonly-used terminology, and whose findings are in line with other studies of the same type.

For example, there are two major sources of information that break down denominational membership of religious Americans. These sources, while directionally aligned, did not provide identical data. The "American Religious Identity Study (ARIS)," 2001, performed by City University of New York, polled over 50,000 Americans and was used as a primary source where possible. The "Religious Congregations and Membership Study: 2000 (RCMS)," published by Atlanta-based Glenmary Research Center, relied on denominations to self-report their membership numbers, and therefore, is potentially less accurate than the ARIS study. However, as the RCMS study is a recurring study and has a greater amount of denomination detail, it was used to supplement the ARIS Study where needed.



movement advancement project ▶

2215 Market St. • Denver, CO 80205
Fax: 303-292-2155 • www.lgbtmap.org