

Say it Loud
and I'm I'm Black
Proud

BLACK PRIDE SURVEY 2000

by Juan Battle, Cathy J. Cohen,
Dorian Warren, Gerard Fergerson,
and Suzette Audam

Philadelphia Black Pride
Houston Splash
DC Black Pride
Oakland Black Pride
Windy City Black Pride
At the Beach, Los Angeles
Hotter than July, Detroit
New York Black Pride
In the Life, Atlanta



the
**Policy
Institute**
of the
**National
Gay and
Lesbian
Task
Force**

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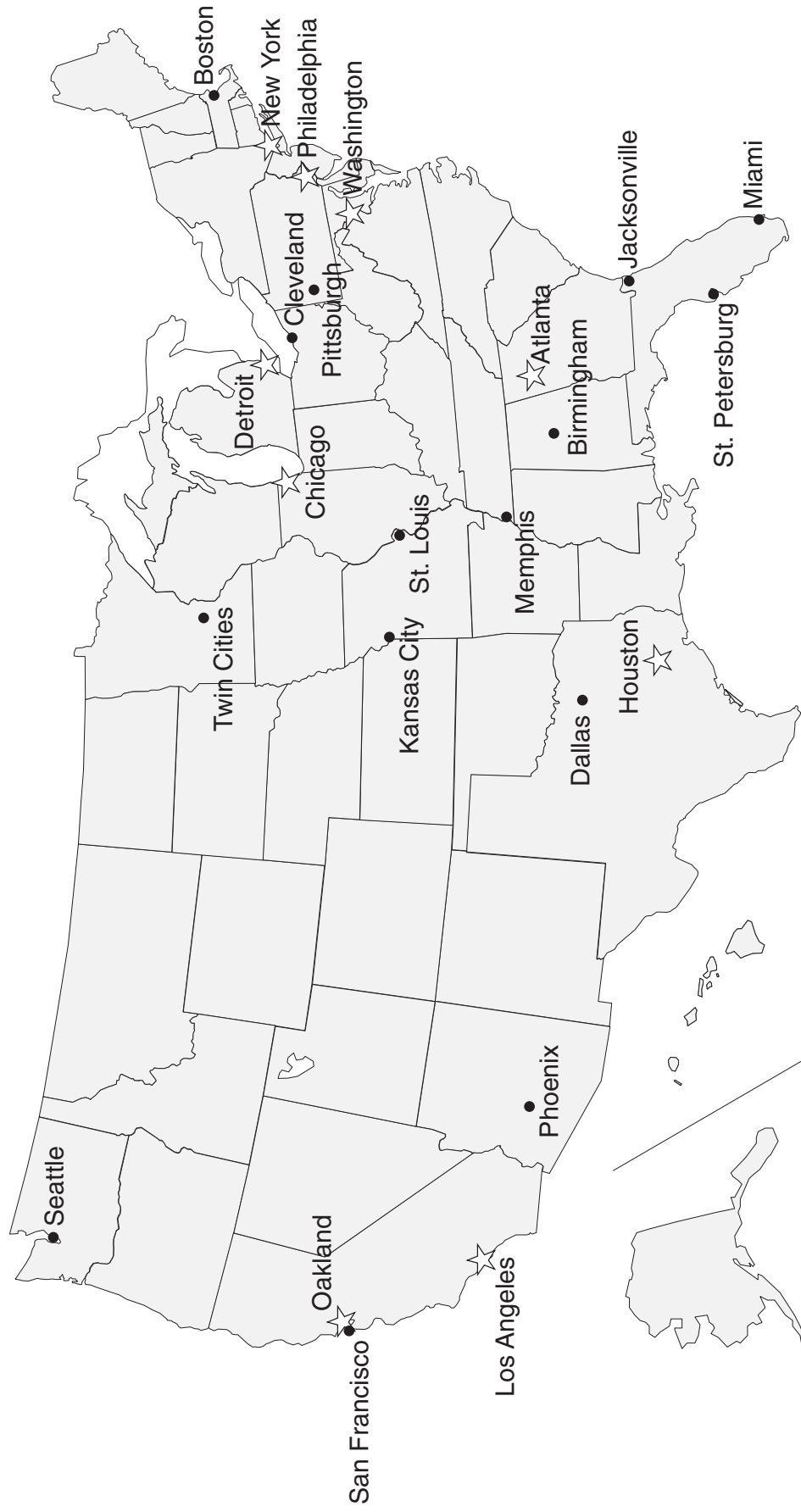
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BLACK PRIDE EVENTS 2002

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Vickie M. Mays, Ph.D., MSPH, Professor, University of California, Los Angeles, (not pictured) was a member of the research team until June 2001. She contributed to all phases of the study excluding this report. She has a long history of research in the African American gay and lesbian community, having conducted the first national study of Black lesbians in 1986 and a national study of African American men who have sex with men in 1990. Articles from these studies can be found at www.blackcare.org and www.whispersproject.org.

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Preface

BY KENNETH T. JONES AND JUAN BATTLE

If I could take all my parts with me when I go somewhere, and not have to say to one of them, “No, you stay home tonight, you won’t be welcome,” because I’m going to an all-white party where I can be gay, but not Black. Or I’m going to a Black poetry reading, and half the poets are antihomosexual, or thousands of situations where something of what I am cannot come with me. The day all the different parts of me can come along, we would have what I would call a revolution.

—Pat Parker, *Movement In Black*

The year was 1968 and the place was Dallas, Texas. James Brown declared for the first time the anthem of the Civil Rights movement: “Say it loud: I’m Black and I’m proud!” As multi-hued Blacks across the country rose their fists up to the sky and echoed those words, a sense of solidarity was created among Black Americans (at that time, a term we had just started calling ourselves). Our identity evolved on the basis of common experiences of oppression and exploitation because of our Black race. Simply put, these struggles unified us.

Unity, however, remained only an ideal. Unfortunately, it never materialized into the real thing. The slogan “I’m Black and I’m proud” masked the many divisions within our community. For example, the existence of Black gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) people was challenged and downplayed. Five years prior to James Brown’s concert in Dallas, Bayard Rustin, the chief organizer of the 1963 March on Washington, was not permitted to stand next to Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. at the head of the march because Rustin was out as a gay man. Despite Rustin’s identity as a Black man, it was believed that his being gay would detract from the purpose of the march: full equality for Blacks. Fortunately, as a sign of changing times, Black gays and lesbians organized a Bayard Rustin memorial contingent at the 13th anniversary of the march to challenge our exclusion.

In Marlon Riggs’ film *Black Is...Black Ain’t*, a compelling challenge to overly simplified notions of Black identity and experience, Cornel West presents the audience with a significant challenge: “We’ve got to conceive of new forms of community. We each have

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multiple identities and we're moving in and out of various communities at the same time. There is no one grand Black community." West is correct; however, we must keep alive the vision of a unified community as we work to turn that vision into a reality. This task requires repudiating damaging notions we have of one another based on our own fears and prejudices. The challenge is to celebrate the diversity of our community while recognizing the unique contributions each individual makes to the goals of full equality. This celebration of diversity means we each have a duty to share our experiences and respect the experiences of others.

Unfortunately, little concrete information is available about the Black GLBT community. What does the Black GLBT community look like? What are the experiences of the Black GLBT community? How is the Black GLBT community different from the general Black community or the White GLBT community? How are members of the Black GLBT community different from one another? This study addresses many of these questions.

Say It Loud: I'm Black and I'm Proud makes recommendations to mainstream Black organizations, predominately White GLBT organizations, and the Black GLBT community. We hope to help realize Max C. Smith's vision, articulated in 1986, of out Black gays and lesbians successfully working with mainstream Black organizations like the National Baptist Convention, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League, and the Black Radical Congress.

GLBT organizations have begun to successfully work with the NAACP and the Urban League as indicated by the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force's participation on the Leadership Council on Civil Rights. However, there remains work to be done. Although a few more churches and Black political organizations are beginning to address HIV/AIDS, for example, these efforts are, for the most part, too little, too late. Sunday sermons preaching against our very existence are still commonplace. Our family forms are not universally respected or even recognized. Many of us still face physical violence and harassment in our own communities because we are, or are perceived to be, gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender. We must demand, as Pat Parker suggests, that all of our parts come along in this revolutionary struggle for full equality.

As Cheryl Clarke has said:

As political Black people, we bear the twin responsibilities of transforming the social, political, and economic systems of oppression as they affect all our people—not just the heterosexuals—and of transforming the corresponding psychological structure that feeds into these oppressive systems. The more homophobic we are as a people the further removed we are from any kind of revolution. Not only must Black lesbians and gay men be committed to destroying homophobia, but *all* Black people must be committed to working out and rooting out homophobia in the Black community.

To this end, we raise our fists euphorically to the sky, declaring to others, and reminding ourselves, that we too are Black and proud!

Letter

FROM LORRI L. JEAN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NGLTF

For the past two years, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force has been honored to partner with five leading African American researchers and nine Black Pride organizations to produce the study you now hold in your hands. This project emerged from a conversation in 1999 between Willa Taylor, former co-chair of the National Black Lesbian and Gay Leadership Forum, and former Policy Institute Director Urvashi Vaid. Because we have so little data about the basic demographics, experiences, and policy priorities of Black gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender (GLBT) people, NGLTF approached African American lesbian political scientist Cathy Cohen, who brought in several other researchers and some of the leadership of the Black GLBT community to develop Black Pride Survey 2000.

Thanks to the vision, generosity and hard work of our research partners, we were able to survey nearly 2,700 participants at Black Pride celebrations in nine cities across the U.S. in the spring and summer of 2000. The result is one of the first and largest glimpses into a national, multicity sample of African American GLBT people. This study tells us about family structure, political behavior, experiences of racism and homophobic bias, and the policy priorities of Black GLBT people. While much of the information described herein may not be news to many Black GLBT people, it is important information for GLBT activists of all races, especially White GLBT people, to read and think about.

We would like to thank Dr. Juan Battle, Dr. Cathy Cohen, Dorian Warren, Dr. Gerard Ferguson, and Suzette Audam, for their hard work and unwavering commitment to this project (and thanks to Dr. Vickie Mays for her contributions in the early phases of this project). We are especially grateful for the tireless efforts of Juan Battle, who has served as lead researcher on this project. He, and his fellow researchers, have handled this project with a sense of professionalism and a generosity of spirit that are much appreciated.

We could not have done this critical work without the support of the Black GLBT community organizations, so we thank the nine Black Pride organizations (listed, with contact information, in Appendix B), the Leadership Forum, and the Unity Fellowship Church in Brooklyn, NY—which tested the survey and gave us critical feedback—for

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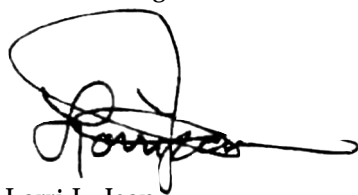
helping us surpass our goal of 2,000 valid surveys. We thank the Ford Foundation and the other generous funders of NGLTF, who made this work possible. We thank Willa Taylor for the idea. And we also thank the NGLTF staff who managed this project over the past two years, especially Urvashi Vaid, Ingrid Rivera, Micah Carvalho, Kenneth T. Jones, Jay Pastrana, Jason Riggs, and Sean Cahill.

Say It Loud: I'm Black and I'm Proud is the third publication released by the NGLTF Policy Institute within the last year that examines issues of concern to GLBT people of color or low-income people of all ethnic backgrounds. The other two are *Social Discrimination and Health: The Case of Latino Gay Men and HIV Risk* by Dr. Rafael Diaz and Dr. George Ayala, and *Leaving Our Children Behind: Welfare Reform and the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Community*, by Sean Cahill and Kenneth T. Jones.

These three projects are part of NGLTF's Racial and Economic Justice Initiative, our long-term commitment to do meaningful work on issues of concern to GLBT people of color and GLBT poor people of all races. In addition to research and policy analysis, NGLTF has hosted consultation meetings with GLBT people of color activists, and is in the process of developing research and organizing collaborations with Asian Pacific Islander and Native American gay activists. The long-term goals of the Racial and Economic Justice Initiative are 1) to increase advocacy by predominantly White GLBT organizations on issues of particular concern to GLBT people of color and low-income people of all races, and 2) to encourage the inclusion of GLBT concerns in the work of predominantly straight civil rights and economic justice organizations.

NGLTF's commitment to the priorities of Black GLBT people does not end with the publication of this report. Over the next few months and years, we will work with the authors of this report, the Black Pride organizations, other Black GLBT groups, and other interested parties to disseminate the findings of this study to critical target audiences. NGLTF is expanding its organizing staff, and will devote numerous resources to implementing the most important recommendations that emerged from this study. NGLTF will show leadership within the GLBT community as a whole to encourage inclusion of Black GLBT priorities in the organizing and advocacy work of predominantly White and multiracial GLBT organizations.

GLBT people are uniquely situated to help build a society where the goals of freedom, justice and equality for all are achieved. This is because we represent the vibrant diversity that is humanity. There is no group to which we do not belong. But, making collective progress in understanding diversity is just the beginning. It is the responsibility of the leadership in our movement to incorporate what is being learned into our political and policy priorities, just as we must build organizations that truly reflect the nature of our community. These are indeed tall orders, but we must strive to achieve them. As Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. often said, quoting Amos 5:24, "No, no, we are not satisfied until justice rolls down like water and righteousness like a mighty stream." Let such aspirations be our guide.



Lorri L. Jean
Executive Director

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When I dare to be powerful, to use my strength in the service of my vision, then it becomes less and less important whether I am afraid.

— Audre Lorde

I've loved a few men; I've loved a few women; and a few have loved me... I suppose that's all that's saved my life.

— James Baldwin

Executive Summary

Black Americans have always been significantly involved in movements for social justice in the United States. Yet, other than in the civil rights movement, Black people have rarely been represented in leadership positions.¹ The movement for GLBT civil rights has been no exception. As a result, the agenda of the gay rights movement has not always reflected the particular experiences and priorities of Black GLBT people. Similarly, mainstream, non-gay identified civil rights organizations and Black institutions have not always understood or prioritized the particular concerns of the GLBT members of the Black community. This report presents information on the demographics, experiences, and policy priorities of Black GLBT people in the hope of changing this dynamic and increasing advocacy on issues of concern to Black GLBT people.

There is little social science research on GLBT people in the U.S., and even less on Black GLBT people.² As a result, we know little about the basic demographics of Black GLBT people. How many Black gay people are there? How many of us have children? Do we earn the same as straight people? How many of us have experienced discrimination? How do gender, race, age, socioeconomic class, and other aspects of our identities and our lives structure our experiences as GLBT people?

Although some academic researchers have conducted path-breaking research about Black GLBT people, most research to date has focused on White, young or middle aged, urban gay men. Less research has focused on lesbians, and even less on bisexual and transgender individuals. Many studies involve small samples that do not reflect the racial and economic diversity of the GLBT community. So while we know some things about Black GLBT people thanks to the pioneering work of several Black gay and lesbian academics, there are many questions that remain unanswered.

In an attempt to answer some of the many questions about Black GLBT people, and to identify the most important policy issues affecting this population, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) joined with several Black researchers—most of them

Race, gender, class and sexual orientation are not separate identities. These identities are experienced holistically or intersectionally.

lesbian, gay, or bisexual—and nine Black GLBT Pride organizations to develop Black Pride Survey 2000. From April to September 2000, activists across the country surveyed over 2,500 participants at Black Pride celebrations in nine cities across the U.S. This report summarizes the key findings of that survey and provides the first opportunity to systematically explore the attitudes and experiences of Black GLBT people.

A key finding of this report—though it is not news to GLBT people of color—is that race, gender, class and sexual orientation are not separate identities. These identities are experienced holistically or intersectionally. Therefore, any organizing efforts focused on Black GLBT communities must incorporate an understanding and recognition of the interplay between all of these identities and perspectives in order to mobilize such communities effectively and toward systemic change.

The Black GLBT community has much in common with the overall Black community, and shares many common concerns with GLBT people of other races. But Black GLBT people also have particular experiences and concerns. While the 2,645 individuals who completed the Black Pride Survey 2000 are not representative of all Black GLBT people, or of all homosexually active Black Americans who may not identify as “gay” or “bisexual,” this sample represents the largest national, multi-city sample of Black GLBT people ever gathered to ask questions about such a breadth of issues. While we cannot generalize from it to the entire Black GLBT and homosexually active population, our sample provides useful information about those likely to attend Black Pride celebrations.

DEMOGRAPHICS

- The average attendee at a Black Pride celebration who responded to the survey was a college-educated, middle-class, 34-year-old Black gay man who rented an apartment with one other person (who was not his partner), was Baptist, and had negative experiences in his church due to his sexuality. He experienced at least two types of discrimination, was politically liberal, and was a registered Democrat who voted in the 1996 presidential election. He voted twice over the last five years. He agreed that racism was a problem in the White GLBT community and homophobia was a problem in the Black community. He believed that drugs was the major issue facing all Blacks, while HIV/AIDS was the most important issue facing the Black GLBT community.
- The sample was more male, more highly educated, and earned slightly more in household income than the general Black population. Those surveyed were more likely to work in a professional job (doctor, lawyer, etc.) and less likely to work in the service sector than the Black population as a whole.
- Nearly one in four respondents worked for the government, while the other three quarters worked in the private sector.
- Nearly 2 percent of respondents, or one in 50, were in the U.S. military.

The average attendee felt that racism was a problem in the White GLBT community and homophobia was a problem in the Black community.

FAMILY STRUCTURE

- About 12 percent of respondents reported living with children, while one fourth reported having at least one child. More specifically, one in four women reported living with children, versus only 4 percent of men and 2.5 percent of transgender people. Nearly 40 percent of women said they have at least one child, versus 18 percent of men and 15 percent of transgender people. This included respondents who gave birth to or fathered a child; who were coparenting a child with a partner; who were raising a niece, nephew, grandchild, etc.; or who once raised a child who is now an adult and/or no longer lives with that parent.
- One in five respondents reported being biological parents, and 2.2 percent reported being adoptive or foster parents.

Nearly 40 percent of women said they have at least one child, versus 18 percent of men and 15 percent of transgender people.

SEXUAL IDENTITY AND BEHAVIOR

- Nearly half the sample self-identified as gay, while one quarter chose the label lesbian. Some 11 percent checked the category bisexual, and 1 percent marked transgender. Eight percent identified as “same gender loving” while less than 1 percent identified as “queer.” Men were more likely than women to self-identify as bisexual (13 percent versus 10 percent), and about twice as likely to self-identify as “same gender loving.” Women were more likely than men to report exclusively homosexual behavior: 82 percent of women reported having sex exclusively with women, while 66 percent of men reported having sex exclusively with men.

POLICY PRIORITIES

- Respondents indicated that overall the three most important issues facing Black GLBT people were 1) HIV/AIDS, 2) hate crime violence, and 3) marriage and domestic partnership.
- For women in the sample, the three most important issues facing Black GLBT people were 1) HIV/AIDS, 2) hate crime violence, and 3) marriage and domestic partnership. For men, the three issues were 1) HIV/AIDS, 2) hate crime violence, and 3) health care. The most important issues facing Black GLBT people, according to transgender respondents, were 1) a tie between HIV/AIDS and job discrimination/ lack of jobs, 2) hate crime violence, and 3) drugs.
- Overall the sample reported that the three most important issues facing all Blacks in the U.S. were 1) drugs, 2) education, and 3) HIV/AIDS.

The three most important issues facing Black GLBT people were 1) HIV/AIDS, 2) hate crime violence, and 3) marriage and domestic partnership.

- For men and transgender people in our sample, the three most important issues facing all Blacks in the U.S. were 1) HIV/AIDS, 2) drugs, and 3) education. The three most important issues for women in our sample were 1) drugs, 2) education, and 3) police brutality/criminal justice.

POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS

- Two thirds of respondents were registered Democrats, while one in 10 were registered Republicans.
- Two thirds of respondents reported voting in the 1996 presidential election, compared to 51 percent of the Black population as a whole. Women were much more likely than men or transgender people to report voting: 81 percent compared to 57 percent of men and 53 percent of transgender respondents.

Ten percent of respondents were Republican.

DISCRIMINATION

- Half of the respondents agreed that racism is a problem for Black GLBT people in their relations with White GLBT people, with one fifth strongly agreeing.
- While a third of respondents reported negative experiences in White GLBT organizations and with White GLBT people in bars and clubs, slightly less than a third reported positive experiences in these contexts.
- Two thirds of those surveyed agreed that homophobia is a problem within the Black community.

RELIGION

- More than half of those surveyed said that their church or religion viewed homosexuality as “wrong and sinful,” while one quarter said that their church was accepting of homosexuality.
- While the vast majority of respondents practiced a Christian religion, nearly 3 percent practiced Santería, a faith based upon West African, indigenous Caribbean, and Roman Catholic influences.

Twenty-five percent of respondents said that their church was accepting of homosexuality.

Background and Methodology

Far too few national surveys ask about sexual orientation, much less focus on gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender (GLBT) people, making analyses of GLBT attitudes, behaviors and demographics next to impossible. Much of the existing research on gay men and lesbians, oversamples young and middle-aged White men from urban areas, while people of color, women, low-income people, and others are underrepresented. In order to remedy this enormous data gap and gather information about the particular experiences and policy concerns of Black GLBT people, a research collaboration was initiated by the Policy Institute of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, several university researchers, nine Black Gay Pride organizations, and other community organizations. The Black³ Pride Survey 2000 (BPS2000) sought to provide a base of knowledge for a larger research and policy agenda around Black GLBT people. The survey was conducted at nine Black Pride celebrations in nine cities across the country during the summer of 2000.⁴



Gerard Ferguson and a volunteer administer the Black Pride survey

Much like mainstream Gay⁵ Pride celebrations in various U.S. cities and throughout the world, Black Pride events are a mixture of social, educational, and political gatherings organized by and for Black GLBT individuals. In an effort to include a diverse number of Black GLBT people in the U.S., three criteria were used for the selection of Black Gay Pride celebrations to be surveyed:

- 1) Regional and geographic diversity among the cities in which the celebrations occur;
- 2) Sizes of cities, factoring in the percentage of Blacks living in the city; and
- 3) Incidence and prevalence of HIV infection and AIDS, as indicated by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) Metropolitan Statistical Areas.

Collecting large-scale, randomly-sampled data on specific groups, especially groups that

are statistical minorities, is extremely difficult and usually prohibitively expensive. In the case of groups marked by social stigmas, simple random sampling is even less feasible. A random telephone survey, for example, is not only unlikely to yield a large number of GLBT respondents, but many respondents who may well be GLBT may choose not to disclose this information to an interviewer over the telephone out of fear of negative ramifications. Because of these constraints, researchers collecting information on small or stigmatized groups, in order to get a large enough sample, often use alternative sampling methods, such as oversampling, stratified sampling, or targeted sampling.⁶ This study made use of such alternative sampling methods, targeting attendees at Black Pride events in order to maximize the likelihood that respondents would fulfill the criteria and would be willing to self-disclose as GLBT people.

It is important to note that this sample is not representative of all Black GLBT people in the U.S., or of Blacks who have same-sex sexual relationships but do not necessarily identify as GLBT people. More research into the demographics, experiences, and priorities of these populations is also needed.

This study represents the first attempt to collect such a wide range of data on Black GLBT people on a national, multi-city scale. Most other surveys on GLBT people of any race are either not random samples or have sample sizes too small to begin to make generalizations. While this is not a random sample, and while the pool is biased towards those attending a Black Pride event in the summer of 2000, these characteristics can be seen as a somewhat innocuous advantage. While some people who have sexual or otherwise intimate relationships with members of the same gender might be missing from this analysis, those attending a Pride event are more likely to be “out” to their friends, family, and co-workers. Similarly, those sampled in this study are more likely to self-identify as non-straight and to have thought about their identities and interests as Black GLBT people.

The BPS2000 is merely a first step in a larger research agenda to survey the attitudes, political behaviors, and experiences of Black GLBT people. This sample is large and regionally diverse. A total of 2,645 surveys were collected—far exceeding the goal of 2,000—and large enough to offer insight into a wider range of experiences within the Black GLBT community. All claims made on the basis of this data, however, are made cautiously.

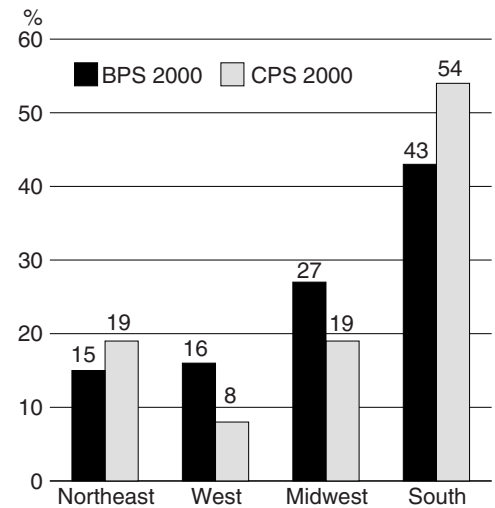
INSTRUMENT

The self-administered survey consisted of various questions focusing on basic demographic information, experiences with discrimination, policy priorities, and political behavior. Also included were questions that asked about the attitudes of Black GLBT individuals towards both gay and straight organizations that are either predominantly Black or predominantly White. The survey was administered at a variety of social and educational events at Black Pride events, with a goal of obtaining 200 respondents from each of the nine events. Black GLBT BPS2000 workers, trained by one of the academic researchers working on the project, gave consenting participants clipboards with the survey to self-administer. Surveys generally took about 15 to 20 minutes to complete.⁷

REGION

As mentioned above, one selection criterion for the cities included in the study was regional diversity. Almost 15 percent of the surveys collected were from the Northeast (New York and Philadelphia), 16 percent were collected from the West Coast (Oakland and Los Angeles), 27 percent from the Midwest (Chicago and Detroit), and 43 percent were collected in Southern cities (Atlanta, D.C. and Houston).⁸ By comparison, the regional distribution of Blacks according to the 2000 Current Population Survey (CPS) conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau shows that 19 percent of Blacks lived in the Northeast, 19 percent in the Midwest, 8 percent in the West, and 54 percent lived in the South.⁹

**Regional Distribution of Blacks
BPS 2000 and CPS 2000**



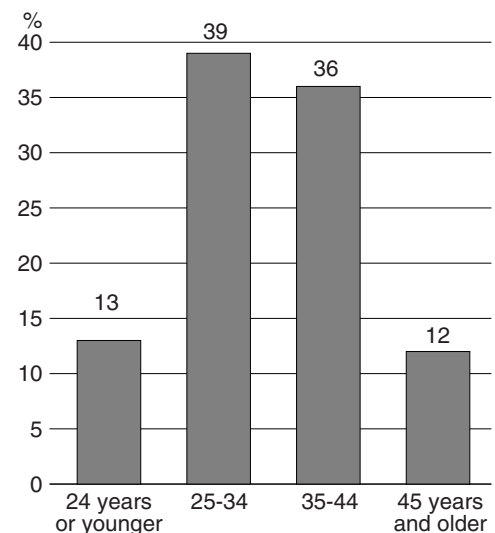
RACE AND NATIONALITY

Most of the survey respondents were born in the U.S. (95 percent), 3 percent were naturalized U.S. citizens, and 2 percent were non-U.S. citizens. Respondents were also asked to select one, mutually exclusive, racial category, as opposed to the method used in the 2000 U.S. Census which allowed multiple responses. Overall, 79 percent of respondents self-reported as Black/African-American, 5 percent as Afro-Caribbean, 4 percent as Multiracial, 3 percent as Other, 3 percent as Hispanic/Latino, and 1 percent as African immigrant.¹⁰

AGE

The median age of BPS2000 respondents was 34, with a range from 14 to 81 years of age. Comparatively, according to CPS data,¹¹ the overall median age for the Black population was 30. While 13 percent of respondents were 24 or below, 12 percent were 45 and above. Almost two fifths (39 percent) of BPS2000 respondents were between 25 and 34 years of age, and a similar number (36 percent) were between 35 and 44.

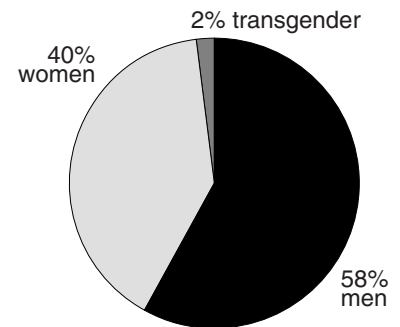
Age Distribution



GENDER

Men constituted a majority of the BPS2000 sample (58 percent), while 40 percent were women. Almost 2 percent identified as transgender. According to CPS data, 47 percent of the Black population in the U.S. was male and 53 percent was female. Interestingly, most other surveys of Black communities overrepresent female respondents.

Gender Distribution



HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

Less than a third (31 percent) of BPS2000 respondents owned their homes, much lower than the 47 percent overall Black home ownership rate in 2000, according to Census Bureau data. This may be due, at least in part, to the fact that the BPS2000 sample was drawn from urban areas where home ownership is generally lower than in suburban and rural areas.¹² Almost two thirds of the sample (63 percent) rented, while 6 percent said they “stay for free.” Over a third of respondents (37 percent) lived alone. Twelve percent of respondents lived with children. Another 12 percent of respondents lived with either their own or their lovers’ parents. Six percent of respondents lived with other relatives. Less than a fifth lived with a significant other (16 percent lived with their GLBT lover, while 3 percent lived with their straight lover or spouse), and almost a fifth (19 percent) lived with either friends or roommates.

Twelve percent of respondents lived with their parents or their lovers’ parents, while 6 percent lived with other relatives.

RELATIONSHIP STATUS

BPS2000 respondents were also asked about their current relationships. The response categories provided were not mutually exclusive and some did not answer the question, so the following numbers will not add up to 100 percent. Nearly half of the sample (48 percent) reported being single at the time of the survey, while over a quarter (27 percent) were in committed relationships, 13 percent were dating, 6 percent were married to someone of the same sex, and 2 percent were married to someone of the opposite sex.

Women were twice as likely as men to be in a committed relationship (41 percent versus 20 percent), and men were nearly twice as likely as women to be single (59 percent versus 34 percent). Men and women reported dating at about the same rate (13 percent versus 11 percent). Such gender differences reflect patterns found in a number of other studies of gay men and lesbians since the 1970s.¹³ Among transgender respondents 45 percent were single, 30 percent dating and 25 percent in a committed relationship. All of these differences were statistically significant. (See Appendix A for an explanation of statistical significance and other terminology related to data analysis.)

RELIGION

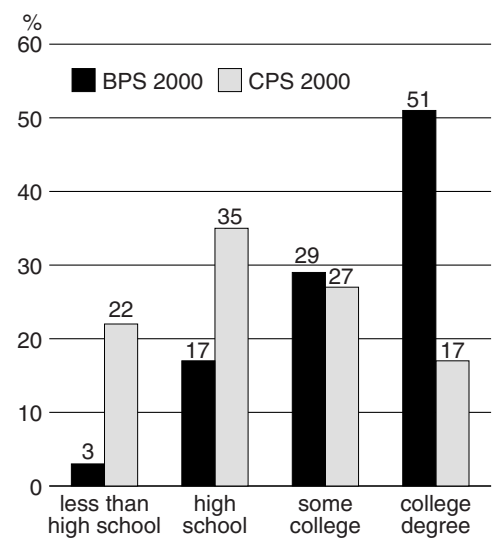
Respondents were asked to check one religious affiliation from the following list: Christian/Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Muslim/Islamic, Atheist/Agnostic, None, and Other. Respondents who checked Christian/Protestant or Other were then instructed to specify denomination or other religious affiliation. Six religious affiliations with the highest frequencies were analyzed—Baptists (12 percent), other Protestants (51 percent), Catholics (10 percent), Santería followers (3 percent), Muslims (2 percent), and other religious affiliations (8 percent). Approximately 15 percent of respondents indicated no religious affiliation or skipped the question.

EDUCATION

The BPS2000 sample was a highly educated one, especially in comparison to overall levels of education for Blacks. For example, 51 percent of respondents had a college degree or more, 29 percent had some college, 17 percent had a high school diploma, and 3 percent had less than a high school education. In comparison, based on CPS data from the U.S. Census Bureau,¹⁴ only 17 percent of Blacks as a whole had a college degree or higher, 27 percent had some college, 35 percent had a high school diploma, and 22 percent had less than a high school education.

Education Distribution

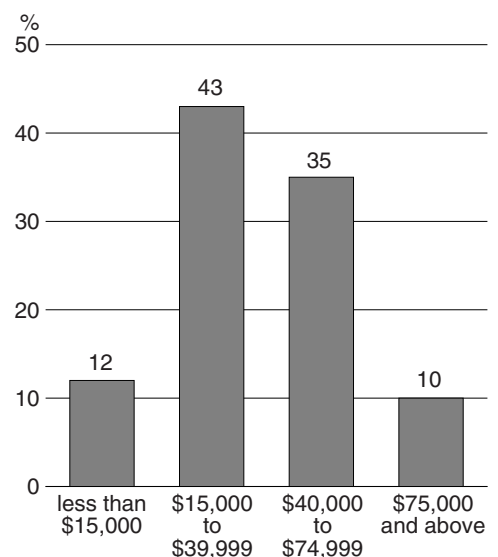
BPS 2000 and CPS 2000



INCOME

The median household income of BPS2000 respondents was in the \$30,000-\$39,195 bracket.¹⁵ The overall CPS median household income for Blacks was \$27,910.¹⁶ Slightly over ten percent of BPS2000 respondents had a household income of \$75,000 or more, 35 percent of households earned between \$40,000 and \$74,999, 43 percent earned between \$15,000 and \$39,999, and 12 percent of Black GLBT households had incomes under \$15,000. Comparatively, CPS data show that 13 percent of Black households had incomes of \$75,000 or more, 29 percent of households earned between \$35,000 and \$74,999, 30 percent earned between \$15,000 and \$34,999, and 29 percent of Black households had incomes under \$15,000.

Household Income Distribution



WORK/OCCUPATION

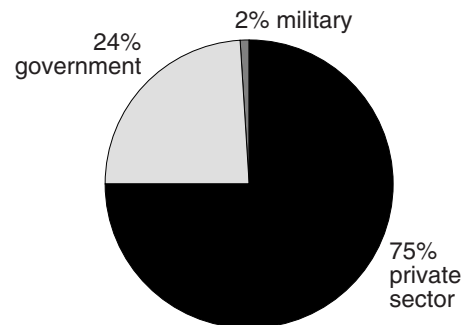
Two thirds of the BPS2000 sample were employed full-time, while 7 percent were employed part-time. Almost a fifth were students (18 percent), while 8 percent were self-employed and 7 percent were either unemployed, on public assistance, or on disability.

When asked if they were employed by the private sector, the government, or the military, about three fourths of respondents (75 percent) indicated the private sector, while just about a quarter (24 percent) worked for the government and 1.7 percent worked for the military. This high degree of work in the public sector has at least two key policy implications. First, domestic partner policies that cover municipal or state employees could provide health and other benefits to the same-sex partners of many of the respondents at Black Pride celebrations, and presumably many Black GLBT people. Second, executive orders banning discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity in public employment—such as that implemented by Iowa Governor Tom Vilsack in 1999 (though it was subsequently overturned in a lawsuit brought by anti-GLBT legislators)—could also cover a significant portion of this population.

In terms of occupation, more than a third (38 percent) were doctors, lawyers or other professionals, almost a fifth (19 percent) worked in the food, transportation, hospitality or other service sector, and 14 percent worked in the entertainment or culture/arts industry. In comparison, according to CPS data only 15 percent of all Blacks were professionals and almost a third worked in the service sector (28 percent).¹⁷

The above findings on education, income, and occupation might seem to provide evidence confirming stereotypes that GLBT people are more affluent and more educated than the general population. Before jumping to this conclusion, however, it should be noted that income and education are highly correlated with political participation.¹⁸ To the extent that Black Pride events can be labeled political events, it is more likely the case that it is the more affluent and educated Black GLBT people who attended the events. They are likely to have flexible schedules that allow them to take the time to attend, and they are also perhaps less likely to worry about the negative affects of being “out.” Thus, generalizations about the population of Black GLBT people based on these data should be made cautiously. M.V. Lee Badgett’s analysis of 1990 Census data and General Social Survey (GSS) data from the late 1980s and early 1990s found that “[t]he average lesbian or gay man earns no more than the average heterosexual woman or man, and in some cases, gay people earn less on average.”¹⁹ According to Badgett’s analysis, gay men earned up to one quarter less than straight men, while Allegreto and Arthur documented that partnered gay men earned 15 percent less than married heterosexual men.²⁰

Type of Employment



Total exceeds 100% due to rounding

Family Structure

For several reasons, little is known about the family structures and parenting behaviors of Black GLBT people. First, most national surveys, which could potentially gather such data, fail to do so by not asking questions about sexual orientation. Second, textbooks focusing on the Black family largely ignore the topic of Black GLBT family members.²¹ Third, there is justifiable fear and reluctance on the part of many Blacks to participate in academic or scientific research. Such feelings are particularly understandable, given the history of abuse by scientific researchers, such as the infamous Tuskegee experiments—in which Black men exposed to syphilis were purposefully not treated to see how the disease would progress.

One in four women reported living with children, versus only 4 percent of men and 3 percent of transgender people.

The BPS2000 asked whether respondents lived with children, and whether they had children. About 12 percent of respondents reported living with children, while one fourth reported having at least one child. One in four women reported living with children, versus only 4 percent of men and 3 percent of transgender people.

Nearly 40 percent of women surveyed at Black Prides said they have at least one child, versus 18 percent of men and 15 percent of transgender people. This included respondents who gave birth to or fathered a child; who were coparenting a child with a partner; who were raising a niece, nephew, grandchild, etc.; and/or who once raised a child who is now an adult and/or no longer lives with that parent. Altogether one in five respondents reported being biological parents (21 percent), and 2 percent reported being adoptive and/or foster parents. The average number of children parents reported having was two.

TYPE OF PARENTING

Slightly more than one out of five respondents (21 percent) reported being biological parents. Women were twice as likely as men to report being biological parents, 32 percent compared to 15 percent respectively. Approximately 2.3 percent of respondents

reported being adoptive and/or foster parents. Women and men were similar in terms of the percentage who reported being adoptive and/or foster parents: 2.5 percent of women and 2.1 percent of men.

The Black Pride Survey data on parenting closely mirror another recent data set which provides information on parenting patterns among Black lesbians and gay men. In a study published in 1998, Mays et al. found that one in four Black lesbians lived with a child for whom she had child-rearing responsibilities, while only 2 percent of Black gay men reported children in the household. One in three Black lesbians reported having at least one child, as did nearly 12 percent of the gay Black men surveyed by Mays et al.²²

Thirty-two percent of Black female respondents reported having given birth to at least one child.

Another source of data on gay and lesbian parenting is the 1990 Census. Although the Census did not ask about sexual orientation, it did allow same-sex couples who live together to self-identify as “unmarried partners,” providing a sample of 150,000 same-sex couples.

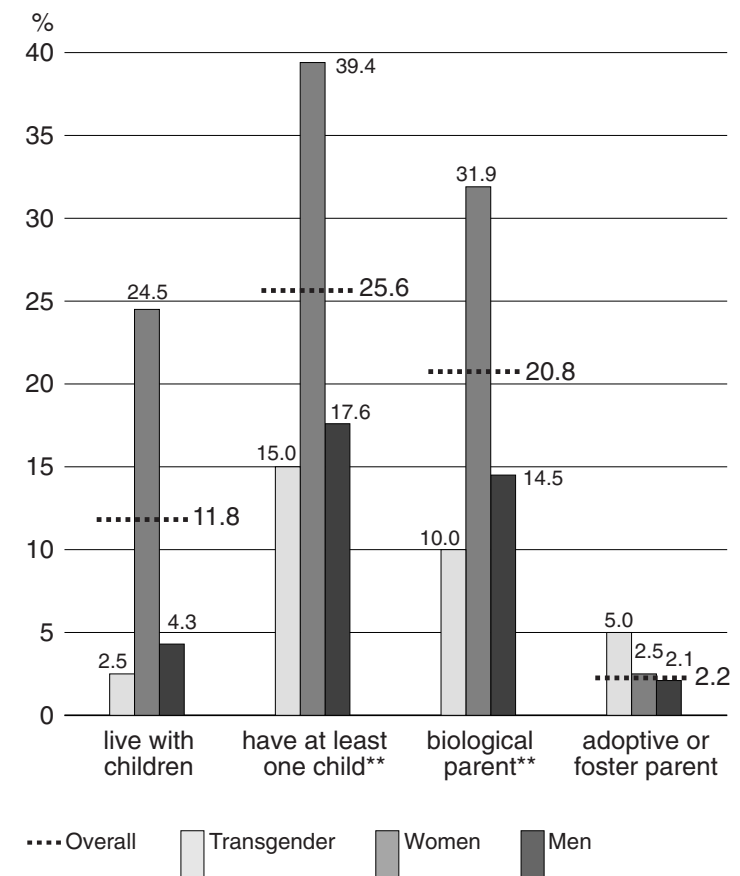
According to the 1990 Census, 22 percent of coupled lesbians and 5 percent of partnered gay men had children in their household.²³ Similarly, 25 percent of women and 4 percent of men surveyed by the Black Pride Survey said they lived with children.

Black lesbian couples in the 1990 Census were more likely than White lesbian couples to report having given birth to a child.²⁴ However, the Black lesbian sample was too small to be statistically significant.²⁵ More research is needed to determine if, in fact, Black lesbians are more likely to have given birth than White lesbians and lesbians of other ethnic backgrounds. The BPS2000 data (in which 32 percent of Black lesbians reported having given birth) and Mays et al.’s research (in which about a third of Black lesbians reported having children, though not necessarily living with them now) contrasted with the 1990 Census data for White non-Hispanic lesbians (in which 23 percent reported having given birth).

There are reasons to believe that lesbians with children may be overrepresented in the U.S. Census but under-

Families with Children

Overall and By Gender



*= significant at the .05 level **=significant at the .01 level (see Appendix A for explanations of these terms)

represented at Black Pride celebrations and other Gay Pride events. Coupled lesbians and gays—the only ones currently able to self-identify on the U.S. Census, as single gay people cannot check a box indicating their sexual orientation—may be more likely than unpartnered people to have children. Also, single lesbians and gay men with children may be more likely to move in with a partner than gay people without children, as a partner can help them with parenting duties. Some Black Gay Pride events may not be as child-friendly as they could be, such that some parents—unable to arrange or afford child care—skip the event. So it is possible that the prevalence of parenting among White lesbians as a whole (as compared to White lesbian cohabiting couples) is lower than the 20–25 percent reported on the 1990 Census, and that the prevalence of parenting among Black lesbians is higher than the 33–40 percent reported by BPS2000 and Mays et al.

Why would this be important? First, even if Black lesbians parent at no greater rate than other lesbians, this documented prevalence of parenting debunks attempts to construct “gay” and “family” as two mutually exclusive categories, and right-wing attempts to depict gays as intrinsic threats to children. Simply documenting the existence of Black lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender-led families with children is important in and of itself. Second, if parenting is somewhat more prevalent among Black lesbians than among White lesbians and/or lesbians in general, this means that anti-gay parenting policies may pose a particular threat to Black lesbians or would-be parents. Anti-gay adoption policies may prevent a second parent from adopting her partner’s biological child whom she has been raising since the child’s birth. Also, a lesbian with one biological child may seek to adopt or foster another child in need of a loving home. The prevalence of parenting among Black GLBT people, coupled with the overrepresentation of Black children in the foster care system, indicates that anti-gay adoption bills may threaten the Black community as a whole by significantly reducing the potential pool of foster and adoptive parents.

Anti-gay parenting policies may pose a particular threat to Black GLBT parents or would-be parents.

ADOPTION AND FOSTER PARENTING

As noted above, about 2.3 percent of Black Pride respondents were adoptive and/or foster parents, including 2.5 percent of women and 2.1 percent of men. How does this compare to the prevalence of adoptive and foster parenting among Black people in general? There are very few national data available on adoption. In a widely used statistic from the 1987 National Health Interview Survey, 1.8 percent of never-married White women adopted children compared to 1.5 percent of never-married Black women. Adoptions of children related by family ties were more common among Black women, while unrelated adoptions were more common among White women.²⁶ A study by the U.S. Administration for Children, Youth and Families found that Blacks adopted at a higher rate than Whites: seven adoptions per 10,000 Black families versus two adoptions per 10,000 White families.²⁷ When age of parents, family income, and family structure are controlled for, the differential is even greater—18 adoptions per 10,000 Black families and 4 adoptions per 10,000 White families. Black soci-

Black children are disproportionately represented in the foster care system: 42 percent of the children in foster care are Black, though they represent only 17 percent of the children in the U.S.

ologist Robert Hill has documented the history of extended families and informal adoptions among the Black community, including individuals taking in the children of relatives and neighbors.²⁸

Currently there is an adoption crisis in the U.S., with a shortage of qualified adoptive parents. As of September 1999, there were 581,000 children in foster care and 127,000 children waiting to be adopted, according to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. However, only 46,000 children were adopted from the public foster care system during the 1999 fiscal year.²⁹ Black children are disproportionately represented in the foster care system: 42 percent of the children in foster care are Black, though they represent only 17 percent of the children in the U.S.³⁰

Two states effectively ban gay and lesbian adoptions: Florida and Mississippi. Utah prioritizes heterosexual married couples for placement of foster and adoptive children in state custody. Arkansas bans gays from foster parenting, but not from adopting. South Carolina also recently considered such a bill. Except for Utah, all of these states have Black populations significantly higher than the national average.³¹

At the federal level, Wade Horn, Assistant Secretary for Children and Families in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) and a key architect of President Bush's welfare and family policies, and Andrew Bush, HHS Secretary Tommy Thompson's top advisor on welfare policy, have written approvingly of former California Governor Pete Wilson's attempts to ban gay couples from adopting.³² Laws and policies banning GLBT people and single parents from adopting do not serve the interests of children in need of adoptive or foster homes, because there are more parents available to adopt when family structure barriers are eliminated. As noted, laws and policies effectively banning same-sex adoptions disproportionately affect Blacks because Black children are overrepresented among those children awaiting adoption. Such policies only exacerbate the problem of children languishing in foster care, while potential parents are denied the opportunity to provide loving homes to these children.

In addition to wanting to ban unmarried couples and single parents from adopting, several Bush Administration appointees have advocated offering certain welfare benefits only to married couples with children. They also have proposed offering limited supply benefits such as Head Start slots, public housing units, and low-interest student loans to married-parent families with children first.³³ Only if there is anything left over would the children of single parents and same-sex couples be allowed to access these benefits. Such policies and proposals clearly threaten the families of same-sex couples, who are unable to marry. They also threaten many heterosexual-led Black and Latino families. While only 11 percent of White non-Hispanic families with children are headed by a single parent, 39 percent of Black families with children and 25 percent of Latino families with children are headed by a single parent.³⁴ Policies which privilege married couple-led families over single-parent families or unmarried two-parent families pose a significant threat to the Black community, and especially to Black GLBT parent families.

Child advocates should prioritize the best interest of the child and consider potential adoptive or foster parents on a case-by-case basis. Courts should not hastily declare birth mothers unfit to parent without first providing the resources to support their efforts at parenting. But in cases where adoption is warranted, family structure barriers

Several Bush Administration appointees have advocated offering certain welfare benefits only to married couples with children.

ers—such as marriage requirements or bans on gay parents—should be removed to allow more families to adopt children on a permanent basis. States that discriminate in the adoption process should not be awarded performance bonuses under the Adoption and Safe Families Act of 1997. Also, states should enact laws and policies that support same-sex adoptions, including allowing second-parent adoptions, which provide security for children being raised by a biological parent and that parent's same-sex partner. Further, child welfare laws should be strengthened to include increased financial support to all families, regardless of sexual orientation, who wish to adopt children.

PROFILE: MARY MORTEN AND WILLA TAYLOR

On November 10, 2001, almost four years after they met at San Diego's Creating Change conference organized by NGLTF, Mary Morten and Willa Taylor



were married in Chicago with family and friends. "We share expenses, discuss employment, make future plans together and make decisions based on how those will or will not support our relationship," Morten said about her relationship with Taylor.

Morten, a Chicago native whose long-term professional and volunteer efforts focus on increasing awareness about issues which affect underrepresented groups in society, has held vari-

ous public service positions in the city of Chicago. Most recently, as the director of Chicago's Office of Violence and Prevention, Morten has coordinated violence prevention activities on a city-wide level. From 1997 to 2000, Morten served as Mayor Richard M. Daley Jr.'s liaison to the GLBT community. In December

2001, Morten left city government to launch Morten Group, a consulting firm that develops and coordinates strategies for public policy and advocacy activities.

"I always felt that I would get married," said Taylor, owner of Taylor-Made Cuisine, a catering company in Chicago, IL. Besides coming up with the idea for the Black Pride Survey, the results of which you now hold in your hands, Taylor has served as chair of the National Black Lesbian and Gay Leadership Forum. Coming from a family where people were married for a long time, Taylor acknowledges the importance of family role models. Taylor's parents were married for 58 years before her mother died several years ago. Her love of cooking and culinary arts, a profession in which Taylor's own father was employed, is also an important aspect of her life today.

"It's really important to live your life in a way that is a political statement," said Taylor. "Just the process of coming out and living as an out person is a political act, and that should not be minimized."

Morten and Taylor have been living together in Chicago for three years.

Sexual Identity

Membership in marginalized groups and communities often structures how we operate in the world. Such membership influences major parts of our lives, including but not limited to where we work, where we live, which institutions of faith we attend, the friends with whom we associate, and the lovers we choose. Of course, as the history of Blacks and other people of color in the U.S. makes painfully clear, the choice of which groups we belong to is not always under our control. Often, group membership is imposed and reinforced by the state, markets, social and cultural practices, as well as the actions of the targeted group.

Whether the group is Blacks, Latinos, or GLBT populations, there is a long history of internal and public struggle over what group members want to call themselves and have others call them. Such debates about identity are not insignificant since they determine not only the public identity of the group, but also help to build and solidify feelings of pride, empowerment, and political purpose among group members. Thus, the politics of identity are an essential component of the politics of recognition and distribution. This section examines the identities respondents reported in the survey. How do they define themselves? Which labels structure their view of the world and their placement in it?

Forty-two percent self-identified as gay, 24 percent as lesbian, 11 percent as bisexual, 8 percent as “same gender loving,” and 1 percent as transgender.

SEXUAL ORIENTATION LABELS

When respondents were asked which *one* label out of a very extensive list (reproduced in Appendix A) comes closest to how *you* describe your sexual orientation, 42 percent of the sample self-identified as gay, 24 percent chose the label lesbian, 11 percent checked the category bisexual, and 1 percent marked transgender. The category “same gender loving” was the fourth highest response, with 8 percent of respondents choosing this option. In contrast to the high levels of agreement on the labels gay and

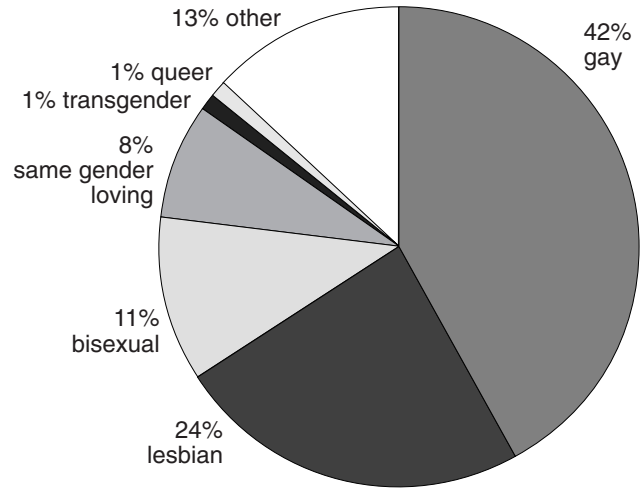
Say it Loud
I'm Black
and I'm Proud

lesbian, Black GLBT people do not readily, or even remotely, identify as “queer.” “Queer” was one of the least popular options, receiving few responses (1 percent). Other labels receiving little support included “one of the children” (1 percent), “two-spirit” (1 percent), “in the family” (1 percent), “straight/heterosexual” (3 percent) and “in the life” (4 percent). Among the many labels some respondents wrote down under the category “other” (3 percent) were “open to love,” “closeted,” “faggot,” “questioning,” “curious,” and even “I like what I like.” Interestingly, more men than women self-identified as bisexual (13 percent vs. ten percent), and more men than women used the term “same gender loving” to identify themselves (10 percent vs. 5 percent).

What do these findings mean? Some argue that the term “gay” largely represents the experiences and identity of men, specifically White men. The empirical evidence shows, however, that among those most likely to self-identify as non-straight in the Black Pride sample, the term “gay” (and, among women, “lesbian”) is primarily chosen and readily used. Nearly two thirds of men, and even 12 percent of women, chose “gay” to describe themselves. Six in 10 women chose the term “lesbian.” The evidence also indicates that there is a strong reluctance among Black GLBT people to use the term “queer” as a primary identifier of their sexual orientation. Again, the BPS2000 data cannot be used to answer the question of why Black GLBT individuals do not use this term. There is, however, some speculation about this matter.

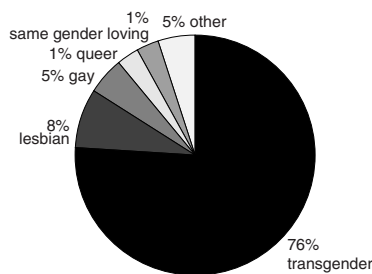
First, the lack of identification as “queer” might reveal the racism that Black GLBT

Sexual Identity
(n=2,408)

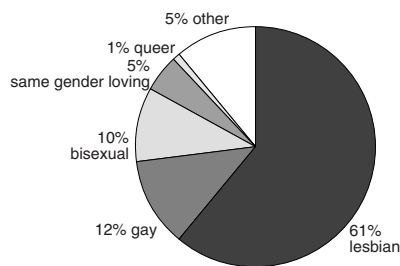


Sexual Identity by Gender

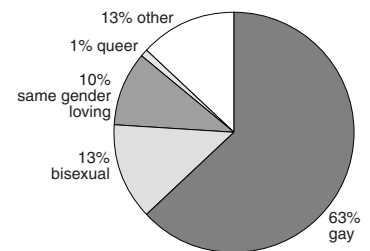
Transgender People
(n=38)



Women
(n=944)



Men
(n=1,371)



people experience from White “queer identified” activists in their organizations and campaigns, including their lack of outreach to Black GLBT communities. These White “queer” activists are often thought to have greater access to resources and privilege, and to embrace a greater fluidity concerning their sexual practices and sexual identities, than most Black Pride respondents. These qualities are luxuries often missing in communities of color. Second, the rejection of the term queer might indicate that the radical promise that the term queer holds has not been embraced by Black GLBT individuals as an alternative way (and politics) of sexual identification. As Cathy Cohen states, “In its current rendition, queer politics is coded with class, gender, and race privilege, and may have lost its potential to be a politically expedient organizing tool for addressing the needs—and mobilizing the bodies—of people of color.”³⁵ Third, the low levels of support for the term queer might also reveal elements of social conservatism within the Black community generally, and in the Black GLBT community specifically. It’s important to note the lack of comparative data regarding identification as queer among GLBT people of other ethnic backgrounds. Regardless, there must be some serious thought given by political organizations seeking to mobilize Black GLBT people about the use of the term “queer,” and the (de)merits of organizing around a “queer” identity. Similarly, political discussions within Black GLBT communities about what it means to be “queer,” “same gender loving,” or any other sexual identity should be encouraged.

Cathy Cohen states, “In its current rendition, queer politics is coded with class, gender, and race privilege, and may have lost its potential to be a politically expedient organizing tool for addressing the needs—and mobilizing the bodies—of people of color.”

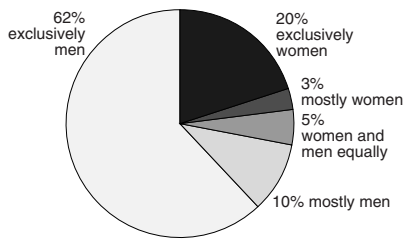
SEXUAL BEHAVIOR

Sexual identity tends to be a good indicator of sexual behavior. For instance, of those who identified as “gay”, 10 percent reported sex exclusively with women, and 72 percent reported sex exclusively with men. The other 18 percent reported sex with both men and women. Ninety-six percent of self-identified lesbians reported having sex exclusively with women. Ninety percent of self-identified bisexuals reported having sex with both men and women.

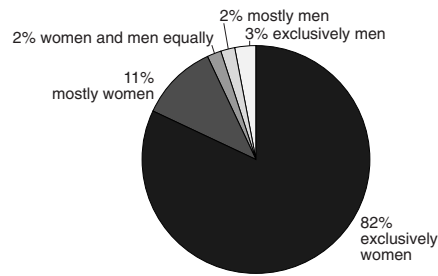
When comparing sexual behavior and gender, the following results were found. Overall, in the BPS2000 sample 82 percent of women indicated that they had sex exclusively with women, while 66 percent of men said that they had sex exclusively with men. Interestingly, over a quarter of the men in our sample (27 percent) specified that they had sex mostly with men, leaving only 7 percent of men reporting that they have sex with men and women equally, mostly women or exclusively women. Correspondingly, about 7 percent of the women in the sample indicated that they have men as sexual partners equally, mostly or exclusively. Sixty-two percent of transgender respondents (63 percent) reported having sex exclusively with men, while 20 percent reported having sex exclusively with women.

Sexual Behavior by gender

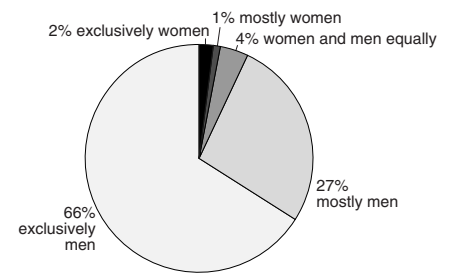
Transgender People
(n=40)



Women
(n=942)



Men
(n=1,368)



RANKING IDENTITIES

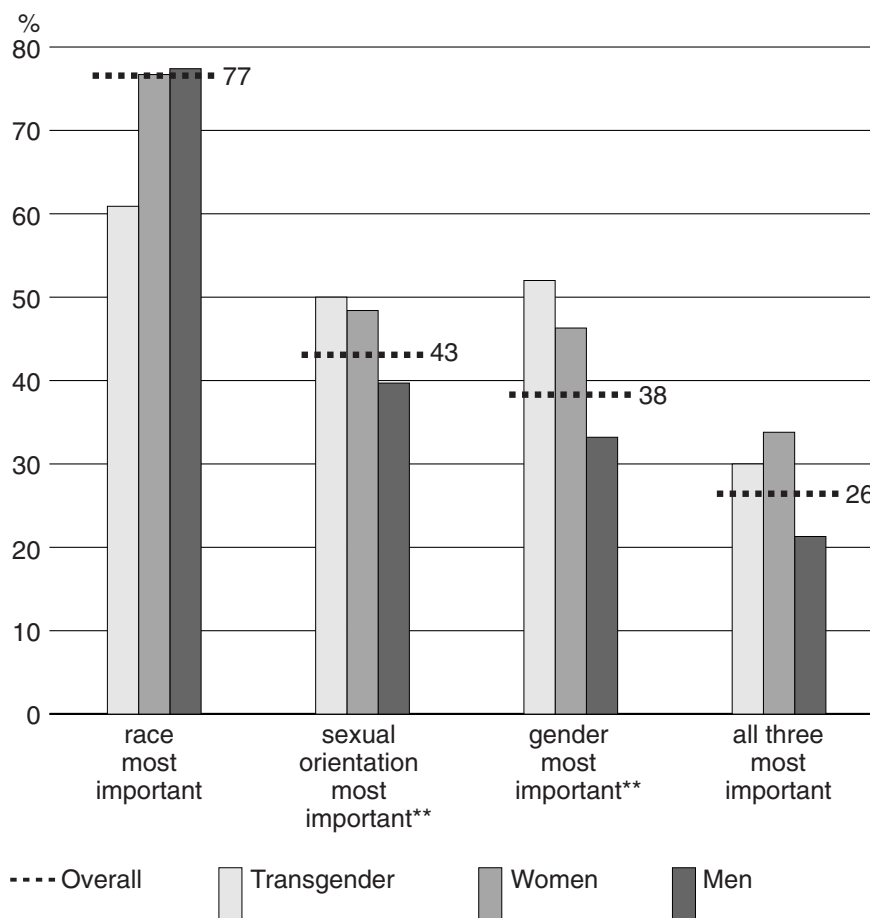
In an attempt to gauge the importance Black GLBT individuals attribute to their multiple identities, respondents were asked to rank the importance of three of their identities. Specifically, respondents were asked to rank how important their race, sexual orientation, and sex/gender or gender identity were to them, each independently. “One” was to indicate most important, “two” was next important, and “three” was to be the least important of the three identities considered. Though not explicitly stated, the structure of the question allowed respondents to reply “one,” or “most important,” to each of the three identity categories. Responses to this question provided some very interesting findings. First, almost half of the sample did not answer the question. While there is no definitive reason for such a high level of non-response, there are a number of possibilities. It is possible that respondents saw all of their identities and corresponding communities as important and necessary to their survival and therefore refused to prioritize any of them. It is also possible that the question was confusing to a number of respondents who decided instead to skip it.

Of those who answered the question, three fourths (77 percent) said that their racial identity was most important. Roughly two fifths (38 percent) of respondents rated their sex, gender or gender identity as most important, while 43 percent of respondents rated their sexual orientation as most important. Clearly, many respondents ranked two or more characteristics as “most important”—thus, the total percentages were well over 100 percent. There were no statistically significant differences based on gender in terms of who ranked racial identity as most important. However, there were significant gender differences in the ranking of both gender and sexual orientation as most important. Women and transgender respondents were more likely than men to rank their sex/gender or gender identity and their sexual orientation as most important.

As an indication of the complexities and possibilities of identity politics in our current political era, over a quarter of respondents indicated that all three identities were equally important. These responses can be seen as representing the “intersectionality” response—the belief that these identities are not separable and instead interact with one another to define a unique experience as a Black GLBT person.³⁶

Respondents were asked to rank how important their race, sexual orientation, and sex/gender or gender identity were to them, each independently. Of those who answered the question, over a quarter indicated that all three were equally important.

Rankings of Most Important Identities



*= significant at the .05 level **=significant at the .01 level
(see Appendix A for explanations of these terms)

LIVING WHOLE ON THE EDGE PROFILE: NICOLE PIERCE

Coming out and loving myself fully is political. This process of self-actualization is also active resistance against systems of oppression like racism, classism, and sexism. It is speaking out against behavior, attitudes, and institutions that try to break me down, shut me up, divide and conquer me while banishing me to the margins. It took me a long time to understand how coming out can be so political. Too many people have

tried to pull me down, rip me apart, and take in only what they can comprehend because of their own ignorance and homophobia. As I come out, I am forced to speak out actively in my daily life against such ill-informed behavior.

In spring 1996 I experienced one of the constant battles I face as a Black lesbian. I took a class on black feminism where I was the only openly, identified queer Black woman. I quickly became

Say it Loud
I'm Black
and I'm Proud

the target for a great deal of intolerance and heterosexist assumptions. During one particular class discussion, which was supposed to focus on Black lesbians, I became discouraged and began to feel that my own Black community would never understand me. I sat silently as heterosexual Black women talked lightly of not knowing how to deal with Black lesbians and how foreign those experiences were to them. I continued to sink into my seat as we moved into a discussion about oppression and whether or not “gays and lesbians” were really oppressed. At first some of my classmates looked in my direction, then as the conversation got going, they ignored me and the text we were reading for the discussion. They talked about Black gay men they knew and how they were “freakish.” They talked about White gay men and lesbians too. Amidst all this talk, they failed to leave room for anyone in between or beyond their limited understandings of queer sexuality. They forgot about me.

I wanted to discuss why society tries to force queer Black lesbians to segment ourselves and choose a primary identity. I wanted to ask my classmates why they, as straight people, try to make me choose if I am queer, Black, or female first. I wanted to tell them that I am all of those things and more. Unfortunately, that day, I had to listen to straight Black women complain about how “non-straight” people were co-opting issues of oppression.

—Nicole Pierce is a graduate of Oberlin College in Ohio.

This excerpt comes from a larger collection of essays in *Testimonies from the Heart: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Youth of African Descent Speak Out*. All of the essays are written by African American youth who speak openly about their experiences as racial and sexual minorities. The collection is edited by Terrance Pitts, a freelance writer, photographer, and human rights activist. He is currently a New Voices Fellow and program director at the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty.

Political Issues and Attitudes

It has long been recognized by researchers and community members that divisions along the lines of class, gender, region, education, and sexuality exist in Black communities.³⁷ What is less clear is how the different characteristics through which Black people experience the world shape and differentiate the experiences and political attitudes of Black community members. Specifically, this section will examine how living as a Black GLBT person in the United States impacts the ways in which one thinks about politics and the political actions one pursues. For example, does identifying as a Black gay man make you more likely to identify HIV/AIDS as one of the most important issues facing Black communities? Does living as a Black transgender person mean that you are more likely to participate in non-traditional forms of political participation such as boycotts and protests? Does being a Black lesbian mean that you are more likely to identify feminist organizations as those organizations that represent and fight for the issues you care about?

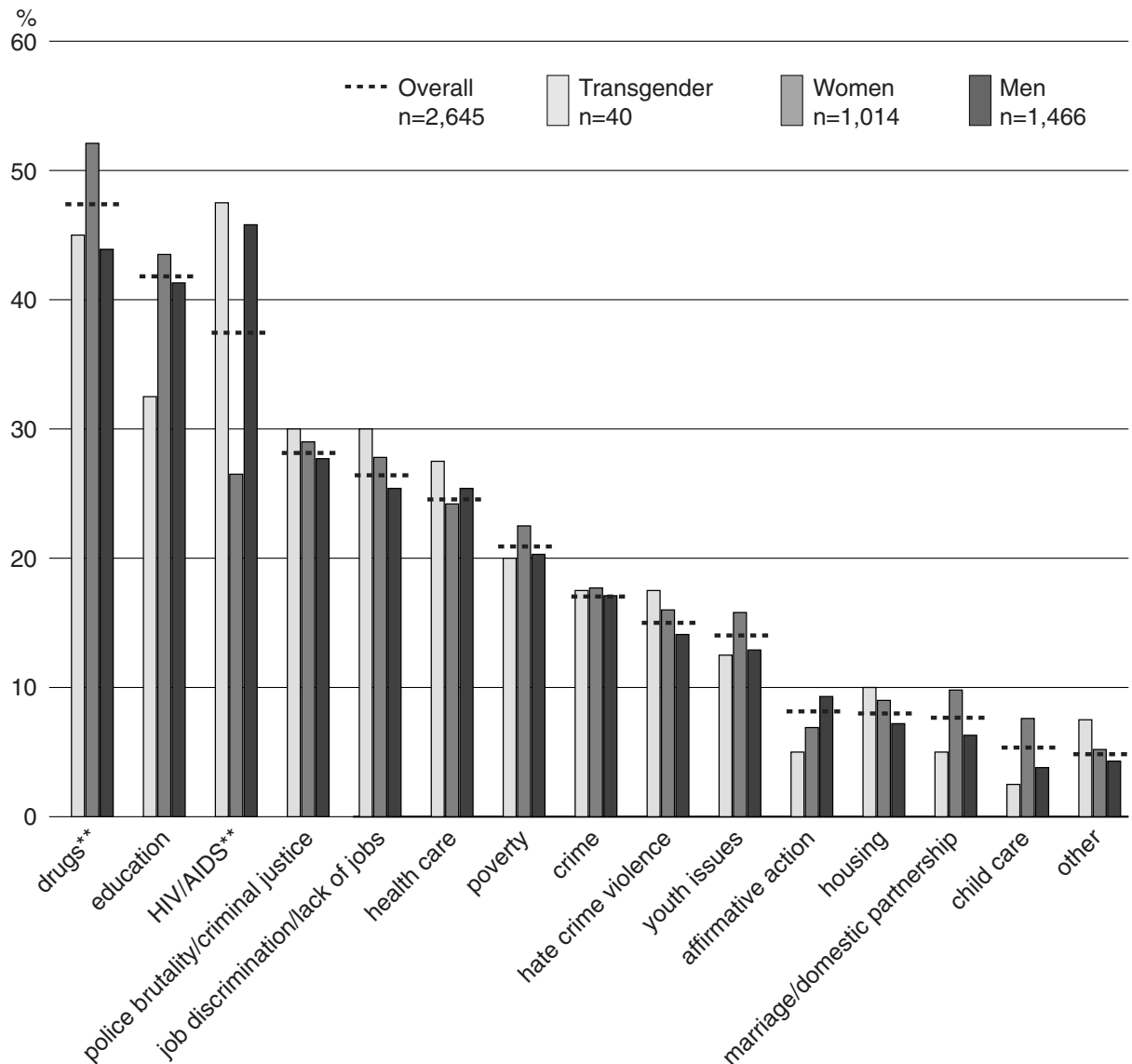
To assess the political opinions and actions of Black GLBT individuals, a number of questions were asked. These ranged from what respondents thought were the most important issues facing Black communities at large and Black GLBT communities specifically, to “Did you vote in the 1996 presidential election?” When possible, the experiences and priorities of Black GLBT people are compared with data from other surveys measuring the political attitudes and behaviors of Black people in general (i.e. predominantly heterosexual samples).

MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES

Respondents were asked two questions about issues of concern to the Black community. The first question asked respondents to indicate the three most important issues facing all Blacks, and it provided about a dozen possible responses plus a choice of “other.” The second question asked respondents to check off or list the three most important issues facing Black GLBT people.³⁸ While there were some differences in response to

these two questions, drugs, education and HIV/AIDS were high on the list of issues facing both Black GLBT people and the Black community as a whole. However, sex/gender and gender identity shaped differing responses to these questions.

Most Important Issues Facing All Blacks in the US



*= significant at the .05 level **=significant at the .01 level (see Appendix A for explanations of these terms)

Three Important Issues for All Blacks

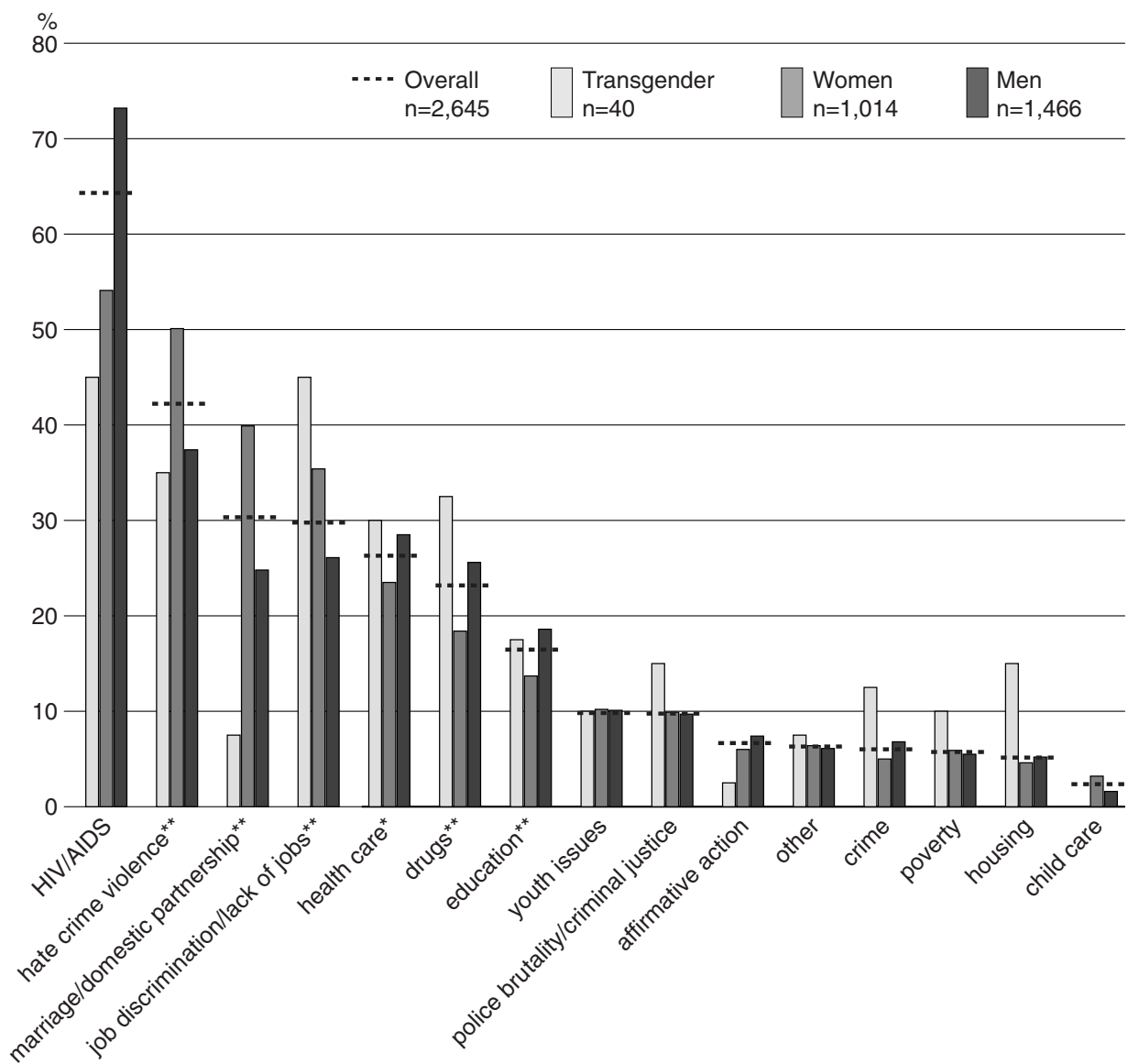
When asked what issues were most important for all Black Americans in the U.S., respondents indicated that overall their top three concerns were drugs (47 percent), education (42 percent), and HIV/AIDS (38 percent).³⁹ Respondents also listed the following issues as some of their top policy priorities: police brutality/criminal justice system, job discrimination/lack of jobs, health care, poverty, and crime.

Interesting findings emerged when separating the answers of male, female, and transgender respondents. Drugs received the most responses from women (52 percent), followed by education (44 percent), and police brutality/criminal justice system (29 percent). The three categories that gained the most responses from men were the same for transgender respondents: HIV/AIDS, drugs, and education.

Three Important Issues for Black GLBT People

When respondents were asked about the three most important issues facing the Black GLBT community, HIV/AIDS was the category that received the most responses (chosen by 64 percent). This was followed by hate crime violence (42 percent) and mar-

Most Important Issues Facing Black GLBT People in the US



*= significant at the .05 level **=significant at the .01 level (see Appendix A for explanations of these terms)

riage/domestic partnership (30 percent). Drugs was the sixth most important issue facing Black GLBT people, chosen by 23 percent of respondents, while it was considered by the same respondents to be the most important issue facing all Black people.

Understanding Gender Differences

Again, there were some interesting differences across sex and gender categories. Seventy-three percent of men, 54 percent of women, and 45 percent of transgender respondents indicated that HIV/AIDS was one of their top three concerns. Both men and women in the BPS2000 sample designated hate crime violence as the second most important issue of shared concern (37 percent and 50 percent, respectively).

Transgender respondents identified job discrimination or lack of jobs as well as HIV/AIDS as the most important concerns facing Black GLBT people, with 45 percent of transgender people choosing each. These issues were followed by hate crime violence (chosen by 35 percent of transgender respondents) and drugs (chosen by 33 percent).

Women chose marriage/domestic partnership as the third most important issue, while men ranked this issue fifth (chosen by 26 percent), behind health care (29 percent) and drugs (26 percent).

Black GLBT individuals clearly felt that hate crime violence and issues revolving around marriage and domestic partnership (whether for economic benefits or more social reasons) mattered for them in a way they felt was not as important or crucial for the Black community as a whole. On the other hand, there was overlap on certain issues affecting both the entire Black community and the Black GLBT community: HIV/AIDS, health care (whether access, quality, etc.), and job discrimination.

Unlike male and transgender respondents, female respondents did not rank HIV/AIDS in the top three issues affecting all Black people.

Gender Differences and HIV/AIDS

Women respondents did not include HIV/AIDS as one of the three most important issues facing all Black people in the U.S., prioritizing these issues less than men and transgender people did. When compared to Black men and transgender respondents, Black GLBT women do not readily associate HIV/AIDS as a Black issue. Women respondents were also more likely than men and transgender people to view marriage and domestic partnership as a key issue for Black GLBT people. This may reflect the higher prevalence of partnership among women compared to men. It could also reflect the fact that women, on average, earn less than men; since marriage and domestic partnership offer quite tangible economic benefits, lesbian couples may have a greater need for such access to income and benefits than gay male couples. Transgender people considered “job discrimination/lack of jobs” as important as HIV/AIDS, perhaps reflecting the wide prevalence of discrimination against and unemployment among transgender people.

Are gay men and transgender people more concerned about HIV/AIDS because, on average, they are more at risk of HIV transmission than lesbians? While differences in perceived risk of transmission may be influencing these results, the impact of AIDS in Black communities can be felt in ways beyond individual risk. Black women in general, including bisexual women, are increasingly at risk for transmission of HIV. The need to care for family and

Transgender respondents identified job discrimination or lack of jobs as well as HIV/AIDS as the most important issues facing Black GLBT people.

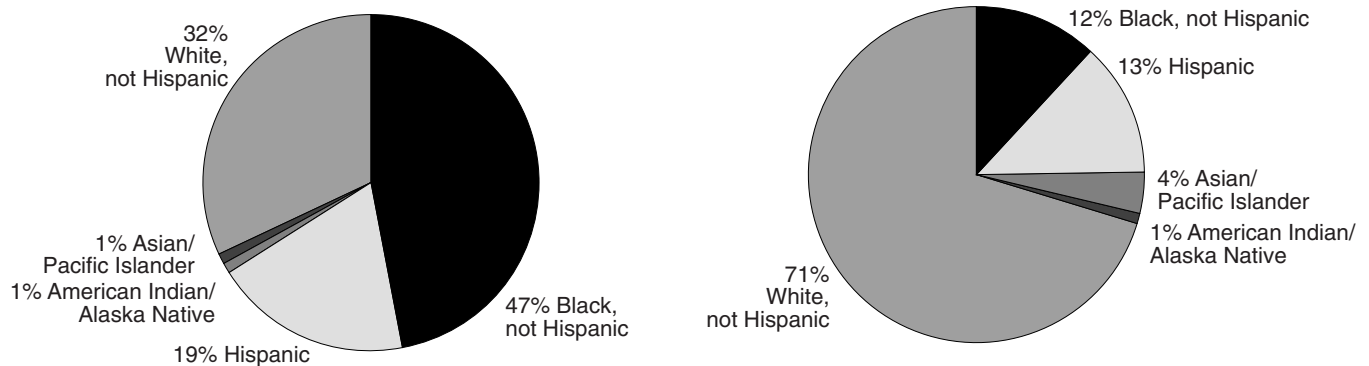
friends—often the responsibility of women in most communities—and the economic impact that comes with the loss of income and the additional costs of health care and drugs are also the concerns of Black women. Without follow up questions, there is no way of knowing what is driving these gender differences in prioritizing issues of concern to the Black community as a whole. Thus, any analysis of these findings should take in account the complex structuring of Black communities and their struggles with HIV and AIDS.⁴⁰

HIV/AIDS continues to impact Black people disproportionately.⁴¹ Of the 42,156 AIDS cases reported to the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) and Prevention in 2000, Black Americans accounted for 47 percent of the total even though they made up only 12 percent of the total U.S. population. Of the 733,374 cumulative AIDS cases reported to the CDC through December 1999, Black Americans accounted for 37 percent of total cases, 42 percent of cases in men, 63 percent of cases in women, and 65 percent of cases in children less than 19 years of age.⁴² Among Black male cases diagnosed and reported to the CDC through December 1999, 37 percent were men who have sex with men, 34 percent intravenous drug users (IDU), and 8 percent acquired HIV through unprotected heterosexual contact. Among Black women, 42 percent stemmed from IDU exposure, 38 percent from unprotected heterosexual contact, and 18 percent reported no particular risk behavior.

AIDS Cases Reported in 2000 and Estimated 2000 Population, by Race/Ethnicity, US

AIDS Cases
n=42,156

Population
n=285,863,000



Source: Centers for Disease Control, www.cdc.gov/hiv/graphics/images/1238/1238-6.htm
Due to rounding, some figures do not add up to 100 percent.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

These findings regarding policy priorities of Black GLBT people are interesting and warrant further inquiry. Among progressive GLBT and/or people of color activists and organizations, such as the Audre Lorde Project in New York, and among progressive allies such as the American Friends Service Committee, a critique of hate crimes laws

Say it Loud
I'm Black
and I'm Proud

has recently emerged. Given the racial and class biases of the criminal justice system, these activists and organizations ask whether a progressive social change movement should be pushing for enhanced sentences and mandatory sentencing, as some hate crimes laws call for. While the ranking of “hate crime violence” as the second most important issue facing Black GLBT people does not necessarily mean that respondents universally supported hate crimes laws, this population certainly considers hate violence a problem that must be dealt with in some fashion. And because this issue was ranked a much lower problem for the Black community as a whole, arguably it is likely that it is primarily anti-gay hate violence and/or hate violence directed against Black GLBT people, and not solely race-motivated hate violence, that is being identified as a top concern of the Black GLBT community. Of course, for many Black GLBT individuals, the two forms of hate violence cannot be separated. A solid majority of the general Black population supports including sexual orientation under existing hate crimes laws, according to a recent survey conducted by the Gay and Lesbian Victory Foundation. Of 700 Black voters surveyed, 63 percent supported including sexual orientation in hate crimes statutes, 34 percent opposed it, and 4 percent were unsure.⁴³

The general Black population is largely supportive of domestic partner health benefits by a margin of 67 percent in favor, 27 percent opposed.

The ranking of marriage and domestic partnership is also of note. The support for marriage in the sample is especially interesting not only because it was most forcefully embraced by women, but also because it contradicts the position of those, most often on the left, who see marriage as an issue most salient to White GLBT communities. For example, some progressives and radicals within the GLBT movement argue that the prioritization of civil marriage rights reflects the dominance of the movement by White, middle class people. Some have even said marriage is a “White” gay issue. Others worry that condoning marriage will lead to greater exclusion of those who choose not to marry or choose to engage in nonnormative relationships and sexual exchanges. For these individuals, the fight around gay marriage means embracing a state-sanctioned institution that has been used historically to signal acceptance and enforce marginalization.

But for others marriage rights involve over 1,000 federal rights and responsibilities, which have a significant impact on issues of income and economic security. The inability of same-sex couples to marry means that gay and lesbian couples are treated unequally under many policy frameworks, including Social Security survivor benefits to spouses and nonbiological children, pensions and 401Ks, welfare, immigration, taxation, hospital visitation, school visitation, inheritance, financial protection in the case of divorce, and many other areas. Domestic partner benefits usually include employer provided health coverage for one’s partner. These are not abstract rights, but concrete and practical economic rights that same-sex partners are routinely denied. There is also a symbolic importance to being able to marry. Some have called marriage a badge of full citizenship. By being denied this right, same-sex couples are denied full equality. While the BPS2000 did not include a question about why marriage and domestic partnership are important issues for Black GLBT people, it is likely that both symbolic as well as practical concerns factored into this prioritization.

The Black community as a whole does not yet support equal access to marriage or even “civil unions”—which provide all the benefits of marriage to same-sex couples except

federal benefits, such as equal treatment under federal tax policy, immigration policy, or Social Security. Blacks oppose marriage for same-sex couples by a margin of 32 percent to 62 percent. They oppose civil unions by a smaller margin, with 39 percent in favor and 55 percent opposed. But the general Black population is largely supportive of domestic partner health benefits by a margin of 67 percent in favor, 27 percent opposed.⁴⁴ The Black community's views on same-sex marriage and domestic partnership largely mirror those of the overall U.S. population.⁴⁵

LIBERAL/CONSERVATIVE CONTINUUM

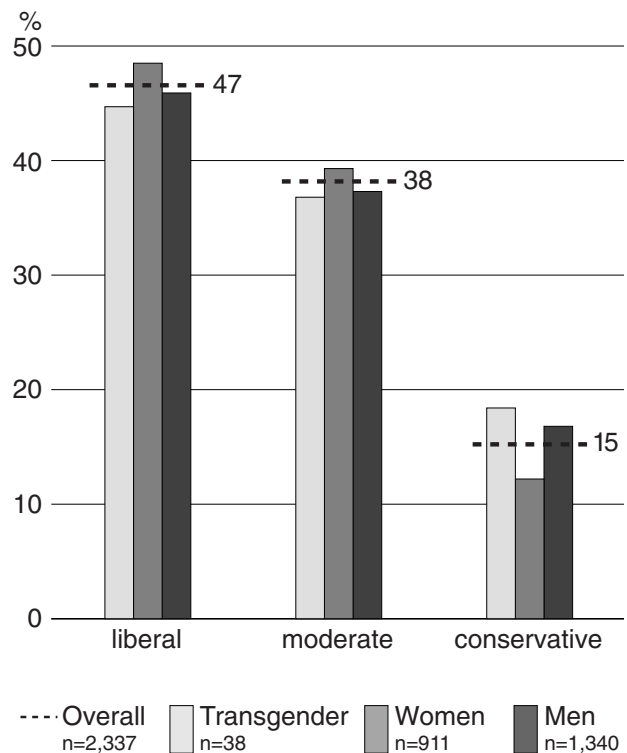
The Black GLBT community is, like most Black and GLBT communities, left of center. On the traditional 1-7 political ideology scale (with 1 being liberal, 4 moderate, and 7 conservative), the mean among the BPS2000 sample was 3.23. More Black Pride respondents identified as liberal or moderate than the general Black population in other national data sets. Some 85 percent of Black Pride respondents identified as moderate or liberal, while only 15 percent said they were conservative. In contrast, only 66 percent of Black Americans surveyed in the 1993 National Black Politics Study (NBPS) self-identified as moderate or liberal, while 34 percent said they were conservative.⁴⁶ A more detailed look at the data indicates that 47 percent of Black Pride respondents surveyed said they were liberal, versus only 31 percent of Blacks as a whole surveyed in the 1993 study.

The 1996 National Black Election Study (NBES) found similar patterns among the general Black population. About 26 percent of NBES respondents identified as liberal and 33 percent as moderate. This represents a decline in those self-identifying as liberal or moderate from 65 percent in 1993 to 60 percent in 1996. This means that there is an even larger gap between the politics of Black GLBT individuals in the BPS2000 sample and the Black community as a whole. Compared to all GLBT people, Black GLBT people are almost identical in their ideological self-identification. According to 1998 Voter News Service Exit polls, 47 percent of gay, lesbian, and bisexual voters identified as liberal, 39 percent as moderate, and 14 percent as conservative.⁴⁷

A more in-depth analysis of the data gathered through the BPS2000 shows that almost half of the sample (47 percent) profess politics that are at least weakly left-of-center. While the data

The Black Pride Survey indicates that Black GLBT people may be more liberal than the general, mostly heterosexual, Black population.

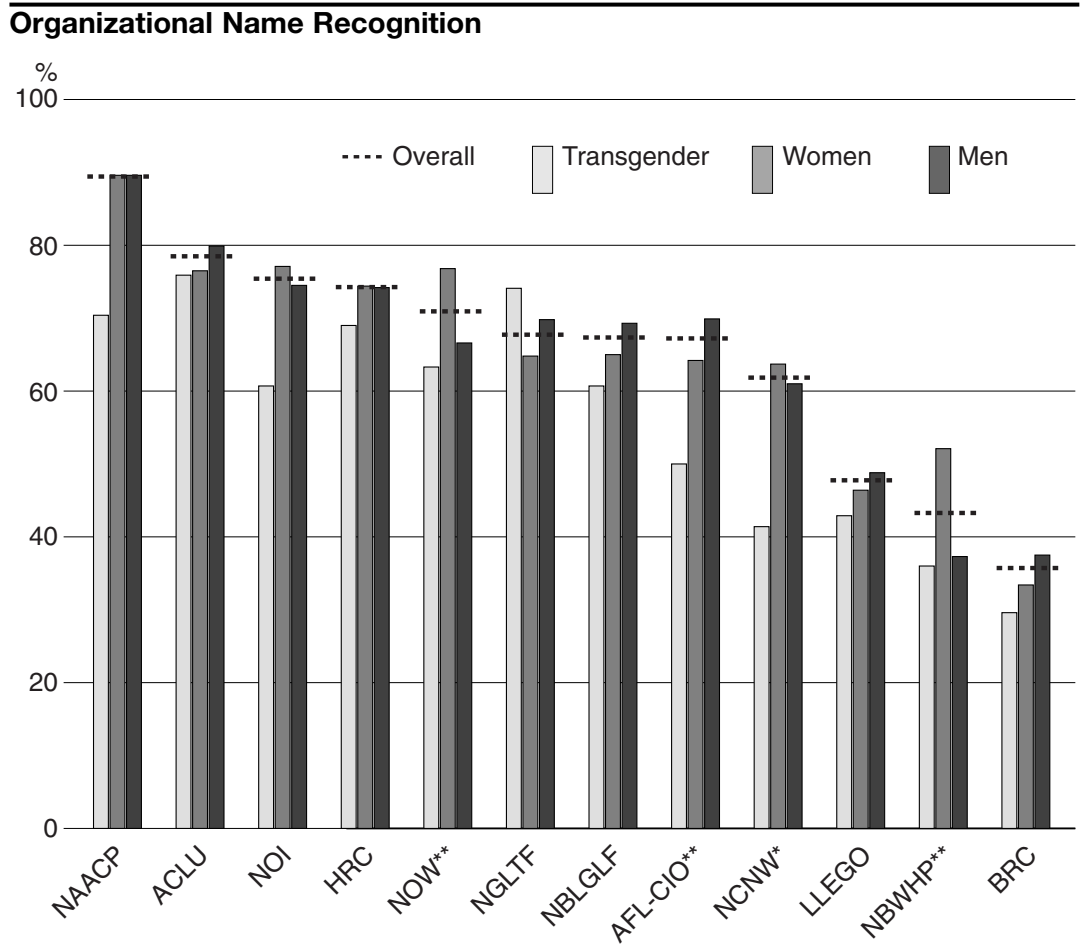
Political Ideology



suggest that Black GLBT people are overall left of center, a significant number also thought of themselves as being in the middle of the conventional political spectrum. Almost two fifths (38 percent) marked the category “moderate.” Although the overall pattern detailed above can be found across sex and gender groups, women were slightly more left of center than men. For instance, a quarter of the women (27 percent) indicated that they were farthest to the left (i.e., a 1 on a scale of 1 to 7) compared to 20 percent of men. Men were also more likely to be conservative. Nearly 17 percent of men listed themselves as right of center, compared to 12 percent of women.

ORGANIZATIONAL RECOGNITION AND SUPPORT

Much of the political activity in Black communities is organized and supported by national and local organizations. To assess which organizations were both recognized and supported by Black GLBT individuals, respondents were presented with a list of

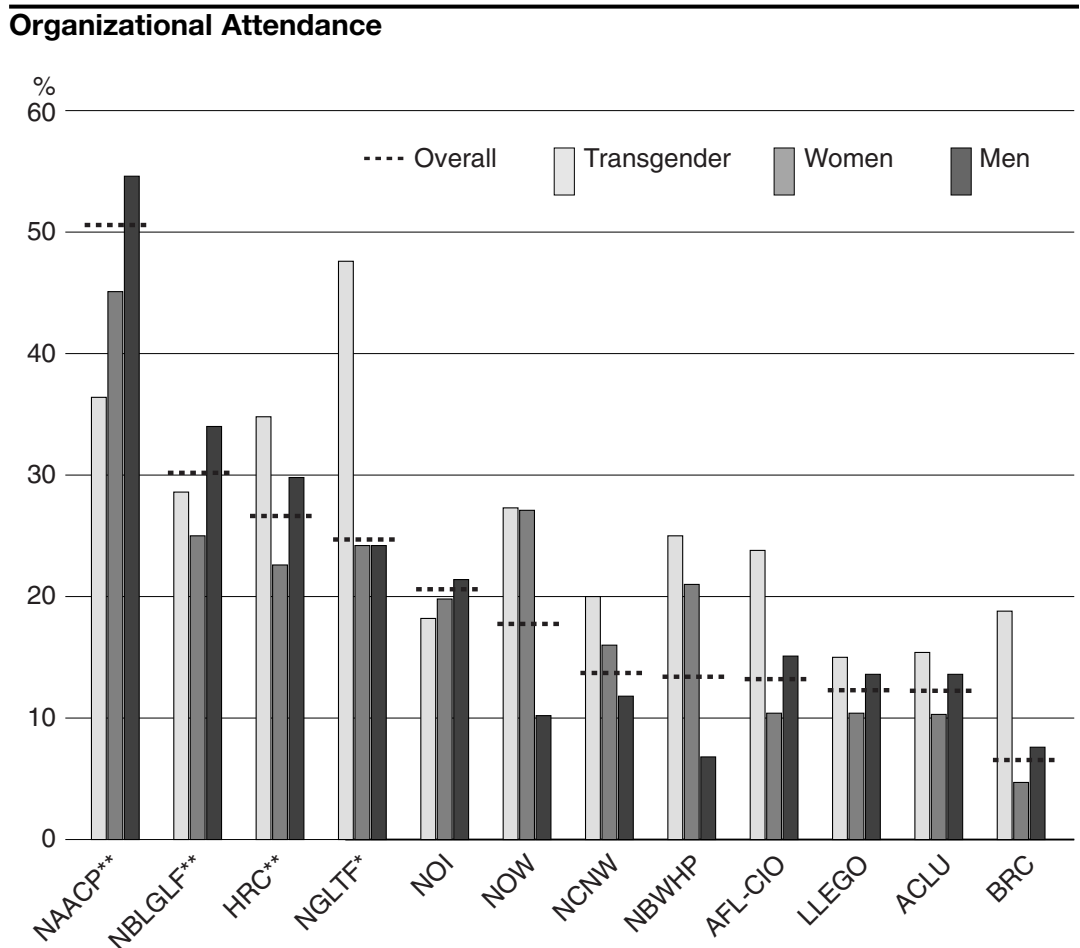


*= significant at the .05 level **=significant at the .01 level (see Appendix A for explanations of these terms)

national organizations and asked whether they had heard of the organization, attended an event sponsored by the organization, and/or believed the organization represented and fought for the issues that were most important to them.

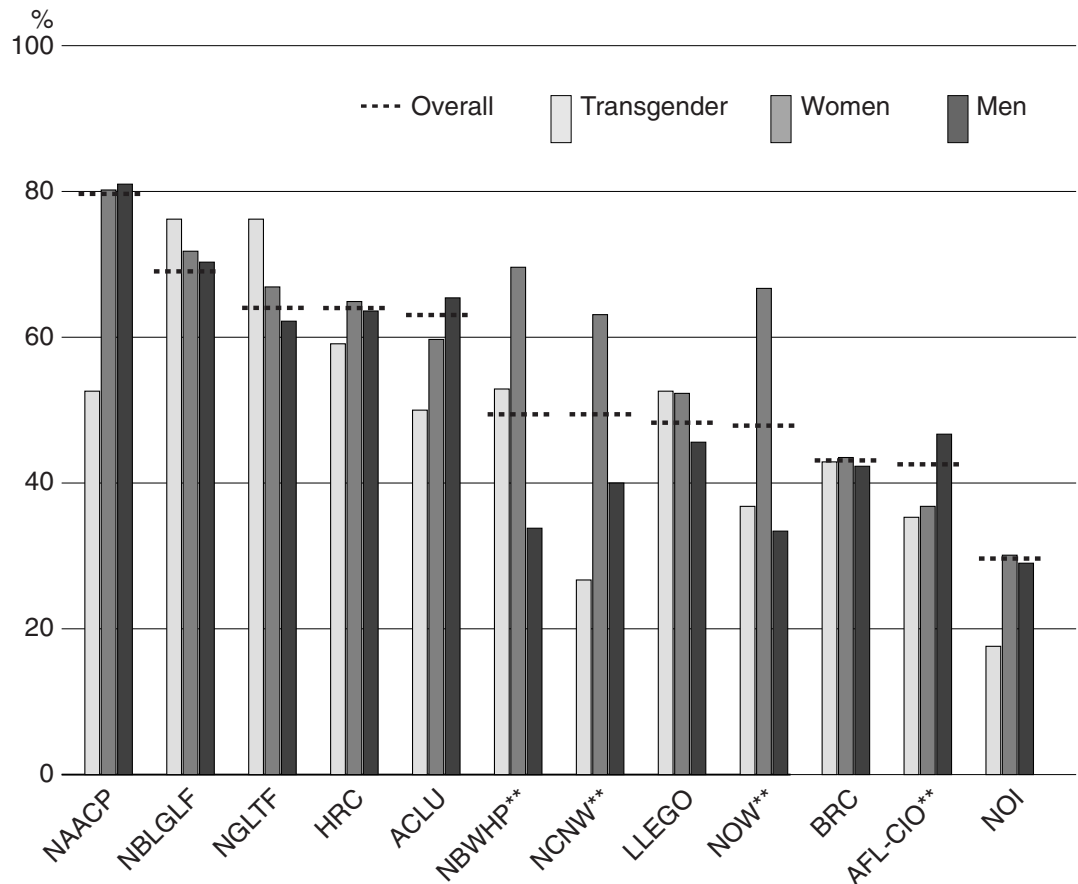
Organizational Name Recognition

Not surprisingly, the organization with the greatest name recognition was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The dominance of the NAACP in terms of name recognition (89 percent) was followed by the American Civil Liberties Union (79 percent), the Nation of Islam (75 percent), the Human Rights Campaign (74 percent) and the National Organization of Women (71 percent). Of the lesbian and gay organizations on the list—Human Rights Campaign (HRC), the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) and the National Black Lesbian and Gay Leadership Forum (NBLGLF)—HRC garnered the greatest name recognition, with NGLTF and NBLGLF nearly tied for second.



*= significant at the .05 level **=significant at the .01 level (see Appendix A for explanations of these terms)

Organizations Represent and Fight for Black GLBT Issues



*= significant at the .05 level **=significant at the .01 level (see Appendix A for explanations of these terms)

Organizational Attendance

When asked if they had ever attended an event sponsored by that organization, respondents once again chose the NAACP in numbers far surpassing the rest of the organizations. Fifty-one percent of respondents had been to a NAACP event. NBLGLF was a distant second, with 30 percent of the sample indicating they had been to an event sponsored by that organization. In a very close third and fourth were HRC (27 percent) and NGLTF (25 percent) followed by the Nation of Islam in fifth with 21 percent. No other organization scored above 20 percent.

Organization Represents and Fights for Issues

Respondents were also asked, “Which organization represents and fights for the issues you care about?” The NAACP was again at the top with 80 percent of respondents believing this organization represented and fought for their issues. In second place, with 71 percent of the sample, was the NBLGLF. NGLTF, HRC and the ACLU were all in the top five, each hovering around 64 percent. No other organization broke the 50 percent mark.

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

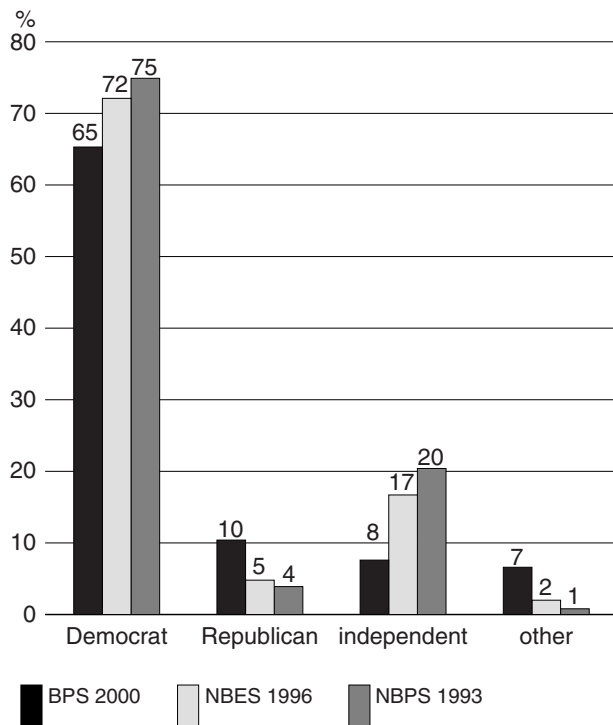
While researchers are often concerned with measuring individuals' political attitudes and opinions, the structure of their political behavior is of utmost importance to researchers and organizers alike, for it is through people's political actions that the world changes. Whether it be through voting, organizing in one's community, participating in a boycott or protest, or even by talking to friends and families about politics, the process of restructuring personal environments and in some cases the larger society begins to take place. A history of organized political mobilization on the part of Blacks, ranging from activity in the abolitionist movement to the civil rights and Black power movements, has achieved significant progress for many in the Black community. These movements also helped hold the government to its avowed principles of equality, democracy, and liberty. Understanding the importance of political actions—organized and individual—among Black and GLBT communities, we asked respondents a short series of questions attempting to assess levels of involvement in political matters.

Registered Voters

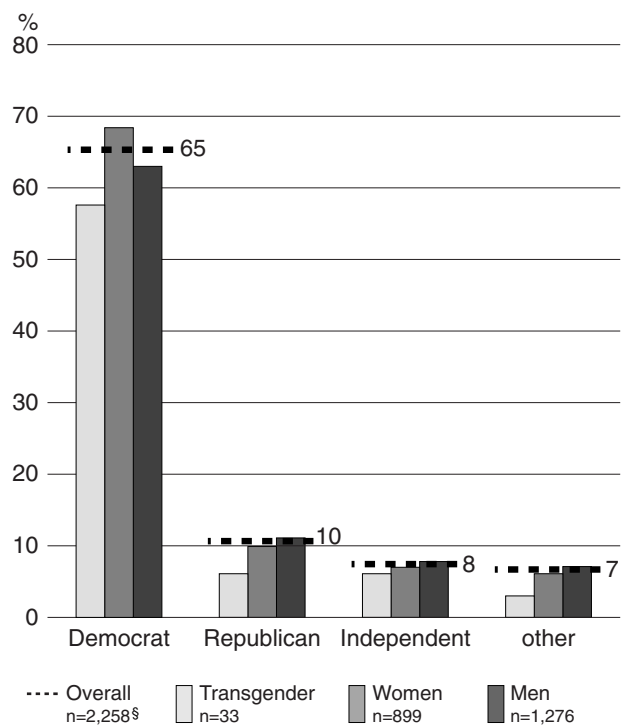
The Black Pride sample was slightly less Democratic, and more Republican, than the Black population as a whole. The majority of voting age Black GLBT individuals surveyed (65 percent) were registered Democrats. In the 1993 National Black Politics

Political Affiliation:

BPS2000 and Other National Samples of Black People



BPS 2000 Overall and Within Gender

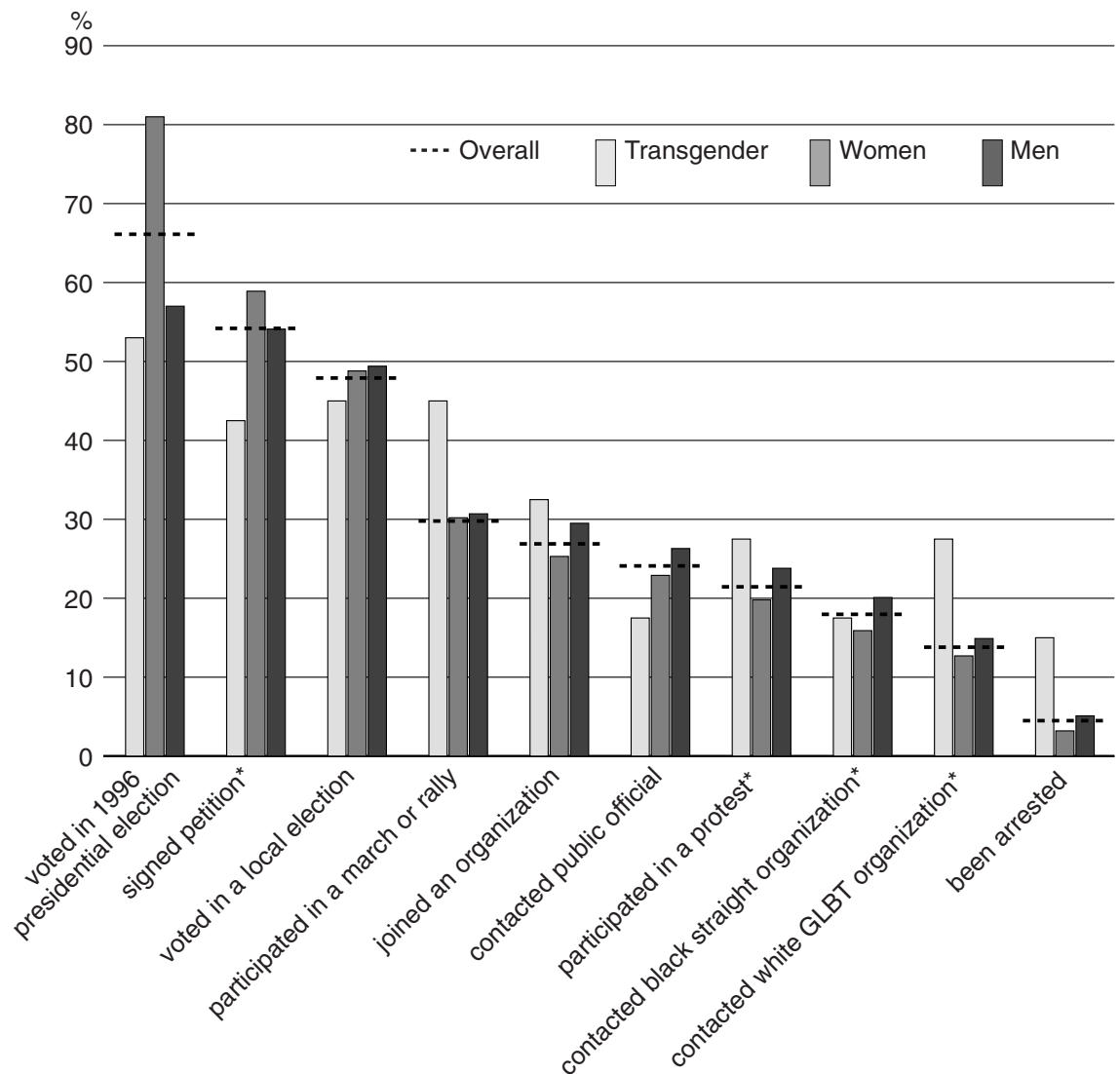


[§]Overall "n" is higher than total, as not all respondents answered both questions

Study (NBPS), 75 percent of respondents (representing Blacks in general) indicated they were registered Democrats. Similarly, the 1996 National Black Election Study (NBES) found that 72 percent of Blacks were registered Democrats. Among the BPS2000 respondents, about 10 percent were registered Republicans, with men and women nearly equally embracing the GOP (11 percent and 10 percent respectively), while only 6 percent of transgender respondents were Republican. The overall number of registered Republicans in the BPS2000 sample was more than double the number of registered Republicans found in the 1993 NBPS (4 percent) and the 1996 NBES (5 percent). This is especially confounding since a greater percentage of BPS2000 respondents identified as liberal than

The Black Pride sample was slightly less Democratic, and more Republican, than the Black population as a whole.

**Political Behavior:
Overall and Within Gender**



*= significant at the .05 level **=significant at the .01 level (see Appendix A for explanations of these terms)

participants in representative studies of Black communities. More respondents in the NBES and NBPS were registered as Independents: 8 percent of Black Pride respondents were Independents versus 17 percent of NBES respondents and 20 percent of NBPS respondents. Finally, more respondents in the Black Pride sample were registered to another third party: 7 percent compared with 1 percent of respondents to the NBPS and 2 percent of those by the NBES.

Voting

Anyone who has been involved in efforts to get people out to vote knows that the fact that someone is registered to vote is no guarantee that he or she will actually go to the polls. Two thirds (67 percent) of the BPS2000 sample said they voted in the 1996 presidential election, compared to 51 percent of the Black population as a whole according to the Current Population Reports.⁴⁸ Additionally, 48 percent of respondents indicated they had voted in a local election within the last five years. Women were far more likely to report voting in the 1996 presidential election (81 percent), while only 57 percent of men and 53 percent of transgender respondents indicated that they voted in the election.

Women were far more likely to report voting in the 1996 presidential election (81 percent), vs. only 57 percent of men and 53 percent of transgender respondents.

Overall Political Participation

In terms of overall political participation, Black GLBT respondents seemed to be very active. For instance, the BPS2000 provided respondents a list of 10 political activities and asked them how many they had participated in; three was the mean number respondents provided (30 percent). Eighty-seven percent of respondents to the BPS2000 reported participating in at least one political act in the past five years, with 69 percent reporting involvement in two.⁴⁹ The most popular political act was voting in the 1996 presidential election (67 percent), followed by signing a petition (54 percent), voting in a local election (48 percent), taking part in a march or rally (30 percent), joining an organization (27 percent), contacting a public official or agency (24 percent), taking part in a protest meeting (21 percent), contacting a straight Black organization (18 percent), contacting a White GLBT organization (14 percent), and being arrested (4 percent).⁵⁰

In terms of overall political participation, Black GLBT respondents seemed to be very active.

Sex and Gender Differences

In nearly every category of political activity we asked about, except signing a petition, male respondents exceeded the levels of participation indicated by women. Transgender respondents often indicated an even higher level of participation than men and women in the sample. For example, transgender individuals who reported engaging in a form of protest also indicated higher levels of being arrested, joining an organization, participating in a march or rally, contacting a White GLBT organization, and being a part of a protest meeting.

Making Comparisons With National Black Surveys

While a full comparison with other surveys of Black communities is not possible due to differences in questions asked, there is slight overlap in questions asked about political participation, allowing some limited comparison and a few interesting differences to

emerge. For example, respondents from the 1993 National Black Politics Study reported higher levels of contacting public officials, signing a petition, and participating in a protest meeting. They trailed the BPS2000 sample only in the area of participating in a march or rally. In contrast, respondents from the 1996 National Black Election Study generally trailed BPS2000 respondents in all comparable areas of political involvement except contacting a public official. We must, however, be very cautious with such comparisons since our samples are not equally representative of the groups and communities being measured. Because of the self-selected nature of respondents at Black gay pride events, one could argue that this sample was more prone to political activity than other Black GLBT individuals as well as Blacks generally—those individuals represented in the samples of the NBES and the NBPS. It's also worth noting that people generally overreport registration and voting activity on surveys.

Because of the self-selected nature of respondents at Black gay pride events, one could argue that this sample was more prone to political activity than other Black GLBT individuals as well as Blacks generally.

PROFILE: RUTH ELLIS

The first time I laid eyes on Ruth C. Ellis she was dancing. I was at the 1997 National Women's Music Festival women of color dance. When

my girlfriend and I had to pause for water and rest, Ruth did not. I wondered how old she was. I later learned that Ruth C. Ellis was 97 years old. Born July 23, 1899, in Springfield, Illinois, Ruth C. Ellis was the oldest "out" African American lesbian I know. When I met her, I was indeed intrigued. I wanted to know everything about her. I could not begin to imagine the almost one hundred years of history

that was living in the 4'8" tall woman that everyone calls Ruth.

Ruth C. Ellis was always out. Her first crush was her high school gym teacher in 1915, in Springfield, IL. She

didn't meet her life companion of 34 years, Ceciline "Babe" Franklin, until 1936. In 1937, they moved to Detroit. There Ruth C. Ellis became the first woman to own her own printing business in northwestern Detroit: Ellis and Franklin Printing. She also taught herself photography and hand-colored painting. From 1946 to 1971, Ellis and Franklin's home became known as the "Gay Spot." For generations of African American gays and lesbians in the Midwest, Ellis and Franklin's home provided an alternative to the bar scene that discriminated against blacks. Her home was a refuge of sorts to African Americans who came "out" before the civil rights movement and Stonewall. Ellis and Franklin offered lodging to black gay men newly arrived from the South. They also helped many of the young people through college.

Throughout her life Ellis was always an advocate for the rights of gays and lesbians. Recently when she heard a woman in her senior citizens building speaking in derogatory terms about



Clint Steib/Washington Blade

“queers” she seized the moment to come out and say, “When you are talking about them, you are talking about me.”

It wasn't until Ellis was well into her senior years that she began a new life as a cherished senior in the gay and lesbian community. Ellis recalled how she met her new friends in 1979. “I didn't know anyone in this senior citizens building that was gay. Then this girl, she taught karate, she came and taught us adults how to take care of ourselves. I looked at her and I said, ‘Oh! I bet she's gay.’ I wrote her a card and asked her if I could be better acquainted with her. She invited me over to another class, and I meet a lot of the girls there. They were gay. They took me to one of these bars and I met more people there. The ball just kept rollin'. I kept meetin' the women, and the women, the women, until, oh, I just know a gang of them now. I am the oldest lesbian that they know.”

Ruth C. Ellis outlived her entire family. Ellis's life is testimony to the

importance of “community as family” for both seniors and lesbians. Most recently, Ellis advocated for an organization for gay and lesbian seniors that is sort of a Big Brother/Big Sister program in reverse. The way this program would work is that younger gays and lesbians would be partnered with seniors according to interests.

Like one-quarter of the centenarian population, Ruth continued to live on her own. Witnessing Ruth's life as a senior offered a rare opportunity to experience a century-long history of African American gays and lesbians through the life lived by one inspiring woman. By example, she showed us what is possible and what can be realized, if one not only lives long but ages well.

—Yvonne Welbon

Ruth Ellis passed away in October 2000. We reprint this profile in memory of her. Used with permission, and minor changes, from Sisters in the Life website (www.sistersinthelife.com).

Health Care and Health Coverage

BPS2000 respondents ranked two health-related issues—drugs and HIV/AIDS—among the three most important issues affecting all Black populations. “Health care” was ranked the sixth most important issue facing all Blacks in the U.S., and the fifth most important issue facing Black GLBT people. Health insurance coverage is critical for several reasons. At bottom, it is the key that unlocks the door to the health care system. Those with health insurance generally enjoy greater access to a range of primary and preventive services, maintain a usual source of care, and more regularly seek physician care and services.

According to the Current Population Survey (CPS), 14 percent of the U.S. population lacked health coverage for all of 2000. One in five African Americans (20 percent) lacked health insurance, based on a three-year average from 1998 through 2000.⁵¹ Only 7 percent of respondents in the Black Pride Survey said they were without coverage. This may be a function, in part, of the high percentage of students (20 percent) who attended the Black Pride events. Most students are still on their parents’ insurance or are covered under the school’s policy. Twenty percent of transgender respondents reported a lack of health coverage, however, the highest percentage of any group in the survey.

Sixty-one percent of those surveyed at Black Pride events indicated that they had health insurance coverage from an employer or union, while 7 percent relied upon Medicaid or Medicare. Medicaid is a health insurance program for low-income populations subsidized by states and the federal government. Medicare is a federal health insurance program covering the elderly and disabled. Nine percent of respondents indicated that they paid for their own insurance.

These data provide an important and all-too-rare glimpse into health care access for Black GLBT populations. While individual health researchers and some local health department surveys have recently begun to investigate access and utilization patterns as well as quality of health care delivery among GLBT populations, most prominent

Sixty-one percent of those surveyed at Black Pride events indicated that they had health insurance coverage from an employer or union, while 7 percent relied upon Medicaid or Medicare.

national health surveys fail to capture these data.⁵² It is imperative that GLBT activists and those who would advocate for the needs of Black GLBT people push for the inclusion of questions asking about sexual orientation, sexual behavior, and gender identity on health surveys.

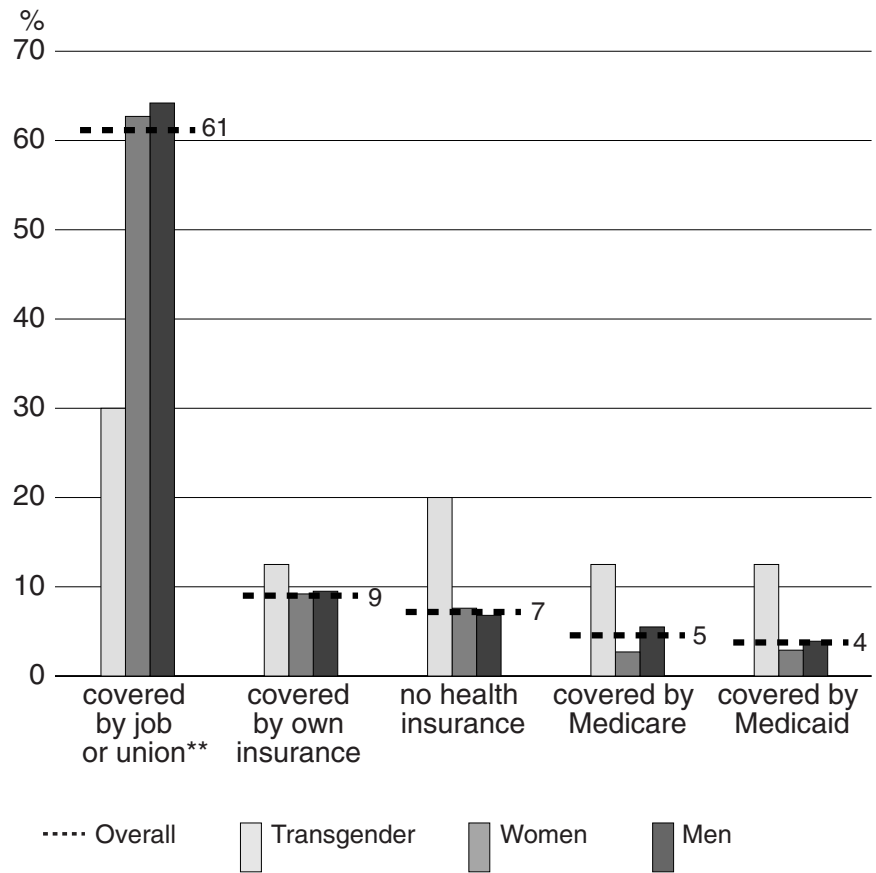
Possession of health care coverage does not necessarily guarantee access to care. Race-, sex-, and class-based bias on the part of health care providers can also inhibit quality care.⁵³ Several studies have indicated that even with similar health coverage, Blacks experience

greater travel times and longer waits for care in comparison to Whites.⁵⁴ Second, the decline in employer-based coverage, which Blacks and other communities of color currently experience at a faster rate, demonstrates that there is a need for more research and investigation of coverage over an extended period of time.⁵⁵ In order to truly understand patterns of access and utilization of health care delivery systems, special attention must be paid to full- and part-time employment status.

Third, trends in public policy and the erosion of safety net health and social service providers across the U.S. have reversed earlier efforts to minimize inequality of access among rich and poor. Welfare and immigration reform, in particular, have contributed to declines in Medicaid coverage for many poor individuals and children. Many families with children leaving welfare are still eligible for Medicaid, but are dropped from the rolls after they fail to reapply upon leaving cash assistance. This is often because case-workers fail to inform parents of the need to reapply for Medicaid. Given the spatial distribution of Blacks and other communities of color in urban environments where geographic maldistribution of providers and public hospital closings have undermined access to care, a more specific documentation of the impact of these policy changes on Black GLBT communities is also needed to supplement the data presented here on health care coverage.

Health Care

Overall and Within Gender



*= significant at the .05 level **=significant at the .01 level (see Appendix A for explanations of these terms)

Discrimination

Discrimination has been an endemic feature in the lives of Blacks throughout our history in this country—from slavery and the Jim Crow system of political and social exclusions; to continuing discrimination in housing, mortgages, credit lending, and the labor market; to blatant inequality in the criminal justice system and voting procedures (as was seen in the 2000 presidential election). Similarly, GLBT individuals also have to endure ongoing discrimination in employment, schools, health care access, marriage, and adoption, while daily facing both personal and systematic acts of violence. Numerous studies have documented discrimination against GLBT people:

On average, respondents reported experiencing at least two types of discrimination.

- One-third of a national sample of 534 members of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, the National Latina/o Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Organization (LLEGO), and the National Black Lesbian and Gay Leadership Forum reported employment discrimination.⁵⁶
- One-third of lesbians and gay men in Pennsylvania reported having experienced anti-gay discrimination.⁵⁷
- Thirty-two percent of gay and lesbian political scientists reported anti-gay discrimination within their profession.⁵⁸
- Fifty percent of lesbian historians, and 37 percent of gay male historians also reported such discrimination.⁵⁹
- Twenty-seven percent of a sample of GLBT residents of Gainesville and Alachua County, FL reported experiencing anti-gay discrimination.⁶⁰
- Sixty-one percent of over 1,000 Washington, DC lawyers surveyed reported having witnessed or heard reports of anti-gay discrimination within their firms.⁶¹
- Seventy-one percent of respondents in a national random survey of African American households felt gays and lesbians are frequently discriminated against.⁶²

Black GLBT individuals experience discrimination based on often multiple marginalized identities of race, sexual orientation, class, and gender. This section examines how discrimination has affected Black GLBT people in their experiences with the greater Black community and the White GLBT community.

For transgender respondents, being transgender was the most common type of discrimination faced.

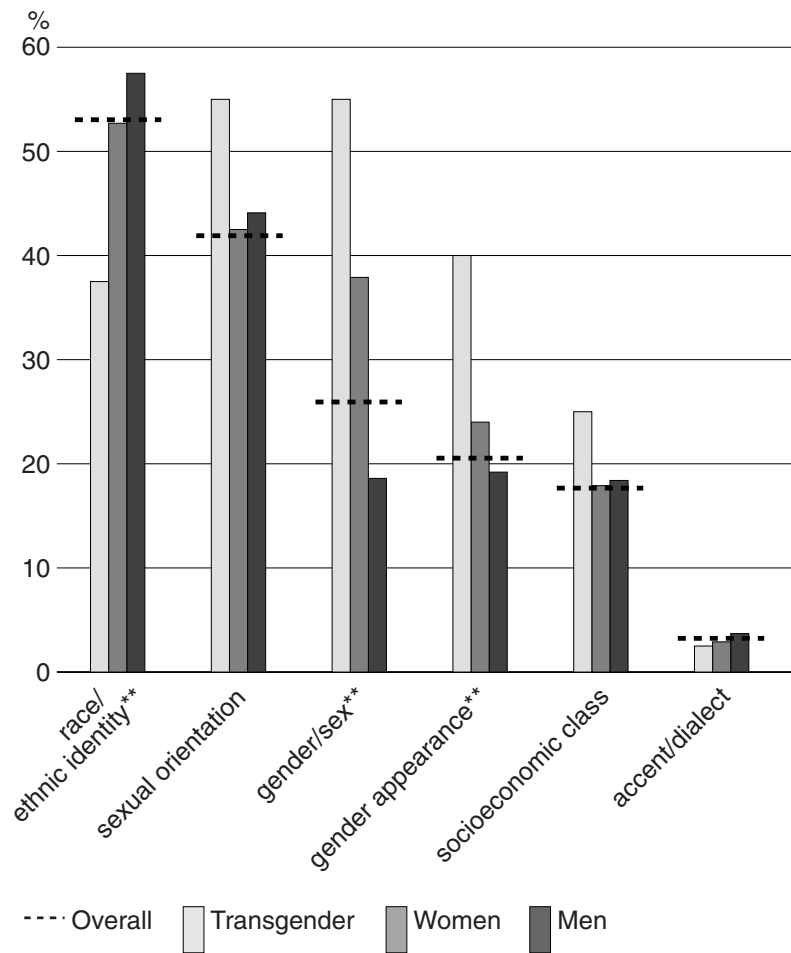
FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION

The overwhelming majority of Black GLBT people surveyed in the BPS2000 (80 percent) experienced at least one form of discrimination in their lives. On average, respondents reported experiencing at least two types of discrimination.⁶³ Forty-one percent of the BPS2000 respondents experienced only one type, while a fourth (26 percent) experienced two types of discrimination and 20 percent experienced three types of discrimination.

The most common type of bias was based on racial or ethnic identity (53 percent). Discrimination based on sexual orientation was the second most common form (42 percent). Discrimination based on one's sex or gender identity was reported by over one in four respondents (26 percent), including 38 percent of women, 19 percent of men, and 55 percent of transgender people. Further, discrimination based on gender appearance (i.e., "you appear too butch, femme, effeminate, etc.") was the fourth most commonly experienced type of bias, reported by 21 percent of respondents. Because respondents could have experienced more than one type of discrimination, the numbers reported total more than 100 percent.

For transgender respondents, being transgender was the most common type of discrimination they faced (58 percent), followed by a tie between sexual orientation and sex/gender (each reported by 55 percent of transgender respondents), gender appearance (40 percent), and then race (38 percent).

Forms of Discrimination
Overall and Within Gender



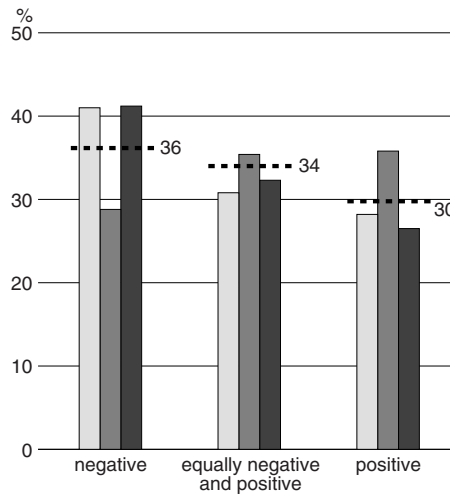
*= significant at the .05 level **=significant at the .01 level (see Appendix A for explanations of these terms)

EXPERIENCES WITH WHITE GLBT PEOPLE

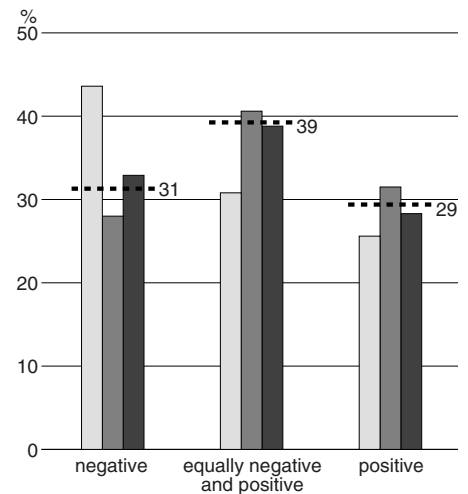
In order to gauge and assess the many contexts in which Black GLBT individuals live their lives, and, in many cases, experience discrimination, the BPS2000 asked questions about the positive and negative experiences Black GLBT people have had in both the White GLBT community and the greater Black community. Respondents were asked to rate their experiences with White GLBT people in White GLBT organizations, in bars and clubs, at GLBT community events, and in personal relationships. Almost a third of respondents (31 percent) had negative experiences in White GLBT organiza-

Experiences with White GLBT People Overall and Within Gender

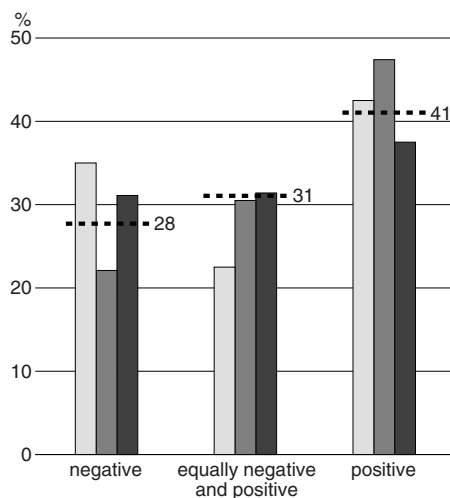
In Bars and Clubs



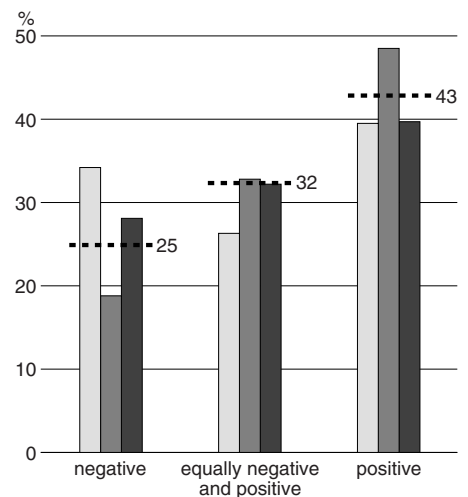
In White GLBT Organizations



At GLBT Community Events



In Personal Relationships



---- Overall Transgender Women Men

tions, while 29 percent had positive experiences and 39 percent had equally negative and positive experiences. Thirty-six percent of respondents reported that they had negative experiences with White GLBT people in bars and clubs, while 30 percent reported positive experiences, and 34 percent had equally positive and negative experiences. Many respondents reported having positive experiences with White GLBT people at GLBT events (41 percent) and in personal relationships (43 percent).

Racism in White GLBT Communities

Individuals' and communities' lived experiences, especially under conditions of oppression and marginalization, structure and shape their attitudes, beliefs, and worldviews. The BPS 2000 asked respondents to rate, on a scale of 1 to 7 (where 1 was "strongly disagree," 4 was "neutral," and 7 was "strongly agree"), whether or not racism was a problem within White GLBT communities. Overall, 48 percent of respondents agreed that the racism of Whites was a problem for Black GLBT individuals in their relations with White GLBT people. Among transgender respondents, this percentage was even higher. Over one-half of transgender respondents (57 percent) agreed that the racism of Whites was a problem for Black GLBT people when dealing with the White GLBT community.

Half of respondents felt that racism was a problem within White GLBT communities.

Respondents who had negative experiences with White GLBT people at GLBT community events, in White GLBT organizations, and in bars and clubs were more likely to agree that the racism of Whites was a problem for Black GLBT people when dealing with White GLBT communities.

EXPERIENCES WITH BLACK HETEROSEXUALS

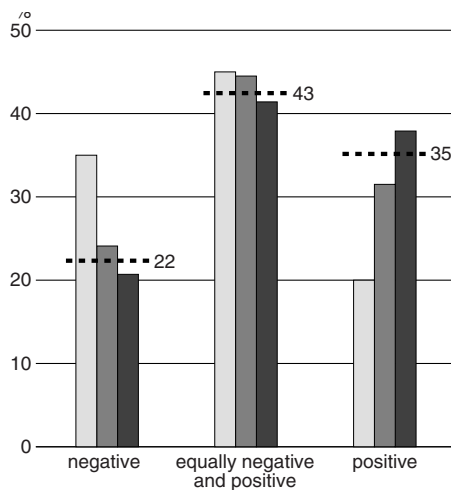
Respondents were also asked to rate their experiences with Black heterosexuals in various situations, including with Black organizations, churches, friends, and families. The instrument scale ranged from 1 to 7, with 1 being "very negative," 4 "equally negative and positive," and 7 "very positive." A rating of 5 or higher was considered a positive experience, while a rating of 3 or lower was considered a negative experience. A rating of 4 meant that respondents had equally negative and positive experiences.

While over a third (35 percent) of respondents had positive experiences in predominantly Black heterosexual organizations, over a fifth (22 percent) had negative experiences, and 43 percent had both positive and negative experiences. Although a majority of the BPS2000 sample (54 percent) had mostly positive experiences with their families of origin, 20 percent reported largely negative experiences and 26 percent had equally positive and negative experiences. Almost a third of transgender respondents (29 percent) reported negative experiences with their families of origin, while 21 percent of women and 18 percent of men did so.

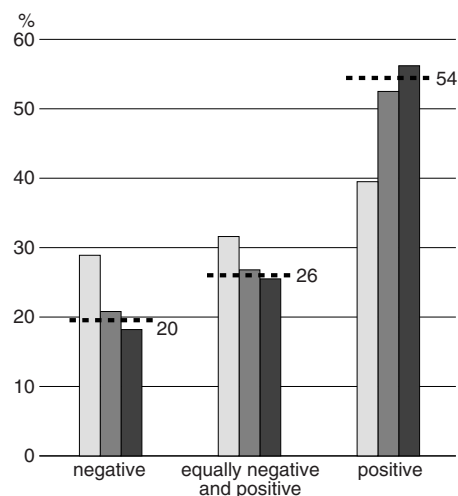
Similarly, 59 percent of respondents had positive experiences with Black heterosexual friends, while 14 percent had negative experiences. The remaining 28 percent reported equally negative and positive experiences with Black heterosexual friends. But

Experiences with Black Heterosexuals Overall and Within Gender

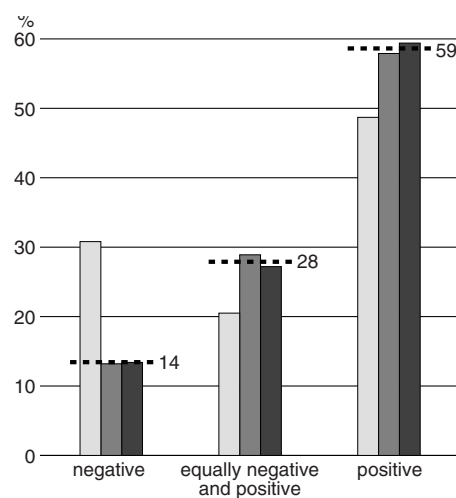
In Black Heterosexual Organizations



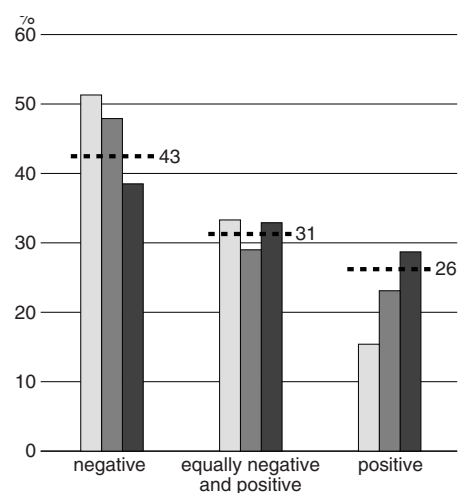
In Families of Origin



With Black Heterosexual Friends



In Churches or Religious Institutions



--- Overall Transgender Women Men

among Black transgender respondents, 31 percent reported mostly negative experiences with Black heterosexual friends.

Lastly, more than a third (43 percent) of respondents indicated having negative experiences with Black churches or religious institutions while 26 percent reported positive experiences. Interestingly, while 51 percent of transgender people and 48 percent of women in the BPS2000 reported having negative experiences with Black heterosexuals in Black churches and religious institutions, only 39 percent of men reported a similar experience.

Homophobia in Black Communities

BPS2000 respondents were also asked their level of agreement with the statement, “homophobia is a problem for GLBT Black/African Americans dealing with the straight Black/African American community.” A scale from 1 to 7 was used, where 1 was “strongly disagree,” 4 was “neutral,” and 7 was “strongly agree.” A response of 5 or higher was considered a general “agree,” while a response of 3 or less was interpreted as a general “disagree.” Respondents who reported a 4 were in the neutral category. The majority of respondents, slightly over two thirds (66 percent), agreed that homophobia was a problem within the Black community. Among transgender respondents, 72 percent agreed that homophobia was a problem. Almost one fifth of all respondents (18 percent) were in the neutral category, while 16 percent disagreed with the statement that homophobia was a problem within Black communities.

Blacks are more likely than Whites to support laws protecting GLBT people against job discrimination.

Interestingly, people who reported negative experiences in Black heterosexual churches or religious institutions, as compared to those who did not have negative experiences in Black heterosexual churches or religious institutions, were more likely to agree that homophobia was a problem within Black communities. This finding indicates that individuals, organizations, and activists must continue to work with Black religious institutions around the issue of sexuality and homophobia in Black communities (a more detailed discussion on this topic can be found in the chapter on religion).

There is a general belief that Black people are more homophobic than Whites. This belief is associated with the influence of socially conservative institutions—specifically the Black church—on the Black community. One study found that participation in the Black church was associated with less tolerant attitudes towards gays and lesbians.⁶⁴ Other research has produced results that contradict this finding. The 1996 National Election Study data demonstrate Blacks are more likely than Whites to support laws protecting GLBT people against job discrimination. Seventy-two percent of Black respondents supported such laws compared to 63 percent of Whites.⁶⁵ Another recent survey of 700 African American voters by the Gay and Lesbian Victory Foundation found that African Americans overwhelmingly oppose anti-GLBT discrimination. Seventy-nine percent of those surveyed agreed that GLBT people should not be discriminated against, and 70 percent supported laws banning anti-gay discrimination.⁶⁶

Nearly two thirds of the U.S. population still lives in jurisdictions in which there are no laws protecting GLBT people from discrimination based on sexual orientation.

According to the same national randomly drawn sample of African American households, half of the respondents (50 percent) agreed that more should be done to advance equality for gays and lesbians. A little less than two thirds of the respondents (63 percent) endorsed hate crime laws covering violence against gays and lesbians. Despite these findings, only 17 percent of African Americans felt they shared similar values with gays and lesbians. Half of African Americans, however, were able to draw parallels between the struggles of the African American community and the struggles of the gay and lesbian communities.⁶⁷

One thing to come out of the civil rights movement of the 1960s was legal protection against race-based discrimination. Unfortunately, the same protection has not been extended to gays and lesbians in the area of employment, as the U.S. Senate voted

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down the Employment Non Discrimination Act (ENDA) in 1996. ENDA would have prohibited discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in the workforce. It was defeated by a vote of 49-50.⁶⁸ At the state and local level, only 12 states, the District of Columbia, and approximately 125 municipalities have statutes banning sexual orientation discrimination in private employment.⁶⁹ Minnesota, Rhode Island, and 36 municipalities cover transgender people under nondiscrimination laws. But nearly two thirds of the U.S. population still lives in jurisdictions in which there are no laws protecting them from discrimination based on sexual orientation.⁷⁰

Religion

The prominent role and importance of the Black church in the Black community has been well documented.⁷¹ While serving as a vessel and agent for the liberation of Blacks in various historical time periods—including during the abolitionist and civil rights movements—it has also served as an agent of oppression to parts of its community, in particular women and non-heterosexuals. Interestingly, many people of African descent are beginning to adhere to different kinds of religions and spiritual practices—such as the Black Israelites, the Nation of Islam and the Nuwaubians in the United States—which seem to have been born out of a need to reconnect with an ancient, and often reinvented, religious past. Most recently, there has been something of a renaissance of longstanding African and African-inspired religions in many urban centers throughout the world. These include the Ghanaian Ashanti religion, Nigerian Yoruba Religion, Haitian Vodou, Dahomean Vodun, Cuban Santería, and Brazilian Candomble.

Variance in worship has been present in the Black community for as long as Africans have been in America. This variance continues to grow. Therefore, to speak about religion in the Black community as a monolith is, at best, problematic. But historically in the United States, an “energy” evolved in and around Black American religious institutions, which has served as a catalyst to liberate Blacks politically and religiously as a group. For the purpose of this section, that “energy” will be referred to as the Black church.

Overwhelmingly, respondents reported their church/religion viewed homosexuality as “wrong and sinful.”

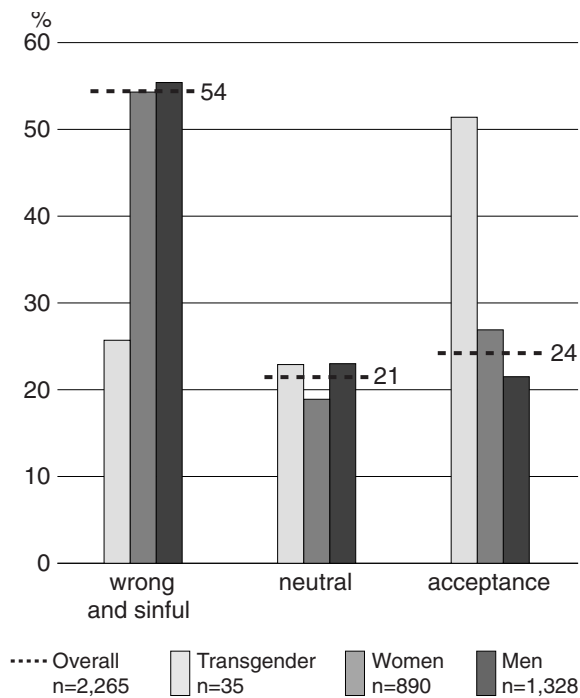
RELIGION’S VIEWS OF HOMOSEXUALITY

Overwhelmingly, respondents reported their church/religion viewed homosexuality as “wrong and sinful” (54 percent). One fifth (21 percent) of respondents felt their church had a neutral stance, and 24 percent of respondents felt their church was accepting of

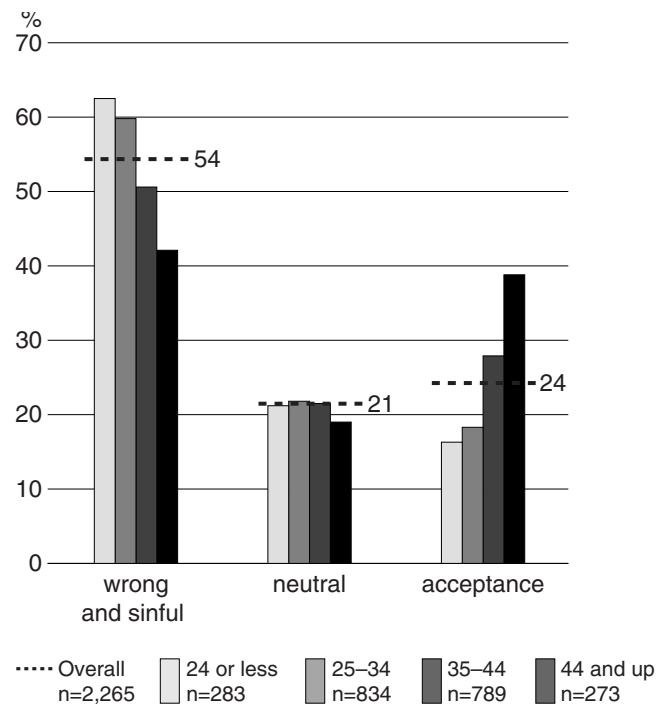
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Church or Religion's Views of Homosexuality

Overall and Within Gender



Overall and Within Age



homosexuality. Respondents who indicated their religion as “other” had the highest level of acceptance of homosexuality (42 percent), followed by “other Protestants” (27 percent), Baptists (20 percent), Santería (19 percent), Catholic (15 percent), and Muslim (9 percent).

In terms of age, older respondents believed that their church or religion was more accepting of homosexuality. Respondents age 45 and older were twice as likely (39 percent) to report their church’s views as accepting of homosexuality when compared to respondents 24 and younger (16 percent) and 25 to 34 (18 percent). Inversely, younger respondents more often believed that their church viewed homosexuality as wrong and sinful. A fifth of all respondents in all age categories felt their church had a neutral stance on homosexuality.

While there exists little difference in the perceptions of men and women regarding whether their church was accepting, neutral, or rejecting, the majority of transgender respondents reported that their church accepted homosexuality (51 percent). Here, self-selection may explain this finding. In short, because of their inability or unwillingness to be in the closet or “blend in,” transgender people, as compared to other sexual minorities, may be more likely to seek out sources of worship that would be more supportive of them, such as the GLBT-friendly Unity Fellowship Church movement, which has churches throughout the U.S. (For more information on the Unity Fellowship Church visit their website at www.unityfellowshipchurch.org.)

Respondents age 45 and older were twice as likely as younger respondents to report their church or religion’s views as accepting of homosexuality.

The majority of transgender respondents reported that their church accepted homosexuality.

RELIGION'S INFLUENCE ON DAILY LIFE

Almost half of respondents (49 percent) indicated that their church or religion's views did not influence their daily lives, with 27 percent indicating they were "somewhat" influenced, and 25 percent reporting "constant" influence. Respondents who followed "other" religions were more likely to say their religion exerted a "constant" influence on their lives (32 percent), followed by "other Protestants" (30 percent), Baptists (23 percent), Santería (20 percent), Muslim (14 percent), and Catholic (11 percent).

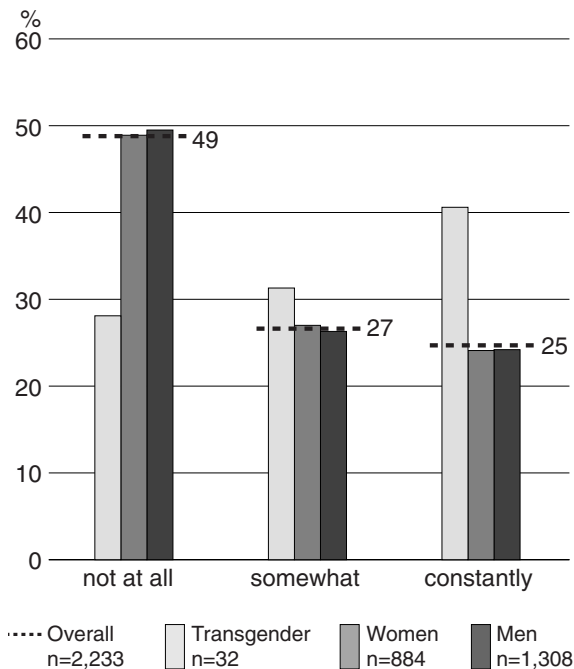
Age and gender differences were also noted in response to the degree of influence one's religion exerted on one's daily life. Older respondents (45+ years of age) were twice as likely to report that their church's views influenced their lives constantly when compared to respondents 24 and younger (36 percent compared to 18 percent). Inversely, younger respondents were more likely to say that their church did not influence their daily lives.

There were no sizable gender differences in terms of the church's influence on one's daily life. Forty-nine percent of women and 50 percent of men said their church did not influence their daily lives at all. Twenty-seven percent of women and 26 percent of men reported that their church somewhat influenced their daily lives. And 24 percent of both women and men reported that their church constantly influenced their daily lives. A higher percentage of transgender respondents reported that their church's position on homosexuality influenced their daily life constantly.

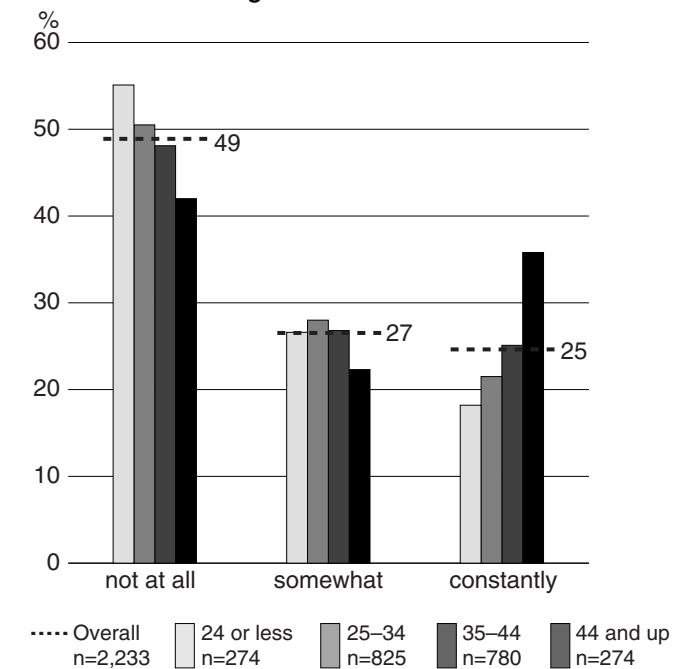
Forty-nine percent of women and 50 percent of men said their church or religion did not influence their daily lives at all.

Church or Religion's Position on Homosexuality Influences Daily Life

Overall and Within Gender



Overall and Within Age



NO RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

It is important to briefly discuss the 15 percent of respondents who indicated no religious affiliation or skipped the question. National data show that about 97 percent of Blacks identify some religious affiliation (NBPS, 1993). Why then, comparatively, does the BPS2000 population report lower levels of religious affiliation? This may be due, in part, to one of the two golden rules of polite conversation: “Never discuss religion or politics.” This is unlikely, however, due in part to the fact that people attending a Black Gay Pride event are more comfortable stepping outside of what is socially acceptable.

Another explanation for the 15 percent lack of religious affiliation in general and no-response rate in particular might be respondent fatigue. It is possible that the respondents were too tired when they got to this portion of the survey. But given that subsequent questions had higher response rates, this explanation is not supported.

Could it be that respondents avoid this topic—not out of politeness, but due to emotional self-preservation at the mention of religion? Social commentators and researchers have discussed the relationship between the stigma around homosexuality in the larger Black community and the Black church in particular; they have concluded that this issue leads to, among other things, more traumatic life histories.⁷²

The issue of the acceptance and influence of one’s culture and religion goes beyond mental health to affect physical health as well. It has been argued that stigma creates such a heavy burden for gay men that it impedes their ability to fight HIV/AIDS.⁷³ Recognizing this, organizations such as Balm In Gilead⁷⁴ work to empower Black churches with information and tools to assist this special population.

Fifteen percent of Black Pride respondents indicated no religion or skipped the question, compared to only 3 percent of Blacks in general.

INFLUENCE AND ACCEPTANCE

Our data indicate that a particular church or religious institution’s view of homosexuality is highly correlated with the degree of influence that religion exerts on an individual’s daily life. More specifically, nearly two out of three respondents (65 percent) who said their church viewed homosexuality as sinful also reported that these views had no influence on their daily life. Conversely, 63 percent of respondents whose church was fully accepting of homosexuality reported that this view constantly influenced their daily life. Black GLBT people have always played and continue to play an important and necessary role in the Black church. These data indicate that, as it does for the larger Black community, religion plays an important and integral role in the lives of Black GLBT populations.

Given recent research in the area, it is safe to say that religion plays a more important part in the everyday lives of Black Americans than in the lives of European Americans.⁷⁵ Hence, among Blacks, including Black GLBT people, religion may have a greater impact on beliefs, philosophies, and views toward a variety of

Sixty-three percent of respondents whose church was fully accepting of homosexuality reported that this view constantly influenced their daily life.

issues—including homosexuality. The Black community in general and the Black church specifically needs to continue to empower all of the community by discussing sexuality in non-punitive terms. The Black church in America has a long history of fighting oppression and offering comfort and leadership to the larger Black community. However, like most other religious communities, it must realize that it has a responsibility to offer comfort and empower its entire community to stand against salient forms of oppression the church has traditionally addressed—racism and classism—as well as salient forms of oppression that it has traditionally avoided—sexism and homophobia.

PROFILE: REVEREND TOMMIE LEE WATKINS, JR.

Throughout his life, Tommie Lee Watkins has been active in his local church. Born in Alabama, Tommie Lee Watkins was ordained as a Baptist Minister at the local First Missionary Baptist Church of Hueytown at the age of 16. During high school, Rev. Watkins was a member of the church's staff as its youth minister.



Upon graduation from high school, Rev. Watkins went on to the United States Naval Academy, where he continued to be a model student. Unfortunately, allegations of homosexual conduct led Watkins to be relieved of all his posts just before he would resign from the academy. After Watkins was essentially forced to leave school, the academy instigated a lengthy legal battle, trying to force him to repay the \$67,000 the government had spent on his education up to his departure. Although Watkins eventually won the court battle, the

extensive publicity surrounding his withdrawal from the Naval Academy alienated many of his friends, family members, and colleagues. After leaving the academy, Watkins finished his education at Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University in Florida, and was recruited by a consulting firm in Miami.

While in Miami, he volunteered at several area organizations like Pridelines Youth Services. He also joined Greater Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, where he became the program director for its HIV/AIDS Prevention Education Ministry. After a great deal of negotiating, he finally found a home at Greater Bethel AME Church for his Ministry of Reconciliation, the only affirming and inclusive worship service of 1,000 worldwide AME congregations aimed towards addressing issues pertaining specifically to African American GLBT and questioning individuals.

Also at Greater Bethel, Rev. Watkins applied for ordination as an itinerant deacon. But his application for this position was summarily denied without any explanation. Many suspect this to be the result of the extended

publicity surrounding Rev. Watkins' sexuality. Several church officials continue to decline to comment on the denial of his application, but maintain that "homosexuality is not consistent with creation." Immediately after his petition for ordination was denied, Greater Bethel AME Church also terminated his Ministry of Reconciliation and his employment as Program Director for the HIV/AIDS Prevention Education Ministry. Currently, the bi-monthly ministry is meeting in private homes until it can find another church

that will house Watkins's congregation.

Watkins is currently suing Greater Bethel AME Church for his allegedly unlawful termination, and is attempting to sue the church under Miami-Dade County's Human Rights Ordinance that bans sexual orientation discrimination. The American Civil Liberties Union is representing Rev. Watkins, because the Greater Bethel AME Church accepted over \$390,000 in public funds and signed contracts explicitly stating that it would not discriminate.

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

This report has been written in the interest of documenting elements of the lives and experience of some Black GLBT people. The 2,645 individuals surveyed represent voices usually missing from research on the Black community and the GLBT community. The Black Pride Survey 2000 is one of very few studies to date that documents the experiences, identities, and priorities of a national, multi-city sample of Black GLBT people. Given some of the crucial findings reported in this study, there is a clear need for additional research and policy analysis by, for, and about Black GLBT people. Those interested in affecting change within Black GLBT communities will appreciate the importance and originality of this study. While it does not purport to speak for all Black GLBT populations, the Black Pride Survey serves as a foundation that will enrich future organizing efforts and research into the intersections of identity, race, and sexuality.

There is a clear need for additional research and policy analysis by, for, and about Black GLBT people.

This study documents the diversity of experiences, identities, needs, and political perspectives that exist within the larger GLBT and Black communities in the U.S. It details and validates a myriad of Black GLBT experiences. For those already familiar with these issues and communities, the findings in this study may not be new or surprising. However, because of its comprehensive and detailed nature, social activists and researchers can utilize the findings documented herein as a basis to advocate for and implement policy changes at the local, state, and national levels.

The policy issues about which there was much consensus among BPS2000 respondents included prioritizing issues related to HIV/AIDS; combating hate crime violence; and securing the same rights as married heterosexuals, including equitable access to government programs. To meet the public policy needs of the Black GLBT community, public health officials should acknowledge that current HIV prevention efforts have not been sufficient to stem the spread of HIV among Black GLBT and heterosexual populations. More effective policies to reduce HIV/AIDS infection and risky sexual behavior must be developed and implemented. In particular, age-appropriate, publicly

funded sex education programs should be offered which provide comprehensive, factual information about sexuality.

Also, hate crime and nondiscrimination initiatives must be passed and implemented that will use various institutions, not just the criminal justice system, to decrease the incidence of violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity. Policymakers should support equal access to civil marriage. Further, marital status should not be a factor in determining eligibility to serve as adoptive or foster parents or in determining eligibility to access basic social services, as some now in the Bush Administration and many in conservative think tanks have recently proposed.

Predominately straight Black organizations and predominately White gay organizations must expand efforts to target all members of their communities, including Black GLBT people. Civil rights organizations should more aggressively address issues like HIV/AIDS, hate crime violence, and marriage/domestic partnership in their advocacy and public education efforts. Predominantly White GLBT organizations should examine the particular ways these and other issues affect Black GLBT people, and incorporate the specific concerns of Black gay people into their advocacy. We recommend the following:

Predominately straight Black organizations and predominately White gay organizations must expand efforts to target all members of their communities, including Black GLBT people.

HIV/AIDS RECOMMENDATIONS⁷⁶

- Public health resources and funds from private sector sources should be expanded and channeled directly to Black community-based institutions engaged in HIV prevention and education efforts, but only to those organizations that have dealt effectively with institutionalized homophobia and that have a proven record of serving Black GLBT people. In addition to supporting more services, public education efforts, and community-based and -led research, funds should support the strengthening of the capacity of the Black community to address the HIV/AIDS pandemic.
- Model programs for HIV/AIDS prevention must acknowledge the fact that these diseases are stereotypically associated with gay men, and that this stereotype fosters an environment in which many may be reluctant to seek care or preventative treatments.
- HIV/AIDS prevention services must consider the cultural and social barriers to service for Blacks. Services should not only be located in gay specific or AIDS specific centers, but also in centers that target the general Black community.
- Increase meaningful participation of Blacks in the HIV prevention community planning process by 1) increasing participation of Black people, including Black GLBT people, in Centers for Disease Control (CDC) community planning groups; and 2) providing mentoring and training opportunities to help build and empower a stronger community leadership of Black AIDS prevention and treatment activists.

Resources should be channeled only to those Black community-based institutions engaged in HIV prevention that have dealt effectively with institutionalized homophobia and that have a proven record of serving Black GLBT people.

- The Health Resources and Services Administration should develop, fund, and implement a plan to significantly increase the number of Black health professionals (including openly GLBT people) who specialize in HIV/AIDS care and GLBT health issues in medically underserved rural and urban Black communities.
- Expand outreach strategies to ensure that Black GLBT communities are aware of Medicaid and other health insurance options, so that financial barriers do not diminish access to HIV and AIDS care and treatment.
- The National Institutes of Health (NIH) should aggressively educate and recruit African Americans, including GLBT Black people, for participation in clinical trials for promising HIV and AIDS therapies.

HATE VIOLENCE

- Pass the federal Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act (LLEEA, formerly the Hate Crimes Prevention Act) and fully enforce the act upon passage. Whenever possible education and prevention should be emphasized over punishment. Rehabilitation for first-time offenders should be explored as a strategy to reduce recidivism. Fully fund and implement programs authorized by the LLEEA that are designed to prevent and reduce violence and prejudice. GLBT and Black advocacy and community-based organizations should work with organizations like the Southern Poverty Law Center, which is actively seeking hate crimes reporting reform.
- The U.S. Department of Education and state and local governments should clarify that all forms of anti-GLBT harassment in schools are illegal (violating at least the Constitutional mandate of equal protection), and pass prohibitions against harassment based on sexual orientation and gender identity in the schools.
- Fund age-appropriate programs at all educational levels that teach tolerance, understanding, and respect for all regardless of race, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation, disability, gender, or gender identity.
- Anti-GLBT hate violence, like racist and anti-Semitic violence, represents a public health crisis, as it threatens the social fabric of U.S. society and can increase individuals' stress levels. Local, state and federal public health departments should initiate prevention campaigns targeting the general population aimed at making anti-GLBT hate violence less socially acceptable.

Anti-GLBT hate violence, like racist and anti-Semitic violence, represents a public health crisis, as it threatens the social fabric of U.S. society and can increase individuals' stress levels.

MARRIAGE, DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIP, AND FAMILY RECOGNITION

- Support equal access to civil marriage for same-sex couples.
- Repeal the misnamed federal "Defense of Marriage Act" and similar laws at the state level.

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- Governmental bodies and private employers should provide comprehensive spousal benefits to the domestic partners of their employees.
- Amend the tax code to make the cost of health insurance benefits for an employee's domestic partner tax-free, just as it would be if the benefits were for a heterosexual employee's spouse.
- Amend the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 to provide leave to care for an employee's domestic partner.
- Permit committed couples to stay together legally in the United States under immigration provisions for family reunification. In other words, amend family reunification provisions of the immigration law to permit committed same-sex couples to live together in the United States, as is being done by more and more democracies around the world.

FAMILY POLICY AND SOCIAL POLICY

- So-called marriage and fatherhood promotion efforts in any form (including under the guise of welfare reform) should not penalize or stigmatize single-parent led families with children or families with children led by GLBT parents. States should be encouraged to use their own local dollars to sustain and support households, whether single-parent or two-parent, that are otherwise excluded under federal regulations.
- Married, heterosexual couple-led families should not be favored over other types of families in determining eligibility for any government-funded service, including welfare benefits and limited-supply benefits such as Head Start slots, student financial aid, public housing, or job training.⁷⁷
- Because of demographic factors described in the family section of this report, anti-gay adoption policies currently in effect in Florida, Mississippi, Arkansas and Utah may disproportionately threaten Black lesbians compared to the general lesbian population, and Black children compared to children of other ethnic backgrounds. These policies should be repealed, and similar policies elsewhere should be opposed.
- Marital status should not be a factor in determining eligibility to serve as adoptive or foster parents, or eligibility to accessing the services of fertility clinics, as some in the Bush Administration and in conservative think tanks have recently proposed.⁷⁸
- Government-sponsored "fatherhood initiatives" should be replaced with "parenting initiatives" that promote good parenting skills and acknowledge the central role fathers play in many families, but also acknowledge the functionality and intrinsic worth of single-mother families, same-sex couple-headed families, grandparent-grandchild families, and other family structures.
- Battered women receiving welfare should be exempt from participating in paterni-

Anti-gay adoption policies currently in effect in Florida, Mississippi, Arkansas and Utah may disproportionately threaten Black lesbians compared to the general lesbian population, and Black children, compared to children of other ethnic backgrounds.

ty establishment, especially if they are at risk of a recurrence of violence from a child's father should they reestablish contact. Depending on the circumstances, lesbian and bisexual women should also be exempted from this requirement.

- Single mothers, who are disproportionately Black women and some of whom are Black lesbians, should be respected in child welfare systems, with family reunification supported when possible with needed educational and financial resources.
- Repeal archaic sex laws, also known as “sodomy” laws, which are occasionally used to justify the removal of children from their biological parents’ homes on the basis of the parents’ sexual orientation. (For a recent example, see the February 2002 Alabama Supreme Court ruling.)

NON-DISCRIMINATION LEGISLATION

- Pass a comprehensive GLBT civil rights law that would make discrimination illegal in employment, housing, education, public accommodations, credit, and other areas. This law should cover both small and large employers.
- The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission should accept and record complaints of discrimination based on sexual orientation, gender identity and expression, and HIV status.
- Executive Order No. 13087, which bans discrimination based on sexual orientation in Executive Branch agencies, should be expanded to include employment protection for transgender people. Similar executive orders should be passed by governors across the U.S. to cover state workers.
- Public officials should reach out to their transgender constituents and become educated about the discrimination against and needs of transgender people.
- Faith-based organizations using tax dollars should not be allowed to discriminate in hiring practices or service provision.

Public officials should reach out to their transgender constituents and become educated about the discrimination against and needs of transgender people.

RESEARCH

- A demographic self-identifier question allowing people to identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender should be added to all surveys—particularly those conducted by or partially funded by the government—in order to increase the baseline of data on Black GLBT people and GLBT people of all ethnic backgrounds.
- Questions about health care—including insurance coverage, health status, and risk behaviors—should be included in future surveys that target Black populations in general and Black GLBT communities in particular.
- Foundations as well as federal, state, and local funding agencies should more aggressively promote research and policy advocacy related to Black GLBT communities.

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sively promote research and policy advocacy related to Black GLBT communities. This might include, for example, support for partnerships linking government, academic, and community-based research processes, funding for pilot health or social programs, and training and support for capacity-building, infrastructure, and leadership development.

COMBATING HOMOPHOBIA IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY

- Black GLBT people are most concerned about HIV/AIDS, hate crime violence, and marriage/domestic partnership. Mainstream (i.e. non-gay identified) civil rights organizations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), should address these issues in their advocacy and public education efforts in order to address the concerns of the entire Black community.
- The efforts of smaller community-based organizations to address issues of concern to Black GLBT people should be supported through resource infusion by mainstream (predominantly straight) Black organizations and indigenous institutions like Black churches, as well as by other dominant entities like state and local governments, and charitable foundations.
- Based on the high incidence of experiences of homophobia in Black communities by respondents in the BPS2000, Black communities must directly address this issue. Both discussion and action will be needed to solve this crisis. Fundamental to any attempt to change people's attitudes and their corresponding behavior must be a shift in power. Black GLBT people must have formal inclusion and leadership in organizations purporting to represent Black communities. They must actually be involved in decision-making and agenda-setting, reflecting the full diversity of interests present in Black communities.
- In their continuing efforts to provide needed social services, Black churches should foster positive relationships with the entire Black community, including GLBT organizations and individuals. GLBT members of congregations must not be neglected, and the full identity of GLBT congregants—including their sexuality—should be accepted and welcomed. Because of the central role that churches continue to play in Black communities, those advocating for Black GLBT people should work with Black religious institutions to encourage full acceptance of sexual and gender diversity.
- Religious institutions should acknowledge their responsibility to offer comfort and empower the entire community to stand against forms of oppression churches have traditionally addressed—racism and classism—as well as forms of oppression they have largely ignored or even promoted—sexism and homophobia.

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Community-Based Collaborations

- Civil rights groups should initiate or continue collaborations with Black GLBT organizations—such as the National Black Lesbian and Gay Leadership Forum,

Gay Men of African Descent, the Zuna Institute, and the various Black Pride organizations around the country—as well as other GLBT organizations, in order to establish or strengthen relationships with Black GLBT people.

- There is a need to foster the development of more organizations that can facilitate greater involvement of Black GLBT people in the larger Black community and in predominately White GLBT and non-GLBT communities.

COMBATING RACISM IN THE GLBT COMMUNITY

- Because Black GLBT people have identified HIV/AIDS, hate crime violence, and marriage/domestic partnership as issues of greatest importance, GLBT organizations must address these issues, and the particular ways they affect Black GLBT people, in order to more fully reflect the concerns of all GLBT people.
- Discrimination based on race or ethnic identity is a problem for Black GLBT people. The programmatic agendas of all GLBT organizations must include combating discrimination based on race or ethnicity, as well as those systemic concerns—such as class exploitation, sexism, increasing incarceration, inadequate education, and lack of access to quality medical care—which define the lived experience of far too many Black Americans.
- Based on the high incidence of experiences of racism in interactions with White GLBT people, GLBT communities must address this issue. Dialogue between GLBT Whites and GLBT individuals of color is one component necessary to confront this problem. More fundamentally, the voices, leadership, and inclusion in decision-making of people of color must be a priority for national and local GLBT organizations. There must be a redistribution of power and control in predominately White GLBT organizations to reflect the racial, ethnic, class, and gender diversity of our community.
- Those in control of gay community institutions, such as owners and managers of bars and clubs, should examine their practices and make changes to foster more positive interactions among White constituents, Black constituents, and other GLBT people of color. Similar changes should be prioritized and implemented at Gay Pride celebrations throughout the U.S., where many Black GLBT currently feel unwelcome and devalued.

There must be a redistribution of power and control in predominately White GLBT organizations to reflect the racial, ethnic, class, and gender diversity of our community.

Community Building

- Predominantly White gay organizations at the national, state and local level should support the work and development of autonomous, Black-led and people of color-led GLBT organizations. They should develop stronger collaborations with Black GLBT communities, and integrate the particular priorities of Black GLBT people into their programmatic work.
- Gay Pride organizers and Black Pride organizers should understand the increasing prevalence of parenting among GLBT people, and ensure that parents and their children are welcome and included in Pride-related programming.

- Gay organizations must take the often very different lived experiences of Black GLBT people into account. For instance, even though many cities have commonly known “gay areas,” most often these communities are residentially populated by Whites, while Black GLBT individuals are mere consumer and social visitors to these neighborhoods. Gay organizations must develop ways to support the presence of GLBT people in other parts of our cities, towns, and rural areas outside the usually recognized White gay centers.

SEXUAL IDENTITY AND TERMINOLOGY

- While Black GLBT people largely self-identify as either “gay” or “lesbian,” other labels such as “queer” are not as popular. “Same gender loving” is another regularly used term within the Black GLBT community, though less prevalent than “gay” or “lesbian”. When addressing—and organizing within—Black GLBT populations, the term “queer” should be used conservatively, if at all. If, however, we are going to use such terms as “queer,” then significant discussion must ensue to generate an understanding of the political significance and possibility of such terms.
- Race, gender, class, sexual orientation, and gender identity are not separate identities or ways of experiencing the world for Black GLBT people, but are experienced holistically or intersectionally. Organizing must be based on an understanding and recognition of the interplay between all of these identities and perspectives in order to mobilize Black GLBT communities effectively and toward systemic change.

When addressing—and organizing within—Black GLBT populations, the term “queer” should be used conservatively, if at all.

A FINAL RECOMMENDATION

People experience many forms of discrimination on the individual level, but discrimination or marginalization also operates at the structural or institutional level. Social justice activists—regardless of race, gender, class, or sexual orientation—should understand, identify and work to eliminate the structural biases of organizations, including structural racism, heterosexism, homophobia, sexism, and classism.

Notes

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. Exceptions include Betty Powell, who helped build the National Gay Task Force (which NGLTF was called until 1985) and the Fund for Human Dignity; Mel Boozer, who opened the first Washington, DC office of the National Gay Task Force and was the first gay person to address a major party convention, speaking on gay rights at the Democratic Convention in 1980; Gilberto Gerald, founder and director of the African American Gay and Lesbian Studies Center; Barbara Smith, co-founder of Combahee River Collective and Kitchen Table Women of Color Press; and Reggie Williams, Executive Director of the National Task Force on AIDS Prevention. For other examples, visit <http://www.blackstrip.com/blacklist>.
2. For a review of some of the research on Black GLBT people in the U.S., see Battle, J. and Bennett, M. (2000). "Research on Lesbian and Gay Populations Within the African American Community: What Have We Learned?" *African American Research Perspectives*. 6(2): 35-47.

BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

3. Following the title of this survey, "Black" will be used throughout this document to refer to people of African descent.
4. The nine celebrations were Philadelphia Black Pride, Houston Splash, Washington, D.C. Black Pride, Oakland Black Pride, Chicago Black Pride, Los Angeles's At the Beach, Detroit's Hotter Than July, New York Black Pride, and Atlanta's In the Life. Many of the other Black Prides noted in Appendix B are new since 2000, or had just started in 2000 when the nine Black Prides were chosen.
5. In some instances, the term "gay" is a language convention that actually encompasses gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender individuals.
6. Green, D. P., Strolovitch, D. Z., Wong, J. S., and Bailey, R. W. (2001). "Measuring Gay Population Density and the Incidence of Anti-Gay Hate Crime." *Social Science Quarterly*. 82(2): 281-96.
7. Local Black Pride organizations recruited individuals to help administer the survey. Diversity in the composition of the survey administrators was specifically sought based on age, gender, and education.
8. Throughout this document figures may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding.
9. Census data can be found at <http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/race/ppl-142.html>. The regional differences in our study are not necessarily due to different residential patterns among Black GLBT people, but are instead an artifact of the decisions made about which pride celebrations to survey and their respective attendance.
10. These figures do not add up to 100 percent because some respondents did not answer this question.

11. <http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/race/ppl-142.html>
12. Current Population Survey data is more representative of the entire Black community and reflects suburban and rural populations more than the Black Pride Survey data does.
13. Bell, A., and Weinberg, M. (1978). *Homosexualities: A Study of Diversity among Men and Women*. New York: Simon and Schuster; Jay, K., and Young, A. (1979). *The Gay Report: Lesbians and Gay Men Speak Out About Sexual Experiences and Lifestyles*. New York: Summit Books; Harry, J. (1985). *Gay Couples*. New York: Praeger; Kurdek, L., "Lesbian and Gay Couples," in D'Augelli, A. R., and Patterson, C. (1995). (Eds.). *Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Identities Over the Lifespan: Psychological Perspectives*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 243-261; all cited in Hostetler, A. J., and Cohler, B. J. (1997). "Partnership, Singlehood, and the Lesbian and Gay Life Course: A Research Agenda." *Journal of Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Identity*. 2(3/4): 202. A 1996 study of 160 gay men and lesbians in Chicago found that 79 percent of the lesbians were partnered, as were 46 percent of gay men. (Herd, G., Beeler, J., and Rawls, T. W. (1997). "Life Course Diversity among Older Lesbians and Gay Men: A Study in Chicago." *Journal of Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Identity*. 2(3/4): 231-246.) Unfortunately, this study's sample is also too white (94 percent) and male (70 percent) to be truly representative of Chicago's elder GLBT population. Mays et al.'s analysis of a sample of 506 black lesbians and 673 black gay men found that 33 percent of the women and 54 percent of the men were single; the rest were in a relationship. More than a third of the women (36 percent) lived with their partner, whereas only 18 percent of the men lived with their partner. (Mays, V., et al., 1998, p. 78.)
14. See <http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/race/ppl-142.html>
15. Household income is the measure used because over 75 percent of the sample declined to indicate their personal income, while 75 percent indicated their household income.
16. See <http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/race/ppl-142.html>.
17. Ibid.
18. Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L., and Brady, H. E. (1995). *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
19. Badgett, M.V. (2000). "The Myth of Gay and Lesbian Affluence." *Gay & Lesbian Review*. 7(2): 22-26.
20. Allegretto, S. A. and Arthur, M. A. (2001). "An Empirical Analysis of Homosexual/Heterosexual Male Earnings Differentials: Unmarried and Unequal?" *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 54(3): 631.

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21. Bennett, M. and Battle, J. (2001) "We Can See Them, But We Can't Hear Them: LGBT Members of African American Families." In Mary Bernstein and Renate Reimann (Eds.), *Queer Families, Queer Politics: Challenging Culture and the State*, (pp. 53-67). New York: Columbia University Press.
22. Mays, V. M., Chatters, L. M., Cochran, S. D., and Mackness, J. (1998). "African American Families in Diversity: Gay Men and Lesbians as Participants in Family Networks." *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*. 29(1): 73-87.
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24. Ettelbrick, P., Bradford, J., and Ellis, J. (2001). *The 21st Century Family: Same-sex Unmarried Partners and the US Census (Characteristics of Same-sex Coupled Households from the 1990 Census Data)*. New York: Policy Institute of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. Presented at the 2001 National Lesbian Health Conference in San Francisco, CA, June 22, 2001.
25. This Census analysis, first reported by Ettelbrick et al. at the 2001 National Lesbian Health Conference, relied on a 5 percent Public Use Micro Sample of the 1990 Census data, which included 5,046 lesbians, only 362 of whom were Black. While 60 percent of the Black lesbians in this small sample reported having given birth, only 23 percent of White non-Hispanic lesbians reported having given birth.
26. Bachrach, C. A., Adams, P. F., Sambrano, S., and London, K. A. (1989). "Advance Data: Adoption

- in the 1980s.” *Advance Data from Vital and Health Statistics: No. 181*. Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics; Stolley, K. S. (1993). “Statistics on Adoption in the United States.” *The Future of Children*. 3(1): 26-42.
27. Gershenson, C. P. (1984). “Community Response to Children Free for Adoption.” *Child Welfare Research Notes: No. 3*. Washington DC: Administration for Children, Youth, and Families.
 28. Hill, R. B. (1977). *Informal Adoption Among Black Families*. Washington, DC: National Urban League; Hill, R. B. (1993). “Dispelling Myths and Building on Strengths: Supporting African American Families.” *Journal of the National Resource Center for Special Needs Adoption*. 7(2). Available online at <http://www.nysccc.org/T-Rarts/DispelMyths.html>.
 29. United States Department of Health and Human Services. (2001). *The AFCARS Report: Interim FY 1999 Estimates of June 2001*. Washington DC: Administration for Children and Families.
 30. Roberts, D. (2002). *Shattered Bonds: The Color of Child Welfare*. New York: Basic Civitas Books.
 31. In total, four states limit adoption and/or foster parenting by gays and lesbians in some way: FL, MS, UT, and AR. Three do it by statute, one (AR) by regulation. Florida bans homosexuals from adopting by law. Its statute reads, “No person eligible to adopt under this statute may adopt if that person is a homosexual.” (Title VI, Chapter 63, 63.042, 2(d)3.) Mississippi bans same-sex couples from adopting by law. Its statute reads, “Adoption by couples of the same gender is prohibited.” (Miss. Code of 1972 as amended, Sec. 93-17-3 (2).) Utah prioritizes heterosexual married couples for placement of foster and adoptive children in state custody by law. Its statute reads, “with regard to children who are in the custody of the state, the division shall establish a policy providing that priority for foster care and adoptive placement shall be provided to families in which both a man and a woman are legally married under the laws of this state.” (Title 62A, Ch. 04a, Section 602 (5)(c).) Arkansas bans gays and lesbians from foster parenting, but not from adopting, by regulation. An anti-gay adoption bill was rejected by the Arkansas legislature in 2000. For more information see <http://www.aclu.org/news/1999/n040699a.html>.
 32. Horn, W. and Bush, A. (1997). *Fathers, Marriage, and Welfare Reform*. Indianapolis: Hudson Institute. Available online at <http://welfarereformer.org/articles/father.htm>.
 33. Ibid.
 34. United States Census Bureau. (2001). *Table FG6. One-Parent Family Groups with Own Children Under 18, by Marital Status, and Race and Hispanic Origin/1 of the Reference Person: March 2000*. Washington, DC: Author. Available online at <http://www.census.gov/population/socdemo/hh-fam/p20-537/2000/tabFG6.pdf>.

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35. Cohen, C. J. (1997). “Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?” *Gay and Lesbian Quarterly*. 3: 449.
36. For a recent and insightful discussion of the multiple fractured identities of Black GLBT communities, see Reid-Pharr, R. F. (2001). *Black Gay Man: Essays*. New York: New York University Press.

POLITICAL ISSUES AND ATTITUDES

37. Cohen, C. J. (1999). *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Dawson, M. C. (1994). *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Collins, P. H. (1998). *Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press; Crenshaw, K. C. (1989). “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics.” in Weisberg, D. K. (1993). (Ed.). *Feminist Legal Theory: Foundations*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. Harper, P. B. (1996). *Are We Not Men?: Masculine Anxiety and the Problem of African-American Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
38. A third question asking, “what are the two most important issues facing your local Black/African American GLBT queer community” was also included in the survey. Because the focus of this analy-

sis is national trends the data from that question will not be referenced here. For information on the results from the local question please contact the NGLTF Policy Institute or the coordinating committee of the local Black gay pride in the nine areas surveyed.

39. Because respondents were able to choose three issues, the totals add up to more than 100 percent.
40. See, for instance, Cohen, C. J. (1999). *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
41. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2000). *HIV/AIDS Among African Americans*. Atlanta: Author.
42. See <http://www.cdc.gov/hiv/graphics/images/1238/1238-6.htm>.
43. Gay and Lesbian Victory Foundation. (2001). *Survey of the African American Community*. Washington DC: Author. P. 6.
44. Gay and Lesbian Victory Foundation. (2001). *Survey of the African American Community*. Washington DC: Author. P. 7.
45. Yang, A. (2001). *The 2000 National Election Study and Gay and Lesbian Rights: Support for Equality Grows*. New York: Policy Institute of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.
46. The 1993 NBPS is the first national study to explicitly gather data about Black American political behavior and ideology.
47. Bailey, R. (2000). *Out and Voting II: The Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Vote in Congressional Elections, 1990–1998*. New York: Policy Institute of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. Voter News Service exit polls allows voters to self-identify as gay, lesbian, or bisexual, but not as transgender.
48. Casper, L. M. and Bass, L. E. (1998). *Voting and Registration in the Election of November 1996, Current Population Reports Series P20-504*. Washington DC: United States Census Bureau. Available online at <http://www.census.gov/prod/3/98pubs/p20-504.pdf>.
49. The scale for participation consisted of the following activities: voted in the 1996 Presidential election; done any of the following things in the last five years: voted in a local election, contacted a public official, contacted a White GLBT organization, contacted a straight/heterosexual Black/African American organization, signed a petition, taken part in a protest meeting, taken part in a rally or march, joined an organization, been arrested.
50. Because respondents could participate in more than one event, the total is larger than 100%.

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52. These include the National Health Interview Survey, the Medical Expenditure Panel Survey, and the Current Population Survey.
53. Krieger, N. (1999). "Embodying Inequality: A Review of Concepts, Measures, and Methods for Studying Health Consequences of Discrimination." *International Journal of Health Services*. 29: 298-352; Ferguson, G. (2001). "Culture, Class, and Service Delivery: The Politics of Welfare Reform and an Urban Bioethics Agenda." *Journal of Urban Health*. 78: 81-88; Russell, S. T., Seif, H., and Truong, N. L. (2001). "School Outcomes of Sexual Minority Youth in the United States: Evidence from a National Study." *Journal of Adolescence*. 24: 111-127; and Schulman, K. A., Berlin, J. A., Harless W. et al. (1999). "The Effect of Race and Sex on Physicians' Recommendations for Cardiac Catheterization." *New England Journal of Medicine*. 340: 618-626.
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57. Gross, L. and Aurand, S. K. (1996). *Discrimination and Violence Against Lesbian Women and Gay Men in Philadelphia and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania: A Study by the Philadelphia Lesbian and Gay Task Force*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Lesbian and Gay Task Force.
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59. Committee on Women Historians. (1993). "Committee on Women Historians' Report on the Lesbian and Gay Historians Survey." *Perspectives*. April 1993, p. 13-15.
60. Karp, B. (1997). *Gainesville/Alachua County Gay and Lesbian Community Survey*. Gainesville: Human Rights Council of North Central Florida.
61. Task Force on Sexual Orientation and the Legal Workplace. (1999). *Report of the District of Columbia Bar Task Force on Sexual Orientation and the Legal Workplace*. Washington, DC: The District of Columbia Bar.
62. Gay and Lesbian Victory Foundation. (2001). *Survey of the African American Community*. Washington DC: Author.
63. These included discrimination based on one or more of the following: sexual orientation, gender/sex, transgender, gender appearance (you appear too butch, femme, effeminate, etc.), racial/ethnic identity, immigrant status, speak in a dialect, English is second language, and socioeconomic class.
64. For a discussion of the literature on this topic, see Schulte, L. J., and Battle, J. "The Relative Importance of Ethnicity and Religion in Predicting Attitudes Towards Gays and Lesbians." *Journal of Homosexuality*. Forthcoming.
65. Yang, A. (2000). *From Wrongs to Rights: Public Opinion on Gay and Lesbian Americans Moves Toward Equality—1973 to 1999*. New York: Policy Institute of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.
66. Gay and Lesbian Victory Foundation. (2001). *Survey of the African American Community*. Washington DC: Author. This survey is one of the few to ask explicitly about bisexual and transgender people.
67. Ibid.
68. Lewis, G. B., and Edelson, J. L. (2000). "DOMA and ENDA: Congress Votes On Gay Rights" in Rimmerman, C. A., Wald, K. D., and Wilcox, C. *The Politics of Gay Rights*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
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70. Van der Meide, W. (2000).

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71. Lincoln, C. E., & Maymiya, L. (1990). *The Black Church in the African American Experience*. Durham: Duke Press.
72. See Boykin, K. (1996). *One More River to Cross*. New York: Anchor; Lemelle, A. and Battle, J. "Black Masculinity Matters in Attitudes Toward Gay Males." *Journal of Homosexuality*. Forthcoming.
73. See Fullilove, M.T. and Fullilove, R. E. (1999). "Stigma as an Obstacle to AIDS Action: The Case of the African American Community." *American Behavioral Scientist*. 42(7): 1117-29; and Herek, G.M. and Capitanio, J. P. (1999). "AIDS Stigma and Sexual Prejudice." *American Behavioral Scientist*. 42(7): 1130-47.
74. For more information, visit their web site at <http://www.balmingilead.org>.
75. For a more thorough and recent discussion, see Taylor, R. J., Mattis, J., and Chatters, L. M. (1999).

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CONCLUSION AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

76. Most of the following recommendations are based on recommendations made by the National Minority AIDS Council and by the African American AIDS Policy and Training Institute. See Maldonado, M. (1999). *HIV/AIDS and African Americans*. Washington, DC: National Minority AIDS Council; African American AIDS Policy and Training Institute. (1999). *The NIA Plan: A Comprehensive Plan of Action for African Americans to Help Reduce the Spread of HIV/AIDS in Our Communities*. Los Angeles: Author. For more information see <http://www.nmac.org> and <http://www.blackaids.org>.
77. Discriminating in this manner against certain types of family formations has been proposed by several Bush Administration appointees.
78. See Cahill, S. and Jones, K. T. (2001). *Leaving Our Children Behind: Welfare Reform and the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual and Transgender Community*. New York: Policy Institute of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.

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Appendix A

STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Throughout this document, we performed several statistical tests of significance in order to determine whether the relationship between variables was likely to happen by chance. In other words, we wanted to know if the statistical result was a “fluke” or not. To examine this, we used statistical procedures and “cut-off” points widely accepted in social science research. If the relationship was likely to happen by chance less than five times out of 100, we included one asterisk “*” next to the result. If the relationship was likely to happen by chance less than one time out of 100, we included two asterisks “**” next to the result. In the social sciences, this is often referred to as “significant at the .05 level,” or “significant at the .01 level,” respectively.

SURVEY INSTRUMENT

Opposite and on the subsequent three pages is a copy of the Black Pride Survey 2000 survey instrument.



National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Policy Institute

Houston Splash
DC Black Pride
Oakland Black Pride
Chicago Black Pride
In the Life, Atlanta

Philadelphia Black Pride
At the Beach, Los Angeles
Hotter than July, Detroit
New York Black Pride
New York Caribbean Pride

National Black Lesbian and Gay Leadership Forum

Knowledge is Power

1. In your opinion, please check the **three** most important issues facing **all Black/African Americans in the U.S.**

- Drugs
- Youth issues
- Education
- Child care
- Health care
- Hate crime violence
- Crime in general
- Poverty
- Housing
- Issues around HIV/AIDS
- Job discrimination
- Police brutality
- Marriage/domestic partnership
- Affirmative action
- Other (specify) _____
- Lack of jobs
- Criminal justice system

2. In your opinion, please check the **three** most important issues facing **gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender (GLBT) and queer Black/African Americans in the U.S.**

- Drugs
- Youth issues
- Education
- Child care
- Health care
- Hate crime violence
- Crime in general
- Poverty
- Housing
- Issues around HIV/AIDS
- Job discrimination
- Police brutality
- Marriage/domestic partnership
- Affirmative action
- Other (specify) _____
- Lack of jobs
- Criminal justice system

3. What are the two most important issues facing your **local Black/African American GLBT queer community?**

- 1. _____
- 2. _____

4. What is the zip code for the local community you live in? _____

5. Rate your experiences with **white gay men and/or lesbians** in the following situations with 1 being very negative and 7 being very positive. (circle a number)

a) In white gay organizations

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
very negative equally negative and positive very positive

b) In bars/clubs

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
very negative equally negative and positive very positive

c) At gay community events (e.g., gay pride)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
very negative equally negative and positive very positive

d) In personal relationships (e.g., friends, lovers)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
very negative equally negative and positive very positive

6. Racism is a problem for **GLBT Blacks/African Americans dealing with the white GLBT community.** (circle a number to indicate your level of agreement/disagreement)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
strongly disagree neutral strongly agree

7. Homophobia is a problem within the **Black/African American community.** (circle a number to indicate your level of agreement/disagreement)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
strongly disagree neutral strongly agree

8. Rate your experiences with **Black straights/heterosexuals** in the following situations with 1 being very negative and 7 being very positive. (circle a number)

a) Straight/heterosexual Black organizations

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
very negative equally negative and positive very positive

b) Straight/heterosexual Black church/religious institutions

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
very negative equally negative and positive very positive

c) Your straight/heterosexual Black friends

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
very negative equally negative and positive very positive

d) Your family of origin

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
very negative equally negative and positive very positive

9. Rate how those experiences influenced your willingness to participate in **Black straight/heterosexual organizations** with 1 being not at all and 7 being a great deal. (circle a number)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
not at all somewhat/moderately a great deal

10. Have you ever experienced discrimination and/or harassment based on any of the following? (check all that apply)

- Sexual orientation
- Socioeconomic class
- You appear too butch, femme, effeminate etc.
- Gender/sex (M or F)
- Racial/ethnic identity
- Other (please indicate) _____
- Transgender
- Immigrant status
- English not first language (specify language) _____
- English is my first language but I have an accent or speak in a dialect

11. What is your religious affiliation? (check one)

- Christian/Protestant (specify denomination) _____
- Catholic
- Muslim/Islamic
- Atheist/Agnostic
- None
- Jewish
- Other (specify) _____

12. Rate how your church/religion views homosexuality with 1 being wrong and sinful and 7 being full acceptance. (circle a number)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
wrong and sinful neutral full acceptance

13. Rate how your church/religion's position on homosexuality influence your daily life with 1 being not at all and 7 being constantly. (circle a number)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
not at all somewhat constantly

14. Are you a: (check one) Woman Man Transgender Person

15. What year were you born? 19_____

16. Are you or any other member of your household a member of a labor union? (check one)

- Yes
- No
- Don't know

17. Concerning where you live, do you: (check one) Own Rent Stay for free

18. Who do you live with in your household? (check all that apply)

- Children
- Parents (yours/your lovers)
- Other relatives
- Friend(s)/roommate(s)
- No one
- My straight/heterosexual lover/spouse
- My gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgendered lover

18a. What is the total number of people living in your household? _____

19. Which of the following racial groups comes closest to identifying you? (check and specify in space)

- Black/African American _____
- Afro-Caribbean _____
(e.g., Jamaican, Haitian etc.)
- African Immigrant _____
(e.g., Nigerian, Angolan, Ghanaian etc.)
- Hispanic/Latino(a) _____
(e.g., Chicano/a, Dominicano/a, Puerto Rican etc.)
- Multi-racial _____
(List all)
- Other _____
(e.g., Asian/Pacific Islander, Middle Eastern, Native American/American Indian)

20. What is your nationality?

- U.S. citizen Naturalized citizen Non-U.S. citizen (specify nationality) _____

21. Which one label comes **closest** to how you describe your sexual orientation? (check one)

- Gay Transgender One of the Children Same Gender Loving
 Lesbian Queer Two Spirit Straight/Heterosexual
 Bisexual In the life In the family Other _____

22. Do you have sex with:

- Exclusively women
 Mostly women
 Women and men equally
 Mostly men
 Exclusively men

23. Please rate each of the identities listed below with 1 being most important. (circle a number in each category)

- 1 2 3 Your Race
1 2 3 Your Sexual Orientation
1 2 3 Your Sex, Gender, or Gender Identity

24. What is your **current** relationship status? (check all that apply)

- Single In a committed relationship Married to a person of the opposite sex
 Dating Married to a person of the same sex

25. If you have children, how many children do you have? _____

25a. What is your relationship to the child(ren)? (check all that apply)

- Biological parent Foster parent Co-parent/Step-parent (My partner's child)
 Adoptive parent Other (i.e., Aunt, Uncle, Grandparent, etc.)

25b. How many children do you financially support? _____

26. Are you registered as a: (check one)

- Republican Democrat Independent
 Not at all Other (please specify) _____

27. Did you vote in the 1996 presidential election? Yes No

28. In general, when it comes to politics, how would you rate yourself on the following scale? (circle a number)

- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Liberal Conservative
Other (please explain) _____

29. In the last 5 years, have you done any of these things to protest something you encountered? (check all that apply)

- Contacted a public official Taken part in a protest meeting Voted in a local election
 Contacted a white GLBT organization Taken part in a march or rally Joined an organization
 Contacted a straight/heterosexual Black/African American organization Been arrested
 Signed a petition

30. Please answer the questions in the columns to the right regarding the following organizations. (circle yes or no in each box)

| | Have you heard of this organization? | | Have you attended an event of this organization? | | Does this organization represent and fight for the issues most important to you? | |
|--|--------------------------------------|----|--|----|--|----|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union) | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations) | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| BRC (Black Radical Congress) | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| HRC (Human Rights Campaign) | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| LLEGO (National Latino/a Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender Organization) | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| NBLGLF (National Black Lesbian and Gay Leadership Forum) | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| NBWHP (National Black Women's Health Project) | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| NCNW (National Council of Negro Women) | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| NGLTF (National Gay and Lesbian Task Force) | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| NOI (Nation of Islam) | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| NOW (National Organization of Women) | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |

31. How many years of school have you completed? (check one)

- 8 years or less (no high school) GED College degree
 Some high school Vocational training Some graduate/professional school
 Graduated from high school Some college Graduate/professional degree

32. Are you now: (check all that apply)

- A student In the military On disability Retired
 Employed full time Self-employed (if so, how many employees do you have? _____)
 Employed part time On public assistance (welfare etc.)
 Unemployed

33. What is your current occupation? (check one)

- Professional/technical (eg., doctor, lawyer, etc.) Sales Manager/administrator
 Service sector (eg., food, transportation, hospitality, etc.) Clerical Culture/arts
 Other (specify) _____

33a. Do you work in the: (check one)

- Private sector Government Military

34. What type of health insurance or benefits do you have? (check all that apply)

- Health benefits from job/union Covered by Medicare Pay for own health insurance
 Health insurance from lover/partner Covered by Medicaid No health insurance/benefits
 Health insurance from parents Covered by Military Health Care Other (specify) _____

35. Counting all of your income from all sources what was the total of your income for 1999?

| | Personal | Household (include everyone you live with) |
|--------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Up to \$8,349 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| \$8,350-\$11,249 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| \$11,250-\$14,149 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| \$14,150-\$22,849 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| \$22,850-\$29,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| \$30,000-\$39,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| \$40,000-\$49,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| \$50,000-\$74,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| \$75,000-\$99,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| \$100,000 and over | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Appendix B

BLACK PRIDE EVENTS

Below are the dates and contact information for 2002 Black Pride Events across the country, listed in chronological order. Events marked with a star (☆) were surveyed in the Black Pride Survey 2000.

Gay Black Pride South Florida
March 1st–3rd, 2002
P.O. box 680189
Miami, FL 33168-0189
gayblackpridesofla@yahoo.com
www.ifoic.homestead.com/
gbpsf.html

☆ Philadelphia Black Gay Pride
April 25th–28th, 2002
Colours, Inc.
1201 Chestnut St., 5th floor
Philadelphia, PA 19107
www.phillyblackpride.org

☆ Houston Splash
April 30th–May 6th, 2002
P.O. Box 667248
Houston, TX. 77266-7248
www.houston splash.com

Ebony Essence Pride
May 1st–31st
Black Gay Pride Birmingham, AL
Bham 601 Project/
Men of Mahogany
1665 University Blvd. Suite 420
Birmingham, AL 35294-0020
(205) 934-5759

☆ Washington DC
May 24th–26th, 2002
P. O. Box 77071
Washington, DC 20013
(202) 667-8188
dcblkpride@aol.com
www.dclblackpride.org

Boston Black Pride
June 13th–16th, 2002
Men of Color Against AIDS
(MOCAA)
100A Warrant St.
Roxbury, MA 02119
(617) 442-8020
information@unitypride.com
www.unitypride.com

Memphis Black Pride
June 14th–16th, 2002
3308 South Front Street
Memphis, TN 38103
(901) 523-0599

☆ Oakland BGLT Pride
June 14th–16th, 2002
484 Lakepark Ave. PBM #1
Oakland, CA 94610
(510) 268-0646
tbhcafe@pacbell.net
www.calblkprides.org

Northwest Gay and Lesbian
Pride Celebration
June 28th–29th, 2002
Backbone Productions
8301 8th Avenue South
Seattle, WA 98108
(206) 767-9756
bckboneprd@aol.com

☆ Windy City Black L.G.B.T.
Pride, Inc.
July 3rd–7th, 2002
1346 S. Michigan Avenue
Chicago, IL 60605
(312) 986-0661 Ext. 31
info@windycitypride.org
www.windycitypride.org

☆ **At the Beach**
July 4th–8th, 2002
4745 West Slauson Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90056
(323) 293-4282
atbla@aol.com
www.atbla.com

Central Florida Black Pride
July 5th–7th, 2002
861 6th Ave South
St. Petersburg, FL 33701
floridablpride@aol.com
www.floridablackpride.org

☆ **Hotter Than July**
July 26th–28th, 2002
Detroit Black Gay Pride, Inc.
P.O. Box 3025
Detroit, Michigan 48231
(313) 438-2613
detpride2000@yahoo.com
www.hotterthanjuly.com

St. Louis Black Gay & Lesbian
Pride
July 31st–August 4th, 2002
625 N. Euclid Ave., Ste. 320
St. Louis, MO 63108
(314) 865-1600

☆ **Black Pride NYC 2002:
Generations**
August 1st–4th, 2002
P.O. Box 20399
New York, NY 10011-0004
(212) 613-0097
blackpridenyc@hotmail.com
www.blackpridenyc.com

Black Unity Celebration
August 1st–4th, 2002
BlackOut Unlimited
1869 Prospect Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44115
(216) 621-0766 ext.245
info@blackoutunlimited.org
www.blackoutunlimited.org

Pittsburgh Black Pride
August 1st–4th, 2002
The Seven Project
239 Fourth Ave. Suite # 211
Pittsburgh, PA 15222
(412) 471-8480
7project7@choiceonemale.com

Jacksonville Black Pride
August 9th–12th, 2002
Throwdown 2002
440 Brody Cove Trail
Jacksonville, FL
cldima@aol.com

Kansas City, MO Black Pride
August 9th–11th, 2002
6301 Rockhill Road, Ste 314
Kansas City, MO 64131
(816) 444-4089
aaapkc@aol.com

Twin Cities Black Pride
August 22nd–25th, 2002
1433 E. Franklin Avenue, Suite
#12
Minneapolis, MN 55403
(612) 871-1788 ext. 15
roxanne@dist202.org

☆ **In the Life Atlanta Black
Gay Pride**
August 29th–Sept. 2nd, 2002
PO Box 7206
Atlanta, GA 30357-0206
(404) 872-6410
info@inthelifeatl.com
www.inthelifeatl.com

Dallas Pride Weekend
October 4th–6th, 2002
2204 Elm Street
Dallas, TX 75201
(214) 742-2102

San Francisco Black Pride
October 11th–17th, 2002
484 Lakepark Ave. PBM #1
Oakland, CA 94610
(510) 268-0646
tbhcafe@pacbell.net
www.calblkprides.org

The following event took place
in 2001, but no dates or contact
information for the 2002 event
was available at the time of press.

Phoenix Black Pride Celebration
October 27–30, 2001

Many other organizations serve the Black GLBT community. For a listing, please visit www.nglftf.org/pi/blackpride.htm. This is a list in progress. If you know of an organization serving the Black gay community which we have neglected to list, please email us at nglftf@nglftf.org

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bestsellers

Leaving Our Children Behind

WELFARE REFORM AND THE GAY, LESBIAN,
BISEXUAL, AND TRANSGENDER COMMUNITY

This report, by Sean Cahill and Kenneth T. Jones, is the first of its kind to critically analyze the impact of welfare reform on the GLBT community and to document the reactionary agenda of senior policymakers in the Bush administration. The paper examines fatherhood and marriage initiatives, abstinence-only-until-marriage education, and the faith-based initiative. (July 2001; 112 pp.; \$10.00 www.ngltf.org/pub.html)

The 2000 National Election Study and Gay and Lesbian Rights

SUPPORT FOR EQUALITY GROWS

For the first time in 2000, a solid majority of Republicans expressed support for sexual orientation nondiscrimination laws. In this report, Columbia University political scientist Alan Yang documents increased support for gay adoption, strong majority support for military service, and growing signs of a thaw in "affect," or like/dislike of gay men and lesbians. Yang's full analysis of the 2000 NES data can be downloaded at www.ngltf.org/downloads/NES2000.pdf. (June 2001; 10 pp.; www.ngltf.org/pub.html)

Social Discrimination and Health

THE CASE OF LATINO GAY MEN
AND HIV RISK

This report, by renowned AIDS researchers Rafael Diaz and George Ayala, documents the correlations among homophobia, racism, poverty, and HIV risk, and has significant implications for prevention strategies. Although Latinos were the subject of this case study, the findings are relevant to other communities of color and marginalized groups. Available in English and Spanish. (July 2001; 36 pp.; \$10.00 www.ngltf.org/pub.html)

Outing Age

PUBLIC POLICY ISSUES AFFECTING
GAY, LESBIAN, BISEXUAL AND TRANSGENDER ELDERS

This groundbreaking report reviews social science literature and explains what we do and do not know about the demographics of GLBT elders. *Outing Age* outlines major public policy issues facing GLBT seniors—including federal aging programs, disability, long-term care and caregiving, nursing homes, and Social Security—and presents recommendations for advocacy to move public policy toward equal treatment of this population. (June 2000; 96 pp.; \$10.00; www.ngltf.org/pub.html)

Transgender Equality

A HANDBOOK FOR ACTIVISTS
AND POLICYMAKERS

A handbook providing activists and policymakers with the tools they need to pass transgender-inclusive non-discrimination and anti-violence legislation. Written by Paisley Currah and Shannon Minter, with an introduction by Jamison Green. This handbook is an invaluable resource guide providing model legislative language, talking points, responses to frequently asked questions, and a comprehensive resource listing. (June 2000; 96 pp.; \$10.00; www.ngltf.org/pub.html)

Out and Voting II

THE GAY, LESBIAN, AND BISEXUAL VOTE
IN CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS, 1990-1998

An in-depth profile of the gay, lesbian, and bisexual voting bloc and the first-ever analysis of the impact of this emerging constituency in national congressional elections. By Dr. Robert Bailey of the Rutgers University School of Public Policy and Administration. Among the report's findings: out GLB voters comprise roughly 5% of the national electorate, and 8.8% of voters in cities of 500,000 or more. (January 2000; 54 pp.; \$10.00; www.ngltf.org/pub.html)

Redistricting

AND THE GAY, LESBIAN, BISEXUAL AND TRANSGENDER COMMUNITY: A STRATEGY MEMO

The redrawing of district lines for seats in the US House of Representatives, state legislatures and city councils from 2001-2002 offers both opportunities and risks for the GLBT community. This strategy memo explains redistricting to local and state activists and offers concrete strategies for working with civil rights and women's groups to push for districts which make the election of a pro-GLBT candidate more likely.

From Wrongs to Rights

PUBLIC OPINION ON GAY AND LESBIAN AMERICANS MOVES TOWARDS EQUALITY

This groundbreaking report, written by Alan Yang of the Department of Political Science at Columbia University, tracks public opinion trends over the last 26 years on various gay and lesbian rights issues including: employment and housing non-discrimination, family issues, marriage, adoption, and the military. (December 1999; 32pp; \$10.00; www.nglhf.org/downloads/yang99.pdf)

Legislating Equality

A REVIEW OF LAWS AFFECTING GAY, LESBIAN, BISEXUAL, AND TRANSGENDERED PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES

This comprehensive report, by Policy Institute Research Fellow Wayne van der Meide, provides the most extensive description to date of local, county and state laws addressing GLBT equality. This report is an invaluable tool for activists, journalists and policymakers who require reliable facts on laws affecting GLBT people. (January 2000; 96 pp; \$10.00; www.nglhf.org/pub.html)

Domestic Partnership Organizing Manual

This manual, by Policy Institute Research Fellow Sally Kohn, provides comprehensive information on what domestic partnership benefits are, why employers should adopt these benefits, and how employees and citizens organize effectively for policy change. Sample policies and lists of who offers domestic partnership benefits are included. (May 1999; 140pp; \$10.00; www.nglhf.org/pubs/dp_pubs.html)

Income Inflation

THE MYTH OF AFFLUENCE AMONG GAY, LESBIAN, AND BISEXUAL AMERICANS

This report, by Professor M.V. Lee Badgett, of the Department of Economics at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, explores the pervasive and inaccurate notion that GLB people form an economic elite, insulated from discrimination by their wealth and disconnected from society at large by a special, privileged status. After examining data from seven different surveys, she finds that none support this stereotype. (November 1998; 23pp; \$10.00; www.nglhf.org/downloads/income.pdf)

Calculated Compassion

HOW THE EX-GAY MOVEMENT SERVES THE RIGHT'S ATTACK ON DEMOCRACY

This report documents that the ex-gay movement serves as a camouflage for a retooled and reinvigorated assault by the religious right on legal anti-discrimination protections for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender persons. Calculated Compassion is a joint publication of NGLTF, Political Research Associates, and Equal Partners in Faith. (October 1998; 30pp; \$6.00; www.nglhf.org/downloads/calccomp.pdf)

Re-Thinking Elections

AN OP-ED SERIES ON CRITICAL ELECTORAL BATTLES FACING GLBT COMMUNITIES

This publication makes sense of the success of recent right-wing anti-gay ballot measures and encourages more rigorous thinking and effective action as we confront the ongoing wave of such measures. Author and Policy Institute Senior Fellow Dave Fleischer has trained hundreds of our communities leaders in managing campaigns, running for office, and leading ballot measure campaigns. (October 1999; 13pp; \$5.00 or FREE with other purchase; www.nglhf.org/pubs/rethink.pdf)

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