

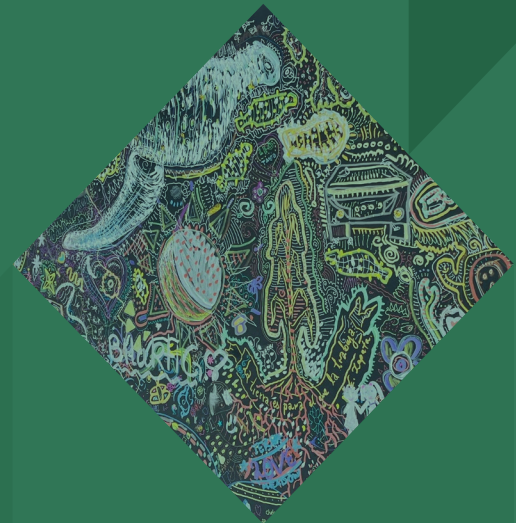


# TO LIFT ALL BOATS:

A STORYTELLING  
EVALUATION OF THE  
COMMUNITY RESILIENCE FUND  
2022-23

*Multi-Racial Solidarity,  
Allyship and Healing*

REPORT 3  
STORIES OF TRANSFORMATION



# A LETTER FROM OUR BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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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

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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.

# STORIES OF TRANSFORMATION

*What progress have CRF grantees seen on individual, organizational, and systemic levels?*

The work of cross-racial allyship, solidarity, and healing is more a journey than a destination, a journey that requires the persistence and patience of the fabled tortoise, as HANA Center staff suggested. Nor is it a linear journey. A precipitating event, a crisis, can unexpectedly set back progress or open new possibilities (and sometimes both). Even at a micro-local level, people of various generations, political orientation, and experiences are at different points of this journey, which requires a lot of time to bring people together, create a shared language, and move forward as a community.

For all these reasons, some CRF grantees agreed that it was hard to gauge progress. As Va-Megn Thoj, Executive Director at **Asian Economic Development Association (AEDA)** said, “In the Twin Cities, three years after George Floyd, some people thought that [incident] really set cross-racial collaboration between Black and Asian communities back. Some people felt like the relationship got worse because they felt targeted. And how do you repair that? And

others thought it was an opportunity for the API community to step up and highlight or confirm or strengthen their allyship with the Black community and support Black Lives Matter. I think it’s a matter of perception obviously. Depending on your perspective, progress was made or things were set back. But in terms of our project, we feel that the progress is bringing people together and to have conversations around these issues and keep these issues on people’s radars because they’re not going away. That’s how we can measure progress here.”

Perhaps a better question is what has today’s progress prepared us to do in order to deepen racial justice in the US. The next Report #4 will focus on what we need to pay attention to if we want to sustain this work. For this report, grantees offer signs of progress, or stories of transformation. CRF grantees shared many examples that are more than, in Thoj’s modest words, “bringing people together and having these conversations.” These transformations have occurred on



individual, organizational, and systemic levels. Perhaps systematically categorizing these stories can help us celebrate our victories and strategize on how to build on the momentum.

## INDIVIDUAL TRANSFORMATIONS

CRF grantees emphasized that cross-racial solidarity and allyship begins with inner transformation to unlearn what has been conditioned in us by structural racism. The previous Report #2 includes some stories of these personal transformations. Grantees recounted how community members used storytelling and other cultural expressions to unlock and reframe their trauma from racism and white supremacy. In so doing, many community members began to switch their status from victims to change agents and became more self-actualized. For instance, while **United Territories of Pacific Islander Alliance (UTOPIA)** does not reinforce the stigmatization of sex work, its healing work with trans sex workers help these women imagine different options for themselves without falling into sex work as a default. As a result, Amasai Jeke said that many of them are pursuing or have completed medical training like certified nurse assistant. “They’ve engaged more with our community,” Jeke said.

The work of CRF grantees has opened up intergenerational dialogues and created shared language about their collective experience. It has allowed people to adopt a structural analysis to focus on root causes



*Asian and Black artists from AEDA's Healing in Solidarity: Building Community Resilience collaborative exhibition*

of poverty and violence, instead of blaming other communities of color. Moving beyond the trauma, this work is not only foundational to racial solidarity, but an essential tool for community organizing and leadership development. A few grantees even shared examples of how some community members became more motivated about social justice issues and became community leaders or even staff. Grace Chan McKibben at **Coalition for a Chinese American Community (CBCAC)** said about the series of community dialogues with Chinese-speaking community members in Chicago's Chinatown, “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 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." Even though Chinatown is adjacent to other communities of color in Chicago, the city is, according to Chan McKibben, "so racially segregated that folks seldom venture outside of their own neighborhood." But because of these community dialogues, she said that "some of [the participants] have gotten more involved and we do want to have them begin to develop as ambassadors to other communities."

The formerly incarcerated with deportation orders that **Asian American Resource Workshop (AARW)** in Boston organizes are becoming advocates for their community. Kevin Lam said, "They become more open in sharing in public space because they know that there's a community behind them that will show up for them to hold and support them. They are more vocal and share their story from a place that is actually calling for change and calling for demands that they know now it's a fundamental right, versus coming from a place of just like, oh yeah, I can't do anything."

Similarly, in Brooklyn Center, MN, Ngan Nguyen observed the empowerment transformation in the students **Alliance of Rhode Island Southeast Asians for Education (ARISE)** works with, in "developing their own voices and paths." She said, "They are much more confident and more equipped with tools to resist against something that they see as being wrong in the classroom. When we first started, they were telling me a lot of stories about microaggressions within the classroom, but they didn't speak up about it. But now I feel like they have the tools to be able to speak up against something they see that might not be correct." Nguyen then shared a story about a youth leader calling out a teacher about their microaggression against Asian American students. She continued, "They have evolved in a way where they want to include more people to be a part of this leadership program, to become leaders within their schools, but also the desire to build with other people outside of Brooklyn Center. They have indicated that they want to explore and meet other youth from other schools to learn about their experiences, in order to better inform how they approach leading and

When we first started, [the students] were telling me a lot of stories about microaggressions within the classroom, but they didn't speak up about it. But now I feel like they have the tools to be able to speak up against something they see that might not be correct.

- Ngan Nguyen, Deputy Director of Programs & Curricula, ARISE

building a campaign at their own school. That’s really a big growth mindset that I didn’t see before.”

For **CAAHV: Organizing Asian Communities**, the investment in these solidarity conversations as political education for the tenants they organize “democratized the campaign” and built community power. Executive Director Sasha Wijeyeratne said, “We needed members, specifically member leaders, to understand what was happening, to know the whole context, and then to be able to make decisions about [the campaign]. Part of that meant that member leaders were going to meetings with coalition partners more often, and building their own relationships with the multiracial coalition that we were in, that was Black, Latinx, and Asian tenants.”

That bore fruit during their campaign around the Two Bridges Community Plan. Wijeyeratne said, “The whole campaign was only possible because of the solidarity work that we had built the foundation for. I don’t think we could have moved that campaign in the way we did just by ourselves. We needed some unity amongst the working-class spaces in the area in order to have enough power to win. We had a series of really powerful actions that directly targeted different players in the city, the last of whom was Dan Garodnick, who’s the head of the Department of City Planning, who’s notorious for ignoring community members, notorious for prioritizing only big development. In the past, he has just ignored us. This time, we had a big action outside of his office with the coalition. We sent a small secret advanced team into the building to try and find his office,

while our members gathered and clustered around the sidewalk, yelling up at him. It was the first time I’d seen some particular leaders really be agitated. They were furious. This is the person who decided whether or not our community plan moved on to the next stage. You’re making a decision about whether this vision that thousands of people have for our neighborhood, whether it even gets considered; it’s not whether it passes or not, it’s whether it even gets to be considered. You are sitting in this building, we’ve brought a hundred people to your door, and you won’t even come meet with us? I think that direct confrontation with power was really important. The small team actually ended up hand delivering thousands of petitions that we had been gathering over the last month or two, directly to someone in the office. I think the big group made so much noise outside that within a couple of days, we actually got a direct response from the target himself, which was extremely unexpected. Something that we didn’t anticipate hearing.

“That was the victory. I think the feeling of solidarity amongst that crowd, the clarity about how unfair it was, the agitation and ferocity of the members, it moved the target from being this amorphous — it’s the Department of City Planning; it’s part of the random bureaucracy — to this single man whose office I can see right there. It made it really concrete. I think that sharpened people’s anger and sense of injustice, and also their sense of power. This isn’t some random bureaucracy that I can’t even name. It’s a person right there, and he’s accountable to me. That was a level up. I don’t think I had seen that level of clarity or of anger across the organization. It had



reverberations across the membership and the leadership. People are willing to take more militant action, and in fact are asking for it, in part because they had an experience where they felt power in that way.”

While that campaign ran up against some powerful forces that caused these leaders to reevaluate their tactics, Wijeyeratne reflected, “I think it has led people to think more deeply about solidarity, what we need to build outside of our neighborhoods. I think some of that campaign was coming onto the limits of what we can do in just one tiny corner of one tiny neighborhood, that we actually need broader power to be able to leverage power citywide.” [Case Study #2](#) at the end of this report elaborates on this pivotal campaign.

## ORGANIZATIONAL TRANSFORMATIONS

The inner work doesn’t only happen on the individual level, but at the organizational level as well. CRF grantees recognized that their organization had to reflect the vision and values of racial equity and solidarity that they wanted to see in the world. Some grantees engaged in self-study where staff educated each other and shared personal stories in order to create a shared understanding of what racial equity and solidarity means in their work.

In response to the murder of George Floyd, **Asian Pacific American Network of Oregon (APANO)** began to engage in inner work for

transformation, including the establishment of a BIPOC Solidarity Committee. Part of the work was to support a growing staff in developing a shared ideology around racial solidarity, allyship, and healing. Maiyee Yuan, Culture, Equity & Integration Manager, explained, “There was a lot of, ‘how do we do shared learning in our internal work?’ I think there was a hint of also healing, of just feeling like, ‘Oh, it feels safe to be more honest or more transparent with these people that I work with, even though I know different folks have different life experiences.’ We are really trying to build our practices and containers, like how do we hold principled conflict, of just being able to disagree or have different opinions than each other and still yet hold it with care and respect. Then, not be afraid or shy away or avoidant of talking about difficult subjects, such as abolition and the hurt that our elders or our small businesses are feeling and the fear in our communities. In that sense, we’ve really built that lens to say, ‘How are we building the understanding and practices internally so that they can be translated and also seen more normalized in the work that we do externally?’” This practice led to the development of a series of community dialogues, called Resilience Series, that broached, among other things, the topic of anti-Blackness in AA and NHPI communities.

In the past year, after going through staff trainings on the prison industrial complex, APANO also established a Community Safety Committee where staff shared their evolving understanding of abolitionism, so that the organization can, in Yuan’s words, “integrate and normalize that philosophy into our culture and practices.” She

continued, “We understood that the Black Lives Matter uprisings were calling for abolition of the systems that don’t work for us and that are disproportionately impacting Black communities. I think a key part of it is, ‘how do we unlearn the idea that police are safety, knowing that through the statistics and knowing that through some folks’ personal experiences as well?’” In the Community Safety Committee and also in our staff programming, there are things as casual as sharing articles on Slack. We share instances of what is happening and have discussion time in our meetings to say, ‘What stood out for you? How do we build our analysis together in this processing space knowing that we’re all coming in from different experiences and places?’ But also for our own spaces, like at our offices and our events, what is our mission- and values-aligned response to interacting and engaging with our unhoused neighbors, for example? I can see some of these things that move beyond that 101 in the training, and that have actually been embedded into our culture of continual conversation of values that are normalized and that have been affirmed to be part of our organization.”

These organization-wide discussions also led APANO to rethink their shared leadership and decision-making, and the organization adopted a three Co-Executive Director structure in early 2022 to “disrupt white dominant culture.” Kim Lepin, one of the Executive Directors, explained that the change didn’t just happen at the top: “Even though we have a hierarchical structure still, we’re trying to figure out how we navigate that in a way that aligns with the shared decision-making model and processes that we want to see. How

do we empower staff in their roles to make decisions? How do we practice consensus decision making models when it makes sense? We’ve also gone through the compensation philosophy assessment, so how can we be more equitable and center staff care and well-being in our policies?” Both Lepin and Yuan talked about the decision-making matrix they have developed to clarify what shared decision-making at APANO should look like. Yuan said, “In our decision-making matrix, how do we give decision-making power and proper transparency to program teams and to team members? What do they have decision-making power over? In articulating how our decision-making happens, I think the want is to really highlight our value of self-determination, and we see that echoed in the organization in different ways.” Another staff described this process was “slow and intentional,” but necessarily so. As Yuan concluded, “We didn’t accomplish in the timeframe that we had hoped, but we had to do this first for ourselves as an organization.” Now she felt that the Community Safety Committee “is really geared up to be that holder of relationships to bridge our analysis around safety to build conversations and partnerships authentically with community

## How do we empower staff in their roles to make decisions? How do we practice consensus decision making models when it makes sense?

– Kim Lepin, Co-Executive Director of Culture and Communications, Asian Pacific American Network of Oregon (APANO)

members in neighborhoods like Jade District and Washington County, which we know are probably the most diverse in Oregon.” [Case Study #3](#) at the end of this report elaborates on the painstaking work APANO took on for this organizational transformation.

Some grantees, like **HANA Center** and CAPI-USA, are diversifying their staffing to better reflect the broader multiracial community that they now serve. **CAPI-USA**, which started as early as 2008 to keep only the acronym API in its name without spelling it out anymore, serves refugees from different parts of the world, while about half of their populations served are still Asian. Mary Niedermeyer, Director of Operations, said, “One of the values that CAPI really has is hiring from the community and making sure our staff reflect the community. When we re-launched our refugee services this past year, we hired about 10 Afghan staff.” Former CEO Ekta Prakesh emphasized that the work cannot stop at diversity hiring. She said, “You can’t just like, okay, we’ll hire 10 more people from a different community and we’re diverse. You need to invest in your staff. You need to be more resilient and inclusive. There’s a lot of work we still have to do, like creating that safe space, to understand everyone’s culture, celebrate and embrace it.” Niedermeyer echoed this need to “foster a sense of belonging” among diverse staff. She said she had been thinking about working with “supervisors and making sure that they understand just the importance of building trust in relationships with their team, so that they have that sense of comfort and ability to share how they’re feeling, and how the work is impacting them.” Niedermeyer also recognized that this type of team building also

needed to take place outside of the workplace sometimes. Both Prakesh and Niedermeyer have hosted game nights and other activities at their own homes for CAPI-USA staff.

Prakesh also wanted to bring more democracy and transparency in the organization’s decision-making process. She said, “When I joined, CAPI was a very traditional organization. It was an organization where one person made all the decisions. There was only one voice. And I think CAPI has evolved from that. There are many voices, and then we make a decision.” Prakesh recognized that this is “an evolving process” because CAPI-USA “has a very young work force. Not everybody has all the skills. And so how do you bring everybody’s skills and passion together?” On the other hand, Niedermeyer observed that the openness to collective decision-making has led to some staff stepping up and working together. She said, “I do feel like over the past six months, I’ve been seeing staff start to rally together and organize more. I’ve noticed staff across programs joining together around a specific cause. We have the Twin Cities World Refugee Day that we host every year. In the past it was just very specific people that were preparing for that. And now I’m seeing a lot of people just from all across the agency that are coming together and that are feeling passionate and empowered to do that.” Because CAPI-USA recruited many staff from the communities they serve, more staff involvement in decision-making also has the benefit of increasing the responsiveness of their programs. She said, “The more their ears are to the ground and the more we are receiving what they’re hearing, the more we can make a greater impact in the



community. And I think so much of that ties back to anti-racism because often organizations are just so disconnected from what is actually going on in the community. That often happens in white-led organizations that have a top-down approach and there aren't folks who are truly connected into the community."

Some CRF grantees observed that their participation in multiracial coalitions has raised the profile of their organizations. Quynh Pham at **Friends of Little Sài Gòn (FLS)**, said, "Working across all of these coalitions and multiracial groups, I think, does elevate our work even more. It's not just our community that's talking about it, but it's all these other groups that are now talking about our work. It leverages resources, but it also elevates our issues to a higher level and scale, like going from local to countywide, or even statewide. I feel our work continues to get bigger and bigger, and it feels great to be part of those conversations." Similarly, through their work with the Bronxwide Coalition, **Mekong NYC** is increasingly being seen as an important political player in the city. Deputy Director Kim To said, "New York City's Economic Development Corporation contacted us directly, not just through the coalition, but directly to be involved in the discussions. Our city council member also directly contacted us to be part of the conversation. So it's not just as a coalition anymore; they're actually reaching out to us to make sure that we're there at the table."



*Mekong NYC at #AllHandsIn Campaign with their NY Healthy Nail Salons Coalition partners*

## SYSTEMIC TRANSFORMATIONS

The work of cross-racial solidarity, allyship, and healing has for many CRF grantees sharpened their political analysis, activated grassroots leadership, deepened community partnerships, and promoted democratization in their organization to allow for better decision-making — all foundations for bringing the kind of racial justice they want to see in their communities and in the US. The work is far from over. Nevertheless, grantees not only identified many policy wins, but in some cases, they have also changed the way that policy decisions



are made. These systemic transformations give us a better glimpse of what an equitable world could look like.

For instance, Sissy Trinh credited the coalition **Southeast Asian Community Alliance (SEACA)** has built with organizations in Skid Row and Little Tokyo in Los Angeles for passing a Downtown community plan that “created an incentive program to target 15% AMI” in affordable housing that essentially expanded eligibility to low-income Asian immigrant seniors on SSI in Chinatown and those on disability in Skid Row, mostly Black folks, “who are one rent increase away from becoming homeless.” Trinh said, “I don’t know if we would’ve gotten that without coming together.”

Through the multiracial coalition with other youth organizing groups to work on campaigns like community safety, **VietLead** was able to “push back against a city bill in 2020 that would’ve increased police funding by \$18 million.” Reflecting on that victory, Nancy Nguyen said, “We defeated it. The city council voted no on that because we had had these experiences in the past of working together. There was that level of trust. When a crisis happened between communities, there was political alignment.”

As part of the Bronxwide Coalition, **Mekong NYC** helped elect a progressive woman of color onto the city council. That election was momentous because, according to Kim To, it “broke up a political block” that wasn’t serving the interests of low-income families of color, including many Asian immigrants that Mekong NYC serves.

The victory has also fueled more energetic multiracial organizing at the coalition. With the closing of a local clinic, the coalition is turning its collective attention to health care access, using its newfound leverage in city politics to try to bring a new health care facility in the abandoned Kingsbridge Armory.

For Quynh Pham at **Friends of Little Sài Gòn (FLS)**, unlearning the scarcity mindset allowed her and her coalition partners to dream bigger, not only in asking for more from the city of Seattle, but also in changing the way some city funding is distributed. She said, “Instead of seeing it as competition, we’re seeing it as a way to partner or elevate that, ‘Look how competitive this is. All of our partners are applying. This pot of money should be larger, and we should push for more, rather than just competing.’ We came together with the hope that we continue to leverage and push for more resources.”

This was how the coalition approached the Seattle’s Equitable Development Initiative when it released its call for proposals recently to fund mixed-used and non-traditional development projects. The initiative had its roots in multiracial coalition building, and many of the coalition leaders, including Pham, are part of the oversight committee to make sure it continues to be community-led. Even though, as Pham acknowledged, this process is still competitive because the funding is limited compared to the needs in various communities, the coalition leaders “are trying to make sure that it covers a broad range of projects and are really thoughtful about, ‘Okay, if this group has been funded, but there’s a little pot of money

here, let's try to support this other group in this other way.' And it's both capital dollars and capacity. So if we can't fund the actual project, we want to fund them with capacity and help them get to a place for the capital project to happen." The city, said Pham, is looking at this model of community governance to replicate for other funding streams. Pham said that this type of community-driven equity was hard to implement in a public system because it requires public agencies and elected officials to share their decision-making power with communities. Recently, the coalition had to push back on some of the ideas from public officials, like having board members appointed by the mayor or the city council, to make sure the communities most impacted continue to have a majority vote on what should be funded in their own neighborhoods.

world to mirror. These outcomes are foundational to any movement towards racial justice.

Their experience in this work also reveals where we need to go next in this journey together. In Report #4, CRF grantees shared their recommendations on the "next level" of cross-racial solidarity, allyship, and healing work that will build on their current accomplishments.

## CONCLUSION

The CRF grantees understand that centuries of colonialism, white supremacy, and structural racism could not be overturned in a matter of years. This is a long journey, and they know if they were to go the distance, they need to bring as many people along in this journey, even if it means they have to move more slowly. These grantees are willing to put in the hard work. Along the way, they see progress not only in actual policy wins. They see community members stepping up into leadership roles. They see their organizations manifesting the equitable and democratic values that they want the rest of their

## CASE STUDY #2

## CAA AV: ORGANIZING ASIAN COMMUNITIES

## New York, NY

CAA AV works to build grassroots community power across diverse poor and working-class Asian immigrant communities in New York City, particularly in Manhattan’s Chinatown and in Astoria, Queens. Asian Americans make up 13% of the city’s population.

The origin of **CAA AV: Organizing Asian Communities** was to address anti-Asian violence in New York. Executive Director Sasha Wijeyeratne explained, “It was around the time of Vincent Chin’s murder, and there was always an ethos of showing up in solidarity. Solidarity is baked into CAA AV’s DNA, because there’s always been a recognition that what we’re experiencing as Asian communities is being experienced by other communities, and specifically other working-class communities of color across the city.” This ethos of solidarity continues after CAA AV made a pivot recently to focus on housing and gentrification. According to the 2018 Association for Neighborhood & Housing Development report, 36% of Chinatown and 40% of Astoria populations were rent burdened in 2016.

*What activities did CAA AV take on to advocate for cross-racial solidarity?*

CAA AV engages in multiracial and intergenerational coalitions to limit gentrification in low-income neighborhoods in New York that are shared by Asian immigrants and other people of color. Through its Chinatown Tenants Union, CAA AV organizes working-class Chinese immigrants in rent-stabilized buildings in Chinatown. Since 2017, CAA AV has been advocating for the Two Bridges Community Plan (TBCP) to adopt anti-gentrification strategies.

CAA AV reported that the Community Resilience Fund has “enabled us to escalate our multiracial fight to pass the Two Bridges Community Plan.” Organizing activities included weekly Organizing Committee meeting with community leaders, monthly all-membership meetings, and bi-weekly coalition meetings with Black and Latinx organizations in Chinatown, which led to “a powerful action in which member



*CAAAV's Chinatown Tenants Union rallies in support of the Two Bridges Community Plan*

leaders of all ages testified powerfully to the impact of luxury development and gentrification in their neighborhood” and the coalition hand-delivered a demand letter to the head of the Department of City Planning, Dan Garodnick. That action demonstrated the community power so much that the pro-development Garodnick, who usually ignored similar demand letters in the past, issued a rare response to the community, which buoyed the leaders. (See below for details about the DCP action.)

The strength of these multiracial coalition relationships allowed CAAAV to take the fight beyond gentrification in local neighborhoods to the city’s budget, including the allocation of funding to the

police department at the expense of other services that low-income communities needed.

Executive Director Sasha Wijeyeratne explained, “It’s not like [the city budget] is totally separate from us. The New York City budget impacts 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. And that means people of color across the city. Members were clear that it wasn’t like they were showing up to have a really big win around housing, but they were showing up to fight for the city, and to fight side by side with other working-class communities.”

### *What did CAAAV learn from building cross-racial solidarity?*

In the past year, CAAAV community members have felt unsafe in their neighborhood due to the rise in anti-Asian rhetoric and violence. According to CAAAV’s proposal to the Community Resilience Fund, “The media is painting this violence as coming primarily from Black communities, and there have been times when that messaging has resonated in our membership.” This led to a divide-and-conquer



strategy by developers to weaken any community attempt to challenge gentrification. The best way to change this narrative, CAAAV organizers have found, is the direct experience of their members working with other communities of color in campaigns to preserve their neighborhoods. Through these multiracial direct actions, people begin to see each other as allies with shared interest and direct their collective energies to the powerful enemies. CAAAV believes that “fighting together and building real relationships through struggle is a core element of challenging anti-Blackness in our communities, more so than any training could replicate.”

- **Cross-racial solidarity as an “embodied” experience:**

Wijeyeratne shared a story about a recent direct action in its 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 coalition partners from other neighborhoods,” said Wijeyeratne. “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.”

- **Combining people’s experience with progressive political analysis:** CAAAV recognizes that political education is not effective if it doesn’t take into account people’s lived experience and basic needs, especially when people are experiencing trauma and violence, like some of the Asian immigrants that CAAAV organizes. As Wijeyeratne said, “The purely ideological doesn’t get internalized by our members.” These conversations can be very difficult and time-consuming, especially when emotions are raw, but they are also essential for base building.
  - 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 in 2014. 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 both was absolutely the politically right thing to do, and it led to some really heavy cost.” 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, 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."

- A recent example of political education grounded in people's experience is CAAAV's ability to connect gentrification with abolitionism. Wijeyeratne said, "We also had some success doing political ed around the size of the police budget. If we took even a third, or even a sixth of the police budget, how many repairs could you make in public housing? Trying to really make the numbers mean something, so that when you hear the New York Police Department (NYPD) has a \$6 billion budget, you're aware of just how much you are sacrificing in your own day-to-day conditions and lives in order for the NYPD to have this budget."
- **Changing the Narrative:** Because the interracial strife is a damaging narrative to cross-racial solidarity and allyship, CAAAV sees it a part of their work to focus the attention of the community on the real enemy, which can often be abstract but much more powerful. CAAAV tries to ground community members in the "bigger picture" by "moving people to think about who their enemies actually are. Who's actually stealing from you? Is it a random Black person on the street, or is it your boss, who's withheld your wages all your life? Who's actually got your back? If your landlord isn't making your repairs and

you call the police, what happens? Absolutely nothing, when actually, your landlord is stealing from you. They're charging you rent and not providing you safe housing, livable housing, but that's not the kind of theft that the police defend you against."

- **Partnership with Philanthropy:** CAAAV believes that philanthropy has an important role in normalizing progressive and people-centered ideology. While they value this partnership, CAAAV also believes that there needs to be bolder political alignment between foundations and community organizations

Members having actual relationships with Black people who they've fought with side by side helps to shake the 'every Black person's a robber' stereotype because then you actually know and care about and have fought with Black people who have been your allies, or who you've been in solidarity with, who you see as sharing your own self-interests.

– *Sasha Wijeyeratne, Executive Director*

like CAAAV. While anti-Asian hate has rightfully become a cause celebre for many in philanthropy, CAAAV cautions against lumping all violence against Asian American into the same category and punitive solutions that harm Black communities. Instead, CAAAV works with the philanthropic community to adopt a systems analysis to anti-Asian violence that aims more explicitly at its white supremacy root.

### *Department of City Planning (DCP) Action*

According to Executive Director Sasha Wijeyeratne, “The whole campaign was only possible because of the solidarity work that we had built the foundation for. I don’t think we could have moved that campaign in the way we did just by ourselves. We needed some unity amongst the working-class spaces in the area in order to have enough power to win. We had a series of really powerful actions that directly targeted different players in the city, the last of whom was Dan Garodnick, who’s the head of the Department of City Planning, who’s notorious for ignoring community members, notorious for prioritizing only big development. In the past, he has just ignored us. This time, we had a big action outside of his office with the coalition. We actually sent a small secret advanced team into the building to try and find his office, while our members gathered and clustered around the sidewalk, yelling up at him. It was the first time I’d seen some particular leaders really be agitated. They were furious. This is

the person who decided whether or not our community plan moved on to the next stage. You’re making a decision about whether this vision that thousands of people have for our neighborhood, whether

I see philanthropy as a way to organize people with wealth. We received a lot of attention and funding for anti-Asian hate. It’s really becoming this national crisis. It’s taken a lot of work for us to clarify that as an organization, we’re no longer focused on incidents of random acts of violence. We’re focused on institutional and systemic violence. That’s a really intentional transition that we’ve taken over the course of our history. There’s been a lot of storytelling work to funders about connecting those dots. It’s an area where that’s been a challenge, but also an area of opportunity.

– Julie Chen, Institution Giving Manager

it actually even gets considered; it's not whether it passes or not, it's whether it even gets to be considered. You are sitting in this building, we've brought a hundred people to your door, and you won't even come meet with us? I think that direct confrontation with power was really important. The small team actually ended up hand delivering thousands of petitions that we had been gathering over the last month or two, directly to someone in the office. I think the big group made so much noise outside that within a couple of days, we actually got a direct response from the target himself, which was extremely unexpected. Something that we didn't anticipate hearing.

“That was the victory. I think the feeling of solidarity amongst that crowd, the clarity about how unfair it was, the agitation and ferocity of the members, it moved the target from being this amorphous — it's the Department of City Planning; it's part of the random bureaucracy — to this single man whose office I can see right there. It made it really concrete. I think that sharpened peoples' anger and sense of injustice, and also their sense of power. This isn't some random bureaucracy that I can't even name. It's a person right there, and he's accountable to me. That was a level up. I don't think I had seen that level of clarity or of anger across the organization. It had reverberations across the membership and the leadership. People are willing to take more militant action, and in fact are asking for it, in part because they had an experience where they felt power in that way.

“I think it has led people to think more deeply about solidarity, what we need to build outside of our neighborhoods. I think some of that campaign was coming onto the limits of what we can do in just one tiny corner of one tiny neighborhood, that we actually need broader power to be able to leverage power citywide.”



## CASE STUDY #3

## APANO COMMUNITIES UNITED FUND (CUF)

## Portland, OR

The mission of **APANO** is to unite Asians and Pacific Islanders to build power, develop leaders, and advance equity through organizing, advocacy, community development, and cultural work. APANO envisions a just world where “Asians and Pacific Islanders and communities who share our aspirations and struggles have the power, resources, and voice to determine our own futures, and where we work in solidarity to drive political, social, economic, and cultural change.”

Asian American, Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander communities represent roughly 9% of Oregon’s population and are the fastest growing demographic in the state. Based in Portland, APANO primarily works in the [Jade District](#), home to about a quarter of the AA and NHPI population in Portland. APANO is also growing its presence and work in nearby Washington County, home to the largest Asian American population by county in the state. APANO has 32 staff members, of whom more than 90% identify as AA and NHPI.

### *What activities did APANO take on to advocate for cross-racial solidarity?*

Spurred by the Black Lives Matter movement, APANO established a BIPOC Solidarity Committee to sustain the organization’s dialogue on challenging anti-Black racism, white supremacy, and settler colonialism through staff trainings and healing justice activities. These activities aimed to deepen understanding and foster communications, connections, and working relationships among the growing APANO staff and ensure everyone has a shared understanding of the organization’s racial justice analysis. This internal work also allowed staff to build authentic and long-term relationships with partner organizations in other communities.

The foundation of the BIPOC Solidarity Committee included engagement with the Anti-Oppression Resource & Training Alliance (AORTA) on uprooting white supremacy culture, [Uprise Collective](#) on disability justice, and [Oregon Futures Lab](#) on settler colonialism.

As an extension of this internal work, in 2022-2023 APANO established a new Community Safety Committee (CSC) to deepen their understanding of abolitionism and to integrate and normalize that philosophy into their culture and practices.

The CSC is working to develop and implement their organizational Community Safety North Star (e.g. mission, vision and values), in alignment with the organizational mission, vision, and values and engage with APANO staff, communities, and partners to learn their perspectives and identify opportunities for alignment and support around holistic community safety work. This exercise in discovery will lead the response to situations in the community.

Concurrently, this process — regarding abolition and exploring engagement and alternatives to police and policing — uplifted an



*APANO's Heal, Unite, Gather (HUG) Fair centered care, strength, and connection for over 200 people*

organizational need to evaluate internal culture and staff's ability to hold tension and/or disagreements that may arise in their work and in these conversations. Staff identified that this requires that they are equipped with the tools to be trauma-

informed and that bolster their investment and understanding of values-aligned models like transformative justice.

In an effort to broaden understanding and relationship building in the community, APANO extended this education and awareness-building work externally through a free, monthly public program called the Resilience Series. The Resilience Series is a BIPOC-only space coordinated by APANO's Community Space and Events team. The BIPOC Solidarity Committee planned to facilitate stronger connection with individuals and organizations engaged in the Resilience Series.

### *What did APANO learn from implementing these organizational changes?*

Racial equity is not just an external strand of programmatic work. It needs to be integrated into every aspect of the organization, including APANO's mission, vision, values, strategic plan, budget, and governance/decision making. This requires an organizational analysis on how white supremacy culture is embedded into the organization.

As APANO benefited from increased funding and growth in both budget and staffing, the organization began to rethink its standing and responsibilities in the local nonprofit landscape. Part of their racial equity commitment and solidarity work included uplifting

other smaller, BIPOC-led organizations; building tools, capacity, and analysis; creating space for education and dialogue to shift internal culture; and accountability toward organization-wide commitments. In the proposal to the Community Resilience Fund, APANO shared that they are making efforts toward increasing the capacity of smaller organizations in its partnerships and minimizing gatekeeping impacts by connecting relationships with funders.

For instance, in 2021, APANO began co-sponsoring programming by Black-led organizations. With a \$1,000 per-event sponsorship, they aimed to share resources and build relationships with that community. APANO staff recognized that these relationships, through sharing resources and building capacity for emerging organizations, are not simply about patronage but interdependence. They must also be ethical and equitable. Development Manager Karen Katigbak shared, “We are reevaluating how we can do this more equitably, building a relationship based out of aligned work and real connections between organizations as opposed to just transactional sponsorships.”

The BIPOC Solidarity Committee also re-granted to Black-led organizations in Oregon to center healing and repair. The organizations are nominated by all staff with the following values-based criteria for the BIPOC Solidarity Committee to review:

- Black-led (prioritize womxn-led organizations)
- Smaller organizations that don’t get as much funding

- Based in Oregon
- 501(C)(3) or fiscally-sponsored groups\*
- Phase II centered on healing and repair

\*Some grassroots collectives that did not have non-profit status or a fiscal sponsor were supported through gift cards.

Past Regrant Organizations included: Black Art Ecology Project, [Community Creating Unity PDX](#) (fiscal sponsorship — gift card \$500), [Don’t Shoot PDX](#), [Liberation Literacy](#), [Ori Gallery](#), [Nat Turner Project](#), nūn studios, Snack Bloc, Straightway Services, and [Women First Transition & Referral Center](#).

### *Key Question/Challenge:*

*How can we go beyond re-granting and build a culture of mutual support and nurture these relationships for years to come?*

APANO sees the foundational importance of internal transformation to be able to do the work of racial solidarity externally. Through learning to build a practice of principled conflict management and collective healing (e.g. discussions, storytelling, and practicing community care through art, writing, and dialog) through spaces like the Resilience Series, staff gained the skills and courage to tackle difficult subjects, like community violence. Staff have engaged

Even though we still have a hierarchical structure, we're working to figure out how we navigate that in a way that aligns with the shared decision-making model and processes that we want to see. We have to address how we empower staff in their roles to make decisions and when we implement consensus-decision-making models.

– Kim Lepin, Co-Executive Director

in dialogue with many elders and small businesses who are too traumatized and fearful to engage in cross-racial solidarity work, opening the door for future conversations and action.

As Maiyee Yuan, Culture, Equity & Integration Manager explained, “In a sense, we’ve applied a lens to be able to ask, ‘How are we building the understanding and practices internally so that they can be translated and also more normalized in the work that we do externally?’”

These are not one-off conversations, but often are integrated in regular staff meetings. Beyond these official staff development activities, APANO also created a culture where staff were encouraged to share and discuss their ideas and related resources in order to support their mutual learning and development. Staff can do this through various channels, including an organization-wide Slack channel.

The values of racial equity, like self-determination, have implications on organizational structure and governance. As a result of these internal discussions, APANO sought to make the organization more democratic and transparent. For instance, to adopt a shared decision-making model, APANO adopted a three Co-Executive Director structure in early 2022. They have also started developing a decision-making matrix to empower more staff to make the decisions closest to their work, and have started to assess their compensation philosophy to ensure they take into account staff wellness.

### *Summary of Goals from BIPOC Solidarity committee:*

- Build organizational capacity to lean into areas of discomfort and challenge as opportunities for growth and transformation
- Hold space and strategies for healing and justice that do not perpetuate anti-Blackness
- Increase opportunity for organizational alignment and understanding



### *Lessons:*

- Alignment is a practice, not a destination — the more learned, the more questions that may surface.
- With the turnover of staff and fluctuation of capacity, BIPOC solidarity and other committee spaces were an important resource and space for teams to regularly practice collective analysis building and problem solving.
- Integrating and practicing trauma-informed care and restorative justice are essential to creating the conditions for the staff, community, organization, and movement to reflect honestly, show up authentically, and grow.
- Setting up thoughtful and caring practices is also important for facilitating collective learning and encouraging a safe container for challenging conversations. There should be clear expectations of what will be covered, what the organization will do/won't do, community agreements, and an optional and separate processing space.
- Investment of time and funding toward BIPOC Solidarity trainings and workshops helps encourage staff buy-in. They have a separate committee budget dedicated to these shared learning spaces. They try to offer lunch funds (like GrubHub credits) for staff who attend and participate in trainings.

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Beyond a 101 training, I can see aspects becoming embedded into our culture of continual conversation of values. These things are normalized and have been affirmed to be part of our organization. They can be as casual as sharing articles on Slack, where we share instances of what is happening, for example. We make space in our meetings to say, 'What stood out for you? How do we build our analysis together in this processing space, knowing that we're all coming in from different experiences and places?' And beyond our meeting spaces, in our offices and at our events, we ask, 'What is our mission- and values-aligned response to interacting and engaging with our unhoused neighbors?' and take the intentional time to be mindful in how we respond.

– Maiyee Yuan, Culture, Equity & Integration Manager

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# GLOSSARY

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**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

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



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