COMING OUT FOR RACIAL JUSTICE

An Anti-Racist Organizational Development Toolkit for LGBTQ Groups and Activists

SECOND EDITION

BASIC RIGHTS Education Fund

Free electronic copies of *Coming Out for Racial Justice* are available online at www.basicrights.org.

Table of Contents

Foreword

Change, the kind that is deep, enduring and contagious, happens best by building relationships with people and groups who can help you figure out how to do your work better and who will challenge you to be the best ally you can be. Building relationships with people and groups who are willing to speak to their families, friends and co-workers about the injustices and indignities that you and your community experience is critical.

This toolkit began with such a relationship and is built on a vast network of allies, colleagues, partners and friends. Western States Center and Basic Rights Oregon have been social justice allies for more than 15 years. We've worked together closely and collaborated on issues of discrimination, exclusion and oppression. Our understanding of racial and gender justice issues and the political context surrounding them have been informed by each other's work, and our strategies to address injustice have been shaped by each other's experiences.

Through the more than 30 anti-gay ballot measure fights that Oregon has endured, Basic Rights Oregon learned quickly to recognize the wedge strategies that extremist forces use to promote homophobia—in particular, the language of "special rights" and their use of conservative spokespeople of color to weaken solidarity among allied communities. Highly publicized, this targeted outreach to communities of color revealed divisions within a potentially powerful base of support for LGBTQ equality. On the other side of the story, gay rights advocates, whose most visible organizations and spokespeople have been predominantly white, have not done a thorough job of including and lifting up the voices of queer people of color, nor have we sided with people of color and immigrants and refugees in a consistent and public manner.

Clearly, if the progressive movement for social justice is to evolve out of these silos and become the powerful force for social change that we need it to be, then we need to emerge from this isolation, reveal ourselves to one another and begin to build trust and partnerships—ones

that are courageous, challenging and committed. In our experience, it often begins with a conversation.

With this in mind, Western States Center and Basic Rights Education Fund staff set out to document the many conversations we had with partner groups, leaders, members and allies and to identify the actions we took to put momentum into these conversations. The outcome was two original companion toolkits—*Uniting Communities: A Manual for Organizations of Color to Support LGBT Equality* and *Standing Together: An Anti-Racist Organizational Development Toolkit for LGBT Equality Groups and Activists*. *Coming Out for Racial Justice* marks the second edition of the Basic Education Fund's toolkit for LGBTQ groups and leaders. Together, these toolkits are powerful tools for movement-building and a testament to the foresight, faith and friendships of the leaders in our movements who have brought us to a place of shared understanding, alliance and collective action.

Since the first editions of our toolkits, we won the freedom to marry for all Oregonians and supported our partners in Washington State to do the same, we have worked on several immigrant justice and police accountability campaigns, we defeated an attempt to put a divisive anti-gay religious exemption measure on a statewide ballot and we continued to deepen our commitment to racial and trans justice programming. Change is a road that emerges the more people travel it. We invite you to join us on this path and to contribute to the many ways that change for racial and gender justice can happen.

We look forward to seeing you down the road!

In solidarity,

Jeana Frazzini
Executive Director
Basic Rights Education Fund and
Basic Rights Oregon

Kelly Weigel
Executive Director
Western States Center

Acknowledgements

We have been supported by many individuals and organizations over the years as we have endeavored to transform our organization to become more inclusive of communities of color and to take on racial justice work authentically within the LGBTQ community.

This work would not have been possible without the guidance of our partners at Western States Center and their Dismantling Racism Project, the foundation of our racial justice work and the source for many of the materials contained in this toolkit. Thank you to Jen Lleras Van Der Haeghen, Aimee Santos-Lyons and Kelley Weigel. Thank you to the wonderful past trainers who worked with our staff and board: Moira Bowman, Kalpana Krishnamurthy, Terrie Quinteros and David Rogers.

We want to acknowledge and appreciate our Basic Rights Board of Directors for their continued leadership and vision; and our thoughtful and dedicated staff, interns, fellows and volunteer leaders who have approached this work with courage, humility and just the right dose of humor!

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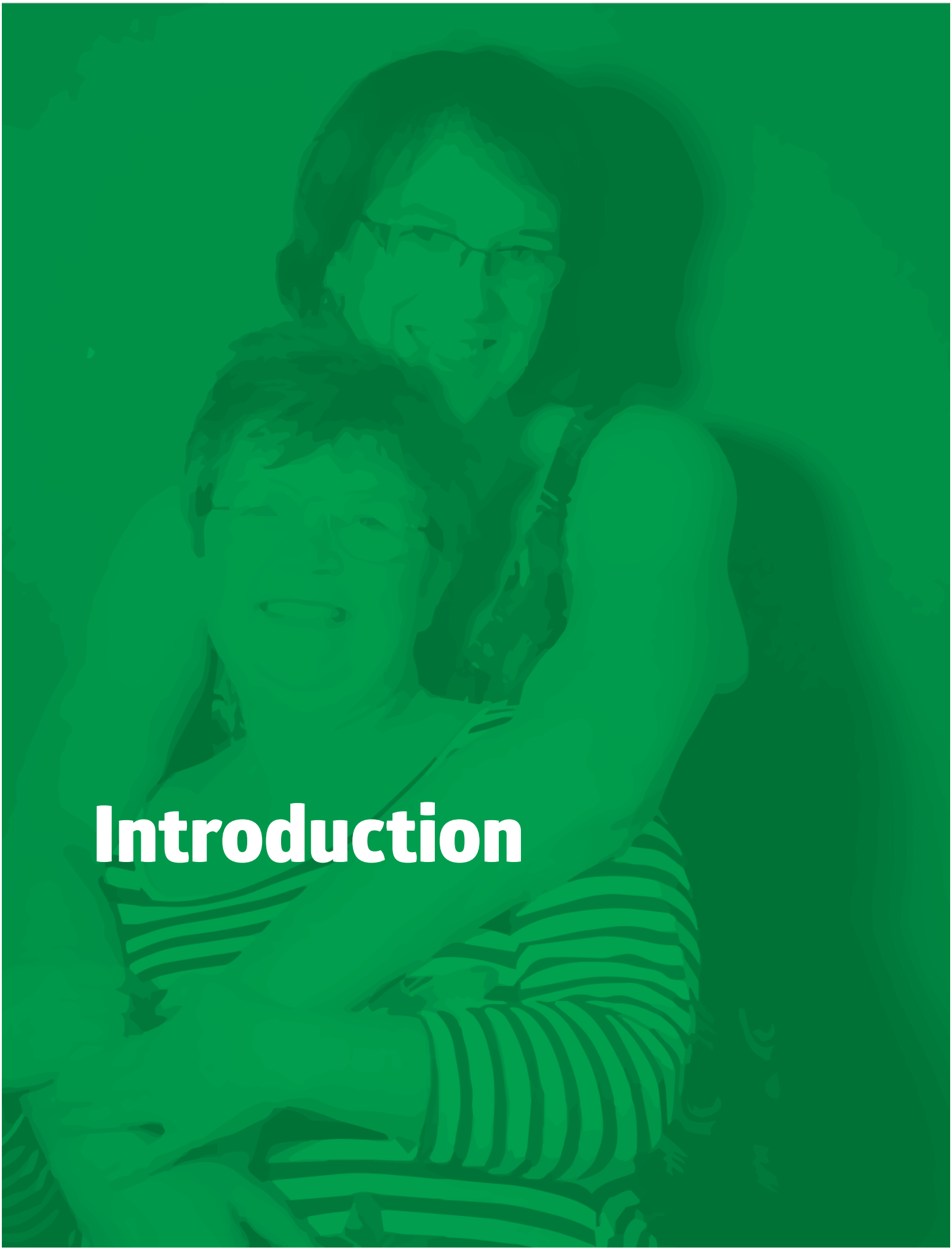


Introduction

Welcome

Welcome to the second edition of *Coming Out for Racial Justice*!

2015 marks the 19th year that Basic Rights Oregon and Basic Rights Education Fund have been leading LGBTQ advocacy work, making us one of the longest operating statewide LGBTQ equality organizations in the country. We were founded because for many years Oregon was a testing ground for the right wing to launch anti-gay ballot measures. We needed to build and maintain an infrastructure to face these efforts head-on and then build enough political power to lead a proactive agenda. In our second decade, we began achieving policy victories, including a comprehensive non-discrimination law, safe schools policy, transgender inclusive health care and the freedom to marry. Our successes, however, were not without missteps and valuable lessons learned.

As with most organizations in the LGBTQ movement, we struggled to truly address race and racism. We were getting nowhere with a "diversity" approach that prioritized simply getting people of color in the room—which often felt like a challenge as a predominantly white organization in a predominantly white region. We were ill-equipped to meaningfully engage and address the pressing issues for LGBTQ people of color. Our lack of an approach to racial justice even impacted our strategy and effectiveness, as we were unable to respond to our opposition's strategic efforts to divide LGBTQ folks and communities of color, or to develop reciprocal alliances with communities of color.

In 2007, we made an organizational decision to develop an intersectional analysis around our work. We recognized that our work must more fully reflect the values and needs of the people we serve—who often have many identities and whose quality of life are affected by a multitude of issues. This shift began at first to counteract opposition strategies to pit communities of color against LGBTQ communities. Eventually, with greater understanding

of the challenges queer people of color face in our communities and the lack of support systems in place—it was clearly a moral issue. Our work must lift-up all members of our communities, especially Oregonians who experience oppression on multiple levels.

Basic Rights worked to center the leadership of LGBTQ people of color, largely through the 2010 launch of our ongoing Our Families leadership program for LGBTQ and allied people of color as well as through the release of *Standing Together: An Anti-Racist Organizational Development Toolkit for LGBT Equality Groups and Activists*. *Coming Out for Racial Justice* marks our second edition of this toolkit. Through Our Families, Basic Rights released four compelling videos featuring the stories of Latino, African American, Asian Pacific Islander and Native American LGBTQ Oregonians and their families, and we published public statements of support from more than 140 straight community leaders of color.

Basic Rights' racial justice efforts are a major driver of the organization's relationships with partners based in communities of color. Today, Basic Rights partners with a range of racial justice and people of color-led organizations, and continues to broaden its reach to additional organizations and deepen existing relationships. We have mobilized for activities celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the Civil Rights Act; supported the release of *Lift Every Voice*, a survey and report by the Urban League of Portland and PFLAG Portland Chapter on the experiences of African American LGBTQ Oregonians; and worked with immigrant communities to pass and defend access to a driver card for undocumented Oregonians.

We believe that an important part of being an effective ally to communities of color is to encourage our partners in the LGBTQ movement to develop an integrated analysis of and commitment to understanding the relationship of LGBTQ justice with racial and broader social justice. And we know that many LGBTQ organizations continue to struggle with meaningfully addressing race and racism in their work. Our hope is that by sharing our experience, the tools we rely on and the challenges we continue to struggle with, we can contribute to this dialogue in a positive way.

This work has been transformational for our organization—and it is ongoing. We have gained donors and volunteers, built deeper community engagement, attracted new donors and funders and become a more strategic and effective organization.

In these pages you will find trainings, materials and resources for transforming your organization. These are critical tools that we hope you will find useful. But the most important thing you need to change your organization into a powerhouse for racial justice and LGBTQ equality cannot be found in any book. You need a bold vision for what is possible....

> Imagine a ballot measure fight where the media and opposition can't pit the LGBTQ community against communities of color.

Imagine the power of a movement for justice that is united across identity. Where advocates for LGBTQ justice work side by side in the struggle for immigrant rights and economic justice.

Imagine a movement where people are able to bring their full selves and find community, where LGBTQ people don't encounter homophobia and transphobia in situations that are supposed to be safe for people of color, and where racism doesn't happen in places that are supposed to be safe for LGBTQ people.

Imagine the experience of a young LGBTQ person of color getting involved in your organization and finding that your work directly connects to their experience.

At Basic Rights Education Fund, this is the world we want to create. The second edition of *Coming Out for Racial Justice* documents our process and ongoing work to create this vision.

Join us on the journey.

About Basic Rights Education Fund

Basic Rights Education Fund is a statewide organization committed to ensuring that all lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer Oregonians experience equality by building a broad and inclusive politically powerful movement, shifting public opinion and achieving policy victories.

How to Use this Toolkit

This toolkit was originally created based on the experience of our work as a primarily white LGBTQ organization working in a primarily white state and region. After several years of intentional, internal organizational development and reflection, we came to recognize that racial justice is an important, broad and complex issue that cannot be ignored, and that racism impacts the LGBTQ community in deep and far reaching ways.

There are many approaches to making our organizations more racially just, so our aim in the original toolkit and now with the revised second edition is to share best practices, identify potential challenges and provide tools and resources to support others on this journey.

Coming Out for Racial Justice is a series of workshops, exercises and readings that we continue to rely on in our journey. The toolkit contains three expanded sections, each one focusing on a specific area of racial justice organizational development:

- **Starting the Conversation** begins to build a shared language and analysis of race and racial justice issues, establishing the foundation for a meaningful dialogue that will ground and guide your work.

- **Linking the Issues** bridges struggles for LGBTQ equality with those for racial justice. This section highlights the importance of what makes our issues and movements similar, as well as distinct.

- **Moving to Action** provides concrete actions and tools for LGBTQ organizations to undergo self assessment and move forward with staff, board and key leaders in a shared commitment to anti-racist work. This section also shares resources for moving our base to take action and become public allies to racial justice.

Within each section you will find information and exercises meant to be used in a variety of combinations to customize workshops that fit various organizational needs. Each workshop includes:

- A summary of the workshop;
- Overview of workshop goals;
- A snapshot of the core activities, as well as the delivery method, and the time needed;
- List of materials needed;
- Instructions, tips and notes for facilitators; and
- Credit for source materials or curriculum that was adapted to create the workshop.

In addition, throughout *Coming Out for Racial Justice* are relevant case studies and lessons learned from the work and experiences of people and organizations in Oregon. These stories can be used as handouts for participants; shared with staff, board members and key leaders; or they can be used in workshops to stimulate conversation.

There are a few key components that aren't included in any specific exercise, but are critical to the success of workshops. Creating group agreements (often called "ground rules") at the beginning of a workshop is important to setting an appropriate tone as well as clear boundaries and expectations for participants. Asking participants to share their gender pronouns during introductions creates the opportunity for folks to name the pronoun(s) that honor their identity and in doing so, workshop facilitators and participants may be spared awkward and hurtful assumptions. And finally, taking a moment to close the workshop with intention can ensure that as participants continue to reflect on what they learned, they do so in a productive and forward-thinking way.

Creating Group Agreements

Before starting any workshop or using the tools in this curriculum, it is critically important to establish ground rules or group agreements. Strong group agreements help to foster a respectful dialogue, an open space for questions and the space for individuals to have mutual accountability and trust. It is especially helpful for a trainer/facilitator to create group agreements during the first few workshops, during workshops where you may be expecting pushback or when new participants join the group.

Here are some of the group agreements that we have used:

Move Up, Move Back: If you are someone who has a lot to say, try to "move back" to let others have a chance to participate. If you are usually quiet in workshops, try to "move up" and let folks hear your thoughts.

Don't Assume/Do Ask Questions: We may not all know what each other is thinking or feeling, nor do we know the different experiences that many folks bring to the room. Ask questions or ask someone to give a longer explanation to make sure that you understand their point or perspective.

Think Well of Each Other: Conversations about oppression and privilege can be difficult to navigate and sometimes result in dialogue that may feel uncomfortable or hurtful to participants. It's important to recognize and value that we each enter this experience with the intention of building a shared understanding and commitment to racial justice.

Use the "Ouch Rule": If you hear a comment that feels oppressive or hurtful, say "ouch." Using the "ouch rule" can be easier than saying "that was racist" or "that comment was sexist." Talk about why the comment was hurtful or premised on a stereotype. Facilitators should also be ready to address a learning moment and ensure that participants can move ahead together.

Language is Powerful: Because conversations around race and racial justice are often rare in LGBTQ organizations, participants may rely use language that is rooted in racism. Terms like "illegal/s," "colored" or other words that have been used to degrade and hurt people of color, should not be tolerated in trainings, and need to be interrupted immediately. Some helpful phrases to use include:

> *That language is racist and is hurtful. Please use the term____instead.*
>
> *We are trying to create a space that is safe for everyone in our community, and that kind of language is hurtful. Please don't use that term again.*
>
> *Just as we don't allow hurtful terms like_____(fill in a derogatory name used about the LGBTQ community) to be used in our organization, we don't want to use that term to refer to people of color either.*

Expect Unfinished Business: It is impossible to fully address the complexities of race and racism in any one workshop, nor will we ever "solve" racism. You may even leave here today with more questions than when you arrived. Working toward racial justice means a lifelong commitment to learning, growing, being challenged and challenging others. These are good things!

Building and Closing Workshops

Trainers and facilitators will notice that each workshop in *Coming Out for Racial Justice* ranges in length, style and purpose. Our goal is to provide several tools and materials for organizations to build individualized trainings that may vary from short sessions in staff meetings to intensive day-long retreats. We welcome organizations to combine resources, use different activities to create unique workshops and otherwise fashion the tools that you need. However, workshops are generally sequenced throughout this toolkit in an order that we have found most useful in our ongoing racial justice trainings.

Most workshops do not have a specific closing activity incorporated in the notes because the tools are meant to be creatively combined for your organizational needs. However, a brief, thoughtful workshop closing can be very effective for wrapping-up a complicated conversation and leaving participants in a positive, learning space. The following suggestions may help you close each session with intention:

At the end of the session, remind participants of the workshop's overall goals.

Close with leading all participants in one or two of the following activities:

- *A quick verbal evaluation of one thing each participant liked about the workshop, and one thing that they would change or focus on for the next time.*
- *Heart, Hands, Feet: Ask people to identify one thing they learned (head), one thing that touched them (heart), and one action (feet) they will take moving forward.*
- *Invite participants to share an appreciation for someone else in the workshop that they learned something from.*
- *Provide an anonymous opportunity for participants to jot down a question that they are still struggling with and would like to address in future sessions.*
- *A call to action for racial justice: Share with participants the opportunity to sign-up to volunteer with and/or support a racial justice campaign in your area.*

Evaluations

We find it immensely valuable to have participants fill out short evaluations following each workshop or training that we facilitate. This allows us to understand how participants experienced the content, if follow-up is warranted with individuals and how we can improve future trainings and next steps in our work.

Please see the following page for a sample workshop evaluation.

Brave Space vs. Safe Space

In our work we often strive to establish shared values for meeting, workshops or group space. Any group can include many identities and experiences so it's important to make sure that we are honoring ourselves and one another in a just way. As facilitators, we also need to model the behavior that we ask of others when holding a learning space.

Safe Space

"Safe space" is a term that many trainers and facilitators reference in ground rules or community agreements for workshops. While well-intended, it's often unrealistic or an unfair promise to ensure training spaces are safe for all identities. Instead, we like to work towards creating "brave spaces."

Brave Space

A brave space honors and invites full engagement from folks who are vulnerable while also setting the expectation that there could be an oppressive moment that the facilitator and allies have a responsibility to address.

Brave Space Values

- Authentic engagement
- Real expectations
- Honoring the vulnerable
- Pushing allies to grow
- Consistent with our understanding of power, privilege and oppression

Additional Brave Space Agreements

- Acknowledge people's time to respond.
- Practice active listening.
- Avoid using cell phones, iPads and other technology. Please leave the room to text or make a phone call. If you need to use technology, please share that with the facilitation team.
- Be mindful of nonverbal forms of communication.
- No grammar policing.
- Understand and respect other cultures, ways of expressing and tones while speaking and sharing.
- Be aware of triggers and stereotypes for people of color.
- Dwell in constructive criticism. Do not shut other people down.
- Appreciate and honor. Show a lot of appreciation for the entirety of this process.
- Be mindful of reframing other people's thoughts, truths and comments. Honor people's truth and ask if you can build on someone else's thoughts or comments.

- Be mindful of jargon. When using acronyms, share what the acronym stands for.
- Do not make people feel that only your opinions are right.

Affirming Pronoun Spaces

The importance of creating the space

Debriefing events, giving trainings or leading meetings seem like routine tasks. For folks in the trans, genderqueer and gender nonconforming community, being addressed with an incorrect pronoun can feel distracting, undermine safety, result in a traumatic moment and significantly impact their feelings during the conversation. There are some simple ways to not perpetuate the oppression trans, genderqueer and gender nonconforming individuals face in society by making your meetings and work sessions a brave space for folks to feel empowered and welcomed! It takes practice, commitment, training and a focus on growing folks to be better allies.

How to do it

Checking in with folks about the gender pronouns they use is a really great way to kick-off a meeting or workshop and honor folks' gender identities. This tool is primarily geared towards allies and cisgender folks and has worked for Basic Rights Oregon. Please be aware that for some folks, and in some trans spaces, gender affirmations are not always a positive or helpful experience. We recommend modeling a casual opportunity for someone to identify themselves and to ensure that you are never making assumptions about folks' identities when you call on them, refer to them or start the discussion.

Here's a script you can use after welcoming participants and explaining the purpose of the meeting/workshop:

> *We would like to give everyone the opportunity to share with the group about the ways they want to be called upon. One of the ways that transphobia operates is that we often make assumptions about someone's identity based on the way they are dressed, how they express themselves or look. When we do this we are perpetuating discrimination that was set up to privilege a gender binary and cisgender norm. So we are going to go around and say our name and how we would like to be called. You can choose not to say, have us refer to you by your name or express any gender identities that honor who you are. For example, my name is Cat and I use they/them/their pronouns or you can just call me Cat.*

Trainer tips

- Use the pronouns and name that the individual uses.
- If a person's gender presentation is unclear, use the person's first name instead of pronouns like "he" and "she."
- If someone in the exercise laughs at the pronoun check-in or makes a joke, be sure to hold them accountable to the purpose of pronoun sharing.
- Don't ask what the person's name means.
- Be aware that the person may not identify as "gay." Gender identity and expression are not the same as sexual orientation.
- When speaking with someone who identifies as genderqueer, accept that the person may feel gender-less, or partially male and partially female. Also understand that the person may feel totally comfortable being genderqueer and may have no desire or plans to medically transition.
- Get to know the person you're talking to!
- Respect each individual's gender identity, even if it doesn't make sense to you.
- Do not assume that all people of transgender experience want to talk about being transgender.
- Ask only questions relevant to the topic; do not ask questions to satisfy your own curiosity.
- Be mindful of your own assumptions.
- Apologize, but don't over-apologize for mistakes.

Social Justice Icebreakers that Build Community

The best icebreakers build community, deepen connections and honor the different commitments and identities that we all bring to social justice work. Here are some sample exercises, rooted in social justice values, that can help build closer connections and bring some variety to icebreakers.

Sample Exercise 1: "I Am From" Poetry

Ask each participant to write a short poem, using the following format, about where they come from and the people and culture that brought them to the space today. Note that folks who are alter/differently abled should be empowered to speak to different experiences that have shaped them other than the senses listed.

Three "I am from" lines related to smells, sounds, weather or people. (Other options could be feelings of touch, animals, experiences, achievements or simply by adding more lines from one sense.)

Examples:

- I am from my mom's cooking, sage and the smell of bubbling chili.
- I am from thunderstorms booming, trains screeching and kids playing on bikes.
- I am from rain, snow and orange and fire leaves in the fall.
- I am from my mom's love, my dad's hard life and my brother's support.

Sample Exercise 2: Community Altar

Many cultures have an altar that is a collection of items, artifacts, photos, scents and symbolic elements to honor and remember something or someone meaningful. Ask participants to find something in their possession or in the space that represents something that makes them feel empowered or able to do the work. Ask them to come back and sit in a circle to share with the group why they chose that object. After each person speaks, have them put the object in the center of the group. At the end of the exercise, you can also ask participants to pick an object from the center to use as a talking piece for the rest of the meeting or convening.

Sample Exercise 3: Gallery of Leaders

Prior to the session, print off pictures of inspiring LGBTQ leaders with a quote that they have contributed to our movement. Be sure to include a variety of leaders that honor the

impact of trans, gender queer and gender nonconforming leaders and LGBTQ people of color of all abilities, sizes and ages. It's okay if there are some photos that are duplicates. Have each person select one from the pile and explain why they chose that photo/quote to the whole group. Be sure they read the quote aloud and say who the person is to whom the quote is attributed. You can encourage people to take the photo home with them.

Sample Exercise 4: Buddy Exercise

This is an exercise to increase the ways in which we intentionally support each other. Unless you have a reason to pair folks up, randomizing the group can increase the deepness of the exercise. Have participants take about 10 minutes to complete the following sentences in pairs.

- "I need support from you by…."
- "Engage me in this workshop by…."
- "Something you should validate me for is…."
- "How I might resist your support is….."

Debrief with the whole group by asking participants to talk about something they said about themselves that surprised them. Also ask folks what was valuable and challenging about the exercise. Remind participants to think critically about the ways in which we hold community spaces for each other and how we can deepen that in workshops and meetings.

Sample Workshop Evaluation

Workshop Structure

What were your expectations for the workshop?

What did you like or find most useful about the workshop?

Is there anything you would add or change about the workshop?

Were there aspects of the workshop that were unclear? If so, what were they?

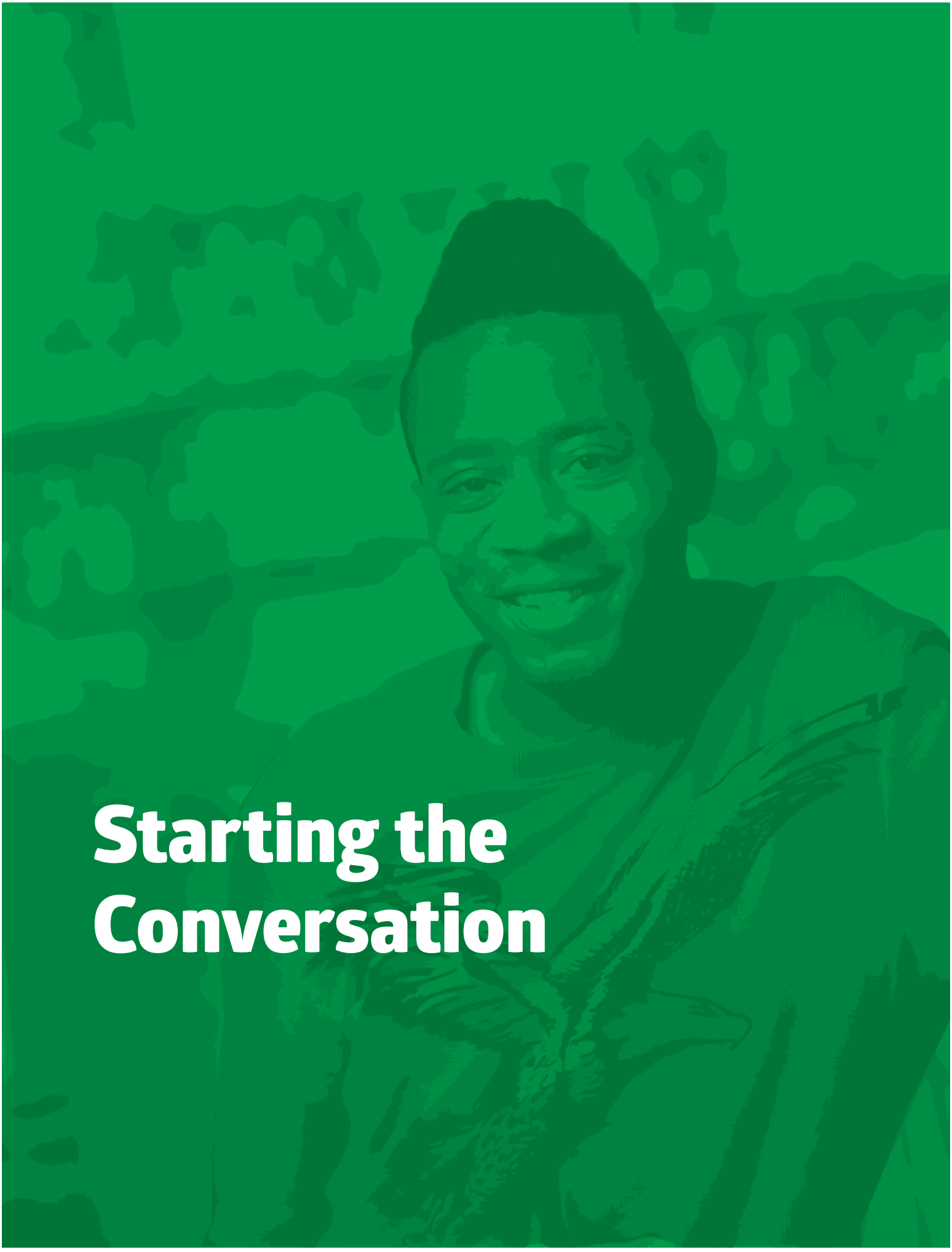
What questions are you left with?

Your Participation

Did you feel invited to participate in today's activities?

Did you learn from others participating in the activities?

Any other comments?



Starting the Conversation

Developing a Shared Language and Analysis

The first move in coming out for racial justice is often one of the most difficult for LGBTQ organizations—just starting the conversation.

Talking about race and racism can be overwhelming and triggering if we as individuals, or our organizations, have had troubling experiences in the past. And the stakes are highest for people of color who suffer racism every day. The fear of addressing racism and racial justice issues directly is fed by our mainstream culture, which avoids a meaningful dialogue on the real outcomes of racism, preferring instead to minimize racial injustice by using deceptive "colorblind" theories and claims that we now live in a "post-racial America." To begin addressing and dismantling racism, we must first be able to clearly articulate what it is and how it operates in every aspect of our culture, institutions and our work for LGBTQ equality.

This section of *Coming Out for Racial Justice* is designed to provide terminology and tools to help LGBTQ groups and their members begin the important discussion of their anti-racist organizational development. If we build a strong shared analysis of race and racism within our organizations, then we will be able to select the tools and processes to achieve anti-racist transformation that are most appropriate to our groups and our movement.

What You Will Find in this Section:

Our Approach to Racial Justice

Summary

This is a brief introduction to showcase our organizational approach to engaging in meaningful racial justice work. At the start, we will clarify the difference between a "diversity/sensitivity" approach, often adopted by corporations and other institutions, to a model based on principles of anti-oppression and social justice.

Goal

To clarify our anti-oppression approach to racial justice work.

Agenda Outline:

Exercise	Format	Time
Diversity vs. anti-oppression	Lecture	10 minutes
Questions and handouts	Large group discussion	10 minutes
		20 total minutes

Materials

- Flip chart or white board
- Markers
- Handout: "Diversity Training: Good for Business but Insufficient for Social Change"

1. Diversity vs. Anti-Oppression

Trainer says:

Welcome. We want to start out by letting folks know this is a 101 level training where we will talk about the need for racial justice in the LGBTQ movement and beyond. This is not a sensitivity or diversity training. We take this approach because typical diversity trainings lose any analysis of power, which is essential to understanding race. Diversity trainings often focus on individuals and their own understanding of race and racism without discussing the power structure within organizations that reinforce racism.

Sensitivity/diversity trainings often assume a level playing field and ignore systemic privilege that results in real power imbalances between white people and people of color. The goal of racial justice work is to build a shared analysis of how racism is perpetuated by organizational structures, processes, norms and expectations.

However, the end goal of diversity/sensitivity training is usually the peaceful integration of people of color rather than a strong analysis of racism and anti-oppression practices. This often leads to tokenism and does not stress the importance of paying as much attention to who is not in the room as who is, or the root cause of an organization's racialized environment.

We need not only to understand racism and white supremacy in its complexities, but to actively work against them. Skillful racial justice work also creates a basis for understanding systemic inequality and oppression based on other identities. This is essential for building bridges.

Written on a flip chart:

Diversity/Sensitivity/Tolerance Training:

- Lacks an analysis of power and privilege
- Assumes a level playing field
- Often leads to tokenization

Anti-Oppression/Racial Justice Training:

- Does not seek to simply integrate people of color, but rather build an analysis of racism and anti-oppression practices.
- Creates a basis for understanding systematic inequality that is essential for building bridges and advancing racial justice.

Trainer notes:

- Reassure participants that this process is long-term and that you will strive to create a discussion space that's safe and brave for everyone to bring their whole and best selves—including their questions, concerns and hopes.
- Explain that with this in mind, you will begin the process by being mindful that everyone comes to this topic with different experiences and identities and it's critical to start the conversation with that recognition of complexity.

2. Questions and handouts

Trainer distributes handout: "Diversity Training: Good for Business but Insufficient for Social Change"

Trainer addresses any questions and comments that arise.

Diversity Training: Good for Business, but Insufficient for Social Change

By David Rogers
Former Trainer/Organizer, Western States Center

In the past ten to fifteen years, diversity training has become a boom industry, as government agencies, corporations, and non-profits attempt to manage race and racial attitudes in the workplace. Organizations employ diversity training for reasons ranging from protection against liability to a more liberal notion that "in diversity there is strength." The belief that workplace diversity can bring increased productivity, new ideas, and therefore higher profits, appeals particularly to corporations. Although diversity training may make good business sense, the model falls terribly short of the comprehensive racial justice approach required for progressive social change.

Diversity vs. Racial Justice

The difference between diversity training and the racial justice approach embedded in Western States Center's Dismantling Racism Project begins with the definition of racism. Diversity training sees racism primarily as the result of individual action: personal prejudice or stereotyping, and intentional acts of discrimination by individuals. A racial justice definition includes these beliefs and acts, but considers individual acts of prejudice only one dimension of racism. More importantly, racism is defined as a set of societal, cultural, and institutional beliefs and practices—regardless of intention—that subordinate and oppress one race for the benefit of another.

The case of Amadou Diallo, an unarmed man shot 41 times by four white New York City Police officers (all of whom were acquitted), illustrates the difference between these two views. While a diversity approach might pursue sensitivity training for the officers, a racial justice perspective would hold the entire criminal justice system accountable and demand systemic change.

Multi-Culturalism

In diversity training's prejudice reduction model, individual attitudes and beliefs are the focus of change. With the goal of

Source: Western States Center's *Dismantling Racism: A Resource Book for Social Change Groups* (pages 6-8). Dismantling Racism Project, Western States Center, www.westernstatescenter.org/tools-and-resources/Tools/Dismantling%20Racism

harmony and efficiency in the multi-racial workplace, diversity training emphasizes awareness and appreciation of the contributions of different cultures.

What too often gets lost in the muddy waters of multi-cultural awareness is any analysis of power and the ways racist attitudes and organizational culture operate. How do white people gain advantages from racism? What is the daily impact of racist oppression on people of color? Why do white people regularly dominate meetings? Is the white way of doing things still assumed to be the preferred mode of operations?

While white staff may develop a greater appreciation for people of color through diversity training, it can avoid these questions and leave the dominant organizational culture intact. Multi-cultural awareness often assumes a level playing field - despite real power imbalances between white people and people of color.

Who's Got the Power?

In contrast, the racial justice approach of Western States' Dismantling Racism Project analyzes race in an institutional and cultural context, not as a problem to be solved by individual enlightenment. It develops an understanding of power, who has it, and how it gets used. As practiced with progressive groups around the region, the goal of the Project is to build a shared analysis of how racism is perpetuated by organizational structures, processes, norms and expectations (in addition to individual behavior and attitudes).

Jean Hardisty, in *Mobilizing Resentment*, calls for programs to "move white people beyond tolerance and inclusion, to envision actual power-sharing and learning to take leadership from people of color. . . . "

The Dismantling Racism Project assumes that white people and people of color have different work to do. White people need to understand how their privilege operates, how they perpetuate racism, and how they can become allies to people of color. For people of color, the process of empowerment involves struggling with the impact of internalized racist oppression. The Project attempts to develop models that value and build leadership in people of color while holding white people accountable for their racism. Diversity training can ask white people to change their consciousness while leaving their dominance intact; a racial justice approach requires an organizational transformation of power relations.

Who's at the Table?

Organizational change sought through diversity training assumes that appreciating and increasing human variety is important and necessary. The end goal is peaceful integration of people of color, rather than a strong shared analysis of racism and anti-oppression practices. This approach often leads to tokenization. People of color are like the raisins in my oatmeal; it just takes a few to make the dish more rich.

The diversity model's focus on who is sitting around the table can unreasonably assume individuals are speaking "for their

people." Paul Kivel, in *Uprooting Racism*, warns of the dangers of tokenization: "We don't want to become complacent and believe that we understand the need of a community through hearing from a few 'representatives.'"

A racial justice analysis does not ask individuals to speak for the interests of an entire constituency. Furthermore, it underscores the importance of paying as much attention to who is not in the room as who is. In working with predominantly white organizations, the Dismantling Racism Project helps them struggle with how to address the interests of those not directly included.

Diversification or integration is not always the best thing for an organization. Take an all-white organization, for example. A diversity approach would combine prejudice reduction with some organizational development, perhaps resulting in revisions of the personnel policies, job descriptions, and hiring practices. Yet, very little else about the organization would have changed. Even if the organization is successful in bringing people of color on board it would be a shallow victory. Take a snapshot of the organization from year to year; you'll see a few people of color in each photo, but the faces will be different each year. People of color might get hired but they won't stay very long because they are being asked to fit into the existing dominant culture.

A Dismantling Racism approach with such an organization won't start with the premise or suggestion that the organization must recruit people of color. Certain groundwork needs to be done before that is a viable or advisable goal. The organization might begin with a "white privilege training" rather than diversity training. The goal is to create an organizational culture with a deep and shared understanding of racism where white people are committed to holding themselves accountable, and where naming racism and other oppression when it occurs is encouraged and not avoided. Without these qualities in place, people of color may find a harsh reality beneath the welcoming organizational veneer.

Taking Action

Working for social change, it is not enough to develop a diverse, culturally competent staff, board, and membership. In the context of the horrid history and current institutional and societal practice of racism and injustice, a friendly workplace is not enough. DR education and practices are designed not only to understand racism in its complexities, but to work actively against it.

Skillful racial justice work also creates a basis for understanding systemic inequality and oppression based on other identities such as classism, sexism, heterosexism, and ableism. This approach is essential for building bridges between those who are marginalized. Nothing less is required if we want a broad, strong, and cohesive movement for progressive social change.

Shared Assumptions

Summary

This discussion requires participants to commit to a set of set of shared beliefs or assumptions, in order to inform our work moving forward. Without these shared assumptions, a meaningful dialogue will be difficult to achieve.

Goal

Provide an overview of assumptions we must take on in order to do this work.

Agenda Outline

Exercise	Format	Time
Introduction	Lecture	5 minutes
Questions and handouts	Group discussion as needed	25 minutes
	Project	**30 total minutes**

Materials

- Flip chart or white board
- Markers
- Handout: "Shared Assumptions"

1. Introduction

Trainer says:

There are a few fundamental assumptions that we ask participants to collectively take on in order to create a shared conversation and understanding of racial justice. These assumptions begin to build the foundation of analysis needed to move this dialogue and our work forward.

Trainer distributes:

Handout: "Shared Assumptions"

2. Assumptions handout and debrief

Trainer instructs:

- Ask a participant to read the first assumption on the handout.
- Ask a different participant to read the second assumption, and so forth, until all

assumptions have been read aloud.

Trainer tip:
Depending on the size of your group and amount of time you have, you may choose to have a brief discussion after each assumption is read.

Trainer asks:
- Why is this assumption important to take on?
- What are some examples of this assumption?
- How does this affect your expectations around anti-racist work?

If time does not allow this, go through all the assumptions and ask participants to hold questions and comments until the end.

Shared Assumptions

- Growing up in the USA, we have absorbed considerable misinformation, specifically negative information, about people who are "different" from us and our families. Because racism, sexism, classism, anti-Semitism and homophobia (as well as other forms of oppression) are so widespread, we have been imprinted with negative beliefs, prejudices, and stereotypes about groups of people we barely know. This began to happen when we were young, when we couldn't distinguish truth from stereotype, before we could recognize misinformation or object. Now that we are older, we all have responsibility to examine what we have learned and make a commitment to dismantle oppression in our lives.

- Dismantling racism, sexism and homophobia and unlearning the oppressive attitudes we may have been taught is a lifelong journey. Most of us have been struggling with these issues, some for years, already. None of us are beginners and none of us have perfect clarity. This work is a journey; there is no endpoint. The greatest commitment we can make is to keep paying attention to how these issues affect us and those around us.

- Individuals and organizations can and do grow and change. But significant change comes slowly and requires work. The changes that happen quickly are usually cosmetic and temporary. Change on issues of justice, equity and fairness come after resistance, denial and pain have all been worked through. Progress on oppression and equity issues never happens when we're looking the other way; it takes our focused attention and commitment.

- We cannot dismantle racism in a society that exploits people for private profit. If we want to dismantle racism, then we must be about building a movement for social and economic justice and change.

- While single individuals can inspire change, individuals working together as an organized whole, in groups, communities and organizations make change happen.

Original content created by changework, 1705 Wallace Street, Durham, NC 27707.

Defining Racism

Summary

This training tool sets the foundation for how we talk about race and racism and it begins to build a stronger analysis that reflects the many layers and complexities of racism in our personal, cultural and institutional structures.

Goal

To build a shared language around a basic framework of race and racism.

Agenda Outline

Exercise	Format	Time
Introduction to terms	Lecture	15 minutes
Personal racism	Lecture and group discussion	5 minutes
Cultural racism	Lecture and group discussion	10 minutes
White Privilege	Large group activity	15 minutes
Institutional racism	Small and large group activity	30 minutes
Structural racism	Lecture and group discussion	15 minutes
		90 total minutes

Materials

- Flip chart
- Markers
- Paper
- Tape
- Bag (backpack, book bag or some other carrying bag) ideally white in color
- White privilege examples
- Handouts: "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack" and "Defining Racism"

Definitions created by changework, 1705 Wallace St., Durham, NC and adapted from Western States Center's *Dismantling Racism: A Resource Book for Social Change Groups* (pages 13 and 38). Dismantling Racism Project, Western States Center, www.westernstatescenter.org/tools-and-resources/Tools/Dismantling%20Racism

1. Introduction to terms

Trainer says:
Part of our work in racial and social justice is to bring communities together through open dialogue and honest reflection around what racism is. This allows us to explicitly and publicly describe an issue as a matter of racial justice. Once we can understand and comprehend the ways in which racism unfolds, we can begin to dismantle it, so it's critical that we have a shared understanding. Let's begin with a few general terms and what we mean when we use them:

Trainer reads out loud (written on flip chart):
Race refers to socially constructed categories and hierarchies mostly based on physical features.

- This has no scientific/biological basis.
- Takes on significant cultural meanings and social realities

Trainer says:
Race splits people into groups having to do with historical patterns of oppression and rationalization of that oppression. It is not based on any medical science or biology. It was created as a system to separate and "other" folks from white or Eurocentric heritage.

However, due to the historical and current significance of these racial realties, racial categories cannot be easily dismissed, discounted or simply wished away—such as with "color blind" theories.

Trainer reads out loud (written on flip chart):
People of Color (POC):

- Also not based in any biological/scientific fact.
- People of color in the United States share the common experience of being targeted and oppressed by racism.
- The term "people of color" pushes us to think more broadly and has movement-building potential. Many folks come from communities of color through their lineage, or identify culturally as a person of color and it's not always linked with appearance, skin tone, or other identities.

Trainer reads out loud (written on flip chart):
Racism is defined as a set of societal, cultural, and institutional beliefs and practices (regardless of intention) that oppress one race for the benefit of another and it ultimately preserves privilege and power for white people.

Trainer says:
The key indicators of racism are inequities in power and opportunities in institutions, unfair treatment and the disparate impacts of policies and decisions. Racism condemns millions to poverty, inadequate health care, substandard jobs, violence and other conditions of oppression. In short, racism is a system that advantages white people and disadvantages people of color. Where there are racial inequities, there is racism. But racism is a broad word, and we want to understand the different ways that racism operates to uphold white supremacy. So we are going to unpack the various forms of racism.

2. Personal racism

Written on flip chart: Personal Racism

Trainer asks:
What do you think we mean when we say "personal racism"? (Ask for participants' thoughts and examples).

Trainer reads out loud (written on flip chart):
Personal racism is the way in which we perpetuate racism on an individual basis.

Examples:

- Using racial slurs.
- Considering masculine of center people of color to be "scarier" or "less trustworthy" than masculine white people.
- Sexualizing people of color

This is often where many people's thinking of racism begins and ends. But this is a very simplified form of racism. It's much easier to see than other forms of racism. It's critical as a movement that we interrupt these moments and challenge and call out folks that are perpetuating personal racism. But in order to dismantle white supremacy and truly work on racial justice, we must also be aware of the systematic ways in which racism operates.

3. Cultural racism

Written on flip chart: Cultural Racism

Trainer asks:
What do you think we mean when we say "cultural racism"? (Ask for participants' thoughts and examples).

Trainer reads out loud (written on flip chart):
Cultural racism is the norms, values or standards assumed by the dominant society that perpetuate racism.

Examples:
- Defining white skin tones as nude or flesh colored.
- Depictions of Jesus with a white appearance even though he originated from a part of the world where people are brown.
- Movies and television shows that centralize white/Eurocentric actors and experiences.
- Defining one form of English as standard.
- Identifying only white people as great writers or composers, leaders in history
- The "melting pot" theory, which asks people of color to assimilate into the dominant white culture and accept it as the norm.

Trainer points on cultural racism:
- Those aspects of society that overtly or covertly attribute value and normality to white people and whiteness and devalue, stereotype and label people of color as "other," different, less than, or render them invisible.

- Our society suppresses the cultures of people of color by concentrating cultural resources in the hands of white-controlled institutions (such as the media), by subjecting cultural production and distribution to a market logic and then by using this relative cultural monopoly to spread myths about the races, their abilities and their roles, thereby providing the basis for racist belief and action in the other social institutions.

4. White privilege: unpacking the invisible knapsack
Trainer walks around the room with a bag containing examples of white privilege.
Participants each select an example out of the bag and read it out loud to the full group. Examples include:

A white person can…
- Find images of themselves throughout powerful institutions.
- Speak without being seen as speaking "for the white community."
- Act, dress and speak as they see fit (without having appearance, interests or habits attributed to the illiteracy, poverty or poor moral fiber of their race).
- Do well in challenging situations without being considered "a credit to their race."
- Go to a shopping mall without being followed by staff or security.
- Criticize the government and express fear of its policies without being seen as a cultural outsider.
- Go to the grocery store and find foods that reflect their cultural tradition.

- Find "flesh tones" (band aids, cosmetics, underwear) in their skin tone.
- Take a job with an affirmative action employer without having coworkers suspect that they got the job because of their race.
- Get pulled over for traffic violations, not for "driving while /brown."

Trainer asks: What are these examples of?

Trainer says:
These are just a few of the ways that white people experience privilege everyday due to power imbalances based on race. Yet, white privilege often goes unrecognized because these circumstances are so ingrained in our culture—in cultural racism—and are not as overt as personal forms of racism.

Written on flip chart:
White privilege: The rights, advantages and immunities enjoyed by white people in a culture that values whiteness as the norm.

"An invisible package of unearned assets which I [as a white person] can count on cashing in on each day, but about which I was 'meant' to remain oblivious." –Peggy McIntosh

Trainer says:
In 1988, Peggy McIntosh wrote an essay titled "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack," a powerful examination of white privilege and its impacts.

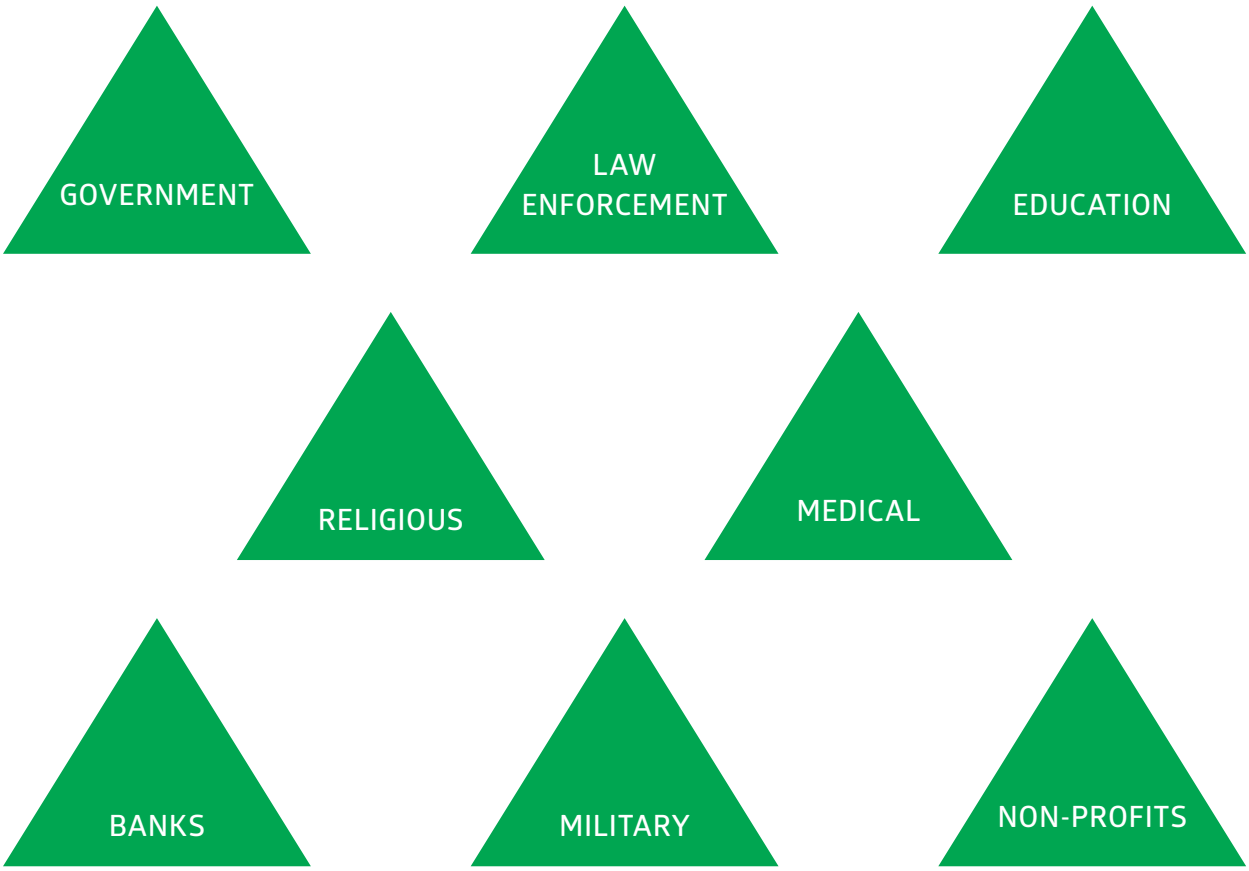
Trainer distributes:
Handout: Peggy McIntosh's "White Privilege: Unpacking the Knapsack."

5. Institutional racism

Break people into small groups (of 4-6 depending on number of participants).

Trainer instructs:
In your small groups, you'll receive a flip chart sheet with two triangles on it. Each triangle represents an institution—because institutions employ and engage many, many people (represented by the wide base of the triangle), but power is concentrated in the hands of very few (the narrow top of the triangle). Often, institutions will employ or engage people of color, but it's rare that people of color will be the decision-makers at the top.

Examples of institutions—make sure to include NON PROFITS so participants recognize our organizations as well:



In your group, list out ways your institutions EXCLUDE, UNDERSERVE and OPPRESS communities of color. For example, we know that education institutions have vastly underserved students of color through policies like No Child Left Behind and the inaccessible cost of post-secondary education. Your group will have 10 minutes to do this. When you are finished, bring your sheet to up to be hung up on the wall. Also, choose one person from your group to report back (in five minutes or less) to the full group.

Trainer should tour the group and offer support to any groups having difficulty (see Institutional Cheat Sheet for Trainer on the next page for examples).

When each group is finished, hang completed sheets side by side.

Institutional Racism Cheat Sheet

Government/legislative
- White lawmakers creating policies that impact people of color.
- Racist legislation (sunset laws, anti-Affirmative Action, English-only policies).
- Systems for public funding.
- Hardships on undocumented folks.
- Failure to recognize sovereignty of tribes.

Military
- "War on terror."
- Recruitment of low income, people of color and immigrants.

Education
- Inaccurate history/curriculum that upholds white supremacy.
- Lack of resources to public education
- Lack of recruitment and retention of students of color.
- No Child Left Behind.
- Affirmative Action cuts in colleges.

Family
- Bans on interracial marriage.
- Dominant representation of nuclear family as white, middle class and lacking extended family.

Law Enforcement
- Racial profiling and police murders.
- White collar crimes = less punishment.
- "War on drugs."
- Immigration laws/ICE enforcement.
- Disproportionate numbers of people of color in the prison system.
- Lack of legal representation and overworked public defenders.

Medical
- Eugenics and reproductive healthcare.
- Corporatized healthcare.
- Lack of culturally appropriate healthcare.
- Racist science, i.e. phrenology.
- Use of people of color for testing birth control and other medications and treatments

Religious
- Faith-based eugenics.
- Manifest destiny.
- "Whitening" of Jesus.

Banks
- Redlining.
- Predatory lending in payday loans and credit cards.

Nonprofits
- Donor policies.
- Not naming and framing racism.
- Shying away from racial justice work due to pushback/controversy.
- Belief in majority rule.

Also, ALL of these institutions lack leadership of color and racial justice work!

Report back and debrief:
Have a member from each group quickly present their sheet in five minutes or less. Listen closely for intersections between institutions. For example, youth of color are likely to live in low income areas, due to redlining and banking practices, which place them in overcrowded and under-resourced schools—schools struggling even more due to the legacy of policies like No Child Left Behind. These youth are more likely to drop out, encounter law enforcement and/or get recruited by the military. As these intersections begin to surface, draw connecting lines across the sheets to visually show how racism plays out within institutions. It will not be long before the lines create a tangled web of connections—showcasing how deeply ingrained racism is at an institutional level.

Trainer says:
It's clear that there are countless ways institutions exclude, underserve and oppress communities of color and this happens both within and between institutions. We call this:

Trainer reads out loud (written on flip chart):
Institutional racism: The discriminatory treatment, unfair policies and unequal opportunities and impacts, based on race, produced and perpetuated by institutions.

Trainer points on institutional racism:
- There is an institutional arrangement and distribution of resources that serves to reinforce advantages for white people.

- Individuals within institutions take on the power of the institution when they act in ways that advantage and disadvantage people based on race. Institutional racism is not based on intent!
- IT'S THE IMPACTS WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT—IMPACTS COMPOUND EACH OTHER.
- There is increasing denial of the existence of racism or at least institutional racism. White people increasingly believe that individual acts of meanness based on prejudice persist, but racism as a system that oppresses all people of color is a problem of the past. Racist institutions perpetuate this myth that racism is no longer relevant, thereby undermining our ability to dismantle it.
- We must rename and reframe our reality. How do you show that racism won a major victory, when the fight was never framed around racism?
- WE MUST ADDDRESS INSTITUTIONS OF RACISM AND NOT MERELY INDIVIDUAL ACTS OF RACISM.

6. Structural racism

Trainers says:

Structural racism is all of these impacts put together into one experience for people of color. Imagine navigating racism in all aspects of your life and community. Structural racism is like the giant machine, with all the different gears working together. Anti-racist work requires both the analysis of the specific ways racism plays out, and also the overall impact on communities of color. We must be able to analyze and deconstruct white supremacy on all levels in order to stop the wheels from turning.

Trainer reads out loud (written on flip chart):

Structural racism: "The normalization and legitimization of an array of dynamics . . . that routinely advantage whites while producing cumulative and chronic adverse outcomes for people of color." —Race Forward: The Center for Racial Justice Innovation.

Key Points of structural racism:

- Operates through every institution.
- Operates upon generation after generation of communities.
- Is at work in all parts of U.S. society:
  - History
  - Culture
  - Politics
  - Social fabric

Trainer points for structural racism:

- Recognizing structural racism requires noting the fundamental differences between how oppression works when it's based on race vs. when it's based on sexual orientation or gender identity. **Racism operates through every institution in this country upon generation after generation of families and communities.** The intersection of this history of institutional violence and deprivation creates a situation where racism and economic disparity are often intertwined.
- This doesn't occur in the same way in LGBTQ communities. Very few LGBTQ folks grew up in families in the queer part of town or have parents who taught us to contend with homophobia and transphobia. And we don't see the hurtful consequences of homophobia and transphobia in the lived experiences of all our family members.
- Oppression based on sexual orientation and gender identity are also historically embedded in institutions, but the nature of that oppression does not result in the same cyclical, institutional oppression that's visited upon generation after generation of communities of color. That's part of the reason why comparing the Civil Rights movement to the LGBTQ movement is so problematic because it appropriates another movement (and that's just rude), it addresses a fundamentally different kind of oppression and it frames the Civil Rights movement as something that's "completed," implying that racism is "over."
- The more we engage in racial justice work, the more we create an environment where those sorts of allusions will be interrupted.

Trainer distributes:
Handout: "Defining Racism"

White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack

By Peggy McIntosh

Through work to bring materials from women's studies into the rest of the curriculum, I have often noticed men's unwillingness to grant that they are over privileged, even though they may grant that women are disadvantaged. They may say they will work to improve women's status, in the society, the university, or the curriculum, but they can't or won't support the idea of lessening men's. Denials that amount to taboos surround the subject of advantages that men gain from women's disadvantages. These denials protect male privilege from being fully acknowledged, lessened, or ended.

Thinking through unacknowledged male privilege as a phenomenon, I realized that, since hierarchies in our society are interlocking, there is most likely a phenomenon of white privilege that was similarly denied and protected. As a white person, I realized I had been taught about racism as something that puts others at a disadvantage, but had been taught not to see on of its corollary aspects, white privilege, which puts me at an advantage.

I think whites are carefully taught not to recognize white privilege, as males are taught not to recognize male privilege. So I have begun in an untutored way to ask what it is like to have white privilege. I have come to see white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets that I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was "meant" to remain oblivious. White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, maps, passports, codebooks, visas, clothes, tools, and blank checks.

Describing white privilege makes one newly accountable. As we in Women's Studies work to reveal male privilege and ask men to give up some of their power, so one who writes about having white privilege must ask, "Having described it, what will I do to lessen or end it?"

After I realized the extent to which men work from a base of unacknowledged privilege, I understood that much of their oppressiveness was unconscious. Then I remembered the frequent charges from women of color that white women whom they encounter are oppressive. I began to understand why we are justly seen as oppressive, even when we don't see ourselves that way. I began to count the ways in which I enjoy unearned skin privilege and have been conditioned into oblivion about its existence.

My schooling gave me no training in seeing myself as an oppressor, as an unfairly advantaged person, or as a participant in a damaged culture. I was taught to see myself as an individual whose moral state depended on her individual moral will. My schooling followed the pattern my colleague Elizabeth Minnich has pointed out: whites are taught to think of their lives as morally neutral, normative, and average, and also ideal, so that when we work to benefit others, this is seen as work which will allow "them" to be more like "us".

I decided to try to work on myself at least by identifying some of the daily effects of white privilege in my life. I have chosen those conditions which I think in my case attach somewhat more to skin color privilege than to class, religion, ethnic status, or geographical location, though of course all these other factors are intricately intertwined. As far as I can see, my African American coworkers, friends and acquaintances with whom I come into daily or frequent contact in this particular time, place, and line of work cannot count on most of these conditions.

I usually think of privilege as being a favored state, whether earned or conferred by birth or luck. Yet some of the conditions I have described here work to systematically over empower certain groups. Such privilege simply confers dominance because of one's race or sex.

1. I can if I wish arrange to be in the company of people of my race most of the time.
2. If I should need to move, I can be pretty sure renting or purchasing housing in an area which I can afford and in which I would want to live.
3. I can be pretty sure that my neighbors in such a location will be neutral or pleasant to me.
4. I can go shopping alone most of the time, pretty well assured that I will not be followed or harassed.
5. I can turn on the television or open to the front page of the paper and see people of my race widely represented.
6. When I am told about our national heritage or about "civilization," I am shown that people of my color made it what it is.
7. I can be sure that my children will be given curricular materials that testify to the existence of their race.
8. If I want to, I can be pretty sure of finding a publisher for this piece on white privilege.
9. I can go into a music shop and count on finding the music of my race represented, into a supermarket and find the staple foods which fit with my cultural traditions, into a hairdresser's shop and find someone who can cut my hair.
10. Whether I use checks, credit cards, or cash, I can count on my skin color not to work against the appearance of financial reliability.
11. I can arrange to protect my children most of the time from people who might not like them.
12. I can swear, or dress in second hand clothes, or not answer letters, without having people attribute these choices to the bad morals, the poverty, or the illiteracy of my race.

13. I can speak in public to a powerful male group without putting my race on trial.
14. I can do well in a challenging situation without being called a credit to my race.
15. I am never asked to speak for all the people of my racial group.
16. I can remain oblivious of the language and customs of persons of color who constitute the world's majority without feeling in my culture any penalty for such oblivion.
17. I can criticize our government and talk about how much I fear its policies and behavior without being seen as a cultural outsider.
18. I can be pretty sure that if I ask to talk to "the person in charge," I will be facing a person of my race.
19. If a traffic cop pulls me over or if the IRS audits my tax return, I can be sure I haven't been singled out because of my race.
20. I can easily buy posters, postcards, picture books, greeting cards, dolls, toys, and children's magazines featuring people of my race.
21. I can go home from most meetings of organizations I belong to feeling somewhat tied in, rather than isolated, out-of-place, outnumbered, unheard, held at a distance, or feared.
22. I can take a job with an affirmative action employer without having coworkers on the job suspect that I got it because of race.
23. I can choose public accommodation without fearing that people of my race cannot get in or will be mistreated in the places I have chosen.
24. I can be sure that if I need legal or medical help, my race will not work against me.
25. If my day, week, or year is going badly, I need not ask of each negative episode or situation whether it has racial overtones.
26. I can choose blemish cover or bandages in flesh color and have them more or less match my skin.

I repeatedly forgot each of the realizations on this list until I wrote it down. For me white privilege has turned out to be an elusive and fugitive subject. The pressure to avoid it is great, for in facing it I must give up the myth of meritocracy. If these things are true, this is not such a free country; one's life is not what one makes it; many doors open for certain people through no virtues of their own.

In unpacking this invisible knapsack of white privilege, I have listed conditions of daily experience which I once took for granted. Nor did I think of any of these perquisites as bad for the holder. I now think that we need a more finely differentiated taxonomy of privilege, for some of these varieties are only what one would want for everyone in a just society, and others give license to be ignorant.

I see a pattern running through the matrix of white privilege, a pattern of assumptions which were passed on to me as a white person. There was one main piece of cultural turf; it was my own turf, and I was among those who could control the turf. My skin color was an asset for any move I was educated to want to make. I could think of myself as belonging in

major ways, and of making social systems work for me. I could freely disparage, fear, neglect, or be oblivious to anything outside of the dominant cultural forms. Being of the main culture, I could also criticize it fairly freely.

In proportion as my racial group was being made confident, comfortable, and oblivious, other groups were likely being made unconfident, uncomfortable, and alienated. Whiteness protected me from many kinds of hostility, distress, and violence, which I was being subtly trained to visit in turn upon people of color. For this reason, the word "privilege" now seems to me misleading. We want, then, to distinguish between earned strength and unearned power conferred systematically. Power from unearned privilege can look like strength when it is in fact permission to escape or to dominate. But not all of the privileges on my list are inevitably damaging. Some, like the expectation that neighbors will be decent to you, or that your race will not count against you in court, should be the norm in a just society. Others, like the privilege to ignore less powerful people, distort the humanity of the holders as well as the ignored groups.

We might at least start by distinguishing between positive advantages which we can work to spread, and negative types of advantages which unless rejected will always reinforce our present hierarchies. For example, the feeling that one belongs within the human circle, as Native Americans say, should not be seen as privilege for a few. Ideally it is an unearned entitlement. At present, since only a few have it, it is an unearned advantage for them. This paper results from a process of coming to see that some of the power which I originally saw as attendant on being a human being in the U.S. consisted in unearned advantage and conferred dominance.

I have met very few men who are truly distressed about systemic, unearned male advantage and conferred dominance. And so one question for me and others like me is whether we will be like them, or whether we will get truly distressed, even outraged, about unearned race advantage and conferred dominance and if so, what we will do to lessen them. In any case, we need to do more work in identifying how they actually affect our daily lives. Many, perhaps most, of our white students in the U.S. think that racism doesn't affect them because they are not people of color; they do not see "whiteness" as a racial identity. In addition, since race and sex are not the only advantaging systems at work, we need similarly to examine the daily experience of having age advantage, or ethnic advantage, or physical ability, or advantage related to nationality, religion, or sexual orientation.

Difficulties and dangers surrounding the task of finding parallels are many. Since racism, sexism, and heterosexism are not the same, the advantaging associated with them should not be seen as the same. In addition, it is hard to disentangle aspects of unearned advantage which rest more on social class, economic class, race, religion, sex and ethnic identity than on other factors. Still, all of the oppressions are interlocking, as the Combahee River

Collective State-ment of 1977 continues to remind us eloquently. One factor seems clear about all of the interlocking oppressions. They take both active forms which we can see and embedded forms which as a member of the dominant group one is taught not to see. In my class and place, I did not see myself as a racist because I was taught to recognize racism only in individual acts of meanness by members of my group, never in invisible systems conferring unsought racial dominance on my group from birth.

Disapproving of the systems won't be enough to change them. I was taught to think that racism could end if white individuals changed their attitudes. But a white skin in the United States opens many doors for whites whether or not we approve of the way dominance has been conferred on us. Individual acts can palliate, but cannot end, these problems.

To redesign social systems we need first to acknowledge their colossal unseen dimensions. The silences and denials surrounding privilege are the key political tool here. They keep the thinking about equality or equity incomplete, protecting unearned advantage and conferred dominance by making these taboo subjects. Most talk by whites about equal opportunity seems to be now to be about equal opportunity to try to get into a position of dominance while denying that systems of dominance exist.

It seems to me that obliviousness about white advantage, like obliviousness about male advantage, is kept strongly enculturated in the United States so as to maintain the myth of meritocracy, the myth that democratic choice is equally available to all. Keeping most people unaware that freedom of confident action is there for just a small number of people props up those in power, and serves to keep power in the hands of the same groups that have most of it already.

Though systemic change takes many decades, there are pressing questions for me and I imagine for some others like me if we raise our daily consciousness on the perquisites of being light skinned. What will we do with such knowledge? As we know from watching men, it is an open question whether we will choose to use unearned advantage to weaken hidden systems of advantage, and whether we will use any of our arbitrarily awarded power to try to reconstruct power systems on a broader base.

Peggy McIntosh, Ph.D., is a senior research scientist and associate director of the Wellesley Centers for Women. This essay is excerpted from Working Paper 189. "White Privilege and Male Privilege: A Personal Account of Coming to See Correspondences through Work in Women's Studies" (1988), by Peggy McIntosh; available for $10.00 from the Wellesley Centers for Women, Wellesley MA 02181. The working paper contains a longer list of privileges.

Defining Racism

Race

Race refers to socially constructed categories and hierarchies that are mostly based on bodily features. Race has no scientific or biological basis, but it does create significant cultural meanings and social realities. Race splits people into groups having to do with historical patterns of oppression and rationalization of that oppression. Due to the historical and current significance of these racial realities, racial categories cannot be easily dismissed, discounted or simply wished away (as theories of "melting pots" and "color blindness" try to do).

People of Color

The term people of color (POC), like race, is not based in any biological or scientific fact. Rather, people of color is used in the U.S. to describe people who share the common experience of being targeted and oppressed by white supremacy.

Racism

Racism is defined as a set of societal, cultural and institutional beliefs and practices (regardless of intention) that oppress one race for the benefit of another. Key indicators of racism are inequities in power and opportunities, unfair treatment and the disparate impacts of policies and decisions. Racism condemns millions to poverty, inadequate health care, substandard jobs, violence and other conditions of oppression. In short, racism is a system that routinely advantages white people while disadvantaging people of color. Where there are racial inequities, there is racism.

TYPES OF RACISM

Part of what makes racism so powerful in the U.S. is the many modes in which it operates. Many dominant discussions of racism begin and end with personal racism—individual, person-to-person acts of racism. But, as we'll see through the following definitions, racism is much more complex than that, and often much more difficult to identify.

Personal Racism

Personal racism is the way in which we perpetuate racism on an individual basis. Personal racism encompasses acts (like using racist slurs), characterizations (like sexualizing people of color) and assumptions (like the idea that masculine of center people of color are "scarier" or "less trustworthy" than white masculine people). While personal racism is real and destructive, it is not the end of the discussion on racism.

Definitions created by changework, 1705 Wallace St., Durham, NC and adapted from Western States Center's *Dismantling Racism: A Resource Book for Social Change Groups* (pages 13 and 38). Dismantling Racism Project, Western States Center, www.westernstatescenter.org/tools-and-resources/Tools/Dismantling%20Racism

Cultural Racism

Cultural racism includes the norms, values and standards assumed by the dominant culture which perpetuate racism. Some examples of cultural racism include:

- Defining white skin tones as "nude" or "flesh colored."
- Identifying only white people as great writers, composers or historical leaders and only acknowledging people of color as side notes, if at all.
- "Melting pot" theories, which require people of color to assimilate into dominant white culture and accept it as the norm.
- Anti-ness.

Those aspects of society that overtly and covertly attribute value and normality to white people and whiteness ultimately devalue, stereotype and label people of color as "other," different, less-than or render them invisible. Our society suppresses the cultures of people of color by concentrating cultural resources in the hands of white-controlled institutions, by subjecting cultural production and distribution to a market logic, and then by using this relative cultural monopoly to spread myths about their races, their abilities, and their roles, which provide the basis for racist belief and action in the other social institutions.

White Privilege

White privilege refers to the rights, advantages and immunities enjoyed by white people in a culture that values whiteness as the norm. In her influential essay, "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack," Peggy McIntosh defined white privilege as "an invisible package of unearned assets which I [as a white person] can count on cashing in on each day, but about which I was 'meant' to remain oblivious."

Internalized Dominance

From birth, those of us with privileged identities are socialized to internalize dominance. We come to believe that our privilege, or even superiority, is natural and that all opportunities are granted based on individual merit. *"I never had a hard time finding a job. Pull yourself up by your bootstraps!"* Internalized dominance is the fuel for oppression. For example, if men don't acknowledge that they benefit from sexism, gender inequality remains the status quo. And if white people don't acknowledge that they benefit from racism, they are cosigning onto white supremacy. (For more on this term, check out: http://everydayfeminism.com/2015/01/your-internalized-dominance-is-showing/).

Institutional Racism

Institutional racism encompasses discriminatory treatment, unfair policies and inequitable opportunities and impacts that are based on race and that are produced and perpetuated by institutions. Institutional racism occurs within and between institutions, distributing resources in such a way that reinforces advantages for white people. Institutional racism is not based on intent, but is still has a severe impact.

Institutional racism is one of the forms of racism that is largely overshadowed

by discussions of personal racism. When we focus on individual acts as the be-all and end-all of racism in the U.S., we lose sight of the institutional structures that perpetuate racism in some of the most insidious ways.

Racist institutions perpetuate the myth that racism is no longer relevant, which undermines our ability to dismantle it. In order to address racism in a meaningful way, we must rename and reframe our reality. We won't end racism by tricking racist institutions. An institution can never be meaningfully and fully restructured to address racial inequities if the discussion is not framed around racism.

Structural Racism

Structural racism is defined by Race Forward, formerly the Applied Research Center as "the normalization and legitimization of an array of dynamics [...] that routinely advantage white people while producing cumulative and chronic adverse outcomes for people of color."

The intersection of structural racism, institutional violence and historic depravation creates a society in which racism and economic disparity are often intertwined. Structural racism:

- Operates through every institution (including non-profits).
- Operates upon generation after generation of communities of color (as opposed to homophobia and transphobia, which, while they do have severe impacts, do not operate reliably and cyclically on generation after generation of a family or a community.
- Is at work in all parts of U.S. society, including its history, culture, politics and its very social fabric.

This analysis of structural racism informs a way to talk about racism that is unique from the way we talk about homophobia and transphobia.

Ally 101: Why and How to Be a White Anti-Racist Ally

Summary

Developing a strong identity as a white ally to communities of color and racial justice work can be challenging—and uniquely challenging in predominantly white LGBTQ communities, where we likely expect to have allies, rather than be allies. This discussion is designed to build investment in and understanding of what it means to be an ally.

Goals

- To identify some ways that racism operates within the LGBTQ community and what allows that racism to go unchecked.
- To identify and work through participants' resistance as white people to being an ally to communities of color.
- To make commitments to next steps in each participant's individual journey toward becoming a better ally.

Agenda Outline

Exercise	Format	Time
Why be an ally?	Large group discussion	10 minutes
Racism within LGBTQ communities	Large group discussion	20 minutes
Resistance to being effective allies	Lecture	15 minutes
Small group discussion & report back	Small group discussion	20 minutes
Check out: making a commitment to anti-racism moving forward	Large group discussion	15 minutes
Closing /wrap-up	Lecture	5 minutes
		85 total minutes

Materials

Flip chart pad and easel
Flip chart markers
Handouts: "Tactics of Resistance," "Distancing Behaviors" and "Moving from Concern to Action"

Note on Curriculum

It's important to begin this module with some baseline agreement that racism exists and persists as a problem today. Trainers should not take for granted that all white participants in this module will agree to that statement. As such, this is best combined with some 101-level curriculum from "Linking the Issues" to lay a proper foundation for a more participatory, open conversation.

This training is intended for a predominantly, if not entirely, white audience. That's because white folks often have a specific set of barriers to work through that can hold them back from being effective, dedicated allies and engaging meaningfully in racial justice work.

Note on Trainer

In order to model being a good ally, this training should be facilitated by someone who identifies as white. The trainer should be very aware of the dynamics of race, power and privilege in the room and should feel comfortable acting as a model ally throughout. The trainer should also strive to invite participants into the conversation in a friendly way, so as to minimize participants' resistance to thinking critically about their own privilege and about how racism operates within LGBTQ communities.

1. Introduction—Why be an ally?

Trainer says:
In the LGBTQ rights movement, and for those of us who identify as LGBTQ, we spend a lot of time thinking about whom our allies are—straight folks, cisgender folks and so forth. But we don't think or talk about *being* allies nearly as often. That often comes to a head when we see race brought into the LGBTQ rights conversation, particularly around marriage. So today we'll talk a little bit about being an LGBTQ ally to racial justice.

Trainer asks:
Why should we be allies to racial justice in the LGBTQ rights movement?

Trainer writes responses on flip chart and should encourage both ideological answers ("It's the right thing to do") and strategic answers ("We can build strong alliances and expand our reach"). If conversation slows, or these points don't come up, the trainer can introduce these answers:

- We build a movement that makes real change for our whole community. (Too often, queer and trans people of color are silenced or just ignored. Basic Rights has heard LGBTQ students of color say they'd rather spend time in a people of color space that might not be queer-friendly than spend time in a racist queer space.)
- LGBTQ people of color, especially trans women of color, face extraordinary rates of violence and discrimination—and in order to be allies to them, we have to be allies to racial justice.
- We can build coalitions that can win campaigns for both LGBTQ equality *and* racial justice.
- We can counteract wedge issues and keep allies and LGBTQ people of color from being erased in our work.
- It makes our work easier! It's easier to recruit more people to join a movement where more people are welcome.
- We can kick start more reciprocal work. (Often, we as white LGBTQ people sit around waiting for people of color to spontaneously "show up" for LGBTQ rights. If we don't show up for anybody else, why should anybody else show up for us?)

2. How does racism operate within LGBTQ communities and movements?

Trainer says:

There are a whole lot of reasons to build alliances with communities of color. But we can't effectively or meaningfully do that unless and until we address racism that exists within our communities and our movement. What are some other forms of racism that exist within LGBTQ communities and our movement?

Trainer writes responses on flip chart and should encourage both answers that reflect individual racism as well as broader, more structural examples. If conversation slows, the trainer can introduce these answers:

- LGBTQ people of color are often exotified—it's not uncommon in queer communities to hear someone say "I don't date Latinos," or to otherwise exclude or exotify people of color.
- Gay people—and particularly white gay people—frequently compare the LGBTQ rights movement to the Civil Rights movement ("We're not going to sit at the back of the bus anymore!" or "Gay is the new !").
- We often fail to recognize our own history. For example, many of us don't know that Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson, trans women of color, were leaders at Stonewall.

- We succumb to wedge campaigns around race, often playing the racist blame game. For example, popular media blamed the passage of Proposition 8 on communities of color, and that really took hold in LGBTQ communities.
- LGBTQ communities do a whole lot of cultural appropriation. For example, appropriating voguing, or white gay men enacting femininity by calling one another "girlfriend" or using the three snaps. While breaking gender norms can be really liberating for some, and can feel like an act of reclamation, the kind of femininity that's used in that reclamation is really racially coded. The race element is often overlooked and it can be really alienating to people of color.
- We don't counter mainstream ideas of (usually white) LGBTQ people as saviors—often in direct contrast to people of color. For example, we'll sometimes hear that families of color "can't take care of their children," so loving—often white—gay couples adopt foster children. Or, for another example, white gay folks are wealthy people who recycle, keep tidy homes and long for children, but can't have them—while racially loaded "welfare queen" stereotypes can.
- Overt racism can thrive within white LGBTQ communities. Shirley Q. Liquor is an immensely popular drag queen, played by a white performer in face.
- We often assume that homophobia and transphobia operate in the same way as racism and other types of oppression and they don't!
- We expect that, without reciprocity, communities of color should support LGBTQ rights—despite all the racism that exists within our communities.
- In anti-oppressive spaces, white LGBTQ people can tend to take up a whole lot of space and time.
- Anti-oppressive spaces ask that those who benefit from privilege step back so that others can lead the way and take ownership, because we understand that the best way to create lasting change in our communities is to share power and share space. And we recognize that the goals most worth achieving are the ones pursued by those impacted.
- Although we all experience homophobia or transphobia, many of us still benefit from other forms of privilege, because of our race, class, gender, ability, nationality, and much more. But because we focus primarily on the oppression we experience, we often fail to see our privilege.

3. Resistance to being effective allies

Trainer says:

For the last several decades, our LGBTQ rights movement hasn't had the best track record around building meaningful coalitions, countering the privilege and oppression that exists within our community and recognizing all members of the community. So when we talk about things like racism, white privilege, and so forth, there can be a whole lot of resistance to owning up to where we're at in this conversation. Some of it is overt—some of it flies under the radar. So let's talk through some of the ways that that resistance shows up.

- Claiming colorblindness ("I don't see color...")
- Blaming the victim ("They don't have to bring it up that way..." "They're so angry...")
- Claiming the damage is unintentional ("I didn't mean it like that..." "It was only a joke...")
- Demanding that people of color be present for white people to understand racism (i.e. challenging closed spaces or asking one person of color to speak for the entire community).
- Playing "the distinguished lecturer" (i.e. talking a lot of theory without taking action, or thinking hard about one's own practices).
- Claiming to be exempt from racism ("The real problem is in the south..." "I had friends of color growing up...")

Trainer distributes handouts:

"Tactics of Resistance," "Distancing Behaviors," and "Moving from Concern to Action"

4. Small group discussion and report back

Trainer says:

So let's take a minute to walk through these types of resistance together. Please split up into groups of 3 to 4 and review the handout together. Answer these questions:

- Where have you heard others use these forms of resistance?
- Where have you used these forms of resistance?
- What can you do to reduce resistance in yourself and those around you?

Trainer note: *Plan to drop in on small group discussions and help conversations keep moving. Encourage participants to share real examples of their own behavior. Don't shame them, but do encourage them to be honest, and think about alternatives. Give breakout groups 15 minutes to discuss.*

Trainer says:

Okay, let's come back together! Which of these forms of resistance sounded familiar? And what did you discuss in terms of ways to reduce resistance?

Trainer note: *Take 3 to 4 examples from small groups and then move on.*

5. Commitments to racial justice

Trainer says:

Thanks so much for getting honest and solution-oriented today. Let's carry that spirit forward and close by going around the room and sharing one way that you're planning on moving your learning and commitment to racial justice forward.

6. Closing

Trainer talking points:

- In order to build a lasting movement for LGBTQ rights and social justice, and in order to build a movement that reflects our whole community, each of us need to be fully aware of all of this. We need to recognize that racism as it exists within queer and trans communities. We need to know where our privilege lies. And we need to notice when that internalized privilege sneaks up on us and shows up in the form of any of these distancing tactics.
- Certainly, we've got to be able to see when all of this is at work in those around us and we've got to be willing to have those conversations with those who share whatever privilege we may hold. But we've also got to be willing to challenge ourselves, to think hard about the ways that we interact with one another and to get used to being uncertain or uncomfortable.
- And ultimately, we need to remember that this is the right thing to do, but it's also strategically smart. Without tackling racism within and around our communities, we put a band aid on a much bigger wound. Plus, if we don't step up as allies, we'll struggle much harder than we need to every time we head to the ballot, or the legislature, or even just talk to our friends and neighbors about the importance of LGBTQ rights.

Tactics of Resistance

Tactic	What it is	What it sounds like
Denial	Denial of existence of oppression; denial of responsibility for it.	Discrimination is a thing of the past. It's a level playing field. It's not my fault; I'm not responsible.
Minimization	Playing down the damage.	Racism isn't a big problem anymore. It's not that bad.
Blame	Justifying the oppression, blaming the victims of oppression for it.	If they weren't so angry... Women are too emotional.
Lack of intent	Claims the damage is unintentional.	Nobody meant for that to happen. It was only a joke.
It's over now	The oppression happened in the past and is no longer an issue.	We live in a post-racial society! Slavery was over a long time ago. Feminism was a good idea, but it's gone too far.
Competing victimization	Claiming that targets of oppression have so much power that society is threatened.	Women really have all the power. We just want our rights, too.

Adapted from Paul Kivel's *Uprooting Racism*, 1996, pages 40-46.

Distancing Behaviors

The behavior	What it is
Definitions	Requiring clear definitions of racism (or sexism, etc.) before committing to analysis or action (when clear definitions of religion, politics, morals, etc. are not required in similar situations).
Where are the others?	A demand that people of color be present for white people to understand themselves or commit to analysis or action (when we don't demand the presence of poor people to act on poverty).
This 'ism' isn't the only problem	The suggestion that there is little reason to concentrate on a particular 'ism' when there are others just as serious.
The distinguished lecturer	A tendency to talk about the problem without taking any action; a competition over who has the best analysis.
The instant solution	The proposal that "love" is the solution, or "changing the schools" is the solution, or a focus on one strategy which makes good sense but remains centered in how things should be rather than how they are.
Find the racist	When one or a few white people target another white person for inappropriate comments or ideas, leaving those doing the "accusing" feeling righteous but actually closing down any opportunity for meaningful discussion.
Target the expert	Asking people of color to answer questions and represent all people of color with their answers.
Geography	Claiming the real problems are "in the South," or somewhere else; or claiming, for example, that racism isn't a problem for you because there were not people of color in your community growing up.

Handout adapted from *Distancing Behaviors Among White Groups Dealing with Racism* by James Edler.

Moving from Concern to Action

- Have I intentionally and aggressively sought to educate myself further on issues of racism by talking with others, viewing films/videos, finding reading material, attending lectures, joining a study group or other activities?
- Have I spent some time reflecting on my own childhood and upbringing and analyzing where, how and when I was receiving racist messages?
- Have I spent some time recently looking at my own attitudes and behaviors as an adult to determine how I am contributing to or combating racism?
- Have I eliminated my use of light and dark imagery and other terms or phrases that might be degrading or hurtful to others?
- Have I openly disagreed with a racist comment, joke, reference, or action among those around me?
- Have I made a clear promise to myself that I will interrupt racist comments, actions, etc. that occur around me – even when this involves some personal risk?
- Have I grown in my awareness of racism in TV programs, advertising, and news coverage?
- Have I objected to those in charge about racism in TV programs, advertising, and news coverage?
- Have I taken steps to organize discussion groups or a workshop aimed at unlearning racism with friends, family members, colleagues, or members of my house of worship?
- Have I organized to support political candidates committed to racial justice and to oppose political candidates who are not?
- Have I contributed financially to an organization, fund, or project that actively confronts the problems of racism?
- Do my personal buying habits support stores and companies that demonstrate a commitment to racial justice both in the U.S. and in other countries?
- Have I organized to support multi-cultural anti-racist curriculum in local schools?
- Do I see myself as a resource person for referrals – directing white people to individuals, organizations and resources who assist others in dismantling racism?
- Have I made a contract with myself to keep paying attention to the issue of racism over weeks, months, and years?

Case Study: Portland PFLAG and Portland PFLAG Chapter

Background

Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) is a national non-profit organization with over 500 affiliates in the United States. PFLAG is a support, education and advocacy organization for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people, their families, friends and allies. In 2007, PFLAG Portland launched a new effort to support the nation's first standalone PFLAG chapter by and for communities.

Starting the conversation

The origins of the PFLAG Portland Chapter began in 2005 and 2006 in the midst of several conversations between PFLAG leadership and African American community members expressing a profound lack of support and resources for LGBTQ families. Dawn Holt, President of PFLAG Portland, remembers that time vividly.

"It took nearly five years of organizing before we even had our first meeting. At the first event, we asked folks about whether or not a chapter would be useful to them. It was like opening the floodgates. People were readily sharing their feelings, concerns, hurt, needs. It was absolutely necessary."

Holt and the predominantly white board of PFLAG Portland developed shared clarity about their roles as white people. They agreed that they wouldn't dictate what the chapter would look like or intervene if the work looked different than what they were used to. Instead, the board focused on their own development as white allies and on race in PFLAG as a whole. "I remember some very uncomfortable conversations with longstanding PFLAG members who didn't get this new direction," Holt recalls. "Our evolution wasn't linear, but it always continued to move in the right direction."

Like many predominantly white LGBTQ organizations taking their first steps into racial justice work, board members were concerned about losing support. "That was a phase. There were tense moments, but we didn't lose anyone over this commitment. Not one person."

Transforming outlooks

At the outset of launching the Chapter, PFLAG knew things would change, but they didn't know just how deeply their work—and their worldviews—would shift. "As a white person, I haven't had the kind of life experience that would lead me to understand race and racism without some serious education." Each board member went through an individual journey to understand the nature of oppression and how systems of oppression are linked, but impact all of us differently.

In those journeys, PFLAG leaders came to understand their role as allies to LGBTQ people of color. "The guiding principle was that I, as a white, straight, middle class, cisgender woman, couldn't do the work. I don't have the lived experience to do the work. That was huge, and so important."

Today, every board member understands and speaks to the importance of doing their work with an intersectional anti-oppression lens. Recently, Voz, a local Latino day laborer advocacy organization, lost funding for taking a strong stance in favor of marriage equality for LGBTQ Oregonians. The board immediately approved a donation. Their only regret? "We wished we had more to give."

Transforming the work

In addition to acting as educated allies to leaders of the Chapter, PFLAG prioritized genuinely sharing power and decision making. They shifted their board structure to ensure that the Chapter always had multiple representatives on the board. This was important both to ensure transparency and authentic partnership and also to ensure that the Chapter had proper oversight over the funds they raised.

"We were trying to really, truly elevate people we were serving into positions of power," says Holt. The shift in board structure has only strengthened the work, bringing new perspectives and deeper accountability into the core of PFLAG's leadership.

Lessons learned

Now a decade into anti-racist work, Holt offers sage advice to other predominantly white organizations looking to take action for racial justice.

- **Educate yourself first.** "You have to educate yourselves as white people about power, oppression and privilege. You have to be willing to give up your notions about what those words mean. Listen to people of color, believe their experiences and understand that their truth *is* the truth. That has to be the first thing that white people do."

- **Ask how you can help.** Approach the community you want to work with and ask what would be valuable and what you as white people can do to help. "You have to be ready to support or step aside, not lead or take over. If you don't do that, you'll replicate the problem. Be thoughtful about when you're active and when you step back."

- **Build real relationships—and be ready to make mistakes.** "Know you're going to screw up and be okay with that. I understand the fear of messing up, but it gets in the way. Making mistakes is inevitable. Nourish your relationships so that when you do screw up, people can tell you and you can all move on together. This work is all about relationships."

Holt's final parting reminder? "It's not as hard as you think it is."

From Internalized Oppression to Empowerment

Summary

This exercise is meant to be done in a closed/safe space for self-identified LGBTQ people of color. This exercise will examine the impact that racism, homophobia and transphobia have on people who identify as LGBTQ people of color. By understanding the process of oppression, participants will gain an understanding of the internalized effects it has on our communities. The exercise concludes with a participatory description and discussion of the "Ladder of Empowerment." This describes the process our identities go through in order to strive for empowerment.

Goal

To discuss the impact of internalized oppression on LGBTQ communities of color while introducing an approach to empowerment.

Agenda Outline

Exercise	Format	Time
Introduction	Lecture	15 minutes
Storytelling: oppression	Pair and share, lecture and discussion	30 minutes
Theatre of the Oppressed	Group activity and debrief	30 minutes
The Ladder of Empowerment	Lecture and large group discussion	20 minutes
Storytelling: empowerment	Pair and share	15 minutes
		110 total minutes

Materials

- Flip chart or white board
- Markers
- Handout: "The Ladder of Empowerment"

Note on trainer

This training should only be facilitated by individuals who identify as LGBTQ people of color. The trainer should be comfortable articulating the complexities and unique experience of having multiple marginalized identities and both the barriers and opportunities these bring. The trainer should also be prepared to facilitate very honest, personal and potentially emotional conversations. This training should also ideally follow an introduction of oppression training and not be the first training on oppression that people receive. If this is the first training that people are receiving on oppression, the trainer should introduce basic concepts of how oppression operates in this workshop.

1. Introduction

Trainer says:

This is a time for us as LGBTQ people of color to come together and have a discussion about our identities and the experiences unique to us. We will be discussing the impact of internalized oppression on LGBTQ communities of color and learning as a group about how we can heal and build community through empowerment, resilience and resistance. Throughout this workshop we are going to share, talk about the real impacts of oppression and create a space for open dialogue. Please take care of yourself throughout the workshop and reach out to a staff member if you need support.

Internalized racism, homophobia and transphobia are the internalization by LGBTQ people of color of the images, stereotypes, prejudices and myths promoted by the racist and anti-LGBTQ system about our identities and communities in this country. Even though LGBTQ people of color are rarely recognized by mainstream culture or politics, our thoughts and feelings about ourselves, people of color and/or other LGBTQ people are based on the oppressive messages we receive from the broader systems of culture. For many LGBTQ people of color in our communities, this manifests itself as:

Written on flip chart:

<u>The Impact of Internalized Oppression on our Community</u>:

- Self-doubt
- Inferiority complex
- Self-hate
- Powerlessness
- Hopelessness
- Apathy
- Addictive behavior
- Abusive and violent relationships
- Conflict between and within communities of color and LGBT communities

2. Storytelling: Oppression

Trainer instructs:

Find a partner for this next exercise. Now think of a time you experienced discrimination or felt the personal effects of oppression. Take two minutes to share the story with your partner and then switch and have the other person share their experience. *(Provide five minutes total to complete this task, with a verbal instruction to switch storytellers at the two-minute mark. Bring back attention from the whole group at five minutes.)*

Trainer says:

The reason we had you all share these stories was to highlight the fact that every single one of us has experienced oppression—most likely at many times and due to many factors—especially as LGBTQ people of color. This reality comes with many repercussions, but also gives us the tools to attain great strength and empowerment.

How internalized oppression impacts queer and trans communities of color

Internalized oppression in LGBTQ communities of color is a complex socialization process in which queer and transgender people of color **believe, accept and live** negative societal ideas of LGBTQ people of color. These behaviors support and help maintain racism, homophobia and transphobia. If left unexamined, internalized racial dynamics will operate to undermine any efforts of a diverse group of people of color to work collectively. In fact, the whole purpose of these behaviors is to destroy communities of color in order to maintain power and privilege for white society. Internalized racism also prevents us from reaching our potential as a whole, liberated being. Only by intentionally uncovering and confronting these dynamics can people of color build the accountable relationships and alliances necessary to confront and dismantle institutional and cultural racism in our work.

What internalized racism, homophobia and transphobia can look like:

While there is a broad range of behaviors and beliefs that manifest due to internalized oppression in LGBTQ people of color, these manifestations can often be grouped into four areas:

- **Self-concept and self-esteem**—How queer and trans people of color perceive themselves in the face of negative societal messages about their own identities.
- **Within racial groups**—How queer and trans people of color behave within their own racial group and what they believe about their racial group that perpetuates the racist paradigm.
- **Between racial groups**—How queer and trans people of color in one racial group act toward or interact with members of other racial groups and how racial groups perceive and behave toward one another in ways that reinforce negative societal messages.
- **Within institutions**—How queer and trans people of color behave within specific institutional settings toward one another and how they interact with the power structures

and white people within the institution.

Trainer instructs:
Please find a small group of three and discuss about how you have seen the concepts we just discussed impact queer and trans people and communities. How have you seen these concepts manifest in the communities your lives and communities?

3. Theatre of the oppressed

Trainer says:
We're going to try using our bodies to communicate ideas. Is anyone familiar with Theater of the Oppressed or participatory theater?

- Theatre of the Oppressed was established in the 1970s by Brazilian writer, director and activist Augusto Boal. It is a form of theatre for radical popular education by and for people engaged in the struggle for liberation.
- It can be used as a tool to fight oppression in our daily lives. This participatory theater fosters cooperative forms of interaction and helps us analyze problems and explore solutions.
- Learning about how internalized oppression operates is important to understanding the impact that internalized racism, transphobia and homophobia have on our bodies, minds and spirits as queer and trans people of color.

We're going to be exploring how race and racism manifests in our experiences as LGBTQ people of color through using a tool from Theater of the Oppressed called image sculpting. Your job is to demonstrate one of the following words given to you. Each group will be given one of the following words to sculpt:

Possible words for the group to sculpt:
- Institutional racism
- Prison industrial complex
- LGBTQ youth homelessness
- Cultural racism
- Transphobia

End with last group word:
- Queer and trans people of color community resilience, self-determination and power

Trainer instructs:

Break into groups of 4 to 5 with one person as a sculptor in each group. Using your bodies to create a picture, present a word to your group and then work to freeze your bodies your picture. You can't make sounds. You have five minutes to work on this in silence. Quickly choose a sculptor and check in on whether and how group members are okay to be touched. *Demonstrate image sculpting activity.*

- In silence, each sculptor will shape their group into a representation of the word.
- Each group will then present their images to the full group.

Trainer notes:
Each group will present their image to the large group. Give a time for the large group to walk around and look at the image. After a couple of minutes ask everyone in the room including the people in the sculpture the following questions.

Discussion prompts for all words:

- How are you feeling?
- Who has the power in this picture?
- What do you see?
- Acknowledge discomfort: It's natural to express discomfort with laughter, please try to stay in silence.
- Who has the power in this image?
- What could you do to change this image to make it more just?
- For last group word: Is there anything you would change to be even more empowering?

Trainer instructs:
Thank everyone for challenging themselves. Please fine a buddy and take the next ten minutes for debriefing and self-care. You can ask questions like: How was the activity for you? What came up for you?

4. Ladder of Empowerment

Trainer distributes:
Handout: "The Ladder of Empowerment"

Trainer says:
The Ladder of Empowerment tool is designed to highlight the impact of internalized oppression on LGBTQ people of color while outlining an approach to empowerment. Empowerment is not a state, but a process. It is a journey that all LGBTQ people of color must take in order to heal and protect ourselves from the devastating impact of racism, homophobia and transphobia.

The Ladder of Empowerment takes us through various stages in both identity development

and the process of empowerment. It is important to remember that all of these stages exist at the same time in all LGBTQ people of color. Critical questions for us to ask are which stage currently dominates our life and in what direction are we heading.
We also may be experiencing a stage as it relates to racism specifically, or homophobia or transphobia specifically, or several of these factors at once. The oppressive system is always pushing us to stay in the lower stages. Our job is to find ways to work with the people around us to help ourselves and others move through the process and become more empowered. We are going to walk through the different Stages of Development

Written on flip chart:
- Not White/Straight/Cisgender

Trainer says:
The empowerment process begins when a LGBTQ person of color realizes that they are not white, straight and/or cisgender. This can happen throughout a person's lifetime. We begin to understand that we are part of a group and not considered white, or a group that is considered straight. It is in this stage that we realize that all of the racist and anti-LGBTQ stereotypes, images, and prejudices that we are hearing and have heard are about us.

This realization can cause a psychological crisis in LGBTQ people of color. The crisis can lead to the following outcomes written on flip chart:

- LGBTQ people of color decide to try to become white and/or straight. Changing one's physical features, mannerisms and gender expression to look white and/or straight is a way to deny that they are not white/LGBTQ.
- People try to be as good as white and/or straight people. This person uses white and/or straight people as a model of humanity. So whatever white and/or straight people have, they must have. Whatever they do, we must do.
- This stage can cause depression and confusion.
- Some LGBTQ people of color get angry or mad at the realization of racist and anti-LGBTQ oppression and that they are not white and/or straight. This anger can help catapult people to the next stage.

Written on flip chart:
- Rage/Depression

Trainer says:
Rage is the stage where LGBTQ people of color are often consumed by anger at white and/or straight people for their racism, homophobia and transphobia. Rage is a reaction to the

brutal oppression LGBTQ people of color have endured for hundreds of years based on several aspects of our identity. Rage can take the form of LGBTQ people of color attacking white and/or straight people, or other antagonistic behavior. Some LGBTQ people of color actually think that rage is empowerment. But in reality, it is the opposite. Rage isn't empowerment because it usually is not driven by the desire to strategically and constructively dismantle systems of oppression. Rage is reactionary.

The other side of this stage can often be depression. LGBTQ people of color can react to the realization of the previous stage by being overwhelmed with the immensity of the oppression they will have to endure. Depression can also be the result of identity conflict.

Written on flip chart:
- Exclusion and Immersion

Trainer says:
In this stage, LGBTQ people of color use our rage productively by directing it to temporarily exclude white and/or straight people from our social lives and immerse ourselves in our own culture. This is a necessary stage of development for LGBTQ people of color. Exclusion gives us time and space to deal with our issues. Immersion can be healing time when we learn about the culture that was taken away from us. Some LGBTQ people of color mistake excluding white and/or straight people from our circle or immersing ourselves in our culture as empowerment. We think that by only having "us" around we have reached our ultimate goal. Some of these people remain in this stage for years. For other LGBTQ people of color, this exclusion and immersion can push them to the next stage. We want to learn more about ourselves, our people and our history.

Written on flip chart:
- Self-Awareness and Investigation

Trainer says:
In the previous stage, LGBTQ people of color begin to develop an awareness of ourselves, our culture and our history. But awareness is not enough; we want a much deeper level of knowledge. We need to understand our place in history and in the world. It is particularly useful and important to investigate and study the history and culture of other LGBT people, other people of color, other and that of those in power. This gives us a better perspective about ourselves and helps us prevent the wedges that racism, homophobia and transphobia so often construct between groups in order to divide and conquer us.

Written on flip chart:
- Challenging

Trainer says:
With all the knowledge and awareness that we have gained through this process, now it is time for action. We need to work with other LGBTQ people of color and white and straight people, and learn how to challenge each other and to be challenged. One of the impacts of internalized oppression is that it makes challenging racism, homophobia and transphobia difficult. Part of our empowerment is learning to resist and challenge despite the internal and external barriers. If we cannot do this, we could fall backward into one of the previous stages like rage or exclusion.

Written on flip chart:
- Collective Action

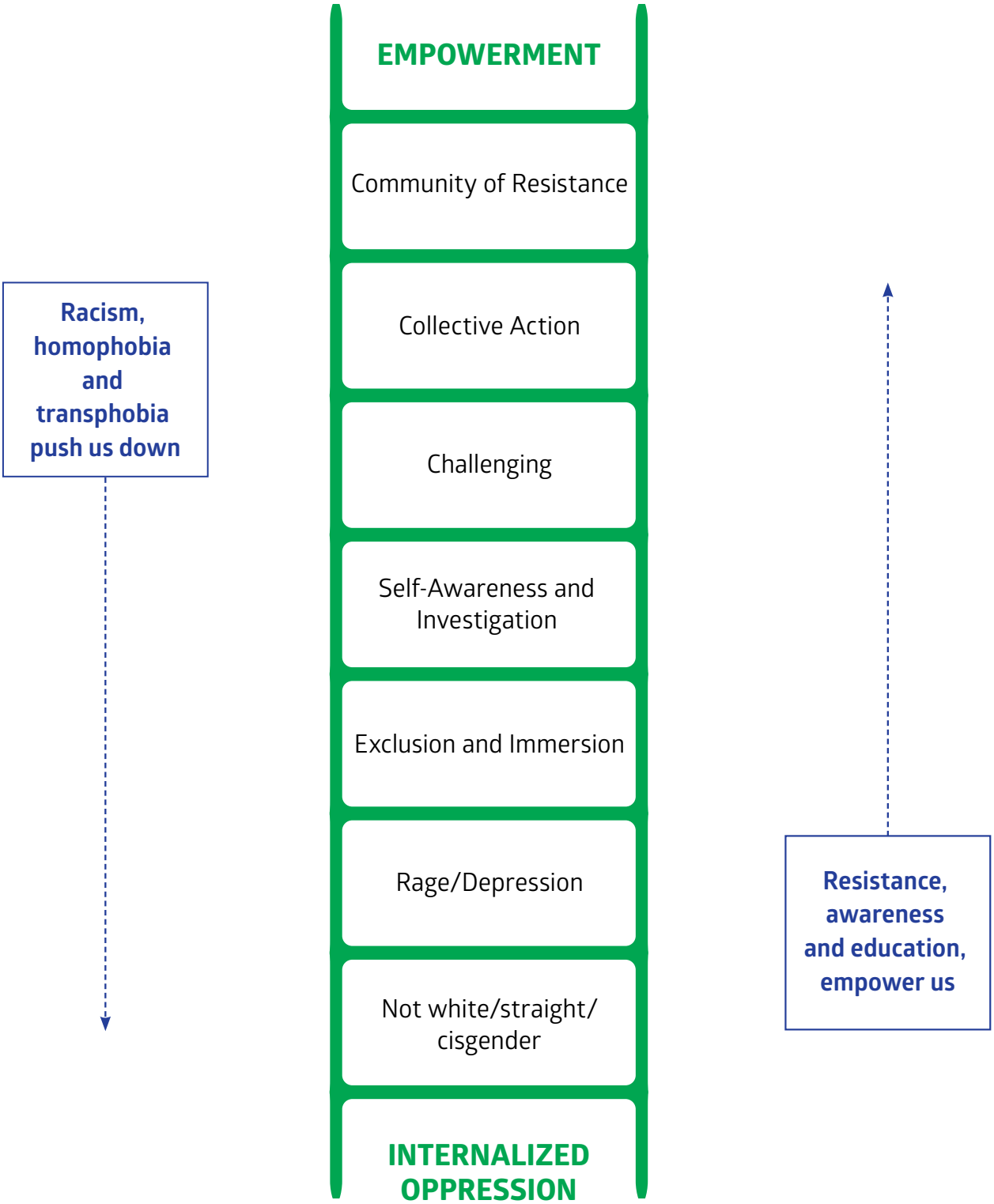
Trainer says:
It is not enough to challenge oppressive moments individually, although that is incredibly important. Here we work together to build an organization or institution. The process of empowerment becomes a collective process. LGBTQ people of color must be working with other LGBTQ and white allies to stay truly empowered. The goal is to be a part of a community of resistance.

Written on flip chart:
A community of Resistance is:
- Organizing for collective *power* to work for social justice and transformation.
- Building a community that can heal the remnants of racism, homophobia and transphobia and internalized oppression.
- Building a community or organization that can help members learn to think critically about the community, country and world.
- Developing a culture and specific projects that promote leadership development to help LGBTQ people of color live out their potential.

LGBTQ people of color can never truly be empowered until we develop formal and informal systems of accountability with our community. We must be able to hold each other responsible for our actions lovingly and effectively.

5. Storytelling: empowerment
Trainer instructs:
Find a different partner for a second round of storytelling. Now think of a time that you experienced empowerment and broke out of the cycle of oppression. Take two minutes to share the story with your partner and then switch and have the other person share their experience. *(Give participants five minutes total to complete this task, with a verbal instruction to switch storytellers at the two minute mark. Bring back the whole group for closing.)*

The Ladder of Empowerment



Challenging Oppressive Moments

Summary

Participants will learn a simple tool for interrupting racist and oppressive moments. Participants will also discuss a continuum of oppressive behavior and practice interrupting oppressive moments.

Goals

- Give individuals tools for handling racist and oppressive moments.
- Clarify the role of allies in interrupting racism.
- Understand a continuum and impacts of oppressive behavior.

Agenda Outline

Exercise	Format	Time
Introduction	Lecture and large group discussion	15 minutes
Continuum of oppressive moments	Small group activity and discussion	20 minutes
Interrupting oppressive moments	Lecture and trainer role play	30 minutes
Role play and debrief	Role plays	25 minutes
		90 total minutes

Materials

- Flip chart
- Markers
- Training tool: Continuum of Oppressive Moments, cut into enough pieces for your group

1. Introduction

Trainer says:

Oppressive moments happen all the time. As individuals, we can challenge these moments thoughtfully as we try to build justice in our communities and organizations. Within progressive social change organizations, challenging oppressive moments is essential to both internal and external work and to the success of the organization.

Challenging Oppressive Moments is a shared curricula of Western States Center and Basic Rights Education Fund.

Trainer asks the following question and writes participants responses on the flip chart:
Why is it important to challenge racist moments when they happen in our organizations?

Trainer shares the following reasons, if not already offered by participants (written on flip chart):
Challenging racism is important because...

- It creates a more supportive environment for targeted communities.
- It creates an anti-oppressive organizational culture.
- It's an opportunity for political education.
- It can hold people with institutional power accountable.
- It can create justice in the moment.
- It shows people of color that they are welcome, expected and supported.

Trainer asks:
What are you biggest fears in challenging racism?

Facilitation note:
Take responses from varied participants. Acknowledge the real fears, re-state responses and try to categorize fears that are connected or build on one another.

People will likely give a few categories of fears including: being perceived as overly "politically correct," sensitive or overreacting; not being sure about the intent of the other person; saying the wrong thing; retribution or being punished within an institutional setting; or using stereotypes to address a stereotype. Make sure to note that fears or concerns about challenging oppressive moments can change based on if you are a part of the group being targeted or an ally.

2. Continuum of oppressive moments

Facilitation note:
Break participants into smaller groups of three people. Give each group a set of seven different oppressive behaviors (the continuum should be cut and mixed up in advance).

Draw a line on the flip chart with "least dangerous" on the left end and "most dangerous" on the right end. Ask small groups to arrange the oppressive behaviors on the line from least to most dangerous. Give groups 7 to 10 minutes for the activity.

Trainer asks:
What behaviors did people have under the least dangerous? What about the most dangerous? Would you add any oppressive behaviors to this continuum?

Facilitation note:
Reveal the following on a flip chart once a few groups have talked about their own continuums:

Trainer makes the following key points:

- None of these are harmless. All of them perpetuate racism.
- The behaviors on the least dangerous end of the spectrum help to normalize hateful and oppressive behaviors on the most dangerous end of the spectrum.
- The constant presence of jokes, stereotypes and other forms of oppressive behavior create an atmosphere of tolerance for more physically dangerous and lethal situations.
- Discrimination is before harassment because harassment is an escalating behavior. Discriminating against someone because they belong to a particular group is typically about exclusion or denial of equal rights, whereas harassment is a proactive attempt to minimize, hurt or degrade someone because of their identity.
- Most forms of oppression can be placed on this type of continuum. For the rest of the training, we will focus on challenging racist moments that will not likely escalate to physical violence.

Trainer asks:
Does anyone have anything they want to add to the main points?

3. Interrupting oppressive moments

Trainer says:
It's important to be clear when you are a target of the oppression and when you are an ally to the group being oppressed.

Trainer asks:
Why do you think this can be an important difference?

Key trainer points:
Your response an ally should be different from the response that you may have when you are a member of the group being targeted. When someone tells a joke that is offensive to my identity, I may decide to leave the room, to laugh it off, to ignore it, to support other people in the room who share my identity or to talk to the person who told the joke later. And sometimes maintaining self-care may be all I feel up to and that's fine. I can also interrupt the

moment, but these other options are important when you are being targeted.

This changes when I'm an ally who hears an oppressive comment being made. Allies who choose not to challenge oppressive moments externally can be seen as being complicit or a part of the oppression. When allies choose not to act, they are acting oppressively.

Trainer says:
Now let's try a tool that will hopefully be a big help in these moments. The model we are going to practice for interrupting racist moments has four simple steps.

Written on a flip chart:
Assertiveness model
1 Breathe.
2 Name the behavior.
3 Talk about how it makes you fell and why the behavior is oppressive.
4 Give a direction.

Trainer explains:
Breathe. It is always helpful to ground oneself.

Name the behavior. In this model, it is useful to focus on behavior instead of a person. We are not labelling the person, just naming the behavior.

Talk about how it makes you feel or say what the impact of the behavior is. When we choose to tell someone how we feel, it often helps to keep the relationship strong during and after the interruption. For example, when we care about someone and want to continue being in relationship with them, then it can sometimes be helpful to share our feelings. In other situations it may be most helpful to talk with someone about why the behavior is oppressive.

Give a direction. Giving a clear direction about what you expect from the person, like "Please don't say that again" or "I want to ask you to do some thinking about why you feel that way" can be very helpful in ending an oppressive moment. It can also help prevent a much longer conversation.

Trainer says:
Now we're going to practice by using this model on something that is not an oppressive moment.

Facilitation note:
Make sure that participants stick to three or four sentences only. Remind people to breath before speaking. Model the first example and then ask others to respond to you as the person

giving direction.

Examples

- Someone is standing too close in a grocery store: "You're standing too close to me. I don't like it. Take a step back."
- Your friend keeps forgetting to return your favorite cookbook: "You keep forgetting to bring back my cookbook, which is frustrating to me. Please put it in your bag as soon as you get home."
- A co-worker keeps coming by your office to chat, but you have a big deadline to meet: "You've been by to chat several times today, but I'm feeling overwhelmed with this deadline. Let's talk during lunch tomorrow instead."

Trainer asks:
What do you think? What worked well?

Written on flip chart:
DO

- Have good body language.
- Maintain eye contact.
- If the oppressive moment happens in the group, try to say something in the moment.
- Ask the person to let you finish and listen.

DON'T

- Name call.
- Talk for too long, this isn't the time for an extensive conversation—that's better one-on-one later.
- Stray from the moment or use other examples—do stick to the situation you're in.
- Gossip about the person later if you're not willing to address it directly with the individual.

4. Role play and debrief

Facilitation note:
Transition to role playing interrupting specific racist comments and build a sample script or scenarios in advance that feel salient for your group. Make sure to select participants for the role plays before the training starts, asking them to read the scripts so that they are familiar with the scenarios.

Since the role play is about interrupting a racist moment, please let people of color participants know that they are welcome to pass on the activity or participate in ways that feel

comfortable to them.

The trainer may play the person interrupting the racism each time to ensure it is modeled well or split the group into pairs so one partner will play the person making an oppressive comment; the other person will interrupt it.

Role plays should take 20 minutes. Be sure that folks switch roles and circulate in the room to see how things are going.

Debrief pairs in the large group by asking what worked well. Participants could have a tough time with the last part of the assertiveness model—giving direction. So close with a brainstorm about additional direction statements and write group responses on the flip chart.

Training Tool:
Continuum of Oppressive Moments

Cut this sheet so that each behavior is on a separate smaller piece of paper and so that workshop participants can create their own continuum.

Jokes

Name calling

Stereotypes

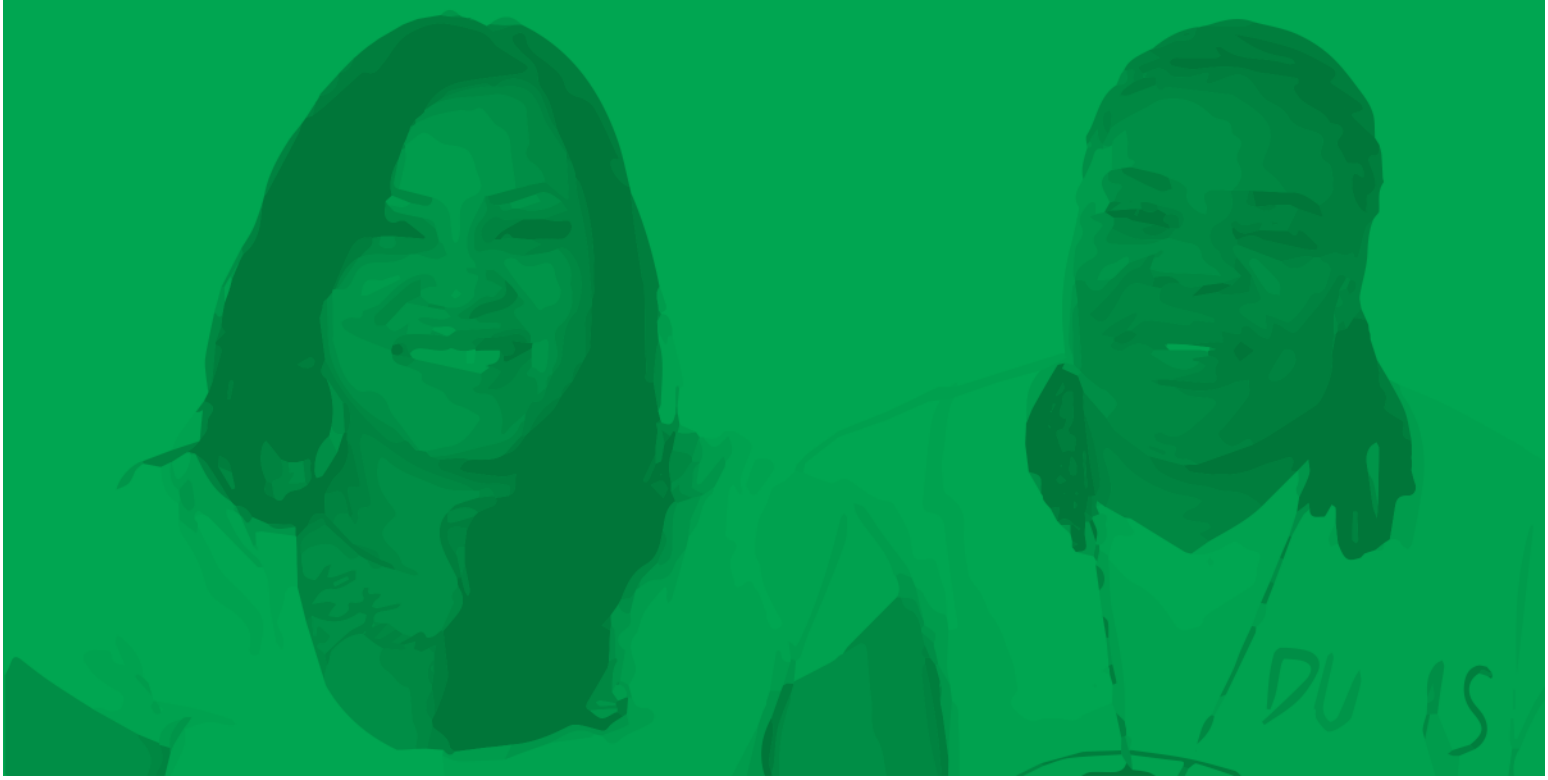
Discrimination

Harassment

Physical or sexual assault

Murder

Linking the Issues



Linking the Issues

Demonstrating the clear links between LGBTQ rights and racial justice is where much of our work in this toolkit comes to life. It's where our supporters can see the real-life connections that bridge our communities and movements. And it's where we, as organizations, can realize the rewards of a broadening coalition, a deepening analysis and an energized, invested base.

The information and activities in this section are designed to help volunteers, donors and constituents understand—and feel—the urgency of working across identities, communities and justice movements. The workshops, tools and readings present a number of opportunities in our work: opportunities to expose the people and tactics that attack both LGBTQ communities and communities of color; opportunities to talk about the shared and contrasting experiences of LGBTQ communities and communities of color; and opportunities to counteract the all too frequent lack of visibility for LGBTQ people of color, immigrants and refugees.

The workshops and tools in this section are some of our most relied upon curriculum and political education pieces. When we work to link critical issues, we see our base shows up in more meaningful ways and engage in intersectional justice work that crosses identities and communities.

What you will find in this section:

Workshop	Format	Time
Common Elements of Oppression and Corresponding Handouts	Lecture, large group discussion and activity	45 minutes
Countering Wedge Strategies and Corresponding Handouts	Lecture and group discussion	45 minutes
Civil Rights and LGBTQ Equality: Comparing Two Movements	Lecture and group discussion	25 minutes
Handout: Language Guide on Linking Racial Justice and the Freedom to Marry	Reading and training tool	N/A

Workshop	Format	Time
Immigrant Rights, Racial Justice and LGBTQ Equality: Timeline Tool	Lecture, discussion and activity	60 minutes
Law Enforcement, Incarceration and LGBTQ and People of Color	Lecture, discussion and activity	140 minutes
Handout: Incorporating Racial Justice in Volunteer One-on-Ones	Reading	N/A
Listening Session Model	Sample agenda for an LGBTQ youth of color visioning workshop	90 minutes
Planning Tool: Community Town Halls	Reading/planning tool	N/A
Case Study: How Oregon Kept Religious Exemption off the Ballot	Reading	N/A

Common Elements of Oppression

Summary

In order to understand how racism functions, we break it down into basic elements. By no means does this workshop present an exhaustive list of elements of oppression, but it's a starting point for unpacking the basics. It's also important to note that when oppression is based on multiple identities, it creates a unique and compounding experience.

Goals

- To gain a shared understanding of how different types of oppression are similar and distinct at the same time.
- To build a shared language around oppression.

Agenda Outline

Exercise	Format	Time
Introduction and instructions	Large group discussion	10 minutes
Guess the term	Activity	15 minutes
Report back and debrief	Individuals share with larger group	15 minutes
Closing	Lecture	5 minutes
		45 total minutes

This workshop tool was adapted from Western States Center's Dismantling Racism: A Resource Book for Social Change Groups (pages 26-36). Dismantling Racism Project, Western States Center, http://www.westernstatescenter.org/tools-and-resources/Tools/Dismantling%20Racism.

Materials

- Flip chart, markers and easel
- Stickers or half sheets of paper with terms written on them
- Handout: "The Common Elements of Oppression"

1. Introduction and instructions

Trainer says:

In order to understand how forms of racism function, we have to break them down into more basic elements. In 1988, Suzanne Pharr wrote an essay that aimed to talk about those basic elements as they worked in many forms of oppression, including racism. In the introduction to that essay, she wrote:

Written on flip chart:

"There is no hierarchy of oppressions. Each is terrible and destructive. To eliminate one oppression successfully, a movement has to include work to eliminate them all or else success will always be limited and incomplete."

Trainer says:

This is a huge part of the reason that we're all here today—to make anti-oppression work the most effective it can be. So let's explore some of those common elements of oppression that Suzanne Pharr defined.

Trainer distributes:

Each individual gets a sign (name tag stickers or half sheets of paper work well) with one of Suzanne Pharr's 16 terms from "The Common Elements of Oppression" on it. Place a sign/term on the back of each participant—make sure they do not see or know what their term is. If there are more than 16 participants, double up on terms. It is ok if more than one person has the same term.

2. Guess the term

Trainer Instructs:

Participants have 10 minutes to talk to other people in the room who can offer examples or definitions of their term, but they may NOT use the term in its own definition. Participants can neither confirm nor deny whether someone else has guessed correctly. Each individual person must talk to at least three others to get examples and definitions of their word. Remember:

Written on flip chart:

- DON'T look at your term!

- DON'T use the term in its own definition!
- DO give others an example of their term.
- DON'T confirm or deny correct guesses.
- DO talk to 3 people!

3. Report back and debrief

Call the full group back together.

Trainer asks/instructs:

- Who is absolutely sure they know what their term is?
- What clues were you given?
- What do you think your term is?
- Ask participant to reveal term.
- Ask group: "Does anybody feel like they have a really good definition of this term?"
- Read Pharr's definition.

With time, move on to folks who had no idea what their term was, then those who were moderately sure.

4. Closing

Trainer points for closing:

- These are facts of life for members of oppressed groups, but they are also tactics put forth by our opposition strategically to maintain the status quo. And these tactics are set in motion not by members of the oppressed group, but largely by members of the empowered majority—who are often straight, white, male, cisgender, able-bodied, thin appearing and documented American citizens.

- Although different types of oppression are interlocking and at times operate similarly, each type of oppression is distinct in how it is enacted and how it is experienced.

- In order to fight homophobia, we can't just work to gain rights for the LGBTQ community; we must also work for broader social justice, and think and talk critically about oppression and the ways in which it operates.

- We must recognize the ways in which our opposition uses these various forms of oppression to wedge different oppressed groups to fight amongst each other. Often, when communities fight amongst each other it's distracting and gives powerful groups a better opportunity to maintain their power.

- Appropriating terms like “all lives matter” instead of “Black lives matter” does not honor and recognize the distinct oppression and anti-Black racism faced by Black-identified members of the community.

We can honor the distinct ways in which all groups face oppression, and unite around the fact that we experience oppression. Here are some pointers:

- Create the right time and space to honor individual oppressions.
- Ensure that there is no appropriation of other identities or movements.
- Centralize the voices of those who experience multiple oppressions and are the most vulnerable, such as LGBTQ people of color.
- Talk about the movement that unites us to end oppression on all levels.

COMMON ELEMENTS OF OPPRESSION—16 TERMS:

Defined norm

Institutional power

Economic power

Myth of scarcity

Violence

The other

Internalized oppression

Invisibility

Horizontal hostility

Distortion

Stereotyping

Blaming the victim

Tokenism

Isolation

Individual solutions

Assimilation

The Common Elements of Oppression

By Suzanne Pharr

It is virtually impossible to view one oppression, such as sexism or homophobia, in isolation because they are all connected: sexism, racism, homophobia, classism, ableism, anti-Semitism, ageism. They are linked by a common origin-economic power and control—and by common methods of limiting, controlling and destroying lives. There is no hierarchy of oppressions. Each is terrible and destructive. To eliminate one oppression successfully, a movement has to include work to eliminate them all or else success will always be limited and incomplete.

To understand the connection among the oppressions, we must examine their common elements. The first is a *defined norm*, a standard of rightness and often righteousness wherein all others are judged in relation to it. This norm must be backed up with institutional power, economic power, and both institutional and individual violence. It is the combination of these three elements that makes complete power and control possible. In the United States, that norm is male, white, heterosexual, Christian, temporarily able-bodied, youthful, and has access to wealth and resources. It is important to remember that an established norm does not necessarily represent a majority in terms of number; it represents those who have ability to exert power and control over others.

It is also important to remember that this group has to have *institutional* power. For instance, I often hear people say that they know people of color simply do not have institutional power to back up their hatred or bigotry or prejudice and therefore cannot be deemed racist. In the same way, women do not have the power to institutionalize their prejudice against men, so there is no such thing as "reverse sexism." How do we know this? We simply have to take a look at the representation of women and people of color in our institutions. Take, for example, the U.S. Congress. What percentage of its members are people of color or women? Or look at the criminal justice system which carries out the laws the white males who predominate in Congress create: how many in that system are people of color? And then when we look at the percentage of each race that is incarcerated, that is affected by these laws, we see that a disproportionate number are people of color.

Text from *Homophobia: A Weapon of Sexism* Expanded Edition by Suzanne Pharr, pages 53-64, Chardon Press, 1997.

We see the same lack of representation in financial institutions, in the leadership of churches and synagogues, in the military.

In our schools, the primary literature and history taught are about the exploits of white men, shown through the white man's eyes. history, for instance, is still relegated to one month, whereas "American history" is taught all year around. Another major institution, the media, remains controlled and dominated by white men and their images of themselves.

In order for these institutions to be controlled by a single group of people, there must be *economic power*. Earlier I discussed the necessity to maintain racism and sexism so that people of color and women will continue to provide a large pool of unpaid or low-paid labor. Once economic control is in the hands of the few, all others can be controlled through perpetuation of the *myth of scarcity* which suggests that our resources are limited and blames the poor for using up too much of what little there is to go around. It is this myth that is called forth, for instance, when those in power talk about immigration through our southern borders (immigrants who also happen to be people of color). The warning is clear: if you let those people in, they will take your jobs, ruin your schools which are already in economic struggle, destroy the few neighborhoods that are good for people to live in. People are pitted against one another along race and class lines. Meanwhile, those who have economic power continue to make obscenely excessive profits, often by taking their companies out of the country into economically depressed countries occupied by people of color where work can be bought for minuscule wages and profits are enormous. It is not the poor or working class population that is consuming and/or destroying the world's resources; it is those who make enormous profits from the exploitation of those resources, the top 10 percent of the population.

That economic power ensures control of institutions. Let's go back to the example of the Congress. How much does it cost to run a campaign to be elected to the House or Senate? One does not find poor people there, for in order to spend the hundreds of thousands of dollars that campaigns cost, one has to be either personally rich or well connected to those who are rich. And the latter means being in debt, one way or another, to the rich. Hence, when a congressperson speaks or votes, who does he (or occasionally she) speak for? Those without access to wealth and resources or those who pay the campaign bills? Or look at the criminal justice system. It is not by chance that crimes against property are dealt with more seriously than crimes against persons. Or that police response to calls from well-to-do neighborhoods is more efficient than to poor neighborhoods. Schools in poor neighborhoods in most instances lack good facilities and resources; and a media that is controlled by advertising does not present an impartial, truth-seeking vision of the world. Both schools and the media present what is in the best interest of the prevailing norm.

The maintenance of societal and individual power and control requires the use of *violence and the threat of violence*. Institutional violence is sanctioned through the criminal justice system and the threat of the military-for quelling individual or group uprisings. One of the places we can most readily see the interplay of institutional and individual violence is in the white man's dealings with the Native American population. Since the white man first "discovered" this country, which was occupied by large societies of Indians who maintained their own culture, religion, politics, education, economy and justice, the prevailing norm has been to lay claim to land resources for those who have the power to establish control by might and thus ensure their superior economic position. This "might" bring with it a sense of superiority and often of divine right. The Native Americans were driven from their land and eventually placed (some would say incarcerated) on reservations. By defending their lands and their lives, they became the "enemy". Consequently, we now have a popular culture whose teaching of history represents the Native American as a cruel savage and through hundreds of films shows the white man as civilized and good in pursuing his destiny and the Native American as bad in protecting his life and culture. Institutional racism is so complete that now great numbers of Native Americans, having lost their land and having had their culture assaulted, live in poverty and in isolation from the benefits of mainstream culture. And on the personal level, racism is so overt that television stations still run cowboy-and-Indian movies, and parents buy their children cowboy-and-Indian outfits so that they can act out genocide in their play.

For gay men and lesbians this interplay of institutional and personal violence comes through both written and unwritten laws. In the 25 states that still have sodomy laws, there is an increase in tolerance for violence against lesbians and gay men, whether it is police harassment or the lack of police protection when gay and lesbian people are assaulted. The fact that courts in many states deny custody to gay and lesbian parents and that schools, either through written or unwritten policy, do not hire openly gay and lesbian teachers creates a climate in which it is permissible to act out physical violence toward lesbian and gay people.

And as I discussed in an earlier chapter, for all groups it is not just the physical violence that controls us but the ever constant *threat of violence*. For women, it is not just the rape and battering or the threat of these abuses but also that one's life is limited by the knowledge that one quite likely will not be honored in court. The violence is constantly nurtured by institutions that do not respect those different from the norm. Thus, the threat of violence exists at every level.

There are other ways the defined norm manages to maintain its power and control other than through institutional power, economic power and violence. One way the defined norm is kept an essentially closed group is by a particular system known as *lack of prior claim*. At its simplest, this

means that if you weren't there when the original document (the Constitution, for instance) was written or when the organization was first created, then you have no right to inclusion. Since those who wrote the Constitution were white male property owners who did not believe in the complete humanity of either women or s, then these two groups have had to battle for inclusion. If women and people of color were not in business (because of the social and cultural restrictions on them) when the first male business organizations were formed, then they now have to fight for inclusion. The curious thing about lack of prior claim is that it was simply the circumstances of the moment that put the original = people there in every case, yet when those who were initially excluded begin asking for or demanding inclusion, they are seen as disruptive people, as trouble-makers, as women who participated in the suffrage movement and the men and women who formed the civil rights movement. For simply asking for one's due, one was vilified and abused. This is an effective technique, making those struggling for their rights the ones in the wrong. Popular movements are invalidated and minimized, their participants cast as enemies of the people, and social change is obstructed by those holding power who cast themselves as defenders of tradition and order.

Those who seek their rights, who seek inclusion, who seek to control their own lives instead of having their lives controlled, are the people who fall outside the norm. They are defined in relation to the norm and are found lacking. They are *the Other*. If they are not part of the norm, they are seen as abnormal, deviant, inferior, marginalized, not "right", even if they as a group (such as women) are a majority of the population. They are not considered fully human. By those identified as the Norm, the Other is unknown, difficult to comprehend, whereas the Other always knows and understands those who hold power; one has to in order to survive. As in the television series "Upstairs, Downstairs," the servants always knew the inner workings of the ruling families' lives while the upstairs residents who had economic control knew little of the downstairs workers' lives. In slavery, the slave had to know the complexity, the inner workings of the slave owners' lives in order to protect him/herself from them.

The Other's existence, everyday life, and achievements are kept unknown through *invisibility*. When we do not see the differently abled, the aged, gay men and lesbians, and people of color on televisions, in movies, in educational books, etc., there is reinforcement of the idea that the Norm is the majority and others either do not exist or do not count. Or when there is false information and *distortion* of events through selective presentation or the re-writing of history, we see only the negative aspects or failures of a particular group. For instance, it has been a major task of the civil rights movement and the women's movement to write s and women back into history and to correct the distorted versions of their history that have been presented over centuries.
This distortion and lack of knowledge of the Other expresses itself in *stereotyping*,

that subtle and effective way of limiting lives. It is through stereotyping that people are denied their individual characteristics and behavior and are dehumanized. The dehumanizing process is necessary to feed the oppressor's sense of being justified and to alleviate the feeling of guilt. If one stereotypes all gay men as child molesters and gives them the daily humiliations of pejorative names, such as "faggot" or "cock-sucker", then a school administration can feel justified, even righteous, in not hiring them, and young heterosexual males can feel self-righteous when physically attacking them on the streets. In stereotyping, the actions of the few dictate the classification of the entire group while the norm is rarely stereotyped. Because of the belief that groups outside the norm think and behave in unified stereotypical ways, people who hold power will often ask a person of color, "What do your people think about this idea (or thing)?" When do we ever ask a white man, "What do the white men in his country (or organization) think about this?" They are expected to have and to express individual judgments and opinions.

Stereotyping contributes to another common element of oppressions: *blaming the victim* for the oppression. In order for oppression to be thoroughly successful, it is necessary to involve the victim in it. The victim lives in an environment of negative images (stereotypes) and messages, backed up by violence, victim-hating and blaming, all of which leads to low self-esteem and self-blame in the victim. The oppression thus becomes internalized. The goal of this environment is to lead the victim to be complicit with her/his victimization: to think that it is deserved and should not be resisted.

Some of the best work feminists have done is to change attitudes from blaming the victim to blaming the abuser-a very slow change that is still incomplete. It is no longer automatically the norm to blame victims of battering, rape and incest for having somehow been responsible for the harm done them; instead, people are more inclined to stop supporting male dominance by protecting the abuser. However, we have yet to examine thoroughly the blame we put on victims of racism, homophobia and anti-Semitism. People are condemned for being who they are, for their essence as humans. When we are clear of those oppressions, we will understand that the issue is not one's racial, ethnic, religious or sexual identity-one should have the inalienable right to be who one is-but the problem is racism, sexism, anti-Semitism, and homophobia and the power they support and protect.

Blaming the victim for their oppression diverts attention from the true abuser or the cause of the victimization. For example, a commonly held belief is that people are poor because they are unwilling to work. The belief is supported by the stereotypes that poor people are lazy, abuse welfare, etc. What goes unnoted is the necessity for poverty in an economic system in which wealth is held and controlled by the few. If the poor are in poverty because they deserve it, then the rich need not feel any guilt or compunction about their concentrated wealth. In fact, they can feel deserving and superior.

Blaming the victim leads to the victim feeling complicit with the oppression, of deserving it. As one takes in the negative messages and stereotypes, there is a weakening of self-esteem, self-pride and group pride. When the victim of the oppression is led to believe the negative views of the oppressor, this phenomenon is called *internalized oppression*. It takes the form of self-hatred, which can express itself in depression, despair, and self-abuse. It is no surprise, therefore, that the incidence of suicide is high among gay men and lesbians, for they live in a world in which messages of hatred and disgust are unrelenting. Nor is it surprising that the differently abled come to think there is no hope for their independence or for them to receive basic human services, for they are taught that the problem is with them, not society. Any difference from the norm is seen as a deficiency, as bad.

Sometimes the internalized oppression is acted out as *horizontal hostility*. If one has learned self-hatred because of one's membership in a "minority" group, then that disrespect and hatred can easily be extended to the entire group so that one does not see hope or promise for the whole. It is safer to express hostility toward other oppressed peoples than toward the oppressor. Hence, we see people destroying their own neighborhoods, displaying violence and crime toward their own people, or in groups showing distrust of their own kind while respecting the power of those who make up the norm. Sometimes the internalized oppression leads people to be reluctant to associate with others in their group. Instead, their identity is with those in power. Hence, a major part of every social change movement has been an effort to increase the pride and self-esteem of the oppressed group, to bond people together for the common good.

A major component of every oppression is *isolation*. Victims of oppressions are either isolated as individuals or as a "minority" group. Take, for example, those who experience rape or incest or battering. Prior to the women's movement and the speakouts that broke the silence on these issues, women who had experienced abuse were isolated from one another, thought they were alone in experiencing it, and thought, as society dictated, that they were to blame for the abuse.

It was through women coming together in the anti-violence movement that we learned that indeed there was something larger going on, that violence was happening to millions of women; out of that coming together grew an analysis of male power and control that led to a movement to end violence against women. Another example: before the civil rights movement, there were citizens in the South who were isolated because of their lack of access to resources, in this case, to education and literacy. Because they could not read, they could not pass the tests that allowed them to vote. The Citizenship Schools that began on St. Johns Island, South Carolina, taught s to read the Constitution so that they could pass the test; in reading the Constitution, they learned that they too had rights. These schools spread across

the South; people came together out of their isolation, and a civil rights movement was born.

In order to break down the power and control exercised by the few, it is clear that people of all oppressed groups must come together to form a movement that speaks for everyone's rights. People will gain their human rights, justice, and inclusion through group effort, not through isolated individual work. However, those who hold power oppose group organizing efforts and use many strategies to destroy such efforts: invalidation, minimization, intimidation, infiltration, etc.

Two of the more subtle ways that society blocks solidarity within groups from ever occurring are the tactics of *assimilation and tokenism*. There are extraordinary pressures for members of any "minority" group to assimilate, to drop one's own culture and differences and become a mirror of the dominant culture. This process requires turning one's back on one's past and one's people.

Assimilation supports the myth of the melting pot in which all immigrants were poured in, mixed a bit, and then emerged as part of the dominant culture: white, heterosexual, and Christian.

Assimilation is a first requirement of those who are chosen as tokens in the workplace of the dominant culture. "She's a Jew but she doesn't act like a Jew." "He's but he's just like us." Tokenism is the method of limited access that gives false hope to those left behind and blames them for "not making it." "If these two or three women or disabled people can make it, then what is wrong with you that you can't?" Tokenism is a form of co-optation. It takes the brightest and best of the most assimilated, rewards them with position and money (though rarely genuine leadership and power), and then uses them as a model of what is necessary to succeed, even though there are often no more openings for others who may follow their model.

The tokenized person receives pressure from both sides. From those in power there is the pressure to be separate from one's group (race, for instance) while also acting as a representative of the entire group. "We tried hiring a person color but it just didn't work out." (Therefore people of color can't succeed here.) The tokenized person is expected to become a team player, which means that identifying racist activity within the organization or working on behalf of one's community is seen as disloyalty. The pressure from one's community, on the other hand, is to fight for that community's concerns, in other words, to help from the inside. Of course, it is virtually impossible to work from the inside because the tokenized person is isolated and lacks support. It is a "no win" situation, filled with frustration and alienation.

At the heart of this strategy, which gets played out at every level of society, is an individualized approach to success. The example of Horatio Alger and the notion of "pulling oneself up by the bootstraps"

still lives. Daily news reports do not show successful organizing efforts; in fact, the media minimize even undeniably successful ones as was the case with the reporting of the 1989 Gay and Lesbian March on Washington. The media reported the march to have 200,000 in attendance when it was announced by Jesse Jackson from the stage that police and march organizers were reporting over 500,000 there. Instead of reporting group efforts, the media concentrated on "human interest" stories, following the lead of people such as Ronald Reagan who give accounts of individuals who beat the odds and succeed. They become "models" for others in their circumstances to follow. But what good are models when closed systems do not permit general success?

Group organizing, even among progressive people, often gets replaced by an emphasis on *individual solutions*. Hence, instead of seeking ways to develop an economic system that emphasizes cooperation and shared wealth, people encourage entrepreneurship and small business enterprises. Union organizing is under siege in an effort to keep labor costs low and profits high. In the women's movement, more women choose individual therapy rather than starting or joining consciousness raising groups. In the area of health, communities do major organizing, for example, to raise enormous funds to provide a liver transplant for an individual child but do not work together to change the medical system so that all who need them can get organ transplants. The emphasis upon individual solutions is counter to movement making, to broad social change.

The emphasis upon individual achievement feeds right into blaming those who don't succeed for their failure. It separates people rather than bringing them together to make change.

We must find ways to build coalition, to make broad social changes for all of us. There are many more people who are considered the Other (though called, ironically, the minority) than those who are defined as the Norm. We must become allies in a movement that works against power and control by the few and for shared power and resources for the many. To do this work, we will have to build a program that provides an analysis of the oppressions, their connections, and together we must seek ways to change those systems that limit our lives.

The Common Elements of Oppression—Definitions

DEFINED NORM
A standard of being or behavior backed up with institutional and economic power as well as institutional and individual violence. For example, in the United States there exists a defined norm which takes its form as the white, heterosexual male, of the middle or upper classes, temporarily able-bodied and of a Christian (usually Protestant) background.

INSTITUTIONAL POWER
Majority status at the upper levels of the major institutions that comprise a society.

ECONOMIC POWER
The control of economic resources through laws and policies that reinforce the status quo.

MYTH OF SCARCITY
The idea that resources are limited in such a way that those not in power are to blame for economic problems.

VIOLENCE/THREAT OF VIOLENCE
The sanctioning of violence either through direct threat or through lack of protection.

THE OTHER
Those who are not part of the defined norm.

INTERNALIZED OPPRESSION
The devaluing of one's own identity and culture according to societal norms.

INVISIBILITY
Ignoring or denying the existence, histories and achievements of certain groups of people.

DISTORTION
The selective presentation and false representation of the lives and histories of particular groups of people.

STEREOTYPING
Defining people through beliefs about a group of which they are a part; usually a product of

ignorance about the diversity among individuals within any given group.

BLAMING THE VICTIM

Assigning blame to the targets of oppression for the oppression itself and for its manifestations.

TOKENISM

A limited number of people from non-dominant groups are chosen for positions in order to deflect criticism of oppression.

ISOLATION

A necessary component of oppression that frames injustice in terms of individuals, rather than recognizing commonalties between members of a group or between groups.

INDIVIDUAL SOLUTIONS

Seeking to create change at an individual level, rather than at the level of social change.

ASSIMILATION

Taking on the appearance and values of the dominant culture; it is important to recognize that assimilation is often forced.

Countering Wedge Strategies

Summary

This short workshop focuses on the wedge strategies that the conservative far right has developed and used for decades to target several communities simultaneously—including LGBTQ communities and communities of color. Participants will discuss and become familiar with these tactics that serve to divide and conquer, keeping us from building a powerful and progressive movement.

Goals

- Identify common language and tactics used by the far right to attack LGBTQ communities and communities of color.
- Dispel myths that serve to divide LGBTQ communities and communities of color

Agenda Outline

Exercise	Format	Time
The history of "special rights"	Lecture and group discussion	20 minutes
Wedge issues and myths	Lecture and group discussion	25 minutes
		45 total minutes

Materials

- Flip chart and markers
- Handout: "Examples of Wedge Strategies"

1. The history of "special rights"

Trainer asks:

Who has heard the term "special rights"? In what context was this term used? To whom or what did it refer to?

Trainer instructions:

Call on participants and write responses on a flip chart. Have participants describe how "special rights" was framed with each example. Draw an umbrella at the top of the flip chart, above the group responses.

Trainer says (bold text may be referenced on a flip chart):
The reason we draw this umbrella is to illustrate how so-called "special rights" is used to attack many of our communities at once, even though human rights are inherent to everyone.

During the 1990's, the far right finely tuned their framework of "special rights" and effectively linked it to key issues areas including:

1 **LGBTQ equality:** Throughout the United States, LGBTQ equality has been challenged at the ballot, in the courts and by our legislatures and local governing lawmaking bodies. In fact, Oregon has had the nation's highest number of anti-LGBTQ ballot measure attacks. In these campaigns, "special rights" messaging have been used to undermine anti-discrimination policies, marriage equality and many other campaigns seeking to afford LGBTQ people basic rights. How can we expect to see this tactic evolve as our opposition gears up to defeat or roll back our recent victories?

2 **Affirmative Action:** California's Proposition 209 in 1996 wiped away the state's Affirmative Action programs relying on the frame that Affirmative Action created "special rights" and was "reverse discrimination." In 1998, Washington State modeled California's law—receiving funding from 209's backers—to create I-200 that successfully ended Affirmative Action programs in the Evergreen State. Both state campaigns to end Affirmative Action were led by white males, but hired people of color and women to be the spokespersons.

3 **English-Only**: In the last decade, state legislatures across the country—including in Oregon and Idaho have considered bills to make English the official and only language of the state. Common, xenophobic arguments in favor of English-Only laws are that tax-funded materials and resources, such as bilingual services and education, is a "Special Right." Without the ability to easily communicate, particularly around medical, legal and other basic needs, many immigrants have no access to essential means in order to further themselves, or sometimes even survive.

The far right has also been very successful at scapegoating marginalized communities.

- **The LGBTQ community** has consistently been used as a scapegoat. For example, the far right has charged the LGBTQ community for being at fault for the moral deconstruction of the "all-American" nuclear family structure, under the banner of "family values." Starting in the early 2000's, conservative forces effectively used ballot initiatives to establish constitutional bans on same sax marriage as a tool to galvanize votes for conservative candidates and "gay-baiting" frequently occurs across the country to defeat pro-equality candidates.

- **Immigrant communities** have also long been targeted as scapegoats, blamed for economic problems and labeled as threats to "homeland security." Yet national trade policies have devastated the economies of other countries, forcing workers to migrate to the U.S., often separated from their families for years just to be able to support them. Meanwhile, corporations continue moving millions of jobs out of the U.S. in search of low wage markets without labor protections or strong unions.

Trainer says:
Let's talk about consolidation of power by the far right. By using the umbrella of "special rights" and scapegoating marginalized communities, the far right has been very successful at moving a multi-issue agenda that does violence to many groups of people including immigrant families, LGBTQ communities and low-income and working poor families.

3. Wedge issues and myths

Trainer says:
A wedge issue is not just a controversial issue. It is an issue that is carefully framed by our opposition to get the potential base for an issue to prioritize one part of their identity over another part of their identity.

Trainer instructions:
Call on participants to share examples of divisive wedge issue messages they've heard or experienced. Feel free to write responses on a flip chart. Examples of some common myths that come up in the context of wedge issues are below.

1 **People of color communities are more homophobic than white communities.** Homophobia cannot be broken down by political party, gender, religious affiliation or race. Unfortunately, homophobia is pervasive in every community and reinforced by oppressive policies and institutions governed by white, heterosexual male leadership. However, the far right consistently and strategically positions LGBTQ and communities of color against each other.

2 **LGBTQ people are white, while people of color are straight.** This isn't always explicitly stated. More often, it is implied. People of color are just as likely to identify as LGBTQ as anyone. This myth ignores the intersectional identities of LGBTQ people of color and the complex relationship we/they share with both communities. It pushes LGBTQ people of color even further to the margins and creates barriers to reaching out and building relationships in immigrant and communities of color. It also discounts the added struggle for LGBTQ immigrants to be able to support, unite with and have their families recognized under hurtful immigration policies that discriminate against several aspects of our/their identity.

3 **If we could just show communities of color that we were oppressed like them, they would support us.** There is real discomfort and anger around the appropriation of the civil rights movement by primarily white LGBTQ people. One way this appropriation is perpetuated is when LGBTQ activists claim that "It's our turn," again giving the impression—intentionally or unintentionally—that racism is now non-existent or not a priority. Disregarding the differences between racism and anti-ness and homophobia and transphobia is as dangerous as not seeing the similarities.

If the LGBTQ community lacks an analysis of power and privilege within all anti-oppression work (including those that exist within LGBTQ spaces), we cannot call ourselves a movement for social justice. This cuts us off opportunities to build coalitions and gain progressive power.

Trainer distributes:
Handout: "Examples of Wedge Strategies"

Handout: Examples of Wedge Strategies

In order to build a progressive and politically powerful movement for equality, we must address the issues that have been designed by our opposition to divide LGBTQ communities and communities of color as well as recognize how they can bring us together.

1. LGBTQ people and communities of color are historically excluded, underserved, exploited and oppressed by institutions in this country.
2. The far conservative right systematically launches attacks on these communities in order to build power for their base.
3. Many tactics are used by the far right to discriminate against these communities, including: stereotypes, the use of violence and the threat of violence.

During the 1990's, the right carefully crafted the framework of "special rights" and tied it to key issue areas including:

1. **LGBTQ equality**: Throughout the United States, LGBTQ equality is frequently challenged at the ballot, in the courts and our legislatures. In these campaigns, the "special rights" frame has been used to undermine anti-discrimination policies, marriage equality, health inclusion and many other basic rights.

2. **Affirmative Action:** California's Proposition 209 in 1996 wiped away the state's Affirmative Action programs, using the message that Affirmative Action created "special rights" and was "reverse discrimination." In 1998, Washington State modeled California's law to create I-200 that successfully ended Affirmative Action programs there, and in 2006, Michigan did as well. These state campaigns to end Affirmative Action were usually backed and led by white males, but hired people of color and women to be the spokespersons. This was done for anti-marriage equality campaigns as well.

3. **English only**: There have been countless legislative efforts across the country to establish English as the "official" language of states. A common argument for English-only policies is that tax-funded materials and resources, such as bilingual services and education, is a "special right." Without the ability to easily communicate, particularly around medical, legal and other basic needs, many immigrants and people for whom English is their second or third language have no access to essential means in order to access services or sometimes even survive.

The far right has also been very successful at scapegoating marginalized communities…

- **The LGBTQ community** is used as a scapegoat and a common target to distract people from stark income inequality in America and other problems that require government solutions. For example, the far Right has charged the LGBTQ community for being at fault for the moral deconstruction of the "all-American" nuclear family structure, under the banner of "family values." Starting in the early 2000's, conservative forces effectively used ballot initiatives to establish constitutional bans on same sax marriage as a tool to galvanize votes for conservative candidates and "gay-baiting" frequently occurs across the country to defeat pro-equality candidates.

- **Immigrant communities** have also long been targeted as scapegoats, blamed for economic problems and labeled as threats to "homeland security." Yet national trade policies have devastated the economies of other countries, forcing workers to migrate to the U.S., often separated from their families for years just to be able to support them. Meanwhile, corporations continue moving millions of jobs out of the U.S. in search of low wage markets without labor protections or strong unions.

Consolidation of power by the far right
By using the umbrella of "special rights" and scapegoating marginalized communities, the far right has been very successful at moving a multi-issue agenda that does violence to many groups of people including immigrant families, LGBTQ communities and low-income and working poor families.

Thus, "special rights" is incredibly effective tool that resulted in statewide policy wins on Affirmative Action, English-only and constitutional bans on same-sex marriage.

Wedge issues
A wedge issue is not <u>just</u> a controversial issue. It is an issue that is carefully framed by our opposition to get the potential base for an issue to prioritize one part of their identity over another part of their identity.

Some common myths overheard in LGBTQ organizing and our response:

- **"People of Color communities are more homophobic than white communities."** Homophobia cannot be broken down by political party, gender, religious affiliation or race. Unfortunately, homophobia is pervasive in every community and reinforced by oppressive policies and institutions governed by white, heterosexual male leadership. However, the far right consistently and strategically positions LGBTQ and communities of color against each other.

- **"LGBTQ people are white, while people of color are straight."** This isn't always explicitly stated. More often, it is implied. People of color are just as likely to identify as LGBTQ as anyone. This myth ignores the intersectional identities of LGBTQ people of color and the complex relationship we/they share with both communities. It pushes LGBTQ people of color even further to the margins and creates barriers to reaching out and building relationships in immigrant and communities of color. It also discounts the added struggle for LGBTQ immigrants to be able to support, unite with and have their families recognized under hurtful immigration policies that discriminate against several aspects of our/their identity.

- **"If we could just show communities of color that we were oppressed like them, they would support us."** There is real discomfort and anger around the appropriation of the civil rights movement by primarily white LGBTQ people. One way this appropriation is perpetuated is when LGBTQ activists claim that "Now it's our turn...," again giving the impression—intentionally or unintentionally—that racism is now non-existent or not a priority. Disregarding the differences between racism and anti-ness and homophobia and transphobia is as dangerous as not seeing the similarities.

If the LGBTQ community lacks an analysis of power and privilege within all anti-oppression work (including those that exist within LGBTQ spaces) then we cannot call ourselves a movement for social justice. What's more, the U.S. political landscape routinely downplays issues of racial justice so when we fail to deeply understand the history and impacts of racism and anti-ness in America, we create barriers to building effective, broad coalitions.

We want to recognize the history and mistakes of the LGBTQ movement and work proactively for racial justice not only because it is strategically valuable, but because it is the right thing to do.

Civil Rights and LGBTQ Equality: Comparing Two Movements

Summary

When it comes to fighting for equality and against discrimination, LGBTQ activists and our allies are often quick to compare the LGBTQ rights movement to the Civil Rights movement. But for communities of color, that comparison can be alienating and even insulting. This lecture breaks down just why we avoid those comparisons.

Goal

To illustrate why we, as LGBTQ rights leaders and organizations working to support racial justice, don't compare the LGBTQ and Civil Rights movements.

Agenda outline

Exercise	Format	Time
Introduction	Lecture	5 minutes
What comparisons have you heard?	Group brainstorm	10 minutes
Teaching points	Lecture	10 minutes
		45 total minutes

Materials

- Flip chart or power point with key points
- Handout: "Language Guide on Linking Racial Justice and the Freedom to Marry"

1. Introduction

Trainer says:

Frequently, when we're thinking about LGBTQ rights we want to make comparisons that will root our movement in a grand tradition of social change or that will help the people we're trying to persuade understand that they are, as we often see it, on the wrong side of history.

Often, that means comparing the movement for LGBTQ rights to the Civil Rights movement. Many of us think of it as paying tribute—honoring an historic social justice movements in

our nation's history—and we want to follow in its footsteps. What we may not consider are the other implications of these comparisons.

2. What comparisons have you heard?

Trainer asks:

What are some of the comparisons that you have heard between the LGBTQ rights movement and the Civil Rights movement?

The following answers are likely to come up; write group responses on a flip chart:

- "We're not going to sit at the back of the bus anymore!"
- "Gay is the new Black."
- "This is the Civil Rights movement of our day."
- Comparing LGBTQ discrimination to racial oppression.
- Stating all fights for equality as the same.

3. Teaching points

Trainer says:

- Like racism, sexism, ableism and a whole lot of other kinds of oppression, homophobia and transphobia are embedded in institutions. For example, in many places the government doesn't protect LGBTQ workers from employment discrimination. Many religious institutions prohibit us from serving as clergy or even openly participating. Insurance providers routinely deny health care to trans folks.

- But unlike racism, homophobia and transphobia don't result in the same kind of cyclical, generational oppression that takes place in generation after generation of communities of color. That's part of the reason why comparing these two movements is so thorny.

- Comparing the LGBTQ rights movement to the Civil Rights movement appropriates another movement! And let's be honest, it's impolite to take credit for others' work and most of us didn't take action for Civil Rights in the 1950s or 1960s. Many of us weren't even alive during the March on Washington or the Montgomery Bus Boycott. But what if you were an activist in that movement and then you heard a predominantly white movement claiming to be the "civil rights movement of our time"? It would probably feel pretty insulting.

- We're talking about fundamentally different kinds of oppression. Racism operates much differently from homophobia and transphobia. Most of us didn't grow up in the queer part of town. Our parents didn't teach us how to interface with homophobia or tell us

about their experiences with transphobia. That only comes from that repeated, cyclical oppression that takes place in generation after generation of a community. And while homophobia and transphobia have some awful implications, that just isn't one of them.

- Drawing comparisons frames the Civil Rights movement as something that's "completed," implying that racism is "over." And as we all know, racism is far from "fixed" in the United States.

All of this really highlights how important it is that we take on racial justice within LGBTQ spaces. The more we engage in racial justice work, the more we create an environment where those sorts of allusions are unlikely to go uninterrupted.

Trainer distributes handout: "Language Guide on Linking Racial Justice and the Freedom to Marry"

Immigrant Rights, Racial Justice and LGBT Equality

Summary

There's a rich history of solidarity between immigrant rights and LGBTQ rights movements, but LGBTQ rights activists don't always see the connections across issues or feel the urgency to work as allies to immigrant communities. This workshop uses an interactive timeline to illustrate connections between two movements that share more experiences than you may realize.

Goals

- Examine our own families' immigration histories.
- Tie personal histories to a larger context of immigrant rights and racial justice histories.

Agenda Outline

Exercise	Format	Time
Introduction	Lecture	5 minutes
Sharing our stories	Small group activity	20 minutes
Touring the timeline	Individual activity	20 minutes
Debriefing the timeline	Large group discussion	15 minutes
Closing	Lecture	10 minutes
		70 total minutes

Materials:

- Flip chart
- Markers
- Tape
- Blank pieces of letter-size paper
- Timeline, which follows this workshop, taped up around the room for a gallery walk

"Immigrant Rights, Racial Justice and LGBTQ Equality: A Shared Timeline" is a joint curriculum of Basic Rights Education Fund and Western States Center. It is based on the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights timeline in the BRIDGE curriculum.

1. Introduction

Trainer says:

Thank you for joining us! Before we start, we want to share with you why our organization has taken on this conversation today.

- The topic of immigrant rights and immigration reform are in the headlines nearly every day.
- The media largely portrays immigrants as straight and LGBTQ people as white U.S. citizens.
- Many LGBTQ immigrants are members and supporters of our work and we believe immigrant rights are basic human rights.
- Over the years, the LGBTQ movement has received substantial support from immigrant rights organizations (Trainer note: share any relevant collaboration in your region).

2. Sharing our stories

Trainer distributes:

One piece of blank paper and 1-2 markers to each participant.

Trainer instructs participants:

Please jot down answers to the following questions on your paper and also draw a picture or timeline to illustrate your family's experience.

- When did you/your family come to the United States, (your region) or (your state)?
- Where did you/your family come from?
- Why did you/your family move?

Facilitation note:

Participants should take 5 minutes to draw their family's story and then instruct folks to gather in small groups of 3-4 and share as much of their immigration histories as they are comfortable. Participants should take 10 minutes to share their stories with one another.

3. Touring the timeline

Trainer says:

We're now going to invite you to "tour" the timeline that's displayed around the room. While not an exhaustive history, the timeline includes events in the shared histories of immigrant rights, racial justice and LGBTQ rights. You're welcome to post your personal history on the timeline as you find key dates and milestones that align with your family's story. We have tape as well as extra sheets of paper so that you can also add any important dates or events that are not on the timeline. Finally, as you tour the timeline, please consider the following questions (written on the flip chart):

- What groups have immigrated to the United States throughout history? How were they

treated by people already here?
- What was happening with the LGBTQ movement during different waves of immigration?
- How have immigration laws prevented certain groups of people from coming to the United States? Who did these laws exclude? Who did these laws allow to enter? Who influenced these laws and why?
- How are LGBTQ immigrants singled out and treated differently? What experiences do they share with non-LGBTQ immigrants?

Facilitation note:
Participants should take 15 minutes to tour the timeline and read through the histories posted there. At the end of the 15 minutes, call the group back together for a large group discussion.

4. Debriefing the timeline

Trainer asks the following questions and facilitates group discussion:
- What was new information or learning to you from the timeline? What surprised you?
- Why do people tend to migrate?
- Who do these policies target? What reasons are given for targeting them?
- What were similar ideas about LGBTQ people and immigrants present in popular culture during specific moments of the timeline?
- What have been similar strategies that the U.S. government has used to control and contain LGBTQ communities and communities of color?
- What did you learn from the timeline about who is believed to be an American family and who is considered a threat to the nation?

5. Closing

Trainer makes the following wrap-up points:
- Immigration policy impacts the LGBTQ community because LGBTQ individuals are part of immigrant and refugee communities.
- Everyone who is not Native American in the United States has a history of migration—whether because of forced displacement, economic motivations or something else entirely.
- Immigration policy continues to control who is included or excluded from the United States on the basis of race, national origin, class, gender and sexual orientation.
- U.S. foreign policy has caused displacement of indigenous people and has been closely linked to corporate interests.
- LGBTQ people and immigrants have been scapegoated for social and economic problems throughout U.S. history. LGBTQ people have been blamed for the "downfall of morality," for wanting to destroy "the cornerstone of Western society" (marriage) and for "corrupting our children."

- Similarly, immigrants have been blamed for unemployment, crime and ineffective public benefits programs.
- Looking at immigration history can help us understand who is singled out in U.S. society, who is blamed for its problems and, conversely, who is the ideal American citizen.
- Immigration policy has always defined what a family can (and can't) be and that ALWAYS impacts LGBTQ families.

Written on flip chart:
We all know what it feels like to:
- Live under laws that say we are less human.
- Be a scapegoat for society's problems.
- Be afraid for the security of our families.
- Feel vulnerable and unsafe because of policies, institutions and attitudes that keep us on the margins.

Language Guide on Linking Racial Justice and the Freedom to Marry

What is often SAID	What we believe is INTENDED	What is often HEARD	How we RESPOND
"I know about racism because I've experienced homophobia."	I'd like to connect around some similarities we have in regards to our respective struggles.	Racism and heterosexism are the same things. I am immune to racism because I'm LGBTQ. I can't be racist because I'm like you.	Racism and heterosexism are very closely linked. However, they aren't the same thing. Each injustice has its own unique set of experiences, privileges, and pains—and discounting those differences minimizes the experiences of people of color and LGBTQ people, and fully disregards LGBTQ people of color.
"This is our generation's Civil Rights Movement."	The LGBTQ movement is an important step in history.	The Civil Rights Movement fixed racism and created racial justice. Racism is over.	Many people think that comparing the movement for LGBTQ rights to the Civil Rights movement is paying tribute to one of the largest-scale social justice movements in our nation's recent history. But for people of color, that comparison can be alienating and hurtful. It appropriates someone else's work; it addresses a fundamentally different kind of oppression and it frames the Civil Rights Movement as something that's "completed," implying that racism is over.

What is often SAID	What we believe is INTENDED	What is often HEARD	How we RESPOND
"I'm a tax-paying legal citizen and I can't get married in this country."	I deserve to be treated with all the rights and responsibilities as everyone.	People in the United States "illegally" don't contribute anything to our society and don't deserve the same rights as I do.	Nobody should be discriminated against because of who they love or where they come from. This statement is hurtful to LGBTQ immigrants and potential allies who also experience discrimination. As LGBTQ and immigrant communities, we all know what it feels like to live under laws that say we are less human; to be a scapegoat for society's problems; and to feel vulnerable and unsafe because of polices, institutions and attitudes that keep us at the margins.
"This is exactly like interracial marriage. At first, interracial couples were discriminated against. Now, it's LGBTQ couples."	Homophobic and transphobic oppression are real systems of oppression like racism. LGBTQ people and communities of color have experienced similar attacks by being denied the freedom to marry.	Racism and heterosexism are the same thing. The experience of all same-sex couples is no different than all interracial couples.	Make no mistake about it—LGBTQ relationship discrimination is very real. So is the discrimination faced by interracial couples. But there are also substantial differences—like a long history of lynching and violence based on race and interracial relationships that white LGBTQ couples did not experience in the same way.

What is often SAID	What we believe is INTENDED	What is often HEARD	How we RESPOND
"I don't want to drink out of a separate water fountain" "I don't want to sit at the back of the bus." "Separate is not equal."	I don't want to be treated unfairly.	Racism and heterosexism are the same things. I am immune to racism because I'm LGBTQ. I can't be racist because I'm like you.	Nobody deserves to be treated unfairly. Denying marriage equality to LGBTQ people is a violation of human rights. However, white LGBTQ people's injustice does not include sitting at the back of the bus or being separated at drinking fountains. We ask people to speak from their own experiences and histories.
"Racism and sexism were fixed in the 1960s. Homophobia is still going strong." "Gay is the new ."	I wish the LGBTQ rights movement was further ahead than it is. I experience homophobia and transphobia every day and they aren't acknowledged on the scale I wish they were. I wish I had more rights.	Racism is over and the experiences of people of color are not valid. All that matters is LGBTQ issues.	Racism, sexism and heterosexism are all still alive today. We need to work on all of these injustices collectively in order to move on any of them. Trying to deny any injustice or prioritize which injustice is worse is hurtful and counter-productive.

What is often SAID	What we believe is INTENDED	What is often HEARD	How we RESPOND
"People of color are more homophobic." "Certain religious groups (especially in communities of color) are more homophobic and always vote against LGBTQ communities."	I want to understand why I have been denied rights and who is to blame.	People of color and faith are not as enlightened or educated as white people. If they just knew we were as oppressed as them, they would not be so homophobic.	Unfortunately, homophobia and transphobia exist in all communities, including white communities and people of color communities. However the voices of individual conservative people of color are often seen as representing the views of their entire race. We would not do this for white people—even though anti-LGBTQ movements are overwhelmingly led by white people like Fred Phelps and James Dobson. We know that there are strong leaders in all communities who work for LGBTQ rights.

Law Enforcement, Incarceration and LGBTQ and People of Color

Summary

The incarceration rate in the United States is the highest in the world. Our communities are frequently faced with ballot measures or legislation seeking to increase mandatory minimums and create even more prisons. But who really benefits from the so-called "criminal justice" system? And how is the LGBTQ community impacted? This interactive workshop will explore the intersections of LGBTQ justice, sentencing and incarceration.

Goal

Explore the links between the U.S. prison system, racial justice and LGBTQ justice.

Agenda Outline

Exercise	Format	Time
Welcome and pop quiz	Presentation, partnered exercise and group discussion	30 minutes
A shared approach	Lecture	5 minutes
Who is a "criminal"?	Lecture, small group exercise and full group discussion	60 minutes
Real impacts of the "criminal justice" system	Lecture and full group discussion	30 minutes
A shared definition and closing	Lecture and full group discussion	15 minutes
		Approx. 2.5 hours total

Materials

- Flip chart or white board and markers
- Handouts: "Pop Quiz" and "Case Studies"

1. Welcome and pop quiz

Trainer introductions and review of ground rules, then trainer(s) says:
Welcome! This interactive workshop will explore the intersections of LGBTQ justice, sentencing and incarceration. Racial justice is an important part of our work and it's a long term commitment for our movements. Racial justice work **is** work for LGBTQ equality because people of color are our constituents and our community. We're going to start our workshop with an interactive quiz to deepen our shared understanding of the criminal justice system. Please pair-up with someone you don't know and work on the quiz together.

Trainer distributes: "Pop Quiz"

Trainer notes:
The answer key is one the reverse of the pop quiz; photo copy only the quiz for participants and reference the answers in your debrief. Consider having prizes for the top scorers and also feel free to adapt the quiz to include your state's and community's specific relevant policies and statistics.

Quiz debrief and group discussion. Trainer asks:
1 How did you do?
2 What surprised you?
3 How does this impact the way you think about the criminal justice system?

Wrap-up points:
- People of color, LGBTQ people and others from specific communities are vastly overrepresented in prison populations.
- Disparities based on race are felt even more severely by LGBTQ people of color, due to the added impacts of homophobia and transphobia, yet we/they are nearly invisible in any of the data and rarely considered when policy or advocacy efforts are underway.

2. Shared approach

Trainer says:
This is a foundational workshop about the criminal justice system in the U.S. and how it particularly impacts the LGBTQ community, communities of color and of course, LGBTQ people of color. However, this is not a 101 level workshop on LGBTQ or racial justice issues.
While we could have many important and interesting discussions about how our criminal justice system should look or should be dismantled, this workshop is really not a space for that debate to meaningfully take place. We're not going to debate prison abolition or undoing law enforcement.

We also want to recognize and honor that many communities are deeply impacted by the criminal justice system including the working class and the poor, folks with mental illness and others. But again, today we are primarily focusing on the intersections of the "tough on crime movement" on LGBTQ individuals and communities of color, especially LGBTQ people of color, LGBTQ youth and transgender and gender non-conforming folks.

Please do not hesitate to ask questions! Just do understand that we won't be able to address everything today. We will have a parking lot for questions or areas that surface that we are not able fully address during the time of this workshop and we will follow up with participants as needed.

3. Who is a "criminal"?

Trainer says:

Our goal is to examine, "Who really is a criminal in our society and what is a crime?" and how do the terms criminal and crime affect marginalized communities? We want to engage in a critical discussion about these issues because, in the same way that we know that the LGBTQ community is surrounded by a lot of myths and falsehoods, so too is the criminal justice system. And while the falsehoods are unique to each community and each issue, there is also a lot of overlap.

So to begin, let's start off with the story that we were told about how the criminal justice is supposed to work. Many of us first heard about the so-called "criminal justice system" in grade school. As children, we may have asked, "What is a jail?" or "Why do people go to jail?" So it was likely a combination of our parents, peers, church and school teachers who shaped our understanding of what the criminal justice system was. Let's see if the stories were told are similar.

Shown on a flip chart:

Politicians create the line.
Police enforce the line.

Good people are protected and safe.	Bad people are punished and locked up. Bailiffs lock up the bad people

Judges decide if the line has been crossed

Trainer says:
There are five assumptions that this narrative relies on:

1 Everyone starts off in the middle.
2 Crime (crossing the line) is based solely on personal actions or ethical conduct. Individual conduct is all that matters in determining which side of the line you're on.
3 The law is objective and fair. Any potential prejudice within the law is minor and impossible to control.
4 Those who work in the criminal justice system are as objective as possible. A few individuals may have some prejudice, but their significance in relation to the total number of workers within the system is minor.
5 What keeps people safe and protected are lots of laws and lots of punishment.

We're taught that because all the above statements are true, this system is just, it is fair and it is good for us to keep using it.

Trainer asks:
Does this seem like the concept and story most often shared by our schools, media, etc. about our criminal justice system?

Following story sharing, trainer says:
So we believe that story, that picture, is simply a story. We don't believe that is actually how the criminal justice system operates in reality and it most certainly doesn't work like that for marginalized communities, like the LGBTQ community and people of color. And we're going to take some time to explore some real life examples that challenge the truthfulness of that story.

We are going to have you each count off into three groups. We will give each group a different case study that showcases "who is a criminal" in our nation's view and why. You will have about 15 minutes to read and discuss. Each group will be asked to briefly report back to the full group about what they discussed. Then we will have time for a larger group discussion.

Before you break out into groups, please be aware that some of the case studies are painful and can be very hard to read. Please take care of yourself and be prepared for whatever reaction you may have.

Trainer distributes: "Case Studies"

Trainer notes:
Have each group read the case study, then answer the following critical questions written on the flip chart. Have a facilitator/trainer rotate to each group.

1 What were the crimes being committed?

2 Who was harmed by these crimes?
3 Who is benefiting from these crimes?
4 What are some other solutions that wouldn't involve the criminal justice system?

Full group debrief and report back

Trainer notes:
Invite each group to present a brief summary of their case study and share the main points of their discussion back to the larger group. Following the report backs, encourage a full group discussion using the prompts below.

- What are the connections between case studies?
- What role do institutions play in these conflicts?
- Were there themes that emerged across the report backs?
- What do these case studies say about the notion of who is a "criminal/terrorist/illegal" and who is a good citizen and real American?

4. Real impacts of the "criminal justice" system

Trainer says:
As we've seen in these case studies, all of the main points of the story, all of the main assumptions, *(refer back to flip chart diagram)* don't actually hold up to be true. Especially in marginalized communities, the picture that we're given of the criminal justice system is false.

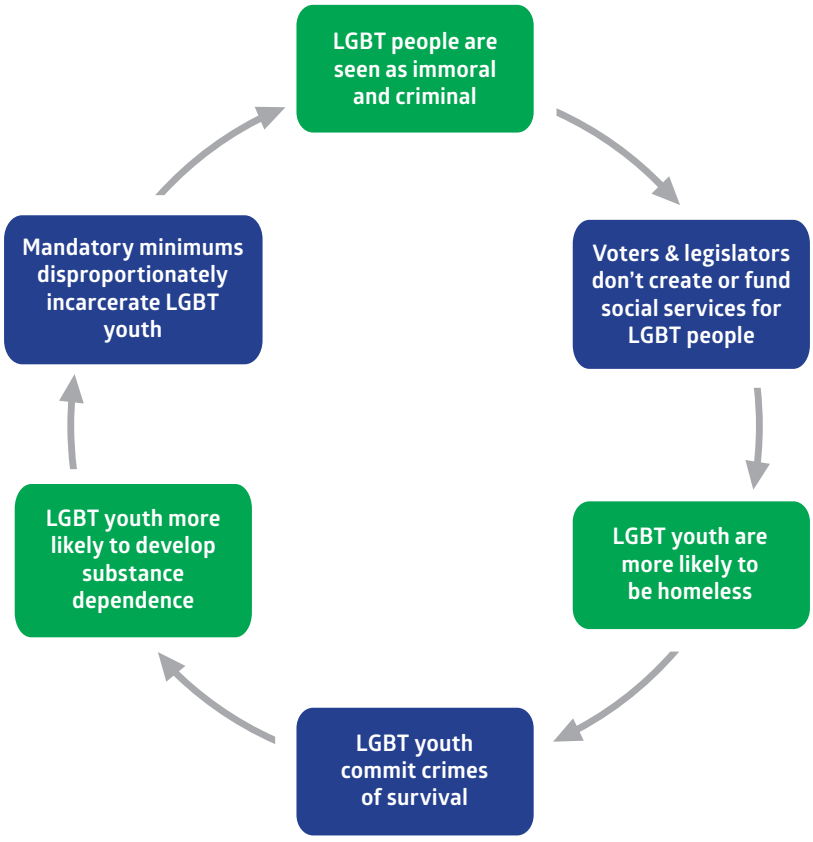
- **We believe our criminal justice system is based far more on maintaining power than on justice.** This system isn't really about protecting innocent people from the malicious people, and thereby ensuring safety and distributing justice. Rather, we continually see that an individual's choices can have far less of an impact than their race, gender identity, sexual orientation, or how much money they can spend on an attorney and how confident they feel that they don't belong in the criminal justice system. The criminal justice system simply reinforces rich and powerful people's grip on wealth and power. With that power, comes the ability to tell society who is good and deserves to be protected and who is bad and deserved to be punished.

- **And it further pushes marginalized groups, like the LGBTQ community and people of color, into prisons.** This picture hides the fact our justice system pushes marginalized communities into prisons in order to ensure that power relations don't change. It decides who is a criminal. It decides who is worthy of support, services, protection, rights and who is a threat. The face of the "criminal" often changes to serve a particular political purpose at a given time. The people most deeply and directly impacted by public policies are often marginalized communities including immigrants, people of color, low income

communities, union members and LGBTQ people. But we, as marginalized communities, are not the ones being protected. We are not the ones being seen as worthy of support. Rather, we're seen as the dangerous, immoral and threatening to true American values. America's streets and taxes and children are being threatened by the dangerous outsiders. And the criminal justice system is a powerful tool to help reinforce that same story.

- **But this system only works when we are silent about it.** When we speak out, this picture loses some of its power and we, as marginalized communities, gain that power back. This line has been used to deny us dignity and sometimes, even our lives. This is why we hope that you will help us and help our community challenge this line too.

What this story doesn't explain or take into consideration is the reality of marginalized communities. What this doesn't explain is why LGBTQ people end up disproportionately in the criminal justice system. According to this story, it must mean that LGBTQ people are simply less moral, less law abiding and less valuable as citizens. Yet, we know that's not true. Most all of us have done something illegal, but some of get specifically targeted, profiled and imprisoned more than others. Let's look at the experiences of LGBTQ youth.



Trainer continues with group questions and key points:
Q: Who here has been harassed at school, or knows of someone who has been harassed at school, because of being LGBTQ?

Key point: LGBTQ youth are far more likely to drop out of school, to not finish high school and to not attend college. Education, which is often necessary to move ahead in the world, is less accessible to LGBTQ people.

Q: Who here has been kicked out of their home, or knows someone who has been kicked out of their home, because of being LGBTQ?

Key point: LGBTQ youth make up 30% to 50% of the homeless youth population. LGBTQ youth are far more likely to become homeless, lack access to education and to remain homeless.

Q: Who here has been harassed at work, or knows someone who has gotten harassed at work, because of being LGBTQ?

Key point: LGBTQ people are far more likely to be discriminated against in the workplace and are far more likely to be refused employment. Especially when combined with a lack of education and stable housing, it can be very difficult for LGBTQ folks to find work, maintain work, or be promoted to better paying jobs.

Q: Who here either has used drugs or alcohol, or knows of someone who has used drugs or alcohol, to cope with coming out or discrimination or just escape?

Key point: LGBTQ people are far more likely to experiment with drugs and to engage in binge drinking. This is likely due to consistent forms of harassment and discrimination, internalized homophobia, and a lack of support from a variety of places, like schools, churches, and family.

This is how many different institutions, such as education, businesses, or family, actually push LGBTQ youth people toward the criminal justice system. Overall, LGBTQ people are in prisons at a higher rate because we're pushed there actively by institutions, we get suspected of more crime, profiled and arrested more often and we have fewer resources to defend and support ourselves.

In jail, LGBTQ people are far more likely to be harassed, physically and sexually assaulted. Once released, there are many barriers and few resources for formerly incarcerated LGBTQ people. For example, parental rights might be compromised; drug convictions can make folks ineligible for public housing, student loans and Pell grants making homelessness a big threat

and higher education out of reach; and any prior conviction can make it nearly impossible to secure employment.

This is the life that many of our community members are sentenced to and given how painful and difficult it can be to be LGBTQ in our society, as we know from the devastating suicide rates in our community, this could happen to anyone.

5. Shared definition and closing

Trainer says:
Before we close, we want to share our working definition of the U.S. criminal justice system:

Written on flip chart:
A system of institutions which uphold social control by defining criminality, determining criminality, and punishing criminality through prison or death. This system of institutions includes but is not limited to, law enforcement, the judiciary, corrections, and probation.

Trainer closes with group questions and key points:
Q: Who benefits from this system?

Key point: Certainly those people in power, people who have more money and people who have more privilege. Also, criminal justice system is a thriving industry. Building prisons, manufacturing guns, outfitting law enforcement officers with gear, making socks and tooth-brushes for prisoners are all efforts that corporations profit from. In 2000, it was estimated that $9.4 billion was spent to imprison close to 500,000 people convicted of non-violent drug related crimes.

That said, we recognize that there are people, from every background, who hurt other people very badly. There are surely people who are harmful and are predatory toward others. And certainly, we all have a right to feel safe and be safe, and be protected from those who would do us harm.

We also recognize that not everyone who works for the criminal justice system is trying to oppress others. There are some very good cops and some bad cops, some very good district prosecutors, judges and parole officers who are all trying to do the very best for our society. But our focus is not on individuals, our focus is to understand the criminal justice system at an *institutional* level and how those various institutions are impacting our communities.

As a community, we need to have discussions and make plans for creating safety and justice we so need. There are no easy answers on how to create that plan or how to even have that conversation. But we must first honestly evaluate and examine what is happening with our

current system and a critical questioning of our current system can be scary for anyone, and especially scary for individuals with lots of power within that system. We believe that the current system isn't working and disproportionality does harm to our community. Every time we raise questions and challenge the system, it loses some of its power and a new vision, a better vision, gains some momentum.

Case Studies for Law Enforcement, Incarceration and LGBTQ and People of Color Workshop

CASE STUDY 1: Holman Wayside Park Undercover Operation

In May of 2007, the Polk County Sheriff's Office conducted an undercover two-day operation in Dallas, Oregon's Holman Wayside Park, resulting in eight individuals being arrested and booked into the Polk County Jail.

According to police, the park became known as a gathering place for men seeking sexual activity with other men. During the operation, plainclothes detectives, patrol deputies and reserve deputies walked around the park waiting to be approached. In each arrest, the undercover officers were approached by other males and, after some conversation, were either touched or watched as the person exposed himself to the officer. Deputies said the activity was strictly between men and did not involve children. The men arrested ranged in age from 37 to 62.

The names and charges of all eight men were broadcast on news channels and print media across the state, even reaching national attention in the New York Times. Three of the eight men arrested were Oregon teachers and received extreme scrutiny after the story aired, including Ronald Bridge, a second-grade teacher at Sunset Primary School in West Linn.

Bridge had been with the West Linn-Wilsonville School District for 31 years and was reported to have had no prior arrests before being charged with "public indecency" during the Holman Park sting. As soon as word reached the WLWV Superintendent and Director of Personnel Kathe Monroe, Bridge was called out of his classroom. The superintendent stated that he would not be allowed back in the classroom under any circumstance. "But he has been a stellar employee," Monroe said. "He has been very much loved, and we're all in a state of shock and dismay."

If convicted, "public indecency" charges may result in fines and up to a year in jail.

Polk County Sheriff Bob Wolfe said he was very pleased with the outcome of the undercover operation and hopes the message gets out, "that this type of illegal behavior will not be tolerated."

Information for this case study from Salem-News.com, KPTV Fox 12, The West Linn Tidings and KATU Portland.

CASE STUDY 2: America's War on Terror

In the aftermath of 9/11, Middle-Eastern, Arab, Muslim and South/Central Asians were hit with intense racial profiling and racially motivated violence.

Before 9/11, about 80% of the American public thought it was wrong for law enforcement to use racial profiling, a term popularly used to refer to the disproportionate targeting of African Americans by police. After the shock of 9/11, a majority of the American public favored racial profiling "as long as it was directed at Arabs and Muslims."

The U.S. government implemented a broad range of administrative, legislative and judicial measures in the name of national security. Among these were mass arrests, secret and indefinite detentions, closed hearings, secret evidence, eavesdropping, wiretapping, property seizures and more. At least 100,000 Arabs and South Asian Muslims living in the U.S. have personally experienced one of these measures.

Also in the weeks following 9/11, advocacy group South Asian American Leaders of Tomorrow counted 645 separate media-reported bias incidents against people thought to be from the Middle East. By the end of September, groups that monitor hate crimes against Arabs, Muslims, and Asians had logged nearly 1,000 separate incidents. Nationally, roughly half of the tallied incidents were confirmed acts of violence, including beatings, stabbings and shootings, with at least five dead. These actions were often done as demonstrations of patriotism and loyalty to America, since America had now deemed Arab-Americans as the most dangerous and as the most criminal.

Information for this case study from Jeff Chang's "The Fallout" and Louise Cainkar and Sunaina Maira's "Targeting Arab/Muslim/South Asian Americans: Criminalization and Cultural Citizenship."

CASE STUDY 3: America's War on Drugs

During the 1970s and 80s, the United States was rapidly shifting due to deindustrialization, globalization of labor and significant technological advancement. Urban factories were shutting down at a rapid rate, as many corporations were able to either replace workers with technology or send jobs overseas to markets with fewer unions, environmental and labor standards. As a result, many people were trapped in jobless ghettos with skyrocketing unemployment rates. At the same time, a conservative movement began to sweep through the U.S. political system with the election of Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan.

In 1982, President Reagan declared a "war on drugs" for the safety of the nation. Soon after, U.S. Congress declared a "crack epidemic." The government and the media began to characterize users of crack as monsters, and racialized the image of a crack user as African American,

even though all ethnicities use the drug in equal amounts and it is no more or less addictive or dangerous than powder cocaine.

In addition, the government created policies that stated anyone who was caught with five grams of crack cocaine would receive a mandatory minimum of five years in prison. This was in sharp contrast to powder cocaine, which was perceived to be used mainly by upper-middle class white people. The government decided that any person who was caught with 500 grams of powder cocaine would also receive a mandatory minimum of 5 years in prison.

Police responded by utilizing assault rifles and armored personnel carriers in order to combat the "crack threat." Due to racial profiling by police, in addition to biased prosecution, federal prisons filled for over 30 years with low income African American prisoners.

This is deeply contrasted to the more recent response to the meth epidemic which is perceived as a drug primarily used by low income white people. The response was not massive incarceration at the federal level, but instead has focused on restricting access to the components that make meth combined with an advertising campaign about the harms of the drug.

Drawn from Michelle Alexander's "The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness."

Pop Quiz

1. How many people are incarcerated in prisons and jails across the U.S.?
   b. 1 out of every 100
   c. 1 out of every 1,000
   d. 1 out of every 5,000
   e. 1 out of every 10,000

2. How many state prisons are in Oregon?
   c. 5
   d. 12
   e. 14
   f. 18

3. True or False: White people are underrepresented in the prison system.

4. True or False: It's cheaper to send someone to college than to prison.

5. What percentage of Oregon's prisoners has a substance abuse problem?
   a. 22%
   b. 53%
   c. 73%
   d. 81%

6. True or False: In Oregon, mentally ill people go to the state hospital, not prison.

7. True or False: In some states, prisoners with HIV must always wear arm bands indicating that they are HIV positive.

8. True or False: In Oregon, youth are held and tried in the juvenile system.

9. True or False: Straight youth are more likely to be jailed for non-violent crimes like truancy than LGBTQ youth.

Pop quiz answer key

1. **1 out of every 100 people** in the US is incarcerated in prisons and jails. (Pew Center on the States)

2. Oregon has **14 prisons** scattered about the state. (Oregon Department of Corrections)

3. **True.** Even though a vast majority of people in Oregon are white, the institutional racism that causes disproportionate minority incarceration operates in Oregon. White people are 73% of Oregon's prison population and 90% of the state population. African Americans are 10% of Oregon's prison population and 2% of the state population. Latinos are 13% of the prison population and 11% of the state population. (Oregon Department of Corrections and U.S. Census)

4. **True.** The cost for a student living on campus at Oregon State University is just over $17,000 a year. The cost to incarcerate one person for one year is just over $30,800. (stateuniversity.com and Oregon Department of Corrections)

5. **73%** of Oregon prisoners enter prison addicted to drugs and alcohol. (Oregon Department of Corrections)

6. **Mostly False.** While a small number of people are kept in secure psychiatric facilities after having committed crimes, 22% of people in prison have severe mental health problems. (Oregon Department of Corrections)

7. **True.** HIV positive prisoners in South Carolina and Alabama must wear arm bands that identify them as HIV positive and are often segregated from the larger prison population and denied education and other rehabilitation programs. (Human Rights Watch)

8. **False.** In Oregon, 15, 16, and 17 year olds can be tried as adults, in adult courts, and be held in adult jails prior to trial. Placing youth in adult jails is unhealthy for all youth.

False. LGBTQ youth are two times more likely than straight youth to be put in jail cells before adjudication for crimes like truancy, prostitution and running away. (The Nation http://www.thenation.com/article/36488/i-was-scared-sleep-lgbt-youth-face-violence-behind-bars)

Incorporating Racial Justice into Volunteer One-on-Ones

It's critical to think of racial justice in all elements of your work. Volunteer one-on-one meetings provide a great format to have conversations about racial justice work and values more intimately than in a group setting. As organizers, we can shape one-on-one meeting to empower volunteers, check-in on a more personal level and push them to grow. And being intentional about the identities you carry into a one-on-one space can be really critical to moving the conversation forward. Here are some tips.

Person of color to white volunteer: In one-on-ones where there is organizer of color speaking to a white-identified individual, it's important to remember that you can still absolutely hold your volunteer accountable and push them to be an ally. Sometimes you will feel exhausted and it's not safe or your place to interrupt their oppression. That's when it's important to find another ally to have a follow-up conversation. Empower yourself to talk about your experience and the lens that you bring, as well as asking the volunteer to be an active ally and intentional about their journey towards racial justice.

White person to person of color volunteer: When you are a white-identified individual having a one-on-one with a person of color, it's important to remember the power dynamics, especially when you are supervising or coaching the individual. Do your work as an ally to incorporate and honor their experience. They could approach the work differently or experience more hardships as a person of color trying to work with other white folks. Be sure to mention your privilege, give them the space they need and honor their approach. It's also a good idea to make sure they aware of folks in your organization or events where they can have an opportunity to share community with other people of color, but don't assume that they want or need to engage in those activities. Simply invite them.

White person to white volunteer: Are you doing your ally work? Are you talking to white folks about their journey as an ally? It's important that you frequently address the anti-racist work of the organization. Be sure to check-in with them about and debrief racial justice issues that you are working on, moments where they may have messed up and ensure that you are providing consistent anti-racist tools.

Person of color to person of color volunteer: Talking about your identity as a mentor of color to another person of color can empowering and affirming. These sacred community spaces are too rare and it's important that you model how identity factors into your approach to work. In these spaces, take the opportunity to talk about supporting each other, empowering other people of color and your organizational climate. You can also let the volunteer know that they can come to you with feedback or to discuss any issues that may come up.

Listening Session Model: Sample Agenda for an LGBTQ Youth of Color Visioning Workshop

Summary

In-community listening sessions can be a very effective tool for hearing the specific needs and feedback of a constituency while making a meaningful investment to build power for marginalized community members.

Goal

Seek feedback about what issues are important to LGBTQ youth of color in your community as a first step toward building power for QTPOC youth.

A note on the trainer(s)

This particular listening session is designed to be a LGBTQ youth of color led space with LGBTQ youth of color facilitators. Please note that this workshop can be adapted to be a listening session model for other groups.

Agenda

Exercise	Format	Time
Welcome and introductions	Lecture and full group participation	20 minutes
A shared approach	Lecture	60 minutes
Who is a "criminal"?	Lecture, small group exercise and full group discussion	10 minutes
		90 total minutes

Material:

- Flip chart and markers

1. Welcome

Trainer says:
Welcome! First we want to do introductions. Let's go around the room and have each person share their name, pronouns, any identity folks feel excited to share and why you came to this session.

Trainer says:
This workshop is for LGBTQ youth who identify as people of color. In our state, and across the nation, LGBTQ youth of color experience higher rates of violence, discrimination and health disparities. It is important that people experiencing inequality get to be the ones who decide what solutions and strategies are best suited to address the issues they face and then lead that work.

This session is designed to be a space for LGBTQ youth of color to talk about the issues we face and discuss what solutions or social policy change should be priorities. This session will be a participatory workshop space where will get a chance to rotate in small groups to draw, write and talk about questions and then report back to the full group about our thoughts and ideas.

Our goals for this session are:
1. To get to know each other;
2. To hear about issues we face and what issues are important to us; and,
3. To talk about what issues we think the LGBTQ movement and organizations should work on and how they can work on our issues in ways that are accountable to and aligned with our needs.

Trainer instructs:
Before we get into our visioning work, we want to do an icebreaker called "favorite animal". Can everyone stand up to their best ability? Think of your favorite animal. Think about what that animal looks like. Everyone have a favorite animal in mind? Okay, now we are going to form a line in order from smallest favorite animal to largest favorite animal without speaking, only acting. For example, if my favorite animal was a shark I might (demonstrate) and then I'd try to find other larger animals.

Once the line is in place, invite participants to share their animals.

2. Out of the box visioning

Trainer says:

For the next hour we are going to be in small groups discussing questions related to LGBTQ youth justice. We will be in small groups of 3-5 people for this activity and your groups will be given three questions to discuss. You will have about 15 minutes for each question. For each question, you will be asked to write down your responses and/or draw pictures on big pieces of paper with markers. I encourage you all to tap into your creative and visionary sides and take time to draw and write your ideas and to freely discuss your thoughts together. When the music stops, you will be asked to pick someone from your group to report back to the large group after each question. Let's get started. Everyone find a piece of big paper and have about 3-5 people per page.

Questions:

1. What issues do you think are the most important or pressing facing LGBTQ youth of color in Oregon right now?

2. Imagine it's the future and we have achieved full LGBTQ equality in Oregon and LGBTQ youth of color have everything they need to be happy and safe in Oregon. What does this look like? What are schools like? What laws have been passed? What services are being provided? What issues have been prioritized?

3. Now that we have talked about the future, let's build a vision for how we get there. What work needs to be done to get there? Please work in your group to identity your top three to four issues that need to be prioritized in order to get to that future. Who should do the work and how? Examples of priority issues may include ensuring that all schools have a GSA or that all police officers receive LGBTQ competency training.

After every question, have each small group report back for a few minutes. Collect the flip chart paper at the end.

3. Closing

Trainer says:

Thank you for participating so fully in this visioning session with us today. We are so excited to be building a more just world with you. There are amazing leaders here and thank you for your thoughts and vision. In closing, let's go around and each share one word that expresses what we will take away from this workshop today.

Planning Tool: Community Town Halls

Town halls are fantastic ways to empower communities and when done well, reflect an intentional investment to engage in direct communication and hear community needs. Community town halls—targeted by geography or identity—are also a simple way to share important information and seek community feedback and buy-in in an organizational development process or issue campaign.

Planning a community town hall takes about four weeks. Here is a sample work plan.

Timeline	Actions
Week 1	Outreach to community leader(s) to assess interest, inform agenda, build invitation list and identify specific community resources and needs.
Week 2	· Secure location. · Invite key participants by phone. · Send email invitations with RSVP instructions.
Week 3	· Continue outreach calls. · Making lodging and transportation arrangements as needed. · Secure food donation.
Week 4	· Prepare local leaders for speaking and facilitation roles. · Send reminder email to confirmed participants. · Confirm day-of details with location.
Day before town hall	· Make reminder calls. · Pack materials.
Post town hall	· Send thank you to key leaders, venue, food donors and volunteers. · Send a follow-up email to participants with any call to actions.

Materials:

Materials will vary based on the needs of the community town hall, but here is a sample packing list:

Logistics

- Driving directions
- Contact information for venue
- Contact information for key leaders
- RSVP/registration list
- Community housing information

Presentation

- Laptop
- Projector
- Facilitator notes
- Flip chart
- Markers
- Easel
- Handouts for participants
- Extension cord and adapters
- Speakers

General

- Gender neutral bathroom signs
- Sign in sheets and pledge forms if you have an action or volunteer interest sheet
- Donation envelopes, program information, stickers, etc.
- Banner
- Tape, scissors, zip ties or twine
- Pens, pens and more pens
- Name badges
- Camera

Case Study: How Oregon Kept a Religious Exemption Measure off the Ballot

Background

Since 2007, Basic Rights Oregon has worked to counteract opposition strategies that seek to pit communities of color against LGBTQ communities. Basic Rights has worked to center the leadership of LGBTQ people of color, largely through the 2010 launch of the ongoing *Our Families* leadership program for LGBTQ an allied people of color (formerly called Standing Together). Through *Our Families,* Basic Rights released four compelling videos featuring the stories of Latino, African American, Asian Pacific Islander and Native American LGBTQ Oregonians, and published public statements of support from more than 140 straight community leaders of color.

Basic Rights' racial justice efforts are a major driver of the organization's relationships with partners based in communities of color. Today, Basic Rights partners with a range of racial justice and people of color-led organizations, and continues to broaden its reach to additional organizations and deepen existing relationships. Some examples include sponsoring and mobilizing for activities celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the Civil Rights Act, supporting the release of *Lift Every Voice,* a survey and report by the Urban League of Portland and PFLAG Portland Chapter on the experiences of African American LGBTQ Oregonians, and working with immigrant communities to pass and defend access to a driver card for undocumented Oregonians.

Basic Rights has also trained more than 1,000 LGBTQ and allied volunteers across the state on the intersections of LGBTQ rights and racial justice—including the bulk of longstanding volunteer leaders throughout the organization.

Building on the foundation

Building on the foundation of its racial justice coalition work, Basic Rights engaged partners from communities of color in its 2013-14 freedom to marry campaign and religious exemption victory.

Early in 2014, when it became likely that Oregon's Supreme Court would declare the state's ban on same-sex marriage unconstitutional, opposition forces moved to bring a religious exemption ballot measure to the statewide ballot. The opposition's measure specifically

focused on small businesses, such as bakeries, suggesting they should not be expected to support same-sex couples seeking marriage.

Basic Rights' organizing staff quickly shifted their focus with coalition partners to engage a broad coalition of supporters to come out publically against the religious exemption measure. The program specifically targeted leaders of faith, business leaders and leaders in communities of color, who were viewed as the strongest messengers in combating a religious exemption measure in Oregon.

Oregon's religious exemption defeat effort benefitted from of an active and engaged coalition supporting the freedom to marry. Staff resources were focused on moving endorsers of the freedom to marry campaign to oppose the discrimination measure. During a two-month period, Oregon United Against Discrimination built a coalition of more than 400 to fight the measure, including:

- 169 faith leaders,
- 150 businesses,
- 49 elected officials,
- 28 communities of color organizations and people of color owned businesses,
- 28 community organizations, and
- 13 faith communities.

Endorsements rolled out weekly during the signature gathering phase—business, then faith and communities of color, showing "walls" of opposition to the measure. Each phase included earned and digital media components.

Outcomes within communities of color

Because of the strong relationships that Basic Rights developed over the last several years through its racial justice work, a total of 28 community of color organizations and businesses signed on to defeat the religious exemption measure. The education effort also produced and aired a powerful ad featuring Kathleen Saadat, a well-known civil rights and LGBTQ leader on why discrimination is wrong.

Missed opportunity

The response to the religious exemption attack could have been stronger if the coalition work started earlier and more staff were hired specifically to work on engaging leaders and community groups.

Moving to Action

The process of moving racial justice forward is not just about individuals changing their behavior and thinking. Important individual work must in turn spark a commitment to undoing racism within organizations in order to position us to advance more effective and accountable racial justice organizing.

Organizations, like individuals, can become anti-racist. The transformation begins with developing a comprehensive understanding of how racism and oppression operate within an organization's own walls. From that analysis, we can make shape tangible plans for dismantling racism internally and calling our base to action.

Yet there is no uniform approach to anti-racist organizational development. The process is necessarily impacted by the size, structure, mission, constituency and geography of an organization. Each road to becoming an anti-racist organization is unique and never complete—rather, this is an ongoing journey and must be integrated in all aspects of our work for LGBTQ equality and social justice.

What you will find in this section:

Workshop	Format	Time
Moving Racial Justice: Are You Ready?	An introductory reading	N/A
Assessing Organizational Racism	Lecture, large group discussion and small group activities	2 hours
Handout: Four Stages of Organizational Development	Reading and planning tool	N/A
Case Study: Immigrant Justice at the Ballot	Reading	N/A
Handout: Putting Racial Justice into Workplans	Reading and planning tool	N/A

Moving to Action

Workshop	Format	Time
Naming and Framing Racism	Lecture, large group discussion and small group activities	95 minutes
Case Study: Racial Equity Report Cards	Reading	N/A
Building Alliances Across Race, Gender and Sexuality	Lecture and large group discussions	60 minutes
Case Study: Building Racial Justice into Your Ballot Measure Campaign	Reading	N/A
Handout: Movement-building vs. 51% Approach to Campaigns	Reading and planning tool	N/A
Trans Justice Now	Lecture, large and small group discussions and various activities	3 hours
Trans Justice Now Handouts: Awkward Trans Ally Moves, Gender Gumby Activity, Common Challenging Scenarios and Trans Justice Definitions	Handouts and tools	N/A

Moving Racial Justice: Are You Ready?

Assessing Your Organization's Readiness and Capacity to Move a Racial Justice Agenda

Not every LGBTQ organization is ready to take on racial justice work even if they are eager to do so. The following assessment is designed to raise critical issues as organizations and organizers think about their capacity to move a racial justice agenda. These assessments are designed to identify potential barriers to taking on a racial justice focus and outline the preparatory work that may be needed to effectively engage in and sustain racial justice work for white organizations and multi-racial organizations. This section does not address the potential challenges that people of color organizations may face in moving a racial justice agenda.

Read through the questions designed for your organization based on the descriptions of white and multi-racial organizations. Allow these questions to help you identify barriers, challenges and opportunities for moving racial justice through organizing.

By "white organizations," we mean organizations that are almost entirely made-up of white or white passing people among staff, leadership, constituency and membership. A few people of color could be part of the organization even in meaningful ways, but the organization is dominated by white people. A multi-racial organization has equity in leadership and power between people of color and white people.

Both white and multi-racial organizations need to be incredibly thoughtful about their role in racial justice organizing. They must become active allies in struggles for racial justice. And they need to take leadership from and be accountable to people of color including mixed or multi-racial people within their organizations as well as people of color organizations and communities as much as possible. Multi-racial membership organizations are also at risk of being wedged apart by racist attacks.
In either case, for those working in the LGBTQ movement, this means taking direction and being accountable to LGBTQ people of color organizations as well as primarily straight people of color organizations.

The following are questions that will help identify whether your organization is ready to take on a new or expanded commitment to engage in racial justice work.

Who is currently committed and interested in taking racial justice work on? Is the Board actively engaged and committed?

As a staff person or leader, are you the primary one pushing the agenda? Is there a shared commitment among leaders and people who hold power and influence within the organization? Are the executive director and board of directors equally committed to this agenda? How thoughtful and deep is the commitment? Are people committed enough to expend real resources for the work? Do people understand that this will involve internal work, possibly internal resistance and tension, and may impact external relationships? How much push-back are people prepared to address? Are people going to back off at the first sign of trouble or the fiftieth? Are they willing to speak publically and with big donors on the importance of racial justice as part of the organization's work?

If there is not a shared commitment among a critical mass of people with power in the organization who also share a sense of the potential barriers and problems that could arise, then the organization is not ready. More internal education and more effort to build a base of support for taking on a racial justice focus are necessary.

If the staff and board of an organization are not equally committed to this work, it can create significant problems. All too often, staff will charge ahead without getting the necessary, deep buy-in from the board of directors. Eventually this will come back to haunt you.

What motivates people within the organization to take on racial justice work?

Are people interested in the work out of a sense of solidarity with people of color, political analysis which prioritizes the work, a sense of guilt, or opportunism? Seriously thinking about these questions can help get a sense of how deep the commitment is as well as identifying potential major pitfalls.

Do you have intentional and effective approaches to developing leadership throughout your organization?

In order to sustain and build the work, organizations need to be intentional about leadership development. Building power for communities of color means building a strong base of people of color (POC) and anti-racist white allies as members and leaders. Does your organizational leadership ladder lifts up POC leaders at the same rate as white leaders? Concentrating leadership in the hands of a few weakens the work and makes it easier for opponents to hurt the organization by discrediting one

This workshop tool was adapted from Western States Center's *Dismantling Racism: A Resource Book for Social Change Groups* (pages 65-67). Dismantling Racism Project, Western States Center, http://www.westernstatescenter.org/tools-and-resources/Tools/Dismantling%20Racism

or two individuals.

What is and has been your organization's relationships with people of color organizations and communities of color?

White or predominantly white organizations that have no relationship with people of color or organizations and communities of color are not ready to move a racial justice campaign. Nor are they ready if the relationships they do have with people of color are tenuous, not particularly deep or lacking a level of meaningful trust. In this context, white organizations should be beginning to develop alliances with organizations and communities of color by educating themselves about relevant issues and building relationships.

In many parts of the country, people of color organizations are few and communities of color are isolated. And in most of the country, LGBTQ people of color organizations are severely underfunded. In these situations, predominantly white organizations must act creatively to seek avenues of accountability in their racial justice work. This may mean building relationships with key organizations of color and leaders outside their community, town, city or state. Or it could mean building relationships with key community leaders who are not necessarily connected to formal organizations.

Is there a shared and sharp analysis of race and racism among the organization's leadership and membership?

An organization that is really struggling to find a language to talk about race and racism internally and in their organizing work may not be ready to move a racial justice campaign. Anti-racism training and political education are effective methods of developing shared organizational analysis.

Are you intentionally building alliances with other organizations and communities of color?

To what extent does the organization's analysis of racism affirm the shared experiences of various groups of color both within the organization and in relationship to other communities?

Is your organization joining POC-led racial justice coalitions and initiatives or are you just asking those organizations to join you? If they are joining you, how much decision making power do they have?

One of the ways racism operates in the U.S. is that it divides to conquer, driving wedges between various ethnic groups and communities of color. It is critical for organizations to proactively build alliances among people of color. We cannot ignore real differences and tensions, but should consciously and constructively try to address conflicts and create collaboration. If people of color are divided, our work for racial justice is jeopardized.

Does your organization have a strategic approach to assessing the costs and benefits of entering coalitions, particularly with white organizations?

Multi-racial organizations need to be careful about coalition work with white

organizations. Although such coalitions are often necessary—especially given the demographic realities of various regions—there are many potential pitfalls. White organizations are often larger and better resourced, creating significant power imbalances. Few white organizations "get" racism at a deep level and have a track record of fighting racism in appropriate ways. How can multi-racial organizations collaborate with predominantly white organizations without tipping the balance of multi-racial equity in leadership within their own organization? What type of internal strength do you need to build before entering new collaborations in order to support leaders of color in your own organization? How can you assess the capacity of predominantly white organizations to be effective anti-racist allies to your organization?

Do you expect some resistance to taking on more explicit racial justice work?

Resistance should be expected and can be worked through. Who is likely to put up this resistance and why? Staff, leaders, board members, major donors and others can all put up roadblocks. Educational programs designed specifically for each group are critical to help avoid resistance as well as surface inevitable resistance in a structured setting where it can be productively discussed and challenged.

Is the organization prepared not to tokenize the few people of color who are part of the organization?

Tokenism is the act of placing a limited

When is adding a race analysis to your campaign work opportunistic?

Here are some examples:

- When this is done to garner money or to generate numbers for a grant.
- When spokespeople and volunteers of color are used without any depth of relationship: The spokespeople or volunteers of color aren't rooted in the community or the organization is engaging that spokesperson without any interest in engaging the community itself.
- When this is done solely in reaction to outside pressure.
- When working with communities of color is dropped after the campaign, wedge or crisis is resolved.

number of people from a non-dominant group for a prestigious position in order to deflect criticism of oppression. Tokenism is a form of co-optation. When predominantly white organizations and multi-racial organizations take on racial justice work, the people of color in the organizations are often put into uncomfortable positions within the organization. People of color may want to take the opportunity to caucus in order to build a strong network of support as they enter a racial justice campaign. The caucus may allow people of color to assess whether the organization is tokenizing them in order to put a "diverse face" to the campaign while marginalizing people of color from meaningful positions of leadership in the campaign. The caucus may also allow people of color an opportunity to address the impact of internalized racism on members and leaders as active participants in moving a racial justice agenda.

If your organization is primarily white.... why?

This is an incredibly useful question to reflect on before proceeding. In thinking about this question, it is crucial to "step out of the box" and seriously test your basic assumptions.

- Is it because of demographics: Few people of color in your area? Has your organization allowed demographics to be an excuse for not doing the work?
- Is it because your organization has historically framed issues in ways that aren't relevant for people of color?
- Have there been specific incidents where the organization has tried to build relationships with and include people of color but it didn't work? Why?
- Is it due to access needs of people of color not being met, such as transportation friendly venues, child care or interpretation?
- Does your organization show interest in POC issues on your website and social media posts? Do you calls to action show you are mindful of how racism is still happening around us?

How is your organization prepared to deal with racist attacks?

If your work is effective, you will most likely be targeted at some point, if not also constantly, in a million small ways. Many established organizations develop "risk management" plans to deal with all kinds of potential crises. People of color and multi-racial organizations should consider adding to these usual disaster possibilities (fire, embezzlement, financial crisis, etc.). Some of the liabilities that come with building power for people of color in a deeply racist society include: media misinformation and mischaracterization, harassing lawsuits, challenges to your nonprofit status, etc.

Do you have an ethical bottom line that you will not cross or compromise on to protect POC in policy work? Do POC get a chance to share feedback when the "compromise" will impact them most directly? Do you listen to their recommendations?

Common Points of Resistance Among White Organizations

Fear of losing power in the organization

If key players in an organization are nervous that they could lose power or status in the organization if people of color join, then that organization is not in a good position to seriously take on a racial justice focus. Rather the organization should most likely focus on internal dismantling racism education.

The research phase of an organization's campaign may provide an opportunity to provide some of the internal education needed to break down racist fears. Empirical and anecdotal data may move white members and leaders to begin to focus on issues rather than their own racist beliefs, fears and anxieties.

People feeling unprepared and inexperienced at working with a race analysis

Organizations can build on the work and expertise of other organizations and institutions that have experience working with a race analysis. This can be an impetus for building alliances or coalitions that bring organizations with a strong history of racial justice work together with less experienced organizations.

Relying on tried and true organizing strategies—while still being flexible—may provide an opportunity to overcome assumptions that racial justice organizing is a whole different ballgame than familiar organizing strategies. While we don't want to deny that moving a racial justice campaign may have unique strategies and challenges, sometimes the feeling of not being equipped does not represent a lack of capacity to move a racial justice agenda.

Fear of wedging membership, wanting to avoid "divisive" issues

If we avoid issues of race because we think they are divisive, we are avoiding some of the most critical issues. Too many progressive organizations have sat out key racial justice fights for fear of wedging their membership, with the effect of strengthening the racist right wing.

It's better to strengthen your constituencies' understanding of and commitment to racial justice than to avoid the issues of race and racism. Building a strong, shared analysis of oppression is key to undermining this "cardinal organizing rule." Sometimes confronting points of disagreement can move an organization past seemingly huge barriers to a whole new level of work.

Assessing Organizational Racism

Summary

Since racism is reflected in every institution and organization in the U.S., it is also present in the LGBTQ movement. The structures and cultures of nonprofits and grassroots organizations can reproduce white privilege and racial oppression found in the wider society even though, as organizations working for equality, it can be easy to feel exempt from this dynamic. But organizations, like individuals evolve, change and grow. Groups can transform themselves into anti-racist organizations. A key first action in anti-racist organizational development is explicitly identifying where our organizations are relative to racial justice through some guided internal assessment.

Goals

- Gain an understanding of what it means to be an anti-racist organization.
- Assess where your organization fits into the four stages of anti-racist organizational development.
- Determine next moves in advancing your development as an anti-racist organization.

Agenda Outline

Exercise	Format	Time
Overview	Lecture	15 minutes
Assessing your organization	Lecture and small group activity	45 minutes
Report back	Large group discussion	25 minutes
Brainstorm next moves and assign tasks	Small group activity	30 minutes
Closing	Lecture	10 minutes
		90 total minutes

This workshop tool was adapted from Western States Center's *Dismantling Racism: A Resource Book for Social Change Group*s (pages 56-67). Dismantling Racism Project, Western States Center, http://www.westernstatescenter.org/tools-and-resources/Tools/Dismantling%20Racism

Materials:

- Flip chart or white board
- Markers
- Tape
- Handouts: "Four Stages of Organizational Development"

1. Overview

Trainer shares main points:

- When it comes to race and racism, many LGBTQ rights organizations have trouble acting with integrity and living out their values—or even articulating their values. This becomes especially pronounced working in a movement with leadership that is predominantly white or perceived as white. Sometimes we think that we don't have to deal with racial justice until people of color are involved with our work. Some of us may even think that the extent of our work around race is to get more people of color to join our group or attend our events, or to address the needs of a select few people of color who are involved with our group, or to only engage with folks of color during a particular campaign.

- In reality, racism is <u>everyone's</u> issue—especially those of us working in the LGBTQ rights movement. And that doesn't necessarily just mean "diversifying" by getting more people of color involved or getting white passing employees to come out. In fact, becoming a multi-racial organization isn't a necessary goal of anti-racist work.

- Becoming an anti-racist organization is a long process. The transformation begins with developing a comprehensive understanding of how racism and oppression operate within an organization's own walls. From that analysis, a commitment and concrete plans for dismantling racism within the organization and in the larger society will follow.

- But in order to know where we're going and how to get there, we first need to know where we are! So we're going to take some time to take stock of our organizations and find out where we are currently. Let's start by getting a better understanding of what kinds of organizations exist.

2. Assessing your organization

Trainer says (bold text written on flip chart):

These types of organizations are not monolithic, however identifying the type of organization that you're closest to and addressing your barriers to being an anti-racist organization is an important first move. Being an anti-racist organization is ongoing work, everyone in the organization needs to understand there is not a point when this work stops.

2. **The All White Club,** without trying, finds itself with an all-white organization.
   Key points about All White Clubs:
   - **They don't intentionally exclude people of color**—In fact, they've often tried to get more people of color involved. But when people of color join, they're asked to fit into the existing culture, and many leave after a frustrating period of trying to be heard.
   - **They can't figure out why they don't have more people of color involved,** and often blame people of color for not being interested in the group's work.
   - **They don't think deeply about internal change** and often don't understand that without changing organizational culture, norms and power relations, they will always be an all white club.
   - **They're good people! They just don't have an analysis** of racism, power relations and the intersectional identities and experiences of LGBTQ people of color, nor are they accountable to people or communities of color.

2. **The Affirmative Action or "Token" Organization** is committed to eliminating discrimination in hiring and promotion.
   Key points about Affirmative Action Organizations:
   - **They set clear affirmative action goals** focused on the hiring process, with clear job criteria, a percentage of people of color who need to be in a candidate pool and a bias-reduced interview process.
   - **They hold sensitivity/diversity/tolerance trainings** aimed at reducing person-to-person prejudice.
   - **They sometimes have one or two people of color in leadership decisions,** but for many people of color, coming into the organization feels like little more than tokenism.
   - **They're basically white clubs with a few adjustments** aimed at bringing people of color in.

3. **The Multi-Cultural Organization** reflects the contributions and interests of diverse cultural and social groups in its mission, operations, products and services.
   Key points about Multi-Cultural Organizations:
   - **They actively recruit and welcome people of color** and celebrate having a diverse staff and board.
   - **They are committed to reducing prejudice** within the group and offer programs that help members learn more about the diverse cultures that make up the organization.

- Their commitment makes white people feel good, **but people of color are still asked to fit in to the dominant culture**. White people in the organization tend to feel good about the commitment to diversity. Like the previous two, however, people of color are still asked to join the dominant culture and fit in.

- **Most multi-national corporations are at this stage**—while most nonprofits are still in the first two stages. Multi-national corporations recognize that their financial success is tied to their customer base and their customer base is racially diverse. This is not to say we should model ourselves after multi-national corporations, but it is worth thinking about how they are further ahead than most of us in thinking about the implications of changing demographics for their organization.

4. **The Anti-Racist Organization** supports the development of anti-racist white allies and empowers people of color through the organization's culture, norms, policies and procedures. Their work is rooted in an analysis of the history of racism and power in this country.
   Key points about Anti-Racist Organizations:

   - **They help white people work together and challenge each other** around issues of racism. They also help white people share power with people of color, take leadership from and be accountable to people of color, feel comfortable with being uncomfortable and understand that we are all learning all the time.

   - **They help people of color become more empowered through taking leadership.** They also share power; transform the organizational norms and culture; challenge white allies and other people of color; share in decisions about how the organization's resources will be spent, what work gets done as well as how it gets done, the setting of priorities; and they allow people of color to make the same mistakes as white people.

   - **Their anti-racist analysis manifests itself in every part of their work.** The organization provides trainings and encourages discussions about racism, white privilege, power and accountability. They set clear standards for inclusion at all levels of the organization; review the mission, vision, policies, procedures, board agreements, etc. to insure that the commitment to end racism is a consistent theme; help people to understand the links between oppressions; and devote organizational time and resources to building relationships across race and other barriers.

   - **People of color can easily access and completely engage in all organizational events and activities.** Their cultural norms are part of events and the organization stays in relationship with POC leaders and groups following a big program or policy change.

Trainer distributes handout: "Four States of Organizational Development."

Trainer says:
This organizational assessment chart offers us a place to start tackling these really big questions and dynamics. This sampling of questions is designed to help you examine and change the ways your organization replicates larger racist patterns.

Trainer instructs:
Please break into small groups. Each group should go through the chart, line by line, and figure out where their organization is. As you read each question aloud in your group, please take a moment to answer it for your organization before reading the additional commentary. Finally, as you fill out the chart, please note what characteristics your organization shares with each stage and write them down on the worksheet. Then use those notes to determine what your organization's dominant stage is. Please be prepared to report-back at the conclusion of this activity.

Trainer note: *If multiple organizations are present, participants should group by organization. If the audience is all from one organization, they should break into small groups and take different sections of the chart.*

3. Report back

Trainer asks each group to report back, asking the following and without assuming identities.

- What's your organization's dominant stage?
- What surprised you when filling out the chart?
- Did this change the way you think about your organization's work? How?

4. Brainstorm next moves and assign tasks

Trainer says:
For some of us, this may feel really good and clarifying, just to know where we are when it comes to race in our organizations. For others of us, it may feel daunting—like there's a lot to take on. And there is a lot to take on, but that doesn't mean we can't break it down and take it on piece by piece. So let's come up with some concrete actions!

Trainer instructs:
Please return to your small groups, and write down one action for each category on the chart, one thing that your organization can change.

Be sure to write bigger structural changes, like who has the power to make decisions, as well as smaller changes, like what kinds of decorations are on the wall. This is a range of work. Some things will be longer-term challenges and others are easier, smaller changes.

Trainer gives small groups 20 minutes to come up with tasks, and then further instructs:
In your small groups, assign tasks. Who's the decision maker in charge of this area? And what's a reasonable time frame for getting this done? Assign a point person AND a time frame. Then set a meeting date to check-in on everyone's progress and to start building a more in-depth organizational work plan.

Trainer gives an additional 10 minutes to complete task assignments and timelines.

5. Closing

Trainer shares closing points:
Does everyone have their tasks assigned? Feeling ready to move forward? Good.
This can feel like a lot of work, but you've got your first actions—which is much, much more than many organizations take on. And there are a few things to remember as you move forward through anti-racist organizational development:

- **It's hard work.** The fundamental evolution needed to become actively anti-racist is a long, slow deep process. It takes time and it takes effort.

- **This is the work we're always talking about.** It's the coalition work we always wish was happening, but don't often have the time (or take the time) to tackle. It's the answer to the question that so many predominantly white LGBTQ organizations ask: "Why aren't more people of color involved?"

- **It's strategic work.** This is how we counter the myth that communities of color are somehow "more homophobic" than white communities. It's how we build deep, meaningful coalitions. And it's how we win—not just for LGBTQ rights, but for racial justice and social justice.

- **It's do-able work.** Organizations that have made the commitment are living proof that it can be done. The changes they've made confirm that the hard work of transformation is worth every minute. And on those worksheets, you've got a place to start. So start!

The Four Stages of Organizational Development

The All White Club

All White Clubs are LGBTQ groups that, without trying, find themselves with an all-white organization. These are not groups that have intentionally excluded people of color. In fact, many times they have developed recruitment plans to get more people of color involved in their group. However, when people of color essentially asked to fit into the existing culture. Many leave after a frustrating period of trying to be heard.

After years of trying, the Club cannot figure out why they do not have more people of color in their group; they begin to blame people of color for not being interested in the group's mission, or they just give up. They do not understand that without analyzing and changing the organizational culture, norms, and power relations they will always be an all-white club. While they are good people, they have no analysis of racism or of power relations and no accountability to people or communities of color.

The Affirmative Action or "Token" Organization

The Affirmative Action or "Token" LGBTQ Organization is committed to eliminating discrimination in hiring and promotion. The Affirmative Action or "Token" Organization sets clear affirmative action goals, clear and unambiguous job qualifications and criteria, a percentage of people of color who need to be in a candidate pool for a new job, and a bias-reduced interview process. Staff and board are encouraged to reduce and/or eliminate their prejudice and the organization may conduct prejudice reduction workshops toward this end. There may be one or two people of color in leadership positions. For people of color, coming into the organization feels like little more than tokenism.

The Affirmative Action or "Token" Organization is still basically an all-white club, except it now includes structural and legal means to bring people of color in.

The Multicultural Organization

The Multicultural LGBTQ Organization reflects the contributions and interests of diverse cultural and social groups in its mission, operations, products and services. It actively recruits and welcomes people of color and celebrates having a diverse staff and board. It is committed to reducing prejudice within the group and offers programs that help members

learn more about the diverse identities that make up the organization. White people in the organization tend to feel good about the commitment to diversity. Like the previous two, however, people of color are still asked to join the dominant culture and fit in.

An interesting point to consider is that most multinational corporations are at this stage, while most nonprofits, even social change nonprofits, are still predominantly in one of the first two stages. Multinational corporations recognize that their financial success is tied to their customer base and their customer base is racially diverse. So, for example, in states where there are active English-only campaigns, the banks are offering ATM machines in English and Spanish. This is not to say we should model ourselves after multinational corporations, but it is worth thinking about how they are further ahead than most of us in thinking about the implications of a changing demographics for their organization.

The Anti-Racist Organization

Based on an analysis of the history of racism, power and the lived realities for LGBTQ people of color in this country, this LGBTQ organization supports the development of anti-racist white allies and empowers people of color through the organization's culture, norms, policies and procedures.

The Anti-Racist Organization integrates this commitment into the program, helping white people work together and challenge each other around issues of racism. This organization also shares power with people of color, takes leadership from and is accountable to people of color, feels comfortable with being uncomfortable while understanding that we are all learning all the time. The Anti-Racist Organization helps people of color, especially LGBTQ people of color, become more empowered through taking leadership; sharing power; transforming the organizational norms and culture; challenging white allies and other people of color; sharing in decisions about how the organization's resources will be spent, what work gets done as well as how it gets done, the setting of priorities; and allowing people of color to make the same mistakes as white people. The organization does this by providing training and encouraging discussions about racism, white privilege, power and accountability; devoting organizational time and resources to building relationships across race and other difference; setting clear standards for accountability at all levels of the organization; reviewing its mission, policies, procedures, board agreements, etc. to ensure that the commitment to end racism is a consistent theme and to help people understand the links between LGBTQ and racist oppressions.

WORKSHEET

Stages of Anti-Racist Organizational Development

List of characteristics my organization shares from the following stages:

The All White Club
The Affirmative Action or "Token" Organization
The Multicultural Organization
The Anti-Racist Organization

My organization's dominant stage is:

Things I noticed:

Some goals for the future in terms of our organization's anti-racist development might include:

Four Stages of Organizational Development

	All White Club	Token or Affirmative Action Organization	Multicultural Organization	Anti-Racist Organization
Decision- making	Made by white people (often men). Made in private in ways that people can't see or really know.	Made by white people. Made in private and often in unclear ways.	Made by a diverse group of board and staff. Token attempts to involve those targeted by mission in decision-making.	Made by a diverse group. People of color are in significant leadership positions. Everyone in the organization understands how power is distributed and how decisions are made.
Budget	Developed, controlled and understood by one or two white people (often men).	Developed, controlled and understood by one or two white people.	Developed, controlled and understood by one or two white people.	Developed, controlled and understood by people of color and white people at all levels of the organization.
Receives funding from	Select foundations. Wealthy or middle-class, college-educated white donors. Often a small number of very large donors.	Foundations. Wealthy or middle-class, college-educated donors.	Foundations. Wealthy or middle-class, college-educated donors. Some donations from people of color and low-income people.	The communities most impacted by the problem(s) being addressed. Supplemented by foundation grants and donations from allies (those concerned but not directly affected).
Is accountable to	Funders. A few white people on board or staff.	Funders. Board and staff.	Funders. Board and staff. Some token attempts to report to those targeted by mission.	Communities targeted by mission.

	All White Club	Token or Affirmative Action Organization	Multicultural Organization	Anti-Racist Organization
Power and pay	White people in decision-making positions, paid very well. People of color and/or women in administrative or service positions paying lower wages. Few, if any, benefits. Little job security or power for people at bottom.	White people in decision-making positions, paid relatively well. People of color and/or women in administrative or service positions that pay less well. Few, if any benefits for anyone. Sometimes one or two people of color in token positions of power, with high turnover or low levels of real authority. People at bottom have very little power.	White people in decision-making positions, paid relatively well. People of color in administrative or service positions that pay less well. One or two people in positions of power, particularly if their work style emulates those of white people in power. Training to upgrade skills is offered. People of color may not be at equal levels of power with white people, but a level of respect is present.	People of color in decision-making positions that pay a decent wage comparable to the wages of white people in the organization. Administrative and service positions perceived as a path to positions of more power and those positions reflect some decision-making power and authority. Training and other mentoring help provided.
Location	In white community. Decorations reflect a predominantly white culture.	In white community. Decorations reflect some cultural diversity.	Physically accessible to people of color. Decorations reflect a commitment to multi-culturalism	Physically accessible to community served. Decorations reflect a commitment to multi-culturalism and power sharing.

	All White Club	Token or Affirmative Action Organization	Multicultural Organization	Anti-Racist Organization
Members	White people, with a token number of people of color if any. Members have no real decision-making power.	White people and people of color, with only a token ability to participate in decision-making. People of color are only aware of the organization because it is providing a direct service.	From diverse communities. Token encouragement to participate in decision-making.	From range of communities targeted by mission. Authentic encouragement to participate in decision-making. Training to enhance skills and abilities.
Culture	Top down, paternalistic and often secretive. Success measured by how much is accomplished. Little attention paid to process, or how work gets done. Little if any leadership- or staff development. No discussion of power analysis or oppression issues. Conflict is avoided. People who raise uncomfortable issues are considered troublemakers or hard to work with. Leaders assume "we are all the same."	Still top down although inclusivity is stressed. Those in power assume their standards and ways of doing things are neutral, most desirable and form the basis for what is considered "qualified." People expected to be highly motivated self-starters requiring little supervision. Some training may be provided. No power analysis. Conflict avoided. Emphasis on people getting along and discussion of race limited to prejudice reduction.	Organization looks inclusive with a visibly diverse board and staff. Actively celebrates diversity. Focuses on reducing prejudice, but is uncomfortable naming racism. Continues to assume that the dominant culture ways of doing is things most desirable. Assumes a level playing field. Emphasized belief in equality, but still no power analysis. "Workaholism" desired and rewarded. Still uncomfortable with conflict.	Organization actively recruits and mentors people of color. Celebrates diversity. Has a power analysis about racism and other areas of oppression. Diversity of work styles encouraged with active reflection about balancing what gets done and how it gets done. Willingness to name racism and address conflict. Resources devoted to developing shared goals, teamwork, and sharing skills and knowledge.

	All White Club	Token or Affirmative Action Organization	Multicultural Organization	Anti-Racist Organization
Programs	Not about building power for communities of color. Impacted constituents have little participation in decision-making. Emphasis on "helping" those in need.	Inclusive intent. Little analysis of root causes of oppression. Constituents are appreciated until they speak out or organize for power. Designed to people with little or no decision-making power.	Designed to build power until people speak up. Some attempt to understand oppression outside of mission scope. Some participation by those served in program planning. Token representation by constituencies in the organization.	Designed to build and share power. Designed to help people analyze and address root causes of oppression. People most affected by issues are central to program planning. Opportunities for constituents to move into leadership roles.

Case Study: Immigrant Justice and the Ballot—Basic Rights Oregon and Measure 88

Background

For several years, Basic Rights Oregon has had a strong partnership with Oregon's leading immigrant rights organization, Causa, thanks to the intentional work of incorporating racial justice into our priorities and political strategies. Notably, Basic Rights was a key partner in the broad, multi-year "Safe Roads Coalition" that successfully passed a significant piece of legislation for immigrant communities. Causa was the lead organization on the legislative campaign that secured a limited purpose and limited duration driver's card for all Oregon residents. The policy was celebrated widely as a critical victory for immigrant families, workers and other vulnerable communities who needed a safe and legal way to drive. Sadly, the local anti-immigrant organization Oregonians for Immigration Reform received significant out-of-state funding to run a signature drive that effectively halted the implementation of the new law and ultimately gathered enough signatures to refer the issue to the 2014 General Election ballot for voters to decide on its fate.

Basic Rights Oregon, along with many progressive and immigrant rights advocacy organizations, joined a broad and active coalition to preserve the Safe Roads Act and pass Ballot Measure 88. The coalition was massive and the field goals were large in scale. Polling revealed an uphill battle. In a majority white state with a history of white supremacist activity, the campaign needed to change hearts and minds and dispel racist fears. Basic Rights invested significant capacity as an allied organization to educate our largely white base about the issue and urge our supporters to fund, volunteer and vote yes for Measure 88.

Starting the conversation

It was important that we were explicit with our partners about where we could add support, where we would yield to them on messaging and strategy and how we could deliver resources in meaningful way. Additionally, we had to map out internally how we would ensure our staff and volunteers were trained to speak competently on the issue and what messaging and political education we would use with our own base. Some critical questions we asked were:

What will our messaging look like?

How will we move our supporters to understand that undocumented folks and immigrant families are part of the LGBTQ community and therefore this is an issue our organization must work on? And

how do we ensure that folks understand this is an important way to be in solidarity with people of color communities? We developed an FAQ to for our volunteers to address anti-immigrant push back at tabling events and during phone banks.

How are we prepared internally to work on this?
Although we had made great strides in our racial justice analysis with our staff and core volunteers, and our community visibility on racial justice issues, were we in a place to add capacity in field, fundraising and communications? Were our donors in a good place to pitch-in?

What should our contribution look like?
How much staff time could we contribute? How many donor relationships could we leverage? How much volunteer capacity can we muster? These were all important questions to answer as we sought to serve LGBTQ immigrant community members and maintain our commitment to partners.

Campaign contributions

We were able to lend four full-time organizers to the effort and engage all of our staff in various levels of the campaign. We worked with our donors to host house parties and we incorporated pitches at our existing events. We leveraged our communication channels to send email blasts, post on social media and tell community stories. Our volunteers participated in several phone banks to recruit other volunteers and educate our base. We secured endorsements from elected officials and organizational partners and our executive director sat on the campaign's executive committee. We hosted our own canvass day for the campaign.

Lessons learned

Be Prepared: There were many organizations involved in the ballot measure campaign that had varying levels of expertise and experience on immigrant rights. Because of our years of internal anti-racist organizational development, many of our core volunteers and donors understood why this issue was strategic to our values. At the same time, we were still caught off guard by anti-immigrant sentiments expressed by some of our base and could have benefited from early, expert training on our popular education approach.

Express organizational needs: There were moments where the campaign's messaging was not the messaging we wanted to use in order to have a deeper conversation about solidarity and supporting immigrants and refugees within our community. The polling data instructed the campaign to focus on road safety, but we wanted to address the racism behind the attack.

Show up: When partner organizations need you in a major way and when you have made a long-term organizational commitment to racial justice, it's important to contribute in meaningful ways. There is a big difference between attending meetings and contributing resources campaigns need. In the end, we were able to invest significant staff time, financial support, networks and field turnout.

Still a long way to go: Tragically, Measure 88 was defeated by a majority of Oregon voters. Our side was outspent by the opposition and anti-immigrant forces relied on racist messaging. While a deeply disappointing outcome with real and devastating consequences for immigrant and refugee families, the campaign served as a piercing reminder of how much work LGBTQ organizations need to continue to do to lift up vulnerable members of our community and educate white allies to vote for racial justice at the ballot.

Putting Racial Justice into Workplans

Workplans guide what we hope to accomplish in any given day, month or year. So it's critical to ensure that both individual and organizational workplans include anti-racist organizational development goals. These are the goals that will make sure you are building a successful anti-racist organization.

Use the grid provided as a tool to help develop your organization's own anti-racist organizational development workplan.

The first column outlines the general work area to be addressed.

The second column poses several critical questions for evaluation and self-reflection.

The third column offers options for how to develop elements of the workplan in this work area.

And the fourth column provides a sample workplan, including specific benchmarks to measure success.

In order to develop a successful anti-racist organizational development workplan, you'll need to involve key players in the organization including board, lead staff and decision makers. All of these people should be involved in the evaluation, as well as in developing the details of the workplan. If that is not possible, find a trusted, external anti-racist group to assist you in evaluation, resources and mentoring to ensure all people color truly experience equity in the workplace.

This may take a number of meetings over the course of several weeks, or even a few months. But it is critical to the success of your efforts. It can easily be done at the same time staff and board members work on the rest of the organization's work plan for the year—or as part of developing a long term strategic plan for the organization. It is also important to periodically check in to see how the organization's efforts are going. It is easy to have a goal, but it is imperative to check-in along the way with tangible measures to make sure the end goal will be reached.

Work area	Internal evaluation discussion questions	Potential components of a workplan	Sample specific work-plan goals for the year
Internal political education and skill building	What's the skill level of board and staff members in this area? Do board and staff members feel comfortable and confident talking about racial justice, articulating the organization's race analysis and interrupting oppressive moments? Are there trainings available for new and existing staff? How consistent are these trainings?	Provide formal trainings for board and staff members. Develop and share internal talking points that outline the organization's work on racial justice. Provide opportunities for board and staff to practice talking about the work. Provide tangible/ measureable steps of success intermittently and overall.	Provide five trainings (15 hours total) to all board and staff members: Dismantling racism Naming and framing racial justice Challenging racist moments People of Color: internalized racism White supremacy in the workplace
Board development and staff hiring	Who makes the decisions in the organization? What's the composition of the board & staff? Are people of color represented in all levels of the organization, or primarily in non-managerial positions? Do people of color board members hold equal power? Does the organization have tools of accountability?	Conduct an evaluation of current staff and board representation, including confidential surveys to understand power dynamics. Develop plans for board and staff recruitment that include benchmarks for where you want to be in a couple years. Analyze the difference between tokenizing people of color into the organization and truly having space for diversity.	Develop and implement a board recruitment plan that sets 1, 2 and 3-year benchmarks. Develop hiring protocols that ensure broad and diverse applicant pools for all staff positions. Write staff development plans that ensure that people of color staff gain access to professional development opportunities.

Work area	Internal evaluation discussion questions	Potential components of a workplan	Sample specific work-plan goals for the year
External political education and skill building	What's the depth of knowledge about racial justice among your core activist and engaged volunteers? Can volunteers speak confidently about the organization's work for racial justice? Are volunteers experienced at interrupting oppressive moments?	Conduct trainings for volunteer leaders. Provide opportunities for volunteer leaders to talk about the organization's anti-racist work to other volunteers.	Provide dismantling racism training to 120 volunteers (4 training sessions across the state). Provide training on immigrant rights to 120 volunteers (4 training sessions across the state). Provide training on white privilege to 120 volunteers (4 training sessions across the state). Create a system to gain meaningful feedback from volunteers about anti-racist tactics.
Building alliances and relationships with racial justice organizations and people of color leaders	Does your organization have strong and mutually-respectful relationships with organizations based in communities of color? How about relationships with individual people of color leaders? Do you have a clear understanding about networks of influence in particular communities of color? How would people of color leaders describe your organization's commitment to racial justice?	Develop an understanding of who's who in communities where you don't have strong connections. Spend time meeting and building relationships with people of color leaders and use this time to learn how your organization can provide support to racial justice campaigns, rather than just asking for help on your own campaigns.	Develop an influence map that outlines networks, organizations and leaders in specific communities of color. Conduct 20 one-on-one meetings with leaders in communities of color to build relationships and offer support for racial justice campaigns. Show up as an ally at events and activities important to people of color leaders in the community.

Work area	Internal evaluation discussion questions	Potential components of a workplan	Sample specific work-plan goals for the year
Racial justice and Anti-racist organizing	How committed are volunteers to participating in racial justice campaigns? What campaigns are currently underway? What kinds of support can you offer to these campaigns?	Select a campaign that you can support, where your support will make a difference, can be public and can involve volunteers. Set benchmarks for participation in the campaign.	Send 3-5 action alerts with a goal of generating 250 contacts to the racial justice campaign target. Educate your base on why racial justice is important to your organization. Mobilize 50 volunteers to take action.
Communications and messaging: naming and framing racial justice	How do you talk about your work for racial justice? Do organization materials reflect this commitment? If your organization hasn't always had this commitment, do you tell a story of transformation of how and why the organization came to make a commitment to racial justice? Do your materials include images of people of color who are active in the organization or are pictures of people of color from stock photo sources? How do you explain the combined impact of racism, homophobia and transphobia on LGBTQ people of color?	Develop talking points and a storyline that explains the organization's commitment to racial justice and why this fits with your values and is strategic. Conduct an assessment of the organization's materials—printed literature, websites, photos used, etc.—to evaluate how people of color are portrayed in your publications.	Develop and print a new brochure to explain the organization's commitment to racial justice. Regularly highlight the contributions of people of color volunteers and donors in the email newsletter. Share specific talking points with staff, board and volunteer leaders regarding the organization's work on racial justice.

Work area	Internal evaluation discussion questions	Potential components of a workplan	Sample specific work-plan goals for the year
Fundraising and donor education	What portion of your budget comes from white individual donors or institutional funders led by white people? What impact does this have on your work? How often do you talk to donors about your racial justice work? Do your executive director and development team feel confident talking about this work? Do you have a plan to increase funding from POC communities and donors who have a racial justice analysis?	Conduct an evaluation of the organization's funding base. Develop a plan for donor education and donor recruitment.	Conduct a private briefing for 15 major donors outlining your approach to incorporating racial justice goals into the organization's workplans. Provide training for the executive director and other fundraisers to be able to handle questions from donors about this work.

Naming and Framing Racism

Summary

In order to truly advance racial justice in a long-term and sustainable way, LGBTQ organizations must name and frame racism explicitly in our organizing. That means clearly and publicly using language and analysis that describes an issue as a matter of racial justice and explain how LGBTQ and straight people of color are disproportionately impacted by the issue.

Goals

- Review various forms of racism.
- Learn how to analyze and articulate an issue as a matter of racial justice.

Agenda Outline

Exercise	Format	Time
Introduction	Lecture	5 minutes
Forms of racism	Large group discussion	25 minutes
Naming and framing race	Lecture and group discussion	30 minutes
Developing racial justice campaigns	Small group activity and debrief	30 minutes
Organizational and campaign analysis	Small group activity and debrief	45 minutes
Closing	Lecture	5 minutes
		140 total minutes

Materials:

- Flip chart or white board
- Markers
- Tape
- Handouts: "Defining Racism: A Review," "Campaign Analysis," "Talking About Racial Justice" and "Organizational Racial Justice Analysis"

This workshop tool was adapted from Western States Center's Dismantling Racism: A Resource Book for Social Change Groups (pages 107-111). Dismantling Racism Project, Western States Center, http://www.westernstatescenter.org/tools-and-resources/Tools/Dismantling%20Racism

1. Introduction

Trainer says:
A major step in coming out for racial justice is to have our organizations explicitly and publicly talk about the impacts of institutionalized and structural racism. But sometimes this can be difficult to do, especially when referencing our own campaigns and programs. In this workshop, we'll discuss how to begin naming and framing our issues as a matter of racial justice, but first let's review what we mean when we talk about race and racism.

2. Forms of racism

Trainer says:
We know that racism happens at multiple levels: cultural, institutional and structural. Let's define each one.

Trainer asks:
Who can give me a definition of personal racism?

Definition: Occurs between two people, like jokes, comments and the expression of beliefs that are racially prejudices or biased.

Trainer asks:
Who can give me a definition or example of cultural racism?

Definition: The norms, values or standards assumed by the dominant society that perpetuate racism.

Examples: White standards of beauty reflected in the media and children's toys.

Trainer asks:
Who can give me a definition of institutional racism?

Definition: The discriminatory treatment, unfair policies and inequitable opportunities and impacts based on race that exist in institutions like banks, government, the health care industry, housing and the criminal justice system.

Trainer asks:
Are folks familiar with the term structural racism?

Definition: Structural racism is the interaction between institutions, policies and practices that inevitably perpetuates barriers to opportunities and racial disparities.

Example: A government agency decides that low-income housing must be built, which will house low-income African American and Latino families. The agency fails to look

for locations near jobs and important infrastructure, like working schools, decent public transportation and other services. In fact, it is built in a poor, mostly African American and Latino part of town. When the housing is built, the school district, already under-funded, has new residents too poor to contribute to its tax base. The local government spends its limited resources on transportation to connect largely white, well-to-do sub-urban commuters to their downtown jobs. The public housing residents are left isolated, in under-funded schools, with no transportation to job centers. Whole communities of people of color lose opportunities for a good education, quality housing, living-wage jobs, services and support systems.

Trainer says:
As we do our work as organizers, we are often confronted with these various forms of racism daily.

Trainer distributes handout: "Defining Racism: A Review"

3. Naming and framing race

Trainer says:
When we name and frame racism, we are explicitly and publicly using language and analysis that describes an issue as a matter of racial justice. In other words, we are addressing an issue for which racism is one of the root causes, we are clearly explaining how LGBTQ and straight people of color are disproportionately impacted by the issue and we are organizing in a way that eliminates those inequalities.

Trainer asks:
Why is it important to have an explicit and public analysis of race within our LGBTQ justice work? Why is it important to name and frame race?

Trainer says:
There are many reasons that it is critical to intentionally name and frame race. Let's explore some of those reasons more fully.

Trainer explains and bold text written on flip chart:

- **In order to advance racial justice, it has become necessary to argue the existence of societal racism.** Before the Civil Rights Movement, there was largely a shared understanding in the United States agreed that there was an institutionalized system of racial inequality. People debated whether this system was just, not whether it existed. Since the mid-1960s, when sweeping federal laws were passed that largely instituted "equality under the law," there has been a steadily increasing denial of the existence of racism, or at least of institutional racism. Many white people believe that, while individual acts of

cruelty and bias based on racial prejudice persist, racism as a system that oppresses all people of color is a problem of the past. This is reinforced in the media where meaningful dialogues on racism are rare. Therefore, to advance racial justice, it is increasingly necessary to first argue and prove the existence of institutional racism.

- **Naming and framing racism reclaims our right to define our own reality.** One way racism and other forms of oppression are perpetuated within the dominant society is by institutions renaming and reframing our reality. By calling out and naming racism, we are engaging in a fundamental and critical form of resistance, reclaiming truth and reality. How damaging is it when the media, schools, legislatures and other institutions call racist myths truth?

  Example: Beginning in the 1980s, many politicians and the mainstream media have defined welfare reform as a way to protect hardworking taxpayers from mostly single, mostly women of color, mostly mothers of several children who are "abusing" the system. This definition of reality was used to blame families in poverty for their lack of resources. When, instead, we choose to define this lack of resources as a result of racist, sexist and profit-driven institutions, we move toward creating real solutions. It was only when welfare rights organizers began desegregating the welfare system and winning access for poor people of color who had been excluded that the welfare system became a target.

  Example: If we are working on an issue that is fundamentally about racial justice, but our key frame for the issue is about economic efficiency (i.e. "it would save the city money"), we may be able to convince people it is the right thing to do today, but those same people could do away with the policy based on some other argument tomorrow. Or, those decision makers could vote for a completely racist initiative down the road because of the economic efficiency argument. We must move people politically, not just stick with what is expedient. Of course, this makes our work harder.

- **By naming and framing racism, you can expose coded language and denial.** In organizing, we're often taught to find broadly popular issues and to avoid divisive ones. But when the issue is about racism, people generally respond to "coded" messages and ideas about race, even if that's not how you frame your messages or demands. Trying to make the issues about something else can make your arguments irrelevant to decision-makers and the public. By naming and framing racism, you may have a better chance of influencing your target audiences. And if you name and frame the issue of racism, people can no longer be in denial or base their actions on myths that justify those actions.

  Example: Washington voters overturned their state's affirmative action laws in 1998. Voters were able to justify their positions in a variety of ways, including that they were

supporting civil rights. The ballot title was the "Washington Civil Rights Initiative" and the case was not effectively made that institutional racism persists and that affirmative action is a necessary, if only partial, remedy. The counter "No on 200" campaign targeted white women voters who were seen as persuadable and designed messages that highlighted the benefits to them of affirmative action. By trying to make the issue about gender, the campaign missed the mark, failing to convince a majority of white women voters to reject the repeal of affirmative action.

- **Naming and framing racism can help us connect with our constituency, particularly people of color.** By naming racism, you are more likely to connect with people of color because you are speaking to their reality. Amilcar Cabral, a revolutionary activist fighting Portuguese colonizers in Guinea-Bissau in Africa, said that leaders must always tell the truth as a matter of integrity and as a necessary means to maintaining trust with the marginalized and the oppressed. It's hard to motivate people to engage in struggle when you're not naming the struggle for what it is. Calling the problem economic mismanagement when your members (or would-be members) know that the problem is racism only perpetuates racist myths about the problem and will inevitably alienate parts of your constituency. Tell it like it is and people will know you are speaking the truth and will develop trust in our organization, rather than become skeptical of a message that doesn't speak to their reality.

- **Naming and framing racism can prepare us for post-campaign work.** What happens if your campaign loses when you decided, for short-term gain, to avoid naming and framing racism? Now you've failed to win your demands and you've also failed to educate anyone about the problem of institutionalized racism that you were fighting. If you name and frame racism, you are better positioned to work with your constituency post-election fight. And, hopefully, you have developed a higher level of consciousness about institutionalized racism with the public and your membership. If you are fighting a defensive battle against a racist initiative and lose, then unless you named and framed the issue around race, racism has now been further institutionalized and that reality is invisible! How do you draw attention to the fact that racism won a major victory, when the fight was never framed around racism?

Trainer says:
It's one thing to know why we should name racism, but it's another thing to know how to frame it. Here are some helpful points to focus on to make race clear:

1. Develop a clear description of the racial inequality that you want to address through your LGBTQ organizing and use it when you talk to your members, the media and the public.

1. Research the details of the disproportionate impact on and disparities facing LGBTQ and straight people of color in order to have strong facts.

1. Look for opportunities in your framing to challenge the traditional racial divisions in our society and within LGBTQ communities.

1. Provide clear suggestions of how institutionally racist practices can change.

4. Developing racial justice campaigns

Trainer says:
As we work on any issue, we are always thinking of how we tell the story. How do we tell LGBTQ and allied community members what is going on?

Written on flip chart:
Any good campaign answers the following questions:

- What is the problem?
- Who is impacted?
- Who is responsible?
- What is the solution?
- What action is needed?

When we use a racial justice lens in developing the answers to these questions, we can explicitly highlight the inequality of our institutions and the ways in which our solutions create more racial equity.

Trainer distributes handouts: "Campaign Analysis" and "Talking about Racial Justice"

Trainer says:
Now we're going to do an activity to further explore how we can bring a racial justice lens to our campaigns. Each scenario on this handout addresses the same situation, but offers a different version of the problem, who is affected and who is responsible. In small groups of three, please read each scenario and answer the following questions (written on the flip chart):

- What is the problem?
- Who is impacted?
- Who is responsible?

Please take 20 minutes to complete this.

Facilitation note:
When groups have finished, call everyone back together for a large group debrief.
Trainer asks the following debrief questions and notes responses on the flip chart:

- What differences did you notice in the way each scenario was presented?
- Why is it important in this scenario to name and frame the issue as a matter of racial justice?

5. Organizational and campaign analysis

Trainer says:
Now that we've looked at some scenarios together, we're going to break into small groups again and look at the work that we're doing in our own organizations.

Facilitation note: If there are participants from the same organization, have them group together. If all participants are from one organization, have them split into groups of 3-4 depending on size.

Trainer distributes handout: "Organizational Racial Justice Analysis"

Trainer says:
In your small groups, please take 20 minutes to answer the following questions for an issue or campaign that your organization is currently working on:

- What is the problem?
- Who is impacted? How are LGBTQ people of color impacted particularly?
  - Which LGBTQ and/or straight communities of color?
  - What statistics do you have demonstrate the impact?
  - What additional research do you need to do?
- Who is responsible?
- What is the solution?
  - Is there an institutional policy or practice that needs to change?
  - How do your solutions address the underlying racial inequality?
- What action is needed? Categorize actions by short- and long term needs.

Please be prepared to share a 3-5 minute report from your group's discussion.

Facilitation note:
When groups have finished, call everyone back together. Invite small group report-backs first and then ask the full group what questions came up during their discussion, noting responses on the flip chart.

6. Closing

Trainer says:

We must clearly talk about and educate people about the existence of racism as a current and critical social justice issue. Otherwise, we risk allowing racist institutions to perpetuate the myth that racism is no longer relevant and doesn't affect LGBTQ communities, undermining our ability to dismantle it. Naming and framing racism is about proactively creating opportunities within our LGBTQ organizing to do vital political education and take action to build a movement.

Defining Racism—A Review

Form	Description	Options for Strategic Intervention
Personal Racism	Racism between individuals: · Racial prejudice, bigotry and bias	Diversity trainings and prejudice reduction through race relations, tolerance workshops, cultural awareness and multi-cultural activities.
Cultural Racism	Racism within the culture of society: · The norms, values or standards assumed by dominant society that perpetuate racism.	Cultural awareness and multi-cultural activities.
Institutional Racism	Racism within and between institutions: · Racially disparate outcomes, discriminatory treatment and unequal opportunities produced and perpetuated by powerful institutions.	Power analysis and target research. Issue campaigns and direct actions. Demand institutional accountability and policy change. Highlight injustices and equitable values.
Structural Racism	Racism underneath and across society: · The interaction between institutions, policies, practices, culture and history that supports chronic, systemic inequality.	Expose historical roots and cultural bias. Solutions that focus on systemic inequalities and change. Social justice movement-building.

Source: *Racial Justice Education and Action Manual*, Race Forward, formerly known as Applied Research Center, Copyright 2002.

Campaign Analysis Activity

Scenario 1: Fare hike justified, says commissioner for transportation

Neighborhood activists are raising concerns about the city council's proposed transportation budget and the included fare increase for commuters. President Dawn Bitters of the local government watchdog group Seattle Communities United said, "The Department of Transportation has raised fares three times in the past ten years; it's a serious challenge for commuters to keep pace with rising costs." Commissioner of Transportation John Walters responded, "Seattle residents expect a top-notch transportation system, which requires funding. Riders have to pay their fair share especially if they choose to live far away from where they work."

Scenario 2: Proposed transportation budget a "sweetheart" deal for developers

A closer analysis of the proposed transportation budget shows that planned new routes and extension of service are directed to areas developed by companies that have given significant contributions to city council members' election campaigns. Seattle for All People, an election reform group, held a press conference today denouncing the proposed budget. Their release stated, "This budget shows how broken our election system is. The only communities that will receive additional services are ones in which big developers have given money to the city council person representing that area of town, like Ballard and Capitol Hill." Ballard City Council member Jackie Northrup disagreed, saying "The extension of services is to areas of Seattle that have seen extensive growth in the past ten years and are continuing to grow."

Scenario 3: Transportation budget reveals transit racism

When the latest budget for the Seattle Department of Transportation came out yesterday, it shed new light onto the city's failure to address racial disparities in transit. The proposed budget takes money out of bus service and redirects it to light rail service. Pauline Johnson, chairperson for Seattle Neighbors United, said, "The Department of Transportation's own ridership data shows that light rail serves primarily white communities and this budget takes money out of bus service, which is predominantly used by communities of color in Seattle, in order to support expanded light rail. The proposed budget also does nothing to address longstanding concerns about public transportation in communities of color, including hours of service, increasing lines to South Seattle and improving the quality of bus stops." Johnson and her group also believe that the fare hike will disproportionately affect low income riders.

Adapted from Race Forward and Western States Center tools.

Talking About Racial Justice

Key Questions in Campaign Planning	Without Racial Justice Frame	With Racial Justice Frame
What is the problem?	Denies existence of racism and white privilege. Conceals racism.	Explicitly acknowledges the existence of racism. Reveals structural racism and embedded inequities.
Who is impacted?	Generalizes the community affected by the problem.	Identifies how people of color are disproportionately affected.
Who is responsible?	Blames individuals and scapegoats people of color.	Holds institutions accountable for inequities.
What is the solution?	Change individual intentions, beliefs and attitudes.	Change institutional policies and practices to produce outcomes that are racially equitable.
What action is needed?	Adopt a "colorblind" perspective. Stop focusing on racial differences and disparities, "get over it and get on with it."	Adopt a race-conscious racially just perspective. Implement goals and strategies to eliminate racial disparities.

Organizational Racial Justice Analysis Activity

1 **What is the problem that your organization is addressing in this campaign or project?**

2 **Who is impacted by the problem? How are LGBTQ people of color affected?**

   a. Which LGBTQ and/or straight communities of color are specifically impacted?

   b. What statistics do you have to demonstrate the impact?

   c. What additional research do you need to do?

3 **Who is responsible for the problem?**

4 **What is the solution?**

   a. What institutional policy or practice needs to change?

   b. How does your solution address the underlying racial inequality?

3 **What action is needed?**

   a. What actions are short-term and which are long-term?

Case Study: Racial Equity Report Cards

Background

In 2012, Oregon released *Facing Race*, its first legislative report card assessing legislators' support of bills impacting racial equity and communities of color. The project, convened and staffed by Western States Center, is driven by a core working group of organizations focused on racial justice issues, including the Asian Pacific American Network of Oregon, Urban League of Portland, Partnership for Safety and Justice, the Coalition of Communities of Color, Causa, the Center for Intercultural Organizing, Basic Rights Oregon and Western States Center. The project is also informed by an advisory group of over thirty organizations working toward justice.

Linking the Issues

Facing Race provided major support to the growing dialogue around racial equity policies and to burgeoning legislative advocacy from racial justice organizations. From its inception, Western States Center and the founding members of the report card's working group have been clear that discussion of racial equity issues must include impacts on LGBTQ people of color.

"We believe that our collective liberation cannot be reached until we are all experiencing justice—including racial, gender and economic justice," said Jen Lleras Van Der Haeghen, RACE Program Director at Western States Center and staff to the Racial Equity Report Card. "We cannot lift up a piece of racial justice policy and forget that people of color are also LGBTQ people. Every policy we make has to include and advance every member of our communities."

Starting the Conversation

In 2009, Oregon didn't have a racial equity report card, but Western States Center was closely watching report cards piloted in other states thanks to the work of Race Forward: The Center for Racial Justice Innovation, formerly the Applied Research Center.

"The demographics of the state were changing rapidly, and it was incredibly important to name and frame the increase of people of color in Oregon as a positive opportunity and a call to action," Lleras Van Der Haeghen remembered. And given a local boom in LGBTQ and racial justice advocacy at the Capitol, a legislative report card provided an important and timely

tool for shifting the state's conversation around racial equity. Western States Center convened a working group of core organizations advocating for racial justice policies to drive the legislative report card.

Transforming our State

But the work couldn't end there. In addition to transforming the conversation with legislators, progressive organizations needed to transform the conversation in their own communities, too. Through convening the larger advisory committee, the working group decided to set the expectation that all participating organizations use the report card as a tool for driving and deepening conversations about racial equity in the communities in which they work. Board presentations, community workshops and earned media surrounded the release of the report card, beginning those crucial conversations.

In just two report cards, the conversation has already begun to shift in the legislature. "Legislators no longer think of each community in a vacuum, but they understand that our communities have strong alliances and we're inextricably intertwined," said Lleras Van der Haeghen. "We're showing more unified political power as we work on a number of issues, including and beyond the report card."

Lessons Learned

Lleras Van Der Haeghen offered up a number of important lessons from working on *Facing Race,* and advice to LGBTQ organizations looking to build alliances with racial justice organizations:

- **Center authenticity.** "Being authentic allows you to build relationships and trust, and that's often what's missing in our organizational collaborations." That means knowing *why* you want to partner with an organization. It also means starting from an authentic place of shared needs—knowing potential partners' key issues and how they intersect with your organization's work. A multi-year project like *Facing Race* allows organizations to develop deep, lasting, reciprocal and authentic relationships. Plus, it creates natural points to check in with coalition partners and identify shared needs, overlapping work and potential for new collaborations.

- **Give, don't ask.** Start by giving whatever you have to give: your organization's time, resources, political clout, people power and expertise. Just showing up to support potential partners' work and responding to incoming requests for support can lay a strong foundation for future alliance building.

- **Stay nimble and flexible.** Whether legislative, electoral or institutional, every campaign brings surprises, which is why Lleras Van der Haeghen noted it's important to adapt. "Plan tightly and execute loosely. Create clear goals and strategies, but know that true collaborations have to be flexible. We've got to be able to respond to communities' needs together, in collaboration, in a way that reflects our values—and sometimes that means shifting the plan."

- **Know you're going to get it wrong.** No organizational relationship is perfect and all of our organizations make mistakes. "Learn the art of apologizing and moving forward. People are so nervous to admit that they did something wrong because they're afraid that it's a failure of character. But if you don't apologize, you never move past that moment and your relationship can't move forward."

Building Alliances Across Race, Gender and Sexuality

Summary

In much of the United States, communities of color are still working to build enough political power to move their policy and organizing agendas autonomously. In this context, communities of color and primarily white organizations, who like to think of themselves as anti-racist allies, must build effective alliances in order to successfully move racial justice organizing, particularly at a statewide level. People often talk about building coalitions and alliances in a very idealistic way, but this is not easy work. This workshop explores the potential fears, barriers and rewards that we can expect in alliance building and coalition work.

Goal

Identify barriers, gains and best practices in alliance building and coalition work as an ally organization to racial justice.

Agenda Outline

Exercise	Format	Time
Introduction	Lecture	5 minutes
Fears, barriers and gains	Large Group Discussion	20 minutes
Principles	Lecture	25 minutes
Closing	Large Group Discussion	10 minutes
		60 total minutes

Materials:

- Flip chart
- Markers

This workshop tool was adapted from Western States Center's Dismantling Racism: A Resource Book for Social Change Groups (pages 112-114). Dismantling Racism Project, Western States Center, http://www.westernstatescenter.org/tools-and-resources/Tools/Dismantling%20Racism

1. Introduction

Trainer says:
Welcome. A major component of our work as an anti-racist organization is to actively and publicly support work on racial justice issues, especially efforts being led by communities and organizations of color. This means working in coalitions and building meaningful alliances with groups or communities that we may not have worked with before. However, building alliances across difference, especially race, gender and sexuality, can be riddled with potential conflicts. This work is incredibly important and requires a great deal of thoughtfulness—much more than good intentions.

Our conversation today will hopefully allow us to collectively identify fears, barriers, gains and best practices in alliance building and coalition work to help us do this critical work effectively.

2. Fears, barriers and gains

Trainer says:
Let's have a group brainstorm on the fears, barriers and gains of alliance building and coalition work.

Note: Prepare a flip chart with three columns, facilitate discussion and record a few responses for each.

- Column 1: What are some fears you have with working across race in your organization?
- Column 2: What are some barriers?
- Column 3: What are some gains?

3. Principles

Trainer says:
These principles were designed to help groups proactively think about how to build effective, working relationships across racial differences within an organizing context.

Note: Trainer will introduce and describe each principle, ideally with some regional and/or organizational specific examples, and then connect any that apply to the fears, barriers or gains that participants listed earlier.

1. Have a clearly stated organizational commitment to multi-racial, racial justice organizing. It is not enough for individual members of an organization to have a moral or personal commitment. This commitment must be supported by the organization's time and resources.

2. When primarily white organizations are building alliances with people of color, white

organizations must have a commitment to becoming anti-racist. In practical terms, anti-racism means much more than a superficial commitment to "diversity." To be anti-racist involves, among other things, willingness to critique and change organizational culture, practices and structures that oppress and exclude people of color. This work requires openness to changing how you do things. It is not always easy.

3. Do not assume that the self-interests of organizations in the alliance are the same. To build healthy alliances, it is critical to take the time to understand why people are coming together across difference to work on a particular issue. With this approach, you are more likely to find a unifying strategy.

4. Have the political will to use anti-racist practices even under enormous pressure. This may mean taking the time to be more inclusive despite a sense of urgency to move quickly. This may mean rejecting a source of funding for work that might conflict with your anti-racist goals.

5. Decision making must be above-board and transparent. It will not work if some people or groups make decisions behind the scenes.

6. There should be equity in agreements on how resources and power are shared within the alliance. Equity does not always mean equal. For example, a single group, single vote approach may seem equal, but could undermine relationships. For example, if an alliance is being built around supporting a particular community, naturally members of that community should be providing more leadership within the alliance.

7. There should be recognition of the valuable contributions organizations of color bring to the alliance. Often times, white organizations may be larger and have more staff and money than groups of color. With such imbalances, white organizations can believe they are contributing more to the work, often ignoring contributions that groups of color may bring, such as issue and community-related knowledge or a base of volunteers.

8. Rather than avoiding conflict and disagreement, embrace it as an opportunity to learn. Conflict does not need to be a bad thing. If it is approached in the right way, it can ultimately make the work stronger. This requires people and organizations to not get defensive or be dismissive, but instead to be self-reflective. Actively listen to people's concerns or frustrations and critically think about why the disagreement exists.

9. Defining the work of the collaboration needs to be a shared process.

10. Meetings should be held in an environment that is comfortable and accessible for participants from all organizations. Are there people who are not able to participate in meetings because of lack of childcare or transportation? Is the meeting space culturally offensive

or inappropriate or is it welcoming and comfortable?

11. Create space and opportunity for social and personal relationships to develop as well as political relationships. Political work becomes stronger if people are not all about business. Creating space to get to know each other in personal ways—with food and camaraderie—will make the work more rewarding as well as potentially help to prevent conflict.

12. Principles and practices should be mutually reinforcing and consistent. It is not enough to say you believe in the value of these principles; you must practice them.

4. Closing

Trainer asks closing questions:

- What fears or barriers remain that were not addressed by these principles? (Flag these for organizational discussion and future follow-up.)
- What additional gains did people identify while going through these principles?

Case Study: Building Racial Justice into Your Ballot Measure Campaign

Background

With a long history of successful movement-building work, there were high expectations for how Basic Rights Oregon would fare during the 2014 ballot measure campaign for marriage equality. Yet while the campaign was successful, (albeit by a State Supreme Court judge rather than a vote by the people) there was a great sense of disappointment from many people in how the campaign was run. Specifically, in the treatment and representation of queer and transgender people of color (QTPOC), the transgender community and communities of color. The intention of this case study is to share our lessons learned, with the hope that they can be useful to other movement-building organizations taking on a ballot campaign.

We begin by celebrating and honoring the tremendous amount of work that countless volunteers and decades-long leaders invested into the marriage movement in Oregon. With a long history of anti-LGBTQ attacks in our state, finally having marriage equality is a true victory. It's also important to honor the honest reflection of white cisgender leadership, many of whom fought very hard to run a very different kind of campaign. That said, it is important to honestly confront the pervasive systems of oppression that permeate even the most progressive circles and actively work to counter those in future campaigns and programs.

When we are able to identify where our campaigns are vulnerable to perpetuating oppression and address those core challenges upfront, before we even begin a campaign, we are better equipped to advance our work over the long haul and guarantee movement-building success regardless of campaign outcomes. By naming the core challenges, we can be better equipped to work through them in the future. But in many instances we already know this and yet, we fall short. Why? This case study examines the pressures that come into play during campaigns even when our organizations are set up to address oppression and are practicing anti-oppression protocols. We must recognize how campaign work can undermine the commitment to anti-oppression work and prepare our organizations to weather a storm of temptation to focus entirely on the "victory" of that campaign. In addition, there must be the humility and commitment to build racially-just work and to make room for and elevate the leadership of people of color and transgender people.

The following is some background on the Oregon United for Marriage campaign and some concrete steps to take, from the start, to create an inclusive, fun (yes, it should be fun), rewarding campaign that results in a stronger intersectional social justice movement.

About Oregon's Freedom to Marry Campaign

Throughout the long history of anti-LGBTQ measures in Oregon, there have been people of color who helped fight them, but there hasn't been a successful and systemic effort to be truly inclusive of communities of color in those ballot measure campaigns. In 2004, Ballot Measure 36 defined marriage as between one man and one woman in Oregon. Race was used as a wedge during this campaign, with the "pro" Measure 36 side (anti-LGBTQ) using an African-American spokesperson and the "anti" Measure 36 side (pro-LGBTQ) falling short on outreach to communities of color. After this campaign, Basic Rights Oregon worked to increase its internal anti-oppression work. This eventually led to building a robust Racial Justice program and investing deeply in relationships with organizations and leaders based in communities of color.

In 2012, Basic Rights Oregon supported the Washington freedom to marry campaign (Referendum 74 was an effort to repeal a legislative victory on marriage) as a coalition partner and delivered an incredible amount of field work—10% of the campaign's total field efforts—as an in-kind donation. This was done not only as an investment in the region's marriage movement, but also as a strategic ramp-up for the anticipated marriage campaign in Oregon. This field work included targeted in-person outreach to voters identified as people of color in the voter file and it was led by volunteers of color. After the Washington campaign, the beginning of 2013 was used as a transition period to prepare for Oregon's 2014 marriage efforts.

Given the lead time, we knew that in order for our campaign to uphold Basic Rights' racial and transgender justice values, we would need to run a sophisticated, inclusive and complex campaign. Given our vast experience doing field work, our internal anti-oppression values and our strong relationships with both the local community and national funders, it felt like it was all possible. But we faced significant challenges from the very beginning that only intensified as the campaign went on.

Lessons Learned

1. **Hiring matters**

   Who's doing the work? Racial justice as a priority looks different when there is a significant percentage of people of color (POC) doing the work. You should plan a campaign start date that accommodates longer hiring periods. If you're not already an anti-racist organization with a multiracial staff then you likely won't know where to look or how to ask. Be prepared to hire based on ability and be willing to intensively train POC candidates.

Don't limit your candidate pool by falling victim to the white supremacy culture. Use position descriptors like: "We're looking for a community member who has the ability to connect with people in genuine and real ways and who can work collaboratively with groups of people towards a common goal." Instead of: "The successful candidate for our Regional Field Director will have worked on 2-3 electoral or candidate based campaigns and have an advanced knowledge of *xyz campaign software.*"

When you are thinking about how you want to do outreach to communities of color, be flexible. If you don't have strong relationships in communities of color, don't expect organizations to just "lend" you staff people. Here is a reflection from the Oregon United for Marriage Campaign Report,

> *"Our work with Community of Color organizations and leaders could have been more effective.* ***The campaign missed a valuable opportunity to build capacity and support among communities of color in the first twelve months of the campaign by failing to either hire internally or externally an individual or organization to do outreach to communities of color.*** *Existing non-profits asked the campaign to consider contracting with them to do the outreach. Alternatively, we decided we would hire staff to do the work. Our hope was to identify staff at those organizations who were willing to take a leave from their positions and work within the campaign. When that did not happen, and the changing landscape on the campaign, we simply did not make figuring this out the priority it should have been. With hindsight, we should have mapped out the 18 months differently and considered contracting with existing organizations for the first twelve months and then hiring internally, after we had built their capacity and experience to do the work."*

Also, if you are considering hiring white/cisgender campaign staff, particularly in a leadership role, make sure that this person has experience working with communities of color and transgender communities in a respectful way. Don't just take their word for it; make it a question that you ask their references.

2. Avoid the campaign status quo

Traditional ways that campaigns have been run have left out POC and transgender leadership. To truly run a campaign that reflects racial justice and transgender justice centered values, you must challenge yourself and your peers to find a model of organizing that is nimble, base building and collaborative. This is especially important when national partners are at the campaign table or serving on the steering/executive committee and it can be a significant uphill battle for local groups to maintain their authority and movement-building values on a campaign when national funders and partners are driving the campaign strategy. The telltale signs of succumbing to the campaign status quo is when you hear or say these catch phrases especially in response to proposed

change: "Campaigns don't work that way," "But this is a campaign," "Campaigns are too short-term," or "Campaigns traditionally..." Overcoming institutionalized racism is hard work and takes a commitment to be a partner in justice.

3. **Listen to people of color**
   While this might seem obvious, when it comes to campaigns, there is a huge amount of deference to "campaign experience" versus the lived experience of people who are directly affected by the issue. In this case, staff of color on Basic Rights' field team continually flagged the systemic missteps that the white/cisgender campaign leadership was making around inclusive hiring practices, POC engagement and visibility as well as inclusive representation at executive levels. These concerns were stated overtly and regularly to all levels of leadership. Yet, they were ignored. Then, later they weren't even acknowledged which further marginalized and made invisible their experiences and earnest desire for a racial and transgender justice centered campaign. These concerns eventually manifested as real issues, leading to an oppressive campaign culture.

   Remember that you aren't the only expert. If you've never experienced what your most vulnerable constituents have to face and survive, then you won't know the best ways to deal with living through those situations. If you have lower level or junior employees who identify with the communities you serve, listen to them. They are your most valuable resource when trying to do in-community work.

4. **Build racial justice into campaign infrastructure**
   In reflection about what happened during the campaign, Basic Rights Oregon's Executive Director Jeana Frazzini wrote the following in a letter to the Communities of Color United for Marriage:

   > *"In the last ten years, we have been on a journey to address racial justice and transgender justice more explicitly, to bring the leadership of LGBT people of color and transgender people to the center of our work, and to build alliances with partners working within communities of color and transgender communities. We have done internal organizational development work, trained our primarily white LGB base on the intersections of racism, homophobia and transphobia, and built programs specifically to advance racial justice and transgender justice.* ***As we moved into "campaign mode" with the marriage campaign, we lacked clarity on the ways in which the staff, resources, and relationships in those programs would intersect with the campaign, clarity we should have had.*** *We recognize now how having isolated programs perpetuated a false narrative that this work was somehow 'separate' and not core to the marriage work. Going into the campaign, Basic Rights Oregon's leaders failed to fully anticipate the pervasive, subversive and insidious impact that white supremacy has in recreating institutions that perpetuate racism.*

By failing to engage in deep conversations about who would lead the campaign table (not just organizations that funded the campaign, but representatives of communities most impacted by discrimination, a lack of marriage access, transphobia and racism) we fell short. Our programs which were initially designed to focus on leadership development—had not been designed to lead the marriage campaign. While we had cultivated significant relationships through alliance building and incredible Trans leaders and leaders of color, we failed to tap these leaders to lead the campaign. This was a huge misstep that allowed systemic racism to enter the campaign as you all have noted so eloquently. It is a misstep that I am sincerely sorry for and have learned an extremely hard lesson from. Allowing a campaign culture to develop that excluded people of color harmed our communities in immeasurable ways and was unacceptable, we can and must do better moving forward."

5. **Communication**
   You might think you are protecting your staff people by trying to shield them from some of the battles you have to fight to keep the campaign in line with your organization's racial justice values. You are not protecting them. Most likely they know that things aren't right. Be honest and communicate about what you are doing to make the situation better. When the campaign is gone, you and your staff will still be there (hopefully), and maintaining strong communication is critical.

6. **Be Brave**
   Good, well intentioned people do racist and transphobic things. You might mess up. That's okay, own it, learn from it, grow from it, but most importantly don't repeat it and be humble around future situations where you may make the same mistake.

   Be brave by pushing yourself out of your comfort zone. In most places the people who are "experts" in running campaigns are most likely white cisgender folks. Guess what, they don't always win their campaigns. By centering racial and transgender justice in your work, you might be told that you are wasting time or that the "numbers" don't make the effort worth it. Being brave in this work means pushing yourself out of your comfortable networks and hiring practices.

7. **Relationships = Win/Win**
   Traditional campaigns are focused on 50% + 1. So even if a campaign is successful, it can be a Win/Lose, you win the issue but lose relationships, staff and coalition partners. By aiming for a Win/Win, you want to win the campaign, but you also understand that your relationships, staff and coalition partners matter just as much. They are the people you work with year in, year out, not the folks who are living in an Extended Stay America and driving rental cars. If you focus on your relationships, even if the campaign loses,

you can "fail forward" because you have the network to keep the important work going. If you are in traditional campaign mode, don't expect your relationships in communities of color and with transgender leaders to just pick up where things were before the campaign happened. Relationships that were hurt by the campaign (whether by ignoring them or asking too much and offering too little in return) can be irreparably damaged while others can take years to mend.

Movement Building vs. 51% Approach to Campaigns

Elections and legislative sessions can feel fast-paced, hard-nosed and unwelcoming, but they don't have to be. We believe a movement-building approach that is values-driven and led by those most affected by the issues can transform these kinds of organizing into an experience that builds leadership, community and grassroots power.

While ballot measure and legislative campaigns can feel very disappointing, remembering our long-term goals and the strategies that will get us there is critical. This tool offers a way to think through how we can do our work differently than traditional lobbyists and campaign staff. There's also a framework for thinking about movement-building even we're playing defense.

	Traditional	Movement Building
Definition of Victory	51% of votes	Win the vote and advance movement goals
Values	Do anything to win (court any legislator, make any deal, compromise on legislation…)	Values-based approach to the work (moving legislation that is fair, equitable and inclusive)
Message	Use any message, win at all costs	Educate on issues, don't sell out allies, not at the expense of other constituencies and issues
Medium for Message	Paid lobbyists and paid media	Constituent mobilization, community lobby visits, earned media
Direction of Message	Aimed at legislators, leaves constituents out of the loop	Keeps constituents fully informed and included in decision-making
Relationship to Constituencies	No accountability to constituents	Politically empowers constituents
Increases Clout...	… of legislators	…of constituents
Timeframe	One session, one vote	Long-term, multi-campaign
Leadership	Hired lobbyists	Grassroots leadership of people most affected by issues

	Traditional	Movement Building
Outcome	Alienates and disconnects members from process and outcome	Community is empowered and connected to the movement

What Happens When We are "Playing Defense" in the Legislature?

	Traditional	Movement Building
Definition of Victory	Stop bad bills from being passed	Stop bad bills, recruit legislative allies, advance public debates about progressive issues
Values	Focus on "their" values, not ours	Values-based approach to the work
Message	Respond to the frame put out by the opposition	Re-frame with our values, tie to our larger issues
Direction of Message	Focused on swaying moderate legislators while ignore others	Includes constituents, allies, and allied-elected officials
Relationship to People	Motivates constituency with fear	Motivates constituency with values and connection to proactive campaigns and issues
Outcome	Leaves members focused on the work of the opposition, burns out leaders and volunteers, constituents feel disempowered	Reminds members of long-term goals and our path to winning them, re-affirms our commitment to grassroots leadership, recognizes "losing forward"

Content developed by Western States Center, Capitol Gains: Traditional vs. Movement-Building Approaches to Legislative Advocacy, http://www.westernstatescenter.org/tools-and-resources/Tools/capitol-gains-traditional-vs.-movement-building-approaches-to-legislative-advocacy.

Trans Justice Now: Building Movements to Support Trans Justice and Trans Leadership

Summary

This is a longer workshop designed to introduce trans justice principles to organizations and leaders. Because of the session length, co-trainers are recommended with at least one trans-identified facilitator.

Goals

- Build a shared understanding of common language about trans identities.
- Develop a shared framework of trans oppression, inclusion and equity.
- Share best practices for supporting trans communities.

Agenda Outline

Exercise	Format	Time
Introductions, workshop goals and ground rules	Lecture	20 minutes
Building a shared language: Definitions and Gender Gumby activity	Group activity and discussion	30 minutes
Oppression faced by trans people	Lecture	15 minutes
Policies and actions that make a difference	Group discussion & lecture	15 minutes
Break		10 minutes
Supporting trans communities	Lecture, pair and share and video activity	45 minutes
Common challenges	Small group activity	20 minutes
Awkward ally moves	Small group discussion	15 minutes
Closing	Group activity	5 minutes
		3 total hours

Materials:

- Flip chart and markers
- Tape and printed trans justice terms and definitions
- Laptop and projector for short video presentation
- Handouts: "Gender Gumby," "Gender Justice Definitions," "Awkward Trans Ally Moves," and "Common Challenging Scenarios"

1. Introduction, workshop goals and ground rules

Trainer says:

Welcome. We want to start by letting folks know that this is a 101 level training where we will talk about the need for trans justice in the LGBTQ movement and beyond. We want to do quick introductions and invite every participant to introduce themselves with your name, gender pronoun and one thing they want to get out of the training.

One way that we can create welcoming spaces for the whole LGBT community is to not make assumptions about people's gender identity. We recognize that part of the way transphobia works is that it forces us to make assumptions about people's gender based on our own perceptions and to assume that there are only two genders. That's why we believe it's important to allow the space for each of us to name our own gender pronouns and to respect that here. In your introduction, please share your appropriate gender pronoun. Some participants may choose to say a pronoun like he or she, some may use gender neutral pronouns like ze or hir, and others may ask to just be called by their name. Please pay attention to what folks ask to be called, even if it's new language for you. If you'd prefer not to share that part of your identity, feel free to opt out. But if this is your first time being asked to share your pronouns, please push yourself join in. Folks should also feel free to add in anything else they'd like us to know about their identity.

So I'll start: My name is , I use _____ pronouns, and I identify as _____. Today, I hope to get _____ out of the training.

Trainer note: Following introductions, please share the workshop goals and facilitate a ground rules discussion using the flip chart. Sample ground rules include:

- Monitor your own speaking time.
- Think well of each other.
- Expect unfinished business (a flip chart parking lot can be helpful).
- Take responsibility for your own learning and ask questions!
- Use gender pronouns (she, he, ze, etc.) for someone only if they've asked you, too.

2. Building a shared language

Trainer preparations and instructions for definitions activity:
Using the gender justice terms and definitions following this workshop agenda, print definitions and post around the room. Also print the terms and break participants into small groups. Give each small group the appropriate number of terms and ask them to work collaboratively to match the terms with definitions posted around the room as best they can. Provide tape.

Trainer says:
Let's start with a group activity to develop a shared language and understanding of gender justice terms and definitions. Each group will need to match your term(s) to the definitions posted around the room. You'll have 10 minutes for this and when folks are done, we will debrief each definition with the full group.

Trainer distributes "Gender Gumby" handout and says:
This can be a lot of new information to digest and one fun activity we've found helpful is Gender Gumby. Gumby is a gender-neutral character who is often been assumed to be male. We can use this Gumby image to map our own different identities. For example, (facilitator shares their Gender Gumby). You don't have to fill this out now, but here are the key points:

- No spectrum is necessarily connected to any other spectrum.
- Gender isn't about "picking one"—it has many components, each of which has a whole lot of options.
- Identities change over time, they're not necessarily fixed.
- Even if you're straight and cisgender, you still have a gender identity, sexual orientation, etc.—all of us do!

Trainer distributes "Gender Justice Definitions" handout and says:
Here are all of the definitions we just went over. Every culture uses different definitions and this is what we're using today. Do folks have culturally specific definitions that aren't reflected on the handout?

3. Oppression faced by trans people

Trainer says:
Later in the workshop, we will talk about some interpersonal and small scale ways to support trans communities as well as big picture ways for movements and organizations to support trans people and trans equality. To begin to support trans people on both an individual or a structural level, it is important to know how transphobia operates and how deeply entrenched it is in our society. This next section of the workshop is designed to talk about the devastating impact that transphobia has on trans communities and what this looks like for different trans communities.

In the United States, trans and gender non-conforming people experience devastatingly high rates of poverty, unemployment, job discrimination, homelessness, health disparities, violence and hate crimes. This leads to adverse health, economic and life outcomes, including early mortality.

The National Transgender Discrimination Survey, conducted by the National LGBTQ Task Force and the National Center for Transgender Equality, had over 6,450 transgender and gender non-conforming people participate from all 50 U.S. states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam and the U.S. Virgin Islands. This survey represents the first 360° picture of discrimination against transgender and gender non-conforming people in the U.S. and provides critical data points for policymakers, community activists and legal advocates to confront the appalling realities and press for equity and justice. Here are some key survey findings *(trainer reads aloud and can reference flip chart)*:

- **Double the rate of unemployment.** Transgender people are unemployed at alarming rates. Overall 13% of respondents were unemployed. This is even more acute for respondents who are (26%), Latino (18%) and Multiracial (17%).

- **High rates of poverty**. Trans people experience poverty at a much higher rate than the general population, with more than 27% reporting incomes of $20,000 or lower and more than 15% reporting incomes of $10,000 or lower.

- **Near universal harassment on the job.** Ninety-seven percent (97%) reported experiencing harassment on the job.

- **Significant losses of jobs and careers.** Forty-seven percent (47%) had experienced an adverse job outcome, such as being fired, not hired or denied a promotion. Trans communities face pervasive employment discrimination and even with nondiscrimination laws in place.

- **Housing discrimination.** Nineteen percent (19%) reported having been refused a home or apartment and 11% reported being evicted because of their gender identity/expression. Many trans and gender nonconforming community members are left to fight for scarce housing in shelters, but trying to get housing in gender-specific shelters can mean harassment, assault and even flat-out rejection on the basis of gender identity/expression. One-fifth reported experiencing homelessness at some point in their lives because they were transgender or gender nonconforming.

- **Unsafe schools.** Two-thirds of trans students feel unsafe in school due to their status. Fifteen percent (15%) leave K-12 school or higher education.

- **Health care discrimination.** Transition-related care, like hormones, counseling and surgery are routinely denied by health insurance providers. Even when insurance is available, doctors have a long way to go when it comes to learning how to respect trans people, much less provide effective care to trans patients. And, of course, if you don't have employment, the chances that you can afford health insurance are very slim.

The impacts are dire. And trans people of color experience every aspect of discrimination more harshly than white trans people including higher rates of poverty, harassment and discrimination and negative life outcomes across the board. 34% of trans people, 5% API trans people and 28% of Latino trans people reported incomes of less than $10,000 a year. 20% of trans people, 5% API trans people and 8% of Latino trans people reported being HIV positive. Trans people of color also tend to be made invisible in LGBTQ history.

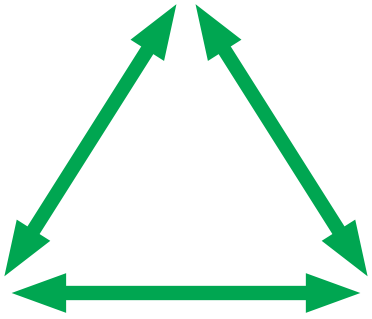
Transgender and Gender Non-Conforming Oregonians

Healthcare discrimination

- 22% refused medical care due to identity
- 33% postponed needed medical care due to discrimination
- 44% have attempted suicide (general population is 1.6%)

Employment discrimination

- 83% experienced harassment or discrimination on the job
- 25% lost a job
- 49% not hired because of their identity



Housing discrimination

- 24% were refused hosuing
- 16% have been evicted
- 23% became homeless
- Nationally 1 in 5 have experienced homelessness and 55% of those in shelters have experienced harassment

Statistics from the Oregon results of the National Transgender Discrimination Survey by the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force and the National Center for Transgender Equality

4. Policies and actions that make a difference

Trainer says:

Let's brainstorm some institutional policies and actions that could make a difference and address the devastating disparities trans and gender nonconforming people face. (Take notes on flip chart and draw from list below to fill in policies and actions not mentioned).

- Strong (and enforced!) human rights acts/nondiscrimination ordinances providing protection on the basis of gender identity and expression in education, employment, housing, public accommodations and health care.
- Strong anti-violence and policy accountability initiatives.
- Powerful community groups led by and for trans people!!
- Repeals of trans health exclusions by insurance companies.
- Transition related care covered by Medicaid and Medicare.
- Trans affirming police and jail policies.
- Decriminalization of sex work.
- Strongly supporting the leadership of trans women and trans people of color.
- Name and gender change policies without proof of surgery requirements.
- Trans friendly homeless youth and shelter policies.
- Trans affirming employment programs.
- Trans competent legal and immigration services.
- Trans specific healthcare centers and other services.

Despite the past and current progress in policies and community empowerment, trans communities, especially trans women of color, are facing overwhelming rates of violence an health disparities. More needs to be done by LGB movements to support the leadership and priorities of trans communities of color.

5. Supporting trans communities

Trainer says:

LGBT stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender, but often the T has stood for tokenism. Historically, the LGBT movement has mostly been a gay and lesbian movement that prioritized issues and policies important to gay and lesbian communities, often excluding bisexual people and not prioritizing issues of transgender communities, all of which are life-saving priorities such as anti-violence work and access to healthcare. We serve trans justice values well when we listen to the feedback that trans communities are sharing with primarily lesbian and gay equality groups and we work to implement their recommendations, prioritize funding and honor their leadership.

There are trans organizations and trans activists across the United States actively working to address the systemic violence and discrimination facing trans people. Organizations like the Trans Women of Color Collective, TransLatina Coalition, Familia: Trans Queer Liberation

Movement, National Center for Transgender Equality, Casa Ruby, Sylvia Rivera Law Project and the Transgender Law Center are just a few. These organizations are working to address the high rates of violence and discrimination confronting trans women of color and they are dedicated to holding institutions accountable for this violence.

At the National LGBTQ Task Force's Creating Change conference in 2014, there was a trans justice action organized by trans women of color that demanded the murders of and systemic violence against trans women of color and LGBTQ youth of color no longer be ignored by our movements. The transgender activists also demanded increased support from the LGBTQ community, including intentional investment in trans communities of color. The action and list of demands can be seen here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XRNycuH3SLQ.

Trainer note:
Screen the video and then ask participants to pair up to discuss the action and demands. Encourage pairs to identify what their organizations and they personally can do to live the values and honor the demands from the protest. Let folks know there will be debrief and discussion with the full group.

Once you have the full group's attention, facilitate a brainstorm on what LGBTQ activists and organizations can do to prioritize trans justice in the workplace. *(Take notes on flip chart and examples are below).*

- Hire trans people!!!
- Implement a trans inclusive and affirming nondiscrimination policy.
- Create affirming bathrooms and dress code policies.
- Develop affirming transition policies.
- Hire and train an informed and affirming human resources and management team.
- Offer trans justice 101 trainings for all.
- Address discrimination and harassment aggressively.
- Actively work to build a trans affirming/welcoming work culture.
- Seek health insurance plans that is trans inclusive.

6. Common challenges

Trainer says:
This is all intense information, so what can we do? One significant action is to make sure your spaces are inclusive of trans people so let's work through some real life organizational scenarios where trans oppression has occurred.

Trainer instructions:
Break participants into small groups and give each group a scenario (see "Common Challenging Scenarios" handout, copy and cut into one scenario per sheet). Ask groups to address the following questions in the discussion (can also be referenced on the flip chart) and be prepared to report back to the full group:

- What do you do in the moment to make this better?
- What will you change in the long term to prevent this from happening in the future?

Give groups 10 minutes to brainstorm and then pull the full group back. Lead a report back, asking each group to read their scenario aloud and share their solutions.

If pushback comes up around bathrooms, please direct folks to The Transgender Law Center's "Peeing in Peace" resource: http://transgenderlawcenter.org/issues/public-accomodations.

Closing Points:

- It's critical to address these challenges in the moment.
- Intervention must be paired with long-term change.
- There are many ways to improve a situation, but not acting is not a solution.

7. Awkward ally moves

Trainer says:
Now that we've talked about how to be an ally on a larger level, let's talk about ourselves. Each of us has a responsibility to be an ally in our own way and as we spoke about in the beginning of our time together, all of us will make missteps. We're not going to talk about aggressive, confrontational or overtly transphobic behavior because that's easy to spot and we can all agree on it. Instead, we're going to talk through some common awkward ally moves and this is not about calling folks out, it's about thinking through some new strategies together to be stronger allies to the trans community.

Trainer distributes handout: "Awkward Trans Ally Moves"

Trainer instructions:
If there's time and desire, break folks into small groups for discussion on the handout. Ask folks to report back on key take-home points and what they plan to do grow as an ally to the trans community.

8. Closing

Trainer instructions:
Choose a closing activity from "Building and Closing Workshops" in the Introduction of this toolkit or invite each participant to share one thing they will take away from the workshop.

Activity: Gender Justice Terms and Definitions

Trainer note: Copy and cut these terms and definitions so that each term and definition appears on a single sheet of paper. Post definitions around the training room and give small groups terms to match to the definitions.

TERMS:

Cisgender privilege

Sexual Orientation

Sex

Gender

Assigned sex

Gender identity

Gender expression

Transgender

Cisgender

Genderqueer

DEFINITIONS:

Socially constructed roles, behaviors, activities and attributes (often defined as “feminine” and “masculine”).

What a doctor determines to be your physical sex at birth.

An umbrella term for a range of people, behaviors, expressions and identities that challenge the gender system.

Never giving your own gender identity a second thought.

The way you present or appear to other people.

Having a gender identity that is commonly considered to match a person’s assigned sex.

Your internal sense of self; how you relate to your gender(s).

Refers to biological and physiological characteristics

(often defined as “female” and “male”).

A person whose gender identity is neither male nor female, is between or beyond genders, or is some combination of genders, in terms of expression and/or identity.

Your identity in relation to who you’re attracted to.

Awkward Trans Ally Moves

	What it sounds like	How it's often experienced	Alternative approchares
The Uncomfortable	"I'm so, so, so sorry to disrespect you in that way. This really isn't who I am, I really do care and normally I'm better than this." "I'm so sorry I keep messing up, this is just a really big change for me, and it's going to take some time for me to wrap my head around it."	…as being outed …as being forced to comfort someone who has disrespected them …as being told that their identity is a burden	Apologize once and move on. Then practice, so you can improve. If you feel you've made a major misstep, ask the person what they'd like you to do. Then do it.
The Uncomfortable	"What do you think about the Employment Non-Discrimination Act excluding trans people? I just think that whole thing was really wrong." "Have you seen (insert movie or TV show with trans character here)? I think it's AWESOME. It might be my favorite of all time."	…as being outed …as being cornered by someone who is trying too hard (which is awkward for anyone!) …as erasing other parts of their whole person by focusing only on their trans identity …as being asked to give "ally points"	Take cues from the person you're talking to: only bring up someone's identity if and when they do. Respond to the substance of what someone contributes, not just their identity. Build a network of allies to expand your awareness, so that you don't rely on trans people to validate you as an ally. (It's not their job!) Know that there are many steps in ally development including and beyond awareness of trans-specific media, books, and issues.
The Nervous	"Thank you so much for sharing your experience and diversity with us." "That dress is beautiful and your hair is so great!"	…as being outed …as being cornered by someone who is trying too hard (which is awkward for anyone!) …as being put on display	Compliment transgender people on things that you would compliment anyone else on. Respond to the substance of what someone contributes, not just their identity.

	What it sounds like	How it's often experienced	Alternative approchares
The Type A	"I've been to a million Trans 101s; I've pretty much got it down." "I know the basics really well, so I can facilitate a training—we don't need a transgender person to do it."	…as being silenced or prevented from speaking from their own experience …as effectively letting them know that you are unwilling to grow as an ally, and that you believe you can learn everything there is to know about the experience of trans people in books and workshops.	Offer your leadership when asked to do so by trans people. Know that allies never finish learning! Approach being an ally with humility. If you plan to facilitate a conversation or training on trans issues, lift up the voices of trans people speaking from their own experience. Ask a trans person to (co-)design and (co-) facilitate.
The Inattentive to Gender	"I don't really categorize people by gender." "I don't care what pronouns you use for me." "Gender is an arbitrary way to divide things, so I choose to ignore it."	…as invalidating that person's identity and minimizing their experience of oppression …as appropriating that person's experience while failing to acknowledge your own privilege …as proving that you know more about that person's identity than they do	Allow trans people to define their own identities. Then support their individual definitions. Share your preferred pronouns when asked. Know that many trans people risk a lot to get those around them to use their preferred pronouns, and that it shouldn't be taken lightly. Know that gender is a social construct, but like many constructs, it has deep and concrete impacts in people's lives.
The Questioner/Appropriator	"I'm pretty sure I'm two spirit." (when said by awhite person)" I don't really conform to gender norms, so a lot of trans stuff really impacts me."	…as being asked to work out someone else's identity, which can be exhausting, especially when they haven't agreed to play that role. …as appropriating that person's experience as a way to downplay your own privilege	If you are looking for support with your own identity, ask if the person is willing to talk about it. Be prepared to accept that they may not be. And know that there are plenty of formal networks for support for people who are questioning. Recognize that while common elements of gender oppression impact trans and gender non-conforming people, trans people face unique social and political struggles.

Gender Gumby

KEY POINTS!

- No spectrum is necessarily connected to any other spectrum.
- Gender isn't about "picking one," it has many components, each with a whole lot of options.
- Identities change over time, they are not necessarily fixed.
- Even if you're straight and cisgender, you still have a gender identity, sexual orientation, etc.—all of us do!
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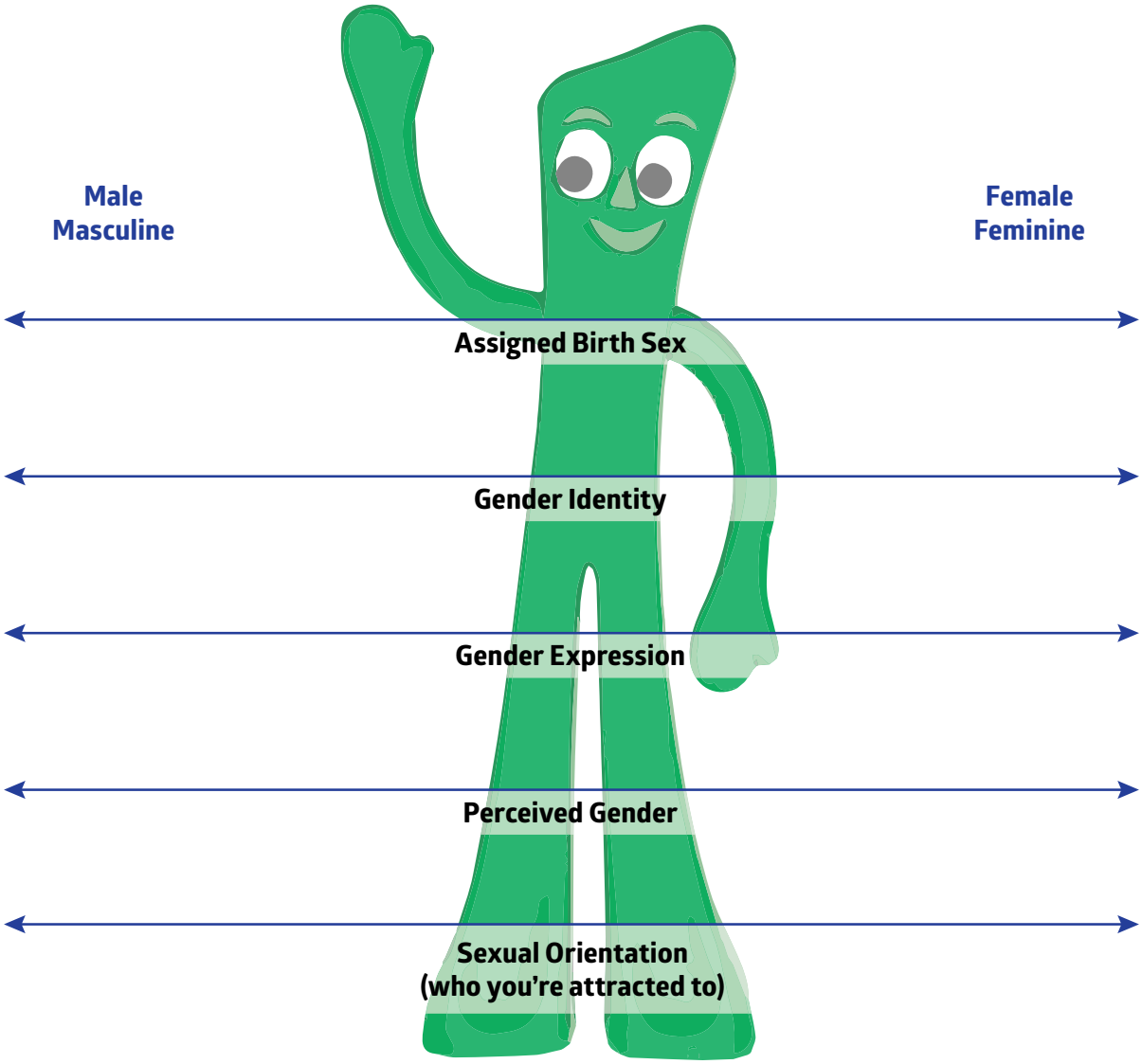

Common Challenging Scenarios

Scenario 1

You're working with volunteers on a task and ask for help doing data entry. One volunteer, Jenny, gestures to another, Terry, and says, "She and I can do it."

Terry says, "Actually, I don't use female pronouns, I prefer 'they' or just my name."

Jenny seems confused, but says, "Okay."

Over the next few hours, Jenny repeatedly refers to Terry as "she." Other people seem to notice but no one says anything. Terry seems uncomfortable and is on the verge of leaving the shift.

Scenario 2

You're at a phone bank and chatting with folks during a break. As you all are sharing about how you came to be involved with the organization, one person shares that he's part of a local transgender social group. Another person in the group jumps in and says, "Oh, wow! I can't tell at all. Did you see that episode of 20/20 about transsexuals? It was really great!"

He politely answers, "I didn't see it, no."

The other volunteer says, "So you must be pretty far along in the process. Are you going to have surgery?"

"I'm actually going to get some water, excuse me," says the man, and he walks away.

The other person turns to you, "There's no way I would have known that guy was a woman before. Could you tell?"

Scenario 3

You've spent the last six months working on a community event. You're the chair of the volunteer planning committee and together you've created a fantastic event.

The event is going off without a hitch when a volunteer tells you that a woman aggressively questioned her in the bathroom, saying "are you supposed to be here?" When she disclosed

that she was transgender, the woman told her, "The men's room is next door." She feels unsafe, and the woman in the restroom is continuing to harass her. The volunteer doesn't know what to do and is coming to you for advice.

Gender Justice Definitions

Everyone uses different language for themselves. And every culture has a variety of terms for sex and gender. These are the definitions we're using today.

Sex – Refers to biological and physiological characteristics. Sex is often defined as "female" and "male."

Gender – Socially constructed roles, behaviors, activities, and attributes. Gender is often defined as "feminine" and "masculine."

Assigned sex – What a doctor determines to be your physical sex at birth.

Gender identity – Your internal sense of self; how you relate to your gender(s).

Sexual orientation – Your identity in relation to who you're attracted to. Sexual orientation and gender identity are DISTINCT components of a person's identity.

Gender expression – How you express your gender(s) to other people.

Transgender – An umbrella term for a range of people, behaviors, expressions, and identities that challenge the gender system.

Genderqueer – Having a gender identity that is neither male nor female, is between or beyond genders, or is some combination of genders, in terms of expression and/or identity.

Cisgender – Having a gender identity that is commonly considered to match a person's assigned sex.

Cisgender privilege – The life experience of having a gender identity that, more or less, lines up with cultural expectations related to your assigned birth sex. Example: Never giving your own gender identity a second thought.

Resources

Below is a short and incomplete list of resources and readings that may serve as a starting point for many additional racial justice analysis and tools.

Resources and readings on the intersections of racial justice and lgbtq equality

- **"A Different Shade of Queer: Race, Sexuality, and Marginalizing by the Marginalized"**
  http://bad.eserver.org/issues/2006/76/gaysofcolor.html
  A gay man of color shares his experiences and thoughts on racism in LGBTQ communities and homophobia in communities of color.

- **GLAAD**
  www.glaad.org
  GLAAD rewrites the script for LGBTQ acceptance. As a dynamic media force, GLAAD tackles tough issues to shape the narrative and provoke dialogue that leads to cultural change. GLAAD has many resources on their website from toolkits, publications and their Talking About series that specifically address racial justice and LGBTQ issues.

- **The Movement Advancement Project's Issues of Racial Justice and Inclusion**
  http://lgbtmap.org/issues-of-racial-justice-and-inclusion
  This primer for LGBTQ movement funders serves as a starting point, rather than a definitive analysis, that can inform efforts to work on racial justice and inclusion within the LGBTQ movement. Drawing from secondary research and a small number of interviews, it is designed to provide an overview of general issues of race in American society and to motivate LGBTQ issue funders to work on issues of racial justice and inclusion.

- **Racial Equity: A Grantmaking Toolkit on LGBTQ Communities of Color**
  www.lgbtracialequity.org
  The Racial Equity Online Toolkit provides a range of grantmaking tools, commentaries and best practices to support grantmakers in implementing an LGBTQ racial equity lens into their grantmaking and internal operations.

- **The Williams Institute**
  http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu
  The Williams Institute is dedicated to conducting rigorous, independent research on sexual orientation and gender identity law and public policy. A national think tank at UCLA, the Institute produces high-quality research with real-world relevance and disseminates it to judges, legislators, policymakers, media and the public.

Resources on anti-racist organizational development

- **Anti-Oppression Resource and Training Alliance**
  http://aorta.coop/
  AORTA is a worker-owned cooperative devoted to strengthening movements for social justice and a solidarity economy. They work as consultants and facilitators to expand the capacity of cooperative, collective, and community based projects through education, training and planning. They base their work on an intersectional approach to liberation and believe that true change requires uprooting all systems of oppression.

- **Grassroots Institute for Fundraising Training**
  www.grassrootsfundraising.org/
  GIFT is a multiracial organization that promotes the connection between fundraising, social justice and movement-building. They provide training, resources and analysis to strengthen organizations, with an emphasis on those based in communities of color.

- **Race Forward**
  www.raceforward.org/
  Race Forward advances racial justice through research, media and practice. Founded in 1981, Race Forward brings systemic analysis and an innovative approach to complex race issues to help people take effective action toward racial equity. They publish the daily news site Colorlines and present Facing Race, the country's largest multiracial conference on racial justice.

- **Showing up for Racial Justice**
  www.showingupforracialjustice.org
  SURJ is a national network of groups and individuals organizing white people for racial justice. Through community organizing, mobilizing and education, SURJ moves white people to act as part of a multi-racial majority for justice with passion and accountability. They work to connect people across the country while supporting and collaborating with local and national racial justice organizing efforts. SURJ provides a space to build relationships, skills and political analysis to act for change.

- **Western States Center**
  www.westernstatescenter.org/tools-and-resources/Tools
  Western States Center's mission is to connect and build the power of community organizations to challenge and transform individuals, organizations and systems to achieve racial, gender and economic justice. They have extensive tools on their website, including "Dismantling Racism: A Resource Book for "Assessing Our Organizations: Racial Justice Assessment Tool."

LGBTQ, racial and economic justice organizations

- **The Audre Lorde Project**
  http://alp.org
  The Audre Lorde Project is a Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Two Spirit, Trans and Gender Non Conforming People of Color center for community organizing, focusing on the New York City area. Through mobilization, education and capacity-building, they work for community wellness and progressive social and economic justice.

- **Immigration Equality**
  www.immigrationequality.org
  A national organization with a staff of immigration attorneys that supports and represents LGBT and HIV-positive immigrants seeking safety, fair treatment and freedom.

- **INCITE!**
  http://incite-national.org
  INCITE! Women, Gender Non-Conforming, and Trans people of Color* Against Violence is a national activist organization of radical feminists of color advancing a movement to end violence against women of color and our communities through direct action, critical dialogue and grassroots organizing.

General readings on race and racism

- **Race Files, A project of CHANGELAB**
  www.racefiles.com
  Race Files exists to lift the veil of colorblindness, to make race and racism visible. They use analogy, pop culture and personal narratives to tell the story of race and create a language that will help us defeat racism. Their main focus is Asian Americans, anti-Asian racism and about the particular role that Asians play in the racial hierarchy.

- ***A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America***
  by Ronald Takaki, Back Bay Books.

- ***From Different Shores: Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity in America***
  by Ronald Takaki (editor), Oxford University Press.

- ***Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong***
  by James W. Loewen, Touchstone.

- ***MultiRacial Formations: New Instruments for Social Change***
  by Gary Delgado, Applied Research Center.

- ***Uprooting Racism: How White People Can Work For Racial Justice***
  by Paul Kivel, New Society Publishers.

- ***Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria: And Other Conversations About Race***
  by Beverly Daniel Tatum, Basic Books.

- ***Women, Race & Class***
  by Angela Davis, Vintage Books.