

# Mapping LGBTQ Organizations in Israel

## Summary Report

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The following mapping was written for, about and in collaboration with, the LGBTQ organizations in Israel:



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## 1. Introduction

This report is a joint initiative of Israel's LGBTQ organizations, led by the Aguda – Israel's LGBT Task Force, and the JDC Institute for Leadership and Governance. It was driven by a desire to map the LGBTQ field in Israel and its needs, focusing on organizations that provide services to the community and act on its behalf. Mapping these organizations will support strategic planning for the future, and enable us to formulate recommendations for further action.

Around 20 LGBTQ organizations are currently active in Israel, each aiming at specific sectors within the community based mainly on geography and sexual identity or orientation, and sometimes focusing on a specific niche. The organizations are mostly structured as registered nonprofits, although some are defined as municipal entities that receive municipal resources and are held accountable accordingly.

The mapping does not presume to cover all entities that serve the LGBTQ community in one way or another, especially as the community is not itself a single cohesive unit. Alongside the organizations surveyed (and others) are more loosely-based associations, some with no real connection to other LGBTQ organizations, as well as individual activists. It is also clear that not everyone within the community is represented, despite the great sensitivity to nuances of identity and each sub-group's desire for distinct recognition, so in many senses this review affords a welcome opportunity for renewal and development in this regard.

The LGBTQ community has come a long way in recent decades, both in Israel and throughout the world. These development of the LGBTQ struggle—and of the institutionalized organizations that work with the community or grew from within it—is reviewed in the comprehensive literary survey that appears in the appendix. Community members have experienced persecution, lack of recognition, and the need to hide their identity or fight for it, and this has affected the community's growth and development. Despite this, many successes have been achieved over the years, primarily the attainment of public legitimacy (even if institutional discrimination still exists), and the growing recognition of differences within the community. Other achievements in Israel include the revocation of the 1988 law prohibiting homosexual intercourse; increased representation in the Knesset and local government; legislation and judicial rulings granting rights to members of the community; the creation of educational and instructional frameworks for young people about sexual orientation; gay pride parades that have become prominent annual events in major cities; the establishment of strong and stable organizations; and finally, growing visibility in public discourse, including the “coming out” of media personalities.

At the same time, there remain significant divisions between the various organizations working for the LGBTQ community, and most of the community's members are not

active in these organizations for long. Another shadow is cast by violent events directed at the community, including the traumatic milestones of the 2009 Bar No'ar murders in Tel Aviv and the murder at the 2015 Jerusalem gay pride parade. These are reminders that the community still faces considerable threats, and they emphasize the need for action. This report thus focuses on the important challenges still faced by LGBTQ organizations in Israel.

The data presented in the report was obtained from a number of sources: a series of interviews conducted with CEOs of LGBTQ organizations (including visits to some organizations); two meetings with a forum of organization CEOs; four focus groups (comprising CEOs, volunteers, employees, and non-active community members); an internet survey of LGBTQ community members; a survey of the organizations; and conversations with the CEO and chairperson of the Aguda—the Israeli National LGBT Task Force; and an analysis of written material.

As a rule, we received exemplary cooperation from all individuals and organizations contacted for this report. This stemmed from a common recognition of needs, but it is also an indication of this community's unique spirit, which is one of its strengths.

## 2. Executive Summary

This report is the product of a joint initiative of Israel's LGBTQ organizations and the JDC Institute for Leadership and Governance. It was driven by a desire to map the LGBTQ field in Israel, focusing on the organizations that provide services to the community and act on its behalf, and on these organizations' needs. The guiding idea was that this mapping would provide insights that can support strategic planning for the future, and would enable us to formulate recommendations for further action.

Around 20 LGBTQ organizations are currently active in Israel, each aiming at specific sectors within the community: some based on geography, some on sexual identity or orientation, and some focusing on a specific niche. The organizations are mostly structured as registered nonprofits, although some are defined as municipal entities that receive municipal resources and are held accountable accordingly.

The mapping does not presume to cover all entities that serve the LGBTQ community in one way or another, especially as the community itself is not a single cohesive unit. Alongside the organizations surveyed (and others) are more loosely-based associations, some with no real connection to other LGBTQ organizations, as well as individual activists. It is also notable that not everyone within the community is represented, despite the great sensitivity to nuances of identity and each sub-group's desire for distinct recognition, so in many senses this review affords a welcome opportunity for renewal and development in this regard.

The LGBTQ community has come a long way in recent decades, both in Israel and throughout the world. The development of the LGBTQ struggle—and of the institutionalized organizations that work with the community or grew from within it—is reviewed in the comprehensive literary survey included in this report. As a community whose members have experienced persecution, struggled for recognition, and had to either hide their identity or fight for it, similar motifs have marked the growth and development of the community itself and its organizations.

Despite these struggles, many successes have been achieved over the years, both internationally and in Israel. Most notably, the LGBTQ community has come to recognize the differences that exist within it, and been successful in gaining broad public legitimacy, even if institutional discrimination still persists in many guises. Major achievements in Israel include the revocation of the 1988 law prohibiting homosexual intercourse; growing representation in the Knesset and local government; legislation and judicial rulings granting rights to members of the community; the creation of educational and instructional frameworks for young people about sexual orientation and identity; gay pride parades that have become prominent annual events in major cities; the establishment of strong and stable

organizations; and finally, growing visibility in public discourse, including the “coming out” of media personalities.

At the same time, there remain significant divisions among the various organizations working for the LGBTQ community, and most of the community’s members are not active in these organizations for long. Another shadow is cast by violent events directed at the community, including the traumatic milestones of the 2009 Bar No’ar murders in Tel Aviv and the murder at the 2015 Jerusalem gay pride parade. These are reminders that the community still faces considerable threats, and they emphasize the need for action. This report thus focuses on the important challenges still faced by LGBTQ organizations in Israel.

The data presented in this report were obtained from a number of sources: a series of interviews conducted with organization CEOs (including visits to some organizations); two meetings with the CEO Forum; four focus groups (comprising CEOs, volunteers, employees, and non-active community members); an internet survey of LGBTQ community members; a survey of partner organizations; conversations with the CEO and chairperson of the Aguda—the Israeli National LGBT Task Force; and an analysis of written materials that were collected. As a rule, we received exemplary cooperation from all respondents; this stemmed from a common recognition of the importance of this mapping, but it also reflects the unique spirit of the LGBTQ community, which is one of its strengths.

Looking toward the future, the findings of this mapping suggest the following main directions (on some of which the organizations surveyed are already taking action):

- The continuing development of the LGBTQ community now requires a certain degree of **institutionalization**. This would include: better documentation of the diverse types of activities being pursued; fostering organizational memory, as an important asset for the future and as a testimony to what has been accomplished and overcome over the years; and greater investment in strategic planning. At the same time, this transition to a more institutionalized mode needs to be conducted with care, so as to successfully preserve the pluralist approach that is key for the unity of the community and its organizations, and to maintain tolerance of a diverse range of organizational approaches and solutions, none of which needs to be prioritized over others.
- The community is an amalgamation of groups and identities, each with its own ideas about the identities it contains. It is important to maintain openness towards this **profusion** among existing organizations, and to encourage explicit discussion of it, while being especially careful to ensure that more marginalized groups are given a voice and heard. This requires methodical outreach and inclusion efforts with groups that hold less power in the community, such as

transgender populations and LGBTQ elderly. In this context, there is a highly evident need to promote LGBTQ initiatives in the periphery, as well as among populations of different nationalities and ethnicities, such as Palestinians or foreign labor migrants.

- The current leadership of the Aguda has successfully created a strong sense of momentum in LGBTQ community activism, as well as a culture of dialogue among the community's various elements. This is a considerable achievement, particularly considering the stormy and argument-riven past of the community's organizations, and it could now serve as the basis for a process of **mutual learning** among the organizations today—sharing and comparing their different models of activity and leadership, keeping each other abreast of their various initiatives, opening up new avenues of volunteering, and more. This could include the development of shared organizational and inter-organizational knowledge, as well as discussion of common dilemmas, such as whether cooperation with “the establishment” is an advantage or a bind, or how to strengthen LGBTQ identities that are given less coverage in the media. There is also potential here for greater networking efforts, and for initiatives involving regular meetings of various subgroups, such as the CEO Forum.
- There is a need for a clarification process that will lead to agreements on the **division of labor and responsibilities** among the organizations. In our view, it is important that Israel's LGBTQ organizations not compete with one another, but rather complement each other as much as possible. Wherever there are a number of different organizations active in a given field, they should ensure that their work is conducted on the basis of dialogue, coordination, and mutual agreement.
- Ideally, there should be an **agreed body that can coordinate and mediate** among all the organizations active in the field. (The Aguda—the Israeli National LGBT Task Force is seen by many as the natural candidate for this role). Among other things, this coordinating body would facilitate joint action—for example, on fundraising abroad, collecting and sharing information, judicial issues, legislation, lobbying, and media relations. The Aguda's work in these areas, which includes an effort to focus on its relative advantages over other organizations and on fostering dialogue and broad agreement, has already begun to bear important fruit, and offer an important foundation for building greater trust and for creating a momentum of action in the future. At the same time, it is important that the Aguda complement and empower (rather than compete with or replace) existing organizations, wherever there is an advantage to shared or coordinated action: any service or initiative that can be provided or led by another organization should remain under its auspices, with the Aguda providing only complementary assistance. It is also vital that any

joint action or initiative be pursued voluntarily and with full agreement, as well as with a commitment to mutual sensitivity.

- Regarding **organizational collaboration**, multiple models should be used, both because of the many identity-related sensitivities in the highly diverse LGBTQ community, and because of the fact that there is no need for a single model of collaboration, and no single model that could do the job in every case. In this context, pluralism can be both a guiding value and a strategy.
- The **professionalization** of LGBTQ organizations also requires professionalization of their leadership. We recommend designing and implementing a managerial training program for leaders of LGBTQ organizations, alongside specific training programs and regular meetings for certain professionals (such as those in the therapeutic or educational fields) from all organizations. This would not preclude taking part in other forums, but there is a clear advantage to creating a special training framework for LGBTQ organizations, which can also be used to discuss and address issues particular to the LGBTQ community, to design relevant initiatives, and to promote collaboration. Another area of activity in this context, which is mainly relevant to the smaller organizations, is resource sharing—for example, sharing accounting or marketing services from a single provider.
- The challenge of **creating and maintaining links with other organizations**, in Israel and abroad, as well as improving relations with all elements of the local LGBTQ community, is one that needs greater attention and investment. It would seem that there is not currently sufficient use made of possible links with organizations and individuals both within and without the LGBTQ community; we believe that this area has great potential, and can become a significant source of strength for LGBTQ organizations in Israel.

## Main Recommendations

1. **Professionalization** of organizations, and **stabilizing their infrastructure** and financial base:
  - Constructing designated training for organization directors, employees, and activists. We recommend that training topics include: managing volunteers; structuring work plans; long-term strategy and planning; organizational knowledge management; managing funds; communications; forging collaborations; and building trust.
  - Encouraging individual training for managers and the acquisition of relevant knowledge and experience where necessary.
  - Retaining organizational knowledge and sharing it with all organizations—possibly through relevant software, databases, and sharing mechanisms, while

also developing systematic documentation and knowledge-management practices for the benefit of the community as a whole.

- Utilizing individual managerial and organizational consulting as needed.
- Mutual learning and developing joint inter-organizational knowledge, including creating specialized professional forums (for instance in education or psycho-social fields).

2. Creating a **coordinating body** and mechanisms for **coordination and collaboration** among all organizations:

- Formulating a charter acceptable to all organizations that details the responsibilities, work principles, and defined fields of action of the coordinating body.
- Strengthening ties among the community's organizations, continuing to develop the CEO Forum, and creating additional forums—such as forums for organization chairs, organization employees, and center directors, and an annual event for volunteers. In parallel, efforts should continue to build trust among the organizations, to facilitate fruitful collaboration and open and honest dialogue.
- Establishing a community archive and storing relevant information (both digital and hard-copy materials). An archive of this type has significant historic and cultural importance, and will also encourage transparency and collaboration, and provide all organizations with access to information that will serve their ongoing work. The archive could even serve as the basis for a future museum that would play an important public role and engage in educational activities.
- Focusing joint community activities on a small number of areas: fundraising abroad; lobbying and promoting policy; media work; and legal efforts. Designated professionals should be engaged to jointly serve all the community's organizations in these areas of action.
- Logistical and professional support (mainly for the smaller organizations)—for instance in managing funds and accounts, legal advice, media promotions and PR services, and organizational and managerial consulting (including managing volunteers). It would also be possible to engage relevant firms and organizations whose services would be available to all organizations, and so utilize joint power to achieve better terms and even some subsidies (pro-bono consulting, for example).
- Fostering and encouraging inter-organizational initiatives based on projects and shared interests.

3. Creating frameworks for structured **inter-organizational dialogue** on fundamental issues relevant to the LGBTQ community:
  - Creating a framework for a structured inter-organizational dialogue on fundamental issues (without engaging in operational implications). Issues would include, for example, the boundaries of the community, and relations with the establishment.
  - Creating inter-organizational mechanisms to formulate accepted boundaries between the organizations in order to cope with tensions, overlap, and divisions—for example, an annual forum of relevant organizations to agree on shared boundaries, with the help of a mediating third party if necessary.
  
4. **Strengthening the visibility** of the organizations, both within the LGBTQ community itself and in the general public, in order to reach wider spheres and new audiences:
  - Allocating a designated position responsible for PR, media promotion, and social networks to jointly serve all organizations; or alternatively, hiring external services.
  - Bolstering networking among the organizations, routinely providing information regarding other LGBTQ organizations and providing referrals to them when necessary, and providing links to the internet sites of other organizations.
  - Producing joint material for all the community's organizations (such as info-sheets for distribution in the IDF and the education system).
  - Constructing a shared internet site for all the community's organizations, to include a mapping of all services and activities by e.g., content area, geographic area, community, etc.
  
5. **Strengthening connections** with systems, organizations, associations, and individuals both within the LGBTQ community and in the general public:
  - Concentrated efforts to recruit community members and friends in key positions as "allies," managing and fostering long-term relationships with them, and deploying them to represent the community's interests when necessary.
  - Deepening the community's ties to broader society through various initiatives that bring together the community and the general public and increase its visibility in the public sphere, especially in Israel's periphery.
  - Leveraging the LGBTQ community's financial power through initiatives such as the "Pride Tag" for businesses or consumer clubs, and through advocacy and promoting collaborations with financial institutions.
  - Leveraging and utilizing the political power of the community and its friends, as in the Proud Front project and the WDG website's campaign to promote

LGBTQ candidates in the 2018 local elections. For example, a cross-party forum for LGBTQ politicians and politicians supportive of the community should be formed.

6. Main **deficiencies** identified on the community level:

- There is a strong need to invest in promoting LGBTQ initiatives in towns in the country's periphery, including youth groups, support and community frameworks, education, and advocacy.
- There is a strong need to invest efforts in work with the transgender community, which still includes many individuals in deep distress and difficult conditions, and which requires a great deal more work on outreach. This is also true of groups with different ethnic and national backgrounds (mainly Palestinian Arabs).
- Older adults and bisexuals are other main groups that still require attention.

### 3. Mapping of LGBTQ Organizations in Israel

This section maps the main LGBTQ organizations in Israel. Each organization was asked to complete a questionnaire, and the information presented in the first sub-section below is based on the responses. In the next sub-section, we review the LGBTQ field in general, looking at activities external to the organizations and at other relevant entities, and suggest initial insights. It is important to reiterate that this mapping does not presume to encompass all organizations serving the community (which is impressively diverse in terms of its sub-communities and the organizations that serve it). In the following chapter we provide an analysis of these results and examine organizational infrastructures in greater depth.

#### Findings of the Organizational Survey

Fifteen (15) organizations completed the survey, which was conducted between April and May 2018. Of these, 11 are registered nonprofits, two are municipal institutions (the Communities House and the Israeli LGBTQ Center), one is a public-benefit corporation (Hoshen), and one is an organizational project (Shoval). Of the organizations surveyed, only Shoval reported that “advocacy, activism, and striving for policy change” did not characterize their activity in any way. All the other organizations viewed this as a major or only goal. Shoval and Hoshen did not include “providing services to members of the gay community” in their goals, whereas all the other organizations defined this as a major or only goal. All the organizations defined “community building and developing an affiliation group” as a major or only goal.

The differences in the organizations’ size and budget are considerable, ranging from a tiny or unknown budget (Project Gila, Bat-Kol, TEHILA, the Association of Israeli Gay Fathers); to small budgets of between NIS 100,000 and 200,000 (Shoval, Ma’avarim, Havruta, TLV LGBTQ Sports Club); and budgets of close to a million or even several million shekels a year (the Aguda, the Jerusalem Open House, the Israel AIDS Task Force, the Israeli LGBTQ Center, Hoshen, IGY, the Communities Home). Unsurprisingly, there is a high correlation between budget size and number of funding sources ( $r=54$ ). In other words: organizations with relatively large budgets, such as IGY, Jerusalem Open House, Hoshen, and the Aguda, have 3–5 funding sources, while the funding for organizations with poorer resources comes from just one or two sources. In general, it appears that philanthropy is the main source of funding for the organizations’ activities, comprising part of the budget for 11 of them. Those that are not supported by donations receive most of their funding from the local authority or the government, in addition (in some cases) to participant fees for various activities.

Of the 15 organizations surveyed, ten employ paid workers, of which three have only one paid employee (Shoval, Bat-Kol, Ma’avarim). The others (Hoshen, the Jerusalem

Open House, the AIDS Task Force, the Israeli LGBTQ Center, IGY, the Communities Home, and the Aguda) employ two or more workers. For the main part, activities are based on varying numbers of volunteers—from a handful (the Association of Gay Fathers, the Communities Home); to several dozen (TLV LGBTQ Sports Club, the Israeli LGBTQ Center, Ma’avarim, Shoval, TEHILA); up to a hundred or even hundreds (the AIDS Task Force, the Jerusalem Open House, Hoshen, IGY, and the Aguda). There is a corresponding range in the number of participants in activities, from a handful to tens of thousands. All organizations other than Bat-Kol reported some level of collaboration with other LGBTQ organizations and/or organizations outside this sector and/or local and national government.

Organization	Year founded	Target population	LGBTQ	Main goal
The Aguda—The Israeli National LGBTQ Task Force	1975	The Israeli LGBTQ community	LGBTQ	Identifying the community's needs and providing all sectors of the community throughout Israel (and all Israelis) high-quality, professional solutions, without discrimination. Representing the LGBTQ community in Israel to advance its legal, judicial, and social status and make it an integral part of Israeli society, with equal rights.
TEHILA	1978	Parents of children who have come out	LGBTQ	Support group for parents and families
AIDS Task Force	1987	General public and people living with HIV	LGBTQ	Preventing new HIV infections, promoting national HIV policy, and ensuring the allocation of appropriate national resources. Maintaining the provision of range of tests and protecting the anonymity of those tested. Protecting the rights, interests, quality of life, and life expectancy of people with HIV in Israel. Promoting a supportive and accepting society for people with HIV in Israel. Conducting and promoting basic and clinical research into HIV/AIDS and into the reasons for the spread of the disease in Israel.
IGY	2002	Gay youth and young adults	LGBTQ	Creating meaningful social and educational spheres for gay youth and young adults.
Hoshen—The Israeli LGBT Center for Education and Change	2004	Students and youth, educators, professionals in different fields, the general public	LGBTQ	Changing attitudes, promoting acceptance and tolerance of the gay community, and training professionals to work with the community.
Bat-Kol— Religious Lesbian Organization	2005	Gay women across the religious spectrum	LBT	Encouraging public discourse and awareness regarding sexual orientation in religious society through instructional activities, interviews in the media, and social media, as well as providing an important social framework, support groups, and help for women who need it
Havruta—Religious Gays	2007	Gay men from religious homes	GBT	A religious community of gay men from religious homes acting together to promote an accepting discourse of gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgenders in religious society.

Shoval	2007	The religious community, educational and therapeutic frameworks	LGBTQ	Support and education toward tolerance in religious society.
Israeli LGBTQ Center	2008	Local gay population (mainly adults) in Tel Aviv	LGBTQ	Creating a local LGBTQ community
TLV LGBTQ Sports Club	2008	Dan region gay population / adults interested in social sports activities	LGBTQ	Establishing sport groups for Tel Aviv's gay community / creating a safe sphere for the gay community organized around sporting activities.
Project Gila	2011	Trans and non-binary individuals	TQ	Activism on behalf of transgender and non-binary individuals, emphasizing personal empowerment, equal rights, and equal access to resources and opportunities
Association of Israeli Gay Fathers	2013	Gay fathers and prospective fathers	LBGT	Achieving equal parental rights for gay fathers
Ma'avarim	2014	The transgender community, their families, professionals, and the general public	TQ	Strengthening the transgender community
Communities Home	2017	All gay communities in Haifa	LGBTQ	Promoting the LGBTQ community in Haifa
The Jerusalem Open House for Pride and Tolerance	1997	Jerusalem's gay community, the general public	LGBTQ	Promoting and establishing a gay community in Jerusalem

Name	Budget (NIS) <sup>1</sup>	Employees <sup>2</sup>	Volunteers <sup>3</sup>	Location	Estimated number of participants	Advocacy / activism	Providing services	Community building
The Aguda	1,300,000 +	7 (4)	480 (280)	Center, south, north	Around 10,000	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly
TEHILA	Minimal	0	45 (45)	Center, south, north, J'lem	Around 900 in groups	Monthly	Monthly	Monthly
AIDS Task Force	330,000 + (800,000)	3	50 (50)	Center, south, north	Around 10,000	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly
IGY	3,200,000	30 (15)	280 (280)	Center, south, north	2,500 in groups; tens of thousands online	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly
Hoshen	1,500,000	8 (3)	230 (30)	Center, south, north	40,000	--	--	--
Bat-Kol	150,000	1	30 (30)	Center, south, north, J'lem	Around 300	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly
Havruta	150,000	0	27 (12)	Center, south, north, J'lem	300 in all activities	Monthly	Weekly	Monthly
Shoval	100,000	1	60 (20)	Center, south, north, J'lem	Hundreds to thousands	--	--	Weekly
Israeli LGBT Center	840,000 +	10 (5)	55 (55)	Center	Thousands	Yearly	Weekly	Weekly
TLV LGBTQ Sports Club	200,000	0	70 (20)	Center	Around 200	Yearly	Weekly	Weekly
Project Gila	Minimal	0	33 (8)	Center, south, north	Around 200 take part in activities, around 30 receive services	Monthly	Weekly	Weekly
Gay Fathers	Tens of thousands	0	8 (6)	Center	Some 400	Monthly	Weekly	Yearly
Ma'avarim	180,000	1	65 (50)	Center, J'lem	1,730	Weekly	Weekly	Monthly
Communities Home	1,000,000	2 (1)	21 (6)	North	Around 1,000 (not including pride parade)	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly
Jerusalem Open House	1,500,000	7 (5)	380 (330)	Jerusalem	30,000	Weekly	Weekly	Weekly

<sup>1</sup> Budget for 2017: + indicates additional income not included here; the budget of the AIDS Task Force is that intended for the community only.

<sup>2</sup> Total number of paid employees; number of part-time employees out of total number of employees shown in parentheses.

<sup>3</sup> Overall number of volunteers during the past year; number of regular volunteers who are active at least once a month shown in parentheses.

Name	Social & cultural activities, sports & leisure	Youth groups	Psycho-social support and therapy <sup>4</sup>	Medical services	Educational activities in schools	Strengthening ties with the establishment	Organizing pride parade <sup>5</sup>	Training professionals	Legislation and court cases	Media and instruction
The Aguda	✓		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
TEHILA			✓		✓			✓		
AIDS Task Force			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
IGY	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓				✓
Hoshen	✓				✓	✓		✓		✓
Bat-Kol	✓					✓				✓
Havruta	✓				✓	✓				✓
Shoval	✓				✓	✓		✓		✓
Israeli LGBT Center	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		
TLV LGBTQ Sports Club	✓									
Project Gila			✓						✓	✓
Association of Israeli Gay Fathers	✓					✓			✓	✓
Ma'avarim		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Communities Home	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓
Jerusalem Open House	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

<sup>4</sup> Refers to institutionalized therapy or support options, beyond social support received by all organization members/clients.

<sup>5</sup> Refers to actual involvement in producing the parade, not just participating in it.

## Other Activities

In addition to the activities of the organizations surveyed, there are other organizations and associations active in the LGBTQ field in Israel, although with a somewhat limited scope. Among these are Kirtzono and Kamoha, both targeting the religious population; the Haifa Rainbow (formerly Six Colors); Israeli ACES (promoting asexual awareness in Israel); and the Palestinian organizations alQaws (for sexual and gender diversity) and Aswat (a feminist queer movement).

In addition, there are other bodies that have significant impact on this sector, playing an active role in the struggle for gay rights, and in some cases providing designated services for members of the community. Although most of these bodies do not directly support activities that are carried out by LGBTQ organizations, some of them cooperate with LGBTQ organizations to varying degrees. They include:

1. Government institutions. These include ministries, local authorities, the legal system, the health system, the IDF, the formal political system, and educational institutions. In many cases, these entities conduct their own LGBTQ activities, sometimes in collaboration with LGBTQ organizations and sometimes independently. Examples include the promotion of gay tourism by the Ministry of Tourism and the Tel Aviv municipality; activities carried out by local authority educational psychology services; the work of the IDF's Chief Gender Officer; designated health fund clinics for the LGBTQ population; and the Israel Medical Association's LGBTQ medical company. Also worthy of mention are political activities by LGBTQ cells in all major political parties and on university campuses.
2. Civil society organizations. Many general civil society organizations are also active in the LGBTQ field, even if this is not their main focus. Some promote LGBTQ rights as part of their overall work to promote civil rights and equality (such as the Association for Civil Rights in Israel). Some engage in periodic activities oriented toward the LGBTQ community (for example, the Tel Aviv Cinematheque's Gay Film Festival). Others include the LGBTQ population among other populations that they serve (such as Otot, which provides homes for at-risk teens and young adults, and operates three hostels for the LGBTQ community—Beit Dror, Avnei Derech, and the Pink Roof; ELEM, whose work with at-risk youth includes outreach to the LGBTQ community; and Common Ground, a nonprofit combatting gender stereotypes that provides lectures and workshops for young people on sexuality and gender).
3. Local initiatives. These are assorted independent groups that are not formal organizations, and include social groups such as the gay groups in Hadera and Givatayim; Shabbat Shelach, an LGBTQ Sabbath community; and groups focused on specific topics such as Divorced Gay Parents.

4. The business sector. This category includes businesses that create and promote LGBTQ content and activities targeted at the community; LGBTQ-friendly businesses; “Gay Groups” in workplaces (such as Microsoft); and businesses that target the LGBTQ market.
5. Media. TV and radio channels, the press, and internet sites for the general public also generate and promote LGBTQ content or content that relates to the community and influences public discourse on the topic. There are also internet sites specifically for the LGBTQ community such as Mako Pride and WDG.
6. Social Media. The influence of social media on inter-LGBTQ and general public discourse is similar to that of the media. It includes Facebook groups and other social networks, and dating sites that often serve as major social and support infrastructures for community members.

It should be noted that despite this wealth of activity, the vast majority of LGBTQ individuals are not at all active in the community’s organizations, and do not even participate in the LGBTQ-related activities of general organizations. There is also a small minority of people who are independently active in a significant sense (Nina Levy for example, is a “one-person organization”), and there are also individuals who take independent action in their immediate environment (such as a gay teacher who independently promotes an activity in the school). Moreover, there are those who claim that the very presence of LGBTQ members in the public sphere can be considered activism (“a trans individual is an activist by their very presence”), as can actions such as gay marriage. In this context, the public visibility of influential, high-profile figures (mainly in the media, culture, and the arts, but also increasingly in politics, sports, and business) is seen by many as a significant contribution to improving attitudes toward LGBTQ Israelis. In this context it is important to remember that most of the country’s significant legal battles were fought by individuals, even if supported by LGBTQ organizations.

On the one hand, the community’s organizations take a positive view of this wealth of LGBTQ-related activities and actions, whether conducted by individuals or by general organizations from outside the community. Many claim that this abundance was largely facilitated by the work of LGBTQ organizations over the years. On the other hand, there are those who are disappointed by the small number of participants in the activities run by LGBTQ organizations (“there are possibly 1,000 or 2,000 activists in the organizations; this is a drop in the ocean”). Others are concerned by the quality or compatibility of various activities, especially in sensitive areas such as therapeutic service provision or promoting policy, to the extent that sometimes they may cause damage (“I feel that all these random practices harm the community”). The multitude of activities taking place gives rise to several important questions, including:

- To what extent do the organizations influence what takes place in the LGBTQ arena, and to what extent does it influence them?
- To what extent should the organizations strive to manage LGBTQ discourse, to represent the community as a whole, and to direct activities?
- What mandate do the organizations have regarding the community?
- To what extent should they collaborate with various other entities active in this arena, and to what extent should they compete with them?
- What is the proper balance between activities led by civil society organizations and those led by the establishment?
- What justification is there for the organizations' existence, if relevant and necessary activities are in any case being pursued by others?

In response to these questions, we would first note that it would be worthwhile increasing the organizations' visibility, both among the LGBTQ population and among the general public ("We meet quite a few people in the community who know nothing about the community, and are familiar with barely any organizations"). As evidence of this, the results of the survey we conducted indicate that even among those who responded to the survey (who we can assume have some connection to LGBTQ organizations) a significant number were unaware of the existence of many of the organizations and their activities. Moreover, the survey results indicate that many of those who feel they are not represented by the existing organizations are actually unfamiliar with most of them. In this sense it can be assumed that raising visibility and expanding the community's awareness of the various existing organizations will enable many to feel more represented by them—whether simply from knowing more about them, or from becoming directly involved in their activities.

To bolster the organizations' visibility we recommend, for example, allocating resources to promote the organizations and their activities on various media and social media platforms, so as to reach new audiences; and forging stronger networking among the organizations so that each organization can represent the others (even if to a minimal degree) to its client populations. Specifically, we recommend creating a joint website for all LGBTQ organizations; distributing information sheets for and about one another; and jointly hiring PR and communications services.

Second, we believe that it would be very helpful to strengthen ties with other organizations (both within and outside the LGBTQ community) and with grass-roots initiatives and activities—by launching collaboration initiatives; fostering long-term connections; and creating mechanisms for collaborative leadership and inter-organizational relations. This will help leverage the plethora of activities that are currently being pursued without the organizations' involvement (such as the Pride Tag for businesses). In this context, we recommend making use of existing resources—for example, by managing a database of key figures, opinion leaders, and organizations

that could be useful if necessary, (these may not be interested in regular collaboration with the organizations but could possibly be convinced to help with certain efforts). In parallel, efforts should be made to leverage and utilize the political and economic power of the hundreds of thousands of LGBTQ community members in Israel, and the many others who support them (the Proud Front and the WDG website's campaign to promote LGBTQ candidates in the upcoming local elections are good examples).

## 4. Analysis of the LGBTQ Organizational Sphere

In this section we provide an analysis of the material collected, organized according to four major themes:

1. Boundaries—of the LGBTQ field, community, and activities
2. The organizations' characteristics and activities
3. Inter-organizational collaboration
4. Attitudes toward the establishment.

For each theme, we present our insights and offer suggestions and recommendations for future action.

### **Boundaries—of the LGBTQ Field, Community, and Activities**

The question of the boundaries of the LGBTQ field is broad and multi-faceted, and strongly affects the organizations active in this arena and the relationships between them. LGBTQ identities undermine the “traditional” boundaries of sex and gender, resulting in a constant negotiation of those boundaries while at the same time crossing them, expanding them, and creating additional identity options.

At the heart of the LGBTQ struggle lies the attempt to redraw the boundaries of legitimate identity and gain recognition for a range of sexual and gender possibilities. For example, the very term “coming out of the closet,” which marks the transition from hiding to revealing, embodies the idea of crossing, or even smashing through, the physical barrier of the “closet” into open space. Cross-dressing, meanwhile, is an example of a practice that expresses the blurring of the binary gender line. These examples reflect the ongoing negotiation of identities that takes place within the LGBTQ community, and between the community, the state, and society.

Throughout history and across different spheres the LGBTQ struggle has continuously worked to shift boundaries in legislation, discourse, visibility, culture, values, social legitimacy, and resources, and has made significant gains in all those areas. In many senses, the issue of boundaries and negotiating them is deeply rooted in the LGBTQ struggle, and it appears that it is deeply and fundamentally expressed in the organizational life of the community. Boundaries delineate both internal and external spheres, belonging and not-belonging, and membership and partnership in the community as opposed to rejection and distancing. This leads to questions such as: Who can and who is entitled to play an active role in the community's organizations? What is the basis for defining membership or partnership in the LGBTQ community? How do the boundaries change over time?

The very definition of the community itself is organized around identity boundaries, which raises its own questions. For example, is the community based on sexual or gender identity? In this respect, is this one community or a multitude of communities? Is the community gay, LGBT, or LGBTQ? These questions reflect different aspects of the community and its boundaries, including the tension between center and periphery, inclusion in the community, and the focus of its struggles. Our study found (unsurprisingly) that these questions have no clear answer, and opinions are divided.

Some draw the community's boundaries narrowly (to include only male homosexuals and lesbians), while others use very wide boundaries based on shared values rather than on sexuality and gender. Accordingly, there are those who prefer to call the community LGBTQ, while others prefer the term "gay community," which is broader. In general, it can be said that there is a broad tendency to focus on gender identity and sexual orientation as a basis for delineating the community.

There is also a wide range of opinions regarding the nature of the organizations' activities. Some point to a trend moving away from parties and dating sites as "spaces" for community interaction, which place an emphasis on sexuality, and toward community-building efforts. In other words, there has been a shift toward issues beyond sexual orientation. Thus, identity issues also influence the boundaries of the struggles and activities in which the organizations engage, raising the question of whether there is indeed a single common LGBTQ struggle—given the tension between the need to provide basic services and promote policy changes (that is, to be concerned with the community's basic survival needs), and the desire to promote gay culture and build communities.

In this context, and in light of the distinct trend toward advancing community rights over recent decades, there is also a background discussion to be had regarding gay culture. Specifically: Should the community seek to foster and establish a distinct identity and distinct culture, or should it aspire to full assimilation into the general culture, with gender identity being taken for granted ("Should LGBTQ people be like redheads?")? In this same context, should the focus of the LGBTQ struggle be to strive for equality and similarity—including the right to join the "normative bourgeoisie," such as the right to marry or the ability to define one's own gender on government-issued ID cards? Or should it be a struggle to gain recognition for (and acceptance of) fundamental differentness, including the normalization of alternative family and relationship models, or the recognition of non-binary self-definitions of gender?

In turn, this leads to another important question: Can there be a gay culture that does not include struggle? In other words, in a utopian future in which LGBTQ individuals achieve full equality, will there still be a gay culture? What will bind community members to each other once full rights are attained?

In such a future, there are those who view the community as comprising all those who share the values of equality and human rights, see its role as acting to improve the rights of minorities and individuals who are discriminated against in society, not only in the LGBTQ community. Others consider this discussion irrelevant and even harmful, in light of the fact that the end of the struggle is not in sight. In their opinion, although the challenges facing the organizations change as the struggle progresses, full integration will only be possible for the more normative members of the community (those who adopt heterosexual codes and conventions such as marriage and parenting). In any case, it is safe to say that the organizations' success will inevitably lead to a change in the nature of their activities (and—some claim—to their redundancy, which can be true for any organization striving for social change). Similarly, it can be said that the success of the community as a whole in securing its rights may well lead to a change in its character.

All these issues serve to sharpen the question of the relationship between the LGBTQ community and the society within which it acts. It appears that the vast majority of activists and organization employees identify themselves as LGBTQ, and that the organizations tend not to address wider issues facing Israeli society. Moreover, it seems that there is almost no spillover into more general areas of gender freedom, and thus the LGBTQ organizations act primarily as a distinct community. This is true even though some organizations view their activities as part of a wider struggle for human rights or as part of other, broader identity groups (such as IGY, which also sees itself as one of Israel's numerous youth movements, and considers promoting wider social issues a central goal). On the whole, though, the activities of the LGBTQ organizations barely extend beyond the borders of the community. The mission these organizations set for themselves does not include promoting agendas that are not "LGBTQ by definition" and that involve other issues on the agenda of Israeli society. Of course, intervention in other social issues carries a price—first, the potential of confrontation with (and distancing from) the establishment and elements of the public; and second, it diverts already limited resources from the LGBTQ struggle.

This aspect can also be seen in the political boundaries of the LGBTQ struggle in Israel—that is, the absence of Palestinian organizations from the forum of LGBTQ organizations. This is also testimony to the power of national identity relative to LGBTQ identity, a phenomenon that is similarly evident in other minority communities and their struggles in Israel. Thus, the boundaries that contain the LGBTQ identity and struggle are largely aligned with the national split that exists in Israel between Arabs and Jews.

The boundaries we have discussed above—of the LGBTQ community itself, and of its activities and its struggle—have far-reaching implications for the LGBTQ organizations' strategy and actions. There are many opinions regarding these complex issues, and it is not easy to reach a consensus on any of them. Thus, we recommend adopting a

pluralistic approach to boundaries and where they should be drawn, while striving to allow the broadest possible definitions so as to enable joint action, and remaining open to the option of updating them over time.

On a practical level, we suggest creating and promoting ongoing inter-organizational dialogue on the topics raised in this section, which touch upon the very foundations of the organizations' activities, as it appears that no such discourse currently exists. Indeed, it seems there is a tendency to actively avoid such discussion, for fear of sparking argument over controversial issues. The CEO Forum that has been established could serve as one of several suitable forums for discussing these topics.

A shared, structured dialogue on the topic of boundaries would allow all voices to be heard, strengthen mutual understanding, and help clarify many of the difficulties raised in this report. While this would not be an easy undertaking, we believe that ultimately it would be of great value. Being able to discuss and reach some basic agreement on boundaries—even if they remain very broad and loosely defined—would definitely contribute to the organizations' ability to work together.

## **Organizational Characteristics and Activities**

As a rule, Israel's LGBTQ organizations operate with limited resources. That is, most of them depend almost entirely on volunteers who identify themselves as members of the community. Some organizations have no salaried employees whatsoever. In fact, even paid employees, who are usually employed in part-time positions, report that much of their activities go beyond their formal job description, so that in effect they are volunteering for much of the time. Moreover, many employees and volunteers are active in several organizations at once, with at least one of their roles being unpaid. The extent of an individual's volunteering activities can range from fairly limited up to greater than a part-time position (and in some cases, even equivalent to a full-time position). Working with volunteers is thus a primary characteristic of the LGBTQ organizations we surveyed, and one that presents a number of significant challenges.

The reasons that attract volunteers to these organizations are varied, and any of a number of triggers may be involved. First of all, volunteers reported a number of "negative" triggers—sometimes traumatic—that prompted them to act. The murders at the Bar No'ar in 2009 were mentioned repeatedly by volunteers as a significant event that drove them to act for the benefit of the community. Other volunteers and activists reported being motivated by a general feeling or understanding that the community was being threatened, attacked, and in danger, rather than by any single event. Some activists mentioned specific fears or difficulties they experienced as members of the community that led them to take an interest and later become active in the organizations. These included fear of contracting sexual diseases, and difficulties and loneliness experienced after they or a relative came out of the closet.

Second, it seems that many female activists become active after having learned about the organization's activities, taken part in them, or utilized the organization's services in other ways. This exposure to (and involvement in) organizations and their work is influential on several levels: it often sparks a desire to become significant to others and help them undergo a process similar to one that the volunteer themselves experienced; it gives rise to a wish to "give back"; and finally, it generates an aspiration to continue to actively belong to the community, as a volunteer if not as a participant. This aspiration can lead to a complex reality in which some volunteers see themselves as activists in an organization while simultaneously being served by it—for example, as youth counselors (to younger members) and as members (subordinate to senior counselors or coordinators) in a youth movement. This experience sometimes generates frustration, both for the activists-consumers and for those responsible for them.

The sense that their organization serves as a social group—or even as a kind of "home" or "family"—was given repeatedly by female activists as their primary reason for remaining active in an organization and being deeply committed to it. Many male activists reported that volunteering has become their main social framework, a place to meet partners, and in general a place where they feel comfortable and safe. The importance of belonging to a community was also repeatedly referred to by survey respondents. Interestingly, this was found to be related to activities held by LGBTQ organizations but not to independent activities for the LGBTQ community held by external organizations. This finding strengthens assumptions about the important role of the organizations in community building, networking, and fostering a sense of identity within the community.

This kind of strong volunteering engagement with organizations can carry a price, expressed as a blurring between private life, volunteering, and work, and in difficulties in setting boundaries. Other difficulties raised in this context related to recruiting volunteers, managing them, and motivating them to remain active. Many complaints were voiced about the low level of volunteer commitment (especially among newer volunteers) and the great difficulty in getting them to take action. It also appears that in many cases the volunteers carry out their main mission well (for example, instructing groups), but they are less keen to participate in other organizational and social activities ("We lit Chanukah candles and almost no-one showed up"; "Nobody wants to volunteer to do office work").

Accordingly, feelings of stress and even overload are rife, to the detriment of any focus on the organizational model and on planning ("We are viewed as amateurish"; "Our planning is insufficient"). This is consistent with the large number of organizations that expressed a wish to undergo professionalization so that they can work in a more professional and orderly manner. In this context, the gaps between the large, better

established organizations and the smaller, less well-established organizations should be noted.

When we discuss LGBTQ culture, we cannot ignore history and the context in which it developed: of persecution, discrimination, and physical attacks; hiding and silencing; a focus on boundaries and “coming out of the closet”; contesting norms; and activism. All these elements are expressed one way or another in the organizations’ activities—whether as an explicit expression of goals (for instance, challenging authority), or as an implicit behavioral characteristic (for instance, the intense need to make one’s voice heard, and high sensitivity to anything seen as an attempt at silencing).

Other traits of the LGBTQ organizations also bolster the observation made repeatedly by respondents, namely, that the personal and the political are entwined on all levels of activity. In some cases, there is a feeling that any separation of the two is artificial and that any LGBTQ self-definition also requires a political identity. In other cases, there is a belief that the fact that a person “is raised” in the organizations and the community means that his or her personal world overlaps with the activist and political world. This intermixture leads to diverse implications, some positive and fruitful, and others less so. The commitment level of older activists to organizational activities and to the community is very high, due to the fact of the community’s role as a strong and significant home base. The ability to live and be active in a community with a deep and shared world view, especially in the face of the sense that the “outside” community does not always share this outlook, is very meaningful for the activists and for the activities themselves. Many feel grateful just for the opportunity to be part of the community and its activities, in addition to the opportunity to acquire skills and abilities, undergo personal development, feel significant, and take part in a great and important social change.

On the other hand, because personal identity is so entwined with political and professional identity, it is a prominent source of division. It also engenders hostility and anxiety (and even takeover attempts) in some organizations, and at times, in the entire sector. The level of commitment, sense of identification, belonging, and at times also ownership over parts of the organization and activities all make for a highly-charged working environment for the activists. Differences of opinion and different priorities can not only undermine professional efforts but can also be viewed as a real threat to the individual’s point of view and even identity. For example, when an organization modifies certain messages to make them suitable for education frameworks, this may be experienced by some activists as censorship of part of their identity and a negation of their legitimacy. These strong and pervasive feelings of struggling for the affirmation, recognition, and even primacy of one’s position or opinion can sometimes lead to schisms within and between organizations. They also generate suspicion and make collaboration difficult.

In this context, the democratic method that is part of the DNA of most LGBTQ organizations (including, for example, an elected management committee) has facilitated revolutions and even “hostile takeovers” in many organizations. However, while these changes may have come as a shock to the system for these organizations, they also rejuvenated them and gave them new strengths, while also serving as an expression of the generational change in the community’s leadership.

In light of all the above, it appears that there is a real need for professionalization of the organizations, and to stabilize their organizational and financial basis. The growing pains that the organizations are experiencing have long-reaching organizational implications. In the largest organizations, the transition to becoming more established institutions is already underway, requiring that they work in a more methodical and organized manner.

Professionalization is particularly needed in management and in managing volunteers (including developing volunteering options and models). It is also necessary for retaining organizational knowledge (“When employees are replaced, there is no-one to talk to. There is no retention of organizational history. When someone leaves, the information goes with them”); resource development (“The benefactors patronize us, they think we are unprofessional”); and long-term planning. Here we would recommend providing specialized training for directors, workers, and volunteers, and creating shared mechanisms for all the organizations, such as shared accounting services; volunteer management consultancy; or a professional entity to manage all internet activity and social media (relevant mainly for the smaller organizations). It is also important to develop systematic documentation and knowledge management activities that will benefit all LGBTQ organizations and the community as a whole.

In the current reality of scarce resources, there is a “low level of attention, as everyone is busy with ongoing issues and there is no time or energy [to look beyond the here and now]”. Work is frequently routed to the CEO, the chairperson, the committee members, or a small number of primary activists who are often volunteers. Providing training and creating shared mechanisms such as those described above could reduce this pressure, giving leaders and activists greater freedom to act and allowing them to reach a better balance between ongoing and strategic work. It would also enable them to dedicate more efforts to development, strategy, and planning.

In conclusion, given the need to create shared mechanisms, and in light of the tendency toward divisions and of the unique traits of the LGBTQ organizations, we recommend fostering shared, accepting discourse among the organizations as much as possible, while taking steps to build up trust.

## Inter-Organizational Collaboration

The issue of collaboration among the organizations was found to be complex and multi-faceted. On the one hand there is unanimous agreement regarding the potential of such collaboration. On the other hand, there is still fear, suspicion, and mistrust which are based on past experience.

Everyone agrees that in the last few years there has been an improvement in the level of trust among the organizations and the feasibility of collaboration. Collaborations that have recently begun to bear fruit (“This would not have been possible a few years ago”; “Once everyone used to argue with everyone else, and barely spoke to each other”) are helping establish mutual trust and illustrate the great inherent potential.

These collaborations include the forum of organization CEOs, which has been meeting regularly for over two years; coordination of all the pride parades across the country and the adoption each year of a common theme; Pride Day in the Knesset; and joint action to ensure maximum funding. A prominent example of the power of collaboration cited by many of those interviewed was the threat to cancel the 2016 Tel Aviv pride parade. At the time, the Ministry of Tourism had allocated some NIS 11 million to promote gay tourism to Israel (ten times the total budget of all the organizations at the time). The organizations then jointly demanded a significant increase in the budgets of the organizations themselves, threatening to cancel the pride parade if their demands were not met. The threat was hugely successful and resulted in significantly larger government budgets for the LGBTQ community.

A number of factors can explain the trend toward improved inter-organizational relations. The first is traumatic events such as the Bar No’ar murders and the Jerusalem pride parade murder (“A communication channel between the Open House and the LGBTQ Task Force was opened only because of the murder in Jerusalem”). The second is the generational change in leadership in most of the organizations, and with it the lessening of past tensions. This opened the door to dialogue and collaboration, as well as the fostering of good interpersonal relations. The third reason was the shift in attitudes toward the LGBTQ community in the general population, with the community now enjoying broader sympathy and support from the establishment and the public.

The profusion of LGBTQ organizations and the schisms within them, as described earlier, reflect the need of multiple sub-identities for visibility, voice, and representation (however, “there will always be someone who feels excluded”). On the other hand, this situation invites criticism both within the community and outside it, makes it difficult to agree on a shared agenda, and results in duplication and waste of resources, which weakens the struggle. This issue also touches on the overlap in the organizations’ activities and their struggle for resources, seniority, credit, visibility,

specialization, and primacy in providing services. The inter-organizational division was raised as a major issue in the interviews and focus groups, and clearly the organizations are very aware of it. This testifies to the external demand (from benefactors for instance) that the organizations unite and become more efficient, but possibly also indicates a common wish to establish a single, joint LGBTQ struggle based on shared interests that all the organizations can support. Thus, the organizations are facing a common dilemma: To what extent should they collaborate or share the work with one another, for the greater good, and to what extent should they act with complete independence, so as to most faithfully represent their constituencies?

Unsurprisingly, the prospect of reducing the profusion of organizations, and even unifying certain aspects of their activities, comes more naturally to the larger and stronger organizations (“The more they unite, the better. We need to strive for fewer organizations”; “You need mass in order to have a strong organization”), while the smaller organizations generally fear being swallowed up and are mistrustful of this type of partnership (“There is a fear of a central entity that will take over everything”; “The market forces will decide”; “Many good things have come from [organizations] splitting up, including Hoshen and IGY”). But even in the smaller organizations, there are some who expressed the wish to be incorporated into a larger body that would help them cope with their ongoing, daily management challenges. Against this, there is a fear that their organization’s (or constituency’s) hard-won identity will be demolished when the physical and organizational boundaries are blurred or obscured, and stronger bonds with other organizations and groups are created.<sup>6</sup> This is particularly true of small organizations that represent fringe populations.

The survey found that there is some tension between the organizations in the center of Israel and those in the geographic and social periphery. The organizations in the periphery raised issues of under-representation, exclusion, and disregard by the organizations in the center. It appears that organizations representing groups in the community’s margins (such as transgender individuals or LGBTQ parents) or those representing the geographic periphery receive fewer resources and less visibility, representation, and opportunity to express themselves (in the words of one of the interviewees: “The ‘Tel Aviv’ organizations may think they understand best what the correct and moral way to live is, but they can’t dictate to different cultures how they should conduct themselves, and they don’t really see them, the choices made by those who are in them, and the prices these people are willing to pay”). This issue of under-representation, or over-representation, also stood out in the survey responses. A breakdown of the demographic data of respondents shows that the geographic representation in the survey includes greater representation for residents in the center, especially Tel Aviv and Gush Dan. It follows that most of those who responded

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<sup>6</sup> Oppenheimer, D. & D. Benyaminy (2001), On the Concept of Boundary, *Organizational Analysis: A Journal of Organizational Consulting*, vol. 4, pp. 39–45 [Hebrew].

defined themselves as secular or atheists. This data proves the difficulty of reaching more peripheral populations and those who are distant from the gay culture of the Tel Aviv metropolitan area, and the difficulty experienced by these groups to make themselves heard as part of the LGBTQ community in Israel. At the very least, this data emphasizes the need to take more creative and active steps to reach populations less exposed to the LGBTQ organizations in Israel in order to learn about their needs and respond to them.

The issue of the organizations' varying priorities regarding certain LGBTQ struggles or topics was raised repeatedly. For instance, there are those who consider the fight for the right to have children via surrogate mothers to be mainly the struggle of privileged middle- or upper-class male homosexuals, and are thus critical of the high visibility awarded this issue within the LGBTQ struggle. By contrast, the struggles of the transgender community, who often fight for much more basic rights, are pushed to the sidelines. In this context, we should note that our survey also revealed a certain over-representation of male homosexuals relative to lesbians, bisexuals, transgender individuals, and asexual individuals. It is possible that this data in itself is enough to draw conclusions regarding the higher identification of male homosexuals with the organizations' values. Transgender organizations also raised the transgender community's need for homosexual and lesbian support in order to successfully advance their struggle. There are frequently extreme ideological differences within the community (for instance, the attitude towards surrogate births, which is viewed by some in the community as a problematic practice, or as regards polyamory) that make it difficult to agree on a joint agenda acceptable to everyone.

In recent years, the community as a whole has invested efforts in expanding outward from the center and generating more legitimacy for the periphery. One expression of this has been the themes chosen for the annual pride parades, which are dedicated this year to older adults (last year they focused on bisexuals). This indicates a desire to shine a spotlight on groups that have previously had a low profile within the community's struggles, and reflects the efforts of LGBTQ organizations to work together to promote marginalized issues—a noticeable change of approach or agenda. Another example was the decision to pay Hoshen's transgender volunteers, based on the understanding that this is a vulnerable population and that volunteering is largely the privilege of stronger groups. This decision is another indication of efforts by those in the center to expand boundaries and to include those who had previously been excluded.

In parallel, it seems that the organizations on the margins are also expanding the boundaries of the LGBTQ community through their activities. The very fact of their existence gives voice to areas, groups, identities, or struggles that had previously been excluded from mainstream discourse, and so creates spaces for people who may not have found a home in other LGBTQ organizations. These organizations enable people

from different cultures and with different boundaries to find a place within the community and realize their LGBTQ identity in a manner suitable to them.

These findings raise a number of questions: Is this the desired state of affairs, and if so, for which of the organizations? Do the divisions and profusion of organizations help strengthen or weaken the LGBTQ struggle as a whole? What should be done to address inter-organizational overlap and competition? To what extent is collaboration desired? How do the organizations perceive their various tasks within the inter-organizational boundaries?

For the time being, we suggest looking at these questions through a prism of “living at peace with profusion,” in line with the developments taking place in the community (such as the trend toward queer politics) and the growing diversity of LGBTQ identities. Accordingly, inter-organizational mechanisms should be developed that embrace profusion and that focus on coping effectively with overlap and division. These mechanisms are already partially in place, showing that even in a situation in which organizational profusion and divisions abound, collaboration strategies and practices can still be found. Other recommendations include promoting inter-organization collaboration based on shared interests or joint projects. It is worth noting that in many cases, activists volunteer in several organizations in parallel, indicating the fluidity of the boundaries between the organizations.

In order for mechanisms of dialogue, coordination, collaboration, and acceptance to function, it is necessary for there to be a body that takes ownership of them. The Aguda—the Israeli National LGBTQ Task Force is seen by many as the natural candidate for this, and it has already taken upon itself a number of relevant roles. These include promoting and organizing the CEO Forum and coordinating lobbying work in the Knesset. Another option raised was to form coalitions of organizations run by a committee composed of representatives of the organizations. Here it is important to reiterate the considerable sensitivity regarding anything that hints at intervention or silencing, so that any true inter-organizational body is viewed to some degree as a threat. It is also important to note that the terms “umbrella organization” or “super-organization” raise quite a bit of antagonism. Some of the smaller organizations fear being swallowed and silenced by such an entity, while other, stronger, organizations are doubtful of the benefit they can reap from it and fear it may infringe on their autonomy (“Regarding joint fundraising, there is distrust that stems from experience and past history”).

If so, how can joint action be structured in a manner that respects the differences and uniqueness of each organization and sub-community while creating a shared agenda and leveraging joint power? First, we suggest formulating a charter agreeable to all organizations and detailing the spheres of responsibility, work principles, and action limits of the coordinating body. To enable that body to act we recommend that it not

engage in direct provision of services to the community—first, so that it can focus solely on the important task of overall coordination; and second, because the organizations will find it easier to trust an entity that is not directly involved in their field of operations and is not a potential competitor.

Areas identified as having high collaboration potential include: collating and preserving information; resource development; lobbying and policy promotion (“Even the large organizations do not have the resources to afford a lobbyist or a serious resource development team”); media work; and legislation and litigation. It is important to strengthen ties and bolster familiarity among the organizations—for example, by promoting and fostering various inter-organizational forums such as the CEO Forum, a forum of paid organization employees; or by holding an annual event of all community volunteers. Professional support and assistance are also needed—for example, with bookkeeping or volunteer management, especially for the smaller organizations; or with building capacity, including planning, sharing resources, and influencing the public agenda.

There is no doubt that such a coordinating body, acting in concert with all the organizations, could increase the LGBTQ community’s power and strengthen internal relationships. One important task would be to restore inter-organizational trust to allow fruitful collaboration and honest and open dialogue. Steps to promote trust could include taking on joint projects; focusing on common interests; increasing familiarity with one another and being more sensitive to each other’s needs and interests; adopting a more generous approach, especially by the larger organizations toward the smaller ones, and making gestures of solidarity; expressing mutual encouragement and recognition of achievements; defining clear boundaries of action; and reducing areas of friction.

One of the complex issues raised in our study was the relationship between the local and the national, or between the local LGBTQ centers and the national organizations. Without question, the centers are local experts, being most familiar with the local populations and their unique characteristics. Moreover, the centers are in constant contact with various local entities, such as educational frameworks, welfare services, and municipalities. However, the national organizations have expertise that is not always shared fully by the local centers—for example, regarding work with youth or in education, or alternatively relating to various identities such as transgender or religious. This situation inevitably leads to friction. For example, should the centers have their own youth activities, being most familiar with local youth and their needs, or should these be run by a national organization with greater expertise in youth work? Alternatively, should activities only be run collaboratively by both local and national organizations, or should there be parallel, competing activities? In practice, we found that a number of models are used in the field that run the gamut from national-local competition to collaboration.

To promote fruitful collaboration between local and the national bodies we recommend creating a detailed annual plan for each center vis-à-vis the national organizations, that takes into account possible areas of cooperation and sharing of expertise. We also recommend holding periodic meetings between national and local groups; creating mechanisms for dialogue and updating one another; and strengthening relationships. Furthermore, we recommend creating a forum for directors of local centers to share knowledge, learn together, provide mutual support, promote relevant policies, and strengthen relationships between them.

## **Attitudes toward the Establishment**

Faced with discrimination, violence, and persecution at the hands of the establishment throughout history, LGBTQ organizations have largely positioned themselves as anti-establishment forces. More fundamentally, it could be suggested that these institutions aspired, and still aspire, to undermine the existing social order as regards gender and sexuality. Today, alongside the anti-establishment core that is still found in many organizations, opposite trends can also be discerned.

Over the years, and as the struggle in Israel and the world began to achieve success, LGBTQ organizations, as well as the community they represent, made inroads into the “normative” public discourse. In other words, the establishment began to adopt elements of LGBTQ discourse that had previously been considered radical and subversive, and to “embrace” some of the organizations. Consequently, there has been a process of institutionalization of LGBTQ organizations in the sense that some have become large, well-funded organizations with clear organizational structures and paid employees. It is no coincidence that these organizations are usually the ones embraced by the establishment. Additionally, the normalization of LGBTQ identity has included a growing tendency to institutionalize various forms of LGBTQ relationships, such as common-law partnerships, marriage, and parenting.

The conflict between these processes of institutionalization and normalization, on the one hand, and the core anti-establishment identity on the other, still kicking and struggling, was evident in our meetings with organizations and activists. This conflict is expressed in various ways and on several levels. On the inter-organizational level, there are feelings of jealousy, rivalry, and sometimes even scorn for the large and institutionalized organizations, as well as toward activities and projects that symbolize hetero-normativity (such as promoting surrogacy for gay fathers, “censored” programs in schools, or legitimizing religious gay identities).

On a more personal level, there is noticeable discomfort or ambivalence regarding the possibility of paid work in organizations, as opposed to the “sanctified” notion of volunteering. There are mixed emotions—both frustration and infatuation—regarding

work that is more intense, urgent, and spontaneous and less organized and planned. Specifically, in our meetings there was a sense that for some activists, a transition to paid work, as opposed to volunteering, involves giving up some of their sense of meaning—their mission of acting (voluntarily) on behalf of the LGBTQ community. Officially joining the “system” is seen by some who have made the transition (and some who are considering it) as relinquishing the freedom, uniqueness, and spontaneity of volunteering for the community.

Along with these aspects of institutionalized activity, there are of course also facets that are viewed positively by the organizations, the community, and the activists. On the individual level, there are those who experience the institutionalization of the organizations (in addition to having their work as activists become formal and recompensed) as reflecting greater recognition of the general importance of acting for the community, and of their own work in particular. This recognition facilitates a transition from a constant crisis mode (at both the individual and the organizational level) to a mode in which it is possible to develop strategy and engage in broader, more systematic activity. Naturally, institutionalization also makes it possible to connect to more significant centers of power in society, including local authorities, educational institutions, professional organizations, and media organizations.

It is important to note that the process of institutionalization, which sometimes requires relinquishing a more radical social stance, is driven not only by the prospect of receiving support from the establishment but also by the possibilities it brings for resource development and gaining greater awareness. While compromise is sometimes required vis-à-vis some power centers, there are clear benefits to having a closer relationship with the establishment. However, it is also worthwhile to learn from the experience of South Africa, where the close connection between the LGBTQ community and the establishment (following the fall of apartheid rule) led to the exclusion of peripheral groups and was later viewed as holding back renewal. It may be possible to develop a more complex relationship with the establishment in Israel, a form of embrace that is not a “bear hug” but that facilitates active dialogue while maintaining freedom and independence.

A slightly different angle for examining attitudes toward the establishment can be found in the negotiation over boundaries between organizational pragmatism and ideology—that is, between actions aimed at radical change and the adoption of an anti-mainstream or anti-establishment standpoint, and actions that “abide by the rules” of society and a strategy of working with and within the establishment. One example of this can be seen in the LGBTQ organizations’ efforts to change IDF policy toward LGBTQ individuals. The IDF is a central institution of Israeli society and a significant engine for social mobility, and thus some organizations view this as an important “battleground” for LGBTQ rights, even though it means engaging with establishment on its own terms. (This is in contrast to the radical feminist approach,

for example, which views the IDF as part of the patriarchy and an institution that preserves power relations. Accordingly, it does not view efforts to change women's roles in the IDF as part of the feminist struggle).

Another aspect relates to the differences in discourse and actions used by organizations when they target government institutions or community members. It is worth noting that some organizations focus exclusively on target audiences outside the LGBTQ community, while others focus only on the community itself, and others still combine the two. An example was provided by one respondent: "The pragmatic approach. Step by step, stretch the boundaries as much as possible. When working with the military, for example, it is more effective to first send in someone with more hetero-normal looks than someone very extreme in appearance." These issues are clearly already being examined and discussed in various community frameworks.

Here too there is no clear-cut position, and there are diverse trends and tensions among and between different LGBTQ activists and organizations. On the one hand, working with government institutions can help organizations achieve concrete gains for the populations they serve. This includes expanding their activities; bringing about changes in policy in the health system, the National Insurance Institute, and the IDF; gaining state funding; and advancing legislation. On the other hand, it can require that they tone down more "extreme" aspects of their visibility and message, and sometimes carries a veiled threat to comply with establishment positions in order to continue to receive budgets. A frequently raised example of this is the fact that the education system is willing to provide a platform to LGBTQ organizations to at least some extent, but less willing to include individuals with an "abnormal" appearance or to deal with controversial subjects such as polyamory. Organizations that work within the education system see this as a necessary evil—to avoid upsetting the school and parents so as to be able to reach large numbers of youth.

Another danger is of state cooption of the LGBTQ struggle (also expressed in the critiques aired over "pink-washing"). The premise of this argument is that the state can never fully represent the community or fulfill its needs. In this context, it is worth mentioning the views presented by Alon Harel, who offers a critique of the legal revolution won by the gay struggle in Israel, and claims that the gay community's legal achievements are in fact founded on retaining the family ethos that is so central to Israeli society.<sup>7</sup> This issue once again raises the question of which groups are included in the LGBTQ struggle, and it may also explain why the Palestinian organizations are pushed out. On the one hand, they may not identify with some of the struggles backed by the community's organizations, and on the other hand, they are seen as the "ultimate other" in Israeli society. Thus, not only do they avoid collaborating with

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<sup>7</sup> Harel, A. (2001), The Rise and Fall of the Israeli Gay Legal Revolution, *Hamishpat*, vol. 12, p. 10 [Hebrew].

Jewish organizations, but the organizations also avoid them because their very presence could threaten the LGBTQ community's achievements. This may hold true for other excluded groups as well, such as transgender sex workers, for whom special HIV testing stations have been set up at Tel Aviv's central bus station, as they have tended to avoid visiting institutionalized testing centers. Thus, although there are outreach activities to this group, these activities also serve to perpetuate their marginality in the LGBTQ struggle.

In light of all the above, engaging with the establishment remains a complex issue requiring those involved to contend with the conflict between independence (personal and organizational) and the constraints that the establishment can impose. This encounter demands the reconciliation of a radical world view that seeks to deconstruct social, gender, and sexual structures with a more conservative world view. This is not a simple task. Paradoxically, it is sometimes necessary to compromise on the "purity" of the message in order to effectively disseminate the message and promote dialogue. A good example of this type of encounter is found in the LGBTQ centers in Tel Aviv and Haifa that are funded and run by the municipalities, but managed and steered mainly by LGBTQ community members. A typical conflict that demonstrates the tension engendered by this arrangement is the design of the pride parades in those cities, as the standards required by the municipalities are not always compatible with the views of some members of the community.

We place great importance on the possibility that LGBTQ organizations at different locations on the continuum between pragmatism and ideology can act together in a way that serves all the organizations and benefits the community as a whole. Despite their differences, there are opportunities for them to cooperate and collaborate on various levels and achieve numerous goals. For example, the actions of more radical organizations can help extend the community's boundaries, shift the equilibrium between the center and the margins (among the general public as well), and even place pressure on the establishment. On the other hand, entities capable of working with the establishment can advance the community's interests by influencing policy, legislation, budgeting, and other more formal aspects, and thus changing the system from within.

## 5. Conclusion

Various insights and recommendations have been presented throughout the report. Here, we summarize the main points—including some that have already been implemented by the organizations:

- The community's continued development requires a certain measure of **institutionalization**. This includes fuller documentation of all activities, and structuring organizational memory as a reference point and testimony to what has taken place over the years, and as a basis for strategic thinking and future planning. This institutionalization process should maintain the community's pluralistic approach, which is an important basis for unity, and it should be tolerant of different organizational solutions, keeping in mind that it may not be necessary to choose one over the others.
- The community is a gathering of groups and identities with different ideas about the identities it encompasses. It is important to remain open to this diversity as represented by existing organizations and to encourage open dialogue, while also being careful to give a voice to groups that are less likely to be heard but are nonetheless part of the community. This requires systematic efforts to reach out to weaker groups (such as the transgender community or older LGBTQ individuals) and to strike a balance with the interests of more mainstream groups. It is also necessary to promote community initiatives in the country's social and geographic periphery, as well as for groups of different nationalities and ethnicities (such as Palestinian Arabs or migrant workers).
- The current leadership of the Aguda has successfully created a sense of momentum in activities serving the community, and a spirit of dialogue among its various elements. This is a significant achievement considering the somewhat stormy and divisive history of the community's organizations. It would be worthwhile to utilize this advantage for **mutual learning** among the organizations (while comparing different models of action and leadership, sharing knowledge of different initiatives developed in the various organizations, opening new volunteering channels, and more). In general, these efforts should focus on developing shared organizational and inter-organizational knowledge and on discussing the accompanying dilemmas (such as: Is a strong relationship with the establishment an advantage or a liability? How should we strengthen components of identity that currently receive less media coverage?). This arena offers opportunities for more networking efforts and various types of regular forums, such as the CEO Forum.
- Clarification is needed in order to agree on a reasonable **division of labor** among the organizations. In our opinion, it is important for the organizations not to

compete with each other but to complement each other as much as possible. Since many organizations are active in the same field, it is best they do so while communicating and coordinating with one another, and that they reach mutual agreements.

- It would be advisable for there to be an agreed entity responsible for focusing on the **overall** field of LGBTQ organizations in Israel (the Aguda comes to mind as the natural candidate for this role). This body would coordinate joint actions (such as fundraising abroad, gathering and sharing information, advancing legislation, efforts in the judicial arena, lobbying, and media work). The Aguda's activities in this direction, though they have mainly focused on comparative advantages and creating a framework for discussion and agreement, have already borne important fruit. Concrete achievements such as those already made by the Aguda are the key to building trust and generating momentum for future action. We therefore recommend that the Aguda complement the organizations in areas where centralized or joint action has an advantage. The organizations should implement their own services and initiatives wherever possible, utilizing the Aguda only for assistance. It is important that every joint action and initiative is pursued willingly, voluntarily, and sensitively.
- It is advisable to foster multiple organizational partnership models among the organizations. This is due to the sensitivity regarding the plethora of diverse identities in the community, and is based on the understanding that there is no single model that can or should be adopted by all organizations. In this sense, pluralism is both a value and a practical strategy.
- Professionalization of Israel's LGBTQ organizations also involves **professionalization of their managerial staff**. We recommend formulating and implementing a managerial training program for senior staff, alongside ongoing training and support for professionals in specific roles (such as in the therapeutic and educational fields) in all organizations. Of course, this does not preclude participating in other forums or training programs, but there is a clear advantage to having a designated training framework for LGBTQ organizations. This could also serve as a shared platform for clarifying issues, formulating initiatives, and pursuing collaborations. Another area of action, relevant mainly to the smaller organizations, involves pooling resources to achieve greater efficiency and effectiveness—for example, by sharing bookkeeping services or promoting shared content.
- **Forming and developing relationships with other organizations** in Israel (and abroad), both within and outside the LGBTQ community is an area that has been underdeveloped. Such relationships much potential, and can serve as a source of great strength to LGBTQ organizations in Israel.

## Main Recommendations

3. **Professionalization** of organizations, and **stabilizing their infrastructure** and financial base:
  - Constructing designated training for organization directors, employees, and activists. We recommend that training topics include: managing volunteers, structuring work plans, long-term strategy and planning, managing organizational knowledge, managing funds, communication, forging collaborations, and building trust.
  - Encouraging individual training for managers and the acquisition of relevant knowledge and experience where necessary.
  - Retaining organizational knowledge and sharing it with all organizations—possibly through relevant software, databases, and sharing mechanisms, while also developing systematic documentation and knowledge-management practices for the benefit of the community as a whole.
  - Utilizing individual managerial and organizational consulting as needed.
  - Mutual learning and developing joint inter-organizational knowledge, including creating specialized professional forums (for instance in education or psycho-social fields).
  
4. Creating an umbrella body and mechanisms for **collaboration and inclusion** of all organizations and field work:
  - Formulating a charter acceptable to all organizations that details the responsibilities, work principles, and defined fields of action of the umbrella body .
  - Strengthening ties among the community’s organizations, continuing to develop the CEO Forum, and creating additional forums—such as forums for organization employees and for center directors, and an annual event for volunteers. In parallel, continuing to build trust among the organizations to enable fruitful collaboration and open and honest dialogue.
  - Establishing a community archive and storing relevant information (both digital and hard-copy materials). An archive of this type has significant historic and cultural importance, and will also encourage transparency and collaboration, and provide all organizations with access to information that will serve their ongoing work. The archive could even serve as the basis for a future museum that would play an important public role and engage in educational activities.
  - Focusing joint community activities on a small number of areas: fundraising abroad; lobbying and promoting policy; media work; and legal efforts. Designated professionals should be engaged to jointly serve all the community’s organizations in these areas of action.

- Logistical and professional support (mainly for the smaller organizations)—for instance in managing funds and accounts, legal advice, media promotions and PR, and organizational and managerial consulting (including managing volunteers). It would also be possible to engage relevant firms and organizations whose services would be available to all organizations, and so utilize joint power to achieve better terms and even some subsidies (pro-bono consulting, for example).
  - Fostering and encouraging inter-organizational initiatives based on projects and shared interests.
5. Creating frameworks for structured **inter-organizational dialogue** on fundamental issues relevant to the community:
- Creating a framework for a structured inter-organizational dialogue on fundamental issues without engaging in operational implications—for example, the boundaries of the community, and relations with the establishment.
  - Creating inter-organizational mechanisms to formulate accepted boundaries between the organizations in order to cope with tensions, overlap, and divisions—for example, an annual forum of relevant organizations to agree on shared boundaries, with the help of utilizing a mediating, moderating third party if necessary.
6. **Strengthening visibility** of the organizations within the community itself and among the general public in order to reach wider spheres and new audiences:
- Allocating a designated position in the field of PR, media promotion, and social networks to jointly serve all organizations, or alternatively hiring external services.
  - Bolstering networking among the organizations, routinely providing information regarding other community organizations and referring to them when necessary, and providing links to the internet sites of other organizations.
  - Producing joint material for all the community's organizations (such as info-sheets for distribution in the IDF and the education system).
  - Constructing a joint internet site for all the community's organizations, to include a mapping of all services and activities by e.g., content area, geographic area, community, etc.
7. **Strengthening connections** with systems, organizations, associations, and individuals within the community and in the general public:

- Concentrated efforts to recruit community members and friends in key positions as “allies,” managing and fostering long-term relationships, and deploying them to represent the community’s interests when necessary.
  - Deepening the community’s ties to broader society through various initiatives that bring together the community and the general public and increase its visibility in the public sphere, especially in Israel’s periphery.
  - Leveraging the community’s financial power through initiatives such as the Pride Tag for businesses or consumer clubs, and through advocacy and promoting collaborations with financial institutions.
  - Leveraging and utilizing the political power of the community and its friends, as in the Proud Front project and the WDG website’s campaign to promote LGBTQ candidates in the upcoming local elections. For example, a cross-party forum for LGBTQ politicians and politicians supportive of the community should be formed.
- 8. Main deficiencies identified on the community level:**
- There is a strong need to invest in promoting LGBTQ initiatives in towns in the country’s periphery, including youth groups, support and community frameworks, education, and advocacy.
  - There is a strong need to invest efforts in work with the transgender community, which still includes many individuals in deep distress and difficult conditions, and which requires a great deal more work on outreach. This is also true of groups with different ethnic and national backgrounds (mainly Palestinian Arabs).
  - Older adults and bisexuals are other main groups that still require attention.

## 6. Literature Review

Conducting a review of research into the development of LGBTQ organizations around the world turned out to be a complex assignment, since research literature is very thin on the ground. The research that has been conducted shows that, although LGBTQ identities are represented in multiple forms social activism around the world, it is not possible to speak of a single identity or culture of LGBTQ organizations.<sup>8</sup> The development of LGBTQ identities in general, and in particular of LGBTQ movements, is rooted in the particular social and political context of any given country, and connected to developments on other fronts, especially struggles to advance civil rights and women's equality. The fight for LGBTQ rights developed within these country-specific contexts, and as a result there are multiple such histories, to an extent that it is impossible to speak of a "single" history internationally. The social and political contexts in different countries influenced both the character of the struggle in each and the demands made by members of LGBTQ communities and organizations. The extent of cooperation with the state, or state support for LGBTQ organizations, also played a role in shaping these movements. In South Africa, for example, the LGBTQ movement adopted the demands of the opposition to apartheid, and thus developed as a multi-racial movement. By contrast, in countries such as the United Kingdom, which had a right-wing government for many years, there arose a radical LGBTQ movement in response to government actions.

Thus, this review begins with an attempt to describe in very general and modest terms the development of the LGBTQ movement around the world, while noting issues of power relations between LGBTQ identities and between organizations in this field. Subsequently, we shine a spotlight on the development of movements and organizations in four very different countries—the United States, South Africa, Norway, and the United Kingdom—and we describe the different conditions in each of them in which their LGBTQ movements developed. In the United States, the LGBTQ movement, at least in part, developed as part of a wider struggle for civil rights, while in South Africa it grew against the backdrop of resistance to apartheid rule, and since the fall of apartheid, it operates to some extent in cooperation with government institutions. The LGBTQ movement in Norway was formed in the context of a democratic social welfare state, which influenced concepts of gender, ethnicity, race, and sexuality, and thus created very different conditions for the LGBTQ struggle. The United Kingdom, as a liberal or neoliberal state, provided its own, unique conditions for the development of LGBTQ organizations.

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<sup>8</sup> Brown, K., & Nash, C. J. (2014). Resisting LGBTQ rights where "we have won": Canada and Great Britain. *Journal of Human Rights, 13*, 322–336.

It goes without saying that this review does not present the sum total of knowledge about this field. Rather, it highlights the need to continue researching current and past organizations and their different practices.

## **General Historical Background**

Social movements that have sought to advance the rights of people who are today identified as LGBTQ or queer were formed in response to many years of persecution by the religious establishment, the state, and other institutions. The persecution and condemnation of LGBTQ people was enshrined in law and accepted public norms, and enforced by (among other means) show trials, exile, and medical warnings. By these and other means, homophobia was firmly established over many generations, and entire populations were marked as being “others.” There were few organizations that acted on their behalf before the political and scientific revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, but with the rise of mass communications and ideas of human rights, a movement began in the 20th century to gain recognition for gays and lesbians. This movement was also supported by the rise of the feminist movement and of anthropological research into “otherness.”

Many historians believe that evidence of homosexual relationships can be found in every culture throughout history. Examples can be found from the ancient world (including in Israel and Greece), and also encompass gender role-switching in Albania and Afghanistan, women who acted as husbands in Kenya, and Native American beliefs in the existence of a “dual soul.” Thus, alternatives to the ideas of binary genders existed for thousands of years in many cultures. These phenomena began to become known in the West via the diaries of explorers, the records of Christian pilgrims and diplomats, and the reports of medical anthropologists. These testimonies, produced before the rise of journalistic reporting, played a role in the construction of homosexual practices as being “other,” foreign, and racially inferior. The acceptance of transgender people and bisexuals within native cultures was met by resistance from Christian-European colonialism. In order to fight these phenomena, the colonialist rulers established criminal codes to outlaw what they termed “Sodomite acts in the New World.” The first documented instance of execution for homosexual acts took place in North America in 1566. In response to European efforts to enforce strict codes of dress for men and women, a form of resistance arose that was expressed in acts of cross-dressing.

Until the 19th century, there was almost no attention paid within Western culture itself to what later became known as homosexuality. Early attempts to understand the diversity of human sexual behavior were made by European doctors and researchers, including Carl Friedrich Otto Westphal in 1869, Richard von Krafft-Ebbing in 1882, and Havelock Ellis in 1897. Their work recognized to some degree the existence of

homosexual or bisexual inclinations as a natural part of human society, but also related to what they called the “third sex,” meaning people with some kind of disability or abnormality. Freud did not treat homosexuality as an illness, and assumed bisexuality to be an inborn trait resulting from a lack of gender development during pregnancy. However, he did treat lesbian tendencies as a form of immaturity that women may overcome through heterosexual marriage and male control. In time, the views of these researchers made their way to the mainstream, and led (among other things) to the establishment in Berlin of the *Institut für Sexualwissenschaft* (Institute of Sex Research) by Magnus Hirschfeld in 1919. The latter’s efforts, alongside other liberal researchers active in Germany at that time, allowed Germany’s gay scene to flourish between the wars. With the rise of Hitler and the Third Reich, this tolerance dissipated and the LGBTQ community became persecuted.<sup>9</sup>

Up until the second wave of feminism in the 1970s, it was widely accepted that “anatomy is destiny,” as argued by Freud, among others. The central claim was that the social and psychological differences between men and women are rooted in biological differences between the two sexes. Feminist theory challenged this idea, and laid the foundations for the idea of gender as a category that is learned via socialization. Feminist theory and the works of Michel Foucault were the basis for the development of queer theory at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. Queer theory presumes that categories of sex and gender are unnatural, and the link between them is not fixed. Thus, this approach allows for the existence of more than two genders.<sup>10</sup>

Foucault believed that sexuality cannot be separated from discourse about sexuality; that is, sexuality is not a natural human aspect, but a result of cultural construction created by discourse about sex, which includes, for example, the cultural contexts in which sexuality appears, and what is forbidden and allowed sexually. In his work, Foucault explored the clinical discourse about sexual deviation that emerged in the 19th century. He claimed that this discourse “gave birth” to the homosexual, in the sense that moral discourse about the sin of sodomy was replaced with clinical discourse that identified the homosexual as someone for whom the attraction to others of the same sex forms a central part of his identity and required a unique psychology, a unique biography, a unique way of life, and even a unique physiology. Sexuality, in Foucault’s view, is an outcome of the power structure that underpins

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<sup>9</sup> Morris, B. J. (n.d.) History of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Social Movements. *American Psychological Association* website. <http://www.apa.org/pi/LGBTQ/resources/history.aspx>

<sup>10</sup> Marton, Y. (2013). *Transgender people in Israel: Stress factors, support resources, and mental health*. Master’s thesis in social work, Tel Aviv University. [Hebrew].

culture and is constructed by discourse, alongside other power structures that create repressive categories such as the category of “criminal” or “insane.”<sup>11</sup>

Judith Butler, a leading scholar in queer theory, claims that the very category of “sex” is “unnatural,” and is instead a social and gender construction. In this sense, gender is not a social expression of biological sex, but a mechanism that represents the illusion of biological sex as a clearly-defined natural phenomenon. Accordingly, Butler challenges gender binarism, arguing that gender is not a fixed identity, but one that is acquired by imitating day-to-day behavioral activities. These performative actions create the illusion of dichotomous, fixed genders of “man” and “woman,” but these are in fact no more than a process of gender imitation: men performing “male” gender roles are in effect always imitating a masculinity that is not a natural outcome of biological facts. That is, the two categories of masculinity and femininity embody imitations that are necessarily enforced and subject to gender disciplining. This disciplining is based on the principle of the “fiction of heterosexual coherence,” that is, the rule that heterosexual sexuality is fixed according to gender, and gender is fixed according to biological sex.<sup>12</sup>

Historically speaking, the defense of lesbians, gays, and bisexuals from discrimination, homophobic language, and violence in the public sphere began in parallel with processes of legitimization of private sexual practices. Growing legal tolerance for homosexual sexual practices (conducted out of the public eye) accelerated efforts to bring about radical change to heteronormativity. This included struggles for legal protection from discrimination and violence against gays and lesbians, and the eventual achievement of these protections. It also included efforts (which have not yet come to full fruition in many places) to attain recognition for the parental and marital/partnership rights of LGBTQ people, which would symbolize legal homonormalization—that is, the full legal and formal recognition of gays and lesbians as citizens with equal rights.<sup>13</sup>

Internationally, the debate about LGBTQ rights was met with strident opposition at the United Nations, and only in 1994 did the UN Human Rights Council rule that legislation outlawing sexual practices between people of the same sex represents an infringement of human rights, and that human rights law forbids discrimination on the basis of sexuality. Later, in 2008, the UN General Assembly passed a non-binding declaration—the first of its kind—denouncing violence, discrimination, exclusion, and

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<sup>11</sup> Gross, E., & Ziv, A. (2003). Between theory and politics: Gay and lesbian studies and queer theory. In Y. Keidar, A. Ziv, & O. Kanner (Eds.), *Beyond sexuality: A selection of articles on gay and lesbian studies and queer theory*. Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuhad. [Hebrew].

<sup>12</sup> Marton, 2013.

<sup>13</sup> Roseneil, S., Crowhurst, I., Hellesund, T., Santos, A. C., & Stoilova, M. (2013). Changing landscapes of heteronormativity: The regulation and normalisation of same-sex sexualities in Europe. *Social Politics*, 20(2), 165–99.

stigmatization on the basis of sexuality and gender identity as violations of basic human rights and freedoms. In 2011, the UN Human Rights Council adopted Resolution 19/17 that expressed “deep concern” over violence and discrimination on the basis of sexuality and gender identity. This was also the stage at which the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights first published a report on LGBTQ rights, which described a common pattern of human rights violation around the world that demanded a response. The European Council and the European Union held normative views of the LGBTQ community since the 1980s, and promoted a growing legislative and administrative agenda based on human rights and equality. Rulings made by the European Court of Human Rights further anchored these rights.<sup>14</sup>

The claim that LGBTQ people suffer from discrimination is a central plank in the platforms of LGBTQ organizations around the world.<sup>15</sup> In response, activists have founded professional organizations and networks that focus on political and social advocacy efforts in the mainstream. At the beginning of the 2000s, these organizations formed ties with international organizations promoting general human rights, such as Amnesty International, which led to the Montreal Declaration on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Human Rights in 2006, and to the Yogyakarta Principles in 2006 for applying international human rights law to the arena of sexuality and gender identity. These declarations are in effect the strongest international statements in support of LGBTQ claims. Activities in the international arena to advance LGBTQ human rights seek to influence civic discourse in different countries with regard to LGBTQ rights, and even aim to influence local policy.<sup>16</sup>

The first years of the 21st century have been marked by growing transgender activism, and the rise of discourse that challenges gender binarism. Alongside the enormous progress made in Western countries, LGBTQ people still suffer persecution in many countries around the world, including the continued application of the death sentence in some places. In response to this persecution, there has been an exodus of LGBTQ people from various countries, such as Russia.<sup>17</sup>

It should be noted that it is difficult to estimate the size of the LGBTQ community for various reasons, including differences in definition and other methodological difficulties.<sup>18</sup> A survey conducted in the United States in 2013 found that the

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<sup>14</sup> United Nations (2011). *Discriminatory laws and practices and acts of violence against individuals based on their sexual orientation and gender identity: Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights*. November 17. [http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/19session/A.HRC.19.41\\_English.pdf](http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/19session/A.HRC.19.41_English.pdf)

<sup>15</sup> Roseneil et al., 2013.

<sup>16</sup> Brown & Nash, 2014, p. 325.

<sup>17</sup> Morris, n.d.

<sup>18</sup> Gates, G. J., (2011). *How many people are lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender?* Los Angeles, CA: Williams Institute, University of California, Los Angeles School of Law.

proportion of those who identify as LGBTQ is 3.5%.<sup>19</sup> Another study from 2011 found similar figures, with 3.8% of Americans identifying themselves as LGBTQ—1.7% lesbian and gay, 1.8% bisexual, and 0.3% transgender.<sup>20</sup>

## Hierarchies of Identity and Power Relations

Throughout the historical development of LGBTQ organizations and LGBTQ activism, a certain hierarchy has been created of the identities of LGBTQ groups. Most of the organizations represented groups of homosexual men, followed by a more limited representation of lesbian women. Against this backdrop, the demands of the community at first mainly concerned issues of relevance to homosexual men. The majority of activists—who were mainly white, Western men whose organizations and the theories they put forward gained recognition—did not necessarily represent the full range of groups with other sexual, gender, ethnic, class, and nationality identities, which lent an additional layer of complexity to the LGBTQ agenda.<sup>21</sup>

The debate over identity issues within the LGBTQ movement indicates negotiations over boundaries, belonging, and the definition of the group’s “we” for whom the struggle for rights was being led. From one perspective, it is possible to see the power and the potential inherent in creating a single collective identity, operating cultural and political institutions, possessing symbols and a flag, and holding festivals and pride marches. The distinctive marking of gay identity emphasizes aspects of the group being a minority, and which therefore makes demands as a minority. Demands for a collective LGBTQ identity are based on a shared experience of repression, and of the infringements of freedoms and opportunities to realize that identity. According to this approach, an essentialist shared identity is a key pillar in leading an effective struggle for rights.

By contrast, the assumptions inherent in the construction of a collective identity are directly challenged by queer theory and activism. Queer theory holds that the construction of essentialist and binary identities such as man/woman or straight/queer is actually the basis for oppression, and challenging the rigidity of these categories is the basis for liberation. In a certain sense, the transgender and bisexual categories pose a challenge to essentialist sexual identity, and undermine sexual and gender identity boundaries. Thus, for example, transgender identity crosses the boundaries of gender identity or binary sexual identities of man/woman. The various

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<sup>19</sup> Gates, G. J., & Newport, F. (2013). LGBTQ percentage highest in D.C., lowest in North Dakota. *Gallup*, February 15. <http://www.gallup.com/poll/160517/LGBTQ-percentage-highestlowest-north-dakota.aspx>

<sup>20</sup> Gates, 2011.

<sup>21</sup> Gates, 2011.

forms of transgender identity pose questions about the link between sex, gender, and sexuality, both in theoretical research and in daily life.

In this sense, queer theory points out the inherent tension in social movements that are based on a single constructed identity, since essentialist identities can be both a tool for gaining political power and a tool for oppression. In the debate over the construction of a single, collective LGBTQ identity, queer theory challenges the status quo by asserting that the construction of clear identity categories serves to blur discussions within the LGBTQ community, and erases complex identities. Furthermore, it claims that there is no question as to the fundamental premises that underlie political oppression: the division into binary identities of man/woman or straight/queer; these categories have been reinforced by the collective LGBTQ identity and movement, and thus it is failing to make the necessary demands for full and radical political change.<sup>22</sup>

An additional issue worthy of attention in the context of LGBTQ identities is homonormativity. The term relates to the process in which LGBTQ organizations and activists differentiate between transgender people and gays/lesbians in order for the latter to be seen as normative and to garner political legitimacy in countries in which heteronormativity is a central principle. These organizations and activists see transgender people as having no real connection or claim to the rights of the gay community. The rejection by the mainstream gay movement of transgender people or others who do not conform to gender norms is rooted in the homonormative reformation.

This issue is tied to the tension between the strategy of assimilation, which emphasizes shared characteristics and values and seeks to gain rights by demonstrating similarities to heterosexuals and to other minority groups, and the strategy of separateness, which emphasizes difference. This debate has always been a part of the LGBTQ movement. As a rule, queer activism has preferred the strategy of separateness, in contrast to the mainstream gay movement.<sup>23</sup>

Another term of relevance to this debate is homo-nationalism. This is described as nationalist homonormativity, in which homosexuals serve as “ammunition” for nationalism. That is, in contrast to ideas of homosexuals as a threat to the state and its security, they are instead viewed as an integral part of the state, and this fact is used to differentiate the country from others who are less tolerant of the gay community.

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<sup>22</sup> Gamson, J. (1995). Must identity movements self-destruct? A queer dilemma. *Social Problems*, 42(3), 390–407.

<sup>23</sup> Vitulli, E. (2010). A defining moment in civil rights history? The Employment Non-Discrimination Act, trans-inclusion, and homonormativity. *Sexuality Research Social Policy*, 7, 155–167

Homonormativity and homo-nationalism are required conditions for “pink washing”: the use of LGBTQ rights for propaganda purposes. Some claim that the new homonormativity, as well as neoliberal sexual politics, reinforce heteronormative premises and existing institutions instead of challenging them, while also developing a privatized gay culture that is removed from its political context and instead anchored in localism and consumerism. Homonormativity, according to this view, includes a narrow idea of equality comprising access to a number of institutions with a conservative nature, and a perception of freedom that essentially preserves prejudice and overall inequality.<sup>24</sup> It should be noted that “normalization” of same-sex sexuality does not necessarily mean liberation of gays and lesbians. Gay and queer theorists such as Bell, Binnie, Warner, and others claim that the “embrace of the state” and legal normalization are a form of inclusion and assimilation in civic contexts, which does not leave any room for those who do not fit into the dominant identity categories, according to which, for example, parenting is done by a monogamous couple.

In the project to develop a European identity, for example, homo-tolerance as used as a means to create a distinction between “advanced” and “cultured” Europe, and “others,” both within and outside of Europe. This distinction found expression, for example, in EU reports on countries seeking to join the Union, which assessed their progress on providing equal rights for LGBTQ people. In this sense, and especially after 9/11 and in the ensuing “war on terror” (which included growing discourse based on Huntington’s “clash of civilizations”), new forms of homo-nationalism emerged. The idea that took shape was that tolerance toward gays and lesbians is a reflection of national values that are not shared by some of the ethnic and racial groups in Europe, and this idea was used to fuel, for example, anti-Muslim rhetoric.

However, the struggle for LGBTQ equality is not an exclusively European phenomenon. South Africa, for example, was the first country to extend constitutional protection from anti-LGBTQ discrimination, alongside a long list of other steps over the years to recognize LGBTQ rights.<sup>25</sup> Another aspect of power relations can be found in the premise that initiatives to promote LGBTQ rights spread from the “center” to the “periphery” by means of “normative diffusion,” along with the idea that opposition to the norms of LGBTQ rights in countries in the global periphery is the result of backwardness or a lack of progress, which ignores the colonialist legacy of some of these states.<sup>26</sup> Among other things, Western discourse about the liberation of LGBTQ individuals from oppression by means of political activism assumes that these

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<sup>24</sup> Gross, A. (2015). The politics of LGBTQ rights in Israel and beyond: Nationality, normativity and queer politics. *Columbia Human Rights Law Review*, 46, 81–152, p. 86. Cluj-Napoca and Bucharest: Limes.

<sup>25</sup> Roseneil et al., 2013.

<sup>26</sup> Brown & Nash, 2014, p. 325.

individuals identify with the specific categories of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender.

Here we should also mention the way in which philanthropic organizations influence the LGBTQ arena, by means of the decisions they take regarding their goals, their beneficiaries, and their distribution of resources. Research into the impact of philanthropic funding in India and Eastern Europe has shown international trends to donate to LGBTQ organizations mainly in support of projects that focus on combatting AIDS. This is despite the fact that in non-Western countries, AIDS mainly affects heterosexuals. This funding policy has affected gay communities in two ways: First, it has formed a community identity that is based on the link between sexual practices and disease. Second, not only has it ignored the main victims of AIDS (heterosexual men and women), but it has helped build gay communities in which men have favored status.<sup>27</sup>

## **The Development of the LGBTQ Struggle in Different Countries**

This section reviews the development of LGBTQ organizations in four countries: the United States, South Africa, Norway, and the United Kingdom.

### United States

Before the Second World War, there was almost no LGBTQ activism in the United States, though there were thriving gay communities in major urban centers. The first meaningful demands for recognition of gay rights came against the backdrop of persecutions of gays and lesbians during the Second World War, and the interrogation of homosexuals in public positions during the McCarthyism of the 1950s. These events brought growing awareness of the fact that members of the gay community were discriminated against and considered second-rate citizens by the law. The fight for gay rights in the United States also emerged in the context of the civil rights struggle of African Americans.

Studies such as Alfred Kinsey's in 1947 indicated a much broader diversity of LGBTQ identities and behaviors, and gradually demands began to be made for fair treatment of gays and lesbians in the mental health system. The first organization of gay men was the Mattachine Society, established in 1950. Other homophilic organizations were founded on the West Coast, including the first lesbian support network, the Daughters

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<sup>27</sup> Woodcock, S. (2004). Globalization of LGBTQ identities: Containment masquerading as salvation, or why lesbians have less fun. In M. Frunza and T. E. Vacaescu (Eds.), *Gender and the (post) "East/West" divide*.

of Bilitis, in 1955. Although these organizations attracted support from academics, it was only in 1973 that the American Psychiatric Association ceased classifying homosexuality as a disorder. During the 1950s and 1960s, members of the LGBTQ community remained subject to psychiatric assessment, as well as to periods of imprisonment, being dismissed from their jobs, and losing custody of their children. The medical and legal systems continued to classify homosexual relations as an illness or as a criminal and immoral act.

The gay movement that emerged in the 1950s through to the 1970s was by nature professional and reformist, and aspired to assimilation in the establishment. It sought to differentiate itself from the transgender community and from other “non-normative” groups—racial minorities, immigrants, and the lower classes.

The first demonstrations for gay rights, in Washington and Philadelphia, were held in 1965, the same year in which the civil rights movement won its struggle for legislation outlawing racial discrimination. A major turning point in the battle for gay liberation came with the events at the Stonewall Inn bar in New York in 1969, where riots broke out in protest at police raids—the first major violent protests against oppression of the gay community. This landmark event has been commemorated in gay pride marches since the 1970s. Recent studies have called for greater recognition of the role played by drag artists, African Americans, bisexuals, and transgender individuals at Stonewall, in light of attempts by the mainstream gay movement to downplay their involvement.

The gay liberation movement of the 1970s was characterized by the proliferation of political groups. In contrast to the movement’s leadership, consisting mainly of white men, and influenced by the women’s liberation movement, lesbian women began forming their own independent associations, publishing newspapers, opening bookstores and publishing houses, and calling for recognition of lesbian rights. During this period, broader political activity also began to flourish, including via the National Gay and Lesbian Taskforce, a human rights campaign, and the election of openly LGBTQ political candidates.<sup>28</sup>

In the 1980s, the accelerated development of the LGBTQ movement was dealt a heavy blow by the spread of the AIDS virus. The disease killed tens of thousands in the gay community, which was seen as the center of the AIDS crisis. Under the Reagan administration, funding for research and for treatment of carriers and patients was meager, a fact that some saw as reflecting anti-gay views of the administration and American society. Consequently, many in the gay community felt a responsibility to

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<sup>28</sup> Morris, n.d.

pressurize the government on these issues.<sup>29</sup> The identification of gays with the outbreak of the AIDS epidemic contributed to the presentation of AIDS as a “gay disease,” to the extent that heterosexuals were widely viewed as not being at danger of contracting the virus. In parallel, the identification of AIDS with the gay community strengthened the medicalization of gayness and the connotations of homosexuality as a medical disorder.<sup>30</sup>

During the 1990s, against the backdrop of increasing recognition of the civil rights of gays and lesbians, transgender and intersex people began to gain a platform. Academic writing also had an impact on shifts in gender studies and women’s studies, which began to include transgender and non-binary identities. The work of organizations and activists in the 21st century led to changes in legislation and decriminalization of LGBTQ practices. Among other milestones, marriage between two women or two men was recognized in Vermont in 2000, and sodomy laws were repealed throughout the United States.<sup>31</sup>

Greater visibility in the media, various court rulings, and growing social and legal acceptance of gay marriage all contributed to a shift in the accepted boundaries of normative sexuality, and even in ideas about family structure. Scholars refer to this process as the growth of homonormativity, or the extension of heteronormative privileges to certain normative groups of gays and lesbians. At the same time, while homonormativity has expanded the boundaries of what is considered normative sexuality in the United States, some claim that it has also created new normative systems of sexuality, gender, and white superiority.<sup>32</sup>

### South Africa

The development of the LGBTQ movement in South Africa took place in an entirely different social and political context. During the apartheid era, sexuality and gender were highly regulated, and same-sex sexual relations were illegal. State authorities saw homosexuality mainly as a “problem” of white men.

In 1966, a white gay and lesbian movement was formed in direct response to police raids of parties, and to threats that legislation on this subject would be strengthened. Fears of oppression meant that white gay and lesbian activists refused to challenge the regime’s apartheid policies. Against this backdrop, it appears that the largely-

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<sup>29</sup> Banales, M. (n.d.) ACT UP, international organization. Encyclopedia Britannica.  
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/ACT-UP>

<sup>30</sup> Mackintosh, M. (2003). The homosexual role. In Y. Keidar, A. Ziv, O. Kanner (Eds.), *Beyond sexuality: A selection of articles on gay and lesbian studies and queer theory*. Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuhad. [Hebrew].

<sup>31</sup> Morris, n.d.

<sup>32</sup> Vitulli, 2010.

white gay movement in South Africa during those years was accepting of the apartheid regime, in stark contrast to the anti-apartheid movement that began to form in the 1970s and 1980s.

Members of the gay community understood that they would have to join the anti-apartheid struggle in order to remain relevant, and thus the views of the latter movement influenced the approach taken by the gay community. LGBTQ activists launched multi-racial organizations in the mid-1980s that fought both against apartheid and for LGBTQ rights, and thus the LGBTQ movement became multi-racial in character. The African National Congress (ANC) supported LGBTQ rights, and formalized this support in its charter of rights.

When the ANC rose to power in the 1990s, LGBTQ organizations worked to ensure that LGBTQ people were placed in leadership positions. Their strategy was to be included in the political establishment in order to promote constitutional legislation affirming their right to equality and outlawing discrimination. Such legislation was passed in 1996 and removed the institutional barriers faced by LGBTQ organizations, while also increasing their access to the mechanisms of power.

Since the 1990s, LGBTQ organizations in South Africa have gained considerable exposure, in part due to media coverage, gay pride marches, and demonstrations. Despite the movement's gains, however, the state has delayed expanding the community's rights due to homophobia among some of the country's rulers. In response, a national coalition of organizations (formerly the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality, now known as the Lesbian and Gay Equality Project) has been active in advancing legislation that would provide rights of migration, adoption, and same-sex marriage, and allow transgender individuals to legally register their change of sex. Thus, since the Equality Law of 1996, LGBTQ organizations have increasingly specialized in "niche activism" and focused on inequality issues that have affected the LGBTQ community, including homophobic violence. They have engaged in advocacy, advancing legislation, media activities, and providing social services.

Since the change of regime in South Africa, LGBTQ organizations have also worked to counter homophobia using a strategy of "educating the public." They have emphasized the message that LGBTQ people of all races suffer different kinds of discrimination, similar to the discrimination suffered by non-whites during the apartheid era. The National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality, and the Lesbian and Gay Equality Project that superseded it, stressed that they represent the poorest, black segment of the gay and lesbian population. Using this rhetoric—of aiding the most vulnerable groups in society—the organizations hoped to reinforce the struggle against homophobia in the public sphere and within the establishment by creating a discourse aligned with that of the state, with its emphasis on multi-racialism.

One of the challenges faced by the LGBTQ movement, and which sheds light on how the movement and its various organizations developed, relates to an organization called the Gay and Lesbian Alliance, founded in 1998. As soon as it was launched, this organization began making public declarations that undermined the integrity of other LGBTQ organizations, such as support for bringing back the death penalty, refusing to accept transgender people into the organization, and calling for the police to prevent drag queens from participating in the Johannesburg pride march. The media treated the organization as part of the LGBTQ movement, while the other organizations rejected it and asked the media not to view it as part of the movement or as representative of the LGBTQ community.

The leader of the Alliance then registered it as a political party, drawing opposition from the other organizations which saw this as undermining their own political strategy. The National Coalition's leaders viewed this step as a symbolic threat to their efforts to cooperate with the government and as going against the politics of inclusion that they had promoted since the 1980s; one that might eventually relegate their agenda to the political margins. In addition, they were worried that the establishment of a new political party might give a message to the other parties that the organizations were no longer interested in cooperating with them. Collaboration with other parties had brought the movement many significant gains, and the organizations were concerned that the isolationist approach being pursued by the Alliance would threaten their work with and within the political establishment. In addition, the Alliance's open rejection of transgender people and other problematic actions led to it being rejected by the other organizations.<sup>33</sup>

Some claim that the attempts by LGBTQ organizations, and particularly the Equality Project, to act as part of the establishment prevented the politicization of members of the gay community in South Africa. According to this view, the same strategy prevented the growth of grass-roots LGBTQ movements.

In contrast with the strategies taken by mainstream LGBTQ organizations in the United States, LGBTQ organizations in South Africa acted on a broad multi-racial platform. In order to gain legitimacy and be considered part of the country's mainstream, South African LGBTQ organizations assumed the values and principles of the post-apartheid regime, including racial and class equality. As a result, they made alliances with various racial, ethnic, and class-based groups, and worked to further the interests of LGBTQ people of all races.<sup>34</sup>

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Currier, A. (2010). The strategy of normalization in the South African LGBTQ movement. <sup>33</sup>  
*Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 15(1), 405–422.

<sup>34</sup> Oswin, N., (2007), "Producing homonormativity in neoliberal South Africa: Recognition, redistribution, and the equality project. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 32(3), 649–669.

## Norway

Norway is a social-democratic welfare state. The idea of a “welfare regime” can be understood as an arrangement based on historical, ideological, and political compromises and on a system of institutional relations between the state, the market, and the family that plays a dynamic role in structuring gender, racial, ethnic, and sexual relations. As a social-democratic state, Norway provides a high level of universal welfare to its citizens, which is not conditional on family status. The Nordic approach, which deconstructs the idea of patriarchal marriage, is based on a legacy of individualism and egalitarian marriage, and on the country’s early adoption of “no-fault” divorce, in 1909.

Campaigns for gay rights in Norway began in 1950. An early example of international influence in this area is seen in the opening of a Norway branch of the 1948 League, a Danish homophilic organization, in 1950. Directly relying on the declaration of human rights for all peoples, this appears to be one of the earliest attempts to tie human rights discourse to the campaign for LGBTQ rights. The Norwegian chapter (“DNF-48”) operated secretly, and sought to promote decriminalization of gay men. In the 1970s, its political agenda became more overt, and other groups and organizations were founded. The challenge posed by the AIDS crisis, from the early 1980s onward, strengthened relations between the gay movement and the state, creating firm personal ties and leading to increased funding to LGBTQ organizations.

As early as the 1950s, DNF-48 led a campaign to decriminalize homosexual relations in Norwegian law. In response, the country’s Criminal Law Committee proposed removing the sodomy law, but recommended that the legal age of consent for homosexual relations be set at 18, as opposed to 16 for heterosexual relations. It also recommended outlawing “homosexual propaganda” in order to alleviate public fears that decriminalization would lead to a rise in homosexuality.

Norway was the first country to pass legislation that decriminalized homosexual relations. As early as 1974, DNF-48 campaigned for including homosexuals in the list of groups afforded legal protection from discrimination in the provision of goods and services, and from hate speech. Consequently, the criminal code was changed in 1981 to provide protections to homosexuals, with punishments for offenders set at up to six months’ imprisonment.<sup>35</sup>

The fight for relationship rights has been a central part of the gay movement in Norway since the 1980s.<sup>36</sup> Norway recognized same-sex marriage in 1993, and attained full equality with the Gender-Neutral Marriage Act in 2008. The law passed

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<sup>35</sup> Roseneil et al., 2013.

<sup>36</sup> Roseneil et al., 2013.

in 1993 recognized equal rights and responsibilities for LGBTQ marriage in terms of taxation, national insurance, unemployment rights, pensions, life insurance, and inheritance. The law did not allow same-sex couples to adopt children, to register as married with the Norwegian church, or to access assisted pregnancy services. The Gender-Neutral Marriage Act, which allows “two people of either sex or of the same sex” to be married, removed any mention of sexual orientation, and created full equality in terms of parental rights. Among other things, it allowed full joint adoption for same-sex couples and assisted pregnancies for lesbian parents, including the awarding of parental rights to the non-biological mother. In 2016, Norway became one of the first four countries that allowed transgender people to change their sex in state records on request.<sup>37</sup>

The gay movement in Norway, like the country’s feminist movement, succeeded in working closely with government institutions, and these close ties over many years have been one of the main factors in the changes made in the country. The gay movement has succeeded in binding the advancement of LGBTQ rights to the values of equality and inclusion that are central to Norway’s identity, so that gender equality and LGBTQ rights are seen as Norwegian attributes.<sup>38</sup>

### United Kingdom

In England and Wales, a law dating back to 1533 ruled that sodomy was punishable by hanging. Due to this punishment not being carried out in practice, the law was repealed in 1861, but the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 expanded the range of sexual practices that were outlawed, and introduced the term “gross indecency.” This was used to refer to a broad range of homosexual acts, punishable by imprisonment of up to two years, sometimes with hard labor.

In 1921, an attempt was made to outlaw lesbian sexual behavior as well, but the bill was voted down in Parliament due to concerns that passing it would in fact draw public attention to the possibility of lesbian behavior.

In the United Kingdom, as in Norway, efforts to gain recognition for homosexual rights began in the 1950s. In 1958, the Homosexual Law Reform Society was founded to work for decriminalization, albeit in a restrained fashion. During the 1970s, with the rise of the New Left and the feminist movement, more radical groups for LGBTQ liberation were formed. In parallel, certain gay and lesbian sub-cultures developed that had greater visibility.

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<sup>37</sup> *Amnesty International*. (2016). Norway: Historic breakthrough for transgender rights. March 18. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/03/norway-historic-breakthrough-for-transgender-rights/>

<sup>38</sup> Roseneil et al., 2013.

In the 1980s, with the outbreak of AIDS, LGBTQ organizations sought to work in cooperation with state agencies, including the ministries of health and welfare, but the right-wing Thatcher government that was in power at the time pursued openly homophobic policies. Stonewall, a political organization, was founded in 1989 to campaign against anti-homosexual legislation, and later expanded its activities to various issues related to gay and lesbian equality. Other, more radical queer groups arose in the 1990s and pursued direct political action with high visibility. These included the organization “Outrage and Lesbian Avengers.”

The first steps toward the repeal of anti-homosexual laws were taken in 1954, when a government-appointed commission recommended that homosexual relations between two adults in private should not be a criminal offence. This indicated the beginning of a change in public discourse regarding homosexuality and non-interference in the private sphere. The Homosexual Law Reform Society and the Albany Foundation advocated for legislative reform over the ensuing decade, and the law in England and Wales was changed in 1967 to allow homosexual relations in private between men over the age of 21.

Homosexuality became legal in Scotland in 1980, and in Northern Ireland in 1982, under the influence of a ruling of the European Court of Human Rights. The early 1990s saw a struggle to lower the age of consent for homosexuals, and it was duly changed to 18 in 1994, following a petition to the European Court of Human Rights.

Following the European Union’s introduction of the Employment Equality Framework Directive in 2000, which ruled that people should not be discriminated against at work on the basis of religion, faith, age, disability, or sexual orientation, the United Kingdom expanded the legal protections against discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation to other areas as well, including trade, services, holding public office (such as in education), and renting or selling property. At the same time, the law contained concessions to religious organizations. In addition to legislation, the United Kingdom also founded a statutory body to address discrimination, including on the basis of sexual orientation.

UK law also contains protections from homophobia. In Northern Ireland, a law passed in 2004 rules that actions that may foster hate or fear on the basis of sexual orientation are subject to the criminal code. And following pressure from Stonewall, a law was passed in England and Wales that made incitement to hatred based on sexual orientation a criminal offence. The United Kingdom publishes reports of hate crimes against LGBTQ people, and numerous policy documents have been produced on the prosecution of homophobic crimes.

In 2004, LGBTQ organizations in the United Kingdom began to lobby the Labour government for legislation to allow same-sex marriage, which led to a law allowing civil partnerships. This effectively created equality by allowing the possibility of marriage, albeit with a different name given to this form of union. This political compromise was supported by Stonewall but was opposed by more radical organizations that called for a more inclusive definition. In 2008, a law was passed recognizing the parental rights of both partners in a gay relationship. Similarly, the Adoption and Children Act of 2002 allows same-sex couples to jointly adopt children.

The United Kingdom's liberal traditions, compared to those of Norway, allowed decriminalization to happen sooner, and there was also less legal intrusion against joint same-sex parenting than in Norway. At the same time, there was less commitment to the principles of equality than in social-democratic Norway, especially under a right-wing government, and thus the gains made in English law were lesser than those in Norway. As a result, some claim that the political movement that has developed in the United Kingdom is more radical than its Norwegian counterpart.<sup>39</sup>

## A Review of LGBTQ Organizations

As a first level of categorization, we can map LGBTQ organizations according to their geographical scope:

1. International LGBTQ rights organizations. Here, we can differentiate between international human rights organizations that deal with LGBTQ rights as part of a broader human rights agenda (such as Amnesty International) and international organizations dedicated solely to LGBTQ rights (such as ILGA, the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association). In the international arena, advocacy includes efforts to influence policies of the United Nations and its member countries relating to LGBTQ issues. In the main, these efforts target the UN Human Rights Council, special representatives who write reports, and other UN institutions. The main goal is to encourage representatives of various UN member states to include reference to LGBTQ issues as a significant part of their human rights policies. If this is successful, then local and regional activists can use these gains to pressure governments, institutions, and public agencies to adopt similar language.
2. Regional LGBTQ rights organizations. Regional organizations are those engaged in promoting pro-LGBTQ policies within regional structures such as the European Union or the African Union, and encouraging these bodies to

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<sup>39</sup> Roseneil et al., 2013.

advance and support LGBTQ issues at the United Nations. Once regional structures adopt pro-LGBTQ policies, it becomes more difficult for member states to oppose them.

3. Local/national organizations. While international and regional organizations focus on advancing LGBTQ rights within the context of general human rights, local organizations tend to emphasize aspects of gender identity and sexual orientation. In many countries, local organizations are engaged in service provision, such as general and mental health services for the LGBTQ community. Having said which, there has recently also been growth in local-level advocacy efforts and activity on general human rights issues.<sup>40</sup>

At the local and national level, several types of LGBTQ organizations can be identified:<sup>41</sup>

1. Advocacy organizations. These address a wide range of issues of relevance for the LGBTQ community, with the aim of influencing policy-makers and decision-makers to advance changes to the law and public policy regarding members of the community.

**Example: Insight, Ukraine.** Insight engages in advocacy at a European and international level on issues relating to the trans community, which suffers from persecution in Ukraine in the form of demands that they undergo castration or month-long hospitalization in closed psychiatric wards. Insight submitted a report to the UN Human Rights Council that reviewed the infringement of human rights of LGBTQ people in Ukraine. After the European Council ruled against calls for castration, the organization was able to lobby policy-makers in Ukraine for the application of international health standards for transgender people.

2. Health organizations. These focus on the provision of general health and mental health services. One of the main issues these organizations focus on is AIDS, including identifying HIV carriers, tests, treatment, prevention, and education. There are also organizations that focus on particular target groups, such as youth, elderly, transgender people, men, and women. In the area of

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Movement Advancement Project. (2008). *International LGBTQ Advocacy Organizations and Programs—An Overview*. <http://www.LGBTQmap.org/LGBTQ-movement-overviews/international-LGBTQ-advocacy-organizations-and-programs>.

Movement Advancement Project, 2008; CenterLink and Movement Advancement Project. (2016).<sup>41</sup> LGBTQ Community Center Survey Report: Assessing the Capacity and Programs of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Community Centers. <http://www.LGBTQmap.org/LGBTQ-movement-overviews/2016-LGBTQ-community-center-survey-report>; Movement Advancement Project. (2017).

National Movement Report—A Financial Overview of Leading Advocacy Organizations in the LGBTQ Movement. <http://www.LGBTQmap.org/file/2017-national-LGBTQ-movement-report.pdf>.

mental health, organizations offer support groups, emotional therapy, groups led by LGBTQ facilitators, couples therapy, group therapy, family therapy, and psychiatric therapy.

**Example: AssistHers and the Montrose Center.** The Montrose Center offers health services for the LGBTQ community in Houston, Texas. AssistHers is a volunteering program that has run for 20 years, offering primary health services to AIDS patients. Over time, the program expanded and now partners with the Montrose Center to meet the needs of lesbians suffering from chronic illnesses and disabilities, low incomes, and lack of resources. Volunteer groups are matched with clients to provide home visits and help patients in their own homes.<sup>42</sup>

3. Community centers or homes. These are community centers serving a particular geographic area that provide a range of services for the LGBTQ community, such as health and/or leisure services.

**Example: The Center—The LGBTQ Community Center in New York.** The Center offers health services, arts events, entertainment and culture, support for parenting and families, and access to community and resources.<sup>43</sup>

4. Legal organizations. These provide legal services for members of the LGBTQ community, and promote legislation on issues of relevance to the community.

**Example: NYLAG—The New York Legal Assistance Group.** This is an LGBTQ legal project that was founded in 2008 to defend the LGBTQ community, expand its rights, and offer services for the impoverished LGBTQ community in New York. The project provides pro bono legal services on a wide range of legal issues that affect members of the community, related to employment, housing, public services, access to shelters, registering a change in name and/or gender, family law, and family planning. The organization operates four legal clinics in New York, and provides various training programs. It also engages in advocacy.<sup>44</sup>

5. Particularist organizations. These organizations promote specific issues for the entire LGBTQ community, including human rights, employment rights, and LGBTQ refugee rights. Other particularist organizations represent certain

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<sup>42</sup> Global Action for Trans\* Equality, American Jewish World Service, & Strength in Numbers. (2014). *The State of Trans\* and Intersex Organizing: A case for increased support for growing but under-funded movements for human rights.* <http://transactivists.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/trans-intersex-funding-report.pdf>

<sup>43</sup> <https://gaycenter.org/about>

<sup>44</sup> <https://www.nylag.org/units/LGBTQ-law>

groups within the LGBTQ community, including transgender organizations, youth organizations, and student associations.

**Example: The Center—The GLBT Community Center of Colorado.** Operates “Co-Range” programs that seek to make workplaces more welcoming for members of the LGBTQ community, via training for employers that promotes the hiring and development of LGBTQ professionals.<sup>45</sup>

6. Research and public education organizations. These organizations engage in research and policy analysis, with the aim of expanding existing knowledge, both within the community and among the public at large, about issues of relevance to the LGBTQ community. Among other things, their activities include public campaigns. One example would be the HRC (Human Rights Campaign) Foundation campaign on sexual education for LGBTQ youth.
7. Umbrella organizations or coalitions. These unite multiple LGBTQ organizations that share a common mission. A more detailed explanation of these types of organization is given below.

It should be noted, of course, that some organizations operate in multiple categories.

#### Statutory Status and Funding Sources

Another aspect of mapping LGBTQ organizations relates to their statutory status and sources of funding. We can identify three main categories:

1. Independent institutions or NGOs
2. LGBTQ divisions or units within larger NGOs or institutions that are not specifically focused on LGBTQ issues
3. Organizations operated by municipalities

Some of the independent NGOs receive funding from public sources, including municipalities and government ministries, while others receive funding from foundations or private donors, and are not at all answerable to the establishment. In this respect, we can also differentiate between organizations that operate independently from the state, in terms of how they operate as well as their funding arrangements; and organizations that seek to influence policy-making or legislation, and thus mainly work directly with state institutions. It is important to note that here too there are various overlaps between organizations’ statutory status. In these contexts, which relate to the proximity of organizations to the various elements of the state, it is worth noting the debate over attempts to promote homonormativity and

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<sup>45</sup> CenterLink and Movement Advancement Project, 2016, p. 14.

to examine organizations' stance on this issue, and how this affects their willingness to cooperate with the state and receive public funding.

US reports published in 2016–2017 that map the funding sources of LGBTQ organizations found that their income came a wide range of sources: private donations, in-kind giving, donations from foundations, fundraising events, donations from businesses, inheritance, state funding, income from activities, self-income of the organizations, or sales of goods. The reports found that between 2012 and 2016 there was an increase in the United States in medium- to large-scale donations, relative to small donations. A report into community organizations found that the main sources of income for most of the centers surveyed were private donations, local funding, and state funding. A smaller portion came from federal sources.<sup>46</sup>

Research carried out by the Movement Advancement Project in 2016 into the funding of LGBTQ advocacy organizations found that the main sources of income were private donations (38%), in-kind donations of equipment or volunteering hours (18%), donations from foundations (14%), and income from fundraising events (11%). Income from inheritances, member donations, and other sources were far more marginal. An analysis of expenses found that 79% of the budget went to activity-related expenses, 10% on staff costs, and 11% on fundraising.

The challenges cited by the organizations surveyed in these reports relating to fundraising from state institutions included a lack of professional expertise and of time among their staff. One of the findings in the reports was the difficulty experienced by small community organizations—operating in peripheral areas in which there is less tolerance of the LGBTQ community—to obtain funding and pay staff.<sup>47</sup>

Another aspect of the issue of funding relates to payment of salaries. The report into LGBTQ community organizations in the United States found that, of the 143 organizations surveyed, 31% operated with no salaried staff and were based solely on volunteering, while 63% had five salaried workers or fewer, and only 6% employed more than five people. Of the large organizations, 93% employed a full-time director. Of the smaller organizations, 39% relied on a volunteer director, and 33% had no director at all.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> <https://www.hrc.org/resources/a-call-to-action-LGBTQ-youth-need-inclusive-sex-education>

<sup>47</sup> Movement Advancement Project. (2016). *National LGBTQ Movement Report: A Financial Overview of Leading Advocacy Organizations in the LGBTQ Movement*. <https://www.LGBTQmap.org/file/2016-national-LGBTQ-movement-report.pdf>

<sup>48</sup> CenterLink and Movement Advancement Project, 2016, p. 1.

### Mapping by Types of Activity<sup>49</sup>

While the following is not an exhaustive list of all activities carried out by LGBTQ organizations, it does include the major ones. It should also be noted that many organizations conduct a range of different types of activity, and are not necessarily limited to a single area.

1. Advocating for changes in policy. This includes advocacy with state institutions, intergovernmental organizations such as the United Nations, regional organizations such as the European Union, religious institutions, and more.
2. “Public education” activities. The main areas that these organizations focus on include transgender issues, safe schools, health issues, AIDS, and discrimination.
3. Diversity mainstreaming. This area is related to public education efforts but also stands alone, and includes (for example) improving the ability of employers to accept LGBTQ employees and meet their specific needs, including via activities that focus on employers and that offer training on changing policies in the workplace.
4. General services. These include clubs, general health and mental health services, cultural activities, employment counseling, social groups, movie screenings, and so on. Health services are a central pillar in the services provided, and include: AIDS testing, locating AIDS carriers, treatment, prevention, and guidance. Mental health services are also central to the activities of LGBTQ organizations, and include support groups, emotional therapy, groups led by LGBTQ facilitators, couples therapy, group therapy, family therapy, and psychiatric therapy.
5. Digital services. Organizations have begun to offer computing centers that provide different kinds of services or activities, including opportunities to communicate with other members of the community, look for work, training in using computers, and so on. Reports that surveyed the computing centers provided by US organizations found that the audiences that make most use of them are young people, men, transgender people, African Americans, and people with low incomes.
6. Activities or services aimed at a specific audience. Examples include transgender individuals, LGBTQ youth, homeless LGBTQ youth, bisexuals, and so on. One of the main foci is work with LGBTQ youth, including creating

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<sup>49</sup> CenterLink and Movement Advancement Project, 2016; Movement Advancement Project, 2008.

support frameworks, providing training programs, such as employment training, and creating housing opportunities for homeless youth.

7. Capacity building. This refers to developing various types of skills, such as activism, fundraising, leadership development, and more, via programs and training for staff, activists, volunteers, managers, and members.
8. Creating coalitions between organizations or organizational networking. This is aimed at promoting issues of shared concern, coordinating activities, gaining shared funding, or meeting the demands of funders.
9. Research and development. This provides the basis for organizations' activity in advocacy, public education, influencing decision-makers, publishing materials targeted at foundations and other organizations, and more. Activities in this area include, among others, data collection and processing, publishing reports, writing articles and research studies, and creating information resources.
10. Media work. This is a means of exerting pressure on decision-makers and policy-makers, and influencing public attitudes on various relevant issues.

### Coalitions and Inter-Organizational Collaboration

A review of inter-organizational collaborations, coalitions, and networks found a relatively limited number of these types of arrangements in the LGBTQ field around the world. Where they exist, these inter-organizational arrangements mainly occur as local collaborations over shared issues of concern or as networks of support for LGBTQ organizations. The mapping below is presented according to area of activity, with examples provided from the United States and elsewhere, and where the information is available, also includes a description of the organizational structures involved.

1. Elderly. Based on an understanding that the older and elderly LGBTQ population has not been properly served to date, the need emerged for coalitions that would provide a holistic response to this group and would facilitate inter-organizational collaboration to advance joint policies to address issues of concern. **Austinup**,<sup>50</sup> an LGBTQ coalition on aging, was founded to promote elderly issues by coordinating the activities of organizations in the community that offer services for LGBTQ elderly. The coalition runs a steering committee that identifies main needs and designs programs of action accordingly. It is interesting to note that this coalition also attempts to influence other organizations in the gay community to improve services for

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<https://austinup.org/about/LGBTQ-coalition-on-aging/><sup>50</sup>

LGBTQ elderly. Another, different example is the **Diverse Elders Coalition**,<sup>51</sup> a coalition of seven organizations that came together to promote policy change and the adaptation of programs for LGBTQ elderly from the most vulnerable populations in the United States.

2. Health. Inter-organizational collaborations in the field of health seek to advance policy that benefits the LGBTQ community as a whole.

The **California LGBTQ Health and Human Services Network**<sup>52</sup> is a state-level coalition of nonprofits, community centers, and researchers that engages in advocacy with state institutions to advance policy change and reallocation of resources for the benefit of the LGBTQ community.

The **National Coalition for LGBTQ Health**<sup>53</sup> promotes health issues for the LGBTQ community via advocacy at the federal and national level, as well as education and research. The coalition includes local health organizations, local health departments, LGBTQ policy-makers, researchers, and health professionals.

3. Fighting discrimination. There are many initiatives involved in promoting policies of non-discrimination against the LGBTQ community, including those of businesspeople or other key figures seeking to advance concrete issues in this area. One prominent initiative, which is not directly an inter-organizational coalition, is a group of US mayors called **Mayors Against LGBTQ Discrimination**.<sup>54</sup> This is a coalition of 307 mayors from 48 different states working to promote optimal policies for LGBTQ residents in their cities and towns.
4. LGBTQ youth. These coalitions address issues related to LGBTQ youth, including promoting protected school environments, preventing bullying, and caring for homeless LGBTQ youth. US data show that, of the 1.6 million homeless youth in America, 40% are LGBTQ. Given that LGBTQ youth are estimated to make up around 7% of all youth in the United States, these homeless figures are dramatically high.<sup>55</sup>

Organizations involved in these issues include coalitions that focus directly on LGBTQ youth, such as **LA LGBTQ Youth Advocates Coalition**,<sup>56</sup> which unites pro-LGBTQ youth organizations to work together on advocacy, programs, and

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<https://www.diverseelders.org/who-we-are/the-coalition/who-we-are-2/><sup>51</sup>

<http://www.californiaLGBTQhealth.org/about-us.html><sup>52</sup>

<https://healthLGBTQ.org/about-us/><sup>53</sup>

<sup>54</sup> <https://www.mayorsagainstLGBTQdiscrimination.org/>

<sup>55</sup> <https://truecolorsfund.org/our-issue/>

<sup>56</sup> <http://laLGBTQyac.org/>

services to promote safety in schools, institutions, and communities; or the **Zebra Coalition**,<sup>57</sup> a network of 26 organizations providing services to LGBTQ youth in such areas as homelessness, bullying, and isolation from the family. Organizations in the Zebra Coalition include service providers, government bodies, welfare services, churches, private companies, and schools. Another type of coalition is those that focus on a general issue, such as youth homelessness, with an emphasis on LGBTQ youth. Examples include the **True Colors Foundation**<sup>58</sup> and the **Coalition for Homeless Youth**.<sup>59</sup>

5. Local collaborations. In addition to the coalitions mentioned above, which address specific issues at the local level, there are also other inter-organizational bodies that act at a local level across a range of LGBTQ issues. What unites them is the local aspect they share. For example, **LGBTQ Network**<sup>60</sup> is a network of LGBTQ organizations in Long Island and Queens working for the advancement of the LGBTQ population in all areas of life. The network employs a joint staff which reduces organizational overlaps among member organizations and allows them to share resources and cut overheads.

Another example of a local-level coalition operating within state boundaries is the **Russian LGBTQ Network**,<sup>61</sup> a collaboration of human rights NGOs in different provinces in Russia that promote LGBTQ rights. The network brings together regional initiatives, advocacy groups (at the national and international levels), and organizations offering social and legal services. It contains 13 regional bodies that act as collective representations of various member civil society organizations and individuals active in that region. The main aims of the regional activity are to attract new activists to the movement, support local initiatives, and unite the LGBTQ communities. The collectivist representations, as the Network calls them, include 11 civil society organizations and different groups that form part of the chain. Overseeing these bodies are the Network's inter-regional coordinating committee and its board of directors. The supreme governing body of the Network is the central assembly, which meets once every three years.

6. Support networks for LGBTQ organizations. Another type of network involves organizations that aim to support the work of other LGBTQ organizations. This field includes, for example, the **Consortium for LGBTQ Voluntary and**

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<sup>57</sup> <https://www.zebra youth.org/>

<sup>58</sup> <https://truecolorsfund.org/our-issue/>

<sup>59</sup> <http://www.nychy.org/#home>

<sup>60</sup> <http://LGBTQnetwork.org/content/about-network>

<sup>61</sup> <https://LGBTQnet.org/en/content/who-are-we>. Annual Report 2016: <https://LGBTQnet.org/sites/default/files/annualreport2016.pdf>.

**Community Organizations**,<sup>62</sup> a British organization that helps develop and support LGBTQ groups and organizations so that these can provide services and run campaigns to promote LGBTQ issues. The consortium provides various platforms, buildings, and spaces to promote practical and strategic collaborations between organizations. Another example of a support network is the **LGBTQQ Funders Network**,<sup>63</sup> a group of philanthropic foundations that work together to increase the impact and effectiveness of their funding for the LGBTQ community. The network comprises more than 75 foundations, companies, and institutions that donate to LGBTQ organizations, and their combined giving totals more than a billion dollars per year (of which around \$100 million is directly designated for LGBTQ issues). It promotes research on LGBTQ issues, conducts training, provides support services to the foundations, and holds meetings at which they can coordinate policy.

It would appear that most of the coalitions operate according to specific, concrete issues. This fact gives pause for thought regarding the ability of organizations to collaborate in a way that serves the advancement of their issues of interest and does not harm the independence of member organizations in a coalition.

Among the coalitions surveyed were those that operate at different geographical levels, both local and national, but it would appear that coalitions operating at state level mainly address specific issues, and thus bring together organizations that are largely engaged with the same issue. It is our impression that the organizations that act at a local level, including those within coalitions that act to promote a specific issue, succeed in bringing together a broad range of LGBTQ organizations of different types that are active in the community. The impact and contribution of coalition or network activity remains unclear, and we found almost no material on this question, beyond the obvious advantage of resource sharing and leveraging joint power.

## The History of the LGBTQ Struggle in Israel

In Israel, as in other countries in the West, the 1970s and the 1980s saw significant developments in the recognition of LGBTQ rights. The major advances in this field can be attributed to the public struggles of LGBTQ organizations and groups, to legislation, to court rulings, and to the growing visibility of LGBTQ figures in politics and the media.

In 1975, the Association for the Protection of Individual Rights was founded, eventually becoming the Aguda—Israel's LGBT Task Force, and was the first organization of its kind in Israel. In the following years other LGBTQ groups were formed, most of them offshoots of the Aguda, and these played a central role in

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<sup>62</sup> <http://www.LGBTQconsortium.org.uk/history>  
<sup>63</sup> <https://www.LGBTQfunders.org/about/about-mission/>

advancing the rights of the community. They included Bela Doeget, which merged with the AIDS Task Force; the Lecture Service, which became Hoshen; and the youth groups that eventually became IGY—the Israel Gay Youth organization.

As a result of this struggle, the law forbidding male homosexual intercourse was repealed in 1988, opening the door to broader LGBTQ rights activities. As the first formal statement of decriminalization of LGBTQ individuals the repeal of this law marked a major turning point, in the wake of which many developments followed during the 1990s. The most prominent of these were the amendment to the Employment (Equal Opportunities) Law; the High Court ruling on the Yonatan Danilovitch case that forbade discrimination against LGBTQ employees in the workplace; the High Court ruling on the *Open Cards* case that overruled censorship of a television program on gay youth; the outlawing of discrimination against gays and lesbians in the IDF by order of the Chief of General Staff; the opening of the Jerusalem Open House for Pride and Tolerance; the first Pride Parade in Tel Aviv; the legal recognition of joint parenting status for lesbian couples; and Dana International's victory at the Eurovision.

In the 2000s, there was a growth in pride parades and in the activities of LGBTQ civil society organizations in the education system and in other public arenas. Further achievements were made in legislation and in court rulings, on issues of inheritance, adoption, partnerships, and protection from discrimination, among others. The Tel Aviv Pride Center was opened in 2008, and more and more public figures came out or were outed. The increasing visibility of public LGBTQ figures in politics (Uzi Even, the first openly gay MK, who entered the Knesset in 2002, is worthy of mention) and in the media made a decisive contribution to the transition of the LGBTQ movement from the margins to the center of Israeli society, increasing its legitimacy and making it easier for LGBTQ youth to come out.

At the same time, there were several instances of violence against the LGBTQ community during the 2000s, including the attack on the Jerusalem Pride Parade in 2005; the attack on the Tel Aviv gay and lesbian youth center in 2009, in which Nir Katz and Liz Trubeshi were murdered; and the fatal stabbing of Shira Banki at the 2015 Pride Parade. These incidents were extremely troubling first and foremost for the LGBTQ community itself, but also for other groups in Israeli society. They made it clear that despite the achievements of the LGBTQ struggle, homophobia was not eradicated from Israel and the community remains particularly exposed to violence. The attacks were widely condemned by the public at large, and a broad range of political and cultural public figures denounced the violence and expressed their solidarity with the community. These events brought a great deal of public attention to the vulnerability

of the LGBTQ community, and also had an impact on the need for the continued advancement of LGBTQ rights in Israel.<sup>64</sup>

Once the community and its rights had become established, various organizations arose representing LGBTQ sub-groups. These included Ma'avarim, for the trans community; Hevruta and Bat Kol for religious gays and lesbians; TEHILA for parents of LGBTQ youth; and Proud Fathers for LGBTQ fathers. The history of the development of these organizations in Israel is one of a continued process of organizational splitting. It appears that many of the organizations grew from a sense that the established organizations did not offer sufficient responses to the needs and issues of various sub-identities. Consequently, the organizations that arose mostly sought to advance particularist agendas.

Another perspective on the development of the LGBTQ community is offered by Yoav Zaritzky, one of the leaders of the research study "The Gay Haifa History." In his historical analysis of the development of the LGBTQ community in Haifa—which also sheds much light on the development of the community in Israel as a whole—Zaritzky claims that "this history should be viewed as a process, not always linear, but a continuum of events, acts, sayings, peaks, and troughs that predated the current reality, which also consists of countless points of view."

The decades before the 1960s, Zaritzky says, were "years of silence," characterized by a lack of safe space and by identities that were not well formed. During those years, public parks were used as social and sexual meeting places for different groups within the LGBTQ community. The 1970s, meanwhile, saw the politicization of the community, a process influenced by the rise of feminist organizations. In this context, the election to the Knesset of Marcia Freedman, one of the leaders of the feminist movement in Israel (who subsequently came out), is described as a turning point. Among other achievements, Freedman founded ALEF ("Feminist Lesbian Organization"), which was the first lesbian organization in Israel and which subsequently developed into KLAF ("Feminist Lesbian Community").

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<sup>64</sup> Levy, Y., & Schlesinger, L. (2015), *The Gay Community and the 19th Knesset: Political Analysis of a Historic Missed Opportunity*, Molad [Hebrew] <http://www.molad.org/images/upload/files/LGBTQ-Knesset-19.pdf> (accessed September 9, 2018); *Wikipedia*, LGBTQ in Israel: Chronology [Hebrew], [https://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%AA:%D7%9C%D7%94%D7%98%22%D7%91\\_%D7%91%D7%99%D7%A9%D7%A8%D7%90%D7%9C:%D7%9B%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%A0%D7%95%D7%9C%D7%95%D7%92%D7%99%D7%94](https://he.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%AA:%D7%9C%D7%94%D7%98%22%D7%91_%D7%91%D7%99%D7%A9%D7%A8%D7%90%D7%9C:%D7%9B%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%A0%D7%95%D7%9C%D7%95%D7%92%D7%99%D7%94) (accessed September 9, 2018); Gross, A. (2013), The Politics of LGBTQ Rights: From (Homo-) Normativism and (Homo-) Nationalism to Queer Politics, *Ma'asei Mishpat Journal for Law and Social Reform*, Vol. 5; IGY (Israel Gay Youth), *Counselors' Handbook 2012–2013* [Hebrew], <http://www.igy.org.il/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/%D7%97%D7%95%D7%91%D7%A8%D7%AA-%D7%A4%D7%AA%D7%99%D7%97%D7%AA-%D7%A9%D7%A0%D7%94-2012-13.pdf> (accessed September 9, 2018).

The 1990s—according to Zaritzky—were a period of continued politicization, organizing, and establishment of open houses. During this decade, the LGBTQ community gained greater and greater visibility in the public sphere. At the same time, during investigations into the murders of several gay men in Haifa, it emerged that the police were continuing to keep lists of gay men, called “pink lists.” This discovery led to public protests by members of the community. During the 2000s, pride parades in Haifa became more prominent, and in 2017 the Haifa Communities Home for Pride and Tolerance was founded.<sup>65</sup>

The gains in legislation and in legal rulings can be viewed as a reflection of the LGBTQ community’s progress toward full rights and of the achievements of its various activists, organizations, political cells, and other groups. Attention is drawn both to the role played by the High Court of Justice in promoting egalitarianism toward the community, and in the use of the legislative track as a key element in these achievements. The main milestones in these accomplishments, in chronological order, are as follows:

- **1988**—Amendment of the Penal Law and repeal of the legal ban on sexual relations between men.
- **1992**—Amendment of the Employment (Equal Opportunities) Law and outlawing of discrimination in the workplace based on personal status or sexual orientation.
- **1993**—Change to IDF general staff orders and outlawing of discrimination based on sexual orientation.
- **1994**—High Court ruling in the Danilovitch case, requiring El Al airlines to apply its rules regarding benefits for spouses to gay couples as well.<sup>66</sup>
- **1996**—Recognition of Adir Steiner as an IDF widower after his partner was killed in military service.
- **1997**—Supreme Court ruling regarding the *Open Cards* television show, overruling the decision of the Minister of Education to prevent the show (about gay youth) being broadcast.
- **1997**—Family Court ruling recognizing same-sex partners as eligible for legal protections even if not married, based on the “common-law marriage” model,

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<sup>65</sup> Rosen, M. (2017), Haifa’s Pink Lists, *Davar Rishon*, July 2 [Hebrew], <https://www.davar1.co.il/74510/> (accessed September 9, 2018).

<sup>66</sup> Harel, A. (2002), The Rise and Fall of the Homosexual Revolution, *Hamishpat*, 7, p. 195; Wikipedia, LGBTQ in Israel: Chronology; Gross, A. (2013).

which was previously used only for heterosexual couples who were not formally married. Ever since, court rulings in Israel have *de facto* applied common-law marriage rules to LGBTQ couples.

- **1998**—Withdrawal of all orders relating to homosexuals in the IDF.
- **1998**—Prevention of Sexual Harassment Law passed, including clauses on humiliation of an individual based on their gender, sexuality, or sexual orientation.
- **2000**—High Court ruling ordering the Ministry of the Interior to register Nicole Berner-Kadish, who formally adopted her female partner’s birth child in California, as the child’s second mother.
- **2006**—Publication of a bill formulated according to the recommendations of a commission to examine Israel’s inheritance law, chaired by former Supreme Court Justice Jacob Turkel. According to the bill, homosexual couples will be recognized for the purposes of inheritance rights.
- **2010**—Supreme Court ruling ordering the Jerusalem municipality to provide funding for the Jerusalem Open House for Pride and Tolerance. The court’s ruling cited the Budget Foundations Law.
- **2010**—Supreme Court ruling recognizing the possibility of joint parenthood of same-sex couples, and requiring that the Population Registry record the marriages of Israeli same-sex couples who were married abroad.

In recent years, it would appear that the community has not recorded significant successes in the legislative and judicial arenas. However, several major legal struggles have been waged recently that are still ongoing—for example, regarding adoption and surrogacy rights.

It should also be noted that the list above is not meant to imply that the community’s legal struggles were always successful. Judges in lower courts often refused to recognize same-sex partners even after these developments, and there is still inequality in terms of legislation regarding the institution of marriage and the rights that remain dependent on it, as well as other issues such as surrogacy and adoption. Compared with other countries, the existing legal rights are relatively extensive, yet there is still no explicit treatment of LGBTQ couples in legislation on such issues as inheritance, adoption, citizenship, national insurance, mortgages, property tax, and others. As a result, many cases require petitioning the courts.

Regarding the trans community, the State of Israel provides assistance for transitions in the form of partial funding for sex reassignment surgery and other treatments provided by the health funds. There have been regulations governing sex changes in Israel since 1986, and surgery can only be conducted at Sheba Medical Center (Tel Hashomer), and only for those over the age of 21 and after a waiting period of two years. Due to criticism of the regulations from Doctors for Human Rights, a commission was appointed to review them in 2008. According to current Ministry of the Interior policy, changing one's sex in the Population Registry requires a medical certificate authorized by the Ministry of Health, and is only permitted in the case of trans individuals who have undergone full sex reassignment surgery.

Developments in the legal field can also be viewed against the backdrop of the political forces active in Israel. Some claim that the development of protections for, and partial recognition of, homosexual partnerships were possible early on because the political support necessary for these rights did not require any deep changes in the relatively traditionalist character of Israeli society or in its dominant heterosexual norms, particularly the centrality of the family.

It has also been claimed that the early legal gains were not met with any opposition from conservative religious elements in the Knesset and the government (some of whom not only did not oppose the repeal of the law against male homosexual relations in the 1980s, but actually supported it), because these hoped to avoid any public discourse on homosexuality and thought that by supporting these changes they could head off public debate and halt the development of a gay lobby. In these terms, the discreet approach taken by the proposers of the legislation played into the hands of those conservative MKs who sought to silence debate.

However, the hopes of these conservative religious groups were soon dashed, as from the end of the 1980s onward the activities of LGBTQ individuals and organizations gained increasing attention. Similarly, it is claimed, the main demand of the LGBTQ community in the 1980s was that the law not interfere with the sex lives of its members, while in the 1990s its demands became more and more radical and extended to recognition of LGBTQ partnerships.<sup>67</sup>

This slow-down in legislative gains for LGBTQ rights is reflected in a report published by Molad: The Center for the Renewal of Israeli Democracy on the activities of the 19th Knesset. According to the report, "a close examination of all the legislative proposals brought to the Knesset shows that despite the public clamor they aroused, most of the bills proposed were blocked, indefinitely delayed, or buried. In practice, since the last elections the Knesset has approved only one LGBTQ bill, which was

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<sup>67</sup> Harel, A. (2002), p. 12.

actually brought by the opposition. In the meantime, the hoped-for revolution is nowhere to be seen.”<sup>68</sup>

Alongside the impressive accomplishments of LGBTQ rights in Israel, it should also be noted that there are some who take a critical view of the supportive stance of the government toward the LGBTQ community, seeing it as no more than an attempt to boost its liberal credentials and thereby mitigate criticism of the occupation of the West Bank and of Israel’s treatment of other minorities. Similarly, there has been some criticism of LGBTQ organizations for cooperating with the government’s stance in order to advance their own narrow interests, and failing to criticize the government’s activities in other, unrelated areas.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Levy, Y., & Schlesinger, L. (2015), p. 1.

<sup>69</sup> Franke K, (2012), Dating the State: The Moral Hazards of Winning Gay Rights, *Colombia Human Rights Law Review*, 44(1); *Ha’okets* (2014), For LGBTQ Rights: The Jews, September 15 [Hebrew], <http://www.haokets.org/> (accessed September 9, 2018).

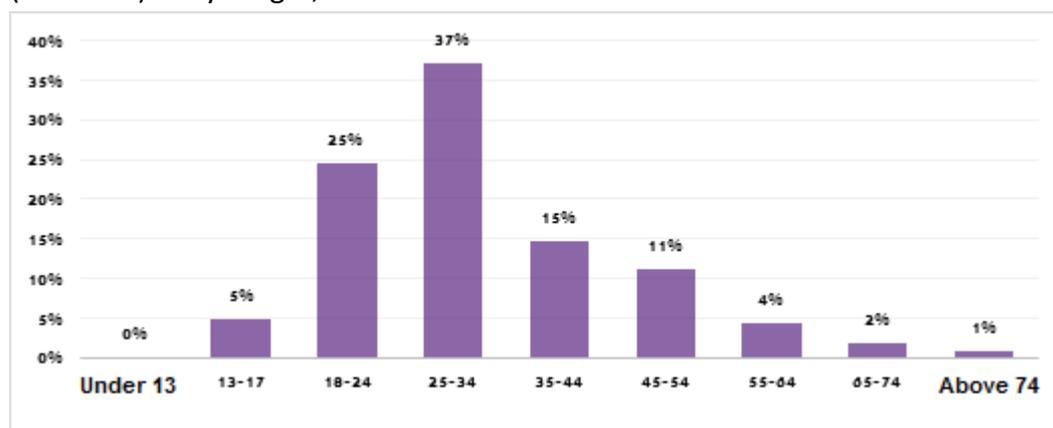
## 7. Appendix—Community Survey Results

The LGBTQ community survey was conducted between April 25 and May 4, 2018, and was published on the Facebook page of the Aguda—the Israeli National LGBT Task Force. The questionnaire was answered by 284 participants and included questions on LGBTQ identity, LGBTQ organizations, the scope of existing activities, and the community’s needs and barriers. Demographic data of the participants was also gathered.

### 1. Demographic data<sup>70</sup>

**Residence:** Some 48% of respondents (n=106) are from the Tel Aviv and Gush Dan area; 14% from Jerusalem and its environs (n=30); 10.4% from Be’er Sheva and the south (n=23); 11.3% from Haifa and the north (n=25), as also for the Sharon (n=25); and 5.4% from the Shfela lowlands (n=12). None of the respondents is from Judea or Samaria.

**Age:** About 62% of respondents (n=138) are between the ages of 18–34. A very few (some 5%) are younger, and the rest are older.



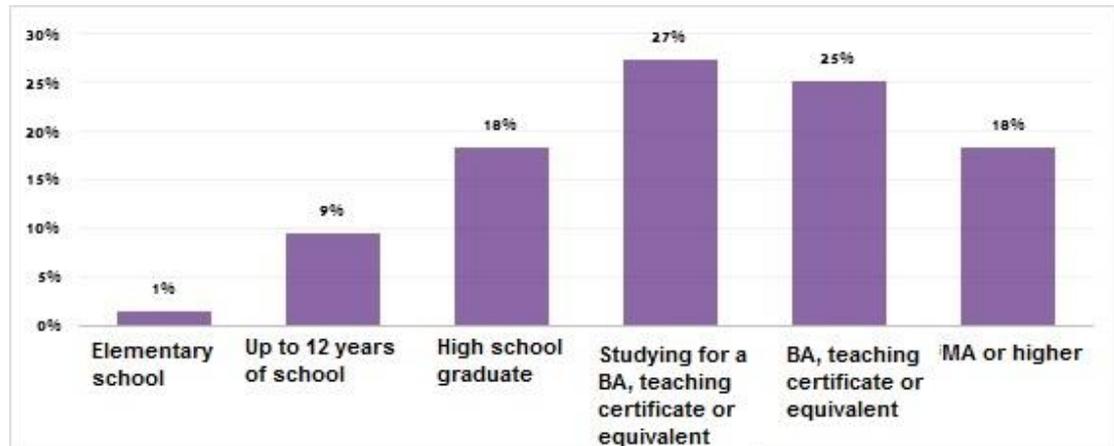
**Gender:** Some 43% of respondents (n=96) defined themselves as women as opposed to 45% who defined themselves as men (n=101). Approximately 10% defined themselves as “other” (n=23). Around 79% reported they were not transgender (n=149), compared with 16.4% who did (n=31).

**Religion:** More than 80% of respondents (n=178) are Jewish. The rest are atheists or have no religion (n=44). Over 77% of respondents (n=172) defined themselves as atheists or secular, 11% as traditional (n=25), and 4% as religious (n=9).

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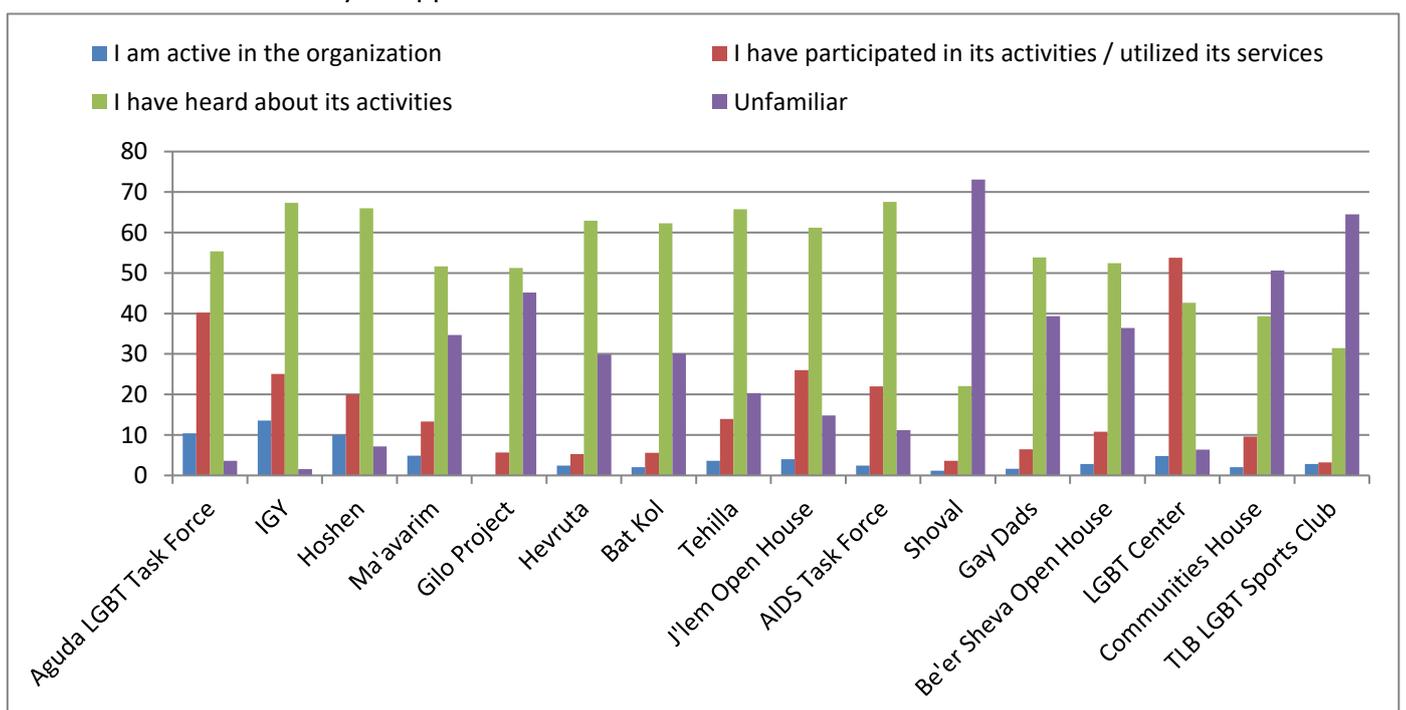
<sup>70</sup> It should be noted that only 222 participants, some 78% of the total number of participants, completed the demographic data section (which was the last on the questionnaire).

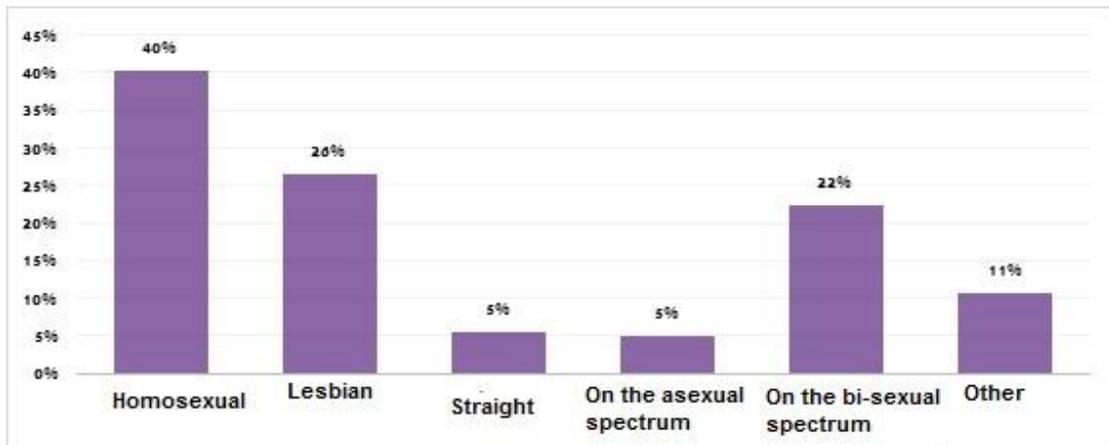
**Education:** Some 43% of respondents have an academic education (n=97), and an additional 27% are students in higher education (n=60). Some 18% (n=40) are high school graduates, and 11% have a high school education or less (n=24).



**Relationship and family status:** Half of the respondents (n=110) are single, while some 35% are in a relationship (n=78) and approximately 11% are married (n=25); the remainder responded that their status was “other” (mainly divorced). Some 21% (n=40) have children, and the average number of children is 2.5.

**Sexual orientation:** Over 40% of respondents (n=90) defined themselves as homosexual, 26.5% defined themselves as lesbian (n=59), and some 22% defined themselves as bisexual (n=50). Some 5.4% of respondents defined themselves as straight (n=12). Slightly less than 5% defined themselves as being asexual (n=11). Close to 11% defined themselves as “other”, meaning that they could not identify with any of the options provided (n=24). Some refused to define themselves; others referred to sexual identity as opposed to sexual orientation.



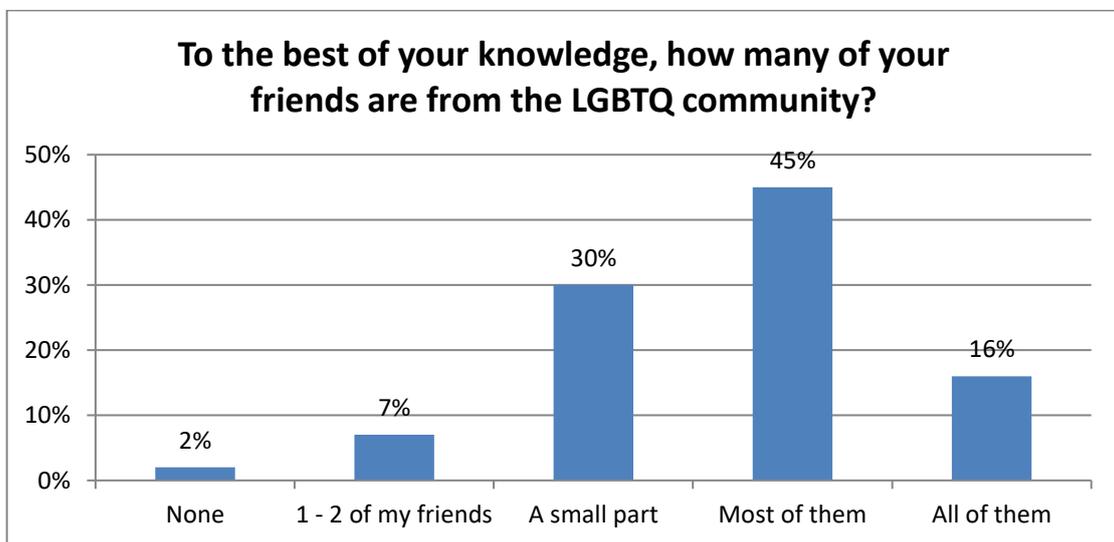
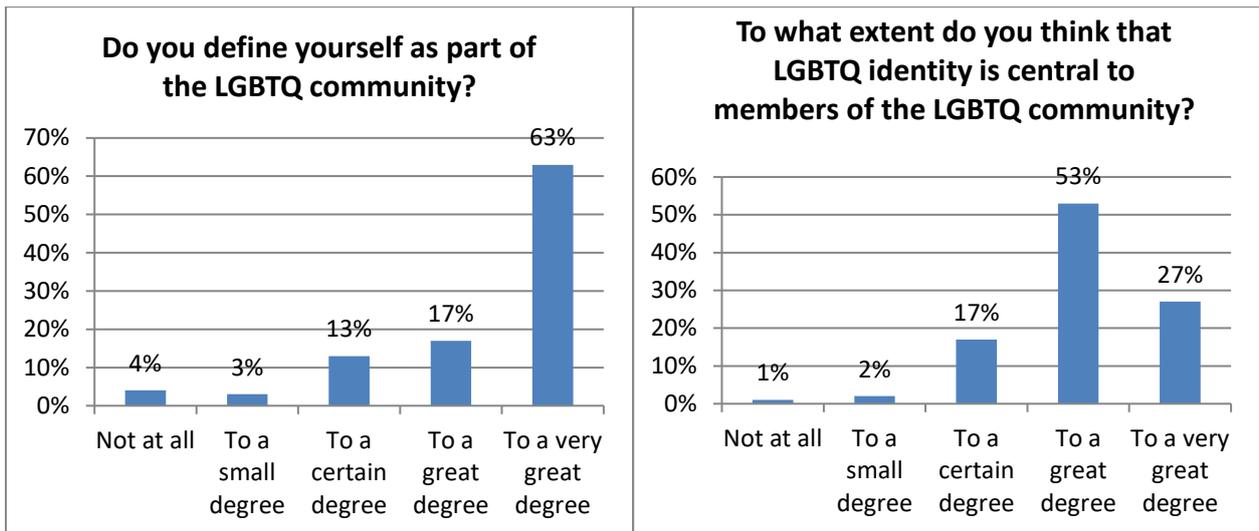


Next, we asked respondents to what degree they were acquainted with various LGBTQ organizations. The results are presented in the following graph:

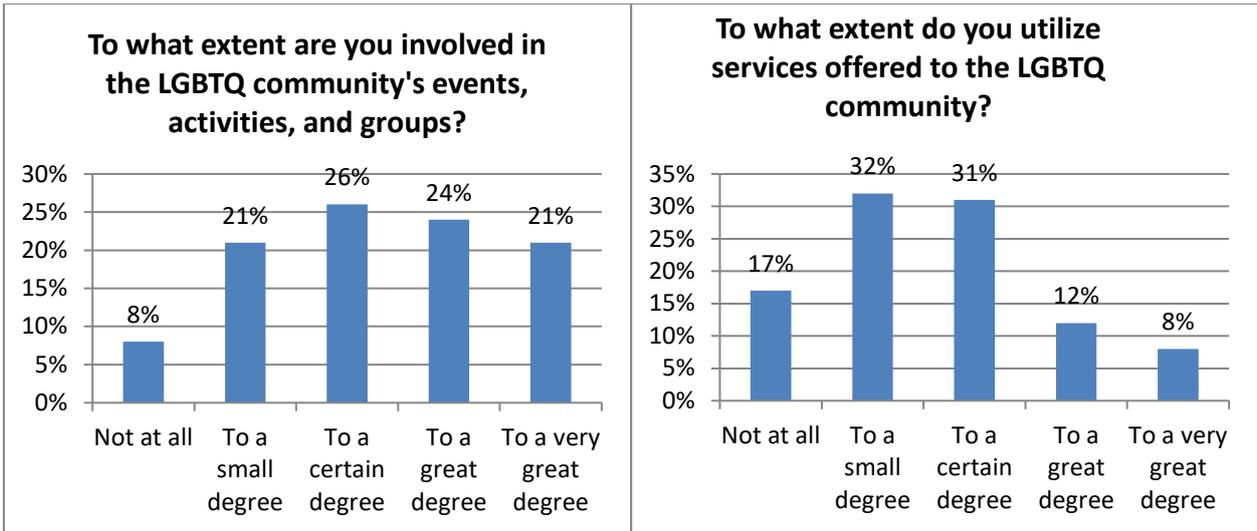
**Belonging to the community:** In response to the question “Do you define yourself as part of the LGBTQ community?”, 81% of respondents (n=228) defined themselves as part of the LGBTQ community to a great or very great extent. Some 6% of respondents (n=18) defined themselves as part of the community to a small degree or not at all. Some 13% defined themselves as part of the community to a certain degree. Continuing from there, 61% of respondents (n=172) reported that many or all of their friends are from the LGBTQ community. Only 9% reported that they had only two or fewer friends from the LGBTQ community (n=26).

Around 80% (n=226) reported that in their opinion the LGBT identity is the main identity of those belonging to the community to a great or very great extent. Only 2% reported that in their opinion it was the main identity to a small extent or not at all (n=7), and 17% reported that it was central to a certain degree (n=49).

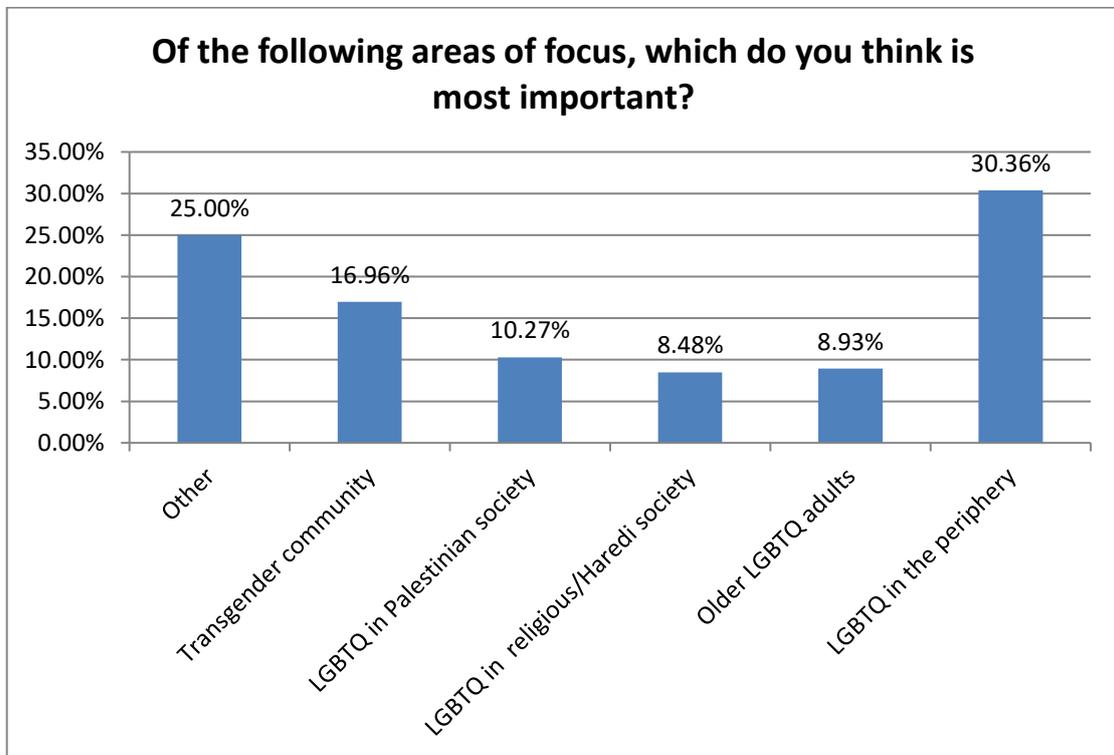
It emerged that 80%–83% of those living in Be’er Sheva and the south, Haifa and the north, and Tel Aviv and Gush Dan feel part of the LGBTQ community to a great or very great extent, while in Jerusalem only 73% feel that way. In the Shfela and the Sharon areas, 96%–100% feel part of the community.



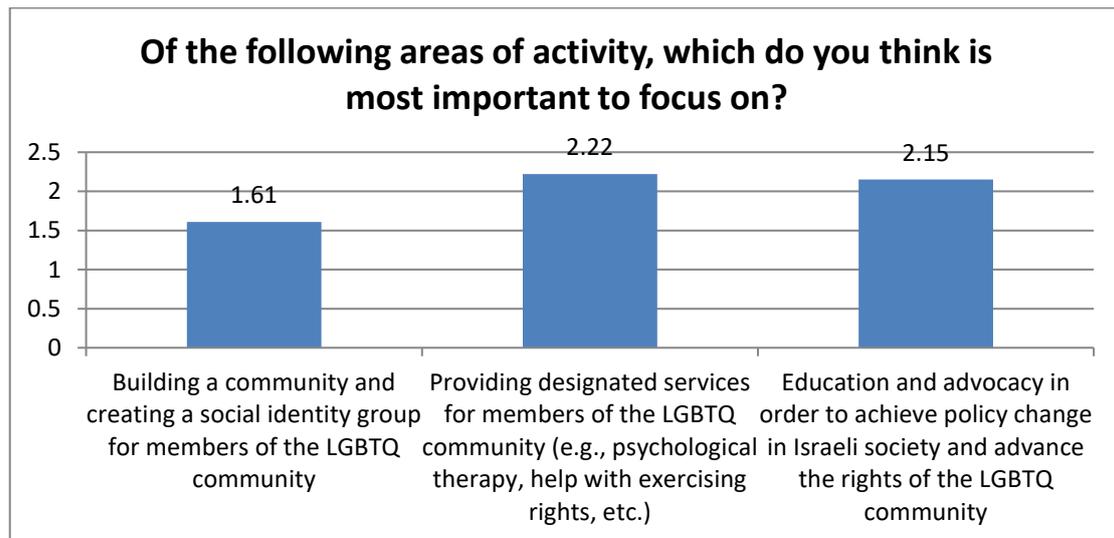
**Participating in activities and utilizing services:** Approximately 45% of respondents (n=127) reported that they were involved in events, activities, or groups of the LGBTQ community to a great or very great extent. Some 25% (n=72) are involved to a certain degree, and 29% to a small extent or not at all (n=83). About 49% of respondents (n=138) reported that they utilize services offered to the LGBTQ community to a small degree or not at all. Some 31% utilize services to a certain degree (n=87), and only a fifth (20%, n=57) stated that they utilized the services to a great or very great extent.



**Activity goals:** We asked respondents about the goals they think it is important to strive for, and 30.4% of (n=68) selected “LGBTQ in the periphery” as an important goal. Some 17% (n=38) marked the transgender community as one that should be focused on. Between 8.5% and 10% named older adults, religious LGBTQ groups, and Palestinian LGBTQ groups (n=19–23 for each of these goals). About a quarter of the respondents (25%) marked “other.” The most popular responses were: (1) that all goals were equally important; (2) that the focus should be on the youth sector; or (3) that the focus should be on methods of action, such as education, advocacy, fighting prejudice, unifying the community, and calls for action.



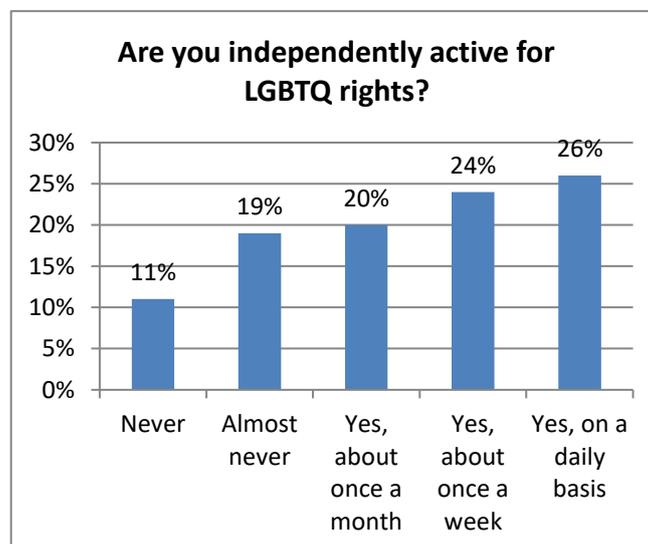
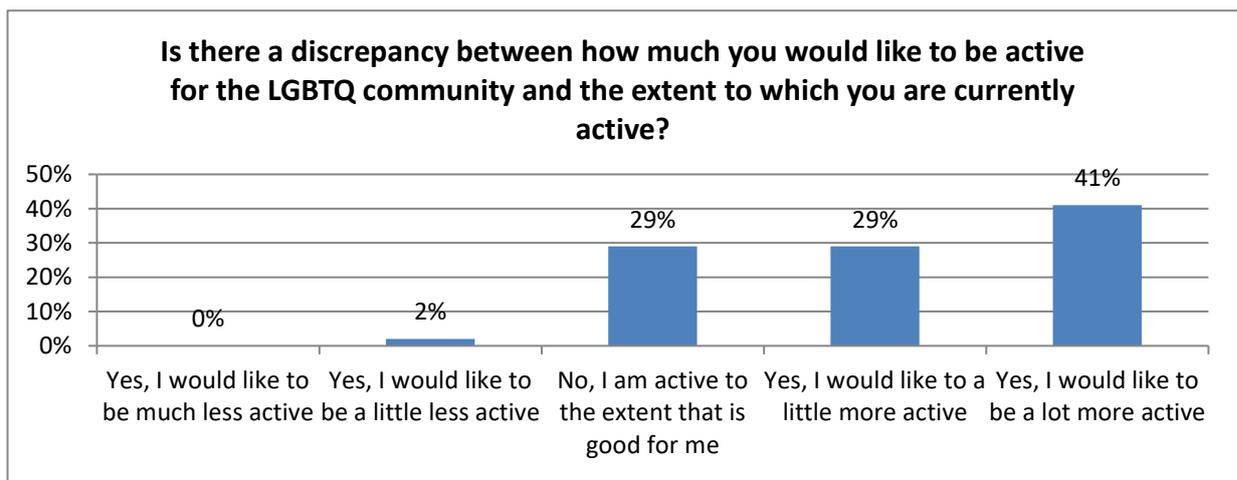
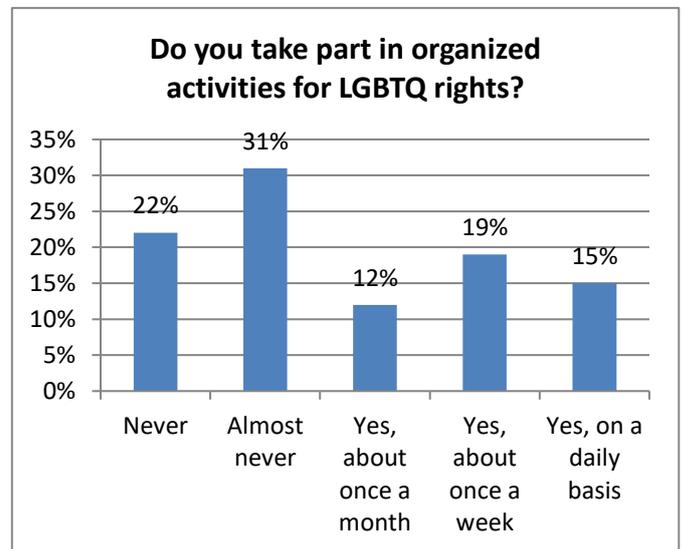
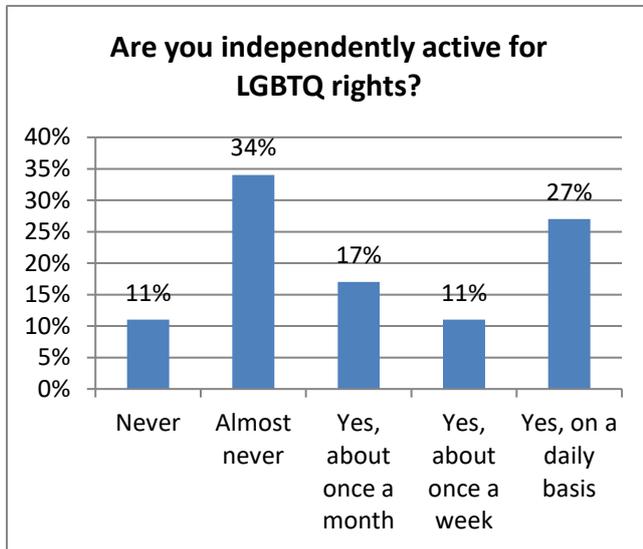
Of the suggested goals to focus on, “Education and advocacy in order to achieve policy change in Israeli society and advance the rights of the LGBTQ community” was chosen by 43% of the respondents as the most important. This was followed by “Provide designated services to members of the LGBTQ community (such as psychological therapy, help in exercising rights, and more),” chosen by some 37% of respondents. Finally, “Building a community and creating a social identification group for members of the LGBTQ community”, was selected by 19% of respondents. However, it should be noted that the difference between the first and second goal in the overall scale was very small (2.15 as opposed to 2.22), in contrast to the third goal, with an average overall score of 1.6.



**Activity for the community among respondents:** Some 38% of respondents (n=85) reported that at least once a week they act independently for the benefit of the LGBTQ community, as opposed to 11% (n=25) who reported that they take no independent action. Approximately 34% (n=77) reported that at least once a week they take part in organized activity for the community, as opposed to some 22% (n=50) who do not do so at all.

The correlation between independent and organized activity is comparatively high and distinct (r=.42). Approximately half the respondents (50%, n=226) defined themselves as active for LGBTQ rights to a great or very great extent. The correlation between this self-definition and the extent of activity was also very high and distinct (r=.50 for unorganized, independent activity, and r=.65 for organized activity). Only 10.6% of respondents (n=226) reported that they would not define themselves as active for LGBTQ rights to any extent. Some 69% of respondents (n=224) said they would like to be a little more or less active than they are now. The rest (28.6%) stated they were active to the extent that was good for them, and a very few (2.2%, five respondents) said they would like to be a little less active.

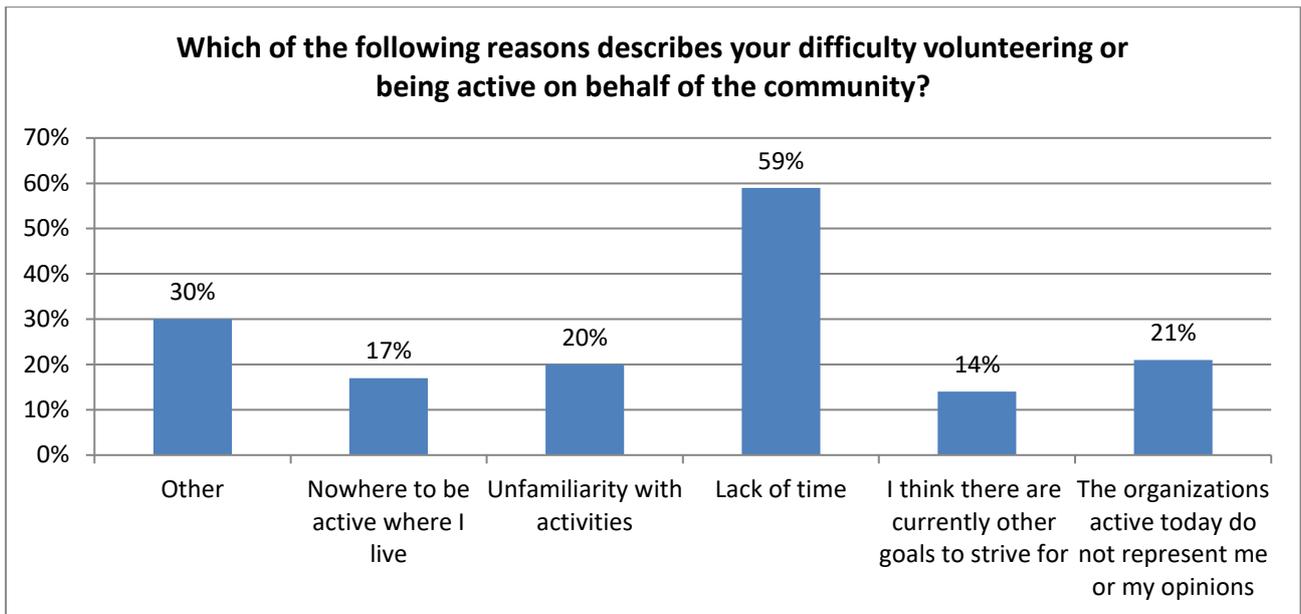
The extent to which self-definition is part of the LGBTQ community predicts the extent to which the respondents are active ( $\beta=.33, p<.00$ ) and utilize services ( $\beta=.06, p=.01$ ). However, the extent to which there is a sense that LGBTQ identity is central does not predict utilization of services ( $\beta=-0.2, p=0.82, ns$ ) and involvement in activity ( $\beta=0.11, p=.18, ns$ ).



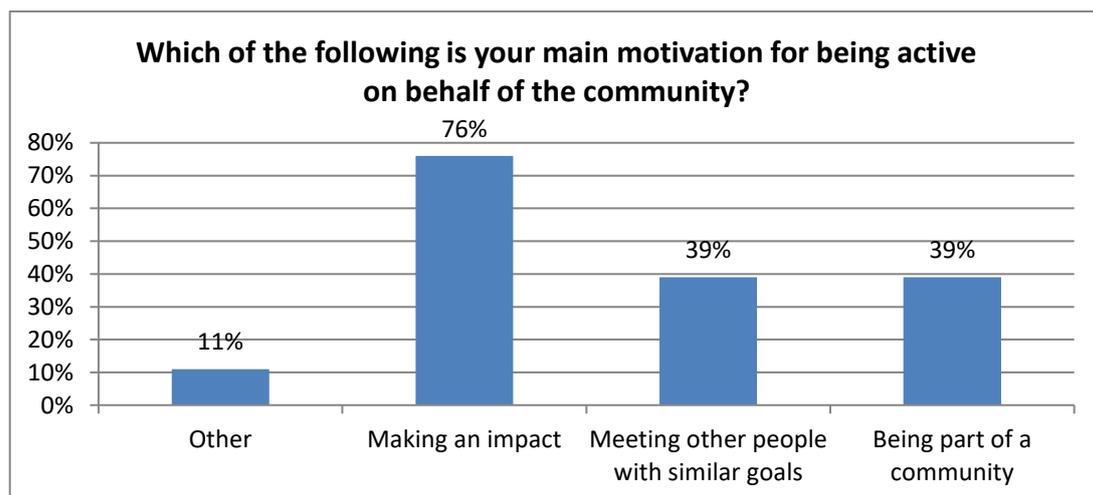
The extent to which self-definition is part of the LGBTQ community predicts the extent of actual volunteering in an organizational setting ( $\beta=.28$ ,  $p<.00$ ), but not independent activity ( $\beta=.11$ ,  $p=.11$ , ns). It also predicts the extent of familiarity with the various organizations active for LGBTQ rights ( $\beta=.29$ ,  $p<.00$ ). However, the extent to which there is a sense that LGBTQ identity is a central identity component does not predict either volunteering in an organizational setting ( $\beta=.01$ ,  $p=.94$ , ns) or independent activity ( $\beta=.13$ ,  $p=.01$ , ns). Finally, it also does not predict the extent of familiarity with the various organizations ( $\beta=.04$ ,  $p=.51$ , ns).

Lack of time was cited by 59.5% of respondents ( $n=222$ ) as the main reason that keeps them from volunteering more. About a fifth (21%) reported that they felt that the currently active organizations do not represent them or their opinions, and another fifth (20%) reported that they were unfamiliar with existing activities. A positive and distinct correlation was found between those who felt they were not represented by the organizations and the level of familiarity with the active organizations ( $r=.20$ ), as well as between those who felt there were other goals ( $r=.18$ ) and those who reported they did not have time ( $r=.22$ ). A distinct negative correlation was found between those who reported they were unfamiliar with the activities and their level of familiarity with the currently active organizations ( $r=.12$ ). Some 16.5% ( $n=15$ ) of homosexuals, 17% of lesbians ( $n=10$ ), and 8% of heterosexuals ( $n=12$ ) stated they did not feel represented by the organizations. This is in contrast to 36% of asexual respondents ( $n=4$ ), 34% of bisexual respondents ( $n=17$ ), and 35% of transgender respondents ( $n=11$ ).

Some 17% reported that there were no places for activities where they lived. It should be noted that this reply was much more common among those living in the Shfela (58%,  $n=7$ ), Haifa and the north (32%,  $n=8$ ), and the Sharon region (28%,  $n=7$ ) than those living in Be'er Sheva and the south (13%,  $n=3$ ), Jerusalem (16.5%,  $n=5$ ), and of course Tel Aviv (5%,  $n=6$ ). However, between 47% and 55% of respondents throughout the country defined themselves as being active on behalf of the community to a great or very great extent—with the exception of Haifa and the north, where only 36% of the respondents defined themselves that way. An additional 13.5% stated that they felt there were other goals that should currently be focused on.



Interestingly, no difference in motivation was found between those acting independently and those volunteering with organizations—the desire to be part of a community characterized some 39% of the independent activists who volunteered at least once a week (n=33), and 40% of those active through organizations at least once a week (n=31). Wanting to make an impact was typical of 35% of those active through organizations at least once a week (n=27), and 36.5% of the independent activists who volunteered at least once a week (n=31). The desire to generate change, which was the strongest motivation to act (some 76% of respondents, meaning 176 people, mentioned it as a primary motive), was cited by 95% of those active through organizations at least once a week (n=73), and 86% of independent activists who volunteered at least once a week (n=73).



**Opinions regarding LGBTQ organizations:** Some 41% (n=103) of respondents reported they felt that the organizations represented them to a great or very great extent. Around 35% of respondents (N=90) felt that the organizations represented them to a

certain extent. Approximately 23% (n=59) reported a sense that the organizations represented them very little or not at all. The average sense of representation did not greatly differ among homosexuals, lesbians, or those who defined themselves as asexual, bisexual, or transgender (general average=3.24; SD=1.03; range=2.82 [asexual] – 3.33 [homosexuals]). The sense of representation had positive, distinct correlations with familiarity with existing organizations ( $r=.32$ ), organized activity ( $r=.28$ ), and independent activity ( $r=.16$ ).

Approximately 62% (n=156) felt that the organizations provide solutions for the community to a great or very great degree. Some 32% felt that solutions are provided to a certain extent, and 6% reported that in their opinion few or no solutions are provided. The average feeling regarding solutions was not distinctly different among homosexuals, lesbians, and those who defined themselves as transgender, asexual, or bisexual (general average=3.68; SD=.831; range=3.18 [asexual] to 3.92 [straight]). The sense that solutions were provided had positive and distinct correlations with familiarity with existing organizations ( $r=.23$ ), with the sense that the organizations represent me ( $r=.55$ ), and with organized activities ( $r=.13$ ), but not with independent action ( $r=.05$ ).

