

# **THE GLOBAL EXPORT OF HOMOPHOBIA BY THE U.S. RELIGIOUS RIGHT**

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**September 20 – 21, 2012**

Human Rights Campaign Equality Forum  
1640 Rhode Island Avenue NW, Washington, DC



## OBJECTIVES OF MEETING

- To create a shared understanding of the role and impact of U.S.-based religious entities and individuals involved in exporting homophobic rhetoric and resources to other nations.
- To create a mechanism of communication between U.S.-based advocates and researchers on this issue—both faith-based and secular.
- To understand “who is doing what” in this sector and identify gaps.
- To identify key areas in need of research, and to discuss how that research might most effectively be pursued.
- To develop strategies for advocacy in the U.S. that expose the realities of a U.S.-based encouragement of homophobia and that limit the impact of these players.
- To generate complementary research and advocacy in other parts of the world where U.S.- based religious groups export homophobia, and where there are indigenous homophobic religious movements.

## TERMS OF THE MEETING

The meeting is an off-the-record round-table workshop of people from diverse backgrounds with one thing in common: a concern about the way some U.S. religious movements and leaders advocate policies which violate the human rights of sexual minorities. The conveners of this meeting seek to create a safe environment for participants to share information, ideas, and strategies among trusted colleagues. Therefore all participants agree to not put any information arising out of the meeting into the public domain. However, note-takers will document the meeting for the purpose of compiling a post-meeting recap report, which will be distributed only to participants. The wishes of any participant who would not like his or her name to be included in this report will be respected.

## REQUIRED READING

*Colonizing African Values: How the U.S. Christian Right Is Transforming Sexual Politics in Africa* by Kopya Koama, Project Director, Political Research Associates.



## DAY 1: MAPPING THE GLOBAL EXPORT OF HOMOPHOBIA BY THE U.S. RELIGIOUS RIGHT

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**9:00 – 9:30: Setting the Stage for the Meeting**  
Remarks by Julie Dorf, Mark Gevisser, and Sharon Groves.  
Brief introductions by all participants.

**9:30 – 11:00: Why are Evangelical Christian movements gaining traction globally?**  
Moderator: Sharon Groves

This session will offer an overview of recent evangelical movements in different parts of the world. It will explore how and why they are becoming increasingly popular; how and why they are playing an increasing political role in society; and what the effect has been on the rights of sexual minorities. **Richard Cizik** will give an overview of the growth of American evangelism, how it intersects with a U.S. political agenda, and the interest in a global mission. **Scott Long** will address who is attracted to evangelical movements worldwide and why. He will also place evangelicalism in the context of the rise of other faith traditions. **Petina Gappah** will discuss the explosion of Pentecostalism in Africa, and its effect on social politics. This overview will be followed by a discussion by practitioners of best practices for constructively engaging evangelical and Pentecostal communities in ways that do not demonize or minimize beliefs and religious/cultural practices in the process. **Joseph Tolton** will address “How do I put my Pentecostalism to use?” **Troy Plummer** will discuss recent work of Reconciling Ministries Network to build global dialogue about homosexuality within a United Methodist Church context. **Juris Calitis** will address how as a Lutheran pastor who teaches theology at the University of Latvia he has addressed the changing shape of religion in his country.

**11:00 – 11:15: Tea**

**11:15 – 12:45: What role is the U.S. religious right playing in transforming sexual politics in Africa?**  
Moderator: Mark Gevisser

**Kapya Koama** and **Tarso Luis Ramos** will present the key findings and implications of “*Colonizing African Values: How the U.S. Christian Right Is Transforming Sexual Politics in Africa.*” **Wanja Muguongo** and **Joel Nana** will respond, on the basis of their on-the-ground experiences working as human rights advocates in Africa. **Norman Taku** will present the framework for a legal response. The session will conclude with a round-table discussion on the relationship between U.S.-based and indigenous Christian religious homophobic movements, and a mapping exercise. All attendees are expected to have read the report prior to the meeting.



**12:45 – 1:45: Lunch**

**1:45 – 3:15: What role is the U.S. religious right playing in inciting homophobia in Central & Eastern Europe?**

Moderator: Maxim Anmeghichean

**Florin Buhuceanu, Anjelika Frolova, Valery Sozaev, and Nora Connor** will present on how the U.S. religious right is inciting homophobia in Central and Eastern Europe, and its impact on the region. How does the U.S. religious right operate in the post-communist context? How and why have they been successful in reversing positive social change? Who are their allies? Is their strategy and message effective and why? The session will close with a roundtable discussion and a mapping exercise.

**3:15 – 4:15: What role is the U.S. religious right playing in inciting homophobia in the Caribbean & Latin America?**

Moderator: Julie Dorf

**Tarso Luis Ramos, Anna Perkins, Sandra Dughman Manzur, and Dane Lewis** will present on how — and if — the U.S. religious right is influencing homophobia in the Caribbean and Latin America. The session will close with a roundtable discussion and a mapping exercise.

**4:15 – 4:30: Tea**

**4:30 – 5:30: What members of the U.S. religious right are exporting homophobia abroad and where they are going with their homophobic messages?**

Facilitator: Peter Montgomery

**Peter Montgomery** will facilitate a group mapping exercise focused on identifying what members of the U.S. religious right are exporting homophobia abroad. Attendees should be prepared to discuss U.S. individuals, organizations, and religious-based media outlets involved in such work. To initiate this mapping exercise: **Heidi Beirich** and **Gillian Kane**.

**5:30 – 7:00: Participant Networking Reception**

Remarks by Chad Griffin, HRC President




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## DAY 2: TRACKING, EXPOSING AND COMBATTING THE GLOBAL EXPORT OF HOMOPHOBIA BY THE U.S. RELIGIOUS RIGHT

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### 9:00 – 9:45: **Breakout, Report Back & Discussion**

Ty Cobb will initiate this breakout session.

Attendees will break into three groups and engage in a twenty-minute discussion about the content from the first day. The discussions should include identifying themes that emerged from Day 1 as well as a discussion about topics we haven't been able to cover. Each group will pick a representative to provide a three-minute report of the discussion to the larger group.

### 9:45 – 10:00: **Setting the Stage for Day 2**

Mark Gevisser will provide a recap of Day 1 and set the stage for Day 2.

### 10:00 – 11:15: **How do individuals and organizations expose and track the exportation of homophobia by the U.S. religious right?**

Moderator: Ty Cobb

Bloggers, monitors, and academic researchers will discuss methods they have used to monitor and track homophobic efforts by the U.S. religious right in the U.S. and abroad. The session will explore best practices for exposing these homophobic efforts. Short presentations will be given by the bloggers responsible for the **Box Turtle Bulletin** and the **Republic of Gilead** blogs. In addition, **Vanessa Brocato, Heidi Beirich, and Jeff Sharlet** will share their experiences as monitors and researchers. The presentations will be followed by a roundtable discussion of the challenges involved in tracking homophobic efforts of the U.S. religious right, especially in the international context. The roundtable discussion format will also allow opportunity for all participants to ask questions and highlight work they may be doing in this area.

### 11:15 – 11:30: **Tea**

### 11:30 - 1:00: **How are U.S. organizations and international NGOs currently engaged in work to monitor, track, or combat the exportation of homophobia by the U.S. religious right?**

Moderator: Julie Dorf

This session will explore what U.S. organizations and international NGOs are doing to prevent, combat, and expose the anti-LGBT work of the U.S. religious right abroad. **Shareen Gokal** will kick off this session by sharing lessons learned from AWID's study of feminist approaches to religious fundamentalism. Attendees representing organizations and NGOs should be prepared to give quick updates on their work in this area in order to help compile a more comprehensive understanding of "who does what" in this field and to foster greater collaboration among advocates and with researchers. Suggested reading for this session: *Toward a Future without Fundamentalisms* by Cassandra Balchin, Association for Women's Rights in Development.



**1:00 – 2:00: Lunch**

**2:00 – 3:00: Breakout: Identify priorities for moving forward**

Facilitators: Ty Cobb, Julie Dorf, Sharon Groves

Conference Room A/B: Advocate

Conference Room C: Funders

Equality Forum: Researchers

**3:00 – 3:45: Report Back**

Facilitators: Julie Dorf, Sharon Groves

Report priorities identified by advocates, funders, and researchers. Follow with full group discussion of priorities.

**3:45 – 4:00: Tea**

**4:00 – 5:00: The Pathway Forward**

Facilitators: Julie Dorf, Sharon Groves

Participants discuss their individual or institutional next steps.



# DIRECTORY OF PARTICIPANTS



### **MICHAEL J. ADEE**

Dr. Michael J. Adee, is the Director of a new Global LGBT Faith Project with the Horizons Foundation, San Francisco, CA. He served from 1999 – 2012 as the Executive Director of More Light Presbyterians, the national Pro-LGBT organization within the Presbyterian Church (USA). He directed the campaign that achieved ordination policy change in the Presbyterian Church (USA). Michael is an openly gay Presbyterian elder and he lives in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Michael has been working in the LGBT & HIV/AIDS community since 1988. A human rights advocate and educator, he earned his Ph.D. at Louisiana State University. Having served as a college professor in Louisiana, Kentucky and Ohio, he has also been a hospital and hospice chaplain, bereavement counselor, campus minister, diversity consultant, tennis coach and a teacher/relief worker in Zimbabwe, Africa. A welcoming congregation in Cincinnati, Ohio loved Michael back to church and enabled him to reclaim faith as a gay man. He became involved in the welcoming church movement as a volunteer in 1991 and as National Field Organizer with More Light Presbyterians in 1999. Michael is a founding director of the Institute for Welcoming Resources, NGLTF. He is involved with the National Religious Leadership Roundtable and the Bishops and Elders Council.

### **MAX ANMEGHICHEAN**

Max Anmeghichean is a Program Officer with the LGBTI Rights Initiative at the Open Society Foundations. He previously served as Programmes Director at ILGA-Europe, where he advocated for LGBT rights in Eastern Europe before the OSCE, Council of Europe and EU, developed programs for the transgender community and built advocacy capacity of LGBTI movements across the European continent. Prior to taking up the position with ILGA-Europe, he also served on its Board. Originally from Moldova, after graduating from Moldovan State University with dual-degrees in journalism and communication sciences, Mr. Anmeghichean devoted all of his professional life to creating an LGBT movement in Moldova.



### **ANDRE BANKS**

Andre Banks is the co-founder and executive director of All Out ([www.allout.org](http://www.allout.org)), an unprecedented alliance between straight, gay, lesbian, bi and trans people committed to building a movement for equality, everywhere. In just over a year All Out has inspired more than one million people from around the world to join the movement. Andre is also the Senior Advisor at Purpose ([www.purpose.com](http://www.purpose.com)) 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 (LIVESTRONG) and eliminate nuclear weapons (Global Zero), as well as an innovative new partnership in Brazil to build a new culture of civic participation in Rio de Janeiro (Meu Rio).



### **HEIDI BEIRICH**

Heidi Beirich leads the SPLC's Intelligence Project, "one of the most respected anti-terror organizations in the world," according to the *National Review*. She is an expert on various forms of extremism, including the white supremacist, nativist and neo-Confederate movements as well as racism in academia. She oversees the SPLC's authoritative, yearly count of the nation's hate and hard-line, anti-government groups and is a frequent contributor to the SPLC's investigative reports and speaker at conferences on extremism. Prior to joining the SPLC staff in 1999, Heidi earned a doctorate in political science from Purdue University. She is the co-editor and author of several chapters of *Neo-Confederacy: A Critical Introduction*, published by the University of Texas Press in 2008.



### **ANGELINE BINICK**

Angeline Binick runs the Republic of Gilead blog, which monitors anti-LGBT work of the religious right. She is also a research specialist at the National Sexual Violence Resource Center. She earned a B.A. in Philosophy at Clarion University of PA and an M.A. in Religion at Florida State University.





### **VANESSA BROCATO**

Vanessa Brocato, JD, is Senior Advisor for Global Advocacy with PPFA. She supports in-country and global advocacy and co-leads Global Rights Watch, a joint project with Ipas, to monitor opposition to sexual and reproductive rights and health. She contributes synthesis and strategy practiced during several years as international policy and advocacy point person and co-editor of the International Right Wing Watch at the Sexuality Information and Education Council of the U.S. (SIECUS), and her publications include *Understanding Religious and Political Opposition to Reproductive Health and Rights* (2009). She earned her law degree from Georgetown University Law Center, where she received the human rights award for her graduating class.



### **MARK BROMLEY**

Mark Bromley helped launch the Council for Global Equality to encourage a clearer and stronger American voice on international lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender human rights concerns. Mr. Bromley previously worked for more than eleven years at Global Rights, where he served in various program management positions. During his tenure at Global Rights, he coordinated donor relations and helped open field offices in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Burundi, Morocco, Nigeria and India. In 2005, he launched an organization-wide Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex Initiative. Mr. Bromley has also regularly monitored developments within the U.N. human rights system. He conducted research on sexual violence in support of the International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda and for the former Yugoslavia, and he reviewed international law standards in legal briefs filed by Global Rights, as *amicus curiae*, in human rights cases before U.S. and international courts. From 2001-2002, Mr. Bromley served as a Foreign Policy Fellow in the office of U.S. Senator Russ Feingold. During that period, he staffed Senator Feingold's work on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, including the Senator's Chairmanship of the Africa Subcommittee. Mr. Bromley holds a Juris Doctor degree from the University of Virginia School of Law and a BSFS from the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. He has published on human rights and international law issues, and has served as an adjunct professor for the human rights clinic at the University of Virginia School of Law and at Nova Southeastern University, Shepard Broad Law Center. He lives in Washington with his husband, David Salie and their daughter Tallulah.



### **FLORIN BUHUCEANU**

Florin Buhuceanu is a founding member of ECPI, leading the organization since 2008. His efforts gave ECPI a regional dimension and transformed it into an important resource for non-discrimination and LGBT rights. Florin successfully led the organization's advocacy-related activity in key moments such as the attempts to limit adolescents' access to sexual and reproductive healthcare services, or to restrain access to therapeutic abortion for women in Romania. Florin also edited the ECPI Brochure, "The Religious Challenge: Resources to counter opposition to sexual and reproductive rights" a useful instrument for Romanian and other regional human rights advocates who wish to tackle conservative religious arguments. Since 1998, Florin has been an active promoter of human rights, especially LGBT rights. His frequent publications in this area demonstrate his level of expertise.



### **JIM BURROWAY**

Jim Burroway is the editor of *Box Turtle Bulletin*, a website founded in 2005 and devoted to analyzing the claims of anti-gay organizations. Jim was the first in the West to break the story of Scott Lively's fateful conference in Kampala, Uganda in 2009, and his website has faithfully chronicled events in Uganda since then. In 2012, Jim was honored with the National Lesbian and Gay Journalists Association Award for Excellence in Online Journalism for his 2011 investigation, *What Are Little Boys Made Of?* That 2011 investigation revealed the true story of four-year-old Kirk Murphy, who was "treated" by ex-gay activist George Rekers while a grad student at UCLA in 1970. Rekers built his career through numerous publications describing Kirk's "cure," even though Kirk remained gay throughout his life and finally committed suicide in 2003. Jim makes his home in Tucson, Ariz.



### **JURIS CALITIS**

Juris Calitis was born December 14, 1939 in Riga, Latvia. In WWII his family members were refugees in Germany. Subsequently, he lived in Scotland, England, U.S.A., and worked in the Caribbean and Canada. Dr. Calitis holds degrees in psychology, philosophy and theology from the Universities of Maryland, Harvard and Latvia. He is a priest of the Lutheran and Anglican Churches. In 1995 Dr. Calitis returned to Riga as priest of the Church of England's Church in Riga and pastor of the Reformed Evangelical Lutheran Church. He has held the position of Associate Professor and Dean of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Latvia. He currently teaches at the Faculty of Theology. He is a Woodrow Wilson Fellow, a Phi Beta Kappa Scholar, has an honorary doctorate from the U. of Latvia, and awarded Latvia' highest state honor, The Order of the Three Stars. He is Coordinator of a new translation of the Bible into Latvian for the Bible Society of Latvia and founder of an alternate family home for abused children "Zvannieku mOjas" in the Latvian countryside. He is married with a family of six children.



### **RICHARD CIZIK**

Rev. Richard Cizik served for 10 years as vice president for governmental affairs of the National Association of Evangelicals, a post he left in 2008 after expressing conditional support for civil unions. He has been a leader in bringing evangelicals and scientists together in the search for common ground on climate change. In 2002, Cizik was a participant in Climate Forum 2002, at Oxford, England, which produced the "Oxford Declaration" on global warming. He was instrumental in creating the Evangelical Climate Initiative, introduced in 2006. In 2005, *The New York Times* dubbed him the "Earthy Evangelist" for his advocacy on climate change, and in 2008 he was named to *TIME* Magazine's list of the "TIME 100" most influential people. In 2006, *Fast Company* placed him on its list of "Most Creative Minds." Cizik has written over 100 articles and editorials and is the author and editor of *The High Cost of Indifference* (Regal Books).



### **TY COBB**

Ty Cobb serves as Senior Legislative Counsel at the Human Rights Campaign, the largest LGBT civil rights organization in the United States. As a legislative lawyer, he focuses on advocacy related to a portfolio of issues, including international issues. He was the lead attorney on HRC's efforts to repeal "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" in 2010. Ty joined HRC after serving as counsel to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy on the Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee of the U.S. Senate. As counsel to Sen. Kennedy, he did extensive work to pass the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act in 2009. Ty received his bachelor's degree in business and American studies from the University of Texas at Austin and his law degree from the University of Texas School of Law. He is a member of the Victory Fund's Campaign Board and serves as a mentor with the Point Foundation.

### **NORA CONNOR**

Nora Connor is a multimedia journalist with a background in labor and human rights organizing. She holds a B.A. from Columbia University (religion, anthropology) and an MA from NYU (journalism). Nora is currently the Luce Foundation Fellow at NYU's Center for Religion and Media where she is engaged in research on international religion, human rights and digital media. She is also the international assignment editor for the Center's web journal, *The Revealer*, which strives to be a home for both informed religion journalism and academic writing that seeks a broader audience.



### **JULIE DORF**

Julie Dorf has been a leader in the LGBT rights movement for over twenty years. Julie currently works as Senior Director for the Council for Global Equality, a coalition of twenty organizations working together for an inclusive U.S. foreign policy, which she co-founded in 2009. As an advocate, she works to promote the human rights of LGBT people through partnerships with the U.S. government, including Congress, the White House, USAID, and the State Department. Julie also founded and directed the International Gay & Lesbian Human Rights Commission (IGLHRC) from 1990 to 2000, creating an organization that protects and advances the human rights



of all people and communities subjected to discrimination or abuse on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity or HIV status. She has also worked in philanthropy, serving as the Director of Philanthropic Services for Horizons Foundation, a foundation serving the Bay Area's lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender community; and an independent consultant for Open Society Institute, Global Fund for Women, Arcus Foundation, and Fenton Communications/J-Street Project. Julie currently serves on the board of directors or advisory boards of Rights Watch's LGBT Rights Program, IGLHRC, and PowerPAC. She holds a B.A. from Wesleyan University in Russian and Soviet Studies. Julie has written, spoken, and advocated extensively on social justice issues ranging from reparations for gay victims of the Nazis, Jewish-Palestinian relations, and marriage equality. She lives in San Francisco with her partner Jenni Olson, and their two girls Hazel and Sylvie.



### **ANGELA FROLOV**

Angela Frolov is the Lobby and Advocacy Program Coordinator of the Information Centre GENDERDOCM. The GENDERDOC-M Information Centre is the only non-governmental organization that actively advocates for the rights of lesbians, gays, bisexuals and transgender people in Moldova.



### **PETINA GAPPAH**

Petina Gappah is a lawyer and writer from Zimbabwe. As an Open Society Fellow, she will survey the rising influence of Pentecostal churches in Africa and its effect on human rights, democracy, and social justice. Though she believes that Pentecostalism is often at odds with open society values, Gappah will examine how pro-rights activists can engage with Pentecostalism in order to mitigate its most harmful effects. Gappah's first book, *An Elegy for Easterly*, a story collection, was published in 2009 and was shortlisted for the Orwell Prize, the LA Times First Book Award, Frank O'Connor International Short Story Award and Zimbabwe's NAMA award. It won the Guardian First Book Award that same year and has since been published in more than a dozen languages. She holds law degrees from the University of Zimbabwe, Cambridge University, and the University of Graz. Her short fiction and essays have been published in eight countries.



### **DARLENE GARNER**

Rev. Elder Darlene Garner received her clergy credentials from Metropolitan Community Churches in 1988. She has served as associate pastor of MCC Philadelphia (Pennsylvania), pastor of MCC Baltimore (Maryland), senior pastor of MCC of Northern Virginia, and interim pastor of Good Hope MCC in Cape Town, South Africa. A founder in 1978 of the National Coalition of Lesbians and Gays, she is the convener of the triennial MCC Conference for People of African Descent, our friends and allies. Born and raised in Columbus, Ohio, Rev. Elder Darlene Garner was baptized into the National Baptist Church at the age of seven and joined the Episcopal Church as a young adult. She came out as a lesbian in 1973 and joined MCC Washington (DC) in 1976. She has been an Elder with Metropolitan Community Churches since 1993 and is currently the Director of the MCC Office of Emerging Ministries, which provides oversight of new ministry development around the world, affiliations, diversity and inclusion efforts, and missiology.



### **MARK GEVISSER**

Mark Gevisser is an Open Society Fellow for 2012/13, working on "The Sexuality Frontier", a book that will map the dramatic ways that ideas about sexuality and gender identity are changing globally. His previous books include the award-winning *A Legacy of Liberation: Thabo Mbeki and the Future of the South African Dream*, and *Defiant Desire, Gay and Lesbian Lives in South Africa*. He is one of South Africa's leading journalists, and has been active as a writer, curator and activist in the HIV/AIDS and LGBT rights movements since the 1980s. He currently lives in France.



### SUSAN GIBBS

Susan is a consultant to the Wallace Global Fund where she advises the Fund on women's human rights and empowerment issues. Previous foundation clients have included the David and Lucille Packard Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and the Garfield Foundation. Prior to launching her consulting practice, she held program positions at The Summit Charitable Foundation, the Pew Global Stewardship Initiative, and the Pew Charitable Trusts. She has also worked on disaster relief and women's health and development issues in Peshawar, Pakistan, Geneva, and Cairo. She currently serves as the executive director of the SS United States Conservancy, a maritime preservation organization dedicated to saving the SS United States, America's flagship launched in 1952. She holds a master's degree in International Affairs from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs and a Bachelor's degree magna cum laude from Brown University.



### SHAREEN GOKAL

Shareen is the Strategic Initiative Manager of Resisting and Challenging Religious Fundamentalisms for the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID). With over 15 years of experience in the not-for-profit sector, Shareen worked with Canadian refugee-sponsoring organizations in the area of capacity building and refugee legislation and has developed and managed programs for recently immigrated Afghan women to Toronto as part of her work with the Afghan Women's Organization. Shareen also spent several years in the Dominican Republic working with Haitian migrant workers and in marginalized neighborhoods in Santo Domingo. Since joining AWID in 2001 Shareen has held several positions in the organization- she was the Forum Manager for the 2002 AWID Forum, the first one held outside the USA in Guadalajara, Mexico, the Programme Manager for the Women's Human Right Net website and resources and in 2007 launched and presently manages AWID's 'Resisting and Challenging Religious Fundamentalisms' initiative. She holds a degree in International Development Studies and her Master's in education- Sociology and Equity Studies at the University of Toronto.



### CHAD GRIFFIN

Chad Griffin is the president of the Human Rights Campaign. Griffin has spent his career taking on entrenched, well-financed interests like big tobacco, big oil and the far right, and shaped national policy debates around equal rights, clean energy, universal health care, stem cell research, and early childhood education. Griffin is a founding board member of the American Foundation for Equal Rights (AFER), the sole sponsor of the Prop. 8 lawsuit. He is personally responsible for recruiting the legal dream team of Theodore Olson and David Boies to successfully argue the case. The case is now headed to the Supreme Court. A veteran of the Clinton White House communications team and a native of Arkansas, Griffin was highly motivated by young people in taking on this new endeavor to lead HRC.



### SHARON GROVES

Sharon is the Director of the Religion and Faith Program at the Human Rights Campaign. In this role she has overseen the creation of numerous new resources, including *Out in Scripture*, a weekly preaching resource, *Putting Faith into Action*, a step-by-step curriculum for building effective social justice advocacy congregations, *A La Familia*, a bilingual guide for Latino/a families struggling with the Bible and LGBT family members, and *Gender Identity and our Faith Communities*, an extensive many-authored guide to faith and transgender understanding. Sharon previously served as editor and managing editor for *Feminist Studies*, an interdisciplinary scholarly journal housed at the University of Maryland, where she also taught courses in English literature, literature and social change, and women's studies. Sharon received her Ph.D. in English Literature from the University of Maryland in 2000. She is currently pursuing a Masters of Divinity at Wesley Theological Seminary.



### **MICHAEL HEFLIN**

Michael Heflin is the director of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex (LGBTI) Rights Initiative at the Open Society Foundations. In this role, Heflin manages a global grant making and advocacy program focused on providing support to emerging LGBTI rights groups in the developing world. Prior to joining the Foundations, Heflin was managing director of the Campaigns Unit for Amnesty International USA. He also served as the founding director of Amnesty's first LGBT rights program. In addition, Heflin worked at Amnesty's International Secretariat in London where he directed the International Mobilization Program, an effort to grow Amnesty's membership and activism internationally. Heflin also was deputy director of Amnesty's Midwest Region Office in Chicago. Heflin holds a law degree with a focus on international human rights law from the University of Cincinnati. He served as a fellow at the Urban Morgan Human Rights Institute and was editor of the Human Rights Quarterly. Heflin received his BA in political science from Adrian College.



### **NEVILLE HOAD**

Neville Hoad is an associate professor of English and affiliated faculty with the Center for Women's and Gender Studies, the Center for African and African American Studies, and the Bernard and Audre Rapoport Center for Human Rights and Justice. He authored *African Intimacies: Race, Homosexuality and Globalization* (Minnesota, 2007) and co-edits (with Karen Martin and Graeme Reid) *Sex & Politics in South Africa* (Double Storey, 2005). He is writing a book on the literary and cultural representations of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Sub-Saharan Africa. Areas of research include African and Victorian literature, queer theory, and the history of sexuality.



### **MARY HUNT**

Mary E. Hunt, Ph.D., is a feminist theologian who is co-founder and co-director of the Women's Alliance for Theology, Ethics and Ritual (WATER) in Silver Spring, Maryland, USA. A Catholic active in the women-church movement, she lectures and writes on theology and ethics with particular attention to liberation issues. She is the editor of *A Guide for Women in Religion: Making Your Way from A to Z* (Palgrave, 2004) and co-editor with Diann L. Neu of *New Feminist Christianity: Many Voices, Many Views* (SkyLight Paths, 2010).



### **KEVIN JENNINGS**

Kevin Jennings is the newly-appointed Executive Director of the Arcus Foundation a leading global foundation advancing pressing social justice and conservation issues. Specifically, Arcus works to advance LGBT equality, as well as to conserve and protect the great apes. Kevin has a long and distinguished career as an educator, a social justice activist, a teacher, and an author. From 2011-2012 Kevin was CEO of Be the Change, a nonprofit that creates national issue base campaigns on pressing problems in American society. While there he helped launch Opportunity Nation, a campaign designed to increase opportunity and economic mobility in America. Mr. Jennings has authored six books, with his latest, *Mama's Boy, Preacher's Son: A Memoir*, being named a Book of Honor by the American Library Association in 2006. He also helped write and produce the documentary *Out of the Past*, which won the 1998 Sundance Film Festival Audience Award for Best Documentary.

### **TOM KAM**

Prior to joining Arcus, Mr. Kam was with the Community Foundation for the National Capital Region in Washington, DC, where he served first as senior program officer and later as vice president of Community Investment. He was also regional manager for Human Services for the County of Fairfax, Virginia; senior public health analyst for the United States Public Health Service; and associate director of AIDS Services for the Whitman-Walker Clinic in Washington, DC. Mr. Kam holds a Masters of Social Work from the Catholic University of America in Washington, DC, and a Masters of Divinity from St. Patrick's Theological Seminary in Menlo Park, Calif. He is a former Roman Catholic priest who was ordained a priest for the Archdiocese of San Francisco in 1983.



### **GILLIAN KANE**

Gillian Kane joined Ipas's Policy Program as Senior Policy Associate in May 2008. Ms. Kane works with partners in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Africa to develop progressive laws and policies on abortion. Gillian also works with country offices to develop strategies and monitoring mechanisms to address challenges from opponents to abortion. She has extensive experience researching domestic and international challenges to reproductive rights. She coordinated the Reproductive Rights program at the Institute for Democracy Studies, and served as a consultant to the Feminist Majority Foundation and Communications Consortium Media Center, where her work focused on issues related to global population, reproductive health, and the United Nations International Conference on Population and Development. Gillian speaks English, Spanish and is proficient in Portuguese. She has published extensively on issues related to gender and reproductive health and rights. Ms. Kane holds a master's degree in Latin American and Caribbean Studies from New York University.



### **KAPYA KAOMA**

Dr. Kapya John Kaoma is an ordained Anglican with a particular interest in human rights, ecological ethics and mission. A former dean of St. John's Cathedral and lecturer at Africa University in Mutare, Zimbabwe and academic dean of St. John's Anglican Seminary in Kitwe, Zambia, Dr. Kaoma produced a report entitled "Globalizing the Culture Wars: U.S. Conservatives, African Churches, and Homophobia" that prompted invitations to testify before the United States Congress and the United Nations. He represented the Anglican Communion at the Edinburgh 2010 conference, presenting a paper on mission and ecology. He is currently the Rector of Christ Church, Hyde Park, MA and a Visiting Researcher at Boston University Center for Global Christianity and Mission. He received his doctorate in Ethics from Boston University.



### **JOSH KING**

Josh King serves as a Senior Public Policy Advocate on the federal legislative team at the Human Rights Campaign. His portfolio of issues includes hate crime prevention, health care, military, education, immigration, international and religious freedom issues. Josh has worked on the passage of legislation including the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd Jr. Hate Crimes Protection Act and the repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell. He is the lead federal lobbyist for the South and Southwest regions. Josh holds a B.S. in Education from Lee University.



### **JEFF KREHELY**

Jeff Krehely is Vice President for LGBT Research and Communications at the Center for American Progress, a multi-issue think tank and advocacy organization in Washington, DC. Prior to CAP, Jeff was the research director of the Movement Advancement Project, a think tank that generates research and analysis to help speed equality for LGBT people. Before MAP, Jeff worked at the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, serving first as NCRP's research director and later as its deputy director. Jeff has also worked at The Atlantic Philanthropies, Inc. and the Urban Institute. Jeff holds a master of public policy from Georgetown University.



### **DANE LEWIS**

Dane Lewis joined J-FLAG as a volunteer in 1998 when it was established as the first human rights organization in Jamaica's history to serve the needs of lesbian, gay, bi-sexual and transgender persons. In February 2008 he transitioned from his career in media and yielded to his real passion of service when he joined the management team at J-FLAG and lead the organization as Programmes Manager. Since then he has been able to grow the organization from a two member to a seven member team. Since its inception the organization has expanded its Legal Reform and Advocacy efforts and has included Social Support and Crisis Intervention Programmed. Dane is also an executive member of CariFLAGS: the Caribbean Forum for Liberation and Acceptance of Genders & Sexualities.



### **SCOTT LONG**

For more than twenty years, Scott Long has advocated for sexual rights across domestic and international spheres, documenting and combatting grave human rights violations in countries including Egypt, Iraq, Romania, Zimbabwe, and the United States. From 2003-2010, he served as founding director of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Rights Program at Human Rights Watch. A visiting fellow at Harvard Law School's Human Rights Program from 2010-2012, he is working on a book about sexual rights activism's transit from global North to global South. He blogs on human rights issues at [www.paperbird.net](http://www.paperbird.net).



### **SANDRA DUGHMAN MANZUR**

Sandra Dughman Manzur is the Program Association for the Resisting and Challenging Religious Fundamentalisms Program at the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID). Originally from Santiago, Chile, Sandra holds an undergraduate degree in Theology from the Centro de Estudios Teológicos (CET-Chile), a professional degree in Law (J.D.) from the Universidad de Chile, and a Master of Laws (LL.M.) from the University of Toronto. Since 2009, she has collaborated with the International Reproductive and Sexual Health Law Programme, Faculty of Law, University of Toronto, generating research and legal briefs for international and local courts. In the past, Sandra provided legal research, advisory and expert opinions on women's rights, reproductive and sexual rights, and health law for the Centro de Derechos Humanos, Faculty of Law, Universidad de Chile; the Latin American School of Social Sciences-Chile (FLACSO-CHILE); the Canadian HIV/AIDS Legal Network; and the World Health Organization (WHO). She is a fellow and alumni of the Canadian Institutes of Health Research (CIHR) training program in Health Law, Ethics and Policy as well as the International Reproductive and Sexual Health Law Programme, Faculty of Law, University of Toronto, where she was granted a Ford Foundation Scholarship. Today, Sandra lives in Toronto with her wife, Natasha, and daughters, Zara and Alma.



### **DAVE MONTEZ**

Dave Montez is a senior program officer at the Gill Foundation, one of the nation's leading funders of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender advocacy efforts. Dave heads the foundation's Latino Initiative, which is designed to build lasting alliances between LGBT people and Latinos. He also works with the Director of Allies and Institutions to manage a grants portfolio focused on building broad support for LGBT equality. Before joining the Gill Foundation in 2007, he was a research development officer at the University of Colorado, Denver, where he researched and reviewed funding opportunities, grant proposals, and funding contracts for faculty members seeking funding from for-profit, federal, state, and local nonprofit agencies. Dave speaks Spanish and holds a BA in journalism/public relations from Metropolitan State College of Denver. He is dedicated to community involvement, and is a gubernatorial appointee to the Scientific and Cultural Facilities District (SCFD), which oversees an average of \$40 million in grant funding annually.



### **PETER MONTGOMERY**

Peter Montgomery is a senior fellow at People For the American Way, where he analyzes the Religious Right and contributes to the Right Wing Watch blog. He is also an associate editor at online magazine Religion Dispatches and a freelance writer. His chapter on the relationship between the Tea Party and Religious Right appears in *Steep: The Precipitous Rise of the Tea Party*, just published by the University of California Press. He grew up in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where he spent his teen years on a Bible quiz team. He and his partner, poet Dan Vera, are planning a fall wedding.



### **WANJA MUGUONGO**

Wanja is a feminist and a firm believer in human rights and social justice. She manages the only African activist-owned and -led LGBTI and sex worker rights fund on a continent where homosexuality is illegal and punishable by jail sentence in 36 countries, where transactional sex is largely illegal, and where the rights of transgender and intersex people are routinely violated. UHAI-The East African Sexual Health and Rights Initiative makes grants and runs capacity-building and mentorship programs for LGBTI and sex worker organizations across East Africa. Wanja's mission is to nurture grassroots activism around sexuality, identity, and rights in Africa, moving society toward equality and non-discrimination. She previously worked for a variety of NGOs in East Africa, India, and Pakistan, where she managed community development projects.



### **ROSS MURRAY**

Ross Murray is the Director of Religion, Faith & Values at the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation (GLAAD). At GLAAD, Ross' role is to amplify pro-LGBT voices of faith, shape the public conversation about LGBT people and faith, and to respond to anti-LGBT faith-based messages. Ross is also the Director of The Naming Project, a faith based LGBT youth group that runs an LGBT teen camp every summer. In all Ross does, he strives to help people cultivate a holistic identity.



### **JOEL GUSTAVE NANA**

Nana is a human rights advocate with extensive experience on health, HIV and human rights programming and advocacy at national and international levels. Mr. Nana's experience spans several African countries including the DRC, Malawi, Senegal, and South Africa in addition to his native Cameroon. Mr. Nana is the executive Director of the African Men for Sexual Health and Rights (AMShE) a regional coalition of LGBTI and MSM organizations working to increase access to HIV services and protect the rights of LGBTI and MSM persons. Joel holds an LLM (Masters) in International Human Rights Law and is currently completing a PhD in Law.



### **ANNA KASAFI PERKINS**

Anna Kasafi Perkins is a former Dean of Studies at St Michael's Theological College, an affiliated institution of the University of the West Indies, Mona. Dr. Perkins holds degrees from The University of the West Indies, Mona/ St Michael's Seminary, Cambridge University and Boston College. Her research interests include faith and political life, sex and sexuality, religion and popular culture, gender and the scriptures, business and professional ethics. Her first book, *Justice as Equality: Michael Manley's Caribbean Vision of Justice* (Peter Lang, 2010), brings together several articles and chapters she has written. A second co-edited volume entitled, *Justice and Peace in a Renewed Caribbean Contemporary Catholic Reflections*, will be released by Palgrave Macmillan at the end of August 2012. She is currently the Senior Programme Officer, Quality Assurance, University of the West Indies, Regional Headquarters, and adjunct faculty at St. Michael's Theological College.



### **TROY G. PLUMMER**

Rev. Troy G. Plummer joined Reconciling Ministries Network as the executive director in November of 2003. RMN mobilizes United Methodists of all sexual orientations and gender identities to transform our Church and world into the full expression of Christ's inclusive love. RMN organizes individuals, congregations, and campaigns for equality; and most recently launched Love Your Neighbor coalition work including outreach to international delegations particularly from Africa and the Philippines. Prior to RMN, Troy served for 13 years at Bering Memorial United Methodist Church in Houston, Texas including launching early response HIV/AIDS services culminating in the Bering Omega Community Services Foundation.





### **TARSO LUÍS RAMOS**

Tarso Luís Ramos assumed the role of executive director in June 2009 after serving as PRA's research director for three years. As research director, he focused on anti-immigrant groups and the rise of "colorblind" ideology. He also launched three new research projects on civil liberties, right-wing attacks on mainline churches, and Islamophobia and anti-Semitism on college campuses. Before joining PRA, he served as founding director of Western States Center's racial justice program, which resists racist public policy initiatives and supports the base-building work of progressive people of color-led organizations. As director of the Wise Use Public Exposure Project in the mid-'90s, he tracked the Right's anti-union and anti-environmental campaigns.

### **BIPASHA RAY**

Bipasha Ray is the program officer for the Open Society Fellowship at the Open Society Foundations. She joined in early 2008 to help conceptualize and launch the global fellowship program. She helps select fellows from around the world working on open society and human rights issues and works with them to get their ideas out within the Foundations' global network and in the public realm. She was previously a research associate and web editor at the Project on Defense Alternatives in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where she created web resources and provided analysis on the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, peace and security, and U.S. military and defense policy. Originally from Mumbai, India, Ray was a reporter at The Associated Press in Boston and Philadelphia, where she covered news ranging from the Catholic Church abuse scandal and post-9/11 airport security to the 2004 Democratic National Convention. She holds an MA in International Politics from Queens University Belfast, Northern Ireland, where she researched issues related to post-conflict reconciliation, governance and identity politics. She also holds a BS in mass communication with a minor in French from North Dakota State University.



### **GRAEME REID**

Graeme Reid, director of the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Rights Program, is an expert on LGBT rights in Africa. He has conducted research, taught and published extensively on gender, sexuality, LGBT issues, and HIV/AIDS. Before joining Human Rights Watch in 2011, Reid was the founding director of the Gay and Lesbian Archives of South Africa, a researcher at the Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research and a lecturer in Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Studies at Yale University. An anthropologist by training, Reid received a master's from the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, and a PhD from the University of Amsterdam.



### **MICHAEL SCHUENEMEYER**

The Rev. Michael Schuenemeyer is Executive of the Office for Health and Wholeness Advocacy of Wider Church Ministries in the national offices of the United Church of Christ (UCC), as well as, Executive Director of UCAN Inc., the United Church of Christ HIV & AIDS Network. Mike provides leadership in U.S. and globally on HIV & AIDS and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender concerns. Mike also trains facilitators of the UCC's sexuality education curriculum, *Our Whole Lives*. He was an Executive Producer on the film, *Call Me Malcolm*, about a transgender person's journey to ordination in the UCC. He produced and anchored the UCC's DVD on marriage equality, *Sacred Covenants, Faithful Conversations*. Mike is a member of the HIV Strategy Group of the Ecumenical Advocacy Alliance (based in Geneva Switzerland) and the National Faith in Action HIV & AIDS Coalition - USA. He published the online version of the United Church of Christ's (UCC) comprehensive HIV prevention curriculum, "Affirming Persons, Saving Lives" and produced educational videos such as, *Courage to Hope, Responding to AIDS in Rural China*.



### JEFF SHARLET

Jeff Sharlet is the nationally bestselling author of *The Family* (2008), described by Barbara Ehrenreich as “one of the most compelling and brilliantly researched exposes you’ll ever read.” His most recent book is *Sweet Heaven When I Die* (2011). “This book belongs in the tradition of long-form, narrative nonfiction best exemplified by Joan Didion, John McPhee [and] Norman Mailer,” declares *The Washington Post*. “Sharlet deserves a place alongside such masters.” Excerpts from Sharlet’s 2010 book, *C Street* received the Molly Ivins Prize, the Thomas Jefferson Award, and the Outspoken Award. Sharlet’s greatest distinction is Ann Coulter’s designation of him as one of the stupidest journalists in America. As a renowned research and scholar he has spoken at universities around the country, has received grants from leading foundations and has written for magazines such as *Mother Jones*, *New York*, *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, *New Statesman*, *The Washington Post*, *Salon*, *Daily Beast*, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, *Columbia Journalism Review*, *Oxford American*, *Lapham’s Quarterly*, *The Baffler*, and *The Forward*. He’s been a frequent guest on MSNBC’s Rachel Maddow Show and NPR’s “Fresh Air,” and has appeared on HBO’s Bill Maher Show, Comedy Central’s Daily Show, NBC Nightly News, CNN, NPR, BBC, and other media venues. He is currently working on *The Hammer Song*, a short book about pop, folk, punk, sex, riots, and the Cold War, in Lyme, New Hampshire, where he lives with his wife, the historian Julia Rabig, and their daughter.



### VALERY SOZAEV

Responsible for implementing the strategy of the Russian LGBT Network’s national advocacy. Its tasks include the development and implementation of advocacy programs at the national level, including information and petition campaign, lobbying national authorities, advocacy research (including monitoring of discrimination LGBT), mobilization and training of regional LGBT organizations and initiatives, cooperation with international human rights organizations.



### JESSICA STERN

Jessica is the Acting Executive Director of the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission. As the first researcher on lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) human rights at Human Rights Watch, she conducted fact-finding investigations and advocacy around sexual orientation and gender identity in countries including Iran, Kyrgyzstan, South Africa, the United Arab Emirates, and the United States. As a Ralph Bunche Fellow at Amnesty International, she documented police brutality for what became its landmark report on police brutality in LGBT communities, “Stonewalled.” She was a founding collective member and director of Bluestockings, then New York’s only women’s bookstore. She has campaigned extensively for women’s rights, LGBT rights, and economic justice with the Center for Constitutional Rights, Control Ciudadano, the National Gay & Lesbian Task Force, and the Urban Justice Center. She is a member of the board of directors of Queers for Economic Justice and an advisor to the New York Women’s Foundation. She holds a master’s degree in human rights from the London School of Economics. She is frequently quoted in the Mail & Guardian, Al Jazeera, the Associated Press, Reuters, Agence France Presse, Deutsche Welle, Voice of America, The Guardian and The BBC.

### CARLA SUTHERLAND

Dr. Carla Sutherland is known for her groundbreaking human rights work for sexual minorities in Eastern Africa. Before joining Arcus as the first International LGBT Rights program director, Dr. Sutherland led the Ford Foundation’s Education and Sexuality program in Eastern Africa, where she was responsible for developing and managing an extensive portfolio of grantees in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, which provide East African women and youth the education and information necessary to make informed decisions about leading healthy lives. She holds bachelor’s and master’s degrees in political studies and anthropology from the University of Cape Town, South Africa, and earned a doctorate in social policy from the London School of Economics and Political Science.



### **NORMAN TAKU**

Norman Taku works for the Centre Human Rights, University of Pretoria, South Africa. As Assistant Director, he is the administrative head of the Centre, overseeing some of its large continental programmes through a network of alumni and institutional partners in 50 African countries. He studied Law at the Universities of Buea (Cameroon), and Pretoria (South Africa), and speaks English and French.



### **JOSEPH TOLTON**

Tolton enjoys a three-faceted career serving the gay and lesbian community as a voice for spiritual freedom, social justice and economic empowerment. He is also Pastor of Rehoboth Temple Christ Conscious Church where his affirming ministry seeks to empower all people with the transformative power of the Gospel and to nurture disciples of Christ in the Pentecostal Apostolic tradition. As a public advocate, Tolton serves as Director of The REVIVAL Initiative, a spiritual forum purposed to advance the civil rights of gay and lesbian people in the African diaspora. Additionally, Tolton is in the midst of producing a documentary, Joseph's Story, a riveting journey of personal self-discovery that exposes the drama of African-Americans confronting gay black America. As an entrepreneur, he is the Managing Director of Blur Advertising, a full-service brand development and marketing communications firm that has engaged clients such as The Fashion Institute of Technology, The Turks & Caicos Board of Tourism, Hewlett-Packard, the Episcopal Church, the Vera Institute of Justice, B&B Cognac Liqueur, The Cayman Islands, The Evans Food Group, Diageo USA, Culture hair products, Carver Federal Savings Bank and Harlem Lanes. Tolton received his BA in religion from Vassar College and his MBA in management from Columbia Business School.



### **SUSAN TREADWELL**

Susan Treadwell is deputy director of the Human Rights and Governance Grants Program, the principal grant making program at the Open Society Institute, Budapest. She joined the Open Society Foundations in 2003 and manages the program's funding in the Western Balkans, which consists predominantly of institutional support to human rights watchdog NGOs using advocacy and strategic litigation to promote systemic reform. In addition to fundamental rights concerns, Treadwell's substantive focus is on promoting freedom of information and accountable governance throughout Eastern and Central Europe and the former Soviet Union by promoting best practices and knowledge sharing.



### **ROGER ROSS WILLIAMS**

Roger Ross Williams directed and produced Music by Prudence, which won the 2010 Academy Award for documentary short subject and was broadcast on HBO. He is the first African American to win an Oscar® for directing and producing a film, short or feature. His latest feature length documentary, God Loves Uganda, is currently in post-production and will premiere on PBS in 2013.