Coming Out, Stepping Up:
Organizing to build the power of LGBTQ youth

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Founded in 2000, FIERCE is a membership-based organization building the leadership and power of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) youth of color in New York City. We develop politically conscious leaders who are invested in improving ourselves and our communities through youth-led campaigns, leadership development programs, and cultural expression through arts and media. FIERCE is dedicated to cultivating the next generation of social justice movement leaders.

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I. BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW

Over the past three years, we have witnessed unprecedented changes in the United States and around the world, spanning incredible victories and major crises. We saw the historic election of the first black president of the United States while in the backdrop we braced ourselves for the worst economic conditions since the Great Depression. We also witnessed the legalization of same sex marriage in some states and the subsequent amendments barring the rights of same sex couples to marry. We also saw the rise of homelessness and increased rates of HIV infection amongst lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) youth of color.

History has taught us that crisis presents opportunities for change if people are organized and mobilized in large numbers. Within the LGBTQ community, the decline of sustained organizing and long-term leadership development in favor of strategies consisting solely of legal advocacy, litigation, and services presents the serious danger of losing ground we have already made and threatens to leave the most marginalized in our communities out of the picture.

This report is not only about highlighting the major problems facing LGBTQ youth, but also a call to action to the LGBTQ movement to invest in organizing as an essential strategy for change in general, and particularly amongst LGBTQ youth of color. The opportunity to organize for the change LGBTQ youth desperately need exists. As a movement, we do not have the time or luxury to let it slip away.

Who is FIERCE?

Founded in 2000, FIERCE is a membership-based organization building the leadership and power of LGBTQ youth of color in New York City. We develop politically conscious leaders who are invested in improving ourselves and our communities through youth-led campaigns, leadership development programs, and cultural expression through arts and media. FIERCE is dedicated to cultivating the next generation of social justice movement leaders.

FIERCE was founded because there were few organizations in New York City that could respond to the urgent needs of LGBTQ youth. While several organizations focus on LGBTQ youth, they primarily use service-oriented programming rather than organizing LGBTQ youth to direct our own social change agenda. FIERCE was founded on the principle that LGBTQ youth must realize and manifest our own social and political power to change our conditions, to shape our futures, and to become effective agents of change in our communities.

Purpose and Method of Survey

The LGBTQ youth organizing needs survey is part of FIERCE’s emerging national program, which aims to develop more strategic and effective LGBTQ youth organizing and deepen LGBTQ youth leadership in broader social justice movement-building efforts. The LGBTQ youth organizing survey is our first step in assessing the needs of LGBTQ youth organizers and organizations.

A total of 88 invitations were sent to LGBTQ youth organizations, projects, and programs housed in larger social justice organizations. We received 62 (40 online and 22 hardcopy surveys) responses. In addition, we did some follow up phone calls to survey participants who did not finish the survey questions. Members who were surveyed responded to a set of questions aimed at their perception of leadership in their organization. The report summarizes the following key questions from the survey:

- What are the most urgent issues facing LGBTQ youth?
- Are organizations using a youth organizing strategy to address the needs of LGBTQ youth?
- How are organizations doing youth organizing work and what challenges or barriers do they face?
- What do LGBTQ youth organizations need to become more effective in youth organizing?

This report highlights the major findings from the surveys and points us toward initial answers about the state of LGBTQ youth organizing. It also provides recommendations for future directions and strategies for this work.
What is Youth Organizing?

This survey is based on the belief that youth organizing is an important strategy to create effective and meaningful change. The Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing (FCYO) offers a helpful definition of youth organizing.

“Youth organizing is an innovative youth development and social justice strategy that trains young people in community organizing and advocacy, and assists them in employing these skills to alter power relations and create meaningful institutional change in their communities.”

Youth Organizing combines three central elements:

- **Developing Leadership and Political Consciousness**
  Youth organizing uses activities such as political education and critical analysis tools and develops young people into politically conscious organizers for social justice. In addition, it also involves developing organizing skills, such as community-led research, campaign development, direct action strategy, and membership recruitment. Consequently, youth organizing is about developing leadership skills alongside political analysis.

- **Building Power**
  Youth organizing relies on the power and leadership of youth acting on issues defined by and affecting young people and their communities. It involves young people in the design, implementation, and evaluation of these efforts. Youth organizing is also about building a membership base of youth members through member recruitment and retention strategies as well as building across movements with other communities.

- **Exercising Power**
  Youth organizing is about exercising our power to create meaningful institutional change in communities. Youth organizing alters the perception of youth in the community by adults and policymakers, and brings young people and their perspectives into important networks and decision-making bodies. Youth organizing is also about young people exercising their individual and collective leadership and decision-making capacity and strengthening the belief in the potential for positive systemic change.

Ultimately, youth organizing is a critical strategy because it builds the capacity of young people to organize; grounds their leadership skills in the current political conditions; seeks to alter existing power relations; connects youth to broader social justice issues; and places young people in the center of decision-making processes in organizations and policy advocacy struggles.

Profile of Organizations Surveyed

The majority (47.5%) of those surveyed reported a staff capacity between 0 - 5 staff. In addition, the annual budgets of most (40.3%) of the organizations are at or below $200,000. All organizations represented in this survey indicated that they work with LGBTQ youth in various settings and communities. Although member leadership looks and means different things to different organizations, more than half of the organizations reported that they have a structure to support and prioritize member leadership. Those who responded to the survey come from organizations across the country, with the Southern region being the least represented. On the following page is a map showing where LGBTQ organizations are located.

Roadmap to the Summary Report

This summary report is divided into two main sections; the first identifies the problems facing LGBTQ youth and the organizations that serve them, and the second lays out how the implementation of a youth organizing strategy can provide a solution to those problems. The “problem” section is split into three parts: the first identifies the intensifying issues facing LGBTQ youth, the second reports on the disconnect between the problems identified and the issues currently being addressed by the LGBTQ community and the third explains the lack of an effective organizing strategy within LGBTQ organizations to address these issues facing LGBTQ youth. The “solution” section provides three overarching solutions, as identified by the survey respondents. Each of the three solutions is followed by FIERCE’s concrete recommendations for developing and implementing a youth organizing model within LGBTQ youth organizations.
The State of LGBTQ Youth Organizing

A recent survey (2009) by FIERCE revealed that lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) youth increasingly face homelessness, limited access to safe public space and safe social services, as well as gender-based violence. However, the survey also highlighted how LGBTQ youth organizations are not well-positioned to address these mounting challenges. FIERCE believes that in order to address the gap of youth leadership in the LGBTQ movement and to better position our organizations to create change, we need to build the presence of youth organizing. The Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing (FCYO) offers a helpful framework for defining youth organizing: youth organizing is an innovative youth development and social justice strategy that trains young people in community organizing and advocacy and assigns them in employing these skills in order to create meaningful institutional change in their communities (www.fcyo.org). Youth organizing combines three essential elements: developing leadership and political consciousness, building political power, and exercising political power in ways that create meaningful change and place young people at the decision-making table. This map of LGBTQ youth organizing in the United States reveals how the majority of LGBTQ youth organizations primarily provide much-needed direct services but are not building the political power of LGBTQ youth through youth-led structures. While there is no doubt that we need more safe social services for LGBTQ youth, the political and economic root causes of the issues LGBTQ youth face must be addressed through a youth organizing strategy. FIERCE is committed to altering the landscape of LGBTQ youth organizing by increasing the capacity of LGBTQ youth to organize, build political consciousness, and increase political power. We see this as a necessary step towards ensuring that the LGBTQ movement prioritizes the needs and leadership of young people and people of color while working in solidarity with other social justice movements.

Organizations on the Map

[Map with various organizations listed and represented on a map]
FIERCE's organizing model demonstrates the central elements of youth organizing

LGBTQ youth living in New York City struggle with being kicked out of their homes, unsafe schools, lack of social services and a lack of safe public space. The Christopher Street pier in the West Village has been a historic safe space where LGBTQ youth gather to be free from the threat and fear of violence. However, over the last several years, this safe public space has been threatened by gentrification and the development of high-end, luxury retail and entertainment uses that are not accessible for the community. In order to ensure that LGBTQ youth can access the public space that they need to be safe, FIERCE began an organizing campaign. This organizing work has yielded significant victories and is one example of the critical importance of LGBTQ youth organizing.

Building Power: Although FIERCE was once seen as a group of outsiders in the West Village, over the past several years FIERCE members have organized to build power and influence. In doing so, FIERCE has gained the respect and cooperation of various community stakeholders and elected officials. FIERCE has done this by conducting outreach in the West Village community; in LGBTQ shelters and service organizations in order to build a base of LGBTQ youth that are impacted by the lack of access to safe public space.

Developing Leadership and Political Consciousness: FIERCE has also developed a Campaign Steering Committee composed of FIERCE members, where LGBTQ youth make decisions about how to best address the issues that are facing them. Many FIERCE members also participate in the Education for Liberation Project (ELP) to develop political consciousness and deepen their understanding of power and ways to achieve systematic change.

Exercising Power: Through diligent research and political education, outreach and base-building, consistent attendance at local Community Board 2 meetings, strategic use of media and building alliances with LGBTQ organizations and West Village residents, FIERCE has won concrete victories and secured additional power and input into the future development of the piers. These include: preventing the barricading of LGBTQ youth from Christopher Street at 1am, preventing the development of a high-end entertainment complex on Pier 40, developing a broadly supported plan for community development of the piers that includes a 24-hour LGBTQ youth center, and the appointment of FIERCE to the Mayoral LGBTQ homeless youth commission and the Hudson River Park Advisory Council.
Gender JUST

Based in Chicago, Gender JUST is a multi-racial, multi-ethnic, and multi-generational grassroots organization of LGBTQ young people, people of color, and community members committed to developing leadership and building power through organizing.

Gender JUST organizes around the interconnected issues of heterosexism and violence in the Chicago public school system, the privatization of public resources, and diminishing public health resources for LGBTQ communities – all of which have disproportionately affected LGBTQ people of color, trans communities, and young people.

Through an organizing strategy that has prioritized the leadership of LGBTQ youth, Gender JUST has increased the political power of LGBTQ youth and their influence over education and public health policy in Chicago. Organizers at Gender JUST have mobilized large numbers of community members to accountability sessions with the Chicago Public School and the Chicago Department of Public Health. In this way, Gender JUST has prioritized the demands of LGBTQ youth that address the privatization of Chicago’s school system, public school closings, the lack of LGBTQ & gender non-conforming (GNC)-affirming curricula, and uneven distribution of gay-straight alliances throughout Chicago’s schools, which has excluded youth of color.

GLOBE

GLOBE: A Group to Support and Empower the Bushwick LGBT Community of Make the Road New York is a multi-generational group led by LGBTQ people of color in Brooklyn. Since 1998, GLOBE has worked to create a space where LGBTQ people of color, including youth, can develop their leadership, engage in political education, and create campaigns that can help them achieve their goals.

Reports of job discrimination based on transgender identity sparked a community-led investigation into the biased hiring practices in the retail industry in Brooklyn. GLOBE is about to launch a campaign to combat gender identity discrimination in the retail industry. In addition to the challenges of a struggling economy, LGBTQ youth entering the job market face discriminatory practices that make employment harder to find, ultimately contributing to further economic hardships.

Despite the laws in New York City that make gender identity discrimination illegal, GLOBE exposed that the laws that are supposed to protect LGBTQ people often fail to do so. Through GLOBE’s organizing model, LGBTQ people of color are leading the way to address the root causes of poverty and how employers are held accountable for gender identity discrimination.
II. THE PROBLEMS FACING LGBTQ YOUTH AND CHALLENGES TO YOUTH ORGANIZING

1. TRANSPHOBIA, HOMELESSNESS AND LACK OF SERVICES ARE INTENSIFYING FOR LGBTQ YOUTH.

Issues facing LGBTQ youth are mounting, particularly during the current economic crisis when locally and federally funded services are being cut and unemployment rates are increasing. According to those surveyed, the two most important issues confronting LGBTQ youth in the next five years will be transphobia/gender-based violence and the intersection of growing homelessness with a lack of safe social services for LGBTQ youth. Additionally, many respondents predicted that homelessness, poverty, and depleting resources for LGBTQ youth, especially youth of color, will have even more drastic effects over the next five years than they do today.

Transphobia and Gender Based Violence

According to one survey respondent, we need to find ways to “deal with how difficult and unsafe it is for trans youth” to come out and be safe. The respondents highlighted the need for LGBTQ youth organizers to address transphobia in our community and to broaden our struggle against violence to include violence based on dominant gender norms. One respondent added that “some trans youth need medical services, an increasingly important issue as medical tech[nology] advances and as more youth come out [as] trans earlier.” In addition, “accessing health care and housing [as well as] being able to access public services without discrimination” is central to the safety of LGBTQ youth, especially trans youth.

Intersection of Homelessness with Cuts to Social Services

Many who were surveyed echoed the view that “we will see lots of LGBTQ youth become homeless, need safe job and school access, and a slew of other basic needs” in the next few years. As one respondent noted, “at least half, if not more, of the youth [in our city] on the homeless spectrum are LGBTQ.” The responses that highlighted this trend stressed that the next five years is not going to be about one single issue like homelessness. Instead, LGBTQ youth will likely experience an intersection of drastic cuts to services (access to health care, clothing, food, housing and other basic needs), limited access to jobs, homelessness, violence, criminalization, and increasing poverty. One survey respondent advocated for a strategy that focused on the problem of “increased privatization of . . . services and public benefits” which will all have a disproportionate impact on queer and trans youth of color.
2. THESE ISSUES ARE NOT CURRENTLY BEING PRIORITIZED BY MANY ORGANIZATIONS WITHIN THE LGBTQ MOVEMENT.

While the issues prioritized by survey respondents include gender-based violence, homelessness and a lack of social services, these are not the same issues being tackled by most LGBTQ organizations, particularly those with the most resources and capacity. While some organizing work is taking place, it generally does not focus on issues identified by our survey respondents.

Notably, most survey respondents saw marriage equality as the least urgent issue. This is significant because of the current prioritization and influx of resources towards marriage equality by mainstream LGBTQ organizations. One respondent stated, “I personally feel like marriage equality has consumed LGBTQ organizing, despite the fact that while many youth here support it, they’re not asking to get married when they walk in the door… they’re asking for housing, employment, access to health care, clothing, food, and other basic needs.” In addition, the majority of those surveyed emphasized that LGBTQ youth organizers and leaders need to be engaged in grassroots policy advocacy to address the urgent issues facing LGBTQ youth.

While our survey identified several LGBTQ youth organizations that have interest and capability to organize LGBTQ youth around issues such as gender-based violence and homelessness, many lack the tools and support necessary to do so effectively.
3. LGBTQ YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS ARE PRIMARILY SERVICE-BASED AND NOT ENGAGED IN THE ORGANIZING WORK NECESSARY TO CHANGE CONDITIONS FOR LGBTQ YOUTH.

Respondents overwhelmingly identified the need to build a multi-strategy movement (e.g. direct services, organizing, media advocacy, etc.) to meet the immediate needs of LGBTQ youth, while simultaneously changing the systems that produce conditions such as transphobia, homelessness and lack of services. However, few organizations reported utilizing a youth organizing strategy (including developing leadership and political consciousness; building power and exercising power) that could achieve the above need. Instead, the majority of those surveyed said that their organizations primarily focus on service-based work and leadership development programs. Survey respondents indicated a strong commitment and interest in youth organizing principles, yet many LGBTQ youth organizations agree they are falling short of this goal. The excerpts below show the gap that exists for these organizations in implementing an effective organizing strategy.

**Organizations are focused on services, but not building power**
One respondent said that they “rely on what funding is available and sometimes this drives services.”¹⁰ For another respondent, their organization “partnered with other social service organizations and with businesses… to establish a 24 hour safe place sites for runaway youth.”¹¹ Another respondent outlined the work of the organization to hold workshops for individuals and schools, “provide resources and information to community members,” and produce educational literature on community issues.

**Organizations are building leadership, but not exercising power**
A LGBTQ youth organizer stated that their organization is “still developing [their] membership structure” to build their capacity.¹² Another organizer noted that their current work is “mainly in a leadership building phase.”¹³ For some respondents, this also meant providing spaces for public education about safe spaces for LGBTQ youth. Some respondents said that they have “provided multiple community trainings,”¹⁴ and are active during Pride events.¹⁵ One organizer explained that their organization is gradually moving towards “developing a program to give youth the tools and analysis to develop campaigns, but it is just getting off the ground.”¹⁶

**Organizations do not involve youth leaders in decision-making**
Another major barrier identified by LGBTQ youth organizers was the lack of an organizational structure to support member leadership in decision-making and strategy development. For example a respondent stated, “…ideas are generated via hierarchical structures where program staff and youth are consulted after the fact.”¹⁷ Another respondent added that they have membership advisory boards and councils “but ultimately, the agency is who decides” the content and the timing of our programs.¹⁸ Many others also stated that members in the organization ultimately do not have leadership roles in real decision-making structures. These comments echoed this response: “we are not a membership organization …it is most often our staff and board that actually makes both the larger and everyday decisions of the organization and work.”¹⁹

**Organizations do not have the resources to implement an organizing strategy**
Finally, one key challenge LGBTQ youth organizations reported was limited financial resources and staff capacity. In addition, those surveyed said that the lack of an organizational political analysis and shared investment on an issue was also challenging. Those surveyed said that organizational leaders are often overworked, isolated, and do not have experience with effective and empowering youth-adult partnership models.

Despite the fact that many LGBTQ youth organizations do not currently have the resources to implement an organizing strategy, this survey shows that many are interested in developing the capacity to be able to do so.
III. SOLUTIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

To close the gap in LGBTQ youth organizing and ensure that the issues of importance to LGBTQ youth are brought to the forefront, the LGBTQ community needs to build and implement a LGBTQ youth organizing strategy on a national scale. Specifically, we need to ensure that LGBTQ youth organizations are using a youth-led model, building the capacity to organize through skill sharing and technical assistance, and developing progressive campaign agendas that address the urgent issues facing LGBTQ youth. Survey respondents identified three overall solutions to address the needs of LGBTQ youth and to expand effective LGBTQ youth organizing. For each of the three solutions, FIERCE has outlined specific and concrete recommendations for how LGBTQ youth organizations can implement these solutions in their work. If implemented, these solutions will put LGBTQ youth in a more strategic position to create change.

1. Raise the political consciousness of LGBTQ youth leaders using a youth-led organizing model.

Recommendations:
- Develop effective LGBTQ leaders and organizers through strengthening youth-led models and decision-making structures;
- Share and develop political education and organizing skills curriculum aimed at developing conscious organizers;
- Build the membership base of organizations to a larger scale in order to increase power and leverage more victories. This includes developing base-building strategies to reach more LGBTQ youth and to increase the capacity of organizations to do effective base-building.

2. Build the capacity of organizations and organizers to do youth organizing.

Recommendations:
- LGBTQ youth organizations should deliberately share organizing skills, effective organizational structures, and campaign strategies;
- Coordinate regional and national LGBTQ youth organizing summits to provide the opportunity to hold trainings, technical assistance, and peer exchanges with LGBTQ youth organizations;
- Develop and distribute political education, organizing skills, and organizational development curriculum to LGBTQ youth organizations who want to shift to organizing and LGBTQ youth looking to create organizations;
- Increase funding and resources available for youth organizing as a strategy for change amongst LGBTQ youth, especially youth of color and low-income youth.

3. Develop a LGBTQ youth organizing agenda that addresses urgent issues.

Recommendations:
- Influence future national LGBTQ movement policy priorities to involve issues of homelessness, access to public space, safety from interpersonal and institutional violence, and increased government resources for social services;
- Build a multi-strategy movement, which emphasizes organizing as a strategy for change, and that can respond to the immediate needs of LGBTQ youth, especially low-income youth of color;
- Build national progressive LGBTQ movement vehicles capable of winning local and national policy fights. Shape a more progressive LGBTQ movement that relates to other social justice movements and focuses on racial, economic, and gender justice.
ENDNOTES

1 No more than three surveys were represented from each organization. In the case where organizations sent more surveys we chose three at random to input the data. We did this to prevent the data from becoming too reflective of any one organization.

2 http://www.fcyo.org/whatisyouthorganizing

3 Question 23, Respondent 8

4 Question 23, Respondent 12

5 Question 23, Respondent 23

6 Question 23, Respondent 22

7 Question 23, Respondent 2

8 Question 23, Respondent 20

9 Question 23, Respondent 10

10 Question 13, Respondent 4

11 Question 15, Respondent 1

12 Question 13, Respondent 8

13 Question 13, Respondent 11

14 Question 15, Respondent 13

15 Question 15, Respondent 23

16 Question 13, Respondent 12

17 Question 13, Respondent 5

18 Question 13, Respondent 9

19 Question 13, Respondent 1
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