

Queer Dreams and Nonprofit **Blues**

Dilemmas of the Nonprofit Tradition in LGBT Politics

National Conference

October 4–5, 2013

**Center for Gender
and Sexuality Law**

Columbia Law School

Produced by | The Engaging Tradition Project,
Center for Gender and Sexuality Law

and

Co-Sponsored by | Barnard Center for Research on Women

Resources

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We have begun to gather articles and resources online that address queer and social change nonprofits and issues raised in this conference. These articles are will be made available on the web site for Queer Dreams and Nonprofit Blues, at <http://bcrw.barnard.edu/queerdreams> and at the Engaging Tradition Project at the Center for Gender and Sexuality Law web site: <http://web.law.columbia.edu/gender-sexuality/engaging-tradition-project>.

If you have additional citations to add to this list, please email the citation to the article to us at: gender_sexuality_law@law.columbia.edu

Conference Team: Janet Jakobsen, Dean Spade, Urvashi Vaid, with critical support from Hope Dector, Katherine Franke, Cindy Gao, Lauren Gutterman, Anne Jonas, Catherine Sameh, and Carla Sutherland.

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Conference Logo and Design: Debbie Nadolney, Art Market Provincetown

**Queer Dreams and
Nonprofit Blues**

Welcome

Welcome to the Queer Dreams and Nonprofit Blues conference. Today, more than 1.6 million US nonprofit organizations are registered with the Internal Revenue Service (IRS).¹ In 2011, 502 LGBT focused nonprofits were registered as tax-exempt corporations, and they raised \$508 million dollars.²

This conference emerges out of our experience working inside both formal nonprofit organizations and broader queer and social justice movements. It also emerges from the critical thinking and practice of activists and scholars addressing the ways in which the nonprofit form both enables and inhibits possibilities for fundamental social change.

We designed the conference to explore how the nonprofit form and its attendant traditions of governance, financing, staffing, organizational performance, and goal setting affect the aspirations, organization, mobilization and vision of LGBT politics – primarily in the U.S.

Our goal is to explore nonprofit infrastructure and its logics, especially the dilemmas and contradictions it creates within the queer movement, and to explore the creative ways that activists and scholars are working to broaden participation and accountability, widen the sight of LGBT politics and create new forms of radical practice.

This Conference grows out of the work of the Engaging Tradition Project at the Center for Gender and Sexuality Law at Columbia Law School, which examines the myriad ways that concepts of tradition and traditions of practice serve as obstacles and potential resources to gender and sexual justice projects.

Thank you for being here and we look forward to our conversations.

Janet Jakobsen, *Director, Barnard Center for Research on Women*

Dean Spade, *Visiting Professor, Engaging Tradition Project and Associate Professor of Law, Seattle University School of Law*

Urvashi Vaid, *Director, Engaging Tradition Project, Center for Gender & Sexuality Law, Columbia Law School*

¹ *The Nonprofit Sector In Brief: Public Charities, Giving and Volunteering*, 2012, Urban Institute, National Center for Charitable Statistics, <http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/412674-The-Nonprofit-Sector-in-Brief.pdf>. Nonprofits that generate more than \$25,000 in income must file an annual tax return.

² Movement Advancement Project, *2012 National Movement Report: A Financial Overview of Leading Advocacy Organizations in the LGBT Movement*, December 2012, p. 4 at <http://www.lgbtmap.org/file/2012-national-lgbt-movement-report.pdf>.

Schedule at a Glance

Conference sessions will be held at
Jerome Greene Hall, 435 W. 116th Street.

OCTOBER 4, 2013, FRIDAY

9:00 – 10:30 | Opening Plenary:

Non-Profit Blues: Building Movements Within Neoliberalism. Andrea Smith, N'Tanya Lee, Dean Spade, Urvashi Vaid. **Moderator:** Katherine Franke

10:30-11:00 | Break

11:00 - 12:30 | Concurrent Workshop Session I

1. LGBT Anti-Violence Work and Movement Infrastructure: Emily Thuma, Angélica Cházaro, Beth Richie, Christina Hanhardt, Soniya Munshi.

Moderator: Carmen Vázquez

2. The HIV/AIDS Struggle: History, Impact and Contemporary Shape: John Manuel Andriote, Che Gossett, Wayne Starks, Jason Walker.

Moderator: JD/Julie Davids

3. Marrying The State: And Other Queer Dilemmas: Craig Willse, Kenyon Farrow, J. Kēhaulani Kauanui. **Moderator:** Lisa Duggan

12:30 – 2:00 | Lunch – on your own

2:00 – 3:30 | Concurrent Workshops II

1. Cultural Work: Finding Our People, Finding Our Politics: Abe Rybeck, Toshi Reagon, Mimi Thi Nguyen, Randi Romo. **Moderator:** Rosamond King

2. Accountability Dilemmas In The Global Context: Jin Haritaworn, Haneen Maikey, Mauro Cabral, Carla Sutherland. **Moderator:** Alok Vaid-Menon

3. Can Philanthropy and Democracy be Reconciled?: Gara LaMarche, David Barr, Gabriel Foster, Christine Ahn. **Moderator:** J. Bob Alotta

3:30 – 4:00 | Break

4:00 – 5:30 | Plenary II:

Queer Dreams: Building Alternative Queer/ Trans Social Justice Infrastructure: Elana Redfied, Maria Carolina Morales, Paulina Helm-Hernandez.

Moderator: Suzanne Pharr

5:30 – 6:30 | Welcome Reception

Hosted by Barnard Center for Research on Women, James Room, 4th Floor Barnard Hall

OCTOBER 5, 2013, SATURDAY

9:00 – 10:30 | Concurrent Workshops III

1. Funding the Unpopular: Innovative Models of Funding: Andre Banks, Ezra Berkley Nepon, Andrea Ritchie, Shira Hassan. **Moderator:** Dean Spade

2. Non-Profit Governance: Critical Reflections on Boards: Judy Freiwirth, Richard Burns, Jason Lydon, Graciela Sánchez. **Moderator:** Janet Jakobsen

3. Restructuring Leadership Beyond Diversity & Tokenism: Clarence Patton, Emerson Brisbon, Felipe Sousa-Rodriguez, Leslie Freeman.

Moderator: Purvi Shah

10:30-11:00 | Break

11:00 – 12:30 | Plenary III:

The Coming (and Present) Funding Crisis in LGBT Work: Mara Keisling, Trishala Deb, Ben Francisco Maulbeck, Sangeeta Budhiraja.

Moderator: Frances Kunreuther

12:30 – 2:00 | Lunch – on your own

2:00 – 3:30 | Concurrent workshops IV

1. Funding and Fundraising Across Class Divides: Stephanie Roth, Charles King, Monami Maulik, Tiny (aka Lisa Gray-Garcia). **Moderator:** Katherine Acey

2. Why Can't We Get it Right?: Reina Gossett, Suzanne Pharr, Urvashi Vaid. **Moderator:** Imani Henry

3. Abolishing the NPIC: Yasmin Nair, Kate Raphael, Erica Meiners, Karma Chávez. **Moderator:** Eric Stanley

3:30 – 4:00 | Break

4:00 – 5:30 | Closing Plenary:

Conference Summary: Janet Jakobsen and Dorian Warren

Detailed Program

OCTOBER 4, 2013, FRIDAY

9:00 – 10:30 | Opening Plenary: Nonprofit Blues: Building Movements Within Neoliberalism.

Activists and organizers in many social movements have had to confront the ways that operating through nonprofit structures affects our organizations and, consequently, our political action and demands. How has LGBT resistance been affected by the changing nature of the state under neoliberal economic and political regimes? How has nonprofitization impacted LGBT work over the last few decades?

Moderator: Katherine Franke, Columbia Law School. **Presenters:** Dean Spade, Seattle University School of Law and Columbia Law School; Urvashi Vaid, Columbia Law School; Andrea Smith, Co-founder INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, Associate Professor of Media and Cultural Studies, University of California, Riverside; N'Tanya Lee, Consultant, Organizer and coordinating committee member of LeftRoots.

10:30-11:00 | Break

11:00 - 12:30 | Concurrent Workshop Session I LGBT Anti-Violence Work and Movement Infrastructure.

The anti-violence movement has been a flash-point of critique of the Non-Profit Industrial Complex in recent years, as anti-violence activists and scholars have increasingly named the ways that the nonprofitization of anti-domestic violence activism has supported its alignment with the state's expansion of criminalization, investing in strategies that particularly fail women of color and immigrant women and increase the capacity of the criminal system that perpetrates enormous violence. This panel will explore the difficulties and contradictions of this area of

work, offering models for developing LGBT anti-violence movement infrastructure that addresses the concerns that have emerged and seeks to avoid the pitfalls that have been identified. **Moderator:** Carmen Vázquez, Organizer and LGBT anti-violence and health advocate. **Presenters:** Emily Thuma, University of Washington, Bothell; Soniya Munshi, CUNY Borough of Manhattan Community College; Angélica Cházaro, Northwest Immigrant Rights Project; Beth Richie, University of Illinois-Chicago; Christina Hanhardt, University of Maryland, College Park.

The HIV/AIDS Struggle: History, Impact and Contemporary Shape.

During the last 30 years, our communities have developed significant structures for coping with HIV/AIDS—service organizations providing healthcare and housing, harm reduction projects often operating underground or outside of law, advocacy organizations working on law and policy issues, education organizations and direct action projects, among others. This panel will examine how these various models of organizing and caring have developed and been contested, and tensions and contradictions that arise for HIV nonprofits today. **Moderator:** Julie/JD Davids, HIV Prevention Justice Alliance. **Presenters:** John Manuel Andriote, Writer and Journalist; Che Gossett, Writer and Activist; Wayne Starks, VOCAL-NY; Jason Walker, VOCAL-NY.

Marrying the State and Other Queer Dilemmas.

At the very instant that the state is shrinking its engagement with poverty reduction, and social service delivery, LGBTQ organizations seek more from the state. From recognition to redistribution, what are the challenges facing queer organizations in a neoliberal time? **Moderator:** Lisa Duggan, New York University. **Presenters:** Craig Willse, George Mason University; Kenyon Farrow, Writer and Activist; J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, Wesleyan University.

Detailed Program cont'd

12:30 – 2:00 | Lunch – on your own

2:00 – 3:30 | Concurrent Workshops II
Cultural Work: Finding Our People, Finding Our Politics: How Queer Cultural Work Builds Movements.

Artistic and cultural work has traditionally been important to social movements. From street theater to people's art projects, cultural work has been crucial to building both political understanding and engagement with movements and issues. Recent LGBT movements carry forward these traditions, while also expanding and queering the meaning of cultural work. How can movements and organizations best support this work and how can the work support our movements? **Moderator:** Rosamond King, Brooklyn College. **Presenters:** Abe Rybeck, Theater Offensive; Toshi Reagon, Singer, Songwriter, Organizer; Mimi Thi Nguyen, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign; Randi Romo, Center for Artistic Revolution.

“Can Democracy and Philanthropy Be Reconciled?”: The Role of Philanthropic Foundations in Financing Social Movements.

The queer movement has been built and sustained through the time, services and money given by queer and trans individuals. Historically, philanthropic institutions and large individual donors have provided a small fraction of the support for LGBT organizations and activism. What are the challenges presented to social movements by their dependence on foundations? Can the private foundation process be democratized to allow input from communities? **Moderator:** J. Bob Alotta, Astraea Foundation. **Presenters:** Gara LaMarche, NYU Wagner School; David Barr, Fremont Institute; Gabriel Foster, Trans Justice Funding Project/SRLP; Christina Ahn, Global Fund for Women.

Accountability Dilemmas in the Global Context: The Challenges of Engaging with Human Rights Frameworks to Advance SOGI.

In 2012, Hillary Clinton declared, “gay rights are human rights.” This claim raises significant and hotly de-

bated questions about how US-centered frameworks for understanding sexual orientation and gender identity, along with particular framings of “equality” often centered in marriage and military participation are being used to measure other countries to determine if they respect human rights. Funding for this international gay advocacy work seems to be growing in popularity, with some foundations and donors shifting their focus away from US programs and toward the international realm. This panel will explore how these developments relate to long-standing critiques of universal human rights frameworks, particularly critiques of feminist and HIV/AIDS work based in the US and programmed in other countries. **Moderator:** Alok Vaid-Menon, Organizer and Poet. **Presenters:** Jin Haritaworn, York University; Mauro Cabral, Global Action for Trans Equality; Carla Sutherland, Columbia Law School; Haneen Maikey, al-Qaws for Sexual & Gender Diversity in Palestinian Society.

3:30 – 4:00 | Break

4:00 – 5:30 | Plenary II:
Queer Dreams: Building Alternative Queer/Trans Social Movement Infrastructure.

This panel features organizations that have sought to build alternatives to the traditional ways of working within non-profit structures. They will describe the alternatives they have developed and discuss the challenges and opportunities that exist in their novel approaches. Topics include scale and impact, tax status, hierarchies inside organizations, racial justice organizational development approaches, collective governance, salary structures, volunteer work, community accountability, membership structures, funding, conflict resolution and more. **Moderator:** Suzanne Pharr, Writer and Organizer. **Presenters:** Elana Redfield, Sylvia Rivera Law Project; Paulina Helm-Hernandez, Southerners On New Ground; Maria Carolina Morales, Communities United Against Violence.

5:30 – 6:30 | Welcome reception

Hosted by Barnard Center for Research on Women, James Room, 4th Floor Barnard Hall

OCTOBER 5, 2013, SATURDAY

9:00 – 10:30 | Concurrent Workshops III Nonprofit Governance: Critical Reflections on Boards in Social Change Organizations.

The nonprofit form legally mirrors corporate structure in the delegation of governance authority to small, self-selected boards of directors. Data from the Urban Institute notes that like corporate boards, nonprofit boards are not diverse by race, gender, sexual orientation, economic background, or representation by the constituency served. Yet, innovations to the form mandated by law are possible and being enacted by many grassroots nonprofits. How can traditional board governance be transformed to reflect social change values?

Moderator: Janet Jakobsen, Barnard College.
Presenters: Judy Freiwirth, Nonprofit Solutions Associates; Jason Lydon, Black and Pink; Graciela Sánchez, Esperanza Peace & Justice Center; Richard Burns, Funding Exchange.

Funding the Unpopular: Innovative Models of Funding Social Justice.

Funding work that is with populations not in the mainstream or that are marginalized and stigmatized in multiple ways remains a challenge. Activists and organizers have to use creative strategies to address this dynamic. What innovative approaches to fundraising have been attempted by groups working with such populations? Do online and grassroots fundraising strategies offer hope to LGBT movement organizations? **Moderator:** Dean Spade, Columbia Law School. **Presenters:** Andre Banks, ALL OUT; Ezra Berkley Nepon, Writer and Fundraising Consultant; Andrea Ritchie, Streetwise & Safe; Shira Hassan, Consultant and former director, Young Women's Empowerment Project.

Re-structuring Leadership Beyond Diversity and Tokenism.

In much of LGBT advocacy, leadership has been
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developed and vested in white, middle class, cis-gender people who are lawyers or other professionals. People of color, people with disabilities, youth, old people and trans people, and in some spaces, women, are either absent from leadership or used as tokens to justify agendas made without meaningful consultation or accountability to the people they are supposed to stand in for. This panel will discuss these dynamics, and feature speakers who have developed methods and programs for leadership development to build a social justice-centered queer and trans resistance. What has worked and what challenges remain?

Moderator: Purvi Shah, Center for Constitutional Rights. **Presenters:** Clarence Patton, Pipeline Project; Emerson Brisbon, FIERCE!; Felipe Souza-Rodriguez, Get EQUAL; Leslie Freeman, Artist and Activist, Past Moderator, Queer and Trans Caucus of Society for Disabilities Studies.

10:30-11:00 | Break

11:00 – 12:30 | Plenary III: The Coming (and Present) Funding Crisis for LGBT Work: How Do We Finance the Work that is not Being Done?

This Roundtable discussion looks ahead at the funding horizon for nonprofits to consider if there is a funding crisis for LGBT work, and if so, what are its contours? How does funding get distributed and how will it cascade over the next decade? Where is the funding focused and how does it in turn focus the work of the LGBT movement? What is the impact of trends or fads in philanthropy (like venture philanthropy, measurable outcomes or project support)? Which populations in the movement are served and which are not? What is the correlation between what is funded and what is moved?

Moderator: Frances Kunreuther, Building Movement Project. **Presenters:** Mara Keisling, National Center for Transgender Equality; Trishala Deb, Caring Across Generations; Ben Francisco Maulbeck, Funders for Lesbian & Gay Issues; Sangeeta Budhiraja, Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice.

Detailed Program cont'd

12:30 – 2:00 | Lunch – on your own

2:00 – 3:30 | Concurrent workshops IV
Why Can't We Get it Right?: Structural Reasons for the Marginalization of Anti-Racist and Anti-Poverty Work in Today's LGBT Movement.

Despite the existence of extensive data documenting the racial pluralism and economic variance within LGBT communities, a focus on poverty and racism remains far from the center of legal, policy and political activism for LGBT nonprofits. What are the structural reasons race and economic inequality remain marginal to the concerns of social movement organizations, even those that serve clients who are overwhelmingly people of color, trans or low-income? **Moderator:** Imani Henry, International Action Center. **Presenters:** Reina Gossett, Sylvia Rivera Law Project; Suzanne Pharr, Organizer and Writer; Urvashi Vaid, Columbia Law School.

Funding and Fundraising across Class Divides.

The challenge of raising funds, being able to present and represent work to donors, the impact of economic privilege, the myriad realities of class affect not only the success of funding in LGBT organizations but they also reflect economic and racial divides inside LGBT organizations. What are the ways that these dynamics operate and how are nonprofits dealing with class-based divisions? **Moderator:** Katherine Acey, Griot Circle. **Presenters:** Stephanie Roth, Klein and Roth Consulting; Charles King, Housing Works; Monami Maulik, Desis Rising Up & Moving; Tiny (aka Lisa Gray-Garcia), POOR Magazine.

Abolishing the NPIC: Beyond Critique.

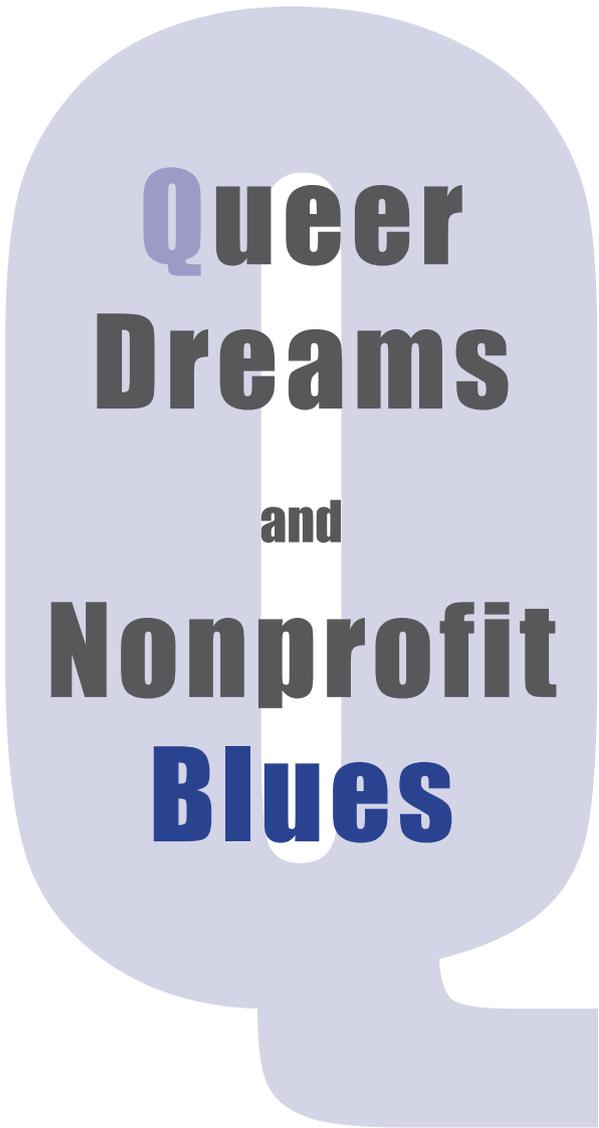
This panel features groups and individuals doing long-term transformative queer and trans work who have intentionally never sought nonprofit status or institutional funding or who turned away from it after instructive experiences. Why have these groups taken this path, what have they learned, and how might their experiences help us reimagine the relationships between funding and social movement infrastructure, between poor people and wealthy people? **Moderator:** Eric Stanley, University of

California, San Diego. **Presenters:** Erica Meiners, Northeastern Illinois University; Karma Chávez, University of Wisconsin, Madison; Yasmin Nair, Writer; Kate Raphael, LAGAI-Queer Insurrection.

3:30 – 4:00 | Break

4:00 – 5:30 | Closing Plenary:

This session will be an interactive presentation and summation of the critical insights and questions raised by the conference. **Presenters/Moderators:** Janet Jakobsen, Barnard; Dorian Warren, Columbia.



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Speaker Bios

Katherine Acey is a social justice feminist activist and lesbian who is currently the Executive Director of GRIOT Circle (griotcircle.org), a LGBTQ People of Color elders organization. She was the Executive Director of Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice for twenty-three years and is Executive Director Emeritus. Under her stewardship, Astraea established the nation's first Lesbian Writers Fund (1990), created the first International Fund for Sexual Minorities (1996) and in 2006 launched the U.S. Movement Building Initiative to support People of Color LGBTQ organizations to collectively build their power and voice. From 1982 to 1987, Acey served as the Associate Director of the North Star Fund in New York City, overseeing its grants programs and participating in donor engagement. She is a founding member of both the Women's Funding Network and Funders for LGBT Issues and is past Board Chair of each organization. Acey has served as a board and active member of countless organizations over the decades including New York Women Against Rape, the Palestine Solidarity Committee, Madre and Women Make Movies. Current affiliations include: Board Member and Treasurer for both the International Network of Women's Funds and Political Research Associates; and member of the International Human Rights Advisory Board of the Open Society Fund. Acey was twice honored by the Women's Funding Network for her leadership in building a multi-cultural women's funding movement. Among her other honors are the Cross Cultural Black Women's Studies Institute for International Women's Leadership Award, the NYC National Organization for Women Susan B. Anthony Award, the Women & Philanthropy LEAD Award, the FEX Vision Award for achievements in Social Justice, the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Liberty Award, North Star Fund Social Justice Activist Award and the Women e-news 21 Leaders for the 21st Century Award.

Christine Ahn is a policy analyst with expertise in Korea, globalization, militarism, women's rights and philanthropy. She is co-founder of the Korea Policy Institute, National Campaign to End the Korean War, and Korean Americans for Fair Trade. Ms. Ahn has participated in and led several peace delegations to North and South Korea. She has addressed the United Nations, U.S. Congress and the National Human Rights Commission in South Korea. She is the editor of *Shafted: Free Trade*

and *America's Working Poor*, producer of *Fashion Resistance to Militarism*, and a contributing author to *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Nonprofit Industrial Complex*. She is a columnist with the Institute for Policy Studies' Foreign Policy In Focus, and her op-eds have appeared in *The New York Times/International Herald Tribune*, *CNN*, *Asia Times* and *San Francisco Chronicle*. Her media appearances include *Al-Jazeera*, *BBC*, *CNN Anderson Cooper's 360*, *Democracy Now!*, *NBC Today Show*, *NPR* and *Voice of America*. Ms. Ahn is currently Senior Research and Policy Analyst at the Global Fund for Women and Senior Fellow with the Oakland Institute. She has worked with Food First/Institute for Food and Development Policy and the Women of Color Resource Center. She served for six years on the board of National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy. Ms. Ahn holds a master's degree in public policy from Georgetown University and a certificate in ecological horticulture from the University of California, Santa Cruz. She has been inducted into the OMB Watch Public Interest Hall of Fame and recognized as a Rising Peacemaker by the Agape Foundation.

Filmmaker and technologist turned Executive Director, **J. Bob Alotta** leads the Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice (astraeafoundation.org) a LGBTQI rights foundation working for social, racial, gender, and economic justice around the globe. Through film and at Astraea, Bob engages philanthropists, leaders, and community members to transform the marginalization of LGBTQI rights in our societies. Representing a new generation of social change philanthropists, Bob's work builds new models of social justice, expanding the relevance of rights and dignity for LGBTQI people.

John-Manuel Andriote began reporting on HIV/AIDS in 1986, while he was working on a master's degree in journalism at Northwestern University. Two of his friends by then had died from AIDS, and the young journalist saw a major news event unfolding that had devastating personal implications. In the late eighties, Andriote worked as the staff writer and publicist for the National AIDS Network, a coalition of hundreds of community-based AIDS service organizations. Andriote is the author of *Victory Deferred: How AIDS Changed Gay Life in America* (University of Chicago Press, 1999; second edition, updated and expanded,

Speaker Bios cont'd

2011). Kirkus Reviews called *Victory Deferred* “the most important AIDS chronicle since Randy Shilts’ *And the Band Played On*.” Andriote writes regularly about health and medicine, and LGBT issues for *The Atlantic* and *HuffingtonPost*. In 2006, Andriote “came out” as HIV-positive in a *Washington Post* commentary and NPR interview. Please visit jmandriote.com for more information.

Andre Banks has spent most of the last decade finding new ways to harness the power of technology to build social movements in the US and around the world. He is the co-founder and Executive Director of All Out (all-out.org), an unprecedented alliance between straight, gay, lesbian, bi and trans people committed to building a movement for equality, everywhere. In just over two years, All Out has inspired 1.8 million people in every country of the world to join the movement through online campaigns, real world events and viral media. Andre is also the Senior Advisor at Purpose where he was formerly Partner and Director of Strategy. While at Purpose, Andre incubated All Out while leading strategy development on global movements to fight cancer and eliminate nuclear weapons, as well as supporting an innovative new partnership in Brazil to build a new culture of civic participation in Rio de Janeiro (Meu Rio). Andre got his start building a national network of student organizers concerned with economic justice at the AFL-CIO. An expanded focus on connecting national movements to global issues led him to Africa Action where he built a national constituency pushing for action on AIDS in the US and in Africa. He moved on to build the media and public affairs department at the Applied Research Center, placing stories on hot button issues of racial equality in outlets as varied as *The Chicago Sun-Times*, *The San Francisco Chronicle*, *LA Weekly*, National Public Radio and *Agence France-Presse*. While there, he also led the strategy and managed the development of the online news magazine Colorlines.com, serving as its founding editor.

David Barr began working on HIV/AIDS issues in 1985. The scope of David’s work has included treatment access and clinical research, addressing stigma and discrimination, HIV prevention policy, HIV funding structures, drug policy, strategic planning, facilitation and program evaluation. In 2003, David coordinated the creation of the HIV Collaborative Fund, a partnership

of the International Treatment Preparedness Coalition (ITPC) and Tides Foundation, which to date has supported more than 1,000 organizations in over 70 countries with small grants and capacity-building for HIV treatment awareness, literacy, community mobilization and advocacy. Since 1987, David has served in senior policy positions at Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund, Gay Men’s Health Crisis, the Forum for Collaborative HIV Research at the George Washington University School of Public Health, and the Drug Policy Alliance. David has served in a number of capacities, including as a member of the AIDS Roundtable of the Institute of Medicine (IOM), the Global Fund for AIDS, TB and Malaria Technical Evaluation Review Group (TERG), the US Public Health Service Panel to Set Guidelines for the Use Anti-Retroviral Drugs, and the Executive Committee of the US NIH AIDS Clinical Trial Group (ACTG). David was a founding member of the Treatment Action Group and the ACT UP Treatment and Data Group. Consulting clients have included the Ford Foundation, New York City Department of Health, New York State AIDS Institute, Open Society Institute, UNAIDS and UNDP. He is a native New Yorker.

Emerson Brisbon has been with FIERCE for the past five years (fiercenyc.org). Starting as a member in 2008, they came to love the process of political education as a way to empower the minds and hearts of LGBTQ youth of color to spur folks into action! They came onto staff in 2010 and have been doing leadership development ever since. In their time at FIERCE they have strived to consistently explore and better FIERCE’s approach to popular education while keeping up with the demands of our ever-changing queer youth community. As of late, they have been working on incorporating a somatic and holistic lens into FIERCE’s approach to leadership development.

Sangeeta Budhiraja is Director of Programs at Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice (astraeafoundation.org). As a seasoned activist, organizer, educator and advocate, Sangeeta has over a decade of movement building and philanthropic advocacy experience. Sangeeta joined the Astraea Foundation in 2012 after four years as a Program Officer at the Ms. Foundation for Women, where she managed the Foundation’s Movement Building, Southern Strategy, and Economic Justice Initiatives. During her time as Regional Program

Coordinator for Asia and the Pacific at the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (IGLHRC), Sangeeta served as member of Astraea's International Funds panel. She also worked as a consultant to the International Fund from 2005-2007. Sangeeta's expertise with international women's human rights, sexual rights, racial and economic justice is paired with a strong base in local movement building. She is a community board member of the Open Meadows Foundation, served on the board of FIERCE! and Queers for Economic Justice (QEJ), and has been a consultant to the Urban Justice Center and Desis Rising up and Moving (DRUM). She also participated in the Bridge Builders Leadership Development cohort of the Women's Funding Network. Sangeeta is an Adjunct Lecturer in the Urban Studies Department at CUNY Queens College. She holds a Bachelors degree in Women's Studies from Hamilton College, was a Thomas J. Watson Fellowship recipient, and earned a JD from CUNY School of Law.

Richard D. Burns is a long-time social justice activist and non-profit management consultant now serving as Interim Executive Director of The Funding Exchange (fex.org) in New York. Prior to joining FEX he completed interim executive assignments at Funders for LGBTQ Issues and the Stonewall Community Foundation. He previously served as Chief Operating Officer of the Arcus Foundation and was Executive Director of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Community Center in New York City from 1986 to 2009. Richard is a member of the Board of Directors of New York's AIDS Memorial Park campaign and serves on the Advisory Board of the Center for HIV Law & Policy. He was founding president of Gay & Lesbian Advocates & Defenders (GLAD) in Boston from 1978 through 1986 and was Managing Editor of *Gay Community News* in Boston in the late 1970's. He is a member of the Selection Committee of the New York Community Trust – New York Magazine Nonprofit Excellence Awards and serves as Vice-Chair of the Board of Directors of the Non-Profit Coordinating Committee.

Mauro Cabral was born and lives in Argentina. He's the Co-Director of Global Action for Trans* Equality (GATE) (transactivists.org), and co-facilitator of the Latin American Consortium on Intersex Issues. In 2006 he

participated in the production of the *Yogyakarta Principles on the Application of International Human Rights Law in relation to Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity*, and, in 2009, he edited the book *Interdicciones: Escrituras de la intersexualidad en castellano*.

Karma R. Chávez is Assistant Professor in the Department of Communication Arts and the Program in Chicano@ and Latin@ Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and a member of the Against Equality collective. As a researcher, Chávez is interested in activism, coalition building and social movement building and draws upon queer of color theory and women of color feminism. In the community, Chávez works primarily on issues surrounding queer politics and immigration justice. Her book, *Queer Migration Politics: Activist Rhetoric and Coalitional Possibilities* will be out with University of Illinois Press in November 2013.

Angélica Cházaro is a Visiting Assistant Professor at University of Washington School of Law, where she teaches poverty law and critical race theory. Prior to joining the UW faculty, Angélica was a New Voices Fellow and staff attorney at the Northwest Immigrant Rights Project (2006-2013) focusing her practice on representing immigrant survivors of violence and immigrants affected by the criminal legal system. She previously taught poverty law and immigration law at Seattle University School of Law and served on the boards of the Third Wave Foundation and the New Voices fellowship program. She organizes against the prison industrial complex as a member of Washington Incarceration Stops Here, a Seattle-based community group. Angélica received her J.D. from Columbia Law School (2006) and her B.A. in Women's Studies from Harvard College (2001). She is a first generation immigrant from México.

JD/Julie Davids is a gender-queer parent, organizer, instigator and movement strategist from Philadelphia who currently lives in Brooklyn. With deep and tangled roots at the busy intersection of HIV/AIDS, racial, gender, and economic justice, and human rights, JD currently works with the HIV Prevention Justice Alliance (HIV PJA), a national 13,000-member network that helps individuals and organizations share information and collaborate on strategic campaigns to win lifesaving policy changes.

Speaker Bios cont'd

Trishala Deb works with the Caring Across Generations campaign bringing together home care workers, consumers, and families to protect all peoples' right to choose the care and support they need to live with dignity (caringacross.org). She has worked at the intersection of a variety of prominent issues, including immigrant and refugee rights, gender justice, anti-violence and militarization, community organizing based on sexual orientation and gender identity, and supporting the capacity building efforts of emerging grassroots organizations. Previously, she coordinated a program for LGBTST immigrants at the Audre Lorde Project, a community-organizing center for LGBTST people of color in New York City; and worked with the Arcus Foundation and Public Interest Projects.

Lisa Duggan is a journalist, activist and Professor of Social and Cultural Analysis at NYU. She is author of *Sapphic Slashers: Sex, Violence and American Modernity* and *Twilight of Equality? Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics and the Attack on Democracy*, co-author with Nan D Hunter of *Sex Wars: Sexual Dissent and Political Culture*, and co-editor with Lauren Berlant of *Our Monica, Ourselves: The Clinton Affair and National Interest*. Most recently she is co-editor with Joseph DeFilippis, Kenyon Farrow and Richard Kim of *A New Queer Agenda*, published by *The Scholar and the Feminist Online* (sfonline.barnard.edu/a-new-queer-agenda/). She is currently at work on *Precarious Intimacies* (a memoir) and *Atlas Shrugging: Ayn Rand and the Affect of Politics*.

Kenyon Farrow is an award-winning writer and activist living in New Orleans. He is the former executive director of Queers for Economic Justice and currently serves on QEJ's Queer Survival Economies Working Group, and is a board member of Streetwise & Safe. Kenyon is co-editor of *Letters From Young Activists: Today's Rebels Speak Out, A New Queer Agenda* (an issue of *The Scholar & Feminist Online*, an online journal of the Barnard Center for Research on Women) and his essays appear in many books and online news outlets including the recent titles, *We Have Not Been Moved: Resisting Racism and Militarism in 21st Century America* (PM Press 2012), *Against Equality: Queer Critiques of Gay Marriage* (AK Press 2010), and the forthcoming *Black Gay Genius: Answering Joseph Beam's*

Call (Vintage Entity Press 2013). You can also read his blog at www.kenyonfarrow.com.

Gabriel Foster is a queer, black, trans, "momma's boy" residing in Brooklyn, NY. Prior to making his way East, he lived and worked in Seattle, WA with the Northwest Network of Bisexual, Trans, Lesbian & Gay Survivors of Abuse helping to create their youth programming. From age fifteen to twenty-six he went from a program constituent to program staff in the American Friends Service Committee's GLBTQ Youth Program. Before making his way to New York, he worked for SPARK Reproductive Justice Now to develop a program with and for LGBTQ Youth of color and allies in Atlanta, GA and with the Leeway Foundation, supporting women and trans people creating art and social change in Philadelphia, PA. Currently Gabriel is a co-organizer of the Trans Justice Funding Project along with Karen Pittelman and works at the Sylvia Rivera Law Project (srlp.org).

Katherine Franke is the Isidor and Seville Sulzbacher Professor of Law, and Director of the Center for Gender & Sexuality Law at Columbia Law School, where she teaches courses on Gender Justice, Queer Theory, Feminist Legal Theory, Critical Legal Thought, Gay Marriage, and The Law of Occupation. She also serves on the Executive Committee of Columbia's Institute for Research on Women and Gender and works closely with Columbia's Center for Palestine Studies. She was awarded a 2011 Guggenheim Fellowship for her work on the ways in which marriage rights figure in both race and gay rights movements. She is among the nation's leading scholars working at the intersections of feminist, queer, and critical race theory. Among her recent publications are *Dating the State: The Moral Hazards of Winning Gay Rights*, *Public Sex*, *Same-Sex Marriage*, *the Afterlife of Homophobia*, and *Longing for Loving*. Her book in progress explores the curious role of the right to marry in larger civil-rights struggles, comparing African Americans in the immediate post-Civil War period with same-sex couples today. In addition to her scholarly research she has conducted workshops for Palestinian women lawyers in Ramallah, Palestine, and writes regularly for a more popular audience in the Gender & Sexuality Law Blog and is on the Board of Directors of the Center for Constitutional Rights.

Leslie Freeman is a white, mixed-class, disabled femme artist and activist. Sie is most at home in side-show, disability arts, and disability justice communities. Sie is a past moderator and active member of the Queer and Trans Caucus of the Society for Disability Studies; founding member of the Disability Caucus of Occupy Wall Street; blogger for Unfiltered: The Sandy Edition and contributor to several anthologies including the forthcoming *Criptiques* (ed. Caitlin Wood) and a special issue of *The Feminist Wire* (ed. Eddie Ndopu, et al.) Sie lives with hir kids, cats, and chosen cripfam in Brooklyn, New York.

Judy Freiwirth, Psy.D. is an organization development consultant, trainer, thought leader, and speaker with Nonprofit Solutions Associates. She has been consulting to and training for nonprofit and public organizations for the past 30 years and is considered one of the leading trainers and consultants in governance in the U.S., especially in alternative and democratic governance approaches. She has been a keynote speaker and trainer at many national and regional conferences. She is the primary developer and researcher for a new, innovative approach to governance, Community-Engagement Governance™, a framework in which community stakeholders are engaged in shared governance decision-making. She has published numerous articles and publications for *The Nonprofit Quarterly* and *Nonprofit Boards and Governance Review* and is a contributing author for two recently published books, *New Perspectives in Nonprofit Governance* (Routledge Publishers) and *You and Your Board: New Practices for Challenging Times from Researchers, Provocateurs, and Practitioners* (Charity Channel Publishers). She is the Founder and Chair of the Alliance for Nonprofit Management's network of consultants, researchers, and other capacity builders focused on developing new models of governance and serves on the national Board of Directors of the Alliance for Nonprofit Management. She has a long history of organizing and activism in national movements for social and economic justice and holds a doctorate in psychology, specializing in organization development.

Che Gossett is a black gender queer and femme fabulous writer and activist. They are a contributor to *Captive Genders: Trans Embodiment and the Prison*

Industrial Complex (eds. Nat Smith and Eric Stanley), *The Transgender Studies Reader v. II* (eds. Aren Azuira and Susan Stryker) and forthcoming work including *Queer Necropolitics* (eds. Jin Haritaworn, Adi Kuntsman and Silvia Posocco). They recently returned from a phenomenal delegation of archivists and librarians to Palestine and are currently working on a biography of a queer of color AIDS activist, Kiyoshi Kuromiya.

Reina Gossett is a trans activist, artist, and writer. Her work centers creativity and imagination in movements for self-determination. Reina is also Membership Director of Sylvia Rivera Law Project.

Christina B. Hanhardt is Associate Professor in the Department of American Studies and the core faculty member of the LGBT Studies Program at the University of Maryland, College Park. She is the author of *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence*, forthcoming from Duke University Press in 2013. *Safe Space* tells a history of LGBT/queer activism against violence over the past fifty years, analyzed in the context of broader activist and policy debates about gentrification, policing, and poverty in U.S. cities during this time.

Jin Haritaworn is Assistant Professor in Gender, Race and Environment at the Faculty of Environmental Studies at York University, Canada. Jin's two bigger research projects to date have each tried to make sense of the concurrency of celebration and pathologization in narratives of sexual and racial Otherness, in everyday lives and encounters in landscapes that remain shaped by the longue durée of racism, colonialism and gender oppression. Jin has completed a study based on qualitative interviews with people of Thai/multiracial parentage in Britain and Germany. They are in the middle of a second project into queer and trans politics and the racialization of space in gentrifying inner city areas in London and Berlin. A current interest of Jin's that may turn into a third transnational research project is the role of the environment, both as a psy discourse on racialized families and as a material space where bodies are disciplined, controlled and sorted for life and death, in legal, policy, activist and media texts on crime and changing urban areas. Jin is author of *The Biopolitics of Mixing: Thai Multiracialities and Haunted Ascendancies* (2012, Aldershot: Ashgate).

Speaker Bios cont'd

Shira Hassan is the former Director of the Young Women's Empowerment Project. Currently working as a consultant, she offers program development & design, grassroots fundraising, participatory evaluation/action research and creating sustainable environments for staff through intensive partnering with organizational leaders. Hassan began working as young person doing activist work through Syringe Exchange almost 22 years ago. Since that time, she has focused on the experiences of girls, boys, transgender and queer youth involved in the sex trade and street economy. Using organizing and popular education as tools, Shira has lived and worked in Chicago and New York City partnering with young people to start their own non-profits and become leaders in social justice work. She has trained and spoken nationally on the sex trade, self injury, group work and transformative justice. She received her Masters in Social Work from New York University in 2002.

Paulina Helm-Hernandez is a queer femme cha-cha girl, artist, trainer, political organizer & trouble-maker-at-large from Veracruz, Mexico. This Chicana grew up in rural North Carolina, and is currently growing roots in Atlanta, GA. She has been the Co-Director of Southerners on New Ground (SONG) (southernersonnewground.org) for 7 years, having joined the staff after coordinating the Southern regional youth activism program at the Highlander Research & Education Center for over 4 years. Paulina has a background in farm worker and immigrant / refugee rights organizing, cultural work, youth organizing, anti-violence work, and liberation work that centers people most affected by violence, poverty, war and racism. Paulina is also a founding member of the national First Nations / Two Spirit Collective, a queer & trans indigenous movement-building cadre, and has served on the boards of Youth Action, Student Action with Farmworkers, The Third Wave Foundation, and the Data Center. She currently sits on the Vision and Strategies Council of Kindred Southern Healing Justice Collective.

For over 20 years, **Imani Keith Henry** has been an organizer, writer and performer active within in social justice movements and social service field in the US. Since 1993, Imani has been a Staff Organizer at the International Action Center (IAC) (iacenter.org) work-

ing on issues ranging from ending US militarism to stopping racist attacks on immigrant communities. Imani has been part of the national anti-police brutality and anti-death penalty movements in the United States and is one of the co-founder of Rainbow Flags for Mumia, a coalition of LGBTST people who demand the freedom of African-American political prisoner and journalist Mumia Abu Jamal. As a playwright, performer and guest lecturer Imani has toured across the US and internationally. His fiction and non-fiction writing has appeared in several publications including the lambda award winning *Does Your Mama Know* (Red Bone Press), *Voices Rising: Celebrating 20 years of Black LGBT Writing* (Other Countries) and *Marxism, Reparations and the Black Freedom Struggle* (World View Forum Publishing). Imani is also a journalist, for *Worker World Newspaper*, and is known for progressive coverage of various domestic and international issues. Imani holds both a Masters in Social Work and Masters in Public Administration, working primarily in HIV prevention /education with adolescent and adults dually-diagnosed with mental health conditions and substance use. Since 1992, he has worked as an organizational development consultant and diversity trainer providing technical assistance to community organizations and direct service agencies.

Janet Jakobsen is Ann Whitney Olin Professor of Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at Barnard College and the Director of the Barnard Center for Research on Women (bcrw.barnard.edu). Her research interests include religion, gender, and sexuality in American public life; social movements and feminist alliance politics; feminist and queer ethics; and global issues of economics and violence. She is the author of *Working Alliances and the Politics of Difference: Diversity and Feminist Ethics* and the co-author with Ann Pellegrini of *Love the Sin: Sexual Regulation and the Limits of Religious Tolerance*. She serves on the Board of Political Research Associates and before entering academia, Professor Jakobsen was a policy analyst and organizer in Washington, D.C. and New Haven, CT working on environmental justice, housing and homelessness and doing anti-apartheid work with the Washington Office on Africa.

J. Kēhaulani Kauanui is an Associate Professor of American Studies and Anthropology at Wesleyan Uni-

versity, where she teaches on colonialism, Native sovereignty and critical race studies. She earned her PhD in History of Consciousness at the University of California, Santa Cruz. Kauanui is the author of *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Duke University Press, 2008), and is currently writing her second book, *Thy Kingdom Come? The Paradox of Hawaiian Sovereignty*, a critical study of gender, sexuality, and nationalism. She is one of six co-founders of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association, established in 2008, and has also worked as producer and host of a public affairs radio program, "Indigenous Politics: From Native New England and Beyond," and an anarchist politics radio show, "Horizontal Power Hour."

Mara Keisling is the founding Executive Director of the National Center for Transgender Equality (transequality.org). Mara is a transgender-identified woman and a parent. As one of the nation's leading voices for transgender equality, Mara has appeared on news outlets and is regularly quoted in hundreds of national and local print and broadcast media. Since NCTE was founded in 2003, the organization has been part of coalition efforts that have won significant advances in transgender equality. Mara is a graduate of Penn State University and did her graduate work at Harvard University in American Government. Mara has almost twenty-five years of professional experience in social marketing and opinion research.

Charles King is one of the founders and the President of Housing Works, Inc., (housingworks.org), a minority-controlled, community-based, not-for-profit organization that provides a full range of services including housing, health care, mental health services, chemical dependency services, legal advocacy, and job training and employment for homeless men, women, and children living with HIV/AIDS. Housing Works is one of the largest community-based AIDS services organization in the United States and currently services over 5,000 people every year. Charles was recently appointed to serve as a Delegate on the UNAIDS PCB NGO Delegation for the 2013-2014 term. He is the Co-president of the AIDS Day Services Association of NYS and, in that capacity, helped to found AMIDA Care, the only community-based Special Needs Plan for people living with AIDS and HIV

in New York. Since 2004, Charles has chaired the Visioning Taskforce of the National AIDS Housing Coalition, which has hosted seven national and international research and policy summits on housing and HIV/AIDS. Charles was one of the founding conveners of the Campaign to End AIDS, a chaotic platform for grassroots AIDS activism across the United States. Prior to the incorporation of Housing Works in June 1990, Charles served as Staff Attorney to the New York Coalition for the Homeless; as Assistant Pastor to Immanuel Baptist Church in New Haven, CT; as Director of an emergency center for abused children in Roundrock, TX; and as Minister of Street Ministries at First Baptist Church in San Antonio, TX. Charles holds both a Law Degree and a Master of Divinity from Yale University, and is an ordained Baptist Minister.

Rosamond S. King, Ph.D. is a creative and critical writer, artist, and performer. She is the recipient of numerous residencies and awards, including a 2013 Poets House Fellowship and a 2012 Woodrow Wilson Fellowship. An Assistant Professor at Brooklyn College, King's research focuses on Caribbean and African Literature, Sexuality, and Performance. Her book *Island Bodies: Transgressive Sexualities in the Caribbean Imagination* is forthcoming from the University Press of Florida.

Frances Kunreuther directs the Building Movement Project (buildingmovement.org), which works to strengthen U.S. nonprofits as sites of civic engagement and social change. She is co-author of two books, *From the Ground Up: Grassroots Organizations Making Social Change* (Cornell, 2006) and *Working Across Generations: Defining the Future of Nonprofit Leadership* (Jossey Bass, 2009). Frances was a senior fellow at the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations at Harvard University for five years and is currently affiliated with the Research Center for Leadership and Action at NYU where she also teaches. In the 1990s, Frances headed the Hetrick-Martin Institute for LBGT youth and was awarded an Annie E. Casey Foundation Fellowship for this and her previous work with homeless youth and families, undocumented immigrants, crime victims, battered women, and substance users. She writes and presents frequently on issues related to nonprofits, leadership and social change.

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Gara LaMarche is a Senior Fellow at New York University's Robert F. Wagner School of Public Service. From 2007 to 2011, he was President and Chief Executive Officer of the Atlantic Philanthropies, an international foundation that focuses on aging, children and youth, health, and human rights operating in Australia, Bermuda, Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, South Africa, the United States, and Viet Nam. Before joining Atlantic in April 2007, Mr. LaMarche served as Vice President and Director of U.S. Programs for the Open Society Institute (OSI), a foundation established by philanthropist George Soros. During his tenure there, OSI (since renamed the Open Society Foundations) became the leading funder of criminal justice reform, launched and supported a number of fellowship programs in justice, law, medicine and community engagement, established an office critical in the revitalization of Baltimore, and helped create and foster a network of urban high school debate leagues. Mr. LaMarche previously served as Associate Director of Human Rights Watch and Director of its Free Expression Project from 1990 to 1996. He helped build the organization's work in the United States and on lesbian and gay rights; conducted human rights investigations in Egypt, Cuba, Greece, and Hungary; and wrote reports on freedom of expression issues in the 1991 Gulf War, Miami's Cuban exile community, and the United Kingdom. He served in a variety of positions with the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), with which he first became associated in 1972 at age 18 as a member of its national Academic Freedom Committee. Mr. LaMarche was the Associate Director of the ACLU's New York branch and the Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Texas. Mr. LaMarche is the author of numerous articles on human rights and social justice issues, and is the editor of *Speech and Equality: Do We Really Have to Choose?* (New York University Press, 1996). He also blogs at <http://garala.typepad.com> and many of his speeches and articles can be found there.

N'Tanya Lee is a parent and movement activist, a long-term community organizer for racial and economic justice, and a Leftist grounded in Black, feminist and humanist radical traditions. N'Tanya began her lifelong commitment to a life of service, social justice and transformation as an African American thirteen-year old free lunch kid in Iowa, fighting against

Ronald Reagan's "ketchup is a vegetable" policy. Over the last thirty years of grassroots work, she has become nationally respected for her strategic vision and leadership, strong alliance-building skills, and a commitment to transformation of self and society. She helped to lead a number of multi-racial coalitions that fought back Rightwing anti-gay wedge issue attacks in the 1990s. After eleven years of organizing Black and Latino youth and families at Coleman Advocates in San Francisco (seven as Executive Director, four leading its youth organizing project), N'Tanya shifted her focus to national, strategic movement-building projects. Based on interviews with 160 social justice organizers and activists about the state of our movement in 2012, in April 2013 she and Steve Williams produced "More Than We Imagined" as part of the Ear to the Ground Project (www.EarToTheGround-Project.org), and is part of the founding coordinating committee for a new independent, non-c3 Left political project called LeftRoots which aims to bring together organizers engaged in on-the-ground movement-building in the US around a common vision and strategy for building a world beyond capitalism. Her paid work is as an independent consultant to grassroots racial justice organizations and initiatives, and she has a particular affinity for electoral campaigns that link grassroots organizing in communities of color and a strategic, long-term view of contesting for progressive-left political power in the US.

Rev. Jason Lydon is a Unitarian Universalist community minister and Lead Organizer/Director at Black and Pink (blackandpink.org). Black and Pink is an open family of LGBTQ prisoners and free world allies who support each other. Black and Pink works towards the abolition of the prison industrial complex while striving to meet the immediate needs LGBTQ people who are court-involved and/or incarcerated.

Haneen Maikey is a Palestinian queer community organizer who has been part of the local LGBT and queer organizing in Palestine since 2001. Haneen is the co founder and the director of the LGBTQ local grassroots organization, alQaws for Sexual and Gender Diversity in Palestinian Society. She is also the co-founder of Palestinian Queers for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (PQBDS), an independent activist group working to promote BDS and anti-pink-

washing actions and campaigns among international queer communities. Haneen is the author of “The History and Contemporary State of Palestinian Sexual Liberation Struggle” (*The Case for Sanctions Against Israel*, Edited by Lim A., 2012).

Ben Francisco Maulbeck is the President of Funders for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer (LGBTQ) Issues (LGBTfunders.org), the national network of foundations and other donors committed to increasing equality and well being for LGBTQ communities. He is a long-time leader, advocate, and grant-maker for LGBTQ equality, racial justice, and other social change issues. His previous work includes positions at Hispanics in Philanthropy, the William Way LGBT Community Center, and The Philadelphia Foundation. Maulbeck earned a bachelor of arts at Swarthmore College and a master of public policy at the Harvard Kennedy School, where his areas of study included participatory leadership, social marketing, and international political economy. His volunteer service has included the leadership of the boards of the Gay & Lesbian Latino AIDS Education Initiative (“GALAEI”) and the Community HIV/AIDS Mobilization Project (“CHAMP”).

Monami Maulik is the founder and Executive Director of Desis Rising Up & Moving – DRUM (drumnyc.org). Maulik was born in the refugee colonies of Kolkata, India and grew up in the Bronx, New York. She has been an advocate and organizer in the fields of immigrant, racial justice, youth, and global justice for over 18 years. She holds a bachelors degree in International Development, Women’s Studies, and South Asian Studies from Cornell University. In 2000, Maulik founded DRUM as one of the first South Asian immigrant workers’ membership-based organizations for social justice in the U.S. Since then, she has served as the Executive Director building leadership, developing campaigns and leading national and global alliance work. She currently serves as a board member of the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, the national Dignity in Schools Campaign, the Civil Society Steering Committee for the UN High Level Dialogue on Migration, Immigrant Communities in Action (ICA) in NYC, the NGO Coordinating Committee on Migration, the United National Anti-War Committee, and as an Advi-

sory Board member of the North Star Fund. In 2012, Maulik launched and coordinates the Global South Asian Migrant Workers Alliance. Prior to DRUM, Ms. Maulik was an Organizing Committee member of the NY Taxi Workers’ Alliance and Interim Executive Director of TICO (Training Institute for Careers in Organizing). She has served in leadership roles in United for Peace and Justice, Grassroots Global Justice, Racial Justice 911, and the NYC Organizing Support Center. Ms. Maulik has received various awards including the Union Square Award as the founder of DRUM and the Open Society Institute NYC Community Fellowship of the George Soros Foundation (2001), the Jane Bagely Lehman Award of the Tides Foundation “Honoring Post 9/11 Organizing for Immigrant Rights and Civil Liberties”, the Community Leadership Award from New York City Council Member Daniel Dromm, and the Asian American Heritage Award from NYC Comptroller John C. Liu, and the Compass Award from Women in Islam. She is published in Howard Zinn’s book *Voices of a People’s History*, the *Journal on Race and Ethnicity*, and *Left Turn* magazine. She speaks to audiences across the U.S. and internationally on issues of migrant rights, global justice, racial justice/equity, and national security and human rights.

Erica R. Meiners works within movements and campaigns surrounding public education, labor, prison abolition and anti-militarization. Involved in collectives, organizations and popular education projects that center economic, gender, and racial justice including a free high school for people exiting prisons and jails and an educational project with people inside Stateville Prison, Erica is a union member, a professor at an open access public university, Northeastern Illinois University, and the author of *Flaunt It! Queers Organizing For Public Education and Justice* (2009), *Right To Be Hostile: Schools, Prisons and the Making of Public Enemies* (2009), the forthcoming *Intimate Labor* (2014), and articles in *AREA Chicago*, *Monthly Review*, *Radical Teacher*, *Meridians*, *Academe*, *Social Justice*, and *No More Potlucks*.

Maria Carolina Morales, or **Caro**, is currently the Programs Co-Director at Community United Against Violence, where she has been serving for the past 8 years. Caro is also a collective member of the Center for Po-

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litical Education and a *curandera* apprentice. In these past 12 years living in San Francisco, she has worked primarily in latinx immigrant & queer latinx communities, where she has done a variety of service, organizing, and educational work. Caro is also a *teatrer*a with over 17 years of experience with theater and acting. She believes art is the most effective tool for deepening both collective and individual transformation.

Soniya Munshi is a NYC-based queer South Asian writer, researcher, and community activist. Currently an Assistant Professor at the CUNY Borough of Manhattan Community College, Soniya's research looks at political, economic, and social forces that have produced and sustained attention to gender-based violence in South Asian immigrant and diasporic communities, with a focus on New York City in the era of post-9/11 security discourses.

Yasmin Nair is a writer and activist from Uptown, Chicago. She is the Volunteer Policy Director of Gender JUST (genderjust.org) and the co-founder, with Ryan Conrad, of Against Equality (againstequality.org). Her work can be found at www.yasminnair.net.

Ezra Berkley Nepon is a West Philadelphia writer, organizer, and fundraising consultant. Nepon served as Grassroots Fundraising Director for Sylvia Rivera Law Project (07-10), co-founded and directed the Self-Education Foundation (98-05), and has worked with many other groups as a consultant, board member, and volunteer. Nepon's article "Crowdfunding: The New Wave of Online Grassroots Fundraising" was published in the *Grassroots Fundraising Journal* in 2011. Nepon is also the author of *Justice, Justice Shall You Pursue: A History of New Jewish Agenda* (Thread Makes Blanket Press, 2011) and recently completed an MA in Transformative Language Arts at Goddard College. More information is available at ezraberkleynepon.wordpress.com.

Mimi Thi Nguyen is Associate Professor of Gender and Women's Studies and Asian American Studies at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. Her first book, *The Gift of Freedom: War, Debt, and Other Refugee Passages*, focuses on the promise of "giving" freedom concurrent and contingent with waging war and its afterlife (Duke University Press, 2012). In her

second project, Nguyen argues that the promise of beauty, as a discourse and concern about the vitality of the body but also the soul, can and does become a medium through which biopower activates beauty's promise as a site of signification, power, and knowledge about how to live. Nguyen was recently named a Conrad Humanities Scholar for 2013-2018, a designation supporting the work of outstanding associate professors in the humanities within the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences at the University of Illinois. Nguyen has also made zines since 1991. She is a former *Punk Planet* columnist and *Maximumrocknroll* volunteer; she is also a frequent collaborator with Daniela Capistrano for the POC Zine Project (poczineproject.tumblr.com/). She blogs at thread & circuits, and is also co-author of the research blog on dress and beauty, titled threadbared (<http://threadbared.blogspot.com/>).

Clarence Patton is the Founder and Director of the Pipeline Project, a leadership development and advancement effort with the goal of producing programs and engaging in activities that together will represent a long-term effort to increase the number of people of color working primarily within the nation's LGBT rights, service and advocacy sector and ultimately increase the level of diversity in the leadership of our movement. Additionally, he is the Principal of pipelineconsulting (www.pipelineconsulting.org) which provides organizational and leadership development for institutions, using an organizational systems-based frame, and a filter of diversity and inclusion. A skilled Professional Coach and Advisor trained in Interpersonal Leadership Styles, he advises individual professionals on career planning, problem-solving, strategic thinking and forward planning, and groups with Board, Executive and staff management, relationship-building, and strategy. Before founding the pipelineproject and pipelineconsulting, he was both Executive Director of the New York City Gay & Lesbian Anti-Violence Project, Acting Executive Director of the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs (NCAVP). Prior to leading the organization, he both created the position of Director and the Department of Community Organizing and Public Advocacy at the Anti-Violence Project there, founding the first ever statewide LGBTQ Domestic Violence Network in New York providing resources for LGBT DV services

around the state, and had earlier served as Development Director. Patton resides in Brooklyn, New York.

Suzanne Pharr works across issues for social change. A feminist and anti-racist worker, she founded the Women's Project in Little Rock, Arkansas with the goal of eliminating sexism and racism through dismantling systems of violence and economic injustice. She co-founded Southerners on New Ground, a regional progressive LGBT organization, and was the director of the Highlander Research and Education Center (highlandercenter.org). Pharr authored *Homophobia: A Weapon of Sexism*, and *In the Time of the Right: Reflections on Liberation*. Pharr is currently on the staff of Southerners on New Ground, is a co-coordinator of the National Council of Elders, and, as a board member of Project South, is part of a team that develops infrastructure and strategy for the 21st Century Southern Freedom Movement.

Kate Raphael is a long-time queer liberation activist, journalist and blogger. She is a member of LAGAI-Queer Insurrection (lagai.org), which publishes *UltraViolet*, the longest-publishing radical queer newspaper in the country. Kate is a co-founder of Queers Undermining Israeli Terrorism and Act Against Torture. She is a producer of Women's Magazine on KPFA radio in Berkeley.

Toshi Reagon is a talented, versatile singer, songwriter and musician with a profound ear for sonic Americana. While her expansive career has landed her comfortably in residence at Carnegie Hall, the Paris Opera House & Madison Square Garden, you can just as easily find Toshi turning out a music festival, intimate venue, or local club. Toshi knows the power of song to focus, unite and mobilize people. Toshi thinks that collaboration is one of the keys to life. She is very proud of the relationships she has formed over the years, with friends, artists, activists, organizations, festivals, venues, instigators, and revolutionaries. To name a few-Toshi Reagon and BIGLovely, Nona Hendryx, Meshell Ndegeocello, Urban Bush Women, Clearwater Great Hudson Revival, FIERCE, Robert Wilson, Joe's Pub, Lizz Wright, Ani DiFranco, Carl Hancock Rux, June Millington, the Astraea Foundation, the amazing Richie Havens, Lava, Michelle Dorrance and Dorrance Dance, and her favorite collaborator, Bernice Johnson

Reagon. Upcoming Fabulous Events include the 30th Anniversary of The Toshi Reagon Birthday Concerts in January 2014 at Joe's Pub. In 2011 Toshi founded the 8-day festival Word* Rock* & Sword: A Festival Celebration of Women's Lives (wordrocksword.toshireagon.com). Toshi created the festival as a way to learn and be connected to the powerful work and skills coming from the women in her community. The festival brings together everyday brilliant people.

Elana Redfield is a staff attorney and project director at the Sylvia Rivera Law Project (srlp.org). A longtime advocate for grassroots organizing strategies and community leadership in legal work, Elana co-authored "The Role of Lawyers In Trans Liberation: Building a Transformative Movement For Social Change" with Pooja Gehi and Gabriel Arkles in 2010. Elana also helped research and write SRLP's recently released report, "From the Bottom Up: Strategies and Practices for Membership-Based Organizations." In her time outside SRLP, Elana is an avid surfer and a part-time country musician.

Beth E. Richie is the Director of the Institute for Research on Race and Public Policy (uic.edu/cuppa/irpp/) and Professor of African American Studies and Criminology, Law and Justice at The University of Illinois at Chicago. The emphasis of her scholarly and activist work has been on the ways that race/ethnicity and social position affect women's experience of violence and incarceration, focusing on the experiences of African American battered women and sexual assault survivors. Dr. Richie is the author of *Arrested Justice: Black Women, Violence and America's Prison Nation* (NYU Press, 2012) which chronicles the evolution of the contemporary anti-violence movement during the time of mass incarceration in the United States and numerous articles concerning Black feminism and gender violence, race and criminal justice policy, and the social dynamics around issues of sexuality, prison abolition, and grassroots organizations in African American Communities. Her earlier book *Compelled to Crime: The Gender Entrapment of Black Battered Women*, which is taught in many college courses and is cited in the popular press for its original arguments concerning race, gender and crime. Dr. Richie is qualitative researcher who is also working on an ethnographic project documenting the

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conditions of confinement in women's prisons. Her work has been supported by grants from The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, The Ford Foundation, and The National Institute for Justice and The National Institute of Corrections. Among others, she has been awarded the Audre Lorde Legacy Award from the Union Institute, The Advocacy Award from the US Department of Health and Human Services, and The Visionary Award from the Violence Intervention Project. Dr. Richie is a board member of The Woods Fund of Chicago, The Institute on Domestic Violence in the African Community, The Center for Fathers' Families and Public Policy and a founding member of INCITE!: Women of Color Against Violence. In 2013 she was awarded an Honorary Degree from the City University of New York Law School.

Andrea Ritchie is a police misconduct attorney and organizer who has engaged in extensive research, writing, litigation, organizing and advocacy on profiling, policing, and physical and sexual violence by law enforcement agents against women, girls and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people of color in over the past two decades. She currently coordinates Streetwise & Safe (SAS), www.streetwiseandsafe.org, a leadership development initiative aimed at sharing "know your rights" information, strategies for safety and visions for change among LGBT youth of color who experience of gender, race, sexuality and poverty-based policing and criminalization. She is co-author of *Queer (In)Justice: The Criminalization of LGBT People in the United States* (Beacon Press 2011), www.queerininjustice.com, and is currently at work on a book tentatively titled *Every Day, Police: Racial Profiling and Police Brutality Against Women, Girls and Transgender People of Color*. Ritchie served as co-counsel to the Center for Constitutional Rights in *Doe v. Jindal*, a successful challenge to Louisiana's requirement that individuals convicted of "crime against nature by solicitation" register as sex offenders, and is lead counsel in *Tikkun v. City of New York*, ground-breaking litigation challenging unlawful searches of transgender people in police custody. As a member of the national collective of INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence from 2003 – 2008, she coordinated the development of the INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence Organizer's Toolkit on Law Enforcement

Violence Against Women of Color and Transgender People of Color. She also served as expert consultant, lead researcher and coauthor for Amnesty International's 2005 report *Stonewalled: Police Abuse and Misconduct Against Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender People in the United States*.

Randi M. Romo is a Xicana Dyke originally from Dallas, Texas currently residing and working in Little Rock, AR. She is an artist, writer, activist, warrior, truth seeker of light and love... Randi has worked across the south in a variety of social justice efforts and community service endeavors that include HIV/AIDS, LG-BTQ rights, immigrant communities, women's rights, worker's rights and youth organizing. Ten years ago she co-founded the Center for Artistic Revolution (artisticrevolution.org) where she currently works. CAR is an LGBTQ centric organization that embraces and promotes an inter-sectional analysis regarding oppression while incorporating the creative as a means to communicate, educate, heal and strengthen communities and individuals.

Stephanie Roth is a principal with Klein & Roth Consulting, based in Oakland, CA. She is a trainer, consultant and coach for organizations working for social justice, with a focus on fundraising, board development and meeting facilitation. Stephanie has written widely on the topic of fundraising and organizational development, and is the co-author (with Mimi Ho) of *The Accidental Fundraiser: A Step-by-Step Guide to Raising Money for Your Cause*. She was a co-founder of GIFT (Grassroots Institute for Fundraising Training), and was the Editor of the *Grassroots Fundraising Journal* from 1998-2009. Stephanie has worked in nonprofits all of her adult life, as staff member, board member, volunteer and consultant, and has taught fundraising nationally and internationally.

Abe Rybeck is Founder and Artistic Director of The Theater Offensive: OUT in your Neighborhood (thetheateroffensive.org). His main work is uniting artists, neighbors, community groups, and local businesses to collaborate on OUT performance works in the Boston neighborhoods of Roxbury, Dorchester, the South End and Jamaica Plain. TTO also houses the 23-member North American Pride Youth Theater Alliance.

Graciela I. Sánchez follows in the footsteps of her mother and abuelitas, strong neighborhood women of color cultural workers and organizers in San Antonio. As Buena gente of the Esperanza Peace and Justice Center (esperanzacenter.org), a community-based social justice/cultural arts organization, Graciela works with staff and community to develop programs that culturally ground working class and poor people of color, queer people and women – individuals who are survivors of cultural genocide. She challenges notions of the arts and politics as separate work environments. Graciela implements the vision and operations of the Esperanza as a community center, art and performance space, policy-change hub, and network facilitator for social justice, environmental, and community-based arts organizations. Conversations on issues of colonization, genocide, power, violence, racism, sexism, media justice and homophobia among others are commonly connected to arts programming. Working with community members, Graciela develops and curates programs around campaigns such as *Que Queer San Antonio!*, *Uprooted: Tierra, Gente, y Cultura*, *Palestinians and Other Occupied Peoples*, as well as organizes with gente to challenge oppressive laws and policies locally in San Antonio, the United States and at the internationally level.

Purvi Shah is the Director of the Social Justice Institute at the Center for Constitutional Rights (ccr-justice.org), a new training institute committed to building a diverse generation of movement lawyers to serve social movements in the US and across the world. Purvi has over a decade of experience as an activist, organizer, attorney and law professor. In 2006, she received a New Voices Fellowship to launch the Community Justice Project at Florida Legal Services. While there, Purvi worked collaboratively with community and worker organizations to represent tenant unions, public housing residents, immigrants' rights groups, and taxi drivers. From 2007-2011, Purvi served as an adjunct professor at the University of Miami, School of Law, where she co-founded and co-directed the Community Lawyering Clinic. Over the years, Purvi has become a regularly featured panelist and trainer on the connection between law and organizing, conducting numerous state and national trainings for law students and young lawyers. Prior to becoming an attorney,

Purvi worked as a community organizer with youth in Miami, students in India and families of incarcerated youth in California. Purvi has received many awards for her work including the Rodney Thaxton Award for Racial Justice from the ACLU of Florida and the Miami Fellowship for rising civic leaders from the Miami Foundation. Purvi is a graduate of UC Berkeley School of Law at the University of California and of Northwestern University.

Andrea Smith is a co-founder of Incite! Women of Color Against Violence, (incite-national.org). She was the editor of *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex* (South End Press). She is Associate Professor of Media and Cultural Studies at University of California, Riverside, and finished her J.D. at UC Irvine School of Law this past May.

Felipe Sousa-Rodriguez is the Co-Director of Get EQUAL (getequal.org). Felipe was ranked one of the top 20 community college students in the United States and best student in the state of Florida in 2008 according to the American Association of Community Colleges. In addition to his educational excellence, Felipe also found time to serve his peers as student government president of Miami Dade College Wolfson Campus. A recent graduate from St. Thomas University, he was born to a single mother in the slums of Brazil, who sent him at age 14 to the United States, where he first dreamed of becoming a teacher. Felipe walked on the Trail of Dreams in 2010 to draw attention to the need for the DREAM Act, and has been organizing for the past few years with both Presente and United We DREAM. Felipe was awarded the "Freedom From Fear" award from Public Interest Projects in 2011 for his work on the Trail of Dreams. He has a long record of pressuring both Democrats and Republicans (see Huffington Post articles) for progress on Latino issues — and now he's focused on using these experiences to create a left flank for the LGBT movement and intersectional models of organizing.

Dean Spade is an Associate Professor at the Seattle University School of Law and is currently a fellow in the Engaging Tradition Project at Columbia Law School. In 2002 he founded the Sylvia Rivera Law Project, a non-profit collective that provides free legal help to low-income people and people of color

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who are trans, intersex and/or gender non-conforming and works to build trans resistance rooted in racial and economic justice. He is the author of *Normal Life: Administrative Violence, Critical Trans Politics and the Limits of Law*.

Eric A. Stanley is a President's Postdoc in Communication and Critical Gender Studies at the University of California, San Diego. Along with Chris Vargas, Eric directed the films *Homotopia* (2006) and *Criminal Queers* (2013). A coeditor of the anthology *Captive Genders: Trans Embodiment and the Prison Industrial Complex* (AK Press, 2011) their other writing can be found in the journals *Social Text*, *American Quarterly*, and *Women and Performance*.

Wayne Starks has been living with HIV/AIDS since the 1980s and has been a member of VOCAL-NY (Vocalny.org) since 2006. He became an activist after former NY Governor Pataki introduced a policy in 2006 that would have forced thousands of low-income New Yorkers living with HIV/AIDS like him back into homelessness. Wayne himself spent many years homeless after he was diagnosed with HIV/AIDS while working as a NYC bus driver. He has been active in Occupy Wall Street, National People's Action, Right to the City and other movements for economic and racial justice. Wayne has been interviewed by the *Albany Times Union*, *Amsterdam News*, *The Advocate*, *BBC*, *City & State*, *Huffington Post*, *Politico* and many other outlets. He is also an artist, having been profiled in the *NY Times*, and a proud grandfather.

Carla Sutherland works with the Engaging Tradition Project at the Center for Law, Gender and Sexuality. Her specific interest is in exploring how "tradition" has been used to build barriers to sexual rights within global and regional human rights mechanisms and developing resources that can be used by LGBT activists to counter them. Dr. Sutherland came to the Center from the Arcus Foundation, where she was responsible for leading the Foundation's international program on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity. She instituted an extensive grass roots small grants program to groups in over 20 countries in Africa, the Middle East and South East Asia. Before joining Arcus, Dr. Sutherland led the Ford Foundation's Education and Sexuality pro-

gram in Eastern Africa. Dr. Sutherland began her professional career as a policy researcher at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, working for the then Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Mamphela Ramphele. She worked on a number of projects, including establishing the African Gender Institute and the South African chapter of the Forum for African Women Educationalists. She holds a PhD in Social Policy from the London School of Economics, earned while on a Commonwealth Scholarship, as well as a Masters in Political Studies and Anthropology, from the University of Cape Town.

Tiny (aka Lisa Gray-Garcia) is a poverty scholar, revolutionary journalist, lecturer, Po' Poet and welfareQUEEN, Mixed Race, Boriken-Taino, Roma mama of Tiburcio, daughter of Dee, and the co-founder with her Mama of POOR Magazine/Prensa POBRE/PoorNewsNetwork, a poor people-led, indigenous people-led grassroots, arts organization (poormagazine.org). As well she founded Escuela de la gente/PeopleSkool—a poor and indigenous people-led skool, as well as the Po Poets Project, welfareQUEENS & the Theatre of the POOR to name a few. She is currently working on the landless peoples land liberation project called Homefulness in Deep East Oakland.

Emily Thuma is a researcher, educator, and activist working on issues of gender and sexual violence, racial justice, policing, and incarceration. She received her Ph.D. in American Studies from New York University (2011) and currently teaches gender, sexuality, and American and ethnic studies at the University of Washington Bothell.

Alok Vaid-Menon is a South Asian trans/national queer activist and performance artist who has worked on the ground with queer movements in the US, South Africa, India, and Palestine. Alok is interested in building queer movements and bodies that resist white supremacy and imperialism. They currently live in Brooklyn and organize with the Audre Lorde Project, a queer people of color activist collective, and are on tour with DARKMATTER a queer South Asian spoken word duo. You can read some of their creative work at returnthegayze.tumblr.com.

Urvashi Vaid is an organizer and writer and directs the Engaging Tradition Project at the Center for Gender and Sexuality at Columbia Law School. She is a former Executive Director of the Arcus Foundation, and was Deputy Director of the Governance and Civil Society Program at the Ford Foundation. She was executive director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF), and staff attorney of the National Prison Project of the ACLU. Vaid is author of *Irresistible Revolution: Confronting Race, Class and the Assumptions of LGBT Politics*; *Virtual Equality: The Mainstreaming of Lesbian and Gay Liberation*; and co-editor with John D’Emilio and William Turner of *Creating Change: Public Policy, Sexuality and Civil Rights*.

Carmen Vázquez was born in Puerto Rico and grew up in Harlem, New York. Among her many accomplishments, Carmen was the Founding Director of the Women’s Building in San Francisco, helped found the Lavender Youth Recreation and Information Center in San Francisco, and the LGBT Health & Human Services Network, a coalition of over 55 organizations and groups in New York advocating for LGBT Health and Human Services. The Network has secured over \$54 million dollars in state funding for its members. She is a founder and principal author of Causes in Common (a national coalition of Reproductive Justice and LGBT Liberation activists) and of the Pride in Action programs at Empire State Pride Agenda. She was awarded an Honorary Law degree by CUNY School of Law in 2005 and her oral history and papers are part of the Sophia Smith Archives at Smith College. Her essays have been published in several anthologies. Carmen is currently the Coordinator of the LGBT Health and Human Services Unit with the AIDS Institute of the NYS Department of Health and lives in Brooklyn, NY.

Jason Walker is a Washington, DC native and a graduate of the University of Louisville, earning his Bachelors of Science in Pan-African Studies while minoring in Cultural Anthropology. During his matriculation, he served as the President of the University’s chapter of the NAACP, Co-Chair of the Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC), President of UofL’s policy debate team for three consecutive

terms, and Co-founder of BlkOut – the first LGBTQ student organization for people of color in the state of Kentucky. Jason is a 2008 scholar for the Drum Major Institute for Public Policy, a 2009 alumnus of the People for the American Way Foundation’s Young People For (YP4) Fellowship program, and 2010 participant of the New Leaders program with the Center for Progressive Leadership. Currently he is the HIV/AIDS Community Organizer and Coordinator of the HIV/AIDS Housing Network for VOCAL-NY, a statewide grassroots membership organization that builds power among low-income people affected by HIV/AIDS, the drug war, and mass incarceration to create healthy and just communities.

Dorian T. Warren is Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science and the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University. Warren specializes in the study of inequality and American politics. His research and teaching interests include labor organizing & politics, race and ethnic politics, urban politics and policy, American political development, community organizing, public policy, and social science methodology. At Columbia, Warren is also a Faculty Affiliate at the Institute for Research in African-American Studies, Faculty Fellow at the Institute for Social and Economic Research and Policy, and coordinates the Center for Urban Research & Policy Seminar Series. A native Chicagoan, Warren received his B.A. from the University of Illinois and his M.A. and Ph.D. from Yale University. He has worked with several national and local organizations including the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, American Rights at Work, AFL-CIO, UNITE-HERE, SEIU, UFCW, Steelworkers, NGLTF Policy Institute, and Jobs with Justice. He currently serves on the boards of the Applied Research Center, Center for Community Change, and Columbia Law School’s Center for Social and Institutional Change.

Craig Willse is Assistant Professor of Cultural Studies at George Mason University, where he is also faculty adviser for Students Against Israeli Apartheid. He is co-editor of *Beyond Biopolitics: Essays on the Governance of Life and Death*. He is currently completing a book on the management of racialized housing insecurity in the context of neoliberalism.

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