## 2011 STATE OF THE STATES REPORT

A Survey Assessing the Capacity of State-Based
Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Advocacy Organizations


Equality Federation Institute

## The Equality Federation Institute

Equality Federation|Equality Federation Institute is an alliance of state advocacy organizations working together to achieve equality for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people in every state and territory by building strong and sustainable statewide organizations in a state-based movement. The Equality Federation Institute provides infrastructure resources, leadership development, and training to state groups and also works to increase the resources available for state-based organizing and education work.

Disclaimer: The opinions expressed in this report reflect the best judgement of the Equality Federation Institute. These opinions are based on the analysis of data collected from participating organizations. This report does not necessarily reflect the view of funders, Equality Federation members, or other organizations.

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## STATE OF THE STATES 2011

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## INTRODUCTION

The 2011 State of the States Report reflects a year of both great victories and defeats for the LGBT equality movement. On the national level, the Obama administration has pushed successfully to end the discriminatory "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" military policy and Congress' historic hearings on the Defense of Marriage Act. In the states, we have seen significant victories--New York became the sixth state to win full marriage equality and Hawai'i and Delaware passed civil union laws; Connecticut, Massachusetts, Nevada and Hawai'i added protections based on gender identity to existing nondiscrimination bills; and anti-bullying ordinances were enacted in Arkansas and Texas. But the LGBT equality movement is facing backlash across the country, as the gap widens between the states with strong, comprehensive laws and those in which discrimination is not only legal, but lauded as an expression of "family values."

Equality Federation Institute has launched a new era of regional thinking and planning for the state-based equality movement. As part of this new focus, it is critical to look at the capacity of state-based LGBT advocacy organizations, to see their strengths and their challenges in order to best support these organizations and increase their effectiveness and stability. The State of the States Report is the Federation Institute's instrument to describe the capacity of state-based LGBT organizations, to help organizations compare their organization to others, to chart a course for growth and to help direct resources where they will have the most impact.

We enter this new regionally focused era in the context of a nationwide economic crisis that has had a profound impact on nonprofit organizations of all types, with small organizations finding it difficult to stay afloat and achieve their goals. The movement's state-based organizations have always done a great deal with relatively few resources, and many have managed to grow even in this challenging economy.

Across the country, the struggle for LGBT equality looks very different by state and region. Many states have blocked any legal recognition of same-sex relationships by means of state constitutional amendments, while others have achieved full marriage equality in addition to other legal protections. The 2010 midterm elections brought concentrated Republican control to many state legislatures, putting pro-equality legislation on hold in states that had previously been gaining momentum. The challenge for state-based advocacy groups is to close the gap between the states with few legal protections and those approaching full equality. Shoring up and protecting the victories we have won in progressive states while building our movement in conservative states is critically important to the future of the LGBT equality movement.

## METHODOLOGY

The 2011 Equality Federation Institute State of the States Survey was distributed in April 2011 to each EFI member organization via email ( 50 organizations in 41 states). Responses were collected until mid-June 2011. While some corrections were made to data by organizations after their survey was submitted, any updates/submissions to existing submissions or new submissions received after June 14, 2011 were not included in this report. Forty-seven responses were collected. Once duplicates were removed and responses consolidated, a total of forty-three organizations responded to this survey. Seven organizations did not return surveys. The survey included twenty-five questions, some with multiple responses. Some organizations chose not to complete every question, leaving some answers blank. Missing responses were not included in this analysis. We report both the mean and median* scores to allow for most accurate understanding and use.

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## CONTEXT: A MATURING STATE MOVEMENT

Forty-three organizations responded to the survey this year, up from 35 in 2009. The oldest state equality organization is Equality North Carolina, which formed its 501 (c) 3 over 30 years ago in 1979. The mean age of all 501 (c) 3 organizations is just under 10 years old (median 8 years). The 501(c)4 divisions of respondent organizations have similar averages, with the mean age of all 501 (c) 4 organizations in this survey being just slightly over 9 years (median 6 years). The oldest 501(c)4, 26 years old, belongs to Equality Maine.


EqualityMainehas the oldest PAC, formed in 1988. The mean age of all PACs is nearly 6.5 years, with 7 of the active PACs newly formed in 2010. The median age of all PACs in the 2011 survey is 5 years. Five respondent organizations had active ballot measure committees as of 2010, with the oldest being MassEquality at 9 years. The mean/median age of the five ballot measure committees is 5 years.

The respective age of the 501 (c) 3,501 (c)4, PAC, and ballot measure committees reflect the common evolution of the state-based movement. Figure 2 illustrates that the majority of each type of legal entity reported by respondents was formed after the year 2000-with (c)3s, (c)4s, and ballot measure committees showing a much higher percentage in the period between 2001-2005. The majority of reported PACs were formed between 2006 and 2010. We can see that 501 (c)3s are the oldest, with many of the older organizations starting as educational/social welfare groups, only becoming more explicitly political advocacy groups later, with the growth of 501 (c)4s and PACs. Ballot measure groups with limited, specific objectives are a development of the last decade.

In 2009, there were seven states without a statewide LGBT equality advocacy organization. This year there are nine states without Equality Federation members organizations. Some of these states have statewide organizations working toward LGBT equality that are not currently Federation members.

## SUPPORTERS: VOTERS \& LISTS

Although most of the organizations in the Equality Federation are small in terms of staff and budget, they are impressive when it comes to grassroots support. For many of these organizations, the ability of a few committed staff and volunteers to mobilize many constituents is the key to success. Of those organizations reporting actual numbers on their voter-id, donor, email action, and mailing lists, we found the following information (Table 1).

|  | Voter ID | Donor | Email Action | Mailing | Total Contacts |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
|  | $4,261,988$ | 428,213 | $1,110,753$ | $1,089,817$ | $5,335,794$ |
| Total | 213,100 | 13,814 | 28,481 | 33,025 | 130,142 |
| Mean | 13,734 | 2,100 | 10,000 | 10,000 | 14,000 |
| Median | $3,500,000$ | 215,826 | 559,595 | 548,051 | $3,510,000$ |
| High | 200 | 40 | 2 | 350 | 350 |
| Non-zero minimum |  |  |  |  |  |

Table 1. Constituent Lists - Summary Statistics
Because of the wide range of organizational size, to get a better picture of member organizations'list sizes, we have organized the member responses by list size (Table 2): Very few organizations have lists with more than 50,000 contacts ( $23.8 \%$ for Voter ID, $6.2 \%$ for donor lists, $4.8 \%$ for email action, $14.3 \%$ for mailing lists, and $16.3 \%$ for total contacts).

|  | Voter ID | Donor | Email Action | Mailing | Total Contacts |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| $\mathbf{1 - 1 0 0 0}$ | $14.3 \%$ | $31.3 \%$ | $7.3 \%$ | $11.4 \%$ | $11.6 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{1 , 0 0 1 - 2 , 5 0 0}$ | $14.3 \%$ | $25.0 \%$ | $17.1 \%$ | $11.4 \%$ | $9.3 \%$ |
| $2,501-\mathbf{5 , 0 0 0}$ | $14.3 \%$ | $21.9 \%$ | $7.3 \%$ | $14.3 \%$ | $14.0 \%$ |
| $5,001-\mathbf{1 0 , 0 0 0}$ | $0.0 \%$ | $3.1 \%$ | $22.0 \%$ | $14.3 \%$ | $7.0 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{1 0 , 0 0 1 - 2 5 , 0 0 0}$ | $23.8 \%$ | $6.3 \%$ | $26.8 \%$ | $22.9 \%$ | $27.9 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{2 5 , 0 0 1 - 5 0 , 0 0 0}$ | $9.5 \%$ | $6.3 \%$ | $14.6 \%$ | $11.4 \%$ | $14.0 \%$ |
| $\mathbf{5 0 , 0 0 1 - 1 0 0 , 0 0 0}$ | $4.8 \%$ | $3.1 \%$ | $2.4 \%$ | $11.4 \%$ | $7.0 \%$ |
| Over $\mathbf{1 0 0} 000$ | $19.0 \%$ | $3.1 \%$ | $2.4 \%$ | $2.9 \%$ | $9.3 \%$ |

Table 2. Constituent Lists - Distribution by List Size

Donor lists tended to be the smallest, with more than three-fourths (78.2\%) of all organizations reporting lists of 5,000 or fewer contacts. Email action, mailing, and total contacts remain small at 25,000 or fewer contacts for $80.5 \%$ (email action), $71.3 \%$ (mailing lists), and $69.8 \%$ (total contacts) of responding organizations. There are a few organizations ( $9.8 \%$ ) with total contact lists containing over 100,000 unique contacts: Equal Rights Washington* , Equality California, Equality Maine, and Basic Rights Oregon. Although individual lists are moderately sized, the cumulative reach of Federation members is significant at more than 5.3 million.

[^1]
## LEADERS: STAFF \& BOARD

## Staff Size \& Diversity

As reported in previous years, one of the greatest challenges faced by Federation organizations is that they are largely understaffed. Fully one third (13) of responding organizations had no paid full-time staff, slightly more than the $29 \%$ (10) in 2009's survey, while nearly $85 \%$ have fewer than 6 full-time staff. Overall, organizations show a full-time staff mean of 4 (3.7) and a median of 2. Discounting the zero staff responses (26), staffed organizations have a mean staff level of 6 (5.5), median 3.The figures below show percentages of the number of full-time staff, both including and excluding the "zero" responses:

Of the 39 respondents, the largest organization, with 22 full-time staff, is Empire State Pride Agenda, up from second largest in 2009. Size of staff continues to rise and fall, especially in larger organizations, due largely to marriage equality campaign activity.


In addition to the questions about the number of staff positions, member organizations were asked whether they had staffed certain key positions: Executive Director, Development Director, Finance Director, Office Manager/Administrative Director, Program Director, Field Director, Political/Policy Director, Communications Director, Lobbyist, and Technology Coordinator. Organizations were also asked whether these positions were full-time, part-time, consultant, or volunteer. If the organization did not have particular position on staff, they could reply "No Position".

Some chose this option, though others left the question blank. The following figure illustrates the responses of organizations currently filling the listed positions.


The top two full-time positions filled by member organizations with staff responding to this survey are Executive Director and Development Director. Nearly 80\% (78.8\%) of these organizations report a full-time Executive Director. Development Director is staffed full-time by $72.7 \%$ of responding organizations. Those with additional staff have field and program positions staffed at $71.4 \%$ and $69.2 \%$ respectively. The lowest full-time positions for member organizations are technology coordinator and lobbyist positions, though many groups fill these positions with consultants ( $64 \%$ for lobbyists) or using volunteers ( $68 \%$ for technology). It is also worth noting that while Office Manager/Administrative Director is staffed full-time by $57.9 \%$ of responding organizations, it leads the part-time category, with $21.1 \%$ of responding organizations reporting they staff this position part-time.

There is little change in staff demographics for member organizations. A total of 29 organizations answered questions regarding the gender of staff. Twenty-three organizations report having a total of 79 women on staff. Twenty-four organizations report having a total of 82 men on staff. As was the case in 2009, the total reported staff across all responding groups is nearly evenly split between men and women. Six organizations ( $20.7 \%$ ) employ a total of 8 staff identifying as transgender - while a different set of six organizations (again 20.7\%) report having a total of 6 people who identify as genderqueer*. This year we have five reporting organizations whose name indicates a concentration on gender identity/expression issues, but only one (Massachusetts Transgender Political Coalition) reports having any paid staff.

Of the 29 organizations responding to the questions concerning race/ethnicity of staff, we also find a lack of diversity consistent with past years, which continues to be a major challenge for Federation organizations. Twenty-seven organizations (93.1\%) employ a total of 129 staff identifying as Caucasian/White, again not much changed from either 2008 or 2009 reports. The next largest racial/ethnic groups are African American/ Black and Latina/Latino/Hispanic. Seven organizations (24.1\%) employ a total of 11 people identifying as African American/Black while eight organizations (27.6\%) employ a total of 11 people identifying as Latina/ Latino/Hispanic. No organization reports any staff member identifying as Native American Indian; one

[^2]organization (3.4\%) reports employing a total of one person identifying as Asian/Pacific Islander; and six organizations (20.7\%) report employing 7 people who identify as Other/Bi/Multi-Race/Ethnicity.

Fourteen of 29 responding organizations ( $48.3 \%$, or nearly half) report only Caucasian/White staff. Of the remaining fifteen, 8 ( $27.6 \%$ of the total; $53.3 \%$ of all organizations reporting any racial diversity) report having only one staff member of a race/ethnicity other than Caucasian/White. The two organizations showing the strongest diversity among staff are also the largest, Empire State Pride Agenda and Equality California.

## Staffing Costs

In total, 28 organizations reported spending a total of $\$ 8,913,172$ on salaries, benefits, training, and recruitment combined. Of this total and across reporting organizations, salaries make up $82.2 \%$; benefits make up $11 \%$; training makes up $0.7 \%$; and recruitment makes up $1.1 \%$. Total spent on salaries per organization is a huge range, from $\$ 32,000$ to $\$ 2,189,458$. The mean total spent on salaries per organization is $\$ 288,005$ (median $\$ 143,000$ ). The big investors in staffing are Equality California $(\$ 2,189,458)$ and Empire State Pride Agenda ( $\$ 1,516,166$ ), both organizations with large staffs in expensive parts of the country. Basic Rights Oregon is in the third position for staffing costs at $\$ 575,466$, close to a million dollars less than Empire State Pride Agenda. Here we see the top two organizations making up nearly half of the total $(47.7 \%$, or $\$ 3,705,624)$ of the total spent on salaries across all organizations, while the bottom ten make up only $7.2 \%$. If we remove Equality California and Empire State Pride Agenda, the total drops to $\$ 4,070,523$, with a much lower mean of \$162,821 (median \$140,000).

A total of $\$ 983,243$ was spent on benefits in 2010 across eighteen reporting organizations. The mean amount spent on benefits is $\$ 54,625$ (median $\$ 25,980$ ). Responses in this category ranged from $\$ 3,192$ to $\$ 302,236$. The two organizations with the highest benefits costs are Empire State Pride Agenda at $\$ 302,236$ and MassEquality $(\$ 180,000)$. Without data from those two organizations, the mean drops to $\$ 35,294$ and the median to $\$ 20,815$.

Only thirteen organizations reported the amount spent for training. The amount spent for training across these reporting organizations ranges from $\$ 250$ to $\$ 14,519$, giving a mean of $\$ 4,587$ per organization (median $\$ 2,600$ ). Three organizations report spending at least $\$ 10,000$ on training in 2010: Basic Rights Oregon $(\$ 14,519)$; Empire State Pride Agenda ( $\$ 10,448$ ); Equality Utah $(\$ 10,000)$. Together these three organizations make up $58.6 \%$ of the total spent on training.

|  | California and New York Included |  |  |  | California and New York Excluded |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Salaries | Benefits | Training | Recruitment | Salaries | Benefits | Training | Recruitment |
| Total | \$7,776,147 | \$983,243 | \$59,637 | \$94,145 | \$4,070,523 | \$564,709 | \$49,189 | \$14,772 |
| Mean | \$288,005 | \$54,625 | \$4,587 | \$11,768 | \$162,821 | \$35,294 | \$4,099 | \$2,462 |
| Median | \$143,000 | \$25,980 | \$2,600 | \$2,250 | \$140,000 | \$20,815 | \$2,550 | \$2,000 |
| High | \$2,189,458 | \$302,236 | \$14,519 | \$62,784 | \$575,466 | \$302,236 | \$14,519 | \$6,272 |
| Non-Zero <br> Low | \$32,000 | \$3,192 | \$250 | \$1,000 | \$32,000 | \$3,192 | \$250 | \$1,000 |

Table 3. Staffing Costs - With and Without Largest Organizations

Only eight organizations reported spending any amount on staff recruitment. The total spent across these eight organizations is $\$ 94,145$, with a mean of $\$ 11,768$ (median $\$ 2,250$ ). Responses ranged from $\$ 1,000$ to $\$ 62,784$ (Empire State Pride Agenda). Equality California spent the second highest amount on recruitment $(\$ 16,589)$. Third place falls another approximately ten thousand to $\$ 6,272$ (Equality Texas). Empire State Pride Agenda alone makes up two-thirds (66.7\%) of the total spent while ESPA and Equality California combine to make up $84.3 \%$.

Table 4 shows there is still much variation in position salaries among reporting organizations. Salaries for each position reported show at least a doubling between highest and lowest, probably attributable to a variety of factors including size of organization, number of employees supervised, geographic region, and years of experience.

|  | California and New York Included |  |  |  | California and New York Excluded |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Executive Director | Development Director | Program Director | Field Director | Executive Director | Development Director | Program Director | Field Director |
| Total | \$2,031,000 | \$913,300 | \$338,000 | \$657,210 | \$1,681,000 | \$716,300 | \$263,000 | \$554,710 |
| Mean | \$75,222 | \$57,081 | \$42,250 | \$43,814 | \$67,240 | \$51,164 | \$37,571 | \$42,670 |
| Median | \$70,000 | \$51,000 | \$40,000 | \$42,500 | \$70,000 | \$50,000 | \$40,000 | \$40,000 |
| High | \$175,000 | \$105,000 | \$75,000 | \$63,000 | \$120,000 | \$100,000 | \$58,000 | \$63,000 |
| Non-Zero <br> Low | \$25,000 | \$30,000 | \$25,000 | \$12,500 | \$25,000 | \$30,000 | \$25,000 | \$12,500 |

Table 4. Salaries of Key Positions - With and Without Largest Organizations

## Volunteers

Respondents report a wide range in the number of volunteers active in the past twelve months: from 3 to 2500 . The mean number of volunteers per group is 226 , with a median of 50 . The number of volunteers vary widely between organizations (see the figure at right) with nearly a quarter of responding organizations reporting less than 20 active volunteers, while nearly half of responding organizations report having less than 40 active volunteers. Nearly $2 / 3$ of all responding organizations report less than 100 active volunteers. The total number of active volunteers across all reporting organizations for 2010 is 8,113 , down by nearly $50 \%$ from 2008. However, 2008 was a general election year, which attracts a larger number of volunteers. There may be a rise in volunteers in state-based member organizations again in 2012.


Volunteers in Member Organizations - By Percentage

## Boards of Directors

Having a strong board of directors is a critical element in the leadership of a nonprofit organization. The board is responsible for the overall direction and support of the organization in large organizations. For small or new organizations, the board may also be taking on crucial operational and programmatic tasks, especially for organizations with few or no staff.

The organization with the largest reported number of people on each of their boards is Equality California with $25,24,17$, and 57 people on their 501 (c) 3,501 (c) 4, PAC, and total boards respectively. The mean number of people on the boards of reporting organizations' 501 (c) 3 is 11 median of 10 . The numbers are very similar for 501 (c) 4 boards, which have a mean of 11 and a median of 10.5 . PAC boards tend to be smaller and fewer organizations have PACs. The mean number of people of respondents' PAC boards is 7 with a median of 5. (See figure below for the distribution of board sizes among the different entities.)


Size of Member Boards - By Entity and Percent

## Board Fundraising

Fundraising is one of the primary responsibilities of nonprofit boards of directors and across all responding organizations, the total dollar amount given or raised by boards is $\$ 2,098,341$. This formed $9.2 \%$ of the total budgets across all reporting organizations (see figure below). The give-get amounts raised by boards ranged from $\$ 1,500$ to $\$ 400,000$ ( 36 responses). Once zero or missing responses were removed from the analysis, an average of $\$ 60,176$ was given/raised by board members. The median amount given/raised by boards was $\$ 38,500$.

The mean in this case is clearly affected by a few large extremes, such as Equality California board's contribution of $\$ 400,000$. As can be seen below, more than half ( $58.3 \%$ ) of reporting organizations' boards gave/ raised less than $\$ 25,000$ last year, while three-fourths ( $75 \%$ ) gave/raised $\$ 50,000$ or less. Once the high fundraising boards (more than $\$ 75,000$ ) are removed from the calculation, the mean amount raised is a much lower $\$ 24,205$ with a median of $\$ 20,000$.

Although the actual amount raised by boards varies widely, it is clear that they are meeting fundraising goals for their organizations. Fully $2 / 3$ of the 30 organizations reported that boards met or exceeded that amount. Only $1 / 3$ of the organizations reported that they had raised less than was projected (see figure below).


Money Raised By Member Boards - by Percentage


Board Give-Get Results - By Percentage

## Board Demographics

All forty-three responding organizations submitted responses regarding the gender of their board members. Forty-two organizations report having 256 women on their boards, while 41 organizations report having 395 men on their boards. As opposed to staff totals which were split evenly between women and men, here we see more men than women serving on boards, close to a 60:40 ratio. Thirty-nine people identifying as MTF are members of 23 organizations' boards; thirteen people identifying as FTM are members of 9 organizations' boards; and twenty-one people identifying as genderqueer are members of 9 organizations' boards*.

[^3]There has been no change in the number of transgender board members since the 2009 survey. The five reporting organizations whose name indicates a concentration on gender identity/expression issues account for $35.6 \%$ of the total number of transgender people on boards across all organizations. In other words, $11.6 \%$ of responding organizations account for over a third of all transgender people on organizations' boards. Furthermore, people who identify as transgender make up $70.3 \%$ of the people on the boards of transgender organizations but they make up only $4.7 \%$ percent of board members of non-transgender focused organizations.


Proportion of Transgender and Non-Transgender Board Members LGBT Organizations Only

Transgender Board Members


Proportion of Transgender and Non-Transgender Board Members - Transgender Organizations Only

Because the presence of transgender board members and transgender organizations is fundamental to effective LGBT advocacy work, there needs to be more transgender board members (and staff) in the broader LGBT equality groups.

Racial diversity has remained disappointingly low according to the 42 organizations responding to this section of the survey. Thirty-eight organizations report having 484 people identifying as Caucasian/White as board members. The next largest racial/ethnic group is African American/Black, with 27 organizations having 52 board members identifying in this group. Twenty organizations have 39 board members identifying as Latina/Latino/Hispanic; 12 organizations have 20 board members identifying as Asian/Pacific Islander; 8 organizations have a total of 8 board members identifying as Other/Bi/Multi Race/Ethnicity; and one organization has one board member identifying as Native American Indian.

Although the majority of people reported on boards in 2010 are still overwhelmingly Caucasian/White, we do see greater diversity among reporting organizations' boards than we do in their staff. Although 14 organizations reported having only Caucasian/White staff, of those who report having some degree of racial or ethnic diversity, $28.9 \%$ had a single person of color on staff. The two largest organizations (Empire State Pride Agenda and Equality California) show the strongest diversity and are two of only three (MassEquality) with more than one person in three or more racial/ethnic categories. The LGBT equality advocacy movement continues to struggle with creating organizations that reflect the complexity of our communities, although there is broad agreement that the movement's success depends upon it.

## FUNDING SOCIAL CHANGE: BUDGETS

Organizations report an extremely wide range of budgets in the statewide LGBT equality movement. Thirtyseven organizations indicated combined budgets of $\$ 22,811,710$ (across all reporting organizations, including 501 (c) 3,501 (c) 4 and PAC budgets), with a mean total organizational budget of $\$ 616,533$. This average is affected by extreme high and low values, so the median value, $\$ 215,000$, provides a better picture of member organization financial resources. The lowest total budget was $\$ 1,800$;the highest, $\$ 6,998,842$, was over three thousand times larger.

Of the total over all organizations, $80.6 \%(\$ 18,385,282)$ was held by the top ten organizations, $65.3 \%$ $(\$ 14,895,802)$ by the top five, while just $1.1 \%(\$ 247,648)$ was held by the smallest ten organizations. These organizations are struggling for existence, compared to well-established, sustainable organizations.

Not surprisingly, the two organizations with the highest total budgets are Equality California $(\$ 6,998,842)$ and Empire State Pride Agenda ( $\$ 3,853,964$ ). The marrriage initiative in New York State likely had a large influence in the growth of that organization's budget. The third highest total budget belongs to Basic Rights Oregon which has a combined budget of $\$ 1,736,996$. Only one other organization reported a combined budget over one million, MassEquality at $\$ 1,367,000$. Combined these four organizations make up $61.2 \%$ of the total combined budgets, with the top two making up $47.6 \%$ of the total.

Looking into each separate legal entity, the highest three 501(c)3 budgets are the following: Empire State Pride Agenda, $\$ 2,359,900$; Equality California, $\$ 1,883,062 ;$ Basic Rights Oregon, $\$ 1,551,861$. These are the only organizations reporting a 501(c)3 budget of over one million dollars; the next highest 501(c)3 budget is $\$ 820,000$ (Equality Illinois). The top three organizations' 501 (c)3 budgets combined $(\$ 5,794,823$ ) make up nearly half ( $47.8 \%$ ) of the total reported 501 (c) 3 budgets across organizations ( $\$ 12,125,047$; mean $\$ 356,619$; median $\$ 184,129$; range $\$ 2,000-\$ 2,359,900$ ). Equality California and Empire State Pride Agenda together make up $35 \%$ of the 501 (c) 3 total nationally. The bottom ten organizations combined make up only $3 \%$ of the total 501(c)3 budget across all reporting organizations.

|  | California and New York Included |  |  | California and New York Excluded |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 501(c)3 | 501(c)4 | PAC | 501(c)3 | 501(c)4 | PAC |
| Total | \$12,125,047 | \$9,172,774 | \$1,513,889 | \$7,882,085 | \$3,094,500 | \$982,319 |
| Mean | \$356,619 | \$305,759 | \$84,105 | \$246,315 | \$110,518 | \$61,395 |
| Median | \$184,129 | \$64,750 | \$33,987 | \$174,629 | \$61,100 | \$28,000 |
| High | \$2,359,900 | \$4,845,210 | \$390,000 | \$1,551,861 | \$730,000 | \$390,000 |
| Non-Zero Low | \$2,000 | \$1,800 | \$600 | \$2,000 | \$1,800 | \$600 |

Table 5. 2010 Organizational Budgets - Summary Statistics
The $501 \mathrm{c}(4)$ budgets tend to be larger than that of the $501 \mathrm{c}(3)$ for large organizations. The reported combined budgets of organizations' 501 (c)4 entities is $\$ 9,172,774$. Two organizations report a 501 (c)4 budget of over a million dollars: Equality California $(\$ 4,845,210)$ and Empire State Pride Agenda $(\$ 1,233,064)$. These top two organizations make up two-thirds (66.3\%) of the total while the bottom ten make up only $2.1 \%$.

Across the PACs of all reporting organizations, the total of the combined budgets is considerably lower, $\$ 1,513,889$. Fewer organizations have PACs and those that do have smaller budgets for these arms of their organization. Some PACs are designated for ballot measure campaigns and others support candidates, but these are not differentiated in this survey. EqualityMaine reported the largest PAC budget at $\$ 390,000$, reflecting their upcoming marriage campaign. They are followed by Equality California (\$270,570), Empire State Pride Agenda ( $\$ 261,000$ ), and Equality Utah $(\$ 230,000)$. The next highest PAC budget is $\$ 94,980$ (Equality Michigan). In this case, the four organizations with PAC budgets over $\$ 100,000$ make up over threefourths (76.1\%) of the total PAC budget across all organizations and the bottom ten organizations make up 8.4\%. Unlike many of the categories analyzed in this study, there is not necessarily a correlation between size of an organization and the size of its PAC.

Of the 37 organizations reporting both a 2010 actual budget and a 2011 projected budget, 21 (56.8\%) predicted a planned increase in budget from 2010 to 2011, five (13.5\%) expected flat growth while 11 (29.7\%) expected a decrease in budget. Although a majority of organizations projected an increase, the total projected increase in dollars is $\$ 2,168,544$ compared to the total decrease of $\$ 4,253,036$ for the organizations projecting a decrease. This is a mean decrease of $\$ 386,640$ among these organizations (median $\$ 18,700$ ).

In this case, the median is a better representation of the actual situation than the mean, since most ( $\$ 3,395,392$, or $79.8 \%$ ) of the total predicted decrease comes from only one organization, Equality California. If we remove this organization, we have instead a total predicted decrease of $\$ 857,644$, giving us a mean decrease per organization of $\$ 85,764$ (median $\$ 15,490$ ). This decrease reflects the downsizing of Equality California following their heavy participation in a multi-million dollar ballot measure campaign. Empire State Pride Agenda also plans a large decrease, although even with this reduction, they will continue to retain the largest organizational budget.

Looking at the twenty-one organizations whose projected 2011 budgets are higher than their actual 2010 budgets, the total increase is $\$ 2,168,544$ with a mean increase of $\$ 103,264$ per organization (median $\$ 60,600$ ). The organization with the largest growth is EqualityMaine, who is preparing for a larger marriage equality campaign in 2012. EqualityMaine is followed by One Colorado, Basic Rights Oregon, and Equality Illinois. These projected increases are remarkable given the context of the current economic crisis, and are proof that despite a difficult economy, support for the work of these organizations continues to be high. National funding collaboratives are continuing to fund major projects and organizational capacity building, and statewide organizations are engaging in large, successful public campaigns around marriage equality.

|  | California and New York Included |  |  | California and New York Excluded |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 501 (c)3 | 501(c)4 | PAC | 501 (c)3 | 501(c)4 | PAC |
| Total | \$14,067,936 | \$7,241,742 | \$427,600 | \$10,284,436 | \$4,140,792 | \$414,600 |
| Mean | \$380,214 | \$219,447 | \$28,507 | \$293,841 | \$133,574 | \$29,614 |
| Median | \$210,300 | \$70,000 | \$10,000 | \$210,000 | \$61,000 | \$10,000 |
| High | \$2,183,500 | \$2,003,450 | \$231,500 | \$1,663,440 | \$790,000 | \$231,500 |
| Non-Zero Low | \$1,000 | \$1,000 | \$1,000 | \$1,000 | \$1,000 | \$1,000 |

Table 6. Projected 2011 Organizational Budgets - Summary Statistics

## BUILDING THE INFRASTRUCTURE: PRIORITIES FOR GROWTH

When asked how the Federation can best support member organizations. The top priority among responding organizations is Development Support \& Training, with 73\% listing this as either a "High" or "Very High" priority (figure below). Next in order are Board Development \& Training, Donor Database Software, Strategic Planning, and Advocacy Planning. Other priorities identified by organizations include the following: grantwriting, identifying grant opportunities, rural outreach, SALSA training, strategies for advancing equality in conservative areas, strategies for dealing with extremists, and networking.


Member organizations were asked to rank several Federation services/resources according to their usefulness. Answer choices were the following:"Very Useful" "Somewhat Useful" "Not Useful" "Did Not Use Equality Federation."The responses show that most members value the majority of Federation services. Still, those services that are not used by member organizations should be re-evaluated.

The following figure illustrates the usefulness ratings given by those organizations that accessed Equality Federation Institute services.


Member Assessment of Equality Federation|Equality Federation Institute Services and Programs

## CONCLUSIONS: WHAT NEXT?

The 2011 State of the States Report shows a year with major successes, but also increasing roadblocks to success in many states. With the economy still in crisis, small organizations in conservative states are challenged just to stay afloat. Legislatures changed by the conservative sweep of the 2010 elections have slowed or stopped momentum toward pro-LGBT statewide legislation. Also, progress on the federal level has shifted some of the LGBT equality movement's focus to seize opportunities that have not existed in the nation in a decade, if ever.

But the work of the statewide LGBT advocacy organizations cannot stop if the movement is to succeed. The gap between the states approaching full legal equality and those with little or no protections grows wider every year. The recent success of federal legislative and policy changes is attributable to the momentum created by state and local gains. States also look to other states as models as they consider legislation. Our movement could slowly grind to a halt if we ignore the critical role that state level advocacy plays in the national context. If we want to see continued success for the LGBT equality movement, no state can be written off as unimportant or hopeless. Rather, support for state-level organizations must continue and be increased in order to address the needs of states across the spectrum of current successes.

Federation organizations have an opportunity to rethink their strategies and address some issues that have plagued them (and the entire movement) for decades. The lack of success in identifying and building leaders from communities of color and transgender communities is one such challenge. Creative fundraising strategies and increased resource sharing can get organizations through difficult times and help create the stability that is desperately needed.

Equality Federation has launched new programs to address just these issues, including regional strategy conferences that encourage sharing of best practices and resources particular to geographic areas and cultures; increased leadership support including a boot camp for new executive directors and workshops for boards of directors. Combined with our ongoing programs that build a stronger, more skillful network of leaders and organizations, we are working with members to an infrastructure of power at the state level that will push our movement for equality forward for years to come.

## Participating Organizations

Alaskans Together for Equality<br>PO Box 202453<br>Anchorage, Alaska 99520<br>www.alaskanstogether.org

Center for ArtisticRevolution
(CAR)
PO Box 2300
N. Little Rock, Arkansas 72114
www.artisticrevolution.org
Equality California
2370 Market Street, 2nd Floor
San Francisco, California 94114
www.eqca.org

One Colorado
1245 E. Colfax Ave., Suite 204
Denver, Colorado 80206
www.one-coloradoeducationfund.org
Love Makes a Family PAC Dissolved 2011

Florida Together Federation
1501 15th Court
Jupiter, Florida 33477
www.Fltogetherfed.org
Georgia Equality
1530 DeKalb Ave NE, Suite A
Atlanta, Georgia 30307
www.georgiaequality.org
MEGA Family Project
PO Box 29631
Atlanta, Georgia 30359
www.megafamilyproject.org

Equality Hawaii
PO Box 11444
Honolulu, Hawaii 96828
www.equalityhawaii.org
Equality Illinois
3712 N. Broadway \#125
Chicago, Illinois 60613
www.eqil.org

Indiana Equality
PO Box 20621
Indianapolis, Indiana 46220
www.indianaequality.org
Equality lowa
1300 Locust Ave.
Des Moines, lowa 50309
www.equalityiowa.org

One lowa
500 E. Locust St. Suite 300
Des Moines, lowa 50309
www.oneiowa.org

Kentucky Fairness Alliance PO Box 221225
Louisville, Kentucky 40252
www.kentuckyfairness.org
Forum For Equality
336 Lafayette Street, Suite 200
New Orleans, Louisiana 70130 www.forumforequality.com

## EqualityMaine

PO Box 1951
Portland, Maine 4104
www.equalitymaine.org
MassEquality
262 Washington Street, 7th Floor
Boston, Massachusetts 2108
www.massequality.org
Massachusetts Transgender
Political Coalition (MTPC)
PO Box 301897
Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts 2130
www.masstpc.org
Equality Michigan
19641 W. 7 Mile Road
Detroit, Michigan 48219
www.equalitymi.org
OutFront Minnesota
310 38th Street East \#204
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55409
www.outfront.org

Project 515
PO Box 50143
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55405
www.project515.org
PROMO
438 N. Skinker Blvd.
St. Louis, Missouri 63130
www.promoonline.org

Equality North Carolina PO Box 28768<br>Raleigh, North Carolina 27611<br>www.equalitync.org

Empire State Pride Agenda
16 West 22nd Street, 2nd floor
New York, New York 10010
www.prideagenda.org
New York Association for
Gender Rights Advocacy
(NYAGRA)
24 W. 25th St, 9th floor New York, New York 10010 www.nyagra.com

JUST NM
3701-A S. Harvard Avenue, Box 183
Tulsa, New Mexico 74135
theequalitynetwork.org
Equality Ohio
61 Jefferson Ave.
Columbus, Ohio 43215
www.equalityohio.org

TransOhio
1160 N. High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43201
www.transohio.org/index.html

The Equality Network
3701-A S. Harvard Avenue, Box 183
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74135
theequalitynetwork.org

Basic Rights Oregon
PO Box 40625
Portland, Oregon 97240
www.basicrights.org

Equality Pennsylvania
1211 Chestnut Street, Suite 605
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107
www.equalitypa.org
South Carolina Equality PO Box 544
Columbia, South Carolina 29202
www.scequality.org

Equality South Dakota
PO Box 2854
Sioux Falls, South Dakota 57101
www.eqsd.org
Tennessee Equality Project
PO Box 330895
Nashville, Tennessee 37203
www.tnep.org

Tennessee Transgender Political
Coalition
PO Box 92335
Nashville, Tennessee 37209
www.ttgpac.com

Equality Texas
PO Box 2340
Austin, Texas 78768
www.equalitytexas.org
Transgender Education
Network of Texas
2411 Princeton Dr
Austin, Texas 78741
www.transtexas.org
Equality Utah
175 West 200 South suite 3001
Salt Lake City, Utah 84101
www.equalityutah.org
Vermont Freedom to Marry
Task Force
8 Oak Street
Essex Junction, Vermont 5452
www.vtfreetomarry.org
Equality Virginia
403 N. Robinson St.
Richmond, Virginia 23220
www.equalityvirginia.org

Equal Rights Washington PO Box 2388
Seattle, Washington State 98111
www.equalrightswashington.org
Fairness West Virginia PO Box 315
Charleston, West Virginia 25414
www.fairnesswv.org

Fair Wisconsin
203 S. Paterson St., Suite 200
Madison, Wisconsin 53703
www.fairwisconsin.com

## Legal Entities and Budgets

| State | Legal Entities |  |  |  | Budgets |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 501(c)(3) | 501 (c)(4) | PAC | Other | 2010 Actual | $\begin{gathered} 2011 \\ \text { Projected } \end{gathered}$ |
| Alaska | - | - |  |  |  | \$2,000 |
| Arkansas | - |  |  |  | \$158,500 | \$156,500 |
| California | - | - | - | - | \$6,998,842 | \$3,603,450 |
| Colorado | - | - | - |  | \$312,822 | \$580,700 |
| Connecticutt |  |  | - |  | \$4,000 | \$4,000 |
| Florida | - | - | - |  | \$195,400 | \$176,700 |
| Georgia (GE) | - | - |  | - | \$262,300 | \$280,300 |
| Georgia (MEGA) | - |  |  |  | \$67,000 | \$65,000 |
| Hawaii | - | - | - |  | \$77,000 | \$180,000 |
| Illinois | - | - | - |  | \$939,000 | \$1,164,000 |
| Indiana | - | - | - |  | \$184,000 | \$185,000 |
| Iowa (EI) | - |  |  |  | \$30,000 | \$53,000 |
| Iowa (OI) | - | - | - |  |  | \$584,000 |
| Kentucky | - | - | - |  | \$29,000 | \$42,000 |
| Louisiana | - | - | - |  | \$128,000 | \$128,000 |
| Maine | - | - | - | - | \$930,000 | \$1,401,700 |
| Massachusetts (ME) | - | - | - | - | \$1,367,000 | \$1,220,000 |
| Massachusetts (MTPC) | - |  |  |  | \$85,000 | \$96,000 |
| Michigan | - | - | - |  | \$835,980 | \$1,023,200 |
| Minnesota (OFM) | - | - | - | - | \$583,000 | \$576,500 |
| Minnesota (P515) | - | - | - |  | \$385,000 | \$531,000 |
| Missouri | - | - | - |  | \$279,500 | \$415,000 |
| New York (ESPA) | - | - | - |  | \$3,853,964 | \$3,294,000 |
| New York (NYAGRA) | - |  |  |  | \$15,000 | \$15,000 |
| North Carolina | - | - | - |  | \$586,500 | \$647,100 |
| Ohio (EO) | - | - | - |  | \$215,000 | \$279,380 |
| Ohio (TO) | - |  |  |  | \$10,000 | \$10,000 |
| Oklahoma | - | - | - |  | \$14,500 | \$25,000 |
| Oregon | - | - | - | - | \$1,741,054 | \$1,985,520 |
| Pennsylvania | - | - |  |  | \$350,000 | \$350,000 |
| South Caroline | - | $\cdot$ | - |  | \$128,000 | \$186,000 |
| South Dakota | - | - | - |  | \$144,200 | \$57,900 |
| Tennessee (TEP) | - | - | - |  | \$51,348 | \$39,068 |
| Tennessee (TTPC) |  | - |  |  | \$1,800 | \$2,000 |
| Texas (ET) | - | - | - |  | \$447,500 | \$427,100 |
| Texas (TENT) | - |  |  |  |  |  |
| Utah | - | - | - |  | \$554,000 | \$551,500 |
| Vermont | - |  |  |  |  |  |
| Virginia | - | - | - |  |  | \$424,060 |
| Washington | - | - | - | - | \$410,566 | \$420,000 |
| West Virginia |  | - | - |  | \$25,000 | \$50,000 |
| Wisconsin | - | - | - |  | \$415,992 | \$505,600 |


| State | Donor | Email Action | Mail | Voter ID | Unique Contacts |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Alaska |  | 800 | 350 |  | 350 |
| Arkansas | 40 | 2,500 | 1,800 |  | 4,600 |
| California | 215,826 | 559,595 | 548,051 | 12,819 | 716,452 |
| Colorado | 300 | 10,000 | 12,000 | 4,000 | 14,000 |
| Connecticutt |  | 10,000 | 2,000 |  | 12,000 |
| Florida |  | 50,000 |  |  | 50,000 |
| Georgia (GE) | 275 | 7,500 | 20,000 |  | 20,000 |
| Georgia (MEGA) | 2,500 | 2,000 | 1,500 | 2,500 | 2,000 |
| Hawaii | 312 | 5,437 | 5,713 | 1,780 | 5,713 |
| Illinois |  | 12,000 | 15,000 |  | 18,000 |
| Indiana | 200 | 7,700 | 10,000 | 700 | 15,238 |
| Iowa (EI) | 200 | 1,500 | 3,000 | 200 | 2,500 |
| Iowa (OI) | 40,000 | 19,000 | 40,000 | 19,000 | 40,000 |
| Kentucky | 4,300 | 4,300 | 4,300 |  | 4,899 |
| Louisiana | 3,000 | 2,700 | 1,000 |  | 3,000 |
| Maine | 25,000 | 100,000 | 35,000 | 175,000 | 250,000 |
| Massachusetts (ME) | 1,200 | 33,000 | 25,000 | 4,300 | 15,000 |
| Massachusetts (MTPC) | 200 | 2,000 | 1,500 |  | 1,000 |
| Michigan | 58,000 | 20,000 | 59,000 |  | 60,250 |
| Minnesota (OFM) | 1,195 | 17,000 | 58,064 | 38,000 | 48,000 |
| Minnesota (P515) | 500 | 2,000 |  |  | 2,000 |
| Missouri | 2,100 | 7,500 | 11,000 | 65,000 | 65,000 |
| New Mexico |  |  |  |  | 400 |
| New York (ESPA) | 30,029 | 24,284 | 73,108 | 39,427 | 79,335 |
| New York (NYAGRA) |  |  | 650 |  | 650 |
| North Carolina | 1,250 | 15,800 | 28,000 |  | 28,000 |
| Ohio (EO) | 1,400 | 17,000 | 2,800 | 3,800 | 18,000 |
| Ohio (TO) | 50 | 10,000 |  |  | 5,000 |
| Oklahoma | 80 | 2,200 | 800 | 700 | 1,200 |
| Oregon | 2,718 | 20,000 | 7,000 | 207,000 | 207,000 |
| Pennsylvania | 5,000 | 30,000 | 20,000 | 20,000 | 25,000 |
| South Carolina | 3,400 | 4,000 | 7,277 |  | 9,000 |
| South Dakota |  | 5,340 |  |  | 5,340 |
| Tennessee | 4,500 | 2,200 |  | 1,113 | 4,500 |
| Tennessee (TTPC) |  | 667 |  |  | 667 |
| Texas (ET) | 2,100 | 21,250 | 5,000 |  | 20,000 |
| Utah | 1,006 | 7,978 | 13,354 | 14,649 | 13,000 |
| Vermont |  | 19,500 |  |  | 15,000 |
| Washington State | 7,132 | 32,000 | 60,000 | 3,500,000 | 3,510,000 |
| West Virginia |  |  | 3,700 |  | 3700 |
| Wisconsin | 14,400 | 22,000 | 13,850 | 152,000 | 40,000 |

## Staff, Boards, and Volunteers

| State | Total Paid Staff |  | Board Members |  | Volunteers |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | FT | PT | total | number of boards? | 2010 |
| Alaska* | - | - | 7 | 2 | 24 |
| Arkansas | 2 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 30 |
| California | 19 | 0 | 57 | 3 | 125 |
| Colorado | 5 | 4 | 8 | 2 | 50 |
| Connecticutt | 0 | 0 | 15 | 1 | 12 |
| Florida | 1 | 0 | 9 | 3 |  |
| Georgia (GE) | 2 | 2 | 11 | 1 | 67 |
| Georgia (MEGA) | 1 |  | 10 | 1 | 25 |
| Hawaii | 0 | 1 | 17 | 3 | 20 |
| Illinois | 5 | 2 | 27 | 3 | 300 |
| Indiana | 1 | 0 | 28 | 3 |  |
| lowa (IE) | 0 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 45 |
| lowa (OI) | 6 |  | 12 | 3 | 100 |
| Kentucky | 0 | 0 | 14 | 3 | 0 |
| Louisiana | 1 | 2 | 20 | 2 | 10 |
| Maine | 13 | 2 | 16 | 3 | 125 |
| Massachusetts (ME) | 8 | 1 | 18 | 3 | 129 |
| Massachusetts (MTPC) | 1 | 0 | 12 | 1 | 25 |
| Michigan | 8 | 2 | 18 | 3 | 40 |
| Minnesota (OFM) | 6 | 2 | 27 | 3 | 250 |
| Minnesota (P515) | 2 | 0 | 18 | 3 | 40 |
| Missouri | 6 | 0 | 18 | 3 | 50 |
| New Mexico | 0 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 4 |
| New York (ESPA) | 22 | 2 | 31 | 3 | 600 |
| New York (NYAGRA) | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 |  |
| North Carolina | 4 | 1 | 24 | 3 | 652 |
| Ohio (EO)* | - | - | 22 | 3 | - |
| Ohio (TO) | 0 | 0 | 10 | 1 | 50 |
| Oklahoma | 0 | 0 | 11 | 3 | 25 |
| Oregon | 15 | 5 | 12 | 2 | 1670 |
| Pennsylvania | 2 | 2 | 14 | 2 | 15 |
| South Caroline | 1 | 1 | 11 | 1 | 14 |
| South Dakota | 0 | 0 | 8 | 3 | 3 |
| Tennessee (TEP) | 0 | 0 | 27 | 3 | 65 |
| Tennessee (TTPC) | 0 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 10 |
| Texas (ET) | 3 | 0 | 22 | 3 | 200 |
| Texas (TENT) | 0 | 0 | 8 | 1 | 12 |
| Utah | 3 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 285 |
| Vermont | 0 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 50 |
| Virginia* | - | - | 17 | 3 | - |
| Washington | 3 | 1 | 16 | 3 | 100 |
| West Virginia* | - | - | 15 | 1 | - |
| Wisconsin | 3 | 4 | 26 | 3 | 2500 |


[^0]:     both high and low extremes in the data.

[^1]:    *Equal Rights Washington reports 3,510,000 total unique contacts, with a Voter ID list of 3,500,000. This number moves them ahead of all other organizations by a large margin

[^2]:    *According to the National Center for Transgender Equality, genderqueer is a term used by some individuals who identify as neither entirely male nor entirely female.

[^3]:    
    

