

# OUTLOOK ON THE MOVEMENT

## International Gay & Lesbian Leadership Conference

*December 2009*



movement advancement project ▶



# Objective and Caveats

- This primer aims to inform and motivate LGBT-movement funders to work explicitly on issues of racial justice and inclusion within and around the LGBT movement
- **The primer is a starting point, rather than a definitive analysis of, or recommendations for, race matters within the LGBT Movement**
  - We focused on illuminating general racial issues in American society and generally recommended philanthropic approaches to such issues
  - We did not do original research into LGBT-specific racial matters. Our sources were limited to secondary research (books, articles, conference/meeting reports, and websites) and a very few interviews
- Upcoming research efforts by others (e.g., by Arcus Foundation, Funders for Lesbian and Gay Issues, The Task Force and HRC) may add considerably to the movement’s knowledge about racial disparities and issues important to LGBT people of color (POC)\*

\* Throughout this document, POC is used interchangeably with non-white to refer to racial or ethnic minorities (including whites who identify as Latino/a). “Gay” is sometimes used for LGBT.



# Special Thanks

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- To Reverend Irene Monroe for consulting with MAP throughout the process of conceiving and producing this primer
- To Marcie Moore-Gantz, Jay Pastrana, Morris Price and Russell Roybal for reviewing and commenting on a near-final draft



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# Issues of Racial Justice and Inclusion – Part I

- Why funders aiming for LGBT equality should work explicitly on racial matters
- Generally recommended philanthropic approaches to racial justice and inclusion
- Considerations specific to LGBT movement work on racial equity and inclusion





# Four Reasons LGBT-Movement Funders Should Work on Race



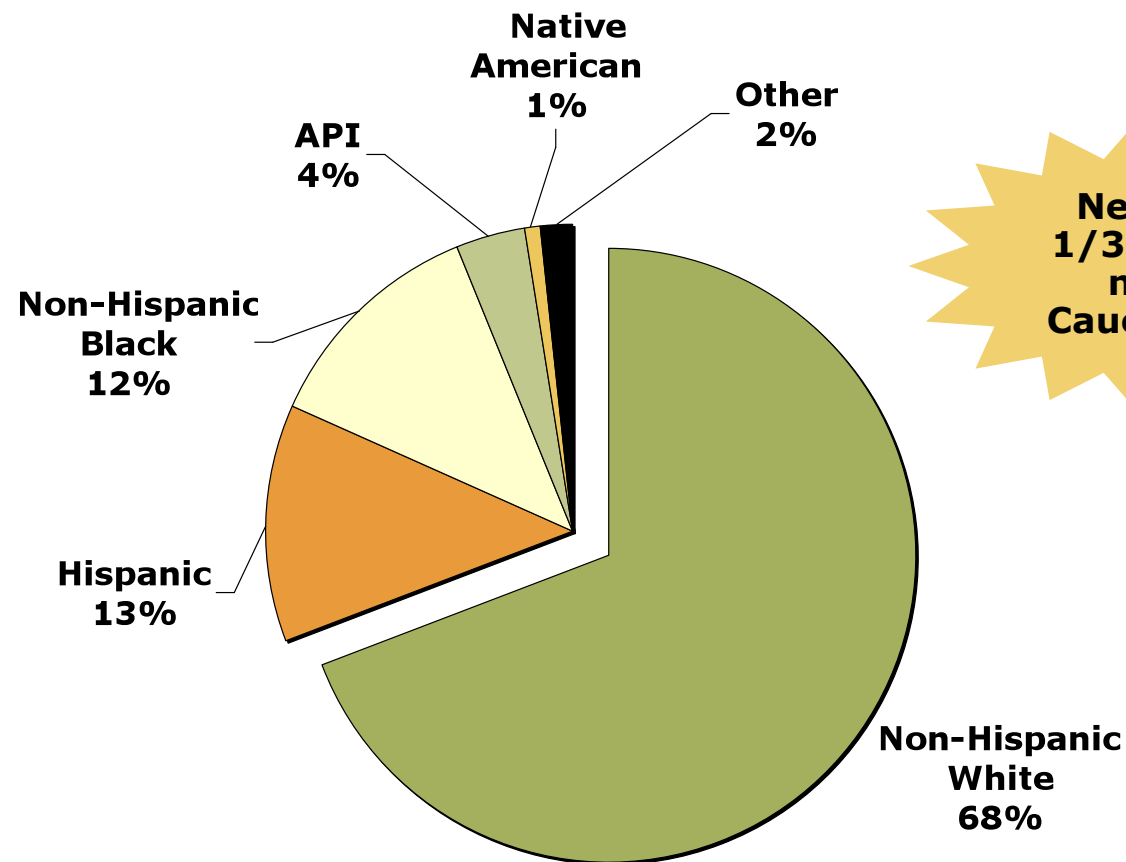
1. LGBT Americans share racial characteristics of whole U.S. population – only 68% are non-Hispanic white
2. Race is a critical factor in America – almost every indicator of well-being shows troubling disparities by race
3. Only an intentional focus on race will close the equity gaps
4. The LGBT movement’s lack of substantive work on issues most relevant to POC leaves it vulnerable to irrelevance and division
  - Not fully serving a third of its constituents
  - Using tactics and messages that inadvertently alienate POC LGBT and allies
  - Resulting dearth of relationships enables opponents to use wedge politics to divide LGBT/POC advocates and voters

This section provides evidence or rationale for each of the above statements

# 1. Americans are Increasingly Racially Diverse



## U.S. Population 2005



Nearly  
1/3<sup>rd</sup> are  
not  
Caucasian



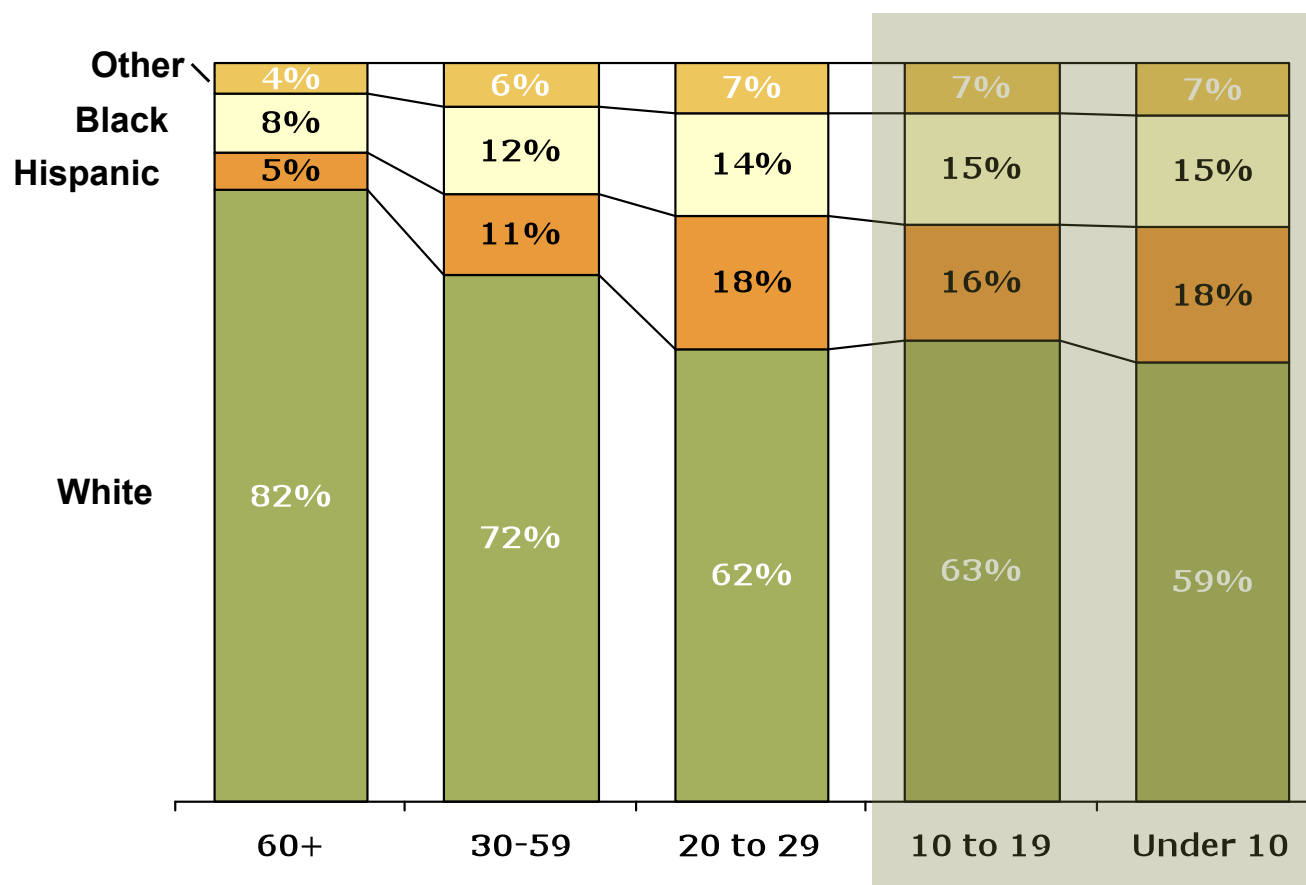
# By 2050, More than Half of Americans will be POC



## U.S. Population by Race

% of Age Group in 2000

1 in 3 under 20 were not Caucasian in 2000



## 2. Troubling Disparities in Americans' Wellbeing by Race



### **Versus whites in the U.S. ...**

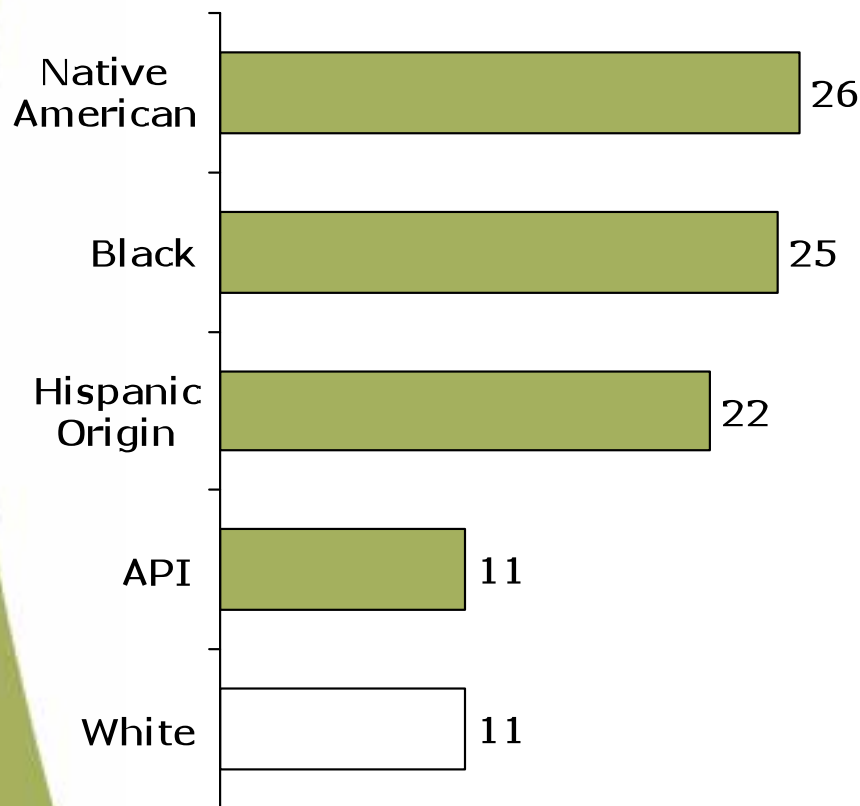
- ... blacks, Hispanics and Native Americans are twice as likely to live in poverty
- ... blacks, Hispanic and Native American households make about one-third less income
- ... black and Hispanic households have eight to nine times lower valued assets
- ... blacks, Hispanics and Native Americans are one-third to two-thirds less likely to earn a college degree
- ... blacks, Hispanics and Native Americans are two to 3.5 times more likely to drop out of high school
- ... Hispanics are 2.4 times and blacks six times more likely to be arrested. Hispanics are three times and blacks six times more likely to be incarcerated
- ... blacks have four times and Hispanics 1.5 times higher incidence of HIV/AIDS



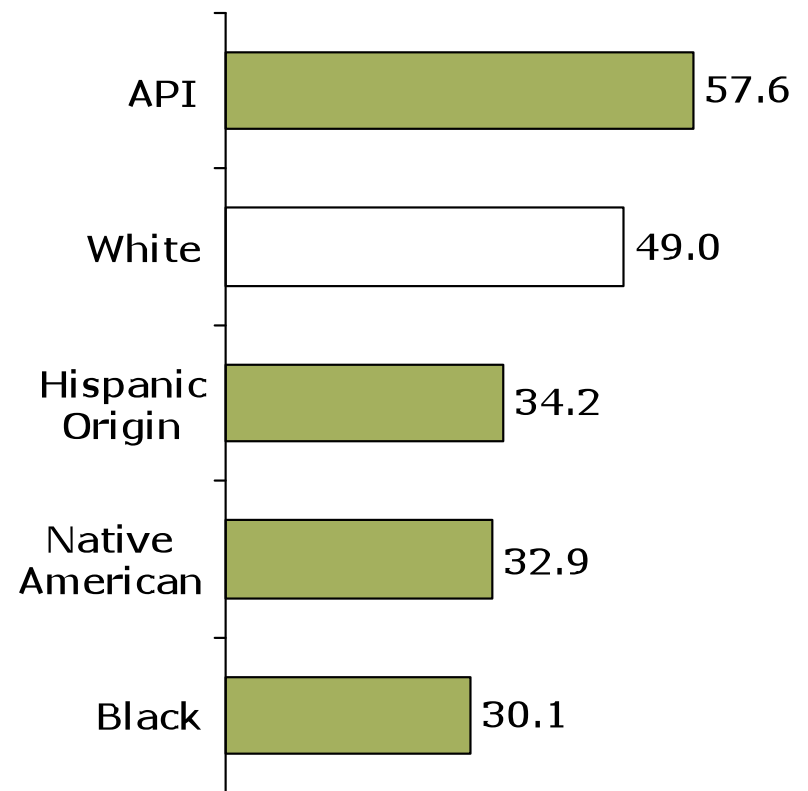
# Economic Disparities by Race (1 of 2)



## People Living in Poverty % in 2005



## Median Household Income \$000 in 2005



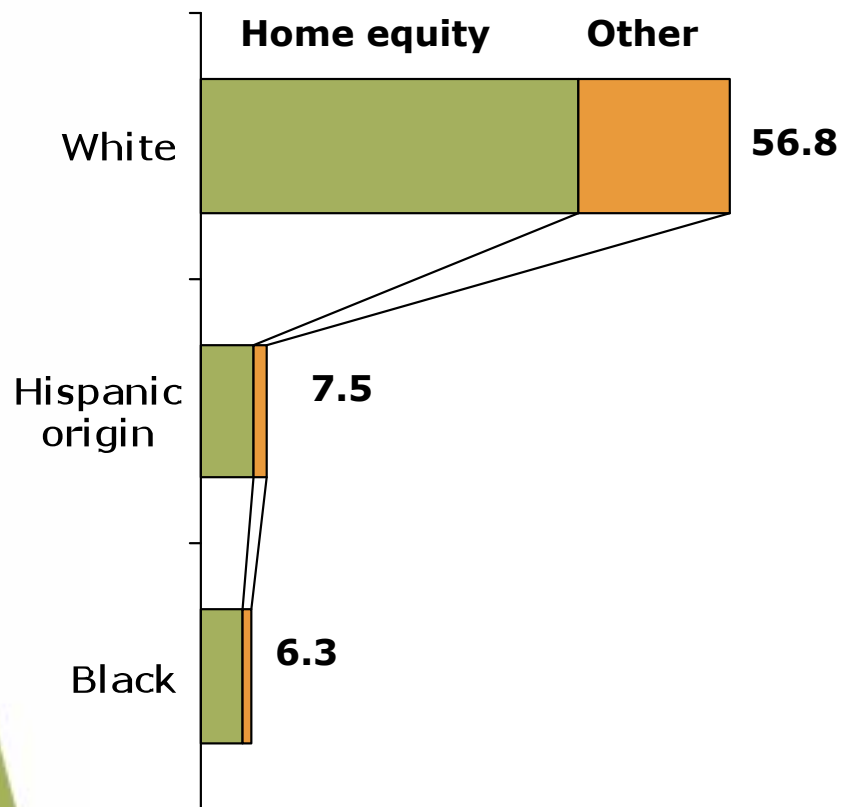
Note: Bars denoting white indicators on pp. 10-15 are different color to highlight disparities between white and non-white wellbeing indicators (not to highlight white as "the standard")  
Source: U.S. Census Bureau (Native American data are from 2000)

# Economic Disparities by Race (2 of 2)



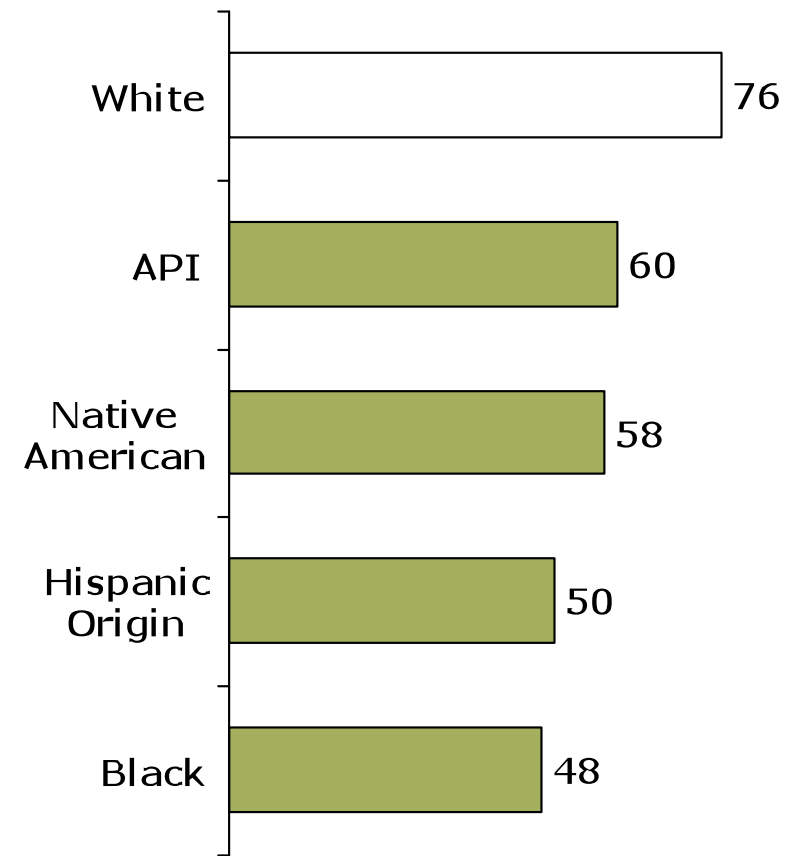
## Median Household Assets

\$000s, 2005



## Home Ownership Rates

%, 2005



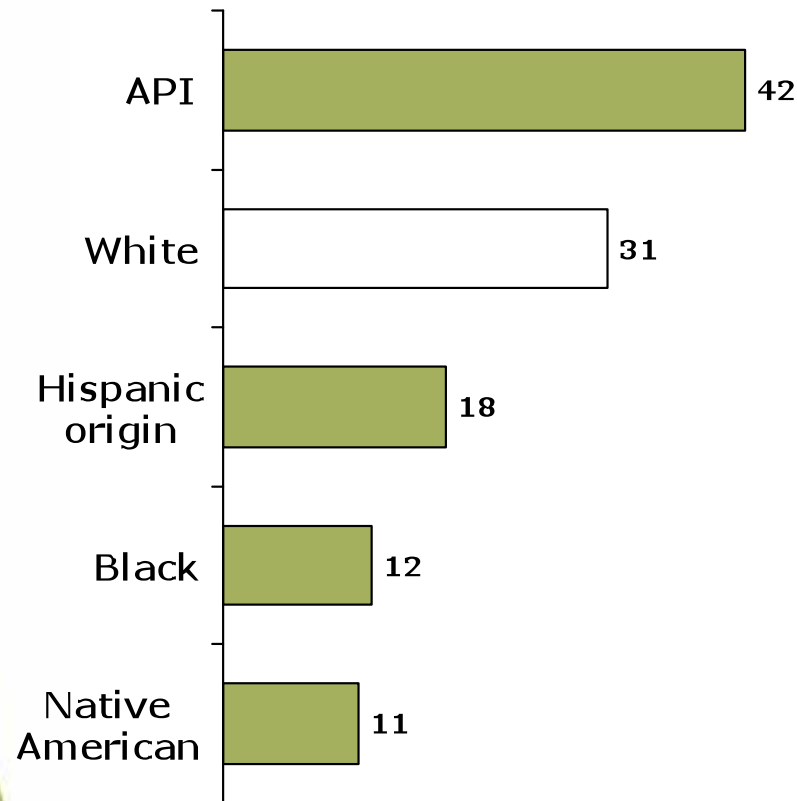


# Educational Disparities by Race



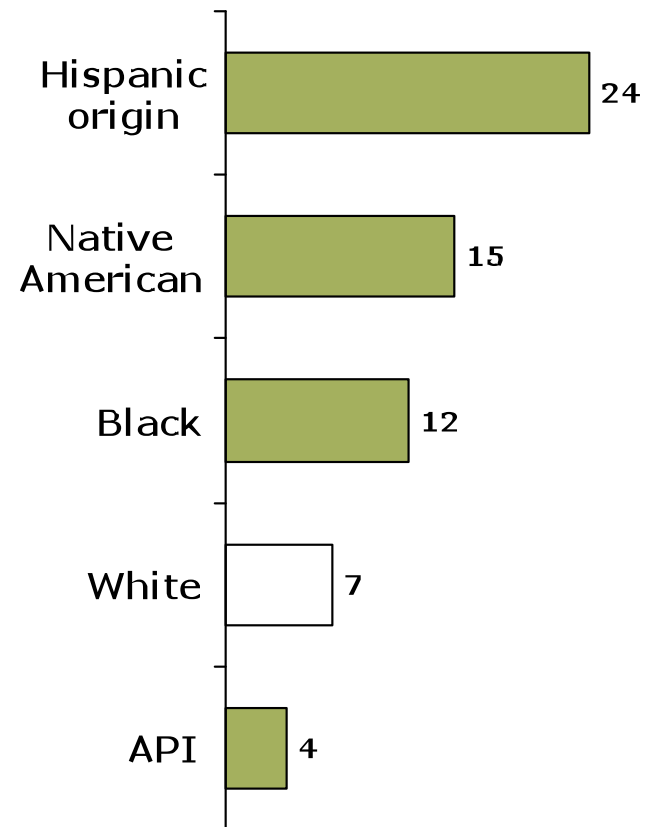
## College Degrees

% of persons age 25+, 2005



## High School Dropout Rates

% of HS-age persons, 2004



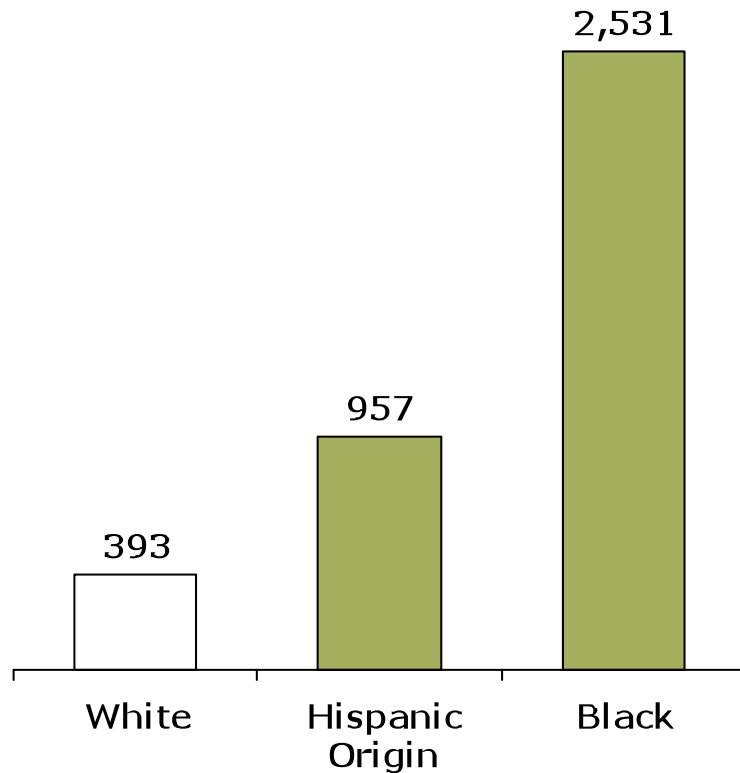


# Disparate Rates of Arrest and Incarceration by Race



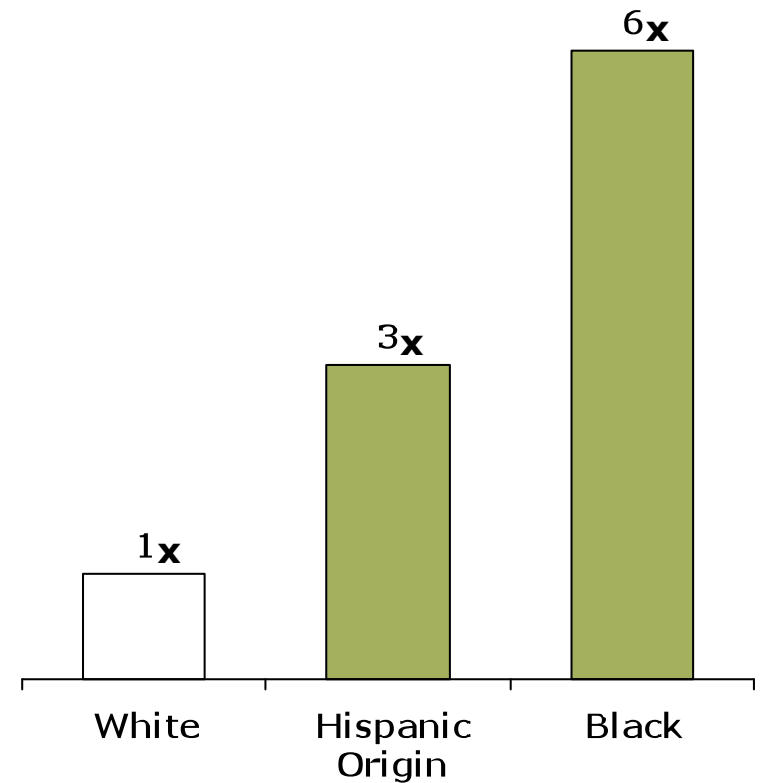
## Arrest Rates

Per 100,000 pop'n, 2004



## Rates of Incarceration

Vs. whites for same offense, 2000

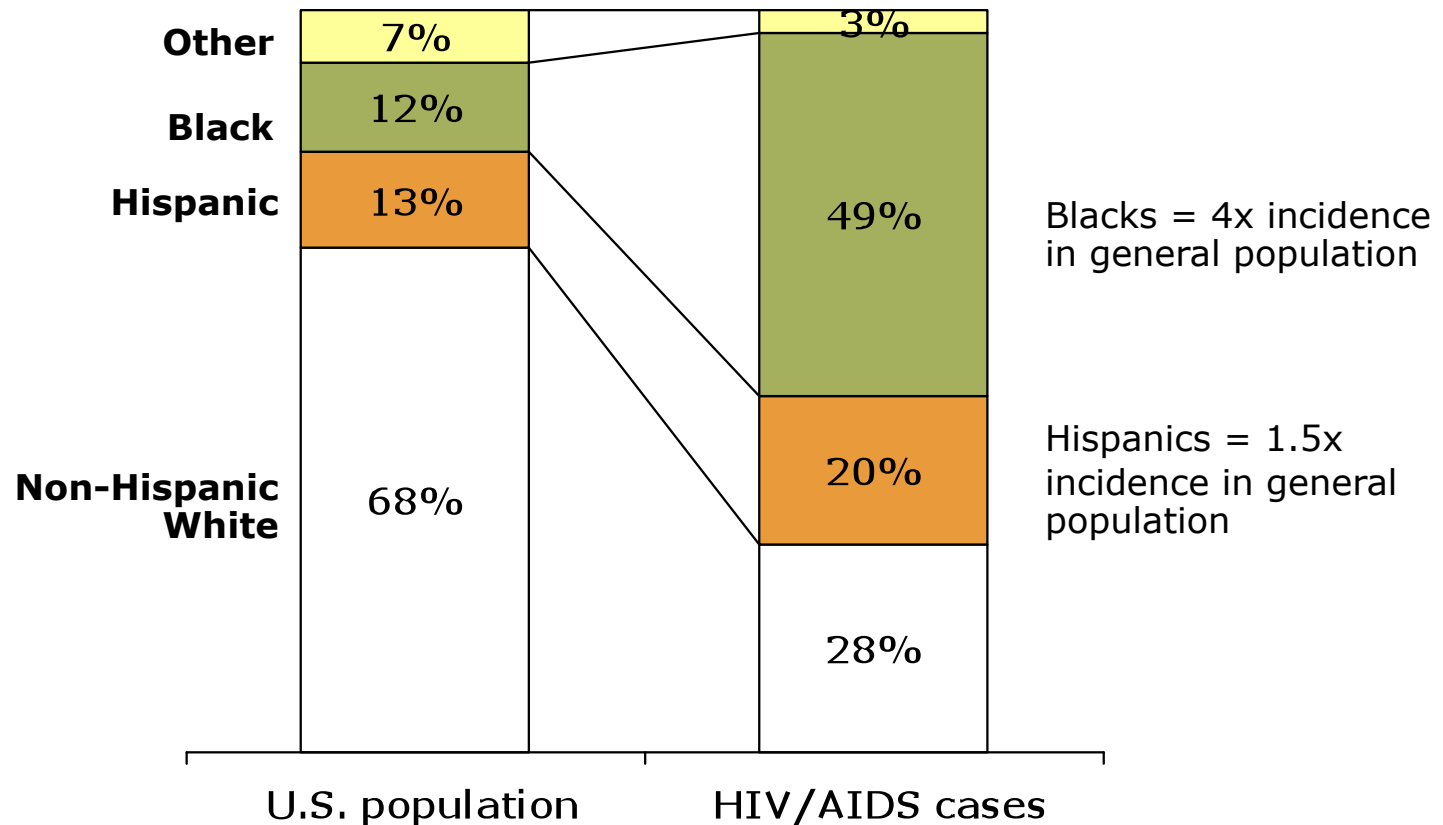


# Disparate Rates of HIV/AIDS Infection by Race



## U.S. Population and HIV/AIDS Cases

% by Race, 2005



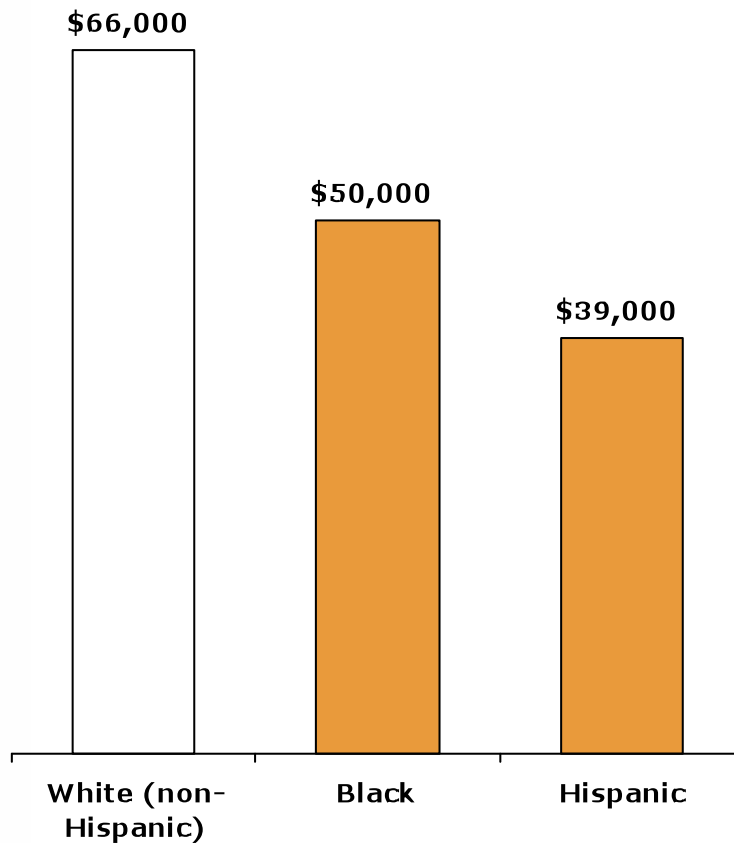


# LGBT-Specific Income Disparities by Race



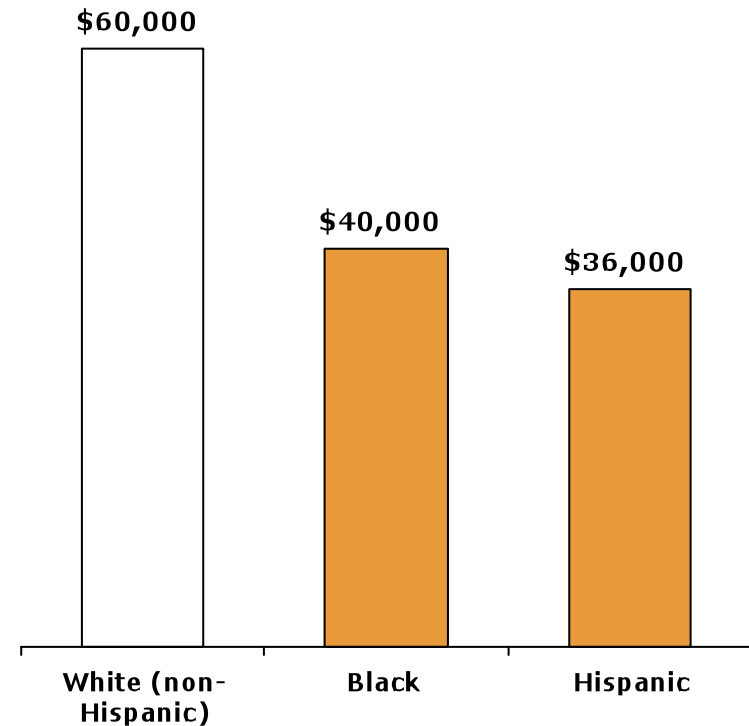
### Male Couples

Average income, 2000



### Female Couples

Average income, 2000



Source: The Task Force, *Hispanic and Latino Same-Sex Couple Households in the US, 2005; Black Same-Sex Households in the United States, 2004*. Statistics are based on **self-reported** U.S. Census data and represent couples where both partners are of the same race

### 3. Only Intentional Focus on Race Will Close Equity gaps



- **“Embedded racial inequities”** in society produce policies and practices that (often unintentionally) provide whites with advantages over other races. They pose the greatest barrier to equitable opportunity and results today
- Embedded racial inequities set in motion accumulating advantages and disadvantages
- Today’s policies and practices that fail to appreciate these platform inequities may themselves work to perpetuate the harm, often inadvertently
- White citizens have trouble seeing this, also called **“structural racism,”** and can be unaware of key policy issues facing non-whites today

# Classic Case of Embedded Racial Inequity: Post-WWII GI Bill

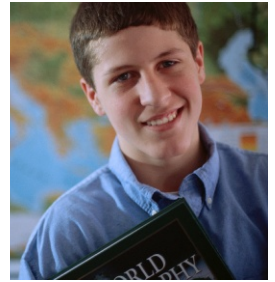


- U.S. spent \$95 billion on job training, college tuition, home loans and small-business support to reintegrate 16 million soldiers into U.S. society
- Lauded as “greatest piece of social legislation ever”
- GI Bill was open to all veterans but local implementers (government administrators, lender and real estate professionals) maintained racially discriminatory practices

Next four pages: three stories of young boys whose fathers served in WWII and whose families still impacted by GI Bill today



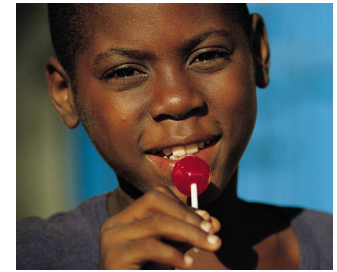
# Phillip's Story



<b>Child born right after WWII:</b>	Low-income, white
<b>Father's status:</b>	White veteran, high school diploma, from Philadelphia
<b>GI Bill – FHA and VA loans:</b>	Father uses low-interest mortgage to move family from public housing to segregated suburban neighborhood
<b>Consequences for child's education:</b>	Family borrows from home equity to enable Phillip to be first to go to college
<b>Consequences for child's wellbeing in adulthood:</b>	Phillip gets professional job, buys house, inherits appreciated house when father dies



# Thomas's Story



<b>Child born right after WWII:</b>	Low-income, black
<b>Father's status:</b>	Black veteran, high school diploma, from Philadelphia
<b>GI Bill – FHA and VA loans:</b>	Father can't access low-interest mortgage because of racially-restrictive underwriting criteria; family remains in apartment in city
<b>Consequences for child's education:</b>	Family can't afford to send Thomas to college; earns diploma from under-resourced, racially-segregated high school
<b>Consequences for child's wellbeing in adulthood:</b>	Thomas works minimum-wage jobs, lives at home, and has to borrow \$ to give father decent funeral



# Juan's Story



<b>Child born right after WWII:</b>	Low-income, Latino
<b>Father's status:</b>	Latino veteran, high school diploma, from Texas
<b>GI Bill – FHA and VA loans:</b>	Father can't access low-interest mortgage because of racially-restrictive underwriting criteria; family remains in rural rental housing
<b>Consequences for child's education:</b>	Family can't afford to send Juan to college; earns diploma from under-resourced, language- and racially-segregated high school
<b>Consequences for child's wellbeing in adulthood:</b>	Juan works minimum-wage jobs, lives at home, marries newcomer Latina, sends \$ to her extended family in Mexico

# Fast-forward to Today



**Phillip's children:**

Phillip gives children his father's appreciated house  
They live in thriving communities  
Their college tuition paid with home equity  
Phillip establishes trust fund for grandchildren



**Thomas' and Juan's children:**

They have no houses to inherit  
They live in disinvested communities  
They complete college on work study and student loans while working fulltime; start paying back debts  
Thomas and Juan have few personal assets to leave grandchildren

- Social policies from 60 years ago continue to have disparate impact
- Benefits and advantages accumulate over time

# Era of Equal Opportunity Policies – 50s, 60s and 70s



Exciting Civil Rights Victories...	...but Inequitable Outcomes
Mendez v. Westminster* Brown v. Board of Education	Schools largely remain racially segregated today, with unequal access to resources
Fair Housing Act of 1968	Discrimination persists in zoning, lending, and real estate practices
Affirmative Action	Largest beneficiaries have been white women
Voting Rights Act of 1965	More POC elected but without adequate resources in urban areas to govern effectively; redistricting to erode political power; ballot box inequities

# Era of Retrenchment – 80s to Today

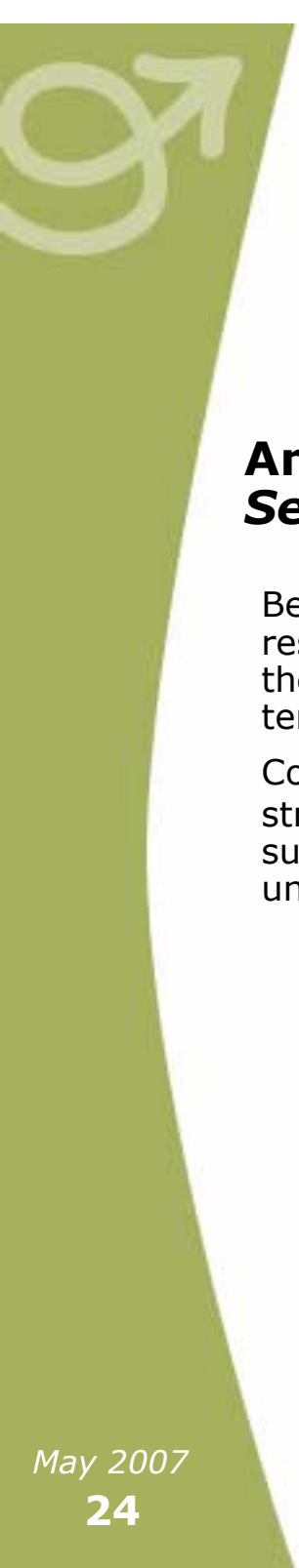


Challenges to Victories...	...Yield Further Inequitable Outcomes
English-only laws as state referenda	Deprives those with limited English proficiency of civil rights, e.g., vote, legal proceedings and education
"Racial Privacy Act" as state referenda*	If passed, no data for accountability or promotion of equity in education, public contracting or employment
Anti-affirmative action legal challenges	Erode the small employment and education gains that have been made; increase probability of return to previous practices

- Racial inequities are deeply embedded in social policies and practices
- History of race does not match popular notion of continual progress

\*None passed as yet

Source: *Race Matters Toolkit*, Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2006



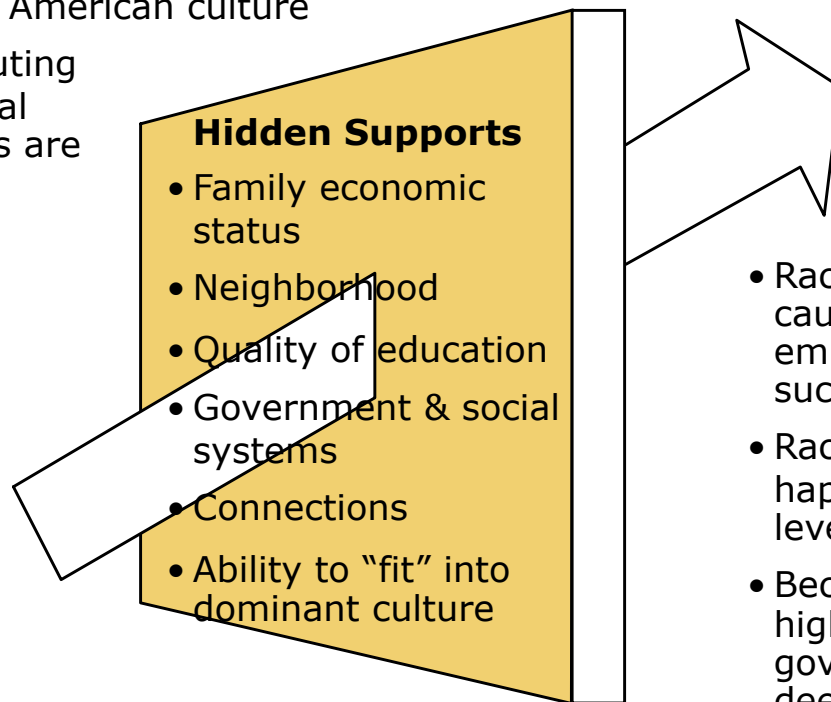
# Structural Advantages are Invisible to Many Whites



## American Ideal of *The Self-making Person* ...

Belief that each individual is responsible for creating/changing their own circumstance – is central tenet of American culture

Contributing structural supports are unseen



## ... Yields Faulty Explanations of Racial Disparities

- White success seen **solely** as result of hard work and determination
- White privilege not so much denied as not seen at all



- Racial disparities seen as caused by lack of cultural emphasis on material success and hard work
- Racism seen as past or happening only on individual level; nothing can be done
- Because some minority individuals (often of higher class to begin with) succeed, government assistance and systemic change deemed unneeded



# Hypothetical U.S. Race Policy Agenda



<b>Education</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Equitable school funding (current property-tax system provides 10x more financing to wealthiest districts) and distribution of teacher qualifications</li> <li>• Standardized criteria for placement of students in gifted and special needs classes</li> </ul>
<b>Child welfare</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Reduced racial biases throughout child welfare system (e.g., greater propensity to remove POC children from home)</li> <li>• Bilingual and culturally competent services</li> </ul>
<b>Income/ economic security</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enforcement of existing employment non-discrimination laws</li> <li>• Higher minimum wage</li> <li>• Increased access to anti-poverty tax credits and public safety-net programs (e.g., social security, food stamps), including via bilingual case workers</li> </ul>
<b>Health</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Medicaid expansion to provide stable primary care and preventative services</li> <li>• Relief from local health hazards, e.g., air, water and soil pollutants</li> <li>• More and higher-quality/culturally competent neighborhood health resources</li> </ul>
<b>Civic participation</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stronger Voting Rights Act, with new fair-treatment provisions (e.g., equitable spread of voting machines, restoration of ex-felons' franchise, outlaw scare tactics)</li> <li>• Local POC organizations to register and mobilize voters</li> </ul>
<b>Criminal justice</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increased police compliance with established race standards; reduced racial profiling</li> <li>• Repeal of minimum sentencing laws and increase in non-prison punishment options</li> </ul>
<b>Neighborhood vitality</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Equitable tax revenue distribution across towns and cities</li> <li>• Link housing to jobs via affordable housing and transportation systems</li> <li>• Enforcement of existing employment non-discrimination laws</li> </ul>

## 4. Lack of Relevance to POC Leaves LGBT Movement Vulnerable



- POC are underrepresented in LGBT movement leadership
- Movement isn't fully serving the third of its constituents who are POC
- Organizations sometimes use tactics and messages that inadvertently alienate POC (gay and straight)
- Resulting lack of relationships enables opponents to use wedge politics to divide LGBT advocates and voters from POC advocates and voters – with LGBT POC caught in the middle

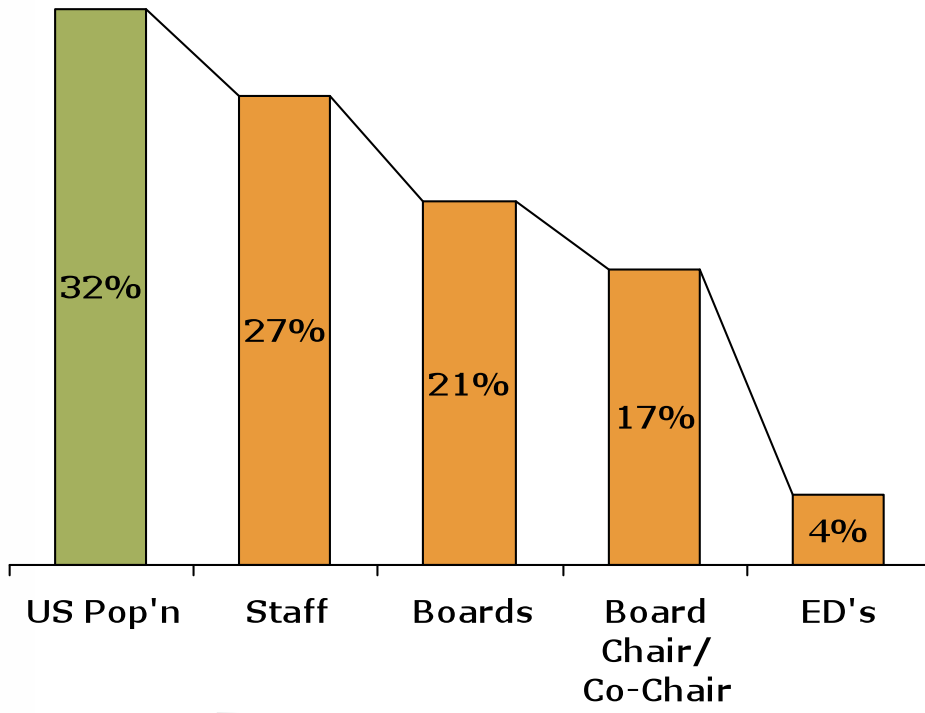


# POC Underrepresented in LGBT Movement



## POC Representation

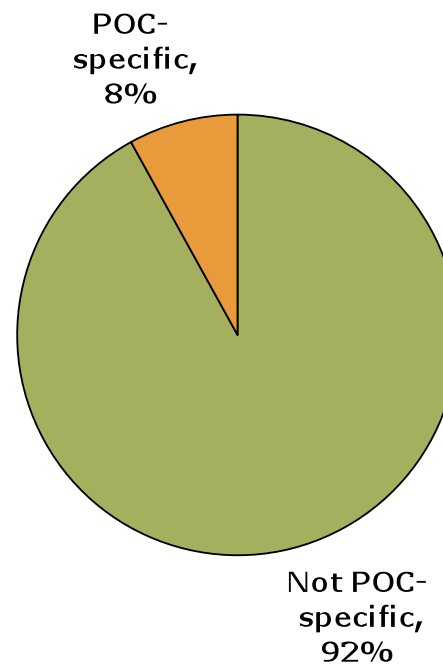
Percent



**Among 25 Leading LGBT groups**

## Grants by 12 large LGBT-movement funders

Percent of total \$ granted, 2003-05





# Movement not Competently Serving POC Constituents



“My view of the current LGBT rights movement has been that it is largely about changing civil society including government and private institutions to ensure equal treatment. ...

While the black LGBT rights movement has a similar focus, it has not been as externally expansive. We have focused on creating safe spaces and community to address our immediate needs that are too often about survival and preservation.”

– Senior-level executive of a black LGBT organization

“Every day in my work I see profound issues affecting poor gay people of color and a different set of issues made most prominent at the national GLBT level.”

– gay ED of economic justice group

“We can’t all get married if we’re dead [from AIDS].”

– gay ED of POC AIDS organization

# Some Tactics and Messages Unintentionally Alienate POC



- **Co-opting black civil rights struggles; using analogies out of historical context.** E.g.: “our Rosa Parks moment,” “Brown V. Board of Education for Gay people,” too often quoting Dr. Martin Luther King
- **Discounting impact of racism; implying racial discrimination no longer exists.** E.g.: “Gays are the last oppressed minority,” “Gay rights are *the* civil rights issue of today”
- **POC-specific shaming tactics.** E.g.: (Speaking to African American who doesn’t favor SSM) “I’m surprised that you, *of all people*, wouldn’t understand this as discrimination”
- **“Tit for tat” activism.** E.g.: “As soon as *their* definition of ‘diversity’ includes sexual orientation, I’ll support racial diversity efforts”
- **Indicating if gays were free of this one form of discrimination, every-thing would be okay.** Prompts POC to wonder, “So instead of being an encumbered *gay* white man, you can live with entitlements that *straight* white men possess?”

“It ends up looking like a bunch of white, well-to-do folks trying to climb on the civil rights banner, and it's embarrassing.”

– POC LGBT leader

# Lack of Relationships Enable Opponents to Use LGBT as Wedge



- For every state anti-gay ballot initiative in 2004, there were calls, “Do you know any blacks to take part?”  
– Black LGBT leader
- “All of the equality work all over the country was all white. Our allies said they needed black GLBT to help make the advocacy happen. The perception was, if gay African Americans aren't willing to step forward and speak for themselves, then it must not be that important.”  
– Black LGBT leader



# LGBT–Race Wedge in Action



- Family Research Council and Exodus are currently funding black pastors to lobby Congress against hate crimes legislation
- As reported in *The Washington Post*, alienating rhetoric continues
  - “Gay activists compare the bill to civil rights legislation of the 1960s.”
  - “Phil Pannell, a longtime gay activist ... said he believes African Americans should be more understanding about discrimination toward gays. ‘African Americans, more than most people, should know what it means to be a target.’”



**Bishop  
Harry  
Jackson  
on CBN  
News**

- “This legislation will actually muzzle mouths, and stop the voice of the black church”
- “The black church needs to lead this effort because ... everyone who talks out about this, except for African Americans, is labeled as a racist and a bigot”

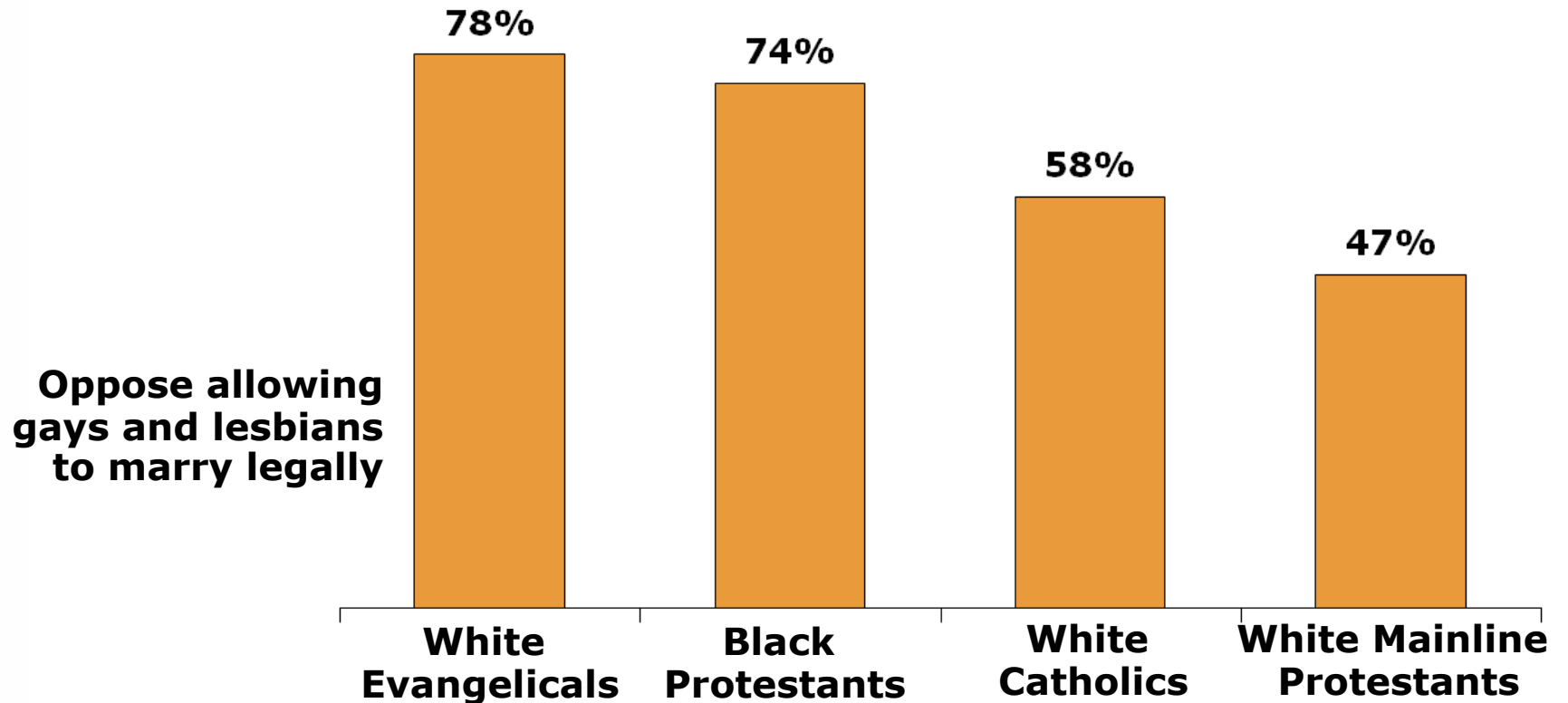


# Impact of LGBT–Race Wedge: Low African American Support



## Only White Evangelicals More Strongly Oppose Marriage

% of respondents against same-sex marriage, 2006



# Issues of Racial Justice and Inclusion – Part II

- Why funders aiming for LGBT equality should work explicitly on racial matters
- Generally recommended philanthropic approaches to racial justice and inclusion
- Considerations specific to LGBT movement work on racial equity and inclusion



# First Need to Get the Language Right



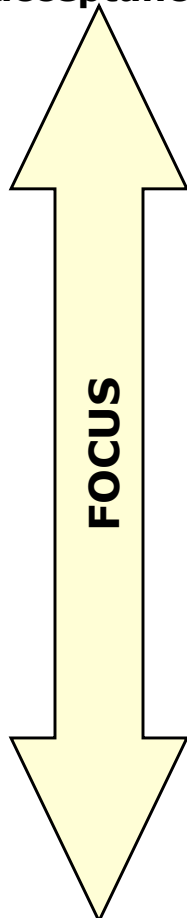
- Race and racism are notoriously difficult to talk about in the U.S.
- Conversations often are politically and emotionally charged, fraught with dissenting opinions and experiences, and mired in complex, interrelated issues
- The many terms used to describe...
  - Groups – e.g., “race,” “ethnicity,” “cultural,” “minority;”
  - Issues – e.g., “prejudice,” “oppression,” “racism,” “intolerance,” “race relations;” and
  - Approaches – e.g., “prejudice reduction,” “anti-racism,” “healing and reconciliation,” “diversity management, “multiculturalism”
- ... are laden with unspoken assumptions, causing people to talk past each other without really communicating
- Productive conversations and unified action on racial issues will require common understanding of these nuances

See next page for a start

# The Language of Five “World Views” on Race Work (1 of 2)



**Culture & acceptance**

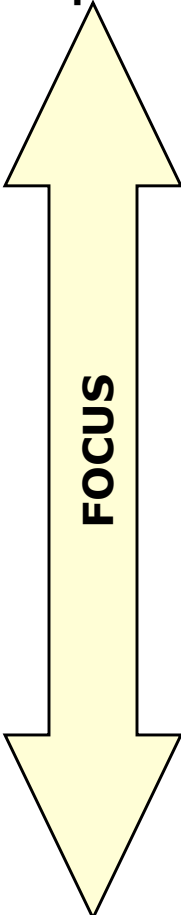


**Power issues**

	<b>Key words</b>	<b>Diagnosis of the Problem</b>
<b>Prejudice reduction</b>	Prejudice, stereotypes, past wounds, healing, emotion work	People engage in oppressive acts or hurt others because they have been oppressed or hurt
<b>Healing &amp; reconciliation</b>	Historic traumas & injustices, acknowledgment, forgiveness, healing	Traditions of division & inequity have traumatized & victimized certain groups. Lack of acknowledgement & forgiveness holds destructive patterns in place
<b>Diversity/ multi-culturalism</b>	Mono/multi-culturalism, diversity, inclusion, tolerance	People lack info or awareness of other cultures & have few skills for interacting with them. People devalue contributions of other groups or cultures
<b>Democracy building</b>	Citizen participation, civic infrastructure, deliberative processes	People are separated & disenfranchised. They lack forums, processes & skills for effectively addressing the growing diversity & complexity of racism & race relations
<b>Anti-racism</b>	Racial oppression, white privilege, power, social justice	Current social, economic, & political systems give power & privilege to whites; deny same to POC. Lack of common analysis of structural racism obstructs united social justice movement

# The Language of Five "World Views" on Race Work (2 of 2)



Culture & acceptance	Intended Outcomes of the Work	
 <p><b>FOCUS</b></p>	<b>Prejudice reduction</b>	Personal awareness & healing; skills for addressing prejudice; alliances within/across groups
	<b>Healing &amp; reconciliation</b>	Individual transformation; dialogue between groups; transformed relationships; public healing & reconciliation
	<b>Diversity/ multi-culturalism</b>	Awareness of cultural differences; tolerance, inclusion & respect of other cultures; improved inter-group relations
	<b>Democracy building</b>	Engaged citizenry; participation toward common understandings; collaborative decision making; new civic infrastructure
	<b>Anti-racism</b>	Social & personal change toward equity & justice; self-determination; empowerment for activism
Power issues		

# Advice from Casey Foundation's New *Race Matters* Toolkit



	Move from commonly used approaches ...	... to new, recommended approaches
<b>Storytelling</b>	Focus on individual problems	Focus on problems of policy and practice
<b>Defining success/ planning interventions</b>	Race-neutral results (aggregate success, "color-blind" interventions)	Racially equitable results (success by group, race-informed interventions)
<b>Analyzing data/ problems</b>	Across-the-board data or quick assumptions after simple disaggregation	Data disaggregated by race and deeply analyzed
<b>Considering own organization</b>	Focus on diversity	Focus on staff competencies and organizational policies and practices

**MAP highly recommends this toolkit**



# Casey Fdn's Organizational Self-Assessment (1 of 3)



## STAFF COMPETENCIES

1. Staff are trained & **knowledgeable at 101 level** about range of barriers to equal opportunity & depth of embedded racial inequities —how they are produced & how they can be reduced
2. Staff have **deep level of understanding** about barriers to opportunity & embedded racial inequities **in their area** of focus
3. Staff exhibit cultural competence in interactions with diverse groups
4. Written materials reflect a knowledge and understanding of barriers to opportunity & embedded racial inequities
5. Staff can articulate costs of failing to address barriers to opportunity & embedded racial inequities
6. Staff are comfortable & competent in discussing barriers to opportunity and embedded racial inequities with relevant individuals & groups
7. Staff disaggregate data by race in all analyses
8. A racial equity analysis is applied to policy issue
9. A racial equity analysis is applied to practice issues

### Award points as follows:

- 0 = None
- 1 = Some
- 2 = Almost all
- 3 = All

- 0 = Rarely
- 1 = Sometimes
- 2 = Almost always
- 3 = Always





# Casey Fdn's Organizational Self-Assessment (2 of 3)



## ORGANIZATIONAL OPERATIONS

1. Removing barriers to opportunity & disparity reduction are explicit goals; articulated in a mission/vision statement
2. Internal team guides ongoing work of removing barriers to opportunity & reducing racial disparity
3. Org's goals of reducing barriers to opportunity & racial disparities are reflected in resource allocations
4. Org has deliberate plan to develop & promote staff of color
5. Org has regular trainings & discussions among staff &/or board about removing barriers to opportunity & reducing racial disparities, both internally & externally
6. Org regularly assesses workforce composition by race/ethnicity & develops/implements strategies for increasing diversity at all levels
7. Org environment (food, art, holiday activities, etc.) is multicultural
8. Org has mechanism to address complaints about barriers to opportunity & racial inequities in the workplace
9. Investments promote capacity-building & asset-building for people & communities of color
10. Results of investments show opportunity for all & eduction in racial disparities

### Award points as follows:

- 0 = No
- 1 = Moving in that direction
- 2 = Yes

- 0 = Rarely
- 1 = Sometimes
- 2 = Almost always
- 3 = Always



# Casey Fdn's Organizational Self-Assessment (3 of 3)



Score	Next Steps
<20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <b>Become intentional</b></li><li>• Make emphasis on racially equitable results part of mission, use as performance evaluation criterion</li></ul>
20-29	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <b>Build staff/org. capacity</b></li><li>• Identify opportunities for staff to better understand embedded racial inequities</li><li>• Identify policies and procedures that should be improved</li></ul>
30-39	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <b>Fine-tune</b></li><li>• See which items scored lowest and work on them</li></ul>
40-49	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <b>Mentor others!</b></li><li>• Help advance a racial equity approach for critical partners</li></ul>

# Issues of Racial Justice and Inclusion – Part III

- Why funders aiming for LGBT equality should work explicitly on racial matters
- Generally recommended philanthropic approaches to racial justice and inclusion
- Considerations specific to LGBT movement work on racial equity and inclusion



Note: This section contains basic considerations (versus recommendations) gleaned from a few third-party sources



# LGBT POC – a Case of Intersecting Identities



- “Intersectionality” examines how combinations of race, sex, class, national origin and sexual orientation play out in various settings
- When individuals occupy more than one category:
  - Should each disadvantaging factor be considered separately, additively or in some other manner?
  - Should they have their own categories and representation, apart from those that respond to the separate varieties of discrimination that they incur?
  - What is and should be their role in the various social movements?
- Answers to above questions determine who has power, voice and representation and who does not. Two schools of thought:
  - *Essentialism*: Search for universals; prioritization of broad concerns over those of particular subgroups, so as to form a united front
  - *Perspectivalism*:\* Insistence on examining how things look from the perspective of individual actors
    - Avoids over simplifying human experience
    - Enables agendas and strategies that do justice to broader range of people



# Tensions to Expect in LGBT Race Work (1 of 2)



- Lack of trust between POC and white LGBT people
  - Feel somewhat isolated from each other
  - Debates about race in the LGBT movement are long-standing
  - Expectations are low and skepticism is high
  - Fear that once LGBT rights are secured, white LGBT community will become increasingly conservative and decreasingly supportive of progressive social policies benefiting POC
    - LGBT whites will most directly benefit from advances in securing LGBT equality
    - Benefits for POC LGBT people will be diluted by structural racism and other barriers
- “Survey fatigue” among POC LGBT leaders
  - Researchers, consultants, and funders from various institutions regularly approaching these leaders for feedback, interviews, advisory committee service, etc.
  - “Nothing ever comes of it”

# Tensions to Expect in LGBT-Race Work (2 of 2)



“Black individuals who are active in the white LGBT movement by and large do not have the same skill sets as their white counterparts. The white leaders ... do not groom and nurture them for leadership in the same ways they do their white subordinates, leaving black LGBT activists frustrated and bitter.

The black LGBT movement should establish the safety zone/feeder system that black LGBT people need in order to compete and succeed in majority culture politics. It would also give black LGBT people permission to think of ourselves as serious, respectable, credible, important components of the larger social order – worthy of strong, professional ... organizations that we would be proud to embrace and support.”

- Senior-level executive in an AIDS prevention organization



# Suggested Elements of Racial Equity and Inclusion Work



<b>Apply Racial Lens to LGBT Work</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Avoid harms (e.g., ill-informed cooptation of civil rights history)</li> <li>• Make LGBT strategies and tactics applicable to racial minorities</li> </ul> <p>(Ideas provided in Part II)</p>
<b>Fully Represent POC in LGBT Movement</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Representation on staff &amp; boards, in funding &amp; in programs</li> <li>• Inclusive organizational cultures</li> </ul>
<b>Work on POC-Specific Issues</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Application of movement resources to – and visible action on – issues that resonate most with AA, Latino, API &amp; Native Am LGBT</li> </ul>
<b>Collaborate with Racial Justice Orgs</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Building relationships &amp; working together on issues important to both communities</li> </ul>

# Examples of POC LGBT-Specific Issues



## Movement Goal: Equal Opportunity to Participate in American Life

<b>Self</b>	Develop into responsible, autonomous, healthy adult
<b>Family</b>	Seek and find love; build a home; raise a family
<b>Career</b>	Earn a living that supports oneself and one's family
<b>Society</b>	Participate in American community and democracy
<b>Spirituality</b>	Worship and receive support within chosen faith

### LGBT POC-Specific Issues

High rates of HIV/AIDS in black community

Lack of immigration rights for same-sex couples

Lack of employment benefits like health coverage disproportionately impacts low-income POC families

Disenfranchisement of Black and Hispanic voters

Anti-gay rhetoric in black churches



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# Recent Dissertation Work on POC Representation Issues



## Jay Pastrana, PhD candidate in sociology, CUNY:

- Two primary strategies to increase POC representation among LGBT movement leadership:
  - Establish new POC-specific organizations, networks, or conferences
  - Increase POC presence in leadership positions in existing organizations
- Other strategies include redefining what leadership means and thinking of new, empowering ways to run organizations
- In parallel, organizations should consider articulating a critical, accurate understanding of race
  - Many do not currently have the organizational will, skills, or capacity to do this work
  - Increasing the number of POC leaders in existing organizations and establishing new POC LGBT groups can help build the will necessary for this work

# Ideas Surfaced in Recent Meeting of Black LGBT Leaders



- Gain acceptance from/build relations with larger black community
  - Educate black heterosexuals that LGBT people are part of black community
  - Get involved in broader black organizations; work for inclusion of LGBT issues there
  - Establish black LGBT caucuses at every black professional/academic conference
  - Address black church's "spiritual violence"
  - Establish relationships with media outlets
- Document and share broader experience of black LGBT people
  - Research and data
  - Authentic images and portrayals
- Gain support for existing black LGBT organizations (national groups, community-based groups, HIV/AIDS programs, etc.) – especially from black donors
- Cause LGBT movement to add focus on issues of importance to black LGBT people (e.g., police brutality, sexual identity suppression, education, health care, racism, hostility of Black church, GSAs in black schools)
- Support organizing
  - Black organizers in states and territories
  - Coalition work with other LGBT POC groups, non-LGBT POC groups
- Nurture and support POC leadership, especially in mainstream LGBT organizations
- Create safe spaces, cultural connections within LGBT movement

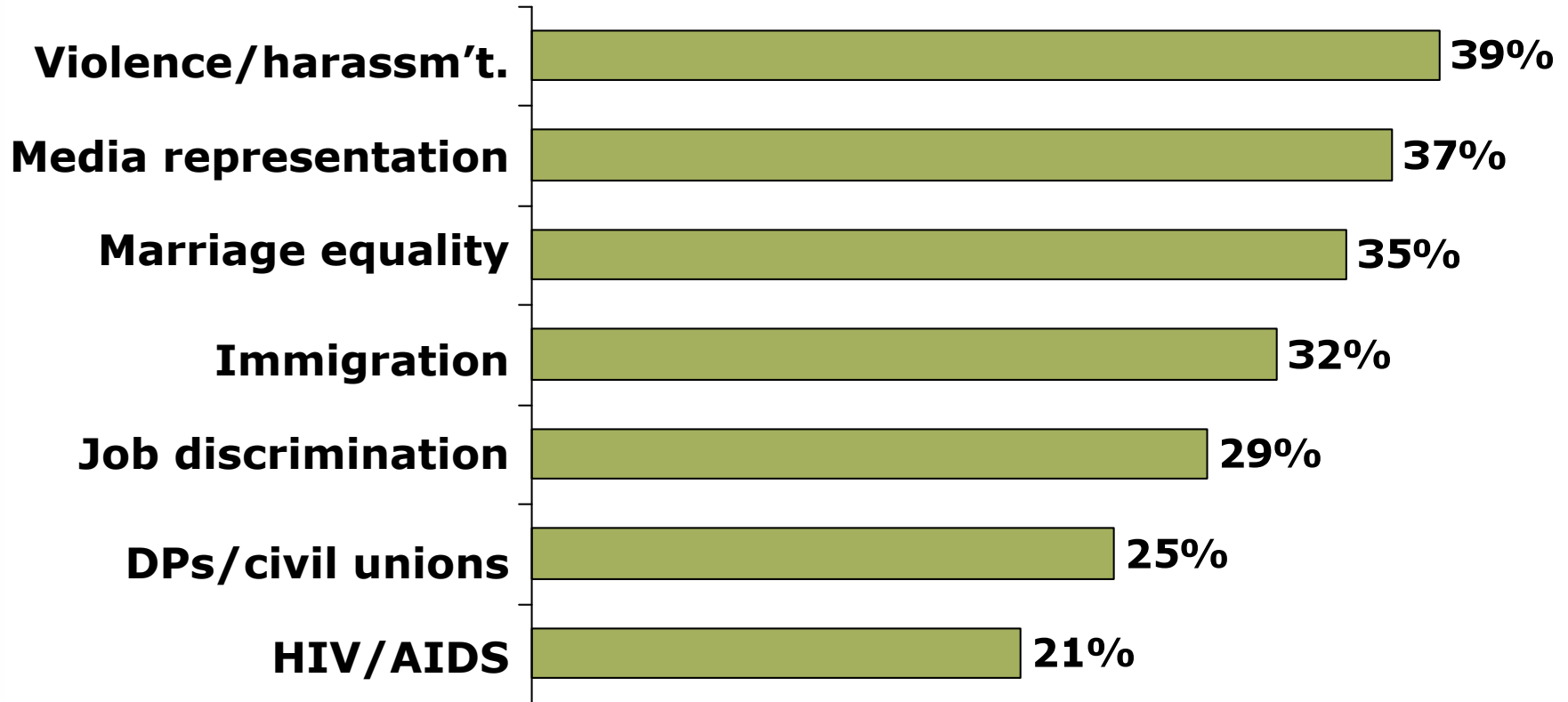


# Leading Policy Priorities of API LGBT Americans



## 2007 Task Force Survey

Issues receiving 20%+ response rate  
Respondents could choose up to 3 priority issues





# Appendix 1 – National Racially focused Nonprofits

*(A non-exhaustive compilation)*



# National LGBT Organizations Particularly Serving POC

<b>National Black Justice Coalition</b>	Only national civil rights organization of concerned black, LGBT individuals and allies
<b>Unid@s</b>	New national organization for Latino gays and lesbians. Replaces LLEGO, which went bankrupt in 2004
<b>Southerners on New Ground (SONG)</b>	Founded by black and white southern lesbians, SONG works to build the progressive movement through models that connect race, class, culture, gender and sexual identity (southern U.S. only)
<b>Immigration Equality</b>	Works to end LGBT and HIV discrimination in U.S. immigration law. Advocacy around binational same-sex couples, asylum, transgender issues, HIV issues, and detention (not specifically a POC organization)

# Council on Foundations' Racial/ Ethnic Affinity Groups

	Mission	Goals
<b>Asian Americans/ Pacific Islanders in Philanthropy</b>	Advance philanthropy and Asian American/Pacific Islander communities through national membership and advocacy programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase funding to API organizations</li> <li>• Build capacity of API organizations</li> <li>• Increase equity and diversity in foundation staffs, boards, and leadership</li> </ul>
<b>Association for Black Foundation Executives</b>	Promote effective and responsive philanthropy in black communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Empower black communities through increased foundation giving</li> <li>• Build knowledge about needs of Black communities</li> <li>• Increase equity and diversity in foundation staffs, boards, and leadership</li> </ul>
<b>Hispanics in Philanthropy</b>	Share with funders the needs of the Latino community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase resources and build capacity of Latino organizations</li> <li>• Increase equity and diversity in foundation staffs, boards, and leadership</li> </ul>
<b>Native Americans in Philanthropy</b>	Engage Native and other peoples in understanding and advancing role of philanthropy through practices that support Native traditional values	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increase communication between philanthropic and indigenous communities</li> <li>• Support Native people working in philanthropy</li> <li>• Grow indigenous philanthropy</li> </ul>

# Research Centers Working on Race or Racism

<b>Center for Social Inclusion</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Promotes strategic, long-term reforms that will dismantle structural racism and create a foundation for new structural arrangements</li> <li>Engages in applied research, training and public education, etc. to help create public and private strategies that will dismantle structural racism</li> </ul>
<b>Diversity Advancement Project</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Engages in cognitive framing and message development to build public support for racial, ethnic, and gender diversity in public and private institutions</li> <li>Coordinated by Center for Social Inclusion. Created by Kirwan Inst. for the Study of Race and Ethnicity (Ohio State University)</li> </ul>
<b>Institute on Race and Poverty</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Investigates ways that policies and practices disproportionately affect POC and the disadvantaged, and promotes access to opportunities</li> <li>Housed at the University of Minnesota</li> </ul>
<b>Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Informs and illuminates the nation's major public policy debates through research, analysis, and information dissemination</li> <li>Primary goal is to improve the socioeconomic status of black Americans and other minorities</li> </ul>
<b>Poverty and Race Research Action Council</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Civil rights organization convened by major civil rights and anti-poverty groups. Promotes a research-based advocacy on issues of structural racism</li> <li>Connects social scientists with advocate organizations working on race and poverty issues</li> </ul>

# African American Civic and Political Organizations ( 1 of 2 )

	<b>Mission &amp; Policy Issue Focus</b>	<b>Budget</b>
<b>United Negro College Fund (est. 1944)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Student financial assistance; raise operating funds for member schools, increase access to technology at historically black colleges</li> <li>• Issues: Career Planning/ Training; Education</li> </ul>	\$191 million
<b>National Urban League (1910)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Secure economic self-reliance, parity, power and civil rights for AA</li> <li>• Issues: Civic Egmt, Civil Rights, Econ. Empwrmt, Education, Health</li> </ul>	\$32 million
<b>NAACP (1909)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political, educational, social, and economic equality of rights of all persons; eliminate racial hatred and discrimination.</li> <li>• Issues: Civic and Econ. Empowermt, Criminal Justice, Education, Health</li> </ul>	\$25 million
<b>NAACP Legal Defense &amp; Ed. Fund (1957)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Move toward society that fulfills promise of equality for all Americans</li> <li>• Issues: Criminal and Economic Justice, Education, Voter Protection</li> </ul>	\$13 million
<b>National Council of Negro Women (1935)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lead, develop and advocate for women of African descent as they support their families and communities</li> <li>• Issues: Child Literacy, Education, Financial Literacy, Health</li> </ul>	\$6 million
<b>National Black Chamber of Commerce (1993)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economically empowering and sustaining African American communities through entrepreneurship and capitalistic activity</li> <li>• Issues: Budget Reform, Social Security Reform, Taxation</li> </ul>	\$700K

Note: Most budget data represent 2005 revenues; in some cases, 2005 data were not yet available, in which case 2004 data were used.



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# African American Civic and Political Organizations ( 2 of 2)

	<b>Mission &amp; Policy Issue Focus</b>	<b>Budget</b>
<b>Coalition on Black Civic Participation (1976)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Create an enlightened community by building institutional capacity that provides and develops leadership</li> <li>• Issues: Civic Egmt, Election Reform, Voter Registration</li> </ul>	\$600K
<b>National Center for Black Philanthropy (1999)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Promote giving and volunteerism among African Americans, foster full participation by African Americans in all aspects of philanthropy, educate the public about the contributions of Black philanthropy, strengthen people and institutions engaged in Black philanthropy, and research the benefits of Black philanthropy to all Americans</li> <li>• Civic Participation and Engagement; Financial Literacy</li> </ul>	\$542K
<b>National Congress of Black Women (1984)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Youth civic engagement, voter registration, civic education</li> <li>• Issues: Adoption, Civic Egmt, Education, Leadership, Violence in Music</li> </ul>	\$364K
<b>RainbowPUSH Coalition (1984)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Even the economic and educational playing fields in all aspects of American life and to bring peace to the world</li> <li>• Issues: Aff. Action, Econ. Empowerment, Education, Election Reform, Employment, Environmental Justice, Gender Equality, Housing, Media Fairness, Voter Registration</li> </ul>	N/A

Note: Most budget data represent 2005 revenues; in some cases, 2005 data were not yet available, in which case 2004 data were used.



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# Latino Civic and Political Organizations

	Mission and Policy Issue Focus	Budget
<b>National Council of La Raza (est. 1968)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improve opportunities for Hispanic Americans.</li> <li>• Issues: Economic Opportunity, Education, Electoral Reform, Employment, Health, Immigration</li> </ul>	\$25 million
<b>Nat'l Assoc. of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials Ed. Fund (1976)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Empowers Latinos to participate fully in the American political process, from citizenship to public service.</li> <li>• Issues: Education, Health, Housing, Immigration</li> </ul>	\$6 million
<b>Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (1968)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Safeguard civil rights of the 45 million Latinos living in the U.S. and to empower the Latino community to fully participate in our society.</li> <li>• Issues: Education, Employment, Immigration, Political Access</li> </ul>	\$5 million
<b>Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund (1972)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Protects opportunities for all Latinos to succeed in school and work, fulfill their dreams, and sustain their families and communities.</li> <li>• Issues: Education, Employment, Other Civil Rights</li> </ul>	\$2 million
<b>National Puerto Rico Coalition (1977)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strengthen and enhance the social, political, and economic well-being of Puerto Ricans in U.S. and Puerto Rico, focusing on most vulnerable</li> <li>• Issues: Education, Health, Job Training, Welfare Reform</li> </ul>	\$1.2 million
<b>League of United Latin American Citizens (1929)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Advance the economic condition, education, political influence, health and civil rights of the U.S. Hispanic population</li> <li>• Issues: Affirmative Action, Econ. Empowerment, Education, Housing, Immigration</li> </ul>	\$640K

# API Civic and Political Organizations

	Mission and Policy Issue Focus	Budget
<b>Asian Pacific American Legal Center (est. 1983)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Advocate for civil rights, provide legal services and education and build coalitions to positively impact Asian Pacific Americans</li> <li>Issues: Aff. Action, Anti-Asian Violence, Immigration, Voting Rights</li> </ul>	\$4 million
<b>Asian American Justice Center (1991)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Advance the human and civil rights of Asian Americans through advocacy, public policy, public education, and litigation.</li> <li>Issues: Aff. Action, Anti-Asian Violence, Immigration, Voting Rights</li> </ul>	\$2 million
<b>Japanese American Citizens League (1930)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Secure and maintain the civil rights of Japanese Americans and all others who are victimized by injustice and prejudice</li> <li>Issues: Aff. Action, Racial profiling, Sep. Church/State, Voter Reg.</li> </ul>	\$2 million
<b>Org. of Chinese Americans (1973)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Advance the social, political, and economic well-being of API in US</li> <li>Issues: Aff. Action, Immigration, Pay Equity, Racial Profiling</li> </ul>	\$2 million
<b>Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund (1974)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Work with Asian communities in U.S. to secure human rights for all.</li> <li>Issues: Aff. Action, Anti-Asian Violence, Human Trafficking, Immigration, Voting Rights</li> </ul>	\$1 million
<b>Southeast Asia Resource Action Center (1979)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Advance Cambodian, Laotian, and Vietnamese American interests through leadership dev., capacity building, and community power</li> <li>Issues: Education, Health, Immigration, Welfare Reform</li> </ul>	\$1 million
<b>Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance (1992)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Organize API American labor movement to address exploitative conditions in the garment, electronics, hotel, food processing, and health care industries</li> <li>Issues: Education, Energy/Environment, Immigration, Minimum Wage, Prescription Drugs</li> </ul>	\$500K

# Native American Civic and Political Organizations

	Mission and Policy Issue Focus	Budget
<b>American Indian College Fund (1968)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Raise scholarship funds for students at qualified tribal colleges and universities, generate awareness of those institutions and the Fund</li> <li>• Issues: Education and Job Training</li> </ul>	\$10 million
<b>Native American Rights Fund (1970)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provide legal representation and assistance to Indian tribes, organizations, and individuals</li> <li>• Issues: Conservation, Gov't Accountability, Indian Human Rights, Tribal Preservation</li> </ul>	\$9 million
<b>National Congress of American Indians (1944)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Inform the public and Congress on the governmental rights of American Indians and Alaska Natives</li> <li>• Issues: Cultural Preservation, Education, Environment, Health, Housing</li> </ul>	\$6 million
<b>Association on American Indian Affairs (1922)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Promote the welfare of American Indians and Alaska Natives.</li> <li>• Issues: Cultural Preservation, Econ. Development, Education, Health, Resource Preservation, Tribal Sovereignty</li> </ul>	\$1 million
<b>Americans for Indian Opportunity (1970)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Facilitate culturally appropriate initiatives that enrich the cultural, political and economic lives of Indigenous peoples</li> <li>• Issues: Capacity Development, Community Service, Education</li> </ul>	\$740K
<b>First Nation's Development Institute (1979)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Restore Native control and culturally-compatible stewardship of the assets they own - and establish new assets for ensuring the long-term vitality of Native communities.</li> <li>• Issues: Agriculture, Banking, Econ. Dev., Financial Literacy, Predatory Lending</li> </ul>	N/A



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