



TO LIFT ALL BOATS:

A STORYTELLING
EVALUATION OF THE
COMMUNITY RESILIENCE FUND
2022-23

*Multi-Racial Solidarity,
Allyship and Healing*



REPORT 1
ORIGIN STORIES

A LETTER FROM OUR BOARD OF DIRECTORS

National CAPACD has engaged in racial justice and solidarity work since its founding in 2000 by members who were active in the civil rights movement. But it was the COVID-19 pandemic and its effects that proved to be a reckoning in our organizational history, and for this reason, we launched the Community Resilience Fund.

As leaders of grantee organizations and members of the National CAPACD board, it is our privilege to introduce a series of evaluation reports for the 2022-23 Community Resilience Fund that awarded half a million dollars to 21 organizations. The four reports center storytelling as a way to highlight grantees' progress and accomplishments in cross-racial allyship, healing, and solidarity work in our Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander (AA and NHPI) communities. Weaving together diverse stories, these reports also describe how these organizations began their work, developed guiding values and principles, and prepared for new directions for this collective multiracial work in local communities. As board leaders, we appreciate all those who have trusted National CAPACD with their stories and insights. As practitioners, we are grateful to have our work documented alongside the incredible work of our peers across the nation.

The Community Resilience Fund is made possible only through the generosity of Democracy Fund, Northwest Area Foundation, and the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, partners who recognized the timeliness

and importance of investing in this work. National CAPACD continues to fundraise as we are committed to support our own AA and NHPI communities to cultivate spaces of healing and resilience, refuge and support, and restoration and inspiration.

As a national coalition, we are dedicated to uplifting our members' efforts and facilitating learning from each organization's work as they grapple with a complexity of diverse issues and their neighborhood context. As you read these reports, we hope you immerse yourself in these stories that include tough conversations and often challenging work. This social change work involves innovative and culturally appropriate approaches that push us to think and act differently, which we believe is a necessary journey to bring healing and shared prosperity to our diverse, multiracial communities.

Sincerely,

Inhe Choi

National CAPACD Board

HANA Center, Executive Director
Chicago, IL

Duncan Hwang

National CAPACD Board

Asian Pacific American Network
of Oregon (APANO),
Community Development Director
Portland, OR

ABOUT THE COMMUNITY RESILIENCE FUND

In May 2022, the National Coalition for Asian Pacific American Community Development (National CAPACD) awarded \$500,000 to 21 organizations through its Community Resilience Fund (CRF) to support cross-racial allyship, solidarity and healing work in Asian American, Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander (AA and NHPI) communities across the US. These organizations represent different geographies within the US and their unique local demographic contexts, various areas of work (e.g. community development, youth organizing, arts & culture, outreach and education, direct services, policy advocacy, etc.), and history of multiracial coalition building. The funding aimed to improve their readiness and capacity to build and participate in multiracial coalitions in order to advance a progressive agenda for an equitable and racially just society.

The 21 CRF grantees in 2022-23 were:

- [Alliance of Rhode Island Southeast Asians for Education \(ARISE\)](#);
- [Asian American Resource Workshop \(AARW\)](#);
- [Asian Economic Development Association \(AEDA\)](#);
- [Asian Health Services \(AHS\)](#);
- [Asian Pacific American Network of Oregon \(APANO\)](#);
- [Asian Pacific Cultural Center \(APCC\)](#);
- [Athena's Warehouse](#);
- [CAAAV: Organizing Asian Communities \(CAAAV\)](#);
- [CAP-USA](#);
- [Caribbean Equality Project \(CEP\)](#);
- [Coalition for a Better Chinese American Community \(CBCAC\)](#);
- [Coalition for Asian American Leaders \(CAAL\)](#);
- [Empowering Pacific Islander Communities \(EPIC\)](#) and [Black Pacific Alliance \(BPA\)](#);
- [Friends of Little Sài Gòn \(FLS\)](#);
- [HANA Center](#);
- [Ka 'Aha Lahui O 'Olekona Hawaiian Civic Club of Oregon and SW Washington \(KALO HCC\)](#);
- [Mekong NYC](#);
- [MinKwon Community Center for Action](#);
- [Southeast Asian Community Alliance \(SEACA\)](#);
- [United Territories of Pacific Islander Alliance \(UTOPIA\)](#); and
- [VietLead](#).

ABOUT THIS EVALUATION

The 21 CRF grantees implemented their cross-racial solidarity, allyship and healing work differently, each leveraging their unique strengths, relationships, and cultural competence, in their respective ethnic and geographic target populations. Because of the diversity, the evaluator decided to use a more grounded approach of storytelling to honor the spectrum and nuances of this work, rather than imposing a more traditional evaluation approach that focuses on predetermined outcomes and linear logic models to reach those outcomes. Following the arc of a story, the evaluation answers the following learning questions for the Community Resilience Fund in four related reports.

- **Report #1: Origin Stories** (Why?) – What compels these grantee organizations to take on this work? What values or principles guide their work?
- **Report #2: Liberatory Practices and Innovations** (How?) – What strategies have CRF grantees used to advance cross-racial solidarity, allyship and healing? How did they prepare their organizations and communities to engage in this work? How much have they adapted to evolving external conditions?
- **Report #3: Stories of Transformation** (So what?) – What progress have CRF grantees seen on individual, organizational, and community levels?
- **Report #4: Looking Forward** (What's next?) – What does the “next level” of this work look like? What are the upcoming opportunities and what do they need to meet this moment?

Although these grantees are diverse, this evaluation weaves together their stories of passion, challenges, victories, lessons, and new aspirations to illustrate the unique role AA and NHPI communities play in strengthening multiracial solidarity and point to possible new directions in this work that we can collectively take on. Quotes from the participants are edited for clarity purposes.

ORIGIN STORIES

What compels these grantee organizations to take on this work?

What values or principles guide their work?

Almost all of the grantees have cross-racial solidarity, allyship, and healing “baked into their organization’s DNA.” Many have started this work long before this initiative. Recent **precipitating events** have led them to deepen their investment in this work. Several grantees discussed the **healing** aspects that are both a necessary inner work that is foundational to any antiracist work and a desired outcome for their community. Many grantees’ commitment to multiracial coalition building is rooted in a **shared geography** with other communities of color. Another correlating principle is a progressive **ideology analysis** that looks at root causes of structural racism, even if that oppressions might manifest differently for different communities. From this structural perspective, addressing the most oppressed community will challenge the racist system that affects us all. Some grantees highlighted that this antiracist work is not only about AA and NHPI organizations standing in solidarity with other communities of color, but there are also members with **multiple**

identities in our own communities. Recognizing our own colorism and complicity in white supremacy is also about how we want to show up for our own people. This intersectionality will also help us build bridges to other communities more authentically. Finally, many grantees, especially those engaged in **youth leadership development**, consider cross-racial solidarity, allyship, and healing quintessential to future leadership development in AA and NHPI communities.

These principles are not mutually exclusive. All grantees cited more than one of them in discussing what compelled them to take on the work of cross-racial solidarity, allyship, and healing. For example, as one grantee explained, engaging in multiracial coalition building in a shared geography without a solid progressive ideological analysis dooms that effort to inevitable failure.

PRECIPITATING EVENTS

Many grantees have been able to turn recent tragic events from crisis moments into strategic opportunities to deepen their work in cross-racial solidarity, allyship, and healing. These precipitating events can be national in scope, such as the many racist and xenophobic policies from the Trump administration (2016-2020) and the COVID-19 pandemic, which resulted in the rise of anti-Asian hate and violence, as well as the murder of Black people by the police. The death of George Floyd in 2020, for instance, sparked nationwide protests that have elevated discourse around white supremacy and anti-Black racism. These “tipping point” events illustrated the racial disparities that many could no longer ignore. As Quynh Pham, Executive Director at **Friends of Little Sài Gòn (FLS)** in Seattle said, “COVID hit the Asian community, like the Chinatown in the ID [International District] first. And also the racist connotations of how the pandemic started. And then with Black Lives Matter, there was just a lot of rallying and things that impacted our neighborhoods, both politically and physically. With all the people coming out and coming together, that really made us feel the need to be more proactive in working in alliance with our neighbors and partners.” Similarly, although Asian Pacific American Network of Oregon (APANO) was no stranger to solidarity work, the Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests prompted the organization to initiate its BIPOC Solidarity Committee as a way for staff to get on the same page as the organization grew to a staff size of about 35 in the last six years. This growth, explained Maiyee Yuan, APANO’s Culture,

Equity and Integration Manager, led the organization to examine its “responsibility and accountability with its increasing standing in the nonprofit and political landscape.”

The murder of George Floyd, in particular, has resurfaced new tensions between Asian American and Black communities for grantees working in Minnesota and the Midwest. In Chicago, the protests inspired by BLM have prompted some anxiety among the immigrant Chinese community and even hostility among the more conservative community members. Grace Chan McKibben, Executive Director of **Coalition for a Better Chinese American Community (CBCAC)**, explained, “In the summer of 2020, there was a church group in the suburbs that organized a march from Chinese Christian Union Church to Progressive Baptist Church, which covers different communities from Chinatown to Bronzeville. And the backlash in the Chinese social media on WeChat was pretty brutal. People accused the state representative who is Chinese American and who used to work for CBCAC of selling out the Chinese American community, inviting BLM folks to come into the neighborhood and so on, when it was really church people and mostly Asian American, but definitely multiracial [who organized the action]. The march was less of a protest than a prayer walk. It started out with a prayer at the beginning and then stopped at a location where two Chinese American men were killed in the course of a robbery the year before. I led one of the two prayers there. (My organization is not religious, but I am a Christian.) Every few steps there was stop and pray and music and stop and pray and music.

So, lots of misunderstanding about what that march was all about. The backlash was so horrific on WeChat that I thought that some conversations would help. I was in particular interested in holding conversations in Chinese with predominantly Chinese-speaking folks.” A [case study](#) at the end of this report details how that first series of conversations by CBCAC led to later iterations of multiracial and intergenerational community discussions and other activities.

Local events can also precipitate a deeper commitment to racial justice work. For instance, in addition to COVID-19 and BLM, **FLS** was motivated to be in coalition with other communities to fight a larger redevelopment project that would displace a lot of the existing residents in Seattle. **Caribbean Equality Project (CEP)** was founded in response to a hate crime in Queens, New York, against LGBTQ+ Caribbean immigrants who had no community organizations to turn to for support. In addition to its traditional target Southeast Asian population, **CAPI-USA** has started serving refugees from Africa and the Middle East. Because of this local demographic shift in Minnesota, the organization changed its name (from Center for Asian Pacific Islander) in 2008. Similarly, in Chicago, **HANA Center** witnessed the transformation of the Korean neighborhoods they served as they became more multiethnic. Executive Director Inhe Choi explained, “In this area, the shift of the demographics from Koreans to Latinx started to happen, and they just started coming to ask for the same support, for translation, help with finding housing, jobs, public benefits and things like that. It was really, really organic.” In 2017, when two organizations merged to become HANA Center,

the leaders decided to give the new organization a name (HANA, meaning “one” in Korean) that meaningfully represents unity for the Korean American population without making others feel it was exclusively for Koreans.

The precipitating event does not have to be tragic or reactive. For instance, when many seats on the local city council were becoming open, **Mekong NYC** leveraged this opportunity to organize with other communities of color as the Bronxwide Coalition in order to elect more progressive candidates. As explained in a later [section](#) on “shared geography,” this multiracial coalition continues to advocate broader system changes in the Bronx.

HEALING

Healing is foundational to this work because both the staff from the grantee organizations doing this work and the communities they serve suffer from the trauma of racism and colonialism. Ignoring past and current harms will not only hamper the progress of antiracist work, but it can also perpetuate the trauma and lead to burnout. Working in the Pacific Northwest, **Ka ‘Aha Lahui O ‘Olekona Hawaiian Civic Club (KALO HCC)** noted in their proposal, “Those at the frontlines of racial justice work are especially in need of mental health and healing support but often have few resources (time and money) to pursue it at the organizational/collective level.”

Grantees also acknowledge that trauma can be passed down generationally. Leialoha Kaula, Executive Director of KALO HCC, explained, “As a Native Hawaiian, I may not have been there during the illegal annexation of our monarch and our people. I wasn’t there physically when our language was taken from us in that time of oppression. But we continue to carry that trauma with us...because we just haven’t had that opportunity to heal.”

Similarly, Mohamed Amin, Executive Director at CEP, explained, “We are still fighting colonization today. We are still working to decolonize the Caribbean, and that also looks like addressing issues of racism. We know that our colonizers created race tensions to divide the Africans and the Indians. We know that these racial tensions have now become generational issues for the Caribbean.” Similarly, grantees working with Southeast Asian refugee communities recognize that many elders not only have to deal with the trauma of fleeing from war, but also being placed in unfamiliar settlements

that are riddled with crime and poverty alongside other communities of color. This compounded and unaddressed trauma may lead to “law-and-order” narratives that pit them against their neighbors. Nancy Nguyen, Executive Director at VietLead, explained, “The trauma that our [Southeast Asian refugee] community holds creates socio-emotional blockages that make it not possible to move on from certain narratives [such as law-and-order solutions]. Tending to the trauma may open people up to different frames, different interpretations of what they experience.” Like the Native Hawaiians in Kaula’s example, or the Indo- and Afro-Caribbean division that Amin discussed, children of refugees do not have to experience war to feel the trauma inflicted on their parents from war and colonization, which, when unaddressed, can exacerbate intergenerational alienation and misunderstanding. In response, the leadership at VietLead has been bringing somatic practices to their staff in order “to understand our own trauma and how it comes up when working in our community.”

We are still fighting colonization today.

– Mohamed Amin, Executive Director at CEP

Athena’s Warehouse offers another example on how healing can be an effective lens for young people to make sense of the poverty in the economically neglected neighborhoods where they grew up. Healing has always been the “undertone” in their work with students of color in Atlanta, according to Dia Parker, Athena’s Warehouse’s Executive Director. “Folks in our families are low-income. That comes with the tendency for students to have a lot of adverse childhood experiences. These are traumatic experiences as small as being a latchkey kid, which is just accepted like a cultural norm in some communities, all

the way up to domestic violence and abuse being prevalent in the home and not being talked about and not having space to be expressed. You see that exemplified, especially in young women, as low self-esteem, this lack of feeling of self-control around their lives, and that leads to unplanned pregnancy.” As a former youth participant, Parker recognized the effectiveness of program activities, like journaling and meditation, on her own development. As the executive director now, she has expanded and normalized these activities with the youth.

Collective grief, according to these grantees, needs a communal response beyond individual and Westernized mental health solutions. Amin explained that many Afro- and Indo-Caribbean LGBTQ+ immigrants shun traditional mental health professionals: “They come to New York City already with this history of trauma and violence. And when they get here, they are further re-victimized because they have to deal with what can look like a very victimizing immigration system. You have to constantly retell your story as to why you deserve safety and why you deserve your asylum to be granted. It can often look like someone having to tell that story over and over and over, which in itself can re-victimize that person. That prevents a lot of our community members from actually accessing therapy, feeling like ‘I need to give my therapist a history lesson about who I am before they can support me.’”

Some grantees are experimenting with collective healing practices in community settings that are grounded in indigenous knowledge. KALO HCC calls their communal response “healing justice.” Kaula

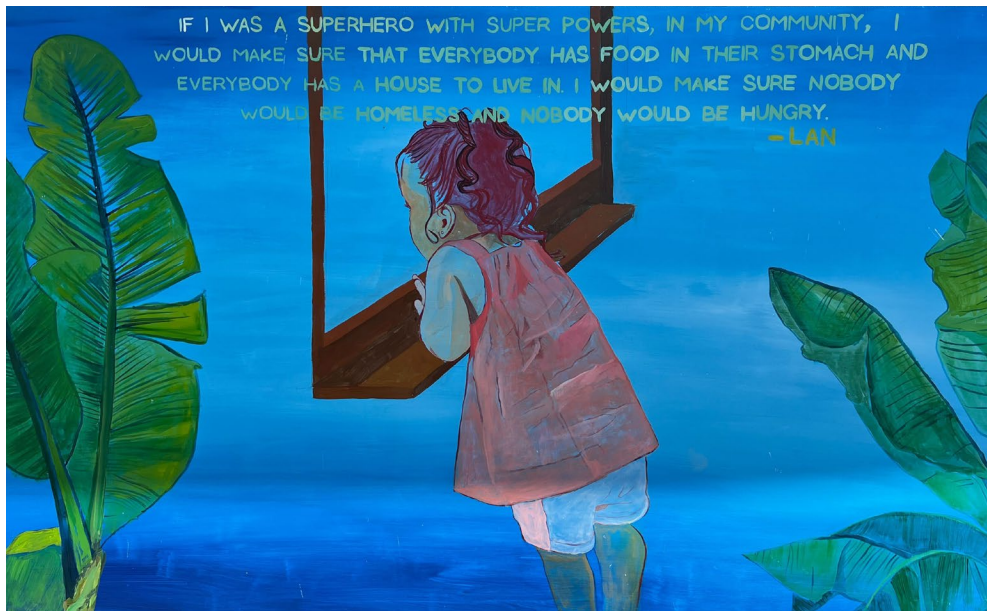
explained, “That all of us suffer from that pain, and that grief has to be able to have a space in this time, because in order for us to truly heal, we have to let that grief come forward... When we’re all healing together, that’s truly the solidarity and the movement of how we will rise.” Similarly, in response to increasing racialized violence in Oakland, **Asian Health Services (AHS)** created the Community Healing Unit that provides complementary alternative healing services for survivors, including acupuncture, yoga, and massage therapy.

This healing work is foundational because it addresses people’s immediate sense of security before they can see the shared struggles and build empathy with other people of color that allows them to work across communities. Kaula reflected, “Something that we’ve learned [from healing justice] is that there are so many similarities with our Indigenous cousins, the Native Americans of this land, that we’ve really been able to build and collaborate with them. That relationship also allows us to focus on cultural healing.”

SHARED GEOGRAPHY

Many AA and NHPI immigrants and refugees live in neighborhoods that have been economically neglected and marked by deindustrialization, white flight, housing and food insecurity, and poverty crimes. Tensions flare when these immigrants and their BIPOC neighbors see themselves as competitors for resources. Many organizers at the grantee

organizations recognize that as the more recently arrived, they should be mindful of how their presence could add more tension to already precarious social and economic conditions that existing residents have had to contend with for decades. As Va-Megn Thoj, Executive Director at **Asian Economic Development Association (AEDA)** in Minnesota, stated, “We [Southeast Asian refugees] came to these neighborhoods, and they were primarily Black. So if we are going to do this work, we need to reach out across communities and bridge those divides in order to achieve our mission and build community together.”



AARW with artist Sam Le Shave created “Who Belongs Here,” a series of community murals addressing displacement and the Southeast Asian deportation crisis

Many of these neighborhoods are also fighting encroaching gentrification that has already pushed out many existing residents. Those who stay behind are at the constant threat of being uprooted by developers who are swooping up the cheap properties and the elected officials who encourage them. Rather than being pitted against each other, many grantees have decided that they can be more effective if they band together with organizations serving other communities of color in the same geography. In Minnesota, AEDA worked with other organizations in the Black community to organize around the development of a light rail connecting the Twin Cities to make sure that the primarily Black and Asian residents were not displaced. Also, Carolyn Chou, Co-Executive Director at the **Asian American Resource Workshop (AARW)** in Boston, explained, “A lot of our housing work is here based in the heart of the Vietnamese community, and it’s a multiracial working-class neighborhood. When we organize only around Vietnamese or Southeast Asian communities here in the neighborhood, it doesn’t actually help us build the kind of power we need to win affordable housing for working-class communities, people of color.” Because of this shared interest, AA and NHPI-specific organizations know they cannot organize “in a vacuum.”

In Seattle, multiracial solidarity brought more attention to the nascent Vietnamese community. Quynh Pham, Executive Director at **Friends of Little Sài Gòn**, explained that Little Sài Gòn wasn’t recognized as such until the 1990s. She said, “It wasn’t protected historically, like Chinatown or Japantown was. The buildings

were not historic buildings. They were warehouses and one-story storefronts that were just created for the businesses to survive at the time. We were being overshadowed by the rest of the International District. We couldn't do the work alone without working with the Chinatown ID [International District] side. So we have a really tight partnership with SCIDpda [Seattle Chinatown International District Preservation Development Authority]. They oversee the larger neighborhood, and they were really intentional about making sure that Little Sài Gòn is also resourced to have the capacity to do its own work, and have its own plan.” This panethnic approach to “elevate our work even more” became a blueprint in Pham’s solidarity work with other communities of color. As she said, “It really influenced how we shaped our strategies and our approach to community development.”

Collective power building was also evident early on when the young undocumented Korean American leaders at the **HANA Center** came together to form a group to work on immigration issues. They decided to expand the membership to include non-Asians. Senior Organizing Manager Young Woon Han explained, “Just the sheer number wise, there’s a lot more non-Asian undocumented folks that come to HANA Center. They [the group leaders] had that conversation about whether to keep the group Asian American or broaden their audience so that they can be a multi-ethnic power. They agreed that the latter is better for power building.”

In many cases, these multiracial coalitions go beyond specific campaigns and build long-term power across communities to take on bigger fights. As mentioned earlier, in the Bronx, **Mekong NYC** has participated in the multiracial Bronxwide Coalition (where the organization serves on the steering committee). Coalition partners developed a shared vision for a more equitable budget allocation from the city of New York to deliver critical services to the primarily BIPOC residents in the borough. In another New York borough, **CAA AV: Organizing Asian Communities** broadened the fight against gentrification in Astoria, Queens, to the issue of the city’s budget to build a broader coalition that centers working-class people. Executive Director Sasha Wijeyeratne explained the wider lens this way: “It’s not like [the city budget] is totally separate from us. The New York City budget impacts everything, every aspect of people’s lives. Both this year and last year, we turned out a pretty huge chunk of our membership to the budget. It’s about what’s the New York City that we want for all of us? What’s the impact of an austerity budget on working class people across the city? Really trying to develop a working-class identity amongst our base, that’s not just about Asian people or immigrants. It’s actually about working-class people, and that means people of color across the city. Members were clear that they were showing up to fight for the city, and to fight side by side with other working-class communities.”

Recently, when CAA AV organized a direct action in their campaign to stop “a multi-billion development down the street from the heart of working-class Bengali Astoria, members were pleasantly surprised

by the huge turnout from other coalition partners from other neighborhoods. Wijeyeratne said, “It was really powerful, and I think members felt and reflected on what it was like to suddenly be in this fight with so many other people, and to see people from outside of the neighborhood and even outside of the borough throw down. It’s the embodied experience of it too, that people are standing side by side, people they’ve never seen or met, organizations they’ve never heard of before. There was a sense of power: We ran this campaign, we made this campaign, and look at the impact it’s having. There was a sense of solidarity. This is a working-class fight, and we’re in it, but we’re actually not in it alone.”

In Los Angeles, **Southeast Asian Community Alliance (SEACA)** in Chinatown has been working with organizations in neighboring Skid Row (Los Angeles Community Action Network or LA CAN) and Little Tokyo (Little Tokyo Service Center) to influence downtown development for almost a decade. As Sissy Trinh, Executive Director at SEACA, explained, downtown Los Angeles encompasses not only these economically neglected neighborhoods but also LA Live, with highly developed concert, sports, and entertainment venues. She said, “Then on top of it, you have these multi-billion-dollar corporations having their headquarters in downtown or having their real estate portfolios heavily concentrated in downtown. You have just vastly diverse interests. So we came together as a coalition because we all knew this was going to set the standards for what can be built in downtown for the next 25 years. Skid Row can’t do it on its own. Chinatown can’t do it on its own. Obviously coming together builds

power, but it also signals something really significant. In what other context would you ever see something like Chinatown, Little Tokyo, and Skid Row coming together, right?”



SEACA youth participating in a community organizing training

One of the policies the coalition pushed for was deeper affordability for affordable housing that is usually reserved for people with at least 30% AMI (area median income). Asian elderly immigrants in Chinatown would be excluded, and so would most of the unhoused Black population in Skid Row, especially those who were formerly incarcerated and/or had some disabilities. Trinh said, “We’re not going to ‘job-train’ them out of poverty. Their socioeconomic

status is going to just get more precarious as they get older and less physically able.” Both SEACA and LA CAN are usually shut out of affordable housing conversations even in progressive circles. The shared predicaments between the adjacent Asian and Black communities made the two organizations good allies. Over time, the relationship continues to flourish beyond discrete policy fights. When the pandemic began, the two organizations, along with LTSC, shared limited resources and funding opportunities. Trinh said, “LTSC agreed to be a fiscal sponsor towards a [CARES Act-funded] COVID relief program that both SEACA and LA CAN were sub-contractors for, which made all of our lives easier because we didn’t have to do the admin stuff. Every time I or they got a tip on resources, we would just email or call each other. When I got donations of masks, I would always ask for double or triple, knowing that I would share with the other communities. And vice versa.”

IDEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

While shared geography or interest is a necessary and practical approach to cross-racial solidarity and allyship, grantees also emphasized the importance of having a progressive ideological analysis that links the struggles across different communities of color. One type of ideological analysis looks at root causes of different struggles, even if they manifest in ways that might not look very similar in different racial communities. Several grantees discussed the

unique position Asian American (and sometimes NHPI) communities play in racial politics: because they are often being pitched as the “model minority” by the mainstream, it becomes more imperative for progressive Asian American organizations to speak up in solidarity with other people of color to avoid being a “wedge” or a “pawn” in political discourse.

For instance, many grantee organizations spoke about the need to reframe the crime and violence experienced by their community members with a root cause analysis. The reframing goes beyond the racial identity of the perpetrator to consider structural explanations of poverty and disinvestments that limit options for many people of color. Nancy Nguyen at **VietLead** explained, “We believe that all of our work needs to include the historical and socio-economic specificity of our community. In the Southeast Asian community, that specificity comes from our shared pathway to the United States, which is initially as refugees from US military intervention. When we arrived into the United States, US laws that were enacted in the late ‘80s and ‘90s around youth criminalization and around welfare reform were all anti-Black policies, and they had substantial impact on Southeast Asian communities where many were on welfare at the time. If one is able to take a systemic and historical lens to why we’re here, there is a lot of shared experiences with Black and brown communities. Working towards liberation, we must be able to figure out ways to do it such that it’s not about pitting our communities against each other. It’s usually the same economic and political forces that cause the structural poverty, and there have to be ways that

we can fight for community safety that actually uplifts all of our communities.”

Another ideological analysis is to center Black liberation in the US as “the tide that can lift all boats.” Put differently, as one grantee said, “none of us is free until they are free.” Estella Owoimaha-Church, Executive Director at **Empowered Pacific Islander Communities (EPIC)**, said, “I am confident that liberation for all becomes a reality when Black women are free, and that includes Black trans women.” This centering of the most marginalized in every community is a guiding value for Owoimaha-Church’s leadership. Within the diversity of Pacific Islander peoples, she stated, “One area that EPIC can improve is centering our Papua New Guinea relatives, our Micronesian and Melanesian relatives, who, in the US context and

There have to be ways that we can fight for community safety that actually uplifts all of our communities.

– Nancy Nguyen, Executive Director at VietLead

in colonial context, are raced as Black in a lot of ways. This work [solidarity with Black community] also helps us to center them and amplify their unique experiences in Pasifika.”

Grantees stated that the ideological alignment needed to be explicit for staff so that they could move collectively in the same direction. This is especially true for organizations that have grown tremendously in staff size to include workers from diverse races, ethnicities, gender identities, sexual orientations, immigration status, and educational background, as well as across multiple generations. Many grantees, for instance, used this funding to support trainings, staff retreats, and affinity groups to not only get everyone on the same page, but also reimagine equitable policies and practices that are consistent with their ideology. In other words, in order to transform the communities they work with, these organizations have to be open to transformation themselves. Report #3 will reflect on some of these inner transformations.

Nancy Nguyen at **VietLead**, which operates in cities in Philadelphia and New Jersey that have a plurality of Black and Asian residents, stated that shared interests alone do not yield authentic partnerships between these communities, and that having a clear ideological analysis is a key ingredient. Echoing Nguyen, Sasha Wijeyeratne, Executive Director at **CAAHV**, emphasized this mutuality of shared interest and ideological analysis. They said, “Neither really works on their own. [Self-interest] alone doesn’t give it depth, or it makes solidarity feel transactional. It doesn’t always lead to a deeper and

long-term commitment. But the purely ideological doesn't get internalized by our members either."

Wijeyeratne cited an example before their time at CAAAV when Akai Gurley, a Black man, was murdered by a Chinese American police officer in New York City. They explained, "CAAAV took the incredibly unpopular and also incredibly lonely stance to support Akai and his family, and to not fight for the Chinese cop. That was absolutely the politically right thing to do, and it led to some really heavy costs." Those costs included the departure of some member leaders and the loss of community relationships.

Wijeyeratne continued, "I think our attempt now is to really blend those [self-interest and ideology], to make sure that any political education we're doing is really grounded in people's experience. It's being led by: what are people's actual experiences as working-class people in New York City with other communities of color? How do we actually build a shared understanding that you're experiencing a threat of displacement and eviction, and so are Black people in your neighborhood, and therefore, we're in a coalition together and we're fighting side by side? But it is also not bereft of ideology. We can't be afraid of bringing in ideology. We can't be afraid to talk about capitalism, to talk about race. We can't shy away from these bigger and deeper concepts. We just actually have to make sure they land for people and get embodied by people."

How do we actually build a shared understanding that you're experiencing a threat of displacement and eviction, and so are Black people in your neighborhood, and therefore, we're in a coalition together and we're fighting side by side?

– Sasha Wijeyeratne, Executive Director at CAAAV

Conversations intertwining people's trauma and larger ideologies are difficult, layered, and complex. They take time and trust. The [report](#) on "liberatory practices and innovations" documents the different ways many of the grantees carry out these conversations in their respective community.

MULTIPLE IDENTITIES

So far, the origin stories include approaches to cross-racial solidarity, allyship, and healing that assume this work is to be done in collaboration with other communities. Many recognize that our

communities are not monolithic and that there are those within AA and NHPI communities who are multiracial. For instance, **Empowered Pacific Islander Communities (EPIC)** and **Black Pacific Alliance (BPA)** work together not only to provide an affinity space for biracial Black and Pacific Islander community members, but also to start a conversation to confront colorism and anti-Black racism in the broader Pacific Islander communities. Jason Finau, a licensed clinical social worker and a BPA cofounder, explained the genesis of their collaboration: “BPA started as a result of the murder of George Floyd in summer 2020. I was sharing resources online related to mental health support for our communities in the time of so much strife, during a pandemic when it was hard to engage each other in person. Tavae [Samuelu], previous EPIC ED, reached out to me to facilitate a heart space or healing circle for Black and PI community members.”

At the time, Finau, who is both Black and Samoan, had mixed feelings about Pacific Islander leaders who claimed they stood with Black lives because he felt that “Black voices had been drowned out, exploited, or appropriated.” That was why he agreed to cultivate a space with EPIC specifically for people like him who are both Black and Pacific Islander. Finau brought on his cousin Courtney Savali Andrews, an academic expert on Pacific Islander culture to facilitate what he thought was a one-time session. Close to 30 people joined that first session in June 2020.

Finau said, “I never would have imagined that space. It was great to see all those folks. A common theme from the group was, ‘We have never seen this many Black Pacific Islanders who are not our siblings or cousins.’” Estella Owoimaha-Church, who is also Samoan and Black and would later succeed Samuelu as the next EPIC ED, attended the early sessions. She said, “After George Floyd was murdered, I was in a really dark place, personally, professionally, just looking at the world, and watching that play out on the news, and feeling hopeless. I did not expect to revisit those feelings after going through it so profoundly when Trayvon Martin was murdered. BPA held this space, and it was full of folks just like me, who grew up as one or the other, grew up feeling not whole, and also struggling with anti-Blackness in PI and Asian spaces and not feeling safe or seen.” EPIC asked Finau to continue these monthly conversations, and a year later, the group decided to formalize as Black Pacific Alliance.

In a different but related way, multiracial identities are an integral part of the mission for **CEP**. CEP serves both Afro- and Indo-Caribbean immigrants in New York and recognizes the legacies of colonialism in the contested Caribbean identity that had origins in both African and Asian continents. As its Executive Director Mohamed Amin said, “We know that our colonizers created race tensions to divide the Africans and the Indians. These racial tensions have now become generational issues for the Caribbean.” Anti-Black racism is not an abstract concept to build solidarity, but it has material consequences for the populations CEP works with. On top of that, CEP also serves the LGBTQ+ people in the

Caribbean community, many of whom came to the US as asylees to escape the criminalization of same-sex intimacy in some of the Caribbean countries. The focus on this population allows CEP to have intersectional discussions about racial equity that incorporates sexual orientation and gender identity, which has implications on its advocacy role in anti-LGBTQ+ policies both in New York and the larger US.

As CEP demonstrates, using the ideological analysis that centers the most marginalized among us, this “multiple identities” approach also recognizes other identities within AA and NHPI communities that are often overlooked or stigmatized. Many of these grantees consider it their moral imperative to lift up those who are most marginalized, such as LGBTQ+, undocumented people, people who are formerly incarcerated, sex workers, etc., and push difficult conversations that confront the biases in our communities. For instance, several grantees organize those who are at risk of deportation in the Southeast Asian community to highlight the school-to-prison-to deportation pipeline. Through this work, they have been able to build solidarity with organizations in both Black and brown communities that challenge the racial inequities in our law enforcement, criminal justice, and immigration systems.

In Washington, **United Territories of Pacific Islander Alliance (UTOPIA)** empowers trans Pacific Islander sex workers. Racism, transphobia, and displacement as a result of colonialism have shut out many of these community members from other employment



UTOPIA's self-defense and boxing workshop

opportunities. And their campaign to decriminalize sex work has brought UTOPIA in conversation with other Black trans organizations with the same policy goal. To Amasai Jeke, Regional Community Organizer at UTOPIA, the advocacy for sex workers is core to the organization's work, not only because many trans Pacific Islanders are sex workers, but also because, in Jeke's words, “we can't work on our struggles, knowing that those around us are even struggling more than we are. Because we know that when they're liberated, we are then liberated as well.”

The approach of “multiple identities” in racial equity work, as these grantees demonstrate, has multiple benefits. It elevates important stories of those members in our community who are most neglected, pushes difficult conversations about our biases, and builds bridges to other communities of color.

YOUTH LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

AA and NHPI youth empowerment and leadership development is also central to many grantees' cross-racial solidarity, allyship, and healing work. Many AA and NHPI young people are multiracial and/or live and go to school in multiracial settings. For instance, several youth-serving grantee organizations have expanded their membership beyond AA and NHPI young people to include other races because this is the reality of the young people's social network. For **Alliance of Rhode Island Southeast Asians for Education (ARISE)**, which also serves Black and Latinx youth, this allows the staff to not only bring in the history of Southeast Asians in the US as political education and racial identity development for the Southeast Asian youth members, but also to “link that into the narratives or stories of Black youth and Latinx youth members,” said Ngan Nguyen, Deputy Director of Programs and Curricula, in order to facilitate multiracial solidarity and allyship.

In general, more so than their immigrant elders, youth are more familiar and comfortable with conversations about race. Nancy Nguyen, Executive Director at **VietLead**, reflected on the changes between now and a decade ago, when she was a youth organizer: “Our young people are at the frontline [of our racial equity work]. When I started organizing in the Viet community in Philadelphia, we were doing PE [political education] workshops on white privilege. Racism, white privilege. That's where folks were. Now we're talking about white supremacy. It's really evident with Trump. When Trump

came in, it was all about white supremacy. You got young people coming in talking about eating the rich and corporatocracy. That's their starting point coming in. It's not just us doing the work. It's also our socio-political conditions.” Carolyn Chou at **AARW** also agreed that “the moments of racial reckoning over the last decade have been really mobilizing and politicizing moments for young people particularly.”

As Amasai Jeke at **UTOPIA** said, “For us, as queer and trans people, it's also about our survival. We center young people because I won't be here for a long time. The work of social justice movement is about creating a space where young people can take the lead role.” For these grantees, taking on the work of cross-racial solidarity, allyship, and healing is a key way to prepare and support these young people's leadership development.

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CONCLUSION

The many reasons why AA and NHPI organizations take on the work of cross-racial solidarity, allyship, and healing are not mutually exclusive. Precipitating events behoove many to take actions to address crises or leverage opportunities. Some take on this work to heal themselves and their communities from trauma. Many who share a geography with other BIPOC organizations use this to build power. Solidarity also allows them to educate their community on a more inclusive and progressive ideology. Recognizing that our communities are not monolithic, some take on this work to confront our biases that are hurting people with multiple identities in our own communities. Allyship is also essential to our youth leadership development today.

In laying out these reasons, these grantees make a compelling case that cross-racial solidarity, allyship, and healing are not only possible, but that this work is also necessary if we want to serve AA and NHPI communities effectively. Multiracial coalition building is not an option; it is the work. The Community Resilience Fund allowed these grantees to deepen this commitment.

This journey is winding and full of challenges. External factors, such as those that happened in the last five years or so, often present new and unexpected obstacles. And the journey is still evolving for all of the grantees. Another report covers how grantees have highlighted some liberatory practices and innovations that they have learned from this work so far.

CASE STUDY #1

COALITION FOR A BETTER CHINESE AMERICAN COMMUNITY (CBCAC)

Chicago, IL

The mission of **Coalition for a Better Chinese American Community (CBCAC)** is to unite the resources of member organizations and individual members to empower Chinese American communities in Greater Chicago. CBCAC carries out this mission through civic education, community planning, youth empowerment and neighborhood outreach. Since the COVID-19 pandemic, CBCAC has taken initiatives to advocate for interracial solidarity with other community organizations in Chicago's Chinatown and its neighboring communities.

The 2020 Census shows that in the Greater Chinatown area consisting of Chinatown, Armour Square, Bridgeport, and McKinley Park, the Asian population has grown from 11,000 in 1990, to 17,000 in 2000, to 23,000 in 2010, and 28,600 in 2020. Chicago's Chinatown (90% Asian, 5% White, 3% Black, 1% Latinx) is recognized nationally as being the only Chinatown in a major metropolitan city that is growing.

Geographically, Chicago's Chinatown can be seen as a dynamic hub of immigrants on the city's Southside. Neighborhoods surrounding Chinatown are historically known for being enclaves for minorities and immigrants, including Bronzeville (87% Black, 6% White, 2% Hispanic, 2% of Asian), Pilsen (70% Latinx, 19% White, 6% Black, 2% of Asian), and Bridgeport (40% Asian, 35% White, and 22% Latinx).



What activities did CBCAC take on to advocate for cross-racial solidarity?

In 2020 and 2021, CBCAC started an initiative called Solidarity 1.0 and conducted workshops reflecting on anti-blackness in Chicago's Chinatown. The target audience for Solidarity 1.0 was first-generation Chinese American immigrant parents. In Spring 2022, CBCAC expanded the initiative (Solidarity 2.0) to intergenerational dialogues between parents and their first- and second-generation children and youth. In the latest phase of this initiative (Solidarity 3.0), they have expanded and diversified activities with an intention to increase inter-racial solidarity, through collaborative cultural activities, including sidewalk chalk, dance, film screenings and discussion, and walking tours.



Chinese residents debrief after a tour of Bronzeville neighborhood in Chicago

Solidarity 1.0 was spurred by the murder of George Floyd by police in Minnesota, the nationwide BLM protests it inspired, and the conservative, anti-Black sentiments among the Chinese community in response to those protests. Grace Chan McKibben, Executive Director, explained, “In the summer of 2020, there was a church group in the suburbs that organized a march [to support BLM] from Chinese Christian Union Church to Progressive Baptist Church, which covers different communities from Chinatown to Bronzeville. And the backlash in the Chinese social media on WeChat was pretty brutal. People accused the state representative who is Chinese American and who used to work for CBCAC of selling out the Chinese American community, inviting BLM folks to come into the neighborhood and so on, when it was really church people and mostly Asian American, but definitely multiracial [who organized the action]. The march was less of a protest than a prayer walk. It started out with a prayer at the beginning and then stopped at a location where two Chinese American men were killed in the course of a robbery the year before...Every few steps there was stop and pray and music and stop and pray and music...The backlash was so horrific on WeChat that I thought that some conversations would help. I was in particular interested in holding conversations in Chinese with predominantly Chinese-speaking folks.”

What did CBCAC learn from implementing the Solidarity initiatives?

Community members needed a safe space to explore their implicit biases. They might not be ready to be open and vulnerable, especially in a mixed audience. CBCAC chose to start with immigrant Chinese parents first because they tended to more isolated from mainstream culture and lacked a space to talk about racism in the US.

To create this safe space, CBCAC insisted on conducting these conversations in Cantonese, the audience's native language, and worked with a facilitator who was bilingual in Cantonese and English and who many immigrant Chinese parents could relate to as their child.

To reduce resistance, CBCAC framed these conversations as helping immigrant Chinese parents understand the racism that their children might encounter, and less about confronting their own internalized racism.

The work of trust-building and racial self-examination can take a long time. But when an opportunity presented itself, CBCAC was not afraid to go deeper into a difficult conversation. In the fourth session in the series, according to Chan McKibben, "one woman literally said, 'Because of this incident that happened recently, when I see a Black person I am afraid that they may rob

Folks are more comfortable talking about race over the course of the different conversations. It's still difficult, but towards the end there was more openness about what folks are afraid of and what they'd like to see that's changed. I think the transformation is really people opening up their minds and being able to see different points of view and understanding more about the racial history of the US and all the painful history. I think a lot of times Chinese Americans in particular, Asian Americans in general, may understand some of the racism their own group face and think that that is more complicated or more painful than other groups. It's good to have the comparison. Those were the places where we wanted folks to be able to see the parallels and the differences.

- Grace Chan McKibben, CBCAC Executive Director

me.’ I think that actually was one of the most transformational points, when somebody was brave enough to name that. I literally was private chatting on Zoom with the facilitator. I’m like, ‘Don’t go to the next slide. Just let’s unpack this.’ I think that was one of the most poignant moments.” The openness to share from one person prompted more participation. Over time, participants felt more comfortable talking about race.

Intergenerational dialogues between parents and children may suffer from both a language and cultural divide. Sometimes, youth might feel comfortable to be in conversations with adults who are not their parents or family elders.

We need to confront conservatism within our own community, while being empathetic to many immigrants who have experienced trauma (sometimes at the hand of other people of color) and have not had a space to process that trauma. They are not the opposition, but a moveable middle that we can win over to our side.

Dialogues are just the beginning, not the ending. CBCAC is developing spaces for different communities to create something together and build relationships.

WeChat is so powerful and so pervasive. Chinese language users use WeChat for everything from finding and paying babysitters, to finding favorite restaurants, to sharing resources that can be misinformation. WeChat is such an imperfect platform. WeChat doesn’t sort. You can find things on WeChat, but it’s not that easy. Very few people will scroll back and see what was written an hour ago, and then if it’s a high-volume group, then within an hour your message might have been pushed out so far. So their [conservative activists’] way of using WeChat is that they repeat the same message over and over again. Because whenever you enter a forum, that’s when you see the message. We should figure out ways to disrupt that.

– Grace Chan McKibben, CBCAC Executive Director

GLOSSARY

ABOLITIONISM Abolitionism is a response to the disproportionate surveillance and criminalization of Black and brown communities, including youth and trans people. Abolitionism targets the prison industrial complex (including law enforcement and the criminal justice systems that feed into it) that is often the default solution policymakers offer to social ills, despite the fact that it actually exacerbates those ills especially for low-income Black and brown communities.

AREA MEDIAN INCOME (AMI) AMI is the income of the middle household in a region. For instance, if a region has 99 households and we line up the households by order of their income, the AMI is the income of the 50th household (49 households making less than it and 49 making more). It is usually determined by county and household size. It recognizes that income might look different depending on where you live. AMI is used to determine someone's eligibility for affordable housing.

ANTI-ASIAN HATE AND VIOLENCE Anti-Asian hate and violence includes abusive incidents directed at an Asian person because of their racial identity. The perpetrator can also harbor hate against Asian people because of the victim's gender, sexual orientation, socio-economic background, and immigration status. Anti-Asian hate can reinforce the myth of Asian Americans as "perpetual foreigners" in the US. The abuse can be physical, emotional, or verbal and can have consequences in mental health, physical injuries, and death. The COVID-19 pandemic ignited anti-Asian sentiments among those who were misled to believe the pandemic was caused by Asians (including former President Trump who called it Kung Flu). The increase in anti-Asian hate incidents led to the formation of the Stop AAPI Hate movement.

ANTI-BLACKNESS Human rights organizer Janvive Williams Comrie and others define anti-Blackness as “the beliefs, attitudes, actions, practices, and behaviors of individuals and institutions that devalue, minimize, and marginalize the full participation of Black people — visibly (or perceived to be) of African descent. It is the systematic denial of Black humanity and dignity, which makes Black people effectively ineligible for full citizenship. The Anti-Blackness paradigm positions Blackness as inherently problematic, rather than recognizing the long, rich, and diverse history of Black people throughout the African diaspora, and acknowledging that Black communities across the United States (and the world) have been severely disadvantaged as a result of historical and contemporary systemic racism.” Anti-Blackness is a key foundation to white supremacy and is part of the racial conditioning in the US, even for people of color, which is why many name it specifically in order to combat white supremacy.

ANTI-GENTRIFICATION Gentrification refers to the phenomenon that occurs when wealthier individuals begin to move into low-income neighborhoods that have been mostly occupied by residents of color and renters. This is enabled by developments of housing and businesses that cater to the new wealthier residents, which drive up the cost of living in the neighborhoods. Gentrification often results in the displacement of these existing residents and the (often ethnic) businesses and services that serve them as they can no longer afford to live or operate in these neighborhoods. Gentrification is often justified by improvements to neighborhoods that have a long history of economic and political neglect, but often existing residents do not reap the benefits of these improvements because they are being pushed out. Anti-gentrification is any strategy that supports these existing residents to stay in the neighborhoods, which could include tenant organizing, affordable housing, community benefits agreements from new developments, and stopping overdevelopment altogether.

ASIAN AMERICAN Asian American is a political identity adopted by many in the US with ancestry that can be traced back to Asia, as well as immigrants from that continent. While any ethnic group can make up only a small percentage of US populations, this panethnic identity has a potential of consolidating the political power of many Asian ethnic groups. However, it can also marginalize and make invisible smaller ethnic groups or those that do not have as long a history in the US.

BIPOC BIPOC stands for Black, Indigenous, and People of Color and is often used to center Black and Indigenous people against the erasure of their experience in the US. This term is often used respectfully to acknowledge that racism and white supremacy of the US has its roots in the subjugation of Black people (through slavery) and Indigenous people (through genocide), and this acknowledgement is a basis for cross-racial solidarity.

COLONIALISM Colonialism typically refers to the dominance, occupation, and control of one country over another, often through military assaults, religious conversion, and corporate extraction. The colonizer extracts labor and resources from the colonized and takes away their self-determination. White supremacy and the perceived inferiority of other races are the justification for colonialism. Many also use this framework to describe the continuing legacy of colonization on people of color in the US, even its citizens.

COMMUNITY-BASED “VICTIM-CENTERED” INTERVENTION Community-based “victim-centered” intervention is one type of abolitionist strategy because it shifts the reliance of community safety away from law enforcement and criminal justice systems. Advocates believe that these systems are more interested in punishing the perpetrators than in their rehabilitation, and the interactions with police and courts can further re-traumatize the victims. Victim-centered interventions prioritize healing and wellness for the victims and their reintegration into their community.

CREATIVE PLACEMAKING Creative placemaking a community development and urban planning strategy that uses arts and culture to create a sense of place and belonging for diverse people who live, work, play, and worship in that shared geography, often to spur economic activities in that community. Creative placemaking can take different forms, such as development and promotion of ethnic businesses, public art that reflects different cultures or captures the history or distinctiveness of the neighborhood, and spaces where members from different communities can meet and interact with one another.

CRIMMIGRATION Up until the mid-1980s, the realms of immigration law and criminal law were fairly separate. But since then, xenophobic sentiments have led to unequal treatments of immigrants and refugees under the criminal justice system compared to citizens. This could mean longer incarceration and even deportation as a way to punish immigrants and refugees even for non-serious crimes. The deportation of Southeast Asian refugees based on old criminal records has led to the separation of families in those communities.

CROSS-RACIAL SOLIDARITY, ALLYSHIP, AND HEALING These are a suite of approaches that attempt to confront division and anti-Blackness in our communities, address trauma inflicted by white supremacy, and come up with solutions to bring the communities together. Racial solidarity is a commitment to stand with Black people and persons of color against injustice. Allyship is the practice of those from a group who are working towards ending oppression by supporting and advocating for those in marginalized and oppressed groups. Healing focuses on culturally-aligned emotional, spiritual, and psychological health and the processes that relieve stress, achieve acceptance, promote hope, and restore relationships.

CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE Culturally responsive refers to approaches, programs, and services that are developed and/or provided with the understanding and integration of how an individual’s cultural values, religion, intersectional identities, roles, customs, and community history impact the mental wellbeing of the individual, family, and community. Strategies are affirming and drawing on strengths from the culture, heritage, and traditions. This model is based on the idea that cultural competence is ever-evolving. Providers and services must continue to learn the changing culture and the differing values of each individual and family to improve the quality of care.

ETHNIC MEDIA Ethnic media refers to media outlets, such as newspapers and radio stations, in specific ethnic communities. In Asian American communities, these outlets are mostly in Asian languages and cater to immigrants, for whom this is likely to be their primary or exclusive source of news.

FIRST GENERATION First generation refers to adult immigrants, as in they are the first generation to be in the US. A child of immigrants who is born in the US is considered second-generation. A young person who came to the US may be considered 1.5-generation, as they split their formative years between the US and their country of birth. They may retain both cultures but be more acculturated to the US than their first-generation parents.

LGBTQ+ LGBTQ+ refers to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender (or trans), and queer. Some people also use LGBTQIA2S+ to include intersexual (I), asexual (A), and (2S) two-spirit. For others the Q also stands for questioning. The “plus” sign is meant to include other sexual and gender identities, such as pansexual, gender non-binary, etc., as these (and newer) identities continue to evolve quickly with better understanding and acceptance from mainstream society.

MICROAGGRESSIONS According to psychologist Kevin Nadal, microaggressions are “the everyday, subtle, intentional — and oftentimes unintentional — interactions or behaviors that communicate some sort of bias toward historically marginalized groups. The difference between microaggressions and overt discrimination or macroaggressions, is that people who commit microaggressions might not even be aware of them.” For example, when someone compliments an Asian American for speaking English well, it can reinforce the myth of Asians as “perpetual foreigner” who can’t speak English or assimilate otherwise (and the person being complimented is the exception).

MODEL MINORITY Model minority is a myth that emphasizes certain supposed traits of Asians to the point of painting the community as a monolith. These traits might refer to work ethics, intelligence, and ability to withstand hardships without complaints, that led to the community's supposed success and resilience. Model minority is used to cast Asians as a wedge among people of color in order to refute the existence and continuing effects of racism and thereby delegitimize or even eliminate social policies that aim to lessen racism's impact. The model minority can also hurt Asian Americans by casting them as asexual, devoid of emotions, and incapable of leadership. Furthermore, the model minority myth also makes some populations within the panethnic Asian label invisible, especially those who don't fit into the myth.

NATIVE HAWAIIAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDERS (NHPI) NHPI is a geopolitical identity that refers to any Indigenous Peoples of Oceania, including inhabitants and diaspora.

PASIFIKA A transliteration of a word meaning "Pacific," Pasifika has its roots in New Zealand, where government agencies created the term in the 1980s to describe growing communities of Indigenous migrants representing the Pacific diaspora – places like Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, the Cook Islands and other areas of Oceania. According to Brandon Fuamatu of United Territories of Pacific Islanders Alliance (UTOPIA), the word is a beacon signaling those who recognize and acknowledge Pacific Islander identity.

SCAFFOLDING CONVERSATIONS Scaffolding conversations is an approach to use dialogues to build shared understanding and relationship, by chronologizing a series of conversations that build on the previous ones and help participants to be ready and on the same page for subsequent ones, usually involving deeper exploration into more complex or uncomfortable subjects.

SCHOOL-TO-PRISON-TO-DEPORTATION PIPELINE Under-resourced schools, particularly in inner city neighborhoods with mostly students of color, often rely on punitive measures to discipline students, including for vague offenses that are not punishable in other schools. Studies have shown that students of color in these schools are surveilled by school police and administrators and have a higher rate of suspension and expulsion. Their further education opportunities are limited as a result of it, and they're more likely to become involved with the law enforcement and criminal justice systems, even while they are minors. These disciplinary policies and consequences constitute the school-to-prison pipeline. Because of crimmigration, students who are refugees and immigrants also become at risk of deportation. So for these students, the pipeline is extended from school to prison, and finally to deportation.

STRUCTURAL OR ROOT-CAUSE ANALYSIS

Structural or root-cause analysis is an approach to social problems by identifying the core and fundamental reasons why these problems exist, or root cause. These root causes tend to be structural or systemic issues that have been reified historically over time. Root causes are often less visible to conventional explanations about a social problem, but addressing a problem at its root cause is the only way to craft solutions to that problem in a permanent and sustainable way. For instance, a surface explanation to crime might point the finger at individual deficits (“bad people”), and the solution might involve punishments to individuals. A root-cause analysis might take into factors like economic conditions, such as how a community has been historically neglected. Crime might not subside even if we lock up the offenders, and we might end up spending more resources in keeping more people locked up. A root-cause analysis of poverty crime might require a solution, like better economic development, that can lift up an entire community rather than punishing individuals.

TRUST-BASED PHILANTHROPY

Trust-based philanthropy is a recent recognition by the philanthropic sector, after critiques from researchers and the nonprofit organizations that they support, that certain practices by philanthropy make it challenging for these organizations to fulfill their mission or to collaborate with other organizations. Many of these harmful practices display distrust of the grantee organizations. Trust-based philanthropy tries to address this unequal power dynamic while ensuring mutual and transparent accountability. Some of the trust-based philanthropy strategies include multi-year funding for general operating support, where grantee organizations can be nimble in how they deploy resources to emerging community needs.

WHITEWASHING

Whitewashing, in general, refers to any deliberate attempt to cover something that might be unpleasant or incriminating. In the context of racial equity discussion, people also use this term to specifically talk about the erasure of the history and experience of people of color to deny the existence or persistence of racism and white supremacy.

METHODOLOGY

The 21 CRF grantees implemented their cross-racial solidarity, allyship and healing work differently, each leveraging their unique strengths, relationships, and cultural competence, in their respective ethnic and geographic target populations. Because of the diversity, the evaluator decided to use a more grounded approach of storytelling to honor the spectrum and nuances of this work, rather than imposing a more traditional evaluation approach that focuses on predetermined outcomes and linear logic models to reach those outcomes.

Data sources used to develop this series of evaluation reports included: 1) Document review: At the beginning of the project, the evaluator reviewed grantee proposals and interim reports to gain a better understanding of the depth and complexity of the work by each grantee. Based on this document review, the evaluator developed a protocol for the next evaluation method; 2) Listening

sessions: Because of the open-endedness of the learning questions, the evaluator conducted three listening sessions with the grantees in March 2023 to lift up potential story ideas for the evaluation. Fourteen (14) staff from 12 grantee organizations participated in the listening sessions; 3) Key stakeholder interviews: After the listening sessions, the evaluator captured high-level themes and shared with all 21 grantees and invited each to participate in an interview to explore those themes that were the most relevant, meaningful and resonating with their work.

This evaluation captures many of the stories grantees shared during these interviews to illustrate the high-level themes. The evaluator conducted interviews with 18 grantees, representing 29 staff. The following table documents the participants in both the listening sessions and key stakeholder interviews by grantees.

GRANTEES	LISTENING SESSIONS	KEY STAKEHOLDER INTERVIEWS
Alliance of Rhode Island Southeast Asians for Education (ARISE)	Ngan Nguyen, Deputy Director of Programs & Curricula	Ngan Nguyen, Deputy Director of Programs & Curricula
Asian American Resource Workshop (AARW)	Carolyn Chou, Co-Executive Director	Carolyn Chou and Kevin Lam, Co-Executive Directors
Asian Economic Development Association (AEDA)	Va-Megn Thoj, Executive Director	Npau Baim Her, Arts & Culture Coordinator; Evie Mouacheupao, Arts & Culture Manager; and Va-Megn Thoj, Executive Director
Asian Health Services	Alana Sanchez-Prak, Stop the Hate Program Manager	Ben Wang, Director of Special Initiatives
Asian Pacific American Network of Oregon (APANO)	Karen Katigbak, Development Manager and Kim Lepin, Co-Executive Director of Culture and Communications	Karen Katigbak, Development Manager; Kim Lepin, Co-Executive Director of Culture and Communications; Natalie Yap, Community Space Manager; and Maiyee Yuan, Culture, Equity & Integration Manager
Athena's Warehouse		Dia Parker, Executive Director
CAAAY: Organizing Asian Communities		Julie Chen, Institutional Giving Manager; and Sasha Wijeyeratne, Executive Director
CAP-USA		Mary Niedermeyer, Director of Operations; and Ekta Prakash, CEO
Caribbean Equality Project (CEP)	Mohamed Q. Amin, Executive Director	Mohamed Q. Amin, Executive Director
Coalition for a Better Chinese American Community (CBCAC)	Vivian Zhang, Advocacy Manager	Grace Chan McKibben, Executive Director
Coalition for Asian American Leaders (CAAL)	ThaoMee Xiong, Executive Network Director	ThaoMee Xiong, Executive Network Director

Empowering Pacific Islander Communities (EPIC) and Black Pacific Alliance (BPA)		Estella Owoimaha-Church, EPIC Executive Director; Jason Finau, BPA Cofounder
Friends of Little Sài Gòn		Quynh Pham, Executive Director
HANA Center		Inhe Choi, Executive Director; and Young Woon Han, Senior Organizing Manager
Ka ‘Aha Lahui O ‘Olekona Hawaiian Civic Club of Oregon and SW Washington (KALO HCC)	Leialoha Kaula, Executive Director	
Mekong NYC	Teline Tran, Development Coordinator; and Thida Virak, Director of Social Services	Kim To, Deputy Director; and Teline Tran, Development Coordinator
Southeast Asian Community Alliance (SEACA)	Sissy Trinh, Executive Director	Sissy Trinh, Executive Director
United Territories of Pacific Islander Alliance (UTOPIA)	Amasai Jeke, Regional Community Organizer	Amasai Jeke, Regional Community Organizer
VietLead		Nancy Nguyen, Executive Director

Finally, the evaluator conducted one validation meeting with National CAPACD staff in July 2023 and another with CRF grantees in August 2023. The reports were then shared with grantee participants for their approval of the use of their stories and direct quotes.

ABOUT NATIONAL CAPACD

The National Coalition for Asian Pacific American Community Development (National CAPACD) advances equity and creates vibrant, healthy neighborhoods by mobilizing and strengthening a powerful coalition of Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander community-based organizations working in low-income communities.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Eric Wat (he/him/his) documents the histories of and lessons from progressive movements through collective storytelling in the form of research and evaluation, organizational development, strategic facilitation, and leadership coaching. His recent evaluation work includes topics such as labor, COVID-19 education and prevention, language justice, and racial equity organizational development. He is a diversity, equity and inclusion coach for the Equity Learning Lab from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. His book *Love Your Asian Body: AIDS Activism in Los Angeles* (2022) won the Book Award in History at the Association of Asian American Studies, and his novel *SWIM* was a Los Angeles Times bestseller in December 2019.



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