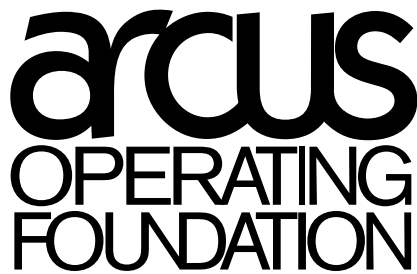


Mobilizing Resources

for the Human Rights of Lesbian, Gay,
Bisexual and Transgender People:
Challenges and Opportunities



Mobilizing Resources for the Human Rights of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender People: Challenges and Opportunities

The Arcus Operating Foundation was established in 2007 to support the work and mission of the Arcus Foundation through convenings and conferences, capacity and leadership development, research, publications and projects that increase philanthropic engagement.

The mission of the Arcus Foundation is to achieve social justice that is inclusive of sexual orientation, gender identity and race, and to ensure conservation and respect of the great apes. A private grantmaking foundation with offices in Kalamazoo, Michigan, New York City and Cambridge, U.K., the Arcus Foundation has awarded more than \$132 million in grants since its establishment in 2000. For more information about the Arcus Foundation please visit www.arcusfoundation.org.

An Arcus Operating Foundation Publication, written by
Marcie Parkhurst and Amber Johnson, FSG Social Impact Advisors

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About FSG Social Impact Advisors

FSG Social Impact Advisors is a nonprofit strategy consulting and research organization dedicated to accelerating social progress by advancing the practices of philanthropy and corporate social responsibility. FSG uses three approaches to help clients create greater social impact:

- **Advice:** We advise leading foundations, corporations, and nonprofits on how to increase and measure their social impact through strategy development and evaluation
- **Ideas:** We create and share original research and innovative ideas
- **Action:** We develop and launch long-term social impact initiatives in collaboration with our clients, funders, and partners

With offices in Boston, Geneva, San Francisco, and Seattle, FSG's international team of full-time consultants combines the highest standards of strategy consulting with a deep understanding of and passion for philanthropy and the nonprofit sector. FSG's ideas are regularly featured in national and international media including the *Harvard Business Review*, *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, and *Chronicle of Philanthropy*, as well as *The Economist*, *Financial Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, National Public Radio, and others.

See FSG online at www.fsg-impact.org, or contact them at (617) 357-4000.

The Arcus Operating Foundation (AOF) commissioned FSG to develop this report in preparation for a global meeting on Expanding Global Philanthropy to Support the Human Rights of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender People, held September 15–19, 2008, at the Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Conference Center in Bellagio, Italy. An earlier version of the report was shared with meeting participants and was revised to incorporate feedback from participants at the convening. The report is meant to encourage broader dialogue within the funding community on these important issues.

About Arcus

The Arcus Foundation and the Arcus Operating Foundation's missions are to achieve social justice that is inclusive of sexual orientation, gender identity and race and to ensure conservation and respect of the great apes. The Arcus Foundation is a private grantmaking foundation based in the U.S. and supports charitable organizations to achieve its mission. Since its founding in 2000, the Arcus Foundation has awarded more than \$132 million to groups working for the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people and to groups working for conservation. Founded in 2007, the Arcus Operating Foundation engages in projects, research, convenings and programs to accomplish this mission. As a result of the Bellagio convening in September 2008, the AOF will host a new collaborative project among a number of donors to work together to increase resources in the field of LGBT human rights.

About the Authors

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Preface

By *Urvashi Vaid, Executive Director, Arcus Foundation*

As the Arcus Foundation and our sister operating entity the Arcus Operating Foundation began learning about the needs of groups working for the human rights of LGBT people, the urgent need for resources, especially in the Global South and East, quickly became apparent.

The conditions under which LGBT people live in most parts of the world represent an unconscionable level of violence, legal and enforced discrimination, denial of basic human rights to liberty, political expression and participation, denial of the right to make a family and live in peace and with dignity. Not only do criminal laws still exist in more than 80 countries, but the death penalty for same-sex expression exists in at least six countries. Nonconforming gender expression and variable gender identities are mercilessly persecuted with discrimination, violence and harassment. And the astonishing truth is that while the legal rights of LGBT people vary from region to region, LGBT people in *all* parts of the world (North and South, East and West) experience serious and significant denials of their human rights.

This climate has been well documented by groups like the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA), International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (IGLHRC) and Human Rights Watch (HRW). It has been condemned by groups like Amnesty International, Global Rights, Human Rights First and many other global leaders. But anti-LGBT prejudice, silence and suppression remain pervasive.

Equally startling is the absence of philanthropic support for the human rights of LGBT people globally. In every region, the level of funds available for LGBT work remains inadequate to the needs and demands of grassroots organizations. The 2005 and 2007 reports, *A Global Gaze*, by Funders for Lesbian and Gay Issues, a U.S.-based philanthropic affinity group that researches and advocates within philanthropy for increased resources, document that a very small amount of funds goes to support LGBT human rights work in the Global South. Philanthropy of all kinds has not yet stepped up to meet the urgent and crisis-level realities that LGBT human rights experience.

The gathering at Bellagio in September 2008 grew out of these concerns. The Arcus Operating Foundation (AOF) convened nearly 30 human rights, philanthropic and advocacy leaders who work globally to discuss and analyze what could be done to increase resources to advance the human rights of LGBT people. As part of that process, AOF commissioned several research projects including the report you now read.

The FSG survey was developed to learn from funding institutions based in the U.S. and funding globally. It was distributed through funder networks, and data was gathered online. In addition, 25 phone interviews were done with experts in philanthropy, human rights and global funding. The results are fascinating for the barriers they reveal and the opportunities they suggest. The results also suggest the need for additional data gathering.

Participants at the Bellagio meeting committed to working together over the next few years to change the pattern of funding we found and to meaningfully increase resources for LGBT human rights work through a shared endeavor within and beyond philanthropy. Increasing resources for work that is controversial, as human rights often are in many contexts, is a project that requires both commitment and communication among many different kinds of funders. We hope this publication contributes usefully to the conversation and leads to greater action from within the philanthropic sector. Ultimately, if human rights are to be achieved, they cannot be divisible.

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The Arcus Operating Foundation would like to thank the authors and participants for their thoughtful contributions to this report.

Executive Summary

In 2007, there were at least 163 nonprofit groups working to advance the human rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people in the Global South and East¹. The important work of these groups was funded by 40 institutions, most based in the Global North, who gave a total of \$23.9M². This paper is intended to help mobilize additional funding for LGBT human rights work by identifying obstacles to increased funding among human rights funders, exploring the implications of those obstacles, and surfacing approaches to mitigate or overcome them. No previous research on these topics exists.

Throughout this paper, we refer to efforts to improve the conditions in which LGBT people live as advancing “the human rights of LGBT people.” The use of this phrase serves three purposes:

1. It reminds the reader that human rights extend to all people, including LGBT people.
2. It locates the specific challenges facing LGBT people within the broader context of social justice organizing.
3. It encourages the application of human rights tools and frameworks to LGBT-specific issues.

Perhaps most important, this phrase underscores the close connection between LGBT-focused rights work and efforts focused on a broader range of human rights issues. Our research indicates that the vast majority of human rights funders increasingly recognize LGBT rights as human rights. Strikingly, 93 percent of funders who do not currently support LGBT human rights work in the Global South and East acknowledge the human rights community’s responsibility to help advance it. The LGBT movement’s ability to capitalize on this growing recognition will depend in part on its ability to address the challenges that deter funders from providing additional resources toward LGBT human rights.

Our research to identify these challenges was based on interviews and a targeted online survey of human rights and LGBT funders, nonprofit professionals, and

other stakeholders. A draft version of this report was discussed at the Arcus-sponsored convening *Expanding Global Philanthropy to Support the Human Rights of LGBT People*, held in September 2008. Feedback from that discussion has been incorporated into this publication.

Our research identified four types of challenges that limit funder support for work to advance the human rights of LGBT people. These challenges are:

1. **Logistical challenges:** Barriers that restrict otherwise supportive funders from engaging in LGBT human rights work
2. **Conceptual challenges:** Ways in which funders think about LGBT human rights issues that discourage them from supporting this work
3. **Strategic challenges:** Trade-offs that funders must consider when contemplating a shift in resource allocation and tactics
4. **Institutional challenges among private foundations:** Obstacles at the staff or board level that stem from organizational dynamics or biases

Many of these apparent obstacles to mobilizing funding could readily be overcome, while others appear to be far more difficult and would require more long-term and resource-intensive strategies.

Implications for Mobilizing Resources

An analysis of our research findings suggests that an effective strategy could be developed to attract significantly more resources for LGBT human rights work in the Global South and East. In the short term, this strategy would focus on three key activities:

1. **Engage in targeted peer-to-peer networking to encourage new funder participation in work to advance the human rights of LGBT people.**

Current funders can leverage their existing relationships with other human rights funding institutions to address their specific challenges and identify LGBT-specific grantmaking opportunities within their existing areas of work.

1) For purposes of this report, the term “Global South” refers to countries in Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia, the Pacific Islands, Africa, and the Middle East. The term “Global East” refers to countries in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The term “Global North” refers to countries in North America and Western Europe.

2) *A Global Gaze: LGBTI Grantmaking in the Global South and East*. Funders for Lesbian and Gay Issues, 2008.

2. Build the capacity of funding intermediaries in the Global North and in the Global South and East.

Intermediaries in the Global North can help match Northern funders with appropriate grantees in the Global South and East, while allowing Northern-based foundations to bypass restrictions on international grantmaking. Regional intermediaries in the Global South and East can also provide grantmaking services and can offer capacity-building assistance to NGOs at the local level.

3. Develop effective strategies to increase funding from bilateral aid agencies

LGBT human rights champions noted that many bilateral aid agencies fund human rights work in the Global South and East and may be a significant source of untapped funding. Additional research is needed to develop strategies to effectively engage bilateral funders.

In addition, LGBT human rights champions can also consider implementing the following strategies in support of the core activities outlined above:

- Support research on LGBT human rights needs, opportunities, and issues
- Map the landscape of funding opportunities to advance the human rights of LGBT people
- Provide mainstream opportunities for donors to learn about LGBT human rights issues
- Educate human rights donors not currently supporting LGBT rights work about the synergies between their current programs and work to advance the human rights of LGBT people
- Showcase funder success stories to demonstrate the potential for impact
- Provide capacity-building support to NGOs in the Global South and East

Our research indicates that private foundations currently engaged in human rights work are uniquely positioned to assume a leadership role in the effort to advance LGBT human rights by contributing their grantmaking dollars, visibility, influence, and expertise. Other philanthropic entities will also be important players in the global effort to mobilize resources, but additional research is needed to develop effective strategies to engage these sectors. It is our hope that the findings and recommendations presented in this paper will prove useful for individuals and institutions working to expand the pool of resources available to promote freedom and improve the quality of life for LGBT people in the Global South and East.

Introduction

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people throughout the Global South and East face high levels of persecution and violence. Homosexual acts are illegal in 85 countries in the Global South and East, and are punishable by death in seven countries in the Middle East and Africa³. Moreover, recent research confirms that even in countries that do not criminalize homosexual behavior, LGBT people are subject to harassment, intimidation, and violence⁴.

Despite these challenges, movements to advance the human rights of LGBT people are gaining ground in several regions. Just recently, Nepal's Supreme Court ordered the government to repeal discriminatory laws against LGBT people and recognize the identities of transgender people on government documents⁵, and Argentina granted LGBT people the right to claim their deceased partners' pensions⁶. And perhaps surprisingly, three of the seven countries worldwide with a constitutional right to freedom from discrimination based on sexual orientation are in the Global South and East⁷.

A significant increase in funding to LGBT organizations and projects in the Global South and East over the past few years helped to fuel these positive developments. According to a recent study, funding for LGBT organizations and projects in these regions increased from \$10.5M in 2005 to \$23.9M in 2007⁸. Large donations from a handful of key funders, including Atlantic Philanthropies, the Ford Foundation, Hivos, the Open Society Institute, the Arcus Foundation, and SIDA, accounted for a majority of this increase. While the surge in funding certainly demonstrates progress, it is important to note that the total number of funders supporting LGBT human rights — just 40 worldwide — remained constant during this time period.

3) These countries are Iran, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Yemen, Mauritania, Nigeria, and Sudan. For more information, see *State Sponsored Homophobia: A world survey of laws prohibiting same-sex activity between consenting adults*. ILGA, 2008.

4) See, for example, *Together, Apart: Organizing around sexual orientation and gender identity worldwide*. Human Rights Watch, 2008 and *Out from the Margins: Needs and Priorities Facing the LGBT Communities*. July 2008.

5) IPS News Service, July 30, 2008.

6) Associated Press, August 19, 2008.

7) These countries are Ecuador, Fiji, and South Africa. Ibid.

8) *A Global Gaze: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex grantmaking in the Global South and East*. Funders for Lesbian and Gay Issues, 2008.

Moreover, in spite of the increased funding dedicated to LGBT rights work in 2007, resources remain insufficient to address the challenges facing LGBT people in the Global South and East. In 2007, funding for LGBT human rights work in these regions — home to more than 80 percent of the world's population⁹ — was only one third of total funding for LGBT work in the U.S.¹⁰. As funding institutions begin to cut back on programs in the wake of the global economic crisis, support for LGBT human rights work is at heightened risk if funders do not consider it a priority.

The need for strong and effective organizations to fight for the human rights of LGBT people, combined with limited funding to support this work, creates a need for more action by LGBT human rights champions. In order to deliver financial support, capacity-building services, and other forms of assistance to organizations in the Global South and East, LGBT human rights champions should consider developing and implementing a range of strategies to mobilize additional resources. While increasing the financial commitment of existing funders may be helpful, identifying and connecting new sources of funding to the movement is also important.

A variety of sources may be tapped to provide this new funding: public and private grantmaking institutions, individual donors, bilateral aid agencies, and even corporate funders. Within this landscape of potential funders, private human rights funders, whose priorities are well-aligned with the goals of the movement to advance the human rights of LGBT people, and bilateral aid agencies, many of which include human rights work within their mandates, are the most promising sources of new short-term support. Over the longer-term, the broader range of potential donors can be cultivated as well.

9) United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2005.

10) *LGBT Grantmaking by U.S. Foundations*. Funders for Lesbian and Gay Issues, 2007.

Throughout this paper, we refer to efforts to improve the conditions in which LGBT people live as advancing “the human rights of LGBT people.” The use of this phrase serves three purposes:

1. It reminds the reader that because human rights extend to all people, including LGBT people, LGBT persons should have access to the full range of civic, political, economic, social, and cultural rights to which all people are entitled under various international agreements.¹¹
2. It locates the specific challenges facing LGBT people within the broader context of social justice organizing, clarifying that efforts to advance the human rights of all citizens and the human rights of LGBT people in particular are in fact one and the same.
3. It encourages the application of human rights tools and frameworks to LGBT-specific issues, providing activists with a range of powerful instruments to use in their work.

Perhaps most importantly, this phrase underscores the close connection between LGBT-focused rights work and efforts focused on a broader range of human rights issues. Our research indicates that the vast majority of human rights funders increasingly recognize LGBT rights as human rights. Strikingly, 93 percent of funders who do not currently support LGBT human rights work in the Global South and East acknowledge the human rights community’s responsibility to help advance it. The LGBT movement’s ability to capitalize on this growing recognition will depend in part on its ability to address the challenges that currently deter funders from providing additional resources toward LGBT human rights.

Purpose and Methodology

This paper was commissioned by the Arcus Operating Foundation to support a global effort to mobilize resources to advance the human rights of LGBT people in the Global South and East. The specific purpose of this paper is to explore and document the barriers that discourage private human rights funders from supporting LGBT human rights work in the Global South and East, and to surface potential strategies to address these barriers.

By documenting the challenges that limit support for this work, the paper aims to achieve two goals:

1. Provide LGBT human rights champions with specific information on the challenges faced by donors, in order to enable more productive conversations with existing and potential supporters.
2. Establish a fact base from which a coordinated strategy to increase resources can be developed and against which progress can be measured.

The primary research for this report was drawn from phone interviews (n=25) and a targeted online survey (n=70) of human rights and LGBT funders, nonprofit professionals, and other stakeholders. A draft version of this report was presented and discussed at the Arcus-sponsored convening *Expanding Global Philanthropy to Support the Human Rights of LGBT People*, held in September 2008. Feedback from that discussion has been incorporated into this version of the publication.

The initial list of phone interviewees was developed in collaboration with the Arcus Operating Foundation and was supplemented with additional individuals suggested by the interviewees. The interviews focused on developing an in-depth understanding of private human rights funders’ perceptions of LGBT human rights work and identifying the obstacles that limit funders’ support for work to advance the human rights of LGBT people. Our interview sample included professionals currently engaged in LGBT human rights work and those doing more general human rights work (including funders who did not support LGBT rights work), both in the Global South and East and elsewhere. Targeting this demographic allowed us to explore the close synergies between the broad human rights field and the more specific community of LGBT human rights champions

11) These agreements include the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, among others.

that exists within that field. We were also able to explore the role that human rights funders can (and often do) play in addressing LGBT human rights issues.

The online survey was designed to reach a broader range of stakeholders and provide a quantitative accompaniment to the interview findings. The survey was distributed to the memberships of four major human rights donor affinity groups: the International Human Rights Funders' Group; Grantmakers without Borders; Funders for Lesbian and Gay Issues; and the Funders Network on Population, Reproductive Health and Rights. Participants of the Bellagio Convening were also asked to complete the survey and to forward it through their professional contacts. All survey responses were kept anonymous in order to encourage honest and candid responses.

The original scope of our research focused on understanding private human rights funders' attitudes towards funding work to advance the human rights of LGBT people. Our interview list was weighted heavily toward professionally staffed private foundations, and about half of survey participants indicated that they worked at a private foundation as well. This focus has surfaced deep insights on the motivations and challenges of private grantmaking organizations, a critical first step toward launching a funder-led initiative, though we recognize the need for additional feedback from bilateral donors, public foundations, individual donors, and corporate funders as the research and planning process continues.

About one quarter of interviewees and 13 percent of survey respondents participating in this study work at organizations based outside the U.S., mainly in Western Europe¹². Our analysis found few significant differences between the attitudes of funders based in the U.S. and those based outside the U.S. toward funding for LGBT human rights work in the Global South and East¹³. We recognize that as the effort to design a robust resource

mobilization strategy moves forward, it will be important to develop a deeper understanding of the challenges and motivations of funders and NGOs based outside the U.S.

The findings of this report are divided into two primary sections. The first section identifies the key challenges that limit support for work to advance the human rights of LGBT people among private human rights funders. These challenges are grouped into four broad categories, ranging from logistical challenges regarding which grantees to fund, to institutional challenges such as lack of board support for LGBT human rights work. In the second section of the report, we draw out the strategic implications of the research, suggesting that initial efforts to mobilize resources should focus on three core strategies: peer-to-peer networking with private human rights foundations, capacity building for funding intermediaries, and strategy development aimed at engaging more bilateral aid agencies. A number of additional strategies are also suggested as important complements to these core efforts.

The discussion and findings presented in this paper are intended to spur dialogue, and will be refined and expanded upon as the effort to mobilize funding to address LGBT human rights builds further momentum and knowledge. We hope this research provides a useful starting point for this important movement, generating questions and providing initial hypotheses about effective strategies for change.

12) Organizations included in the interviews and survey sample include public and private foundations as well as large, international NGOs.

13) The starkest difference between the two groups was the ease with which they perceived their ability to fund groups based in the Global South and East: while funders based in the U.S. reported logistical challenges to funding these groups, funders based outside the U.S. did not cite this as a significant barrier.

Key Challenges to Increased Funding

Research indicates that many challenges exist that limit funding for work to advance the human rights of LGBT people in the Global South and East. The range of obstacles private funders face can be grouped into four categories: **Logistical challenges** are barriers that can restrict otherwise supportive funders from engaging in LGBT human rights work; **conceptual challenges** describe a range of ways in which funders think about LGBT human rights issues that undermine their support for this work; **strategic challenges** describe the various trade-offs that funders must consider when contemplating a shift in resource allocation; and, finally, **institutional challenges** are obstacles at the staff or board level of a foundation that stem from organizational dynamics or biases.

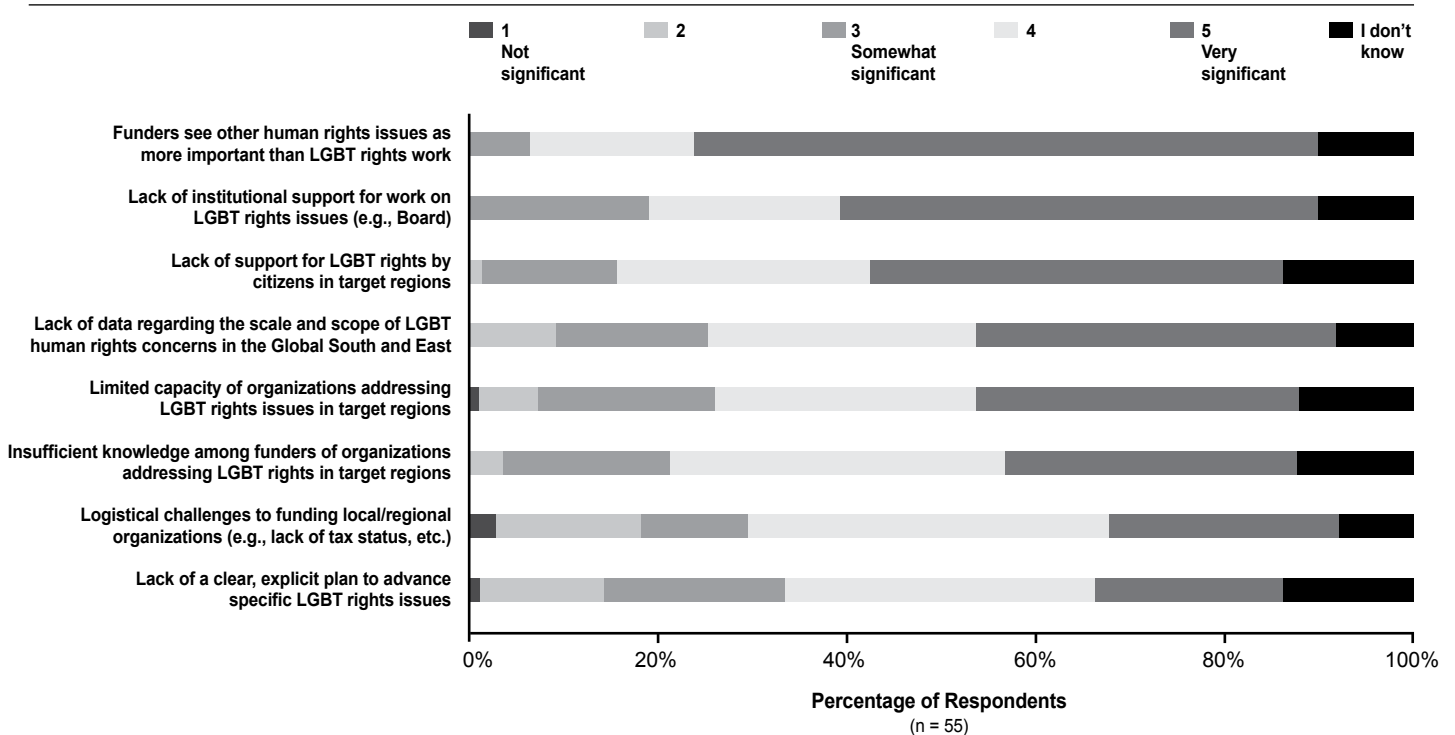
The chart below identifies several different challenges that survey respondents view as significant factors limiting funding for LGBT human rights work in the Global South and East. During interviews, stakeholders cited many of these challenges as key obstacles to increased funding, while also identifying several

additional barriers. The key challenges described below were mentioned most frequently and most passionately by interviewees and survey respondents.

Logistical Challenges

Our research revealed that many private funders **lack access to information on who to fund, what to fund, and how to fund work to advance the human rights of LGBT people in the Global South and East.** Most locally- and regionally-based NGOs are small, and many lack official legal status, posing significant challenges to institutional funders in the field. As one grantmaker noted, *“Unless you are specifically focused on these issues, you may not have any way of knowing who the organizations are or where they are.”* Two-thirds of survey respondents cited “insufficient knowledge of organizations addressing LGBT rights in target regions” as a factor limiting funding for LGBT human rights work in the Global South and East. This challenge is exacerbated in regions where LGBT

In your opinion, what are the most significant factors limiting funding for LGBT rights work in the Global South and East?



organizations must operate covertly due to concerns about human safety or public controversy.

U.S. and European legal restrictions on overseas giving pose additional logistical challenges to Northern funders. U.S. policies prohibit funding to international organizations without specific legal designations, which may be difficult for small, grassroots organizations to obtain. As one public charity executive in the Global South reported, “Until we established a 501(c)(3) in the U.S., funders in the U.S. could not give us money for general support. Restrictions made it difficult for us to get funding to do our work.” One institutional funder in the EU noted that, “In Europe, the funding context is often more limited and specific. Foundations often work with mandates that are very old and restricting.”

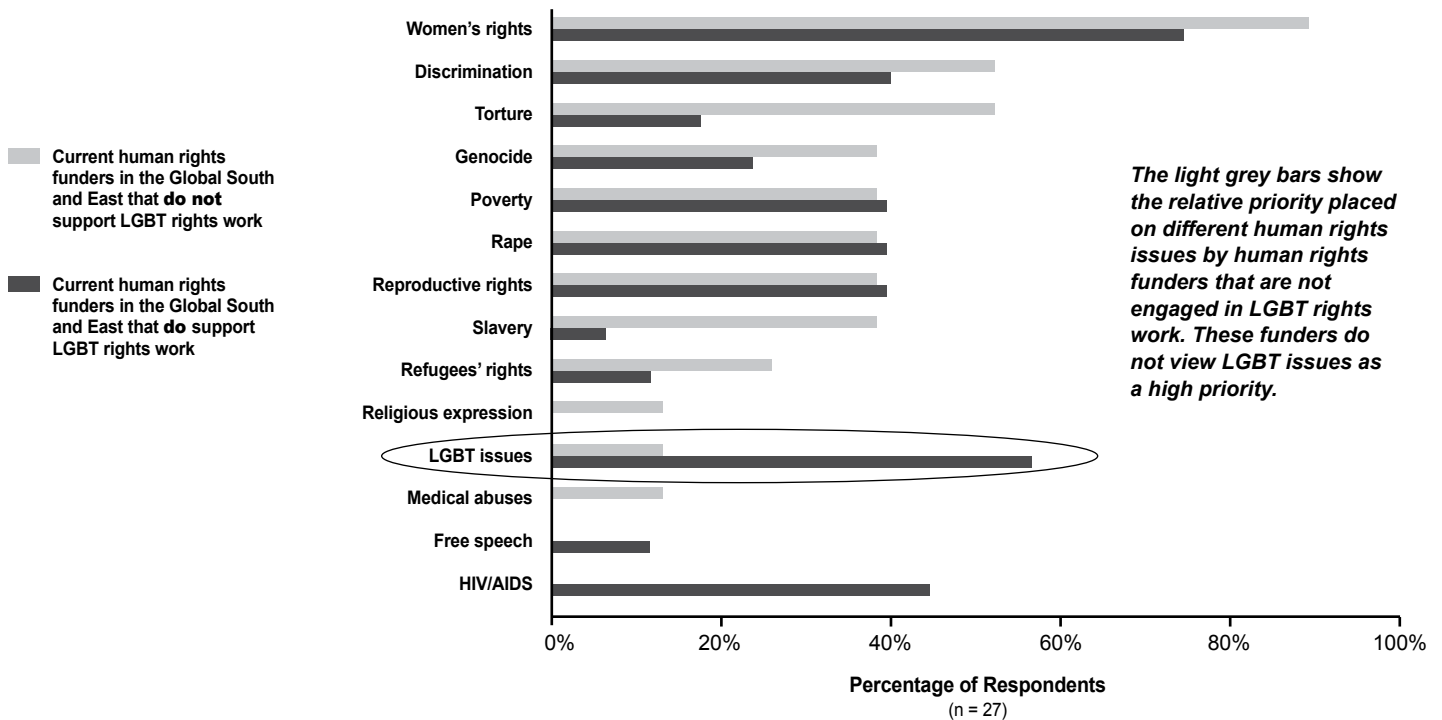
Conceptual Challenges

One significant conceptual challenge is the perception by some funders that **the human rights of LGBT people are a lesser priority than other human rights issues**. Though funders recognize the intrinsic

value of LGBT human rights work, they often choose to concentrate limited resources on other issues that are perceived as more severe or fundamental. One hundred percent of survey respondents believe that low funder prioritization of the human rights of LGBT people, relative to other human rights issues, is a significant barrier to mobilizing additional resources. In the words of one funder, “It’s a sin in our community to rank one right against another right, but there is a priority-setting process, conscious or unconscious. For some reason, LGBT issues are not rising to the fore in the process for most funders.”

Some funders also perceive LGBT human rights as an issue affecting only LGBT people, and are reluctant to consider developing new programs to serve that population. However, many are willing to — and already do — incorporate LGBT-specific funding into their broader program areas. Many cross-cutting or thematic issue areas within the human rights field — such as discrimination, HIV/AIDS, and torture — have particular relevance for LGBT people. While funders may be reluctant to develop specific programs to

Below is a list of human rights issues. Please select the five that you feel should be the highest priority issues for funders right now.



Note: Other issues cited include: rights of indigenous people, workers' rights, immigration, "vulnerable populations," disability rights, environmental rights, and building a human rights infrastructure.

address the exclusive needs of LGBT people (“Yes, we believe that discrimination and human rights violations against LGBT people exist, but they’re only x percent of the population and we have to deal with bigger groups”), there are opportunities to work with funders to identify areas of overlap and synergy. “The trustees are empathetic to challenges and abuses faced by LGBT people, but they do not want to focus on a specific population. They prefer a thematic approach that also allows them to address LGBT issues within a broader focus.”

Additionally, some funders believe that citizen-driven demand for work on the human rights of LGBT people is limited in parts of the Global South and East. Ninety percent of survey respondents who do not currently support work on the rights of LGBT people in the Global South and East see their local communities as critical to jump-starting momentum for increased funding. According to one interviewee, “What I’d like to see is groups at the field level saying, yes, these are real needs we want to address.” Several factors may contribute to the perception by funders that work on the human rights of LGBT people is not a priority in their target regions, including: the relative invisibility of LGBT human rights work (concerns about controversy or safety may lead activists underground); the tendency of groups in the Global South and East to address the needs of LGBT people through thematically-organized programs (e.g., HIV/AIDS); and the small number of grant applications specifically addressing LGBT human rights work.

Strategic Challenges

A key strategic challenge to mobilizing resources to advance the human rights of LGBT people is the **difficulty of shifting foundation focus areas and goals.** Funders may be more likely to support work on the human rights of LGBT people if it can be positioned within their existing strategic priorities. As one interviewee cautioned, “You shouldn’t try to change the mission of an existing foundation. You won’t

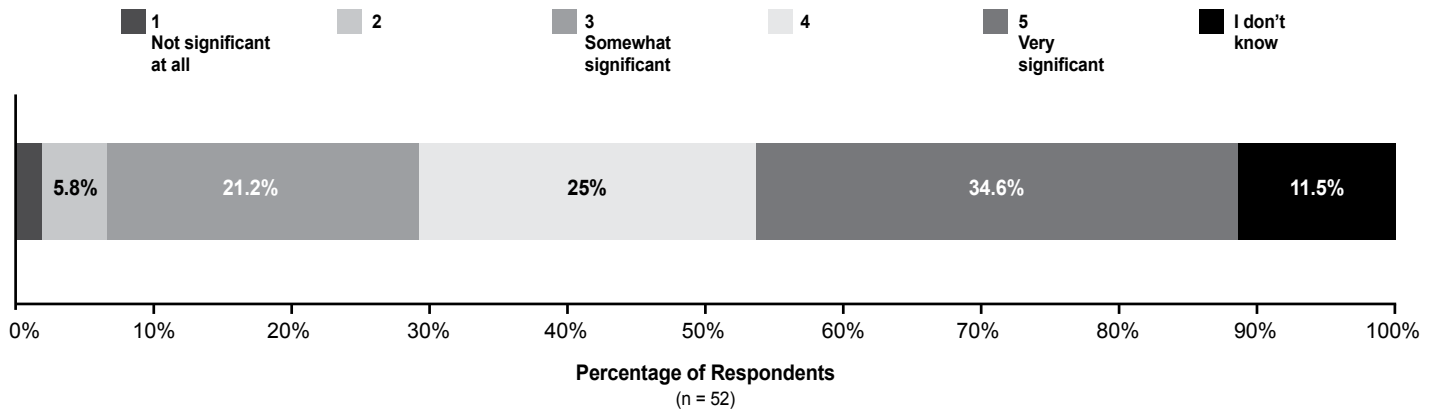
succeed because the board knows what it wants to do, and you’re not going to change that.” A more promising strategy would be to encourage foundations to tackle LGBT human rights issues within the boundaries of their current focus areas: “You need to make connections to other human rights work that foundations are engaged in. For example, recognition of same-sex relationships is critically important for immigration and refugee issues. How do you link these issues to other program areas, so you can get some of the LGBT work mainstreamed?”

Perceptions about the proper sequencing of human rights work also pose a strategic challenge. **Some funders believe the human rights of LGBT people can only be addressed after progress has been made on other human rights and development issues, particularly in the Global South and East.** Twenty-seven percent of funders who currently do not support work on the human rights of LGBT people in the Global South and East — a sizeable minority — agree to varying degrees with the statement “It makes the most sense to address specific rights for LGBT people only after other basic human rights have been addressed.” Sequencing issues may be particularly pronounced in post-conflict regions: “In a country that has just come out of war, there are major issues of building civil society. If organizations want to work on LGBT issues, they first need a more open civil society.”

Some funders doubt they can have an impact on the human rights of LGBT people in the Global South and East, and are hesitant to invest without a high perceived probability of success. One funder observed that, “The most persuasive case for funding more LGBT work, especially in the Global South, is to show some success. Show that this doesn’t just result in controversy that undermines the human rights community.” According to another, “Funders always want to know what they can achieve. And in this space, it’s daunting. If a few current funders talked about their successes that would be very helpful.”

Even when success in the area of LGBT human rights is shown to be possible, **some funders have short timelines and may shy away from this work because of the long-term investments and capacity-building required.** Sixty percent of all survey respondents

Respondents' perception of "limited capacity of organizations addressing LGBT rights issues in target regions" as a factor limiting funding of LGBT rights work in the Global South and East



perceive "limited capacity of organizations addressing LGBT issues in target regions" as a "significant" or "very significant" barrier for mobilizing additional resources. As one interviewee noted, "There is a tremendous need for movement building and to strengthen organizations. There is an evolution over time that needs to begin with very basic items." Recruiting funders with a long time horizon and with the willingness to support basic capacity building before seeing results will be critical for building resources to advance the human rights of LGBT people.

Institutional Challenges

The attitudes of board members and foundation executives toward work on the human rights of LGBT people are seen as a powerful influence over the amount of funding dedicated toward it. Half of all survey respondents cited the "lack of institutional support for work on LGBT rights issues (e.g., board, executive management)" as a "very significant" barrier to increasing funding for work on the human rights of LGBT people in the Global South and East. As one program officer noted, "If someone on our board or our president would try to push these issues, they would get further than me.... It's just the politics of foundations."

According to survey respondents, "conservatism" and "fear of controversy" — more often than blatant homophobia — generally lead foundation executive staff and board members to shy away from support of work

on the human rights of LGBT people. One foundation program officer observed, "There is some discomfort on the board in dealing with LGBT issues." As another program officer noted, "People feel uncomfortable with these issues. I think it's a governance issue."

In light of these dynamics, many stakeholders view the **emergence of vocal and powerful "champions" for LGBT human rights work — particularly in foundation leadership positions — as a critical factor for shifting funding approaches and priorities.** The relative lack of pro-LGBT human rights champions within funding institutions is seen as a significant challenge to increasing financial support for work on the human rights of LGBT people. Many program officers who expressed support for international work on the human rights of LGBT people stressed that vocal allies in more powerful positions within their foundations would be more effective in increasing support for it: "We need endorsement of the issue from key influencers or leaders in the organization." **Foundation leaders are much more likely to prioritize work on the human rights of LGBT people if they have a strong passion for the issue.** Nearly half of all survey respondents cited "personal passion or interest" as one of the top two motivating factors for choosing a funding focus area.

Implications: Strategies to Mobilize Resources to Advance the Human Rights of LGBT People

The research on barriers to increased funding holds several strategic implications for those seeking to develop an effective resource mobilization strategy in support of LGBT human rights work. Many of the challenges to increased funding are readily overcome, providing LGBT rights champions with the opportunity to significantly increase global resources for LGBT human rights work in a relatively short time frame. Several other challenges are more formidable, requiring longer-term solutions and heightened coordination among LGBT rights supporters.

Having identified the key challenges, it is possible to develop an effective strategy to attract significantly more resources for LGBT human rights work in the Global South and East. In the short-term, this strategy would focus on peer-to-peer networking with human rights-focused foundations in the Global North, as well as capacity building for funding intermediaries¹⁴ engaged in LGBT human rights work. It is also important to develop effective strategies to increase funding from bilateral aid agencies, an area that would require further research. Over the long-term, this resource mobilization strategy could evolve to support efforts to engage additional private funders as well as individual donors and corporate funders.

Over the short-term, three key strategies can be implemented to significantly increase resources to support work to advance the human rights of LGBT people:

1. Engage in targeted peer-to-peer networking:

Work directly with peer funders to encourage increased support for work to advance the human rights of LGBT people.

Research participants suggest there is an opportunity for funders championing work on LGBT human rights to leverage their existing relationships with human rights funding institutions to educate their peers about opportunities to support LGBT-specific human rights work. This strategy allows funders

already engaged in this work to establish dialogue directly with potential funders to address their specific conceptual, strategic, and institutional challenges. Direct peer-to-peer networking also allows current funders to present proposals for partnership and collaboration, providing highly leveraged options for funders new to the field and increasing resources available for LGBT rights.

2. Invest in intermediaries: Build the capacity of funding intermediaries in the Global North and in the South and East to attract more funding and distribute it among high-performing local grantees.

According to interviewees and survey respondents, intermediaries in the Global North — including international LGBT rights groups — can play a critical role in supporting LGBT human rights work and addressing challenges facing Northern-based funders. By directing funds from grantmakers in the North to appropriate grantees in the Global South and East, intermediaries reduce the need for Northern-based funders to develop internal expertise in how to fund international LGBT human rights work. Second, channeling funds through registered intermediaries in the North allows foundations to bypass certain legal restrictions on international grantmaking.

Regional intermediaries in the Global South and East are also important players, providing additional grantmaking services and offering needed capacity-building assistance to NGOs at the local level.

3. Reach out to bilateral aid agencies: Develop effective strategies to increase funding for LGBT human rights work in the Global South and East from Northern-based bilateral aid agencies.

Interviewees, survey respondents, and convening participants suggested that bilateral aid agencies funding human rights work in regions across the Global South and East may be a significant source of untapped funding. Additional research is needed to identify the specific challenges limiting funding for LGBT human rights work from this sector and to develop effective strategies to address these challenges.

¹⁴ For purposes of this paper, the term “intermediary” refers to any large, Northern-based institution (including public foundations and large international NGOs) that accepts funding from private foundations and other funders, and channels it directly to small NGOs in the Global South and East.

In addition to the core strategies described above, LGBT human rights champions can also consider implementing the following supportive activities:

4. Fund research: *Better data on LGBT human rights needs, opportunities, and issues is necessary to build the case for support.*

More than 80 percent of survey respondents cited “lack of data regarding the scale and scope of LGBT human rights concerns in the Global South and East” as a significant challenge. To address this challenge, LGBT human rights champions could invest in data collection and other research to document the breadth and scale of needs facing LGBT people, the capacity of organizations addressing those needs, and the level of current support (grants and otherwise) for LGBT human rights work in the Global South and East. This would likely make a compelling case for increased funding and would highlight areas where gaps are particularly acute. A new Web site that centralizes available reports on LGBT human rights, hosted by ILGA-Europe, the European Region of the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex Association, is a promising step.

Additionally, research regarding the specific challenges and opportunities facing individual donors, bilateral aid agencies, and foundations based outside the U.S. (other important funding sources not investigated in-depth through this report) is needed.

5. Map the landscape: *Provide funders with information regarding who to fund and how, in order to support LGBT human rights work.*

A significant but readily overcome logistical challenge facing many funders is limited access to information about who or how to fund work to advance the human rights of LGBT people. Two-thirds of survey respondents cited “insufficient knowledge of organizations addressing LGBT rights in target regions” as a factor limiting funding for LGBT human rights work in the Global South and East. Current funders can invest in research to map the existing LGBT human rights landscape in the Global South and East, providing up-to-date information

for funders on specific groups and organizations, their fiscal sponsors (if applicable), and their goals and strategies. Publishing this data and disseminating it widely to human rights funders and other stakeholders in the field is critical to enabling interested donors to become involved in LGBT human rights work.

6. Increase exposure: *Provide potential funders with mainstream opportunities to learn more about LGBT human rights issues.*

Institutional challenges at foundations, such as lack of board support or lack of LGBT human rights champions, are long-term obstacles that may be difficult for outsiders to address directly; however, indirect means of influencing institutional leaders’ opinions may be useful. Raising the profile on LGBT human rights issues through support for programming at mainstream grantmaking conferences or professional networking functions may be an effective way of increasing awareness.

7. Educate donors: *Help human rights donors understand the synergies between their current programs and work to advance the human rights of LGBT people.*

Donor education is a key strategy to address some of the conceptual and strategic challenges facing private foundations. By developing materials to inform funders about the full range of work to advance LGBT human rights, as well as the connections between that work and other human rights work, LGBT human rights champions can help more mainstream human rights funders better understand how to incorporate LGBT human rights work into their existing portfolios.

8. Show evidence of success: *Publish and disseminate funder success stories to demonstrate the potential for impact.*

Several interviewees expressed skepticism regarding the likelihood of achieving success on LGBT human rights issues in the Global South and East. Current funders of this work can counter this misperception by showcasing their successes and highlighting the positive impact that funding can have on the lives of LGBT people in these regions. Developing tailored success stories for potential funders focused on specific human rights issues with relevance to LGBT populations (e.g., women’s rights, HIV/AIDS, torture, etc.) may be an especially effective strategy to increase support.

9. Invest in capacity building: *Help grassroots NGOs develop fundraising expertise and knowledge of human rights tools.*

More than three-quarters of survey respondents cited limited capacity of organizations addressing LGBT human rights issues in the Global South and East as a significant barrier to increased funding. Current funders can invest in capacity-building activities to help LGBT human rights groups in these regions — the vast majority of which are small and unstaffed — to develop fundraising skills and gain expertise in applying human rights tools and frameworks. These investments are critical to enable LGBT human rights groups to tap into new sources of funds as they become available, and to promote strategic alignment between small NGOs and private funders.

Future Opportunities

Private foundations are uniquely positioned to assume a leadership role in efforts to mobilize additional resources for LGBT human rights work by contributing their grantmaking dollars, visibility, influence, and expertise. Other philanthropic entities — including funding intermediaries, bilateral aid agencies, individual donors, and corporate funders — will also be important players in the global effort to mobilize resources. While barriers limit the participation of some potential funders in this work, our research has highlighted several promising strategies to overcome those challenges. It is our hope that the findings and recommendations presented in this paper will prove useful for individuals and institutions working to expand the pool of resources available to promote freedom and improve the quality of life for LGBT people in the Global South and East.

We encourage interested readers to contact Carla Sutherland, Director of the International LGBT Rights Program at the Arcus Foundation, for more information about funding opportunities or to become involved in ongoing efforts to mobilize resources for LGBT human rights work in the Global South and East.

APPENDIX A: List of Convening Participants

| | |
|---|--|
| Amnesty International | Marj Byler, Senior Director for International Mobilization |
| Arcus Foundation | Daniel Schwartz, Board Member Jon Stryker, Founder and President of the Board Urvashi Vaid, Executive Director Jody West, Executive Assistant |
| Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice | Katherine Acey, Executive Director |
| Atlantic Philanthropies | Martin O'Brien, Programme Director |
| Blue Diamond Society | Sunil Pant, Founder and President |
| Central American Women's Fund | Ana Criquillion, Executive Director |
| Dreilinden gGmbH | Ise Bosch, Founder |
| European Foundation Center | Gerry Salole, Chief Executive |
| Ford Foundation | Christopher Harris, Senior Program Officer, Philanthropy |
| FSG Social Impact Advisors | Marcie Parkhurst, Consultant |
| Funders for Lesbian and Gay Issues | Karen Zelermyer, Executive Director |
| Gill Foundation | Tim Gill, Founder and Chairman of the Board, and his partner Scott Miller |
| Hivos | Manuela Monteiro, General Director |
| Human Rights Watch | Scott Long, Director, LGBT Rights Program |
| IBM Corporation | Yvette Burton, Global Business Development Executive for GLBT Segments and Emerging Markets |
| Independent Consultant | Julie Dorf |
| Katherine Pease & Associates | Katherine Pease, Principal |
| Lesbian and Gay Equality Project | Phumzile Mtetwa, Executive Director |
| Mama Cash | Nicky McIntyre, Executive Director |
| Open Society Institute | Heather Doyle, Director, Sexual Rights Project |
| United Nations Development Program | Susana Fried, Senior Advisor, Gender / HIV |
| University of Nottingham | Michael O'Flaherty, UN Human Rights Committee |
| U.S. Human Rights Fund | Dorothy Thomas, Steering Committee Member |
| Van Leer Foundation | Barry Gaberman, Trustee |
| Wellspring Advisors | Andrew Park, Senior Philanthropic Advisor |

APPENDIX B: List of Interviewees

Foundations and Intermediaries

| | |
|--|--|
| Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice | Katherine Acey, Executive Director |
| Atlantic Philanthropies | Brian Kearney-Grieve, Gerald Kraak, & Rebecca Rittgers, Programme Executives, Reconciliation & Human Rights Programme (Dublin, Johannesburg, and New York) |
| Blaustein Foundation | Brenda Bodenheimer Zlatin, Program Officer; Jewish Life, Israel, Human Rights |
| Central American Women's Fund | Ana Criquillion, Executive Director |
| Euro-Mediterranean Foundation of Support to Human Rights Defenders | Anne-Sophie Schaeffer, EMHRF Coordinator |
| Fund for Global Human Rights | Regan Ralph, Executive Director Talia Bilodeau, Director of Strategy and Development David Mattingly, Program Officer |
| Horizon Foundation | Julie Dorf, Director of Philanthropic Services and Development (and former Executive Director of the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission (IGLHRC)) |
| International Network of Women's Funds | Tina Thiart, Executive Director |
| John Merck Fund | Nancy Stockford, Assistant Director |
| MacArthur Foundation | Mary Page, Director, Human Rights and International Justice |
| Moriah Fund | Shira Saperstein, Deputy Director and Program Director for Women's Rights and Reproductive Health |
| Oak Foundation | Adrian Arena, Programme Officer, International Human Rights Programme |
| Packard Foundation | Musimbi Kanyoro, Population Program Director |
| Rights and Democracy (International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development) | Razmik Panossian, Director of Policy, Programmes and Planning |
| United Nations Foundation | Tamara Kreinin, Executive Director for Women and Population |

Donor Affinity Groups

| | |
|---|--|
| Council on Foundations | Steve Gunderson, President/CEO |
| European Foundation Center | Gerry Salole, Chief Executive |
| Funders Concerned About AIDS | Sunita Viswanath, Executive Director; Bob Bronzo, Program Manager |
| International Human Rights Funders Group | Andrew Park, Coordinator |

Other Stakeholders

| | |
|---|--|
| Front Line | Andrew Anderson, Deputy Director |
| Heartland Alliance | Sean Casey, Program Coordinator |
| Human Rights Watch | Kenneth Roth, Executive Director |
| United Nations Development Programme | Susana Fried, Gender/HIV Advisor, HIV/AIDS Practice, Bureau for Development Policy |
| United Nations | Gay McDougall, Independent Expert on Minority Issues |
| Independent Expert | Dorothy Thomas |

APPENDIX C: Interview Guide

A. Background

1. Please tell us a bit about your foundation/organization's mission and goals.
2. How does support for international human rights work fit into your organization's overall strategy?
 - a. What is your strategy for funding within the international human rights sector (geographic focus areas, issue focus areas, goals, etc.)?
 - b. What are some of your key initiatives or areas of work?

B. Perceptions of the Field

3. What is your definition of "human rights"? Is there a generally accepted definition in the field (e.g., Universal Declaration on Human Rights)?
 - a. How does this definition inform or shape your work? How do you think it shapes the field?
4. How would you describe the general perception (among major funders and international HR organizations) of gay and lesbian issues, particularly in the context of developing countries?
 - a. Have you noticed a shift in perception or action on these issues in the past few years?
 - b. Do you perceive any ways in which LGBT issues overlap with HR issues (e.g., violence, imprisonment, etc.)? What are your thoughts on the field's response to this overlap?

C. Organizational Support

5. Has your program ever given funding to any organizations working on LGBT issues?

If Yes:

- a. How much funding have you provided over the past 3 years? How many organizations has this funding supported?
- b. Is this work a focus of your grants or grantees; or is it peripheral?
 - i. **If a focus area**, why did you choose to fund this work?
 - ii. **If a focus area**, do you have any specific goals or types of projects that you support? [e.g., policy change (criminalization, legal protection, etc.), community organizing, media/culture (film festivals, etc.), public education/outreach, HIV/health, etc.]
 - iii. **If a focus area, did you experience any challenges to pursuing work in this area?** (internal or external?)
- c. **Whether or not a focus area:** Do you plan to continue funding this kind of work?
- d. **What factors are likely to influence your funding of LGBT issues in the future?** (e.g., quality and scope of applications, shift in strategic direction, turnover in organizational leadership, etc.)

If No:

- a. What are the factors influencing this? (e.g., lack of applications addressing LGBT issues, lack of programmatic focus on LGBT issues, concern over perception of LGBT issues within organization, etc.)
 - i. *Probe:* Is there a disconnect between the types of projects and programs that LGBT organizations seek support for, and the priorities of your program area? Do you see opportunities for organizations to reposition their funding requests to better align with your funding interests?
 - ii. *Probe:* What is your perception of the level of support for LGBT work by leaders of your organization (board, management, etc.)?

- b. Are you open to the idea of funding LGBT issues in the future? What conditions might facilitate greater support for this work?

D. Recommendations to Increase Funding

6. From your knowledge of other funders in the human rights field, what do you perceive as the most significant challenges to increased funding for gay and lesbian rights work?
 - a. Are there any promising strategies to address these challenges?

7. Have you seen other movements successfully advocate for increased resources (e.g., the women's movement)? What lessons can the LGBT movement learn from these examples?

8. Do you have any thoughts on how LGBT organizations could better position themselves to attract funding from institutions that support human rights work?

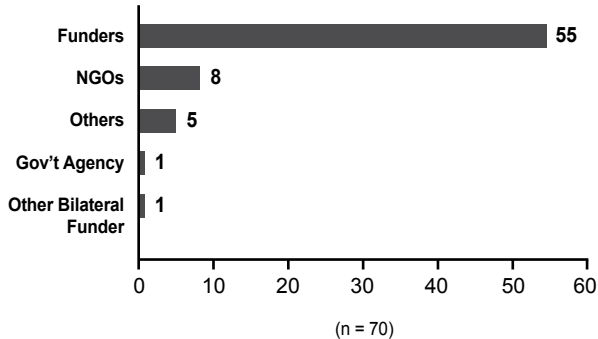
E. Closing

9. Is there anyone else in the field whom you think we should talk to about these issues?

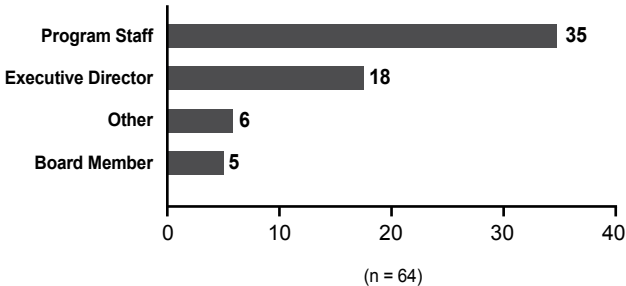
10. Is there anything else you would like to add? Any other thoughts or questions?

APPENDIX D: Demographic Profile of Survey Participants

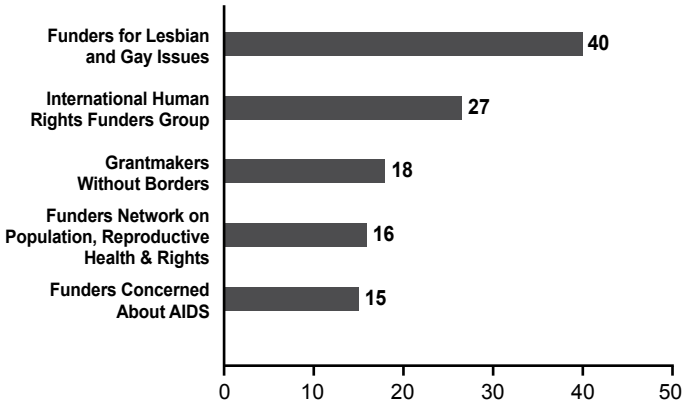
Respondents by Organization Type



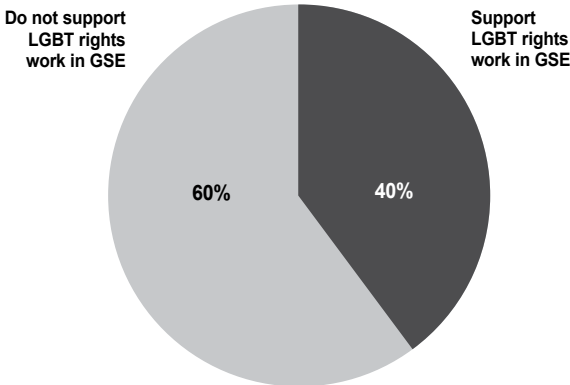
Organizational Role of Foundation Respondents



Respondents by Affinity Group



Current Support for LGBT Rights Work

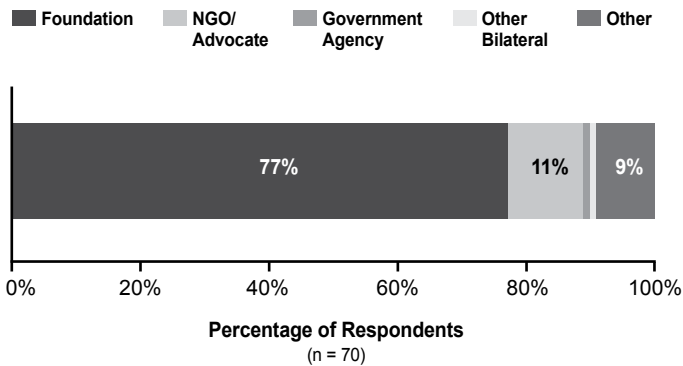


Notes: GSE stands for "Global South and East"; respondents self-identified as "funders" and "foundation employees" in two different questions — one-to-one correlation between questions does not exist, due to some foundation employees self-identifying as "other" rather than "funders." Respondents may belong to more than one affinity group. One respondent did not identify his/her organization type.

APPENDIX E: Complete Survey Responses

Question 1: All respondents

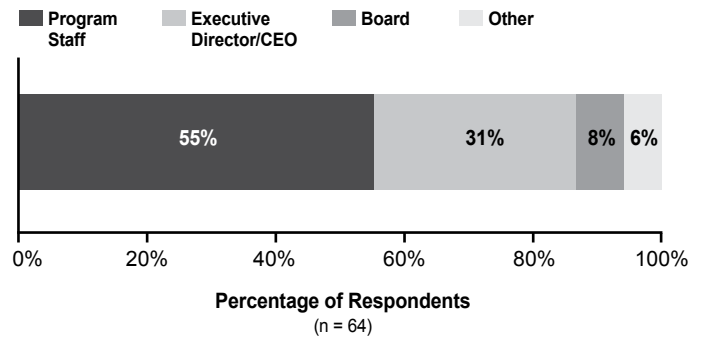
Which of the following best describes your organization?



Note: "Other" includes consultants, a national philanthropy project, a donor affinity group and an association.

Question 2: All respondents

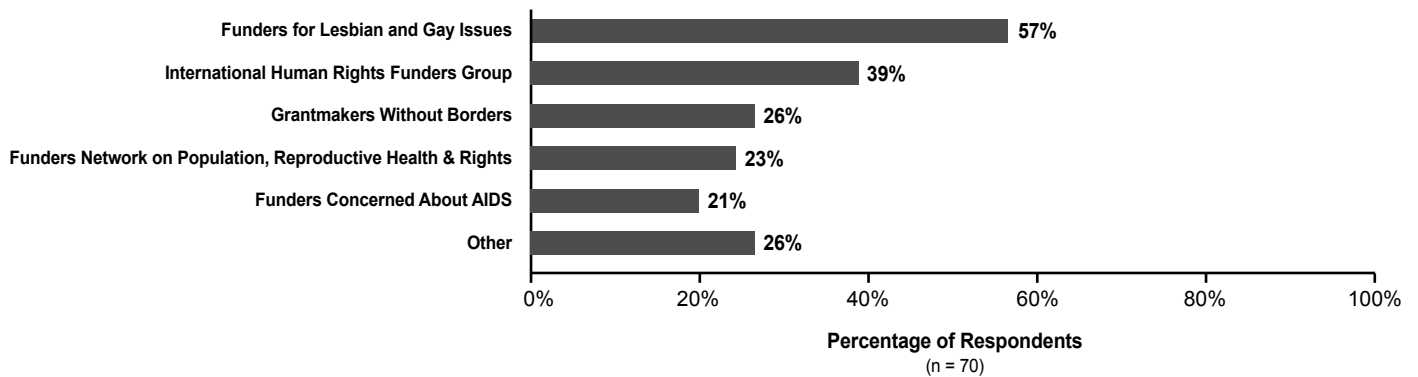
If you work at a foundation, which of the following best describes your role within the foundation?



Note: "Other" includes consultants, an administrator and a development staff.

Question 3: All respondents

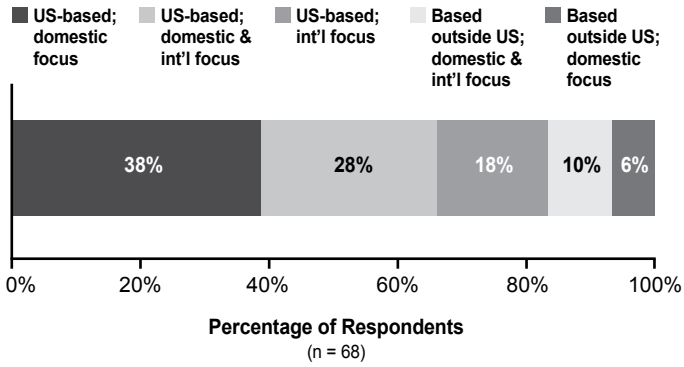
Does your organization participate in the activities of any of the following donor affinity groups? (Check all that apply)



Note: "Other" includes various women's funding networks, various environmental networks, Grantmakers in Aging, Africa Grantmakers Affinity Group, Funders' Network for Smart Growth and Livable Communities, the Council on Foundations and other niche funders.

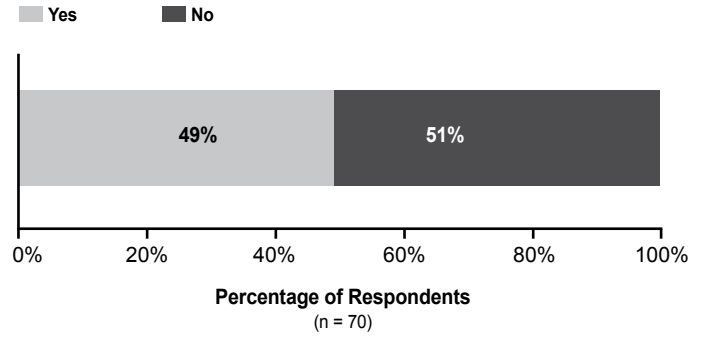
Question 4: All respondents

Which of the following best describes your organization's location and geographic focus?



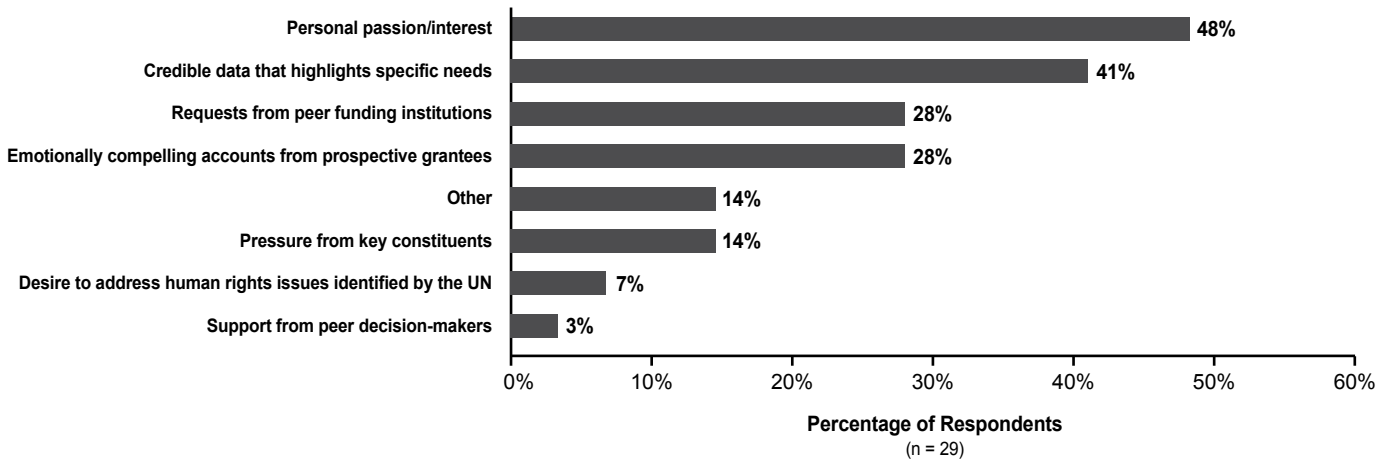
Question 5: All respondents

Does your organization currently fund any NGOs that address human rights issues in the Global South and/or East?



Question 6: Current funders of human rights work (non-LGBT specific) in the Global South and East

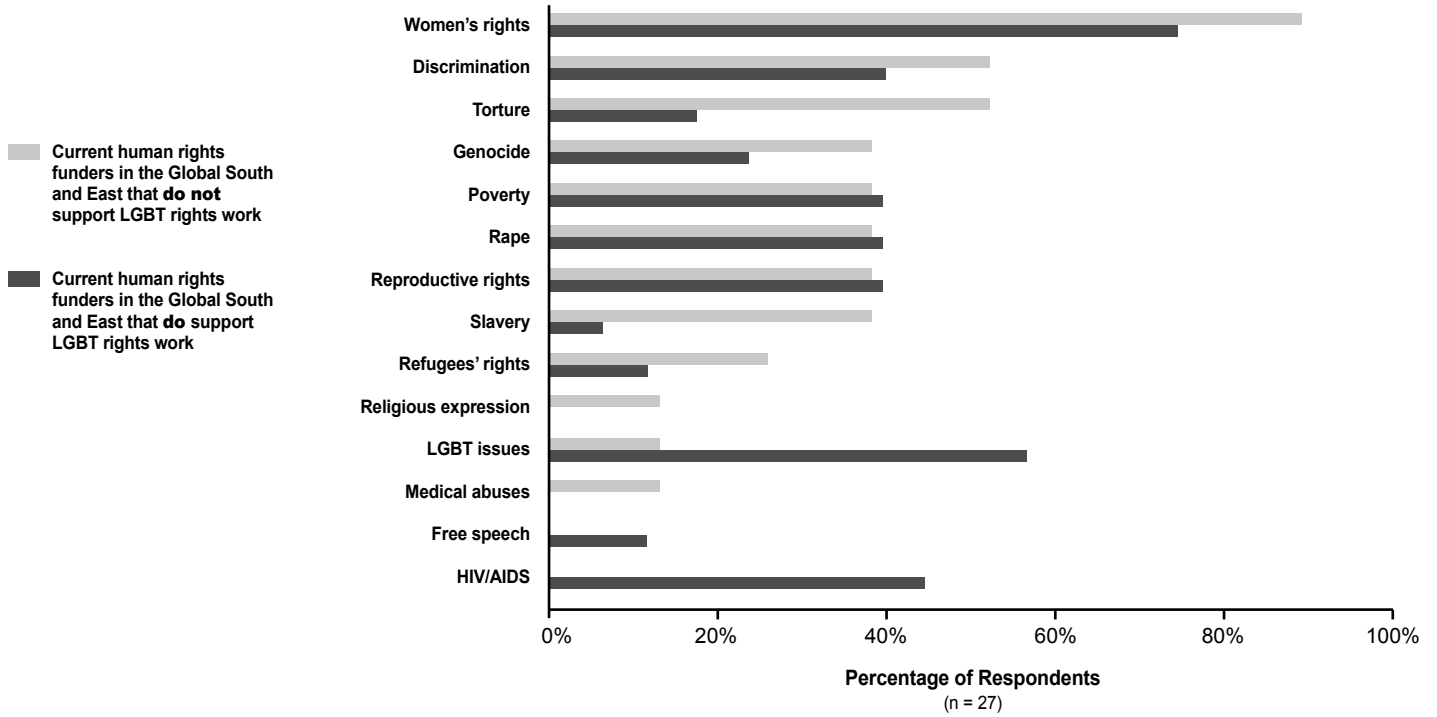
In your opinion, what are the two most significant factors motivating funding organizations to take on a particular human rights issue? (Select up to two)



Note: Other factors cited include: commitment to organizational strategic agenda; connecting issues to organizational focus areas; existing relationships with prospective grantees and funding partners; and endorsement of an issue from a human rights lens by key influences/leaders within the organization.

Question 7: Current funders of human rights work (non-LGBT specific) in the Global South and East

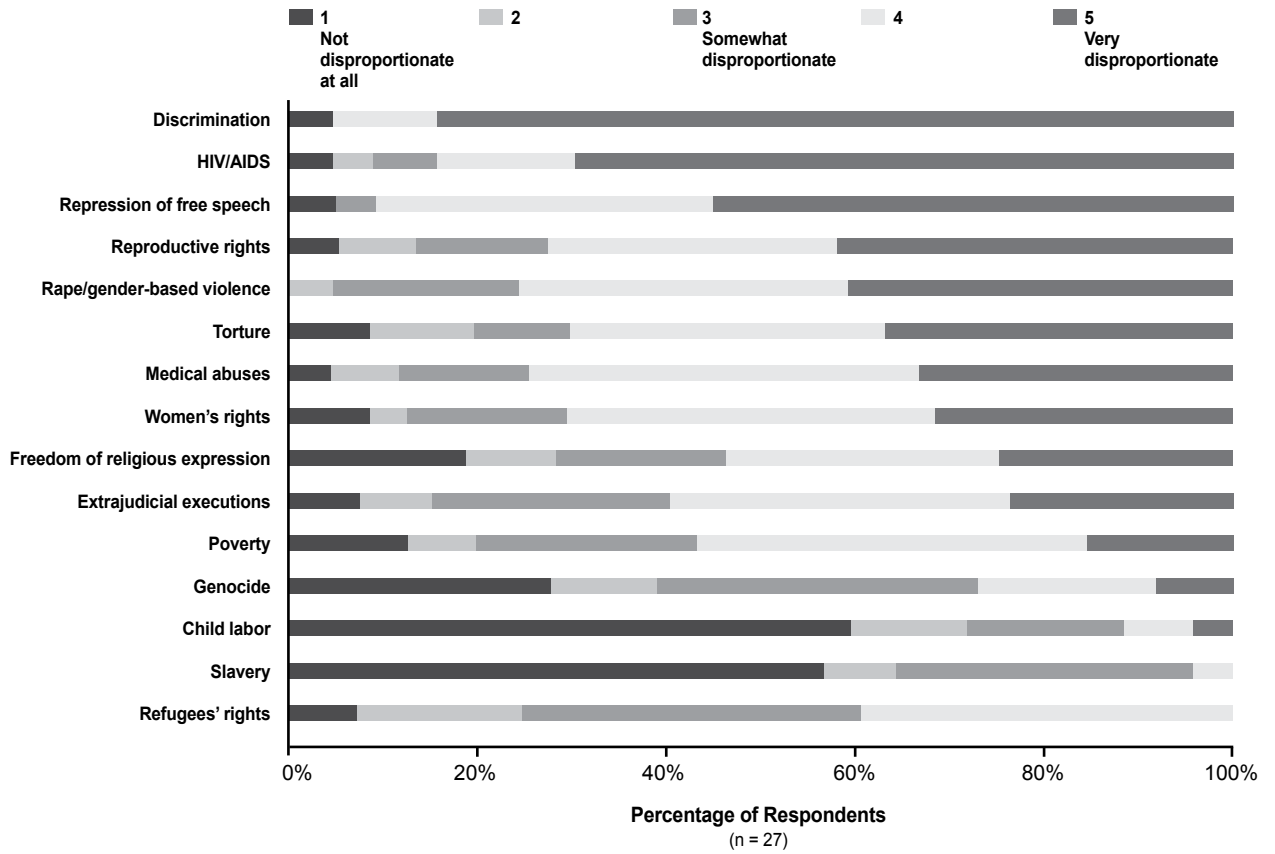
Below is a list of human rights issues. Please select the five that you feel should be the highest priority issues for funders right now.



Note: Other issues cited include: rights of indigenous people, workers' rights, immigration, "vulnerable populations," disability rights, environmental rights, and building a human rights infrastructure.

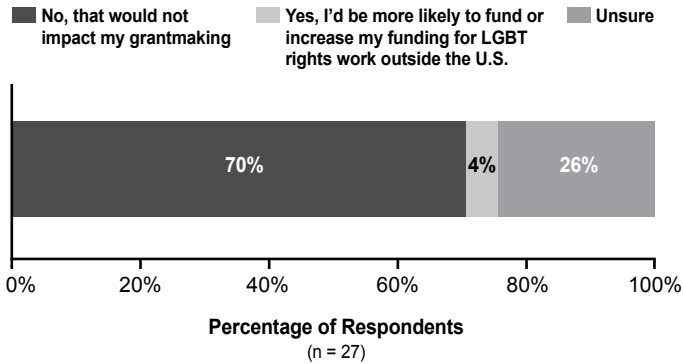
Question 9: Current funders of human rights work (non-LGBT specific) in the Global South and East

Below is a list of human rights issues. Please select the degree to which you perceive LGBT people to be disproportionately affected by or vulnerable to each of the issues listed below.



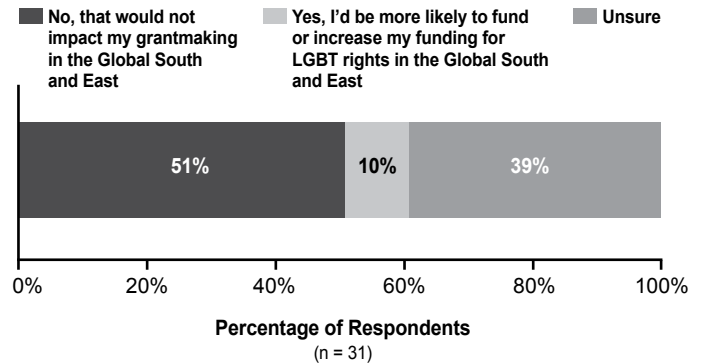
Question 10: Current funders of human rights work (non-LGBT specific) in the Global South and East

Currently, U.S. federal nondiscrimination policy does not include sexual orientation or gender identity. If such protections were extended to LGBT people in the future, would this have any impact on your grantmaking outside the U.S.?



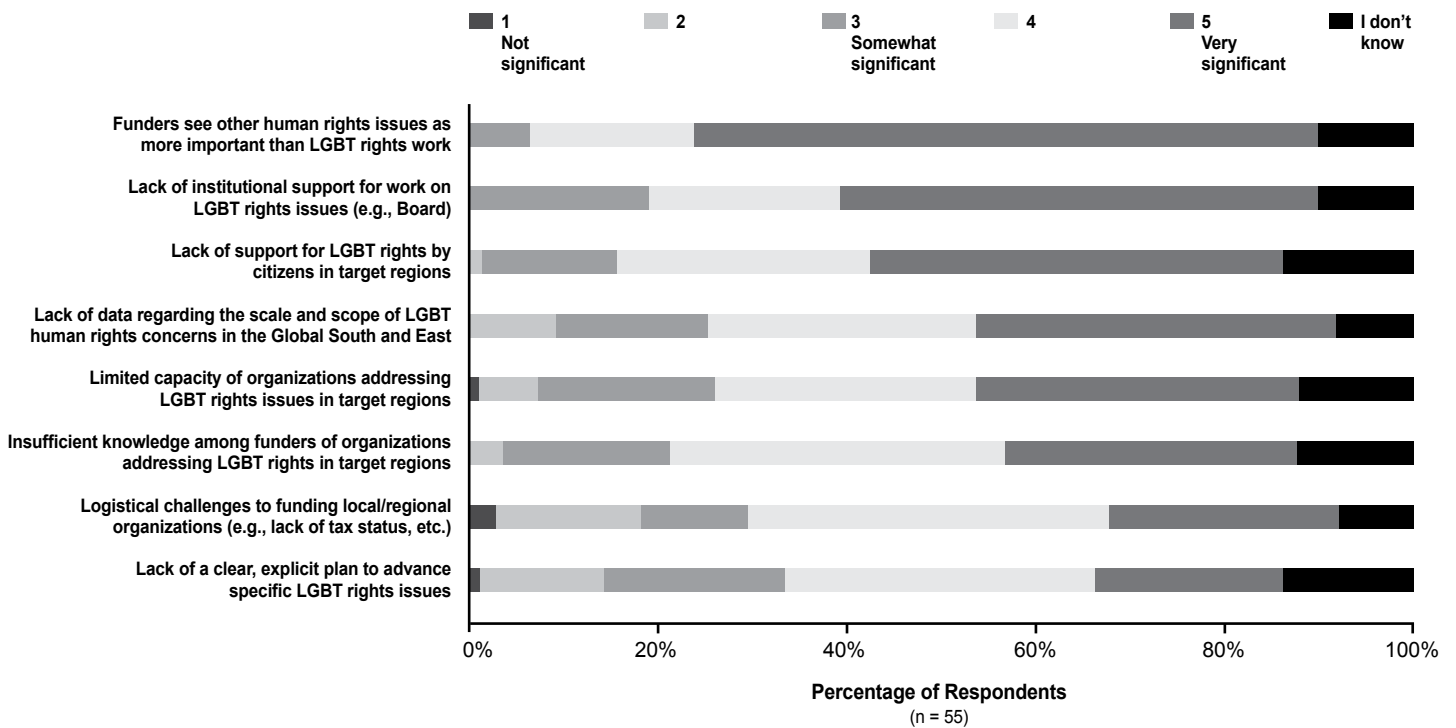
Question 11: Current funders of human rights work (non-LGBT specific) in the Global South and East

Currently, international human rights standards have very few explicit references to sexual expression and gender identity. Would it make a difference in your grantmaking if these rights were more explicit?



Question 12: All respondents

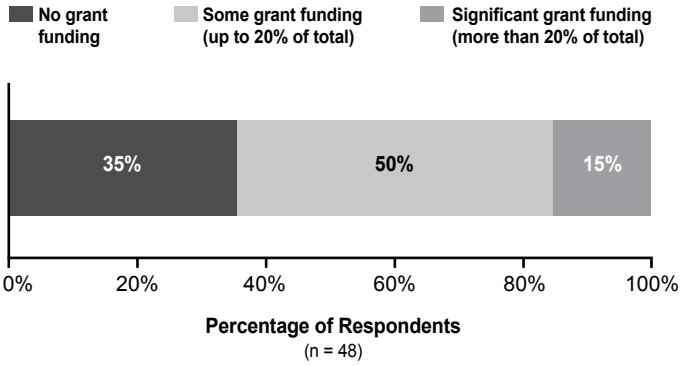
In your opinion, what are the most significant factors limiting funding for LGBT rights work in the Global South and East?



Note: Other responses include: general homophobia, lesbophobia, transphobia; perception that LGBT issues should be addressed within the LGBT community; lack of awareness of global relevance of the issue; local-level anti-LGBT sentiment; discrepancy between size of most LGBT organizations in the Global South and East and size of grants made by funders; limited resources within foundations to take on new issues.

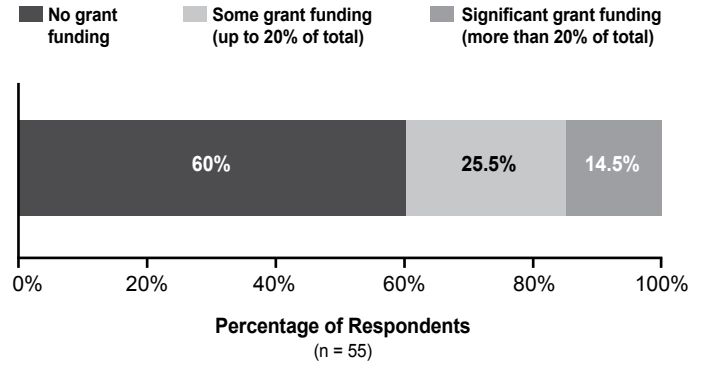
Question 13: All respondents

What is the extent of your organization's current grantmaking in support of projects or organizations that address LGBT issues *domestically*?



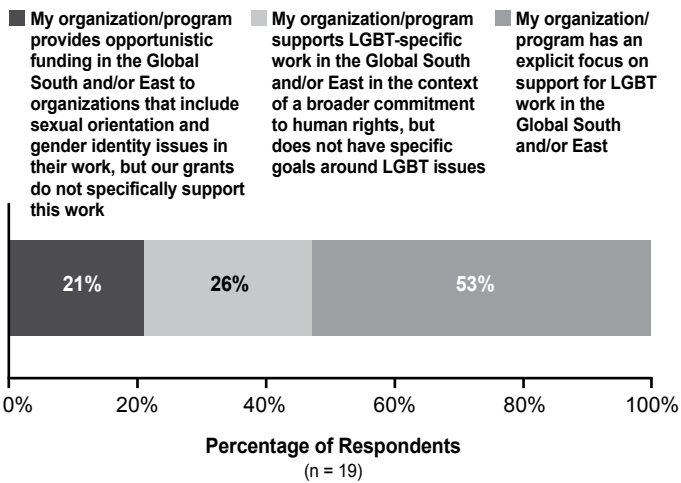
Question 14: All respondents

What is the extent of your organization's current grantmaking in support of projects or organizations that address LGBT issues *in the Global South and East*?



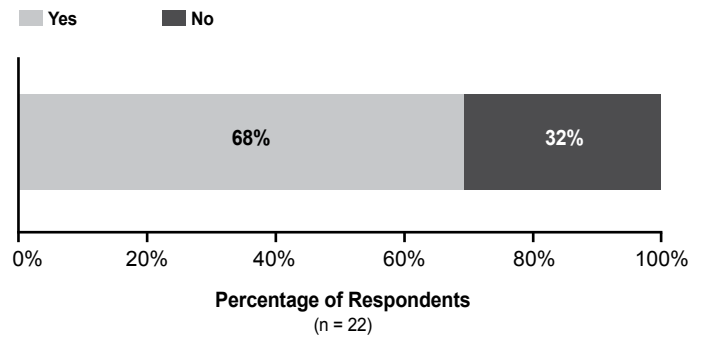
Question 15: Current funders of LGBT work in the Global South and East

Please indicate your organization/program's approach to funding LGBT issues in the Global South and/or East



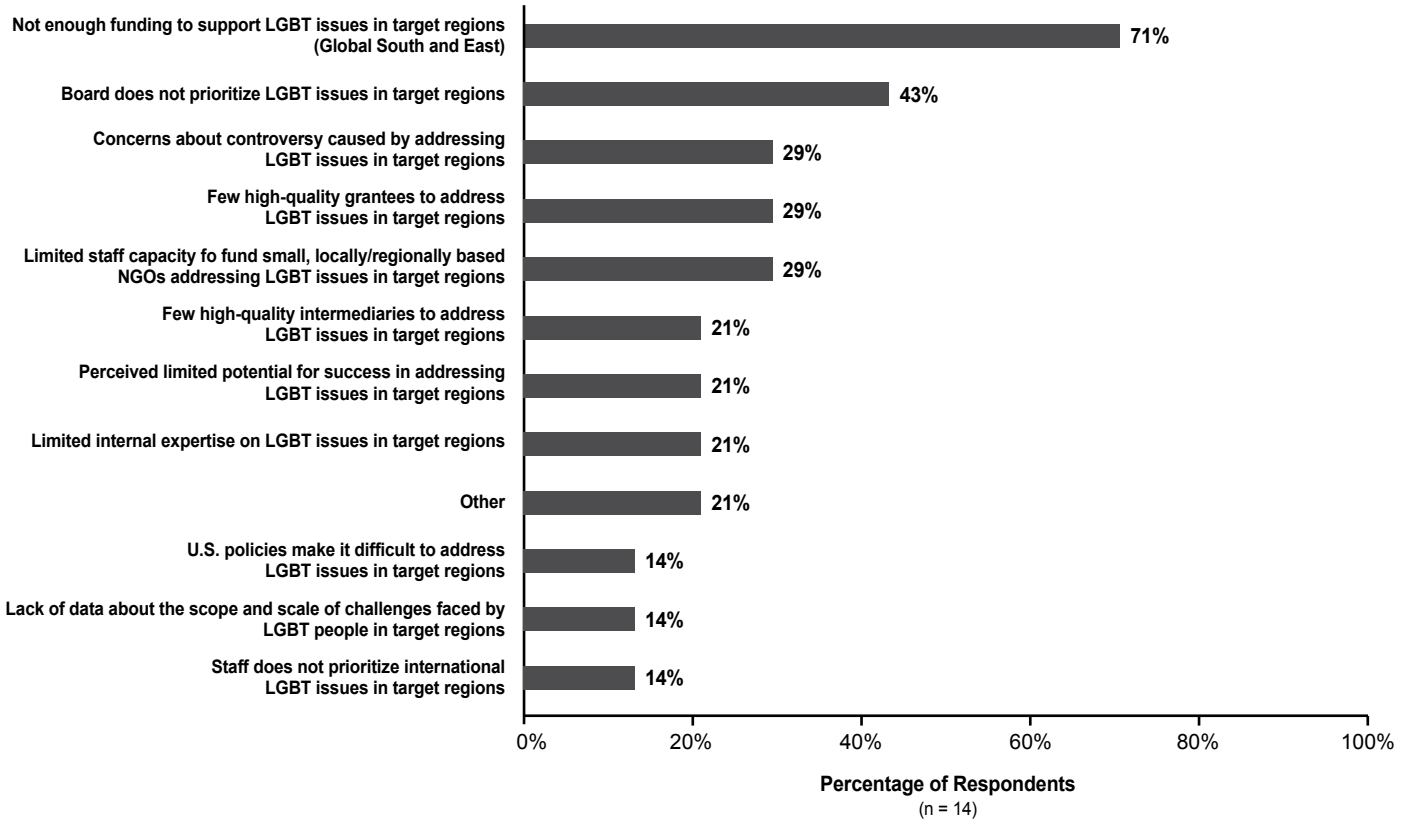
Question 17: Current funders of LGBT work in the Global South and East

Within your organization, have you experienced any challenges to funding LGBT work?



Question 18: Current funders of LGBT work in the Global South and East

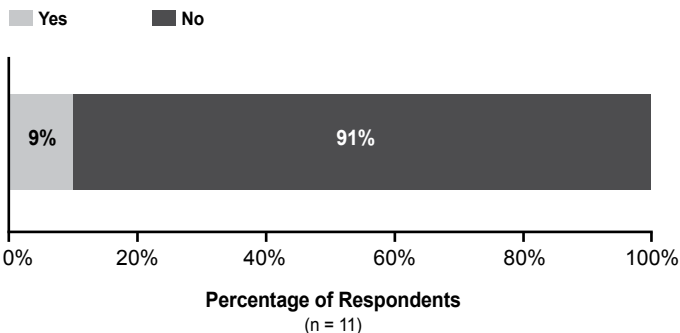
If your organization has experienced challenges to funding LGBT work, what are they? (Select all that apply)



Note: Other factors cited include: lack of donor support for LGBT work and non-LGBT specific internal funding guidelines.

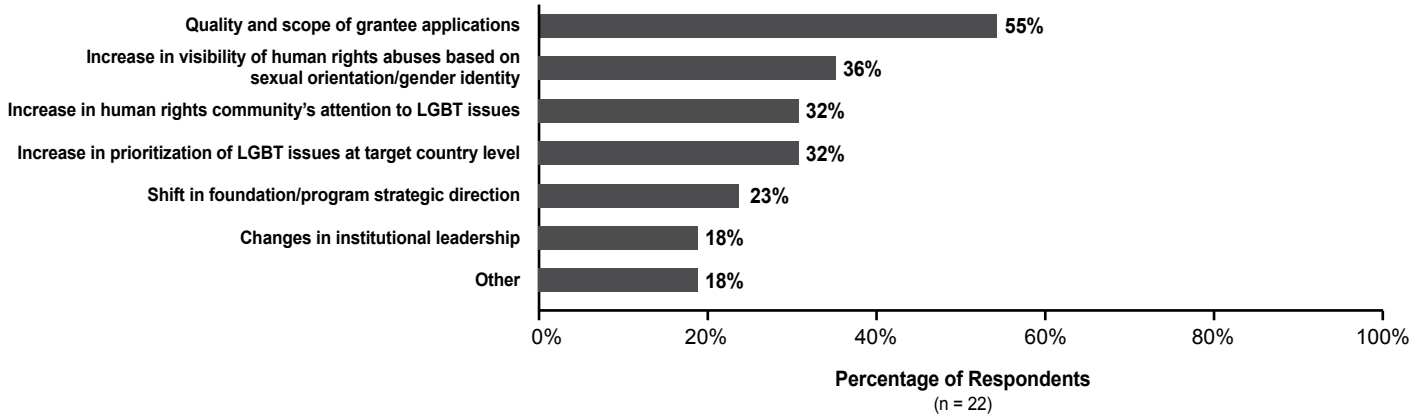
Question 19: Current funders of LGBT work in the Global South and East

If your organization has experienced challenges to funding LGBT work, do you currently use funding intermediaries to support LGBT work in the Global South and East?



Question 20: Current funders of LGBT work in the Global South and East

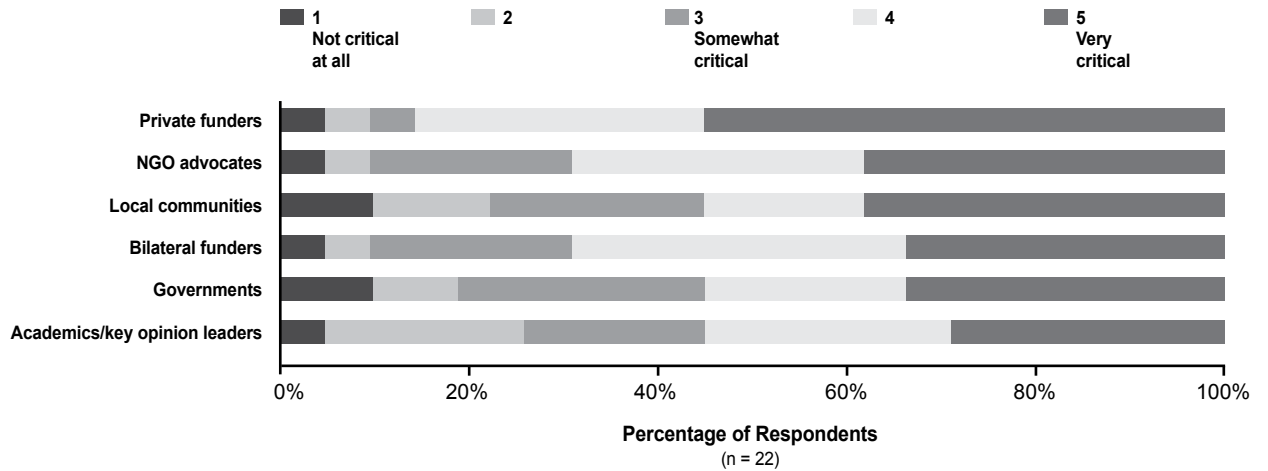
What factors are likely to influence your funding of LGBT work in the Global South and East in the future? (Check all that apply)



Note: Other factors cited include: availability of additional resources and increased grantee capacity.

Question 21: Current funders of LGBT work in the Global South and East

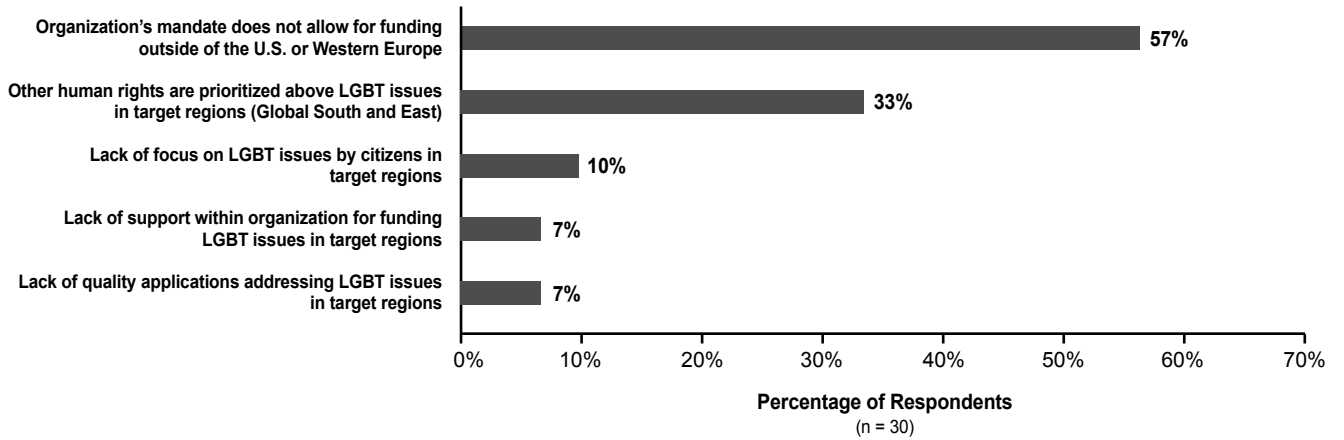
How critical are the following actors for jump-starting momentum for increased funding for international LGBT rights work?



Note: Other actors cited include: media, multilaterals, regional governmental bodies, and political willingness.

Question 21: Organizations that are not current funders of LGBT-specific human rights work in the Global South and East

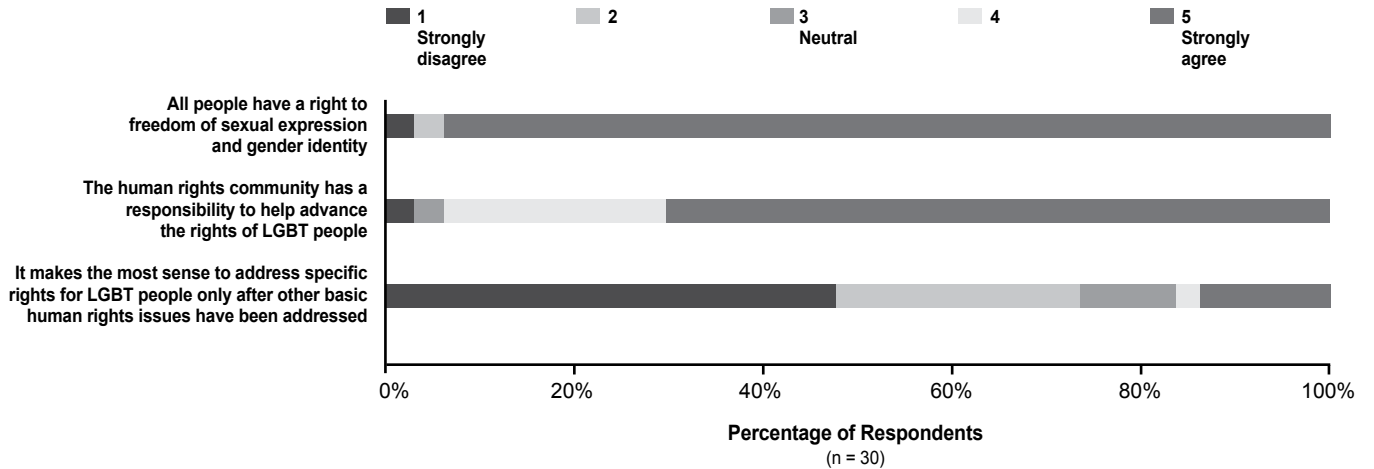
What factors have contributed to your decision not to fund LGBT work in the Global South and East? (Check all that apply)



Note: Lack of momentum within human rights community around LGBT issues in target regions and lack of research and data about challenges facing LGBT people in target regions received one response each and concern that a focus on LGBT issues conflicts with official U.S. policies or other policies received no responses. Other factors cited include the need to focus on previously defined goals and limited resources.

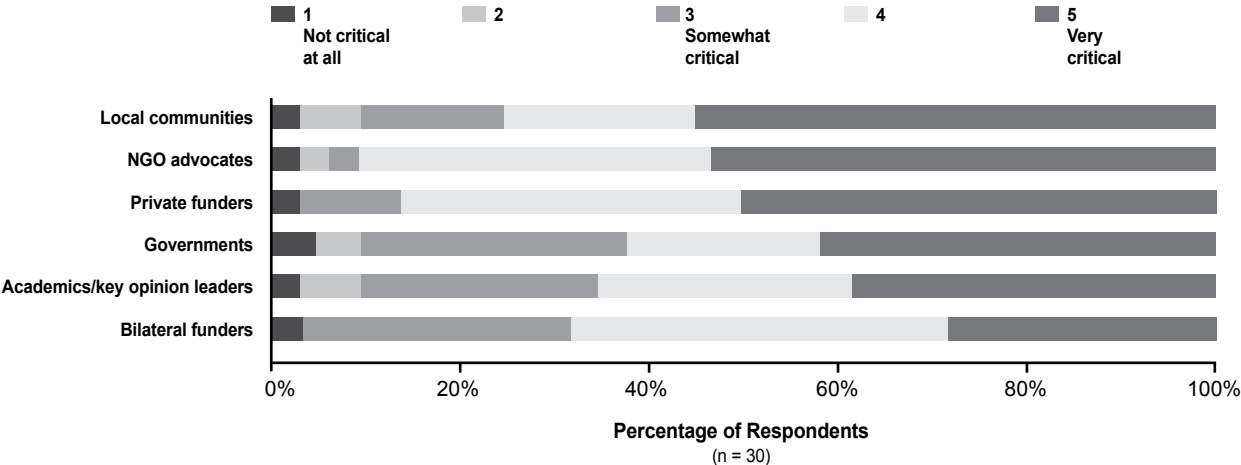
Question 25: Organizations that are not current funders of LGBT-specific human rights work in the Global South and East

Please indicate your level of agreement with each statement below:



Question 26: Organizations that are not current funders of LGBT-specific human rights work in the Global South and East

How critical are the following actors for jump-starting momentum for increased funding for LGBT issues in the Global South and East?



Note: Data displayed in order of response by current funders (see question 21). Other actors cited include: public foundations; consultants with expertise on media; and religious institutions and leaders.

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