

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, et al.,

*Plaintiffs,*

v.

Civil Action No. 25-cv-00471

DONALD J. TRUMP, et al.,

*Defendants.*

**DECLARATION OF LISA RICE**

I, Lisa Rice, declare as follows pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746:

1. I am Lisa Rice, President and Chief Executive Officer of the National Fair Housing Alliance (“NFHA”), a nonprofit 501(c)(3) organization based in Washington, D.C. I have served in this capacity since April 1, 2018.

2. I am submitting this Declaration in support of Plaintiffs’ Motion for a Preliminary Injunction to prevent defendant agencies from enforcing Executive Order No. 14151, titled “Ending Radical and Wasteful Government DEI Programs and Preferencing” (“Anti-Diversity1 Order”), issued January 20, 2025;<sup>1</sup> Executive Order No. 14168, titled “Defending Women from Gender Ideology Extremism and Restoring Biological Truth to the Federal Government” (“Anti-Gender Order”), issued January 20, 2025;<sup>2</sup> and Executive Order No. 14173, titled “Ending Illegal

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<sup>1</sup> Exec. Order No. 14151, *Ending Radical and Wasteful Government DEI Programs and Preferencing*, 90 Fed. Reg. 8339 (Jan. 20, 2025).

<sup>2</sup> Exec. Order No. 14168, *Defending Women From Gender Ideology Extremism and Restoring Biological Truth to the Federal Government*, 90 Fed. Reg. 8615 (Jan. 20, 2025).

Discrimination and Restoring Merit-Based Opportunity” (“Anti-Diversity2 Order”), issued January 21, 2025 (collectively, the “Executive Orders”).<sup>3</sup>

3. NFHA is a national nonprofit, public service, civil rights organization incorporated under the laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia with its principal place of business in Washington, D.C. We are a nationwide alliance of more than 200 private, nonprofit, fair housing organizations and state and local civil rights agencies throughout the U.S. We have over 70 operating member organizations nationwide that support fair housing work in 29 states and the District of Columbia.

4. NFHA is the country’s only national civil rights organization dedicated solely to eliminating all forms of housing and lending discrimination and ensuring equitable housing opportunities for all people. Pursuant to our mission to eliminate all housing and lending discrimination, we advocate against discrimination based on race, national origin, religion, sex (including sexual orientation and gender identity), disability, and other protected classes covered by federal, state, and local fair housing laws, including the federal Fair Housing Act.

5. Specifically, we work to eliminate housing discrimination and enforce fair housing and fair lending laws to ensure equitable housing opportunities for all people and communities. We do this work through our education and outreach, member services, public policy and advocacy, housing and community development, responsible AI, enforcement, and consulting and compliance programs.

6. Our operating members also conduct activities to advance fair housing for all and to enforce fair housing and fair lending laws, including engaging in fair housing advocacy,

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<sup>3</sup> Exec. Order No. 14173, *Ending Illegal Discrimination and Restoring Merit-Based Opportunity*, 90 Fed. Reg. 8633 (Jan. 21, 2025).

enforcement, education, and outreach; communicating with local community leaders on fair housing rights; and conducting training about fair housing rights and responsibilities, the harmful effects of segregation and other discriminatory practices, and the need to counteract the effects of these harmful practices.

7. One of our core activities is to assist our members in accomplishing these tasks in various ways, including by providing technical assistance and training. NFHA and our members' educational activities and trainings educate the public on issues concerning fair housing, fair lending, racial segregation, the continuing impact of racial segregation on housing and lending in America, the United States' history of systemic racism and its continuing effects, explicit and implicit bias, and racial privilege. We and our members also educate the public on the importance of increasing diversity, equity, inclusion, and accessibility ("DEIA"), access to fair housing, fair lending, and neighborhoods with the life affirming amenities necessary for people to live thriving lives, and the importance of removing barriers for persons impacted by historic and ongoing discrimination in the housing and lending markets, including people of color (Black, Latino, Asian American and Pacific Islander, Native and other communities of color), women, LGBTQ people, people with disabilities, families with children, people of faith, and others.

8. NFHA and our members' educational activities and trainings also advocate for fair housing and lending for the LGBTQ community, such as by providing advocacy around how the Fair Housing Act protects people against discrimination based on sex, including sexual orientation and gender identity. We are committed to exploring ways to build bridges with organizations that serve the LGBTQ community and exploring steps that fair housing groups and industry partners can take to make their workplaces more inclusive of people from the LGBTQ community. For example, our national media campaign in 2021 (which received federal funding) was almost

entirely about discrimination based on LGBTQ status, and we have continued to devote resources to promote awareness that the Fair Housing Act and other fair housing laws bar such discrimination. We helped coordinate a webinar regarding how to investigate anti-LGBTQ discrimination, and we included speakers at its annual conferences from organizations devoted to combatting LGBTQ discrimination in housing.

9. As part of our core work to achieve fair housing for all, NFHA regularly holds conferences, symposia, and speaking events each year where speakers from various backgrounds present on these aforementioned topics. Attendees include employees of our members, representatives from the housing, lending, and insurance industries, representatives from federal, state, and local government agencies, and representatives from civil rights, faith, housing policy, and consumer protection organizations. On average, we conduct at least two such events every year, and in recent years we have regularly held more.

10. For example, in 2024, NFHA held a conference titled “Housing Equity Now: Building an Inclusive and Just Future,” where member organizations, fair housing advocates, policymakers, and subject matter experts from around the country engaged in discussions on a range of fair housing issues. The conference had panels that highlighted, among other things, the harmful impacts of the racial wealth gap on people, communities, and the economy; strategies for addressing the large disparities in rates of homeownership between Black and white families; and the connection between housing access and principles of diversity, equity, inclusion, and accessibility. As an organization focused on preventing housing discrimination, providing underserved populations with equal access to housing opportunities, and otherwise working for equity in the housing and lending markets, we appreciate the importance of embedding and advancing DEIA in everything we do. We also recognize that DEIA efforts are important to ensure

compliance with civil rights laws and rules. Therefore, within our own organizational plan, we require regular policies and practices supporting diversity, equity, inclusion, and accessibility principles as a means of avoiding discrimination, fulfilling our mission, and making our organization more effective. This includes, but is not limited to, updating our policies based on DEIA and other principles of fairness and justice, and providing DEIA training for all staff. For example, all staff received a three-hour training on DEIA at NFHA's 2022 staff retreat. Before our 2022 annual conference, we provided training for members and staff on how fair housing organizations can embrace a culture of DEIA and create workplaces where future generations of fair housing advocates can thrive and be leaders.

11. Within our own organization, we have a mutual interest with our employees in ensuring DEIA in its workplace such that all employees, regardless of their race, ethnicity, sex, gender, sexual orientation, or gender identity, feel welcome and valued. In our experience, having a more diverse and inclusive workplace increases employee satisfaction and productivity, produces greater innovation and ideas, and helps us better serve its mission, which necessarily involves attention to inclusivity. We are concerned that the Executive Orders will have a detrimental impact not only on the communities we serve, but also on our employees of color, female employees, LGBTQ employees, and others who benefit from our attention to diversity, inclusion, equity, and accessibility.

12. We also hold education and outreach events and trainings with other nonprofit organizations and housing and lending stakeholders, including fair housing organizations, academics, think tanks, nonprofit organizations, financial services institutions, governmental entities, real estate sales organizations, and housing and lending industry trade associations. These events and trainings address issues that include systemic racism, disparate impact, structural

inequities, sexism, unconscious bias, algorithmic bias, and intersectionality. These events and trainings also explain the continuing significance of residential segregation in many communities; the underlying cause of racial disparities with respect to arrest and conviction rates; the relationship between segregation and disparate health, housing, credit, criminal justice, and environmental outcomes; and programs and policies that should be implemented to address continuing racial inequality as well as discrimination based on other protected classes.

13. Every year, NFHA publishes a report on fair housing trends in the U.S. The 2024 report, like past reports, reveals that there remains much work to do to achieve the Fair Housing Act's promise of a nation free from housing discrimination and the harmful impacts of residential segregation. The Fair Housing Trends Report describes the universe of fair housing complaints received by local private nonprofit fair housing organizations and government agencies by state, protected class, type of housing or lending transaction, and more. It describes emerging and longstanding matters in fair housing and covers issues including residential segregation and its intersection with structural inequality, environmental injustice, criminal injustice, health disparities, lending redlining and discrimination, algorithmic bias, climate change, and other matters. The report often deals with issues that impact fair housing, such as implicit bias, systemic racism, and sexism, and is used by a wide group of stakeholders, including our operating members and employees. Our data is compiled from local private nonprofit fair housing organizations, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development ("HUD"), state and local Fair Housing Assistance Program agencies, and the U.S. Department of Justice ("DOJ"). This data is instructive in educating the public and policymakers about the fact that housing discrimination continues to be a serious problem that perpetuates racial and ethnic inequality in communities throughout the nation and merits considerably more attention and remedies.

14. NFHA also engages in public policy and advocacy around fair housing, the elimination of discrimination, and the promotion of equitable outcomes in housing and lending. Our leadership team testifies before Congress several times a year, and our recommendations have helped, for example, usher in new policies at federal agencies to promote a fairer, more inclusive, and more productive housing finance system. We have advocated for more inclusive representation in the federal government. For example, we helped ensure that highly qualified candidates of color were considered by the White House to serve on the Federal Reserve Board of Governors. As a result, the Federal Reserve currently has its most diverse Board of Governors with the first Black women and first Latina serving as Governors in the Board's 109-year history. A major part of our public policy advocacy has been to advocate for explicit protections in the Fair Housing Act to prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, and marital and familial status.

15. In addition to educating the public and aligning itself internally with the values necessary to combat discrimination, NFHA regularly contracts with the federal government to provide educational services related to supporting private nonprofit local fair housing organizations. For example, until a recent early termination due to the Executive Orders, we had an active subcontract funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development ("HUD"). The goal of NFHA's course is to cultivate strong financial management of Fair Housing Initiative Program ("FHIP")<sup>4</sup> fair housing partners to ensure timely, thorough, and comprehensive financial management and reporting amongst other efforts.

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<sup>4</sup> HUD's Fair Housing Initiatives Program ("FHIP"), established by the Housing and Community Development Act of 1987, 42 U.S.C. § 3616(a), provides funding to fair housing organizations, known as FHIPs, to carry out education and outreach and enforcement activities to prevent or eliminate discriminatory housing practices and to inform individuals of their rights and

16. Our initial work order for the subcontract also stated, “The [training] outline will include a foundation of cultural competency that addresses the diversity, equity, and inclusion necessary in all fair housing work, and how to recognize and address individual and collective biases.” The training product as developed, however, is solely about financial management and does not contain this information. Prior to termination of the subcontract, we were expected to provide initial enrollment planning and deliver the training in the second financial quarter of 2025.

17. Aside from providing public education through various forms of speech, our other core functions are to investigate and halt violations of fair housing and anti-discrimination laws, recover compensation for victims of housing discrimination, and prevent future discriminatory conduct.

18. For example, after extensive investigation, NFHA and four of its members filed a housing discrimination lawsuit against one of the country’s largest residential real estate developers, *National Fair Housing Alliance v. A.G. Spanos Construction Co.*, in federal district court in California. That suit, which alleged that units had not been designed and constructed in an accessible manner, resulted in a settlement that required retrofitting of apartments in eleven states to make them accessible and created a multi-million-dollar fund to further improve accessibility for people with disabilities.

19. One of our primary annual funding sources for its enforcement work is the federal government. Approximately one-third of the funding for our enforcement work comes from grants we have applied for and received from HUD. From these grant agreements, we received

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responsibilities under the Fair Housing Act. Many of NFHA’s members are FHIPs. In addition to being specifically authorized by Congress, the FHIP program receives dedicated appropriations every year and has been supported by HUD through administrations of both parties.

approximately \$2.23 million from HUD in the 2024 Fiscal Year, which accounted for approximately 15.1% of NFHA's expenditures that year. We are set to receive approximately \$2.50 million from HUD in the 2025 Fiscal Year, which would account for approximately 14.9% of NFHA's Fiscal Year 2025 annual budget.

20. NFHA's fair housing enforcement and education work has included grants from HUD's Fair Housing Initiatives Program Private Enforcement Initiative ("FHIP PEI"), HUD's Fair Housing Initiatives Program Fair Housing Organizations Initiative Establishing New Organizations Component ("FHIP ENOC"), HUD's Fair Housing Initiatives Program Fair Housing Organizations Initiative Continued Development Component ("FHIP CDC"), and HUD's Fair Housing Initiatives Program Education and Outreach Initiative National Media Campaign ("FHIP NMC"). We have received these grants many times over several decades. We currently have FHIP ongoing grants as well as pending grant applications. Our members similarly receive FHIP grants. After the Executive Orders were issued, we reached out to the Office of Management and Budget ("OMB") to explain that FHIP funding is explicitly authorized by statute and is specifically appropriated by Congress, and so should not be affected by the Executive Orders. We requested confirmation that FHIP funding would not be affected by the Executive Orders, but, thus far, have not received a response.

21. The FHIP PEI provides funding to private, nonprofit fair housing enforcement organizations, like NFHA, that meet statutory requirements to conduct testing, investigate violations, and obtain enforcement of the rights granted under the Fair Housing Act or state or local laws that are substantially equivalent to the rights and remedies provided in the Fair Housing Act. We have received multiple FHIP PEI grants dating back to 1991 and are a current recipient of a FHIP PEI grant. We also have a FHIP ENOC grant as well as other FHIP grants. Pursuant

to these grants, we engage in enforcement, education and outreach, and a national media campaign regarding fair housing.

22. NFHA has yet to receive or begin negotiating the terms that will govern pending FHIP grant applications. Based on prior practice, such negotiations for the grant ordinarily would begin by April 2025. Furthermore, based on prior experience, we know that these negotiations will be an important component in determining the substance of the terms that will govern the grant.

23. NFHA works to create a society in which everyone can live in a neighborhood with ample affordable and accessible housing options, fresh air, clean water, good public transportation, well-resourced schools, internet access, living wage jobs, quality healthcare, healthy foods, and safe, affordable credit. The work to affirmatively expand opportunity and create communities where everyone gets to thrive is inextricably intertwined with ending discrimination in housing based on race, national origin, sex, disability and certain other characteristics, and with eliminating racial segregation—which the federal government itself has done so much to create and sustain—and undoing the lasting harms it caused. Our work, in partnership with the government and on our own with other community partners, must include considerations of and discussions regarding the impacts of race, national origin, religion, sex (including sexual orientation and gender identity), disability, familial status, and other protected classifications on fair housing.

24. As a direct result of the Executive Orders, NFHA and its members have experienced, and continue to experience, a negative financial impact, a chilling effect on our ability to carry out core activities to stop discrimination and create well-resourced, thriving communities, and the need to divert resources to combat these negative effects. We are concerned that the

Executive Orders create a tension in which we must either continue our work addressing housing discrimination without references to diversity, equity, inclusion, and accessibility—or any concepts that the Trump Administration deems to be equivalent—or lose federal funding for all of its existing and future programs.

25. It is particularly difficult for NFHA to comply with these Executive Orders consistent with fulfilling its mission because the concepts of diversity, equity, inclusion, and accessibility are inextricably related to ending discrimination based on race, sex, and other protected classes. Given the inherent conflict between these Executive Orders and the civil rights laws, we are not able to stop engaging in speech about DEIA or topics related to these broad concepts, while fully carrying out its work combating housing discrimination. Effective anti-discrimination advocacy requires discussing the very concepts that the Executive Orders appear to eliminate from the federal government and the private organizations that it funds. This conflict has already been made clear in practice.

26. For example, on January 22, 2025, NFHA received an email from a unit of HUD with the subject, “Immediate Action - STOP WORK ORDER” requesting that certain government contractors “please cease and desist all work activities associated with environmental justice, diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI)” while an agency office reviews all contracts with the intent to “cancel all work plans or assignments pertaining to these topics, consistent with an executive order.” Although the e-mail instructed us to stop work on “activities associated with environmental justice, diversity, equity, and inclusion,” it provided no guidance as to how NFHA—an organization devoted to civil rights—could tell which of its activities it was supposed to stop.

27. The email did not state what activity NFHA undertakes, if any, is purportedly “associated with environmental justice, diversity, equity, and inclusion” such that payment is barred by the Executive Orders at issue in this case. Nor have we received further guidance regarding what this vague wording might require in terms of changing future conduct to comply.

28. On January 24, 2025, NFHA received a follow-up email from HUD informing it that, with respect to some HUD funding, any grants with certain terms deemed to have a “conceptual relationship” to the Executive Orders would receive greater scrutiny. Such terms included “racial,” “underserved,” “affirmatively,” “systemic,” “adversely,” “accessible,” and “disparate.” These terms appear in some of the very laws and regulations that NFHA and its members seek to educate the public about and to enforce, such as the Fair Housing Act and the Equal Credit Opportunity Act.

29. For example, the Fair Housing Act requires public and common use areas of dwellings to be “readily accessible to and usable by” persons with disabilities, and requires a dwelling to be “accessible” in numerous other ways. *See* 42 U.S.C. § 3604(f)(3)(C). The Fair Housing Act also requires the HUD secretary to “administer the programs and activities relating to housing and urban development in a manner affirmatively to further the policies” of the Fair Housing Act. 42 U.S.C. § 3608(e)(5). HUD’s Fair Housing Act regulations—consistent with prevailing caselaw—provide that a practice “has a discriminatory effect where it actually or predictably results in a disparate impact.” 24 C.F.R. § 100.500(a) (providing that practice). And ECOA provides protections for applicants who receive an “adverse action” from creditors. 15 U.S.C. § 1691(d) (providing protections). The list could go on and on.

30. Put simply, effective enforcement or discussion of the Fair Housing Act, Equal Credit Opportunity Act, and other relevant laws is impossible without reference to many of these

terms. That use of such routine terminology of federal law is causing grants to be subject to arbitrary scrutiny and recipients of federal grants and contracts to be subject to potential termination demonstrates that it will be considerably more difficult, and perhaps impossible, for NFHA and our members to apply for and receive federal funding while carrying out core activities in furtherance of our missions and the purposes of these federal civil rights statutes. We and our members will be forced to change the way we discuss these laws, which are central to our missions, in order to minimize the risk to our federal funding, in a way that makes our work to advance compliance with civil rights laws untenable.

31. NFHA tried to withdraw FHIP funds due under contract with HUD on January 28, 2025, and could not access the payment portal known as the Line of Credit Control Systems. Since then, we have been able to access this portal and draw down FHIP funds. There has been no explanation for why the portal was unavailable or what we need to do to maintain access to it. We were able to draw down the funds the next day, January 29.

32. On January 31, 2025, NFHA was informed, with respect to the subcontract described above, that HUD had caused the subcontract to be terminated. As described above, the work order for this contract included reference to DEIA concepts but the work product did not. We were not provided an opportunity to modify the work order or an explanation for why this decision was made.

33. On February 11, 2025, we were informed that part of another contract related to equity and fairness in housing that had been subcontracted to NFHA had been cancelled. Once again, NFHA was not provided with any explanation or opportunity to amend the work order.

34. Indeed, it appears that the entire FHIP program may be considered contrary to the Executive Orders. NFHA members have been advised by HUD that it is possible that no FHIP

payments will be made at all for work done after the DEIA Executive Orders issued, including work that relates to members' core business of enforcing fair housing laws. HUD has specifically advised NFHA members that they should submit separate vouchers for work done through January 19, 2025, although that date is not otherwise a meaningful date for the FHIP payment system. HUD also has advised NFHA members that it cannot guarantee payment for any work done on or after January 20. NFHA members thus face a stark choice—shut down most of their operations now, or perform work for which HUD has made clear they may not be paid. NFHA has had to divert time to counseling NFHA members regarding their options and devising strategies pursuant to which NFHA members can continue to carry out their missions.

35. Our members have been left uncertain what work will be deemed eligible for funding, while we are uncertain how to advise them. Like NFHA, members have not been informed of what activities are purportedly implicated by the Executive Orders or how to remedy any issues. Many of these members are small nonprofits with very limited resources to survive a delay in anticipated payments.

36. The Executive Orders have frustrated our ability to carry out our core activities, including fulfilling our obligations to our members and ensuring that our members can robustly enforce and educate about the Fair Housing Act and other relevant laws throughout the country. We already have had to divert significant resources to ensure that our members continue to get paid and are able to continue to perform their important work. We have spent time gathering information from members regarding their inability to receive contracted-for funds and the financial impact that is causing on them; advising members as to how to respond with respect to modifying their normal, core activities or changing the way they characterize those activities; and taking various actions to ensure that members receive funding to do their work, such as

communicating with the Office of Management and Budget about the necessity of releasing FHIP and FHAP grants and educating lawmakers and others about the impact the Executive Orders at issue in this case are having on the ability of NFHA and members to do their work to stop illegal discrimination banned by our nation's fair housing laws. If not for the need to ameliorate the effects the Executive Orders have had on NFHA and its members, NFHA would have spent this time on other important activities addressing discrimination, bias, and harassment in all areas of housing.

37. On a local level, without the enforcement functions that organizations, including NFHA and its members, provide in partnership with the federal government, predatory landlords and organizations engaged in implicit and explicit bias against underserved communities will be empowered to continue illegal discrimination. These harms compound other inequities in accessing fair housing in the United States. For example, in 2022, a record high 22.4 million renter households were "cost-burdened," meaning they spent more than 30% of their income on rent and utilities. Black and Latino renters were more likely than white renters to be cost-burdened. These disparities make it more difficult for Black and Latino renters to build wealth and save for down payments for home ownership. Further, despite important efforts to close racial home ownership gaps, the white home ownership rate is nearly 67% higher than the Black home ownership rate, 45% higher than the Latino home ownership rate, and 20% higher than the home ownership rate for the Asian American community. But under these Executive Orders, we may not be able to marshal these basic facts to advocate for greater racial equity in homeownership.

38. The Executive Orders represent another barrier to fair housing for communities that have long lacked affordable and accessible housing options and have faced rampant discrimination. It is already apparent that agencies will implement the Executive Orders in ways

that have harmed and will harm NFHA and our members' current and next round of grant agreements, prevent us from carrying out core activities, and impede us from accomplishing our mission of promoting fair housing. These harms are not just felt by NFHA and our members; they are felt by the tens of thousands of people we serve each year. These include people facing sexual harassment by their landlords; families evicted because a family member has become pregnant; people facing homelessness because landlords will not accept payments via government assistance; home buyers steered by real estate agents to certain homes and away from others based on their race; potential homebuyers denied a mortgage because of appraisal bias or redlining; homeowners losing their insurance because of arbitrary rules about how old an insured home can be (even when those homes have been upgraded); people with disabilities denied reasonable accommodations that allow them to safely enjoy their housing. All of these vulnerable people and more depend on NFHA and its members; it is for precisely that reason that Congress appropriates money for the FHIP program and grants. If we and our members lose our government funding because the Administration does not approve of our views on DEIA, we cannot protect these vulnerable communities from harm.

39. The vagueness of the Executive Orders has created an even more untenable situation; NFHA and its members must determine whether we are able to conduct our fair housing enforcement programs and public education efforts effectively and without fear of retaliation from the federal government. We are uncertain about what they must stop doing or saying to avoid liability and penalties under multiple provisions of the three Executive Orders, particularly in light of the actions that have already been taken pursuant to those orders. So far, agencies have provided no guidance regarding how, if it all, we can change our conduct to ameliorate these harms.

40. For example, Anti-Diversity2 Order states that all contracts or grants must include a “term requiring such counterparty or recipient to certify that it does not operate any programs promoting DEI that violate any applicable Federal anti-discrimination laws.” It is not clear to us what “promoting DEI” means in this instance or what activity might be considered to violate Federal anti-discrimination laws. It is not clear whether our current and pending grants would have to be modified to include this certification. We are also not sure whether this certification means that organizations may not “promot[e] DEI” even in our work that is not funded by the government. As noted above, this confusion is compounded by the fact that some of the words and phrases defendants have targeted are included in the laws, regulations, and caselaw that we refer to every day in the course of our core activities.

41. Anti-Diversity2 Order also instructs the Director of OMB, with the assistance of the Attorney General, to “excise references to DEI and DEIA principles, under whatever name they may appear, from Federal acquisition, contracting, grants, and financial assistance procedures.” NFHA has no way of knowing what might be deemed to be “references to DEI and DEIA principles” under other names in our government funded work. What is clear already is that HUD and other agencies are implementing the Anti-Diversity2 Order by scouring our existing contracts for anything that could relate, even in a tangential way, to an extremely broad conception of DEIA, and so it is very likely that we and our members will continue to suffer financial harm as a result.

42. Anti-Diversity1 Order requires the OMB to “terminate, to the maximum extent allowed by law . . . all ‘equity action plans,’ ‘equity’ actions, initiatives, or programs, ‘equity-related’ grants or contracts; and all DEI or DEIA performance requirements for employees, contractors, or grantees.” The term “equity-related grants” is undefined, vague, and concerning.

The core of our work—promoting fair housing by combatting discrimination in housing based on race, national origin, sex, disability, and other protected classes—may well be “equity-related” within the ordinary meaning of those terms. By its plain terms, Anti-Diversity1 Order threatens to bar enforcement and discussion of the Fair Housing Act and other civil rights laws that make our country more equitable, fair, and just. If Anti-Diversity1 Order means something else, that meaning is not clear, and we have no way of ascertaining whether its grants directly fall within the category of grants that would be terminated.

43. The Anti-Gender Order instructs all agencies to “take all necessary steps, as permitted by law, to end the Federal funding of gender ideology.” The term “gender ideology” is vague. We cannot tell what grants or work are affected by the Anti-Gender Order or the extent to which this Executive Order purports to require us to change the way we talk about and enforce civil rights laws. We have been a strong proponent of combatting efforts throughout the country to deny housing to people because they are gay, lesbian, bisexual, queer, transgender, unmarried<sup>5</sup>, or a recipient of housing subsidies. We have also advocated for the expansion of the Fair Housing Act to explicitly prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity, marital status, and source of income. Finally, consistent with the rulings of many courts around the country and HUD’s guidance, we have taken the position that, following the Supreme Court’s decision in *Bostock v. Clayton Cnty., Georgia*, 590 U.S. 644 (2020), the Fair Housing Act bars housing discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity; accordingly, we and our members have investigated and brought complaints regarding allegations of such discrimination. We are not clear as to whether any of these actions fall under the definition of “gender ideology,”

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<sup>5</sup> The Equal Credit Opportunity Act includes “marital status” as a distinct protected class. 15 U.S.C. 1691(a)(1).

a term that has no established meaning and is not clearly defined in the Anti-Gender Order. However, HUD already appears to view the Anti-Gender Order as compelling it not to enforce existing legal protections for transgender persons. Our ability to carry out its mission and core business operations will be adversely affected by the Anti-Gender Order if we and our members are compelled to stop promoting fair housing for the LGBTQ community—including enforcing the Fair Housing Act in accordance with established caselaw—or lose federal funding. Additionally, our mission will be frustrated if HUD refuses to provide any administrative forum in which we and our members can bring complaints of discrimination that are recognized by federal law.

44. Even beyond their vagueness, the breadth of the Executive Orders, confirmed by their implementation so far, place NFHA and our members in a precarious situation. Complying with them (if that is even possible for us) would require severely self-censoring ourselves, such as by cancelling or limiting programs, presentations, reports, and public education efforts—and even taking down content from our website and social media accounts—and ultimately denying critical services to people needing our help, all of which are central to our work and mission. Moreover, because of the inherent conflict between the Executive Orders and the Fair Housing Act and other civil rights laws that we enforce and speak about, compliance with the Executive Orders necessarily means presenting a distorted version of the law in our presentations. But violating them risks serious consequences. At the least, we risk losing the funding that is crucial to our education, outreach, and enforcement work, which is also central to our mission and core business operations. And the Executive Orders go further and threaten even more draconian consequences, such as liability under the False Claims Act, if we do not comply with them.

45. We are aware of reports of multiple HUD grantees who have had their grants terminated after government officials examined their websites or LinkedIn profiles and found key words that were determined to be not in compliance with the Executive Orders because they had references to diversity, equity, inclusion, and accessibility. See Josh Kovensky, DOGE Cites ‘DEI,’ LinkedIn Profiles It Doesn’t Like In Killing Off HUD Contracts, <https://talkingpointsmemo.com/news/doge-cites-dei-linkedin-profiles-it-doesnt-like-in-killing-off-hud-contracts>. We have confirmed with several of these contractors that, as reported, they lost their grants based on their statements of support for diversity, equity, inclusion, and accessibility, which the Administration deemed to be a violation of the Executive Orders. See, e.g., Exhibit A to Rice Declaration, Notice of Award Cancellations For All XXXX Awards (redacted). Thus, we and other HUD grantees understand that we face a very real possibility of losing funds based on our professed support for DEIA or related concepts, even where that speech has nothing to do with the grants at issue.

46. NFHA is taking steps to avoid adverse consequences to its ability to perform existing work and to avoid harm to the communities it serves from the Executive Orders. When we were first confronted with the vague language of the Executive Orders and the subsequent OMB memorandum NFHA received on January 27, 2025, we began to discuss the challenges the Executive Orders and OMB memorandum presented to continuing our work. Though the current administration rescinded the OMB memo, it clarified that the funding freeze remained in place for any activities deemed to be covered by the Executive Orders.

47. The Executive Orders have already begun to have a chilling effect and have forced us to divert scarce resources to try to figure out how we and our members can protect their funding streams, consistent with accomplishing our missions. Our program staff are justifiably concerned

about losing funding for necessary work that includes discussion of compliance with civil rights laws; protected classes such as race, national origin, disability, and gender; and concepts such as diversity, inclusion, equity, and accessibility, strands which as I have described above are difficult to pull apart. Additionally, our partner organizations with smaller budgets are very reasonably concerned that any failure—real or perceived—to follow the vague dictates of these Executive Orders will devastate their budgets. Moreover, our members view the Executive Orders as an attack on all of the progress fair housing organizations have made toward realizing the promise of the Fair Housing Act and other civil rights laws in rooting out systemic discrimination within local and federal housing practices. In the short time since the Executive Orders were signed, we and our members have already been unable to access funding and have seen contracts canceled, forcing us to explore whether and how programs might be shut down as well as how to secure alternative sources of funding in case any of our and its members' operations and funding streams will be deemed to fall within the unclear boundaries of the Executive Orders.


48. The Executive Orders interfere with our and our members' ability to carry out their core business activities in pursuit of their mission to combat unequal access to housing opportunities. Where you live matters; it affects access to schools, jobs, good health, a quality education, healthy foods, a clean and safe environment—everything people need to succeed. At NFHA, we believe that the U.S. should be a nation where all individuals have a fair shot in life and the same opportunity to get ahead. But this is not the case for millions of people. Residential segregation, systemic appraisal bias, the dual credit market, biased algorithms, restrictive zoning ordinances, and many more mechanisms developed over years of unfair policies and practices still exist today, robbing people of equal access to opportunities. Many housing opportunities, and their related benefits, remain off limits to millions of people, and for too many Americans trying to

achieve their goal of owning a home or achieving housing security, hard work alone is not enough. Centuries of discriminatory housing industry and government policies have prevented Black, Latino, Native, Asian American, Pacific Islander, people with disabilities, poor White families, women, and members of the LGBTQ community from achieving wealth creation, economic opportunity, housing security, and home ownership. We believe that by helping traditionally underserved individuals, we can ignite economic opportunity in our nation that benefits everyone.

49. Only by speaking clearly about what has happened and continues to happen to people in the pursuit of housing because of their race or other protected class can we make progress toward fairer housing markets, strengthen communities, and make our society more productive. The Executive Orders impede our ability to do so.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Executed: February 28, 2025

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Lisa Rice", is enclosed in a rectangular box.

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Lisa Rice  
President and CEO, NFHA

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, et al.,

*Plaintiffs,*

v.

Civil Action No. 25-cv-00471

DONALD J. TRUMP, et al.,

*Defendants.*

**DECLARATION OF NADEEN ISRAEL**

I, Nadeen Israel, declare as follows pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746:

1. I am the Senior Vice President of Policy and Advocacy for AIDS Foundation of Chicago (“AFC”), a not-for-profit 501(c)(3) organization based in Chicago, Illinois, that mobilizes communities to create equity and justice for people living with and vulnerable to the human immunodeficiency virus (“HIV”) or chronic conditions. I have served in this capacity since February 24, 2020.

2. I am submitting this Declaration in support of Plaintiffs’ Motion for a Preliminary Injunction to prevent Defendants from enforcing Executive Order No. 14151, titled “Ending Radical and Wasteful Government DEI Programs and Preferencing” (“Anti-Diversity1 Order”), issued January 20, 2025;<sup>1</sup> Executive Order No. 14168, titled “Defending Women from Gender Ideology Extremism and Restoring Biological Truth to the Federal Government” (“Anti-Gender Order”), issued January 20, 2025;<sup>2</sup> and Executive Order No. 14173, titled “Ending Illegal

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<sup>1</sup> Exec. Order No. 14151, *Ending Radical and Wasteful DEI Programs and Preferencing*, 90 Fed. Reg. 8339 (Jan. 20, 2025).

<sup>2</sup> Exec. Order No. 14168, *Defending Women From Gender Ideology Extremism and Restoring Biological Truth to the Federal Government*, 90 Fed. Reg. 8615 (Jan. 20, 2025).

Discrimination and Restoring Merit-Based Opportunity” (“Anti-Diversity2 Order”), issued January 21, 2025 (collectively the “Executive Orders”)<sup>3</sup>.

3. AFC was incorporated on November 13, 1985, as an Illinois not-for-profit corporation. It began operations on May 1, 1986. AFC brings together service providers and funders to develop systems that meet the needs of people living with HIV or acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (“AIDS”). Since its inception, AFC has led both state- and city-wide efforts to coordinate essential medical and support services for people living with HIV/AIDS.

4. AFC provides systems-level leadership to the Chicago area’s HIV/AIDS sector by providing funding to and coordinating the activities of Chicago’s regional case management system; distributing funding for permanent, supportive housing including rental and utility assistance; providing capacity building services to community organizations that provide high quality HIV/AIDS programming and services to communities and neighborhoods that have been historically under-served by medical services, especially HIV care services; and engaging in local, statewide, and federal policy advocacy to promote HIV/AIDS funding and services.

5. Preventing new cases of HIV is at the core of AFC’s work—and it is at the core of Getting to Zero Illinois, a state-wide initiative to end the HIV epidemic in the state by 2030. AFC coordinates the Getting to Zero Illinois project in partnership with both the Illinois Department of Public Health (“IDPH”) and the Chicago Department of Public Health (“CDPH”). The guiding principles of Getting to Zero Illinois include eliminating stigma, dismantling systems that perpetuate white privilege, promoting cultural humility, prioritizing trauma prevention and trauma-informed care, and focusing on data to achieve outcomes.

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<sup>3</sup> Exec. Order No. 14173, *Ending Illegal Discrimination and Restoring Merit-Based Opportunity*, 90 Fed. Reg. 8633 (Jan. 21, 2025).

6. Every day, AFC walks alongside almost 7,000 people living with or vulnerable to HIV who need support to achieve their health and life goals. This work includes intentionally focusing on the communities and populations that are disproportionately impacted by the HIV epidemic. In Chicago, and across the nation, the populations most impacted by the HIV epidemic include Black, Latino, and transgender communities. Currently, of all of the clients in our programs, 57.5% are Black, 26.8% are Latino, and 2.5% identify as Indigenous, Asian, or multicultural. Additionally, 35% of our clients are gay or lesbian, 7% are bisexual, 1.2% are queer, and 8.5% are transgender, non-binary, or genderqueer. For many Black, Latino, and Indigenous communities, HIV-specific preventative and treatment services are less accessible due to the systemic under-resourcing of minority communities and neighborhoods. Moreover, LGBTQ communities often face a lack of access to competent, comprehensive, and compassionate healthcare services, and trans, non-binary, and genderqueer community members sometimes encounter additional discrimination within LGBTQ-centered spaces. Due to systemic racism, homophobia, anti-transgender bias, and misogyny, the HIV epidemic disproportionately impacts many of our priority communities. One of the most important ways to address and remedy systems and structures that have procedures or processes that disadvantage marginalized groups is by ensuring that we can train and educate service providers, community leaders, elected officials, and the public on these issues.

7. AFC is committed to prioritizing marginalized populations disproportionately impacted by social determinants that contribute to health disparities in HIV/AIDS. HIV and chronic conditions disproportionately impact specific populations. As an organization that has been doing this work for 40 years, AFC recognizes that it will have the greatest impact on the HIV epidemic by focusing its efforts on those most-impacted by HIV, based on epidemiological data

and unmet need: young Black gay and bisexual men, transgender women of color, Black women living in high-incidence areas, and Latino gay and bisexual men.

8. As described in detail below, the two primary forms of federal funding AFC receives are funding for HIV/AIDS-related services for care, case management and supportive services from the U.S Department of Health and Human Services (“HHS”), and funding to provide housing and supportive services from the U.S Department of Housing and Urban Development (“HUD”).

9. AFC is a federal grantee and subgrantee, and manages local, state, and federal funds for an array of HIV/AIDS-related services. By assisting government entities in planning, distributing, and monitoring service contracts, AFC helps develop provider expertise and promotes uniform and high-quality delivery of care across the region. AFC receives various forms of funding and sub-grants from the Chicago Department of Public Health and the Illinois Department of Public Health as pass-through funding from HHS, including, but not limited to, funding under the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency Act of 1990 and funding from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. AFC also receives, directly or through other grantees, funding from the National Institute of Health, the Health Services and Resources Administration, and the Administration for Community Living, and it receives discounts under the 340B Drug Discount Program.

10. Additionally, AFC participates in a rental subsidy program partially funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. Through federal grants from HUD’s Housing Opportunities for Persons with AIDS (“HOPWA”) program, AFC assists people who are chronically homeless in finding permanent housing, manages the delivery of HIV rental subsidies

to low-income people with HIV and people living with chronic conditions, and convenes HIV housing advocates to both expand and improve the housing continuum.

11. Funding from HUD, HHS, and other federal agencies accounts for a significant portion of AFC's revenue. In total, 84.3%—or \$34.8 million—of AFC's funding originates from the federal government, which includes over \$21 million for programs that require case management training through programming from HHS and HUD. The loss of this federal funding would be catastrophic for our organization and would force us to shut down.

12. The federal funding AFC receives has given us the ability to connect people living with or vulnerable to HIV to safe and stable housing—which results in better health outcomes. Through federal funding received from the Chicago Department of Public Health, AFC was able to establish the HIV Resource “HUB.” As of January 2025, the HUB has dispensed more than \$1.76 million to cover housing, utility, and other financial emergencies for more than 826 people living with and vulnerable to HIV in the Chicago eligible metropolitan area (which includes Cook County and the surrounding “collar counties”). The majority of the funds distributed cover people's rent to prevent eviction and homelessness; utilities; and food needs.

13. AFC's vision is that people living with HIV or chronic conditions will thrive and there will be no new HIV cases. In working towards that purpose, AFC has identified and works to address systemic factors—including, racism, sexism, anti-transgender bias, homelessness, poverty, and immigration status—that drive the HIV epidemic and inequities in health outcomes. The data we have available nationally, statewide, and in the City of Chicago paint a picture of multiple epidemics and pandemics disproportionately impacting Black, Latino, Indigenous, and LGBTQ communities. AFC's work must include discussions of the impacts of race, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, and income level on health outcomes.

14. Our clients are not just people living with or vulnerable to HIV—they are also members of predominantly Black and Latino communities that are more likely to live in areas that are denied access to affordable and nutritious food, healthcare, and employment that pays living wages. We must also acknowledge and address the barriers that they and their communities face in accessing comprehensive health care. A Black transgender woman living with HIV in Chicago and enrolled in Medicaid is not only worried about her viral load and access to medication; she is also worried about employment discrimination, housing security, and access to gender-affirming care with culturally aware and competent providers. Systemic racism limits access to comprehensive and equitable healthcare on the South and West Sides of Chicago; systemic anti-transgender bias contributes to transgender, non-binary, and genderqueer people disproportionately experiencing unemployment and housing instability; and systemic misogyny drives the gender pay gap. All of these things are further intensified for people who live at the intersection of various marginalized identities and thus suffer oppression in multiple ways. Without acknowledging and addressing all these factors, AFC cannot successfully achieve our mission and vision.

15. Everything AFC does needs to center on the root causes driving the HIV epidemic. Structural racism and anti-transgender bias are at the heart of the disparities that AFC witnesses in HIV and are some of the reasons why there are disparities driving the epidemic. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that AFC's internal trainings, external federally funded trainings, and policy advocacy work all address structural racism and LGBTQ discrimination—explicitly. AFC convenes and trains close to 160 case managers, across 31 agencies, to learn the latest in providing comprehensive case management services that empower people living with HIV. When training case managers, we include trainings that familiarize them with the current

landscape of the HIV epidemic and include foundational information on how race and gender impact the way case managers execute their work with non-monolithic communities. Trainings cover a broad array of topics, including interpersonal cultural competency, trauma-informed care, financial literacy, effective communication with clients, HIV and aging, engaging with transgender clients, the impact of HIV on transgender populations, LGBTQ cultural competency, cultural competency and Black communities, and working with clients at risk for deportation.

16. A fundamental part of our mission is to serve all people affected by HIV, including transgender individuals, who face disproportionately high rates of HIV acquisition due to systemic barriers such as healthcare discrimination, poverty, and homelessness. To ignore the existence of transgender people in the fight against HIV is to actively undermine our efforts to end the epidemic and instead to perpetuate disparities that fuel its spread.

17. Transgender individuals, particularly Black and Latina trans women, experience some of the highest rates of HIV in the country. We have found that when policies, programs, and funding streams fail to explicitly recognize and include transgender people, it results in service gaps that leave one of the most vulnerable populations without adequate prevention, treatment, or support. This erasure not only increases HIV transmission rates among transgender people but also weakens our broader public health response.

18. The inability to acknowledge the special needs of transgender people in HIV prevention, care, and housing will result in exacerbated health disparities and stigma. An effective strategy to end the HIV epidemic must center on those most affected, including transgender communities, by ensuring targeted interventions, healthcare, and stable housing addressing the unique needs of the community.

19. In the HIV healthcare setting, many of our transgender clients arrive at our organization after experiencing profound anti-transgender bias. These experiences create deep mistrust in medical institutions, making it far less likely that transgender people will seek out or remain engaged in HIV care. When public health fails to account for these realities, that failure reinforces barriers that prevent transgender individuals from accessing the routine testing, prevention, and treatment services they need to stay healthy.

20. In our supportive housing programs, we witness firsthand the consequences of policies that fail to acknowledge the needs of transgender individuals. Many of our clients come to us after facing homelessness, poverty, and family rejection, with no access to safe housing. Case management and supportive housing must be designed with the understanding that transgender-specific needs are essential components to ensure continued engagement with care.

21. Healthcare and housing are crucial to our mission to end the HIV epidemic and are crucially related. Many shelters and housing programs do not accommodate transgender people. For those living with HIV, unstable housing can be a death sentence. Without a safe place to live, it becomes nearly impossible to maintain medication adherence, attend medical appointments, or prioritize self-care. Our housing programs have affirming policies for our transgender clients. If we cannot address these needs, our transgender clients will fall back to cycles of instability that exacerbate health disparities and prevent them from achieving long-term wellness.

22. As our decades of work has shown, when transgender people are recognized in HIV prevention and care, they are more likely to access services, remain in care, and achieve viral suppression.

23. The Anti-Diversity<sup>1</sup> Order directs the termination of “equity-related grants or contracts,” yet it fails to provide a clear definition of what constitutes an “equity-related” grant. As a result, we are unable to determine which of our federally funded programs may be affected. The term “equity” has multiple meanings across healthcare, public policy, and legal contexts. Many of our federal awards were specifically designed to address measurable and well-documented disparities in health and housing, including those related to race, gender identity, and other systemic inequities. It is unclear whether grants aimed at mitigating health risks for historically marginalized communities will be subject to termination or if funding is at risk merely because the award references “race” in its title. This lack of clarity creates significant uncertainty, making it impossible for us to assess compliance or anticipate the impact of the Executive Orders on our federally funded programs.

24. The Anti-Diversity<sup>1</sup> Order and Anti-Diversity<sup>2</sup> Order purport to prohibit “illegal DEI” initiatives, yet they fail to define what constitutes “illegal” and what would be now considered unlawful under federal law. There is no established legal doctrine categorically prohibiting DEIA programs, and in fact, many federal statutes and regulations that apply to AFC explicitly mandate equitable access to government programs, fair employment practices, and anti-discrimination protections. Without clear guidance, it is impossible to determine whether the Orders intend to forbid certain hiring and contracting policies, affirmative outreach to underrepresented communities, or the collection and use of demographic data to ensure equitable access to services. Indeed, we are left in the precarious position of having to determine whether we must potentially violate other applicable laws in order to comply with the Executive Orders and not lose our funding.

25. We are also unable to determine the meaning of “DEI” or “DEIA” in the Anti-Diversity<sup>1</sup> Order and Anti-Diversity<sup>2</sup> Order. It is unclear whether the Executive Orders are limited to specific training and hiring practices or if they extend to broader policies and initiatives designed to promote equitable access to healthcare and housing. As a result, we cannot ascertain whether acknowledging documented disparities in public health outcomes based on race would constitute a violation of the Executive Orders. We are uncertain whether tailoring our services to address the different healthcare and housing needs of different communities would be prohibited. We are even unsure whether the use of racial or demographic data in program design, evaluation, or service delivery would be deemed noncompliant. This uncertainty places us in a precarious position, as it is impossible to determine the extent to which of our evidence-based practices and federally funded initiatives may now be at risk.

26. Because we operate at the intersection of public health and social services, we must ensure that people living with HIV, including the transgender community, receive comprehensive and affirming care. The Anti-Gender Order’s description of sex as strictly binary would undermine the established principles of inclusive healthcare we operate from. By mandating that we recognize only “biological sex” at birth, the Anti-Gender Order forces us to accept a restrictive framework that conflicts with both medical best practices and ethical standards of care.

27. Many transgender people already face stigma in healthcare settings. By enforcing a binary definition of sex, the Anti-Gender Order exacerbates distrust, potentially discouraging our clients from seeking essential HIV treatment and prevention services. We have established best practices that recognize the unique healthcare needs of transgender individuals. The directive undermines the effectiveness of these programs by restricting providers from offering culturally

competent and affirming services, such as referrals to trained medical professionals and targeted HIV prevention strategies.

28. The Anti-Gender Order also prohibits Federal funds from being used to “promote gender ideology” but does not clearly define what actions would constitute promoting gender ideology. We cannot determine if “promote” refers to explicit advocacy, incidental mention, or inclusion in educational materials.

29. Since the announcement of the Executive Orders, AFC has been concerned with the impact they will have on our existing projects and our communities. On January 29, 2025, we became aware of a notice disseminated by the United States Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (“CDC”) to various non-profit organizations. The notice purports to implement the Anti-Diversity<sup>1</sup> Order and the Executive Order titled “Initial Recessions of Harmful Executive Orders and Action.” Specifically, the notice directs recipients of CDC funds to “immediately terminate, to the maximum extent possible, all programs, personnel, activities, or contracts promoting diversity, equity and inclusion (DEI).” It further provides, “[a]ny vestige, remnant, or re-named piece of any DEI programs funded by the U.S. government under this award are immediately, completely, and permanently terminated.” Although AFC did not receive the notice directly, we have experienced adverse effects resulting from its implementation. On January 28, 2025, AFC attempted to draw on our federal grant award; however, we were unable to submit any requests due to the website being rendered inoperative. This disruption was later corroborated by reports concerning OMB Memorandum M-25-13, which mandated a freeze on all federal funding to facilitate the agencies’ implementation of the aforementioned Executive Orders.

30. On January 31, 2025, we became aware of the existence of two other documents through sister organizations: a memorandum from the United States Office of Personnel

Management dated January 29, 2025, titled “RE: Initial Guidance Regarding President Trump’s Executive Order Defending Women,” and a notification from the CDC ordering award recipients to “immediately terminate, to the maximum extent, all programs, personnel, activities, or contracts promoting or inculcating gender ideology at every level and activity . . . .” We have not yet received this notice. However as a CDC award recipient, we believe it has already harmed us as demonstrated by our inability to draw on our federal grant awards.

31. On February 1, 2025, we received an email from the City of Chicago concerning the Federal contracts the City sub-contracted to AFC. The email confirmed what we suspected: that we were subject to the Federal budget freeze, and that CDC and the Health and Resources Services Administration have been sending notices to grantees like the City of Chicago about the implementation of these Executive Orders. These actions have affected AFC as a sub-grantee of Chicago.

32. The vagueness of the Executive Orders has created an untenable situation: AFC must determine whether we are able to continue our targeted efforts to serve the populations most affected by HIV: Black, Latino, and transgender communities.

33. We are currently examining whether we are able to effectively train case managers without fear of retaliation from the federal government. More than \$21 million of our funding, including grants tied to Ryan White and HOPWA, requires case management training. AFC is now forced to decide whether to train case managers in a manner that best equips them to work effectively with our clients or lose significant funding and grant opportunities. AFC cannot properly train case managers and fulfill our mission if we cannot discuss the systemic barriers that drive disparities in care and health outcomes for communities of color, LGBTQ communities, and people living with or vulnerable to HIV. There are many ways of measuring AFC’s success in our

case management program, but one important metric—and the one AFC focuses on—is the percentage of our clients whose HIV is virally suppressed. Among AFC’s HIV case management clients, 90% of them have achieved viral suppression. That is an incredible testimony to the power of AFC’s case management. However, AFC cannot continue to meet, let alone improve, on that number without being able to discuss the barriers to care that our clients face due to systemic forms of oppression.

34. To strengthen AFC and successfully end the HIV epidemic, we must work toward ending racism, white supremacy, and anti-transgender bias. AFC will never achieve our mission of mobilizing communities to create equity and justice for people living with and vulnerable to the HIV or chronic conditions without first recognizing and dismantling the racist and transphobic cores of the many systems AFC works within. These systems are part of the reason why HIV disproportionately impacts specific populations: young Black and Latino gay men, transgender women of color, and Black women living in high-incidence areas. To better identify ways we could improve access for clients to life-saving care, we have recognized the need to first look inward. AFC provides trainings that empower staff with the knowledge and skills to navigate institutions and processes shaped by biases, thus ensuring clients receive the care and support they deserve. We also provide trainings that help staff identify improvement opportunities in our own processes. Staff are now better equipped to foster stronger collaboration with our Community Advisory Boards so that client voices are fully represented. Staff are also better equipped to feel more confident using gender-affirming language that ensures no one feels like our services are not for them. Moreover, our trainings on topics like conflict resolution, social power, and equity help foster a workplace where everyone feels seen, valued, and respected. Trainings like these not only help our staff to better recognize how we can serve the most vulnerable and marginalized in our

communities, but also highlight how these various forms of oppression impact each of us in the work we do. Our internal work has also led to including our priority populations in our strategic plan; centering our work on DEIA to achieve greater impact; and increasing resource development for under-resourced groups. With the Executive Orders in place, our ability to train our staff to best fulfill our strategic plan is in jeopardy.

35. The HIV epidemic—nationally, in Illinois, and in Chicago—disproportionately affects Black gay and bisexual men, as well as Black cisgender and transgender women. The AIDS Foundation of Chicago leads two critical programs to address these disparities. The Welcome Home Program supports HIV-positive individuals involved in the justice system, including men who identify as gay, bisexual, or same-gender loving, as well as transgender and cisgender women, with a focus on people who are Black. This program assists those returning to the community from incarceration by providing access to equitable HIV care, rapid housing services, employment support, and behavioral health services. Funded by the Ryan White Program through a Special Project of National Significance grant, Welcome Home fosters innovative collaborations to overcome structural barriers that contribute to poor health and housing outcomes. It connects participants to medical care, permanent housing, and other essential services, helping to reduce recidivism. The Women’s Connection Program specifically focuses on addressing the unique challenges faced by Black cisgender and transgender women living with HIV. This initiative provides specialized training for case managers, navigators, and advocates on topics such as domestic violence, health care access, transgender cultural competency, and systemic bias. By addressing these intersecting issues, the program aims to enhance service delivery and reduce barriers for women of color impacted by HIV. However, under the policy restrictions the

Executive Orders impose, AFC's ability to offer these critical programs and trainings and services could be undermined, potentially increasing barriers to care and recidivism rates.

36. When we were first confronted with the vague language of the Executive Orders and the subsequent memorandums and notices by the OMB and CDC, we began to discuss how we could continue our work both internally and externally. As an organization that has been in existence during the majority of the HIV epidemic, we are familiar with hardship, strife, and the harm that can be caused by federal administrations that prioritize profit and the status quo over the needs of people. Much like in the past, we are dedicated to continuing this work; however, it would be dishonest to imply that there will not be significant harm caused by the Executive Orders.

37. The Executive Orders have already begun to have a chilling effect on AFC's work and ability to do continued programming. AFC's program staff are concerned about funding streams for necessary work that discusses race and gender equity. Additionally, our partner organizations with smaller budgets are concerned that even a hint of impropriety will devastate their budgets. Moreover, our community members view these Executive Orders as an attack on all the progress that we have made toward ending the HIV epidemic. In the short time since the announcement of the Executive Orders, we have already held meetings to discuss the ways that funding will have to be rerouted, just in case the Administration determines we are operating outside of the unclear boundaries of what the Executive Orders allow. Through our services, we work toward calling attention to centuries of systemic oppression that have driven the disparities we see in the HIV epidemic. Housing insecurity contributes dramatically to shorter lifespans for Black, Latino, Indigenous, and transgender communities. The Executive Orders are an impediment on the road to progress and have left many organizations, including AFC, wondering

how we are supposed to execute our missions without being able to reach our communities in a truly informed manner.

38. Seventy percent of the individuals seeking services through our HUB program identify as Black or Latino and 7.8% identify as transgender. Thus, it is imperative that our case managers are trained on cultural competency to best meet the needs of our clients. Part of this cultural competency training is based on decades of research. Having a case manager that understands how a Black, Latino, and/or transgender person is disproportionately impacted by HIV is crucial to the work case managers do. However, our ability to provide comprehensive cultural competency trainings and tailored services is now in question—creating an additional barrier for the majority of our clients who are best served when their case managers are trained to recognize and address the systemic oppression impacting our clients' lives.

39. AFC is currently facing an impossible choice: be forced to implement the government's views on gender ideology and DEIA or lose federal funding. Federal funding accounts for 83.4% of our organization's budget. Should federal funding be withdrawn, our organization would have to shut down. This would be devastating to Chicago's community of people living with HIV/AIDS, as we currently coordinate case management for over 31 Chicago organizations serving 7,000 people a year. We also provide housing to 1,300 households, all of whom would become homeless without our services.

40. Ultimately, the Executive Orders are another barrier to health equity for communities that have long been pathologized as simply unhealthy. People living with HIV, Black, Indigenous, and Latino people, and LGBTQ people face systemic and structural oppression that often leads to deadly outcomes. AFC was born out of a need to rectify these harms and address the needs of these communities by working with and for them. This work will continue, because

it must, but the Executive Orders will negatively impact our best work. At AFC, we are dedicated to seeing the end of the HIV epidemic, and hope that the courts will recognize that this work must include conversations and trainings that specifically acknowledge and address the systems that oppress our community members because of their race, gender, and/or sexual orientation.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Executed: February 27, 2025

  
Nadeen Israel (Feb 27, 2025 12:42 CST)

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Nadeen Israel  
AFC Senior Vice President of  
Policy & Advocacy

**UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA**

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, et al.,

*Plaintiffs,*

v.

Civil Action No. 25-cv-00471

DONALD J. TRUMP, et al.,

*Defendants.*

**DECLARATION OF LAUREN GLODOWSKI**

I, Lauren Glodowski, declare as follows pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746:

1. I am a Care Coordination Specialist at AIDS Foundation of Chicago (“AFC”), a not-for-profit 501(c)(3) organization based in Chicago, Illinois, that mobilizes communities to create equity and justice for people living with and vulnerable to the human immunodeficiency virus (“HIV”) or chronic conditions. I have served in this capacity since March 2021.

2. I am submitting this Declaration in support of Plaintiffs’ Motion for a Preliminary Injunction to prevent Defendant agencies from enforcing Executive Order No. 14151, titled “Ending Radical and Wasteful Government DEI Programs and Preferencing” (“Anti-Diversity1 Order”), issued January 20, 2025;<sup>1</sup> Executive Order No. 14168, titled “Defending Women from Gender Ideology Extremism and Restoring Biological Truth to the Federal Government” (“Anti-Gender Order”), issued January 20, 2025;<sup>2</sup> and Executive Order No. 14173, titled “Ending Illegal

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<sup>1</sup> Exec. Order No. 14151, *Ending Radical and Wasteful DEI Programs and Preferencing*, 90 Fed. Reg. 8339 (Jan. 20, 2025).

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Discrimination and Restoring Merit-Based Opportunity” (“Anti-Diversity2 Order”), issued January 21, 2025 (collectively, the “Executive Orders”).<sup>3</sup>

3. My life experiences led me to the work I do today. Growing up in a military family meant moving frequently and experiencing diverse cultures first hand. This constant change exposed me to a wide range of social and systemic structures, shaping my understanding of how different lived experiences influence people’s lives. Through these experiences, I learned that creating meaningful, positive change requires a deep appreciation of the unique contexts in which individuals and communities operate.

4. At university, I pursued a degree in biology with a specialization in biochemistry. One of my educational focuses was on HIV, and I attended post-secondary educational institutions in the United States and South Africa.

5. After graduating from university, I interned in AFC’s prevention department. During my internship, I conducted outreach and education for the community and HIV/AIDS care providers. Upon completing my internship, AFC hired me to work in outreach case management. In this position, I worked with underserved Medicaid and Medicare enrollees who we assisted in reconnecting with benefits for unmet health needs. In 2021, AFC recognized my contributions and promoted me to my current role as a Care Coordination Specialist.

6. As a Care Coordination Specialist for HIV/AIDS clients, my role is to help ensure client eligibility for Ryan White services. My role requires me to identify client needs and barriers to care. I provide coordination, guidance, and assistance to clients in accessing medical, social, community, legal, financial, employment, housing, and/or other needed services. My main focus

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<sup>3</sup> Exec. Order No. 14173, *Ending Illegal Discrimination and Restoring Merit-Based Opportunity*, 90 Fed. Reg. 8633 (Jan. 21, 2025).

is ensuring that people with HIV/AIDS are engaged with their medical care and stay connected with their providers to optimize their health and wellbeing.

7. I currently serve around 60 of 500 clients enrolled in AFC's Ryan White case management programs. My daily responsibilities include conducting assessments with clients of their medical and supportive service needs, assisting clients to establish and maintain their eligibility for services, helping clients complete applications and provide documentation, guiding clients through confusing and convoluted medical processes, and contacting service providers on clients' behalf. Each task depends on my ability to build lasting relationships and foster trust with my clients.

8. AFC's case managers and programs receive Ryan White Part A and Part B Program funding. The Illinois Department of Public Health Ryan White Part B Program receives funding from the Health Resources and Services Administration and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to administer and monitor services to assist persons living with HIV/AIDS.

9. The Illinois Ryan White Part B Program produces case management standards as part of its mandate to monitor funding use. The case management standards acknowledge that the daily duties of non-medical case managers must be tailored specifically to the populations they serve, and the standards require annual training on cultural competency and training on working with LGBTQ clients. Due to the Illinois Ryan White Part B Program case management standards, AFC mandates that I undergo annual, ongoing training, including diversity and LGBTQ training.

10. Diversity awareness is crucial for my role, as I must respect and value the varying perspectives and experiences of individuals. I must adapt my behavior and manage people from diverse cultural, ethnic, gender, age, educational, professional, sexual orientation, gender identity,

and gender expression backgrounds. When I excel in my job and am able to implement and achieve AFC's vision and mission, it is because I actively understand these individual differences.

11. As a case manager, I recognize that providing effective support requires tailoring my approach to meet the specific needs of diverse communities. Every individual's lived experience is shaped by their identity, history, and the systemic barriers they face, so a one-size-fits-all approach is not sufficient. For Black clients, this may mean acknowledging the impact of generational trauma and systemic racism while fostering culturally affirming spaces. For transgender clients, it may involve understanding the unique challenges they encounter in healthcare, employment, and safety and ensuring my approach is gender-affirming and trauma-informed. Working with any marginalized community requires centering their specific needs, respecting their self-determination, and providing services that reflect their lived realities. While at AFC, I have attended trainings with topics that include LGBTQ, Black and Indigenous people of color, gender minority populations, techniques to advance health equity for those populations, how to practice cultural humility, and how to counter racism and implicit bias. These trainings have significantly impacted my work, enabling me to assist clients in overcoming health barriers. They have also enhanced my comprehension of social determinants of health and empowered me to advocate for clients affected by incarceration, substance use, ableism, and immigration status discrimination.

12. Conducting my work through a DEIA lens creates an environment where my clients feel deeply understood, ensuring they feel truly heard and seen. This helps my clients maintain a stable living environment and get continuous medical care to combat the HIV/AIDS epidemic. I have found implementing this approach to be highly effective at improving the lives of my clients living with HIV/AIDS. Furthermore, my clients who feel heard and understood are, in my

experience, more likely to take their HIV medications and go to their doctor—keeping their HIV viral loads undetectable and averting serious health episodes that could lead to an AIDS diagnosis. This is especially beneficial because people whose HIV viral load is undetectable cannot transmit HIV to their partners; HIV treatment is a powerful form of HIV prevention. I strongly believe that my culturally competent approach to care improves my clients' lives, reduces healthcare costs, improves health outcomes, and reduces new HIV transmissions.

13. I cannot effectively serve a diverse community without comprehending how race and gender influence our interactions.

14. Since the announcements of the Anti-Gender Order and Anti-Diversity<sup>2</sup> Order, I have been grappling with uncertainty regarding my work responsibilities. I know that my clients' needs, AFC's mission, and my general moral obligations require that I serve my clients by understanding how gender and race affect their care, but the Executive Orders and government agencies may prohibit it.

15. I do not know if the Executive Orders limit my ability to attend necessary cultural competency trainings, restrict what DEIA tools I use to serve my clients, limit what I write in my case notes, censor how I discuss my clients during case management meetings, or prohibit discussions at AFC about transgender identities or racial realities. It is infuriating to try and navigate all of the unknowns associated with the Executive Orders and try not to disrupt AFC's current or future federal funding while still providing necessary services to our clients. But the truth is that we might lose our federal funding even if we try to comply with the Executive Orders, because all HIV/AIDS services are intertwined with race and gender, even if we eliminate the words from our website. Likewise, many other organizations that I interact with regularly while supporting my clients are equally confused and scared.

16. And if AFC loses the federal funding that supports my position, I am not even sure if I will still be employed in two weeks.

17. My clients also have been grappling with the uncertainty brought on by these Executive Orders. My clients are unsure which medications they can pick up, whether they will continue to receive my case management care, and what violence or discrimination they will encounter in this sociopolitical environment. They are living in fear of the unknown consequences of the Executive Orders.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Executed: February 27, 2025



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Lauren Glodowski  
AFC Care Coordination Specialist

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, et al.,

*Plaintiffs,*

v.

Civil Action No. 25-cv-00471

DONALD J. TRUMP, et al.,

*Defendants.*

**DECLARATION OF JOHN PELLER**

I, John Peller, declare as follows pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746:

1. I am the President and CEO for AIDS Foundation of Chicago (“AFC”), a not-for-profit 501(c)(3) organization based in Chicago, Illinois, that mobilizes communities to create equity and justice for people living with and vulnerable to the human immunodeficiency virus (“HIV”) or chronic conditions. I have served in this capacity since September 9, 2014.

2. I am submitting this Declaration in support of Plaintiffs’ Motion for a Preliminary Injunction to prevent Defendant agencies from enforcing Executive Order No. 14151, titled “Ending Radical and Wasteful Government DEI Programs and Preferencing” (“Anti-Diversity1 Order”), issued January 20, 2025;<sup>1</sup> Executive Order No. 14168, titled “Defending Women from Gender Ideology Extremism and Restoring Biological Truth to the Federal Government” (“Anti-Gender Order”), issued January 20, 2025;<sup>2</sup> and Executive Order No. 14173, titled “Ending Illegal

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<sup>1</sup> Exec. Order No. 14151, *Ending Radical and Wasteful DEI Programs and Preferencing*, 90 Fed. Reg. 8339 (Jan. 20, 2025).

<sup>2</sup> Exec. Order No. 14168, *Defending Women From Gender Ideology Extremism and Restoring Biological Truth to the Federal Government*, 90 Fed. Reg. 8615 (Jan. 20, 2025).

Discrimination and Restoring Merit-Based Opportunity” (“Anti-Diversity2 Order”), issued January 21, 2025<sup>3</sup> (collectively the “Executive Orders”).

3. As a service organization working with and for people living with or vulnerable to HIV, we feel a responsibility to bring our collective knowledge about the HIV epidemic to bear in this current moment. In recognition of the harms we are still working to overcome, we want this knowledge to help avoid repeating mistakes of the past. In the early days, silence about HIV was the hallmark of the federal government’s response to the epidemic. Today, the same federal government seeks to silence us yet again as we work to address some of the root causes of HIV— institutional and societal racism and discrimination against gender-nonconforming people, including gay men and transgender people.

4. When AIDS entered the public consciousness in 1981, it was first identified as an ailment affecting gay, white men in New York and San Francisco. During this period, the virus was falsely characterized as a “gay cancer” and then “gay-related immunodeficiency disorder” (or “GRID”), which pathologized an entire community, and placed the blame of a public health crisis at the feet of queer people already facing discrimination and bigotry. For Haitian immigrants, injection drug users, and sex workers—communities who were also heavily impacted by AIDS—the focus on gay, white men meant overlooking these other marginalized communities.

5. Due to systemic racism, homophobia, transphobia, and misogyny against the groups most affected by HIV—which included Black and Latina women, transgender women, and Black and Latino gay men—health outcomes were dire. Structural inequities affecting these groups compounded the problem and as a result, the response to the HIV epidemic over the first

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<sup>3</sup> Exec. Order No. 14173, *Ending Illegal Discrimination and Restoring Merit-Based Opportunity*, 90 Fed. Reg. 8633 (Jan. 21, 2025).

decade was mostly apathy and silence. As fatalities grew in cities across the country, governments at all levels largely ignored the problem. It took over four years (until 1985) and the impending death of actor Rock Hudson before President Ronald Reagan even mentioned AIDS in response to a reporter's direct question, and it took until 1987 before he gave a major address about it.

6. After watching their friends die around them in increasing numbers, while the government and public largely ignored the plague attacking their communities, activists formed the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power ("ACT UP") in New York City in March 1987. With the battle cry of "Silence=Death," ACT UP took to the streets with confrontational and controversial protest activities to bring attention to the ongoing public health crisis and the apathy about the deaths of thousands of people.

7. As a movement, we hope to never be silent again. We know the consequences. We have seen the harm. We have suffered enough from apathy and silence. The work done by activists across the nation pushed the government to take real action to address the growing epidemic and undoubtedly saved thousands of lives in the process. We are still fighting the battle that they initiated in those dark years.

8. The HIV advocacy movement did not get everything right in that first decade, and we are still striving to do better. Many movement leaders did not acknowledge or address the significant impact HIV has, and continues to have on Black people, Latino people, transgender people, and cisgender women. The failure to recognize these disproportionate impacts—and the biases and structural inequities they stem from—has contributed to the HIV-related disparities for these groups that exist today. We know that we must keep talking about them—we cannot be silent—because that is the only path to addressing these disparities and preventing more

unnecessary deaths. Yet the Trump Administration’s Executive Orders at the heart of this legal case are forcing us to be silent.

9. The Anti-Gender Order directly impedes our ability as an HIV services organization to effectively serve the transgender community—a group disproportionately impacted by HIV and identified by our organization as a priority community. In the United States, 21.6% of transgender women are living with HIV, which is orders of magnitude higher than other populations.

10. The Anti-Gender Order’s language prevents recipients of federal funds from recognizing transgender identities or acknowledging that a person’s gender identity may differ from their sex assigned at birth. This restriction renders impossible our ability to provide culturally competent and affirming services, including targeted HIV prevention, testing, outreach, and treatment services that are critical for transgender individuals. Thus, the Anti-Gender Order not only undermines our mission to combat HIV among vulnerable populations but also contributes to further marginalization of a community already facing significant health disparities.

11. We already are feeling the effects of this Executive Order. On February 13, 2025 AFC attended a meeting held by an HHS contractor about a program under which AFC is a subcontractor. The program officer informed AFC about changes required by HRSA to comply with the Executive Orders. Specifically, HRSA instructed that (1) the term “gender” must be replaced with “sex” in our program materials; (2) all references to “gender-affirming care” must be removed; and (3) the acronym “LGBTQIA” must be changed to “LBG.”

12. According to Becasen *et al.* (2023)<sup>4</sup>, just 67% of transgender women are virally suppressed nationally. That rate is far lower than the 90% rate AFC achieves among people living with HIV who are receiving case management funded by the Ryan White Program. AFC's Welcome Home program helps people living with HIV who are leaving prison or jail connect with stable housing, and transgender women are disproportionately represented in this population. Homelessness is extremely high among transgender people; a CDC report indicated that 31% of transgender people in one survey reported being unhoused for up to 11 months in the previous year.<sup>5</sup> The Welcome Home program contains elements that are tailored to transgender women because acknowledging that they are transgender and identifying services that are welcoming to transgender people is vital to their health and safety. For example, AFC must refer transgender people to healthcare providers who have received transgender cultural competency training and medical training in providing healthcare services to transgender people. Medical providers make transgender clients comfortable with disclosing their transgender status through actions such as using their chosen name and correct pronouns. If transgender people do not disclose their transgender status, important health conditions could be missed; for example, older transgender women who have prostates need regular screening to detect cancer. Identifying housing for transgender people requires special considerations because they must be placed in neighborhoods

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<sup>4</sup> Jeffrey S Becasen *et al.*, *HIV Care Outcomes Among Transgender Persons with HIV Infection in the United States, 2006-2021*, 36 AIDS 305-15 (2022).

<sup>5</sup> Ruthanne Marcus, *et al.*, *Transgender Women Experiencing Homelessness — National HIV Behavioral Surveillance Among Transgender Women, Seven Urban Areas, United States, 2019–2020*, 73 MMWR Suppl 40-50 (Jan. 25, 2024).

where they will be safe, since “transgender people are over four times more likely than cisgender people to experience violent victimization”, according to the Williams Institute.<sup>6</sup>

13. Finally, under the Anti-Gender Order, Chicago, Cook County and Illinois public health officials are likely to be unable to collect data and report on the number of transgender people newly diagnosed or living with HIV, as the officials have done for decades through routine HIV surveillance activities. This data is crucial for AFC and our partner organizations to identify outbreaks of HIV among key populations, including transgender people, and to develop programming to respond to outbreaks, such as targeted HIV testing and other programs that will engage transgender people in programs that will give them reasons to engage in behaviors that will improve their health.

14. And, like the HIV epidemic has done for decades, the COVID-19 pandemic and the mpox outbreak have once again exposed health disparities that persist for Black, Indigenous, and Latino communities in this country. These recent health crises illustrate how the same disparities occur almost 40 years later. HIV advocates have a moral obligation to speak up, to declare the truth about the root causes of these inequities, and to do our part to overcome their effects. Yet these recent executive orders force us to make an impossible choice. We could use our voice to combat these inequities by training our staff and community on racism, anti-LGBTQ bias and discrimination; acknowledging the existence of transgender people and seeking to support them; directing our services to populations disproportionately affected by public health crises and systemic inequities; and engaging in related advocacy central to our mission—or we can forfeit

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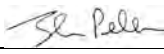
<sup>6</sup> Press Release, Williams Institute, *Transgender people over four times more likely than cisgender people to be victims of violent crime* (Mar. 23, 2021), <https://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/press/ncvs-trans-press-release/> (last visited Feb. 18, 2025).

the federal funds that provide life-saving services for people living with and at higher risk for HIV.  
This choice is simply unacceptable.

15. We cannot be silenced by our own government when silence equals death.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my  
knowledge.

Executed: 27/02/25

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
John Peller  
President and CEO, AFC

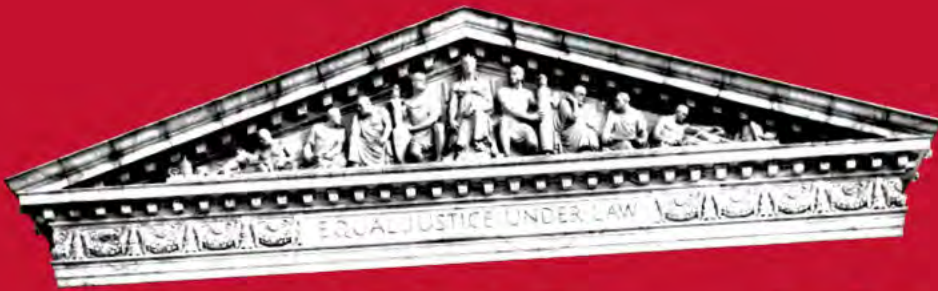
# **EXHIBIT A**

**STATE  
OF BLACK  
AMERICA®**



2024

A National Urban League Publication  
[stateofblackamerica.org](http://stateofblackamerica.org)



# The Civil Rights Act of 1964

*60 Years Later*



## About the National Urban League

The National Urban League is a historic civil rights and urban advocacy organization. Driven to secure economic self-reliance, parity, power and justice for our nation's marginalized populations, the National Urban League works toward economic empowerment and the elevation of the standard of living in historically underserved urban communities.

Founded in 1910 and headquartered in New York City, the National Urban League has improved the lives of more than three million people each year nationwide through direct service programs run by 92 affiliates serving 300 communities in 37 states and the District of Columbia.

The National Urban League also conducts public policy research and advocacy work from its Washington, D.C., bureau. The National Urban League is a BBB-accredited organization and has earned a 4-star rating from Charity Navigator, placing it in the top 10% of all U.S. charities for adhering to good governance, fiscal responsibility, and other best practices.

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SCAN TO READ  
THE FULL REPORT.

# About *State of Black America*<sup>®</sup>

Since its first appearance in 1976 under the stewardship of the late Mr. Vernon E. Jordan Jr., the organization's fifth president, the *State of Black America*<sup>®</sup> remains one of the most highly-anticipated benchmarks and sources for thought leadership around racial equality in America.

The report explores the inequities across America's economics, employment, education, health, housing, criminal justice, and civic participation systems through research and the words of our contributors.

Each edition contains penetrating commentary and insightful analysis from recognized authorities and leading figures in politics, the corporate and tech sectors, the nonprofit arena, academia, and popular culture.

In the 48th edition of the report, we've decided to reflect on a landmark piece of legislation that transformed everyday life in America and gave us a reason to create this report: the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

For Black Americans, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the first time that the United States government honored the promises in the Declaration of Independence and addressed the racial caste system that had been protected for centuries by unjust laws and systemic racism.

The law, in many ways, answered the calls of March on Washington by banning discrimination in the workplace, in our housing system, and in programs funded by the government, and marked the death of the Jim Crow South.

Sixty years later, the fight for equality is far from over.

We have a Supreme Court that has dismantled Affirmative Action, threatening equitable access to higher education and diversity and equity initiatives that make our workplaces safer and more accessible for people from all backgrounds.

States across the country are dictating who gets to vote in elections by enforcing ID laws and requirements that make it harder for marginalized people to participate in the Democratic process.

And we have a Congress that allows extremist members to hold our country hostage by refusing to pass critical spending bills unless their anti-civil rights agenda is met. This movement has infiltrated our courts and state houses, threatening civil rights at every level of government.

Our contributing authors use their experiences as elected officials, civil rights advocates, and esteemed academics to paint a picture of American life before the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as they analyze how each title created the country we know today. They also unpack the threats to the freedoms protected by the law and share their perspective on strengthening civil rights protections for the 21st century.

It is not the time to be silent. We cannot stand by while this law is stripped of its power by those who oppose progress. This fight is one for our future, our legacy, and the soul of this country. We urge you to join us in it today.

Head to the *State of Black America* website to access the 2024 *State of Black America* suite of offerings—including author essays, data, expert analysis, and a ready-for-download version of this executive summary.

[stateofblackamerica.org](https://stateofblackamerica.org)

# Understanding *the* 2024 Equality Index™

## **Why does the National Urban League publish an Equality Index?**

Economic empowerment is the central theme of the National Urban League's mission. The Equality Index gives us a way to document progress toward this mission for Black Americans relative to whites.

## **What is the Equality Index trying to do?**

The Equality Index uses pie charts to show how well Black Americans are doing in comparison to whites when it comes to their economic status, their health, their education, social justice, and civic engagement. The Equality Index measures the share of that pie which Black Americans get. Whites are used as the benchmark because the history of race in America has created advantages for whites that continue to persist in many of the outcomes being measured.

## **The 2024 Equality Index of Black America is 75.7%. What does that mean?**

That means that rather than having a whole pie (100%), which would mean full equality with whites in 2024, African Americans are missing about 24% of the pie.

## **How is the Equality Index calculated?**

The categories that make up the Equality Index are: economics, health, education, social justice and civic engagement. In each category, we use nationally representative statistics to calculate a sub-index that captures how well Black Americans are doing relative to whites. Each category is weighted based on the importance that we give to each. The weighted average of all five categories is then calculated to get the total Equality Index.

## **Is it possible to see how well Black Americans are doing in each of the categories?**

Yes. We show this in the tables included with the Equality Index. We estimate an index for each category that can be interpreted in the same way as the total Equality Index. So, an index of 66% for the economics category for 2024 means that Black Americans are missing over a third of the economics mini-pie. Figure 1 summarizes the total 2024 Equality Index and the sub-index in each category.

## **Is it possible to see how well Black Americans are doing over time?**

Yes. The National Urban League has published the Equality Index of Black America and all the variables used to calculate it since 2005.

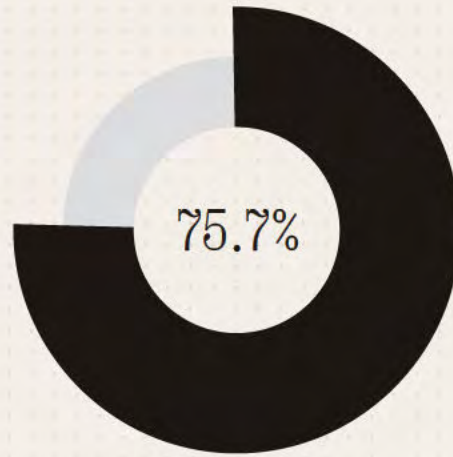
## **It doesn't look like there's been much improvement in the Equality Index. What's the point?**

The Equality Index is made up of a lot of different parts. Improvements in one area are sometimes offset by losses in another area, leaving the overall index unchanged. Change often happens slowly. The Equality Index offers solid evidence of just how slowly it happens, making the index an indispensable tool for shaping the policies needed in the ongoing fight against inequality.

## **Not all Black Americans are doing poorly and not all whites are doing well. Why doesn't the Equality Index capture class differences?**

The Equality Index was created to capture racial inequality. Most of the data points are reported as averages for Black Americans and whites. An average is the easiest way to summarize a large amount of information, but can mask class differences within each group. While the Equality Index does not detail class differences, it does highlight regional differences in racial inequality through our rankings of metro area unemployment and income inequality (not included this year but available for prior years).

# The 2024 Black-White Index

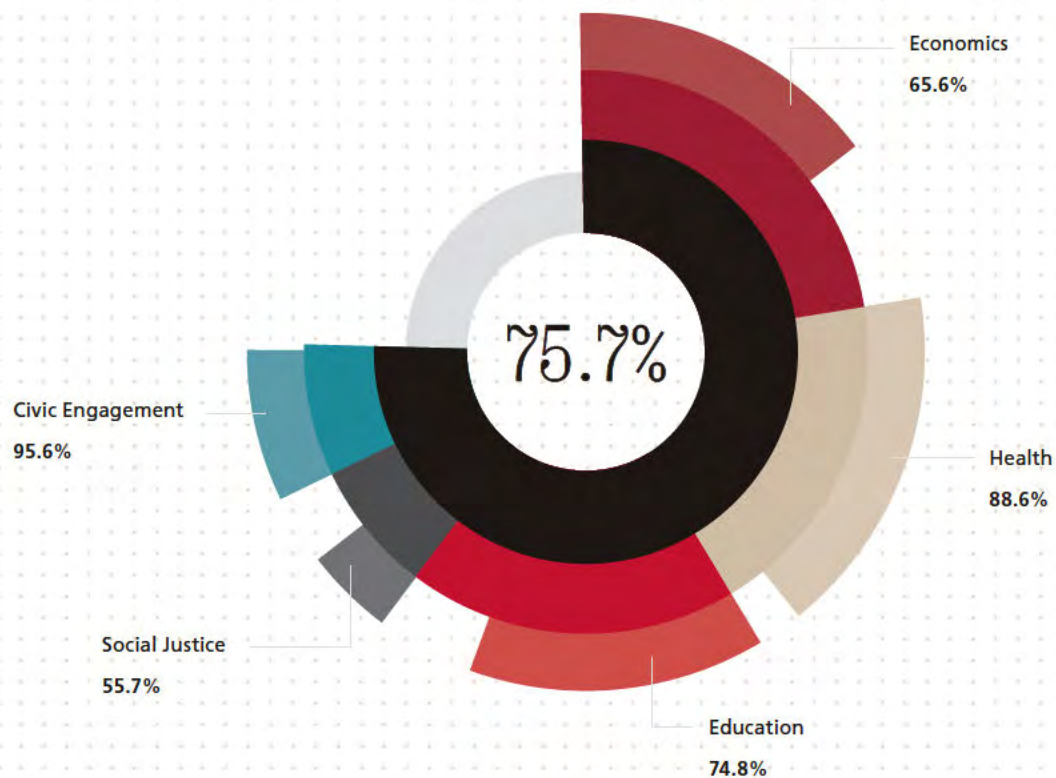


## Equality Index Breakdown

### Key / Weighted Index Categories

- Economics 30%
- Health 25%
- Education 25%
- Social Justice 10%
- Civic Engagement 10%

Figure 1. Black-White Equality Index Broken Down by Category



FROM THE

# President's Desk

*Marc H. Morial*

PRESIDENT & CEO,  
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE



A more abiding commitment to freedom.

A more constant pursuit of justice.

A deeper respect for human dignity.

These were the promises of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as expressed by President Lyndon Johnson when he signed the bill into law.

This year marks the 60th anniversary of that landmark legislation, but the journey toward racial justice in the United States is older than the nation itself, and nowhere near complete.

No issue in history has met with more resistance in the United States Congress than civil rights. The first Civil Rights Act, which established full citizenship for formerly enslaved Americans, was vetoed twice by President Andrew Jackson. Congress finally overrode the veto with a two-thirds majority in each chamber, allowing the bill that supported the 13th Amendment to become law.

Civil Rights Act of 1875, providing equal access to “accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and other places of public amusement,”

took five years to pass. It was taken up as a memorial after its author, Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, passed away, and only after it was stripped of a provision to desegregate schools. The Act was poorly enforced, and the Supreme Court overturned it in 1883.

For the next eight decades, Congress failed to enact a single measure to enforce civil rights. The next one to pass, a watered-down voting rights bill in 1957, was more notable for Senator Strom Thurmond’s record-setting 24-hour, 18-minute filibuster than for anything it accomplished.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 also set a filibuster record, proceeding to a vote only after a 60-day debate.

Resistance to racial justice persisted—and still persists—in the years following 1964, but for the first time in the nation’s history, the federal government at last had the tools to enforce the principles of racial equality and inclusion.

In the wake of the uprising triggered by George Floyd’s murder in 2020, the nation now finds itself swept into a backlash that presents the gravest threat to the Civil Rights Act in its relatively short history.

The Civil Rights Act has been transformative in changing American life in a material way. Doors have been opened, and new access has been achieved. But the promise of full equality, as this year’s Equality Index indicates, is still elusive.

Our “abiding commitment to freedom” is undermined by discriminatory voter ID laws, gerrymandering, the shuttering of polling places in predominantly minority neighborhoods, limits on early voting, and reckless purging of voter rolls.

Our “pursuit of justice” is derailed by persistent racism in policing and sentencing, the dismantling of diversity and inclusion policies in employment and education, and lack of access to financial services, housing and healthcare.

Our “respect for human dignity” is called into question by an unraveling social safety net, a poverty-level federal minimum wage, and other economic policies that uplift the wealthy at the expense of working families.

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. called the Civil Rights Act of 1964 a “second emancipation.” The first emancipation freed us from slavery. The second, from legal segregation. Today, we must strive for a third emancipation, uprooting the deep racial divisions that remain embedded in our institutions so we can live according to the ideals the Civil Rights Act represents.

# Overview of the 2024 Equality Index™

## AN INTRODUCTION



by Rhonda Vonshay Sharpe, Ph.D.,  
PRESIDENT & FOUNDER, THE WOMEN'S INSTITUTE  
FOR SCIENCE, EQUITY AND RACE

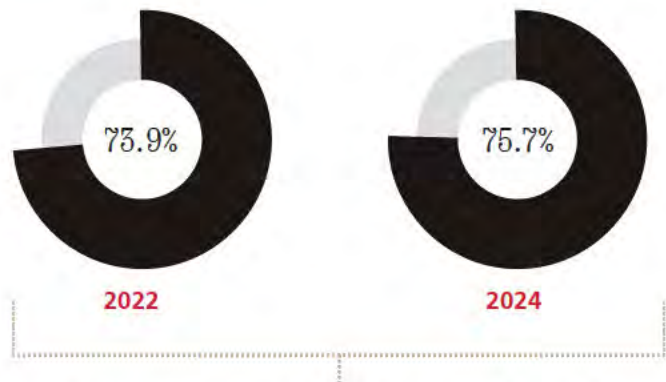
It has been 20 years since the first Equality Index was created under the guidance of Marc Morale and the leadership of the National Urban League in 2004. The intent of the Equality Index, then and now, is to "...compare the conditions between Whites and Blacks in America." The data in this year's index captures the progress of Black Americans since the year 2000 and recognizes the 60th Anniversary of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

For centuries during the Transatlantic Slave Trade, in addition to not being considered or counted as Americans, Blacks were not seen as human. It wasn't until 1787, with the passage of the 3/5ths Compromise, that Black Americans were counted at all, making up 3/5 of a person for purposes of taxation and state representation in Congress. In today's terms, that would be an Index value of 0.60.

The 13th Amendment was ratified in 1865 to correct this injustice in the Constitution. However, it was not sufficient to eradicate the structural racism that underpins the lived experiences of African Americans.

Even the Civil Rights Act of 1964—targeting specific policies and practices that hindered African Americans and others from full participation in America's economic and social systems—did not raise the Equality Index to 1, full equality with Whites.

Today, 237 years after the passage of the 3/5ths Compromise, the 2024 Equality Index value is 0.76. While that is greater than 0.60 (the 3/5 of person value), it is still short of full equality. This year is the 60th Anniversary of the passing of the Civil Rights Act—a historically significant moment to discuss the Equality Inequality Index and the progress African Americans have made given the seven Titles of the Act.



*The 2024 Equality Index of Black America stands at 75.7%, an improvement of 1.8 percentage points from the 2022 index of 73.9%.*

### TITLE I: Discriminatory Voting Tactics

Title I barred unequal application of state voter registration requirements for federal elections. The Civic Engagement sub-index is divided into four categories—the Democratic Process (0.40), Volunteerism (0.30), Collective Bargaining (0.20), and Government Employment (0.10). Of these categories, the democratic process is directly affected by Title I. In 2020, 69 percent of Black Americans were registered to vote, an increase from 64.3 percent in 2000. Moreover, 62.6 percent of Black Americans voted in 2020, compared to 54.1 percent in 2000. The index for the percentage of Actual Voters was 90 percent in 2000, which increased to 92 percent in 2020. There was a slight improvement in the Registered Voters index, 93 percent in 2020, up from 92 percent in 2000. It is important to note that 2000 was an election year in which the presidential election (Bush vs. Gore) was so close that it resulted in a Supreme Court intervention. In contrast, the 2020 election (Biden vs. Trump) resulted in storming of the U.S. Capitol in an attempt to overturn the election.

Midterm elections have lower registration and voting rates than general elections. In 2022, the percentage of Blacks registered to vote was 60.2 percent, down from 62.4 percent in 2002. The percentage of Blacks who voted in 2022 was 42.3 percent, down from 54 percent in 2002. Similarly, the Actual Voters index was also 84 percent in 2022, down from 95 percent in 2002, a decrease of 11 percentage points.

### TITLE IV: Desegregation of Public Schools and Colleges

Title IV authorized the U.S. Attorney General to investigate equal protection denials and take legal action to enforce *Brown v. Board of Education*; it also allowed the Secretary of Education to provide funding for desegregation efforts. Title IV is the mechanism to achieve growth in the Education sub-index, which has eight categories

measuring key educational factors, from enrollment to student-achievement risk factors. The Education sub-index is 8.5 percentage points higher in 2024 (74.8 percent) than in 2000 (66.3 percent).

It has been seventy years since the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education* that “separate but equal” education was unconstitutional. Nevertheless, today, Black students are still more likely to attend schools with less qualified teachers. In 2023, Black students were more likely to have uncertified teachers (4.9 percent) compared to white students (2.1 percent). Additionally, Black students were more likely to have inexperienced teachers (less than three years of experience) compared with white students (15.2 percent vs. 8.9 percent).

But there is good news. The percentage of Blacks who dropped out of high school dropped from 13.1 percent in 2000 to 3.9 percent in 2024.

The index for this metric was 113 percent in 2024 compared to 53 percent. Moreover, decreasing the percentage of Black high school dropouts positively affects college enrollment. In 2024, the college enrollment gap between Black and White men is only 2.4 percentage points, and Black women have a higher college enrollment percentage than Black or White men. However, a higher enrollment rate for Black women should not be interpreted as Black women are the most educated group. Enrollment in college does not mean college completion.

#### **TITLE V: Reauthorization of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights**

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is an independent, bipartisan federal agency created to inform national civil rights policy development, enforce federal civil rights laws, and investigate allegations of voter suppression. In November 2023, the commission began investigating the federal government’s role in collecting data to identify racial and ethnic disparities in violent crime victimization. Such investigations directly affect the Social Justice sub-index, which has two components— equality before the law (.70) and victimization and mental anguish (.30). Since 2000, the Social Justice sub-index has doubled, from 26.2 percent in 2000 to 55.7 percent in 2024—noteworthy progress.

The incarceration rate (prisoners per 100,000) for Blacks was 3,662 in 2000 (the index was 13 percent). In 2024, the incarceration rate was 558, 6.5 times smaller, a 29 percent index. An increase in this index means fewer Black prisoners are incarcerated for every White prisoner. The incarceration rate is a good proxy for equality under the law. The decrease in the number of victims aged 12 or older of violent crimes was significant enough for Blacks to go from an index of 50 percent in 2000 to 110 percent in 2024. Black youth are now less likely to be victims of violent crimes than Whites.

#### **TITLE VI: Discrimination by Recipients of Federal Financial Assistance**

Under Title VI, Blacks gained equal access to federally funded hospitals for health care. Section 1557 requires any healthcare provider receiving funding to treat all patients. Although less than 1, the 2024 Health sub-index is 88.6 percent, a slight increase from 87.9 percent in 2000.

A historical view of the health sub-index shows improvements in Age-Adjusted Death Rates (AADR). The 2000 AADR index was 50 percent—meaning that even after adjusting mortality rates for age, Blacks were twice as likely to die as Whites. However, the 2024 AADR index for Blacks was 120 percent, which means that Blacks were less likely to die than Whites. However, despite this progress, the life expectancy of Blacks is still lower than that of Whites by almost 5.5 years.

#### **TITLE VII: Discrimination in Employment**

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 opened employment opportunities for Black Americans, particularly those residing in the *de jure* Jim Crow South. It outlawed employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin by businesses affecting commerce with at least twenty-five employees.

However, despite some progress, economic inequality between Black and White households persists decades later. For example, after adjusting for inflation, Black men earned \$91 less per week, and Black women made \$72 less per week in 2024 compared to 2000. In 2000, Black men earned 75 cents for every dollar earned by a White man; by 2024, this figure had decreased to 71 cents. Similarly, Black women made 84 cents for every dollar earned by a White woman in 2024, slightly less than the 86 cents per dollar earned in 2000.

The median household income for Black Americans increased from \$28,700 (\$51,422.96 in 2023 dollars) in 2000 to \$51,374 in 2024 (\$54,812 in 2023 dollars), indicating a positive trend. However, the median income index, which measures the income gap between Black and white households, only increased from 63 percent in 2000 to 64 percent in 2024. Hence, Black households had 64 cents for every White household dollar.

Increased earnings and tax credits aimed at helping families reduced the number of Black families in poverty in 2024 relative to 2000. All of the Poverty sub-indices were below 40 percent in 2000. In 2024, these sub-indices were all above 40 percent. The indices for the percentage of Blacks under 18 years of age and 18–64 years of age living in poverty both increased by 31 and 29 percentage points, respectively.

Furthermore, the homeownership index decreased from 64 percent in 2000 to 61 percent in 2024, while the wealth index remained at 16 percent. The persistent economic inequality can be traced to the stubborn unemployment gap. In 2000, the unemployment rate for Black Americans was 7.6 percent, which was more than twice the unemployment rate of white Americans (3.5 percent.) In 2022, during the COVID-19 pandemic, Black unemployment was 8.3 percent compared to 4.4 percent for White Americans. Six months after the pandemic “ended” (November 2023), White unemployment decreased to 3.3 percent, while Black unemployment remained higher at 5.8 percent. January 2024, the most recent unemployment data, reports that 3.4 percent of Whites are unemployed compared to 5.3 percent of Blacks.

The Economic index was 66 percent in 2024, up from 59.8 percent in 2000. This 5.8 percentage point increase resulted from better wealth measures, a lower unemployment and household income gap, and reduced poverty rates.

#### **Conclusion**

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 played a pivotal role in eliminating legislation and policies that obstructed the full participation of Black Americans in the country’s economic and social activities. It led to better employment opportunities, more equitable access to education, and fairer treatment in the healthcare and judicial systems. The racial-equity progress chronicled in the *State of Black of America* Equality Index that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been chipping away at structural racism, but gaps still remain. How long will Black Americans wait until the Equality Index is 1?

# The Fight *for a More* Just Nation



- **A Land Divided Over Liberty and Justice for All**
- **America's Magna Carta**
- **The Attack on the Civil Rights Act of 1964**
- **A Coordinated Response**

# A Land Divided Over Liberty *and* Justice *for* All

Around the world, America is the symbol of freedom. It's a nation where every one of its citizens has the opportunity to create a life of their choosing and has an equal say in how it is governed and its future by simply casting a ballot.

America is a country where you and I can choose where we want to live, where we send our children to school, where we visit for vacation, what restaurants we'd like to visit, and where we can sit.

But that hasn't always been the case.

America is heralded as a beacon of freedom, democracy, and equality, but its history of 400 years of slavery and the formation of a racial caste that followed the Civil War is too often overlooked in its legacy.

Far too many Americans today see the roots of injustice and inequality as relics of the past. With the freedoms that we enjoy today, it is easy to leave Slavery, Jim Crow, and the fight for civil rights in textbooks, museums, and Hollywood adaptations of American history.

We forget that those freedoms were not given to us, and the fight is far from over.

Political forces across this country are working tirelessly to gut the Civil Rights Act of 1964 through the courts and the ballot box.

Before we walk through what is at stake today, we want to remind you of what life in America looked like before the landmark legislation passed just 60 years ago.

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*We forget that those freedoms were not given to us,  
and the fight is far from over.*

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## Life Before the Civil Rights Act

“An Act to protect all Persons in the United States in their Civil Rights”  
Civil Rights Act of 1866<sup>1</sup>

At the close of the Civil War in 1865, the United States ratified the 13th Amendment, which outlawed slavery in all 50 states. In 1866, Congress introduced the nation’s first civil rights law, the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which gave every person born in the United States the privilege of American citizenship and stated that all citizens are entitled equal protection under the law. Despite being vetoed by President Andrew Johnson, Congress decided to override it and make it the law of the land. The law also became the blueprint for the 14th Amendment.

1866

1875

### An Attempt at Restoring Humanity: The Civil Rights Act of 1875<sup>2</sup>

Years after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, Jim Crow laws effectively stripped all of its meaning. Across the nation, Black Americans were barred from attending schools, accessing public accommodations, and sharing space with White Americans.

The Civil Rights Act of 1875 promised “the full and equal enjoyment of any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters and other places of public amusement; subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law, and applicable alike to citizens of every race and color.”

### “Separate, but Equal”: The Decision of *Plessy v. Ferguson*<sup>4</sup>

Some of the earliest Jim Crow laws made it illegal for Black train passengers to share a car with white passengers. The first law was introduced in Florida in 1887, and Louisiana adopted another in 1890. Two years later, a group of Black men from New Orleans successfully challenged the law and won.

Their victory was put to the test when a biracial man by the name of Homer Plessy was forcibly removed from a predominantly white train car. Plessy took his discrimination case to the Supreme Court for a final appeal.

What happened next in the decision of *Plessy v. Ferguson* was a Supreme Court precedent for the entire country: segregation was officially the law of the land.

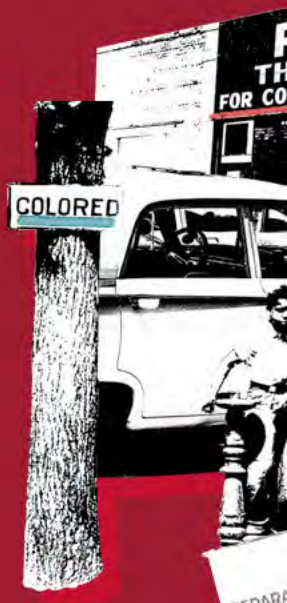
1896

1883

### The First Loss in the Fight Against Racial Discrimination in America: The Striking Down of the Civil Rights Act<sup>3</sup>

The Supreme Court declared the Civil Rights Act of 1875 unconstitutional, ruling that the 14th Amendment did not give Congress authority to prevent discrimination by private individuals and that any protections from racially motivated hatred were to come from states.

This was the birth of state-sponsored segregation under a set of laws known as “Jim Crow.”



1 National Constitution Center: <https://constitutioncenter.org/the-constitution/historic-document-library/detail/civil-rights-act-of-1866-april-9-1866-an-act-to-protect-all-persons-in-the-united-states-in-their-civil-rights-and-furnish-the-means-of-their-vindication>

2 United States Senate: <https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/CivilRightsAct1875.htm#:~:text=The%20bill%20quaranteed%20all%20citizens,schools%2C%20churches%2C%20and%20cemeteries>

3 United States Senate: <https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/CivilRightsAct1875.htm#:~:text=The%20bill%20quaranteed%20all%20citizens,schools%2C%20churches%2C%20and%20cemeteries>

4 National Archives: <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/plessy-v-ferguson>

## The Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill and the Costigan-Wagner Bill<sup>5</sup>

Lynching is a stain on the fabric of America. According to the NAACP, from 1882–1968, 4,743 people were lynched in the United States. The civil rights group supported two bills, the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill in 1922 and the Costigan-Wagner Bill in 1935.

While both failed to become law in Congress, they raised public awareness of these heinous acts of violence and violations of human rights.

1922 & 1935

President Truman and Executive Orders 9980 and 9981<sup>6</sup>

Under President Truman, we saw a shift in the government's efforts to protect civil rights.

Following World War II, Black servicemembers returned to discrimination and racial violence. To show appreciation for their contributions to defending America, President Truman issued Executive Orders 9980 and 9981, ordering the desegregation of the federal workforce and the military.

1948

## A New Civil Rights Act<sup>8</sup>

Signed into law by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Civil Rights Act of 1957 established the Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department and empowered federal officials to prosecute individuals who conspired to deny or abridge another citizen's right to vote.

1957

1954

### *Brown v. Board of Education*<sup>7</sup>

The calls for equality began to grow louder in post-World War II America. The country began to thrive as cities built suburbs filled with cul-de-sacs and tree-lined communities, giving former servicemembers a place to raise their families when they came home.

Better educated, more self-sufficient, and better traveled, Black Americans still were denied these services and protested for better rights.

Twenty years before the decision of *Brown v. Board*, Charles Hamilton Houston, Dean of Howard University Law School, and his pupil, Thurgood Marshall led the coordination of laws against five states to challenge the 1896 decision of *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

In 1954, the Supreme Court ruled that the segregation of children in public schools was unconstitutional, offering hope to a new generation of Black Americans and fueling the fight for Civil Rights for the next ten years.

1960

### Protecting the Ballot Box: The Civil Rights Act of 1960<sup>9</sup>

Voter intimidation, poll taxes, and violence plagued Black voters for generations. By 1957, when Congress passed the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1957, only 20% of Black Americans were registered to vote. And while the new law addressed voting rights, it had several loopholes that allowed intimidating tactics to persist.

After pressure from Civil Rights organizations, including The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, Congress drafted a new law that outlawed the obstruction of court orders to block the right to vote. It also made it more challenging for criminals fleeing states to avoid prosecution for voter intimidation and threats of violence.

This updated set of rules was passed as a comprehensive bill called the Civil Rights Act of 1960.



<sup>5</sup> NAACP: <https://naacp.org/find-resources/history-explained/legislative-milestones/costigan-wagner-bill>

<sup>6</sup> Truman Library Institute: <https://www.trumanlibraryinstitute.org/civil-rights-2/#:~:text=On%20July%2026%2C%201948%2C%20President,the%20rest%20of%20the%20century>

<sup>7</sup> National Archives: <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/brown-v-board-of-education>

<sup>8</sup> Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library: <https://www.eisenhowerlibrary.gov/research/online-documents/civil-rights-act-1957#:~:text=The%20result%20was%20the%20Civil,with%20the%20right%20to%20vote>

<sup>9</sup> United States Senate: [https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/Civil\\_Rights\\_Act\\_1960.pdf](https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/resources/pdf/Civil_Rights_Act_1960.pdf)



## America's Magna Carta: The Civil Rights *of* 1964

Just as the Declaration of Independence freed America from the authoritarian control of the crown nearly 200 years before, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 freed all Americans, regardless of race, sex, or creed, from centuries of oppressive laws enforced by our courts and government.

According to the Library of Congress, between 1950 and 1960, the number of households in this country with televisions jumped from 9 percent to 90 percent, putting racialized violence in front of nearly every American dinner table for the first time.

In 1963 alone, America bore witness to the horrors of the Birmingham Campaign, the Ku Klux Klan-led bombing of 16th Street Baptist Church, which claimed the lives of four young girls, the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, and the March on Washington.

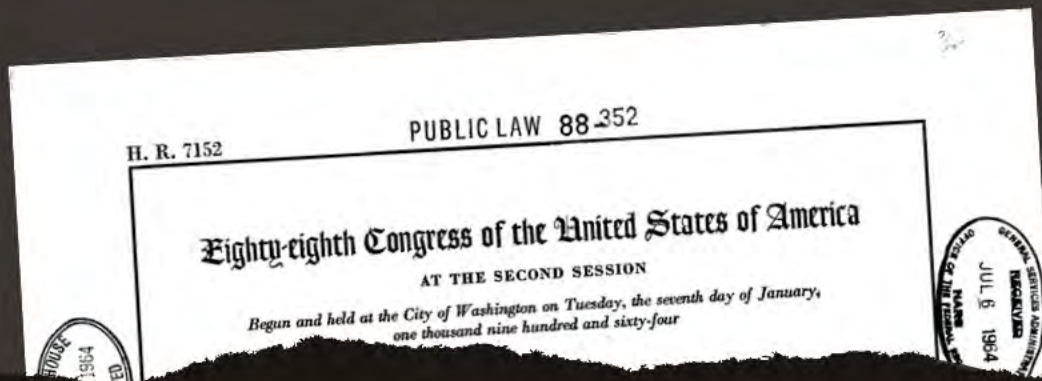
The growing pressure from the civil rights community and the March on Washington led President Lyndon B. Johnson to issue a joint session of Congress on November 27, 1963, to urge the passing of a comprehensive civil rights bill.

The following year, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 became the law of the land.

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*Civil Rights Act of 1964 freed all Americans, regardless of race, sex, or creed, from centuries of oppressive laws enforced by our courts and government.*

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### **TITLE I Discriminatory Voting Tactics**

For nearly a century before the Reconstruction Era (1865–1877), America had a legacy of suppressing the Black vote before 1964. Literacy tests, poll taxes, and violent intimidation kept Black voter turnout in the South low for generations. Title I barred unequal application of state voter registration requirements for federal elections.

### **TITLE II Desegregation of Public Accommodations**

Balcony seats, eating in the back house of kitchens, and flat-out refusal of service was a daily experience for Black Americans. Title II opened doors to a new way of life by prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin in certain places of public accommodation, such as hotels, restaurants, and places of entertainment.

### **TITLE III Desegregation of Public Property**

Title III armed the U.S. Justice Department with enforcement power against discrimination in public spaces. It allowed the department to sue to secure the desegregation of certain public facilities owned, operated, or managed by any state or subdivision of a state.

### **TITLE IV Desegregation of Public Schools and Colleges**

Although *Brown v. Board* became the law of the land ten years before the Civil Rights Act, enforcement of the law was not equal. Title IV authorized the U.S. Attorney General to receive complaints alleging equal protection denials, investigate those complaints, and file suit in U.S. District Court to seek desegregation of the school. It also authorized the Secretary of Education to fund school boards to assist their desegregation efforts.

### **TITLE V Reauthorization of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights**

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 created the Commission on Civil Rights as an independent, bipartisan, fact-finding federal agency. "Our mission is to inform national civil rights policy development and enhance enforcement of federal civil rights laws." Title V extended the commission's life and broadened its duties to investigate allegations that citizens were deprived of their right to vote or to have their vote properly counted.

### **TITLE VI Discrimination by Recipients of Federal Financial Assistance**

Institutions across America provide public services with the help of federal funds. From schools and hospitals to public housing, many essential services receive support from the government. To prevent misuse of these funds, Title VI prohibited discrimination by recipients of federal funds on the basis of race, color, and national origin.

### **TITLE VII Discrimination in Employment**

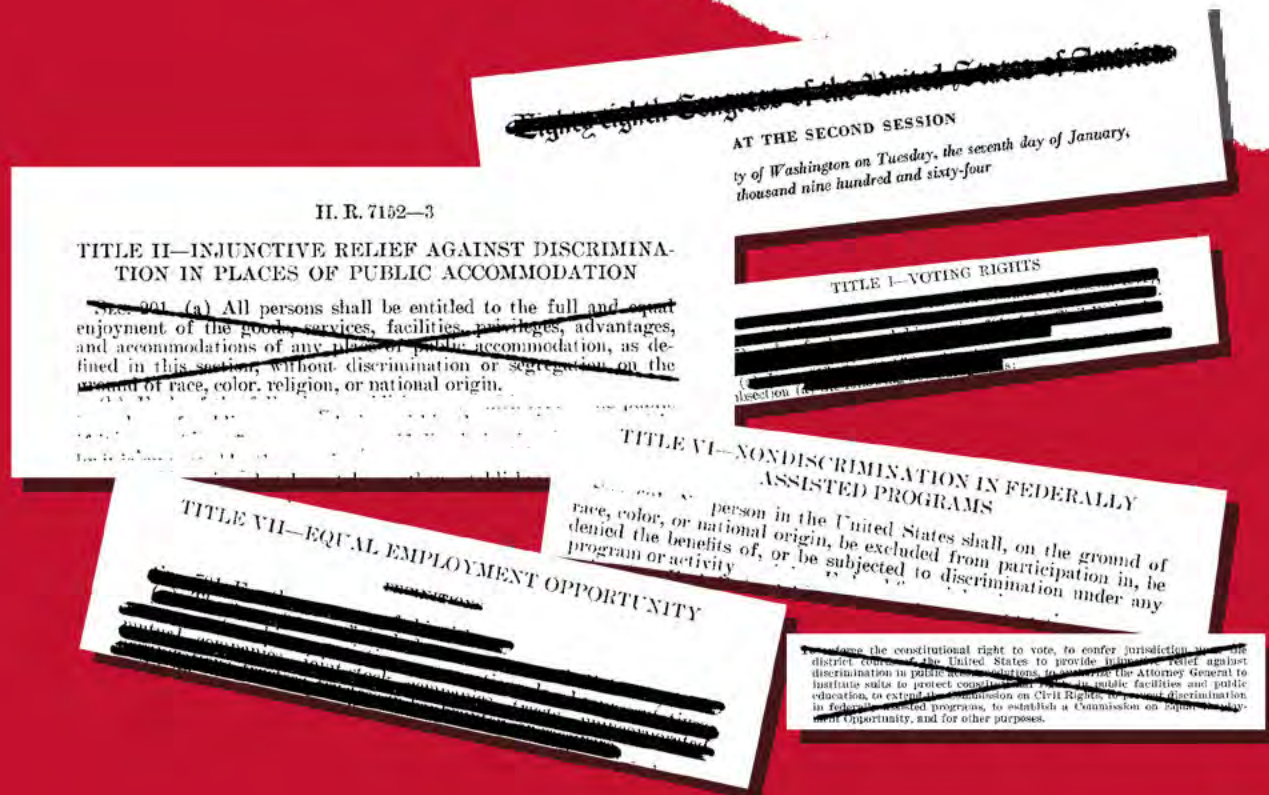
Perhaps one of the most transformative pieces of the Civil Rights Act for Black America's social, economic, and educational uplift was Title VII. It outlawed employment discrimination by businesses affecting commerce with at least twenty-five employees on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin and created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.<sup>10</sup>

# The Attack on the Civil Rights Act of 1964

We are in a fight for the soul of America.

A movement to roll back 60 years of equity, opportunity, and physical safety has made its way to our courts, state houses, and Congress. What may seem like legal challenges protecting religious freedoms and states' rights is a coordinated attack on the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Our freedoms are not free. It is time for us to organize and fight back.

The next page shows some of the decisions that attacked the Civil Rights Act and pending ones that threaten our progress. See [stateofblackamerica.org](https://stateofblackamerica.org) for a full list.



## Landmark Decisions That Threaten Civil Rights Act

### **303 Creative LLC v. Elenis<sup>11</sup> — An Attack on Title II**

In June 2023, the U.S. Supreme Court carved out a significant exception to public accommodations laws. It delivered a major blow to LGBTQ rights in the decision of *303 Creative LLC v. Elenis*.

By a 6-to-3 vote, the court sided with Lorie Smith, a Colorado web designer who is opposed to same-sex marriage. She challenged the state's public accommodations law, claiming that by requiring her to serve everyone equally, the state was unconstitutionally enlisting her to create a message she opposed. This case set a dangerous precedent for those who seek to discriminate against groups of people by weaponizing the same laws meant to protect us.

### **Students for Fair Admissions v. President and Fellows of Harvard College and Students for Fair Admissions v. University of North Carolina<sup>12</sup> — An Attack on Title VII**

In one of the most brazen assaults on communities of color, in June 2023, the Supreme Court struck down race-conscious admissions programs at Harvard University and the University of North Carolina, effectively prohibiting affirmative action policies long used to raise the number of Black, Hispanic and other underrepresented minority students on American campuses.

The societal implications span far beyond the yards and quadrangles of college campuses. This decision set a precedent that threatens all programs designed to increase diversity, including the workplace. A month after the decision to dismantle affirmative action, the same conservative activists behind the movement filed a lawsuit against the Fearless Fund, an Atlanta-based venture capital fund that supports Black women who own small businesses, accusing it of unlawful racial discrimination.

## Cases to Watch

### **Louisiana v. EPA<sup>13</sup> — An Attack on Title VI**

Black communities across America have been victimized by the industrialization of this country for generations. In 2023, the EPA launched an investigation into a Denka polymer plant and found that the company exposed people who live nearby and children at an elementary school to enough chloroprene, a chemical used to make synthetic rubber, to increase their cancer risk in two Louisiana parishes.

Louisiana filed a federal lawsuit challenging the investigations in May 2023, accusing the EPA of exceeding its authority under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by improperly pressuring the state to make radical changes to its air permitting regime. Even though the EPA dropped the investigation, 11 states have joined in lawsuits that endanger the future of Title VI enforcement.

### **Voter Registration Challenges — An Attack on Title I**

Voter suppression tactics exploded after the 2020 election. Extremists who claimed that the election was stolen organized one of the most significant attacks on democracy since Reconstruction, passing laws that removed ballot boxes, enforced strict voter ID laws, and purged registration roles across the country.

In Arizona, House Bill 2492<sup>14</sup> is being challenged for violating Title I of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by requiring election officials to reject voter registration forms based on errors or omissions, not material to establishing a voter's eligibility to cast a ballot. A decision in favor of Arizona poses a grave threat to the future of our democracy.

*Our freedoms are not free. It is time for us to organize and fight back.*

# 11

states have joined in lawsuits that endanger the future of *Title VI* enforcement.

<sup>11</sup> Supreme Court: [https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/22pdf/21-476\\_c185.pdf](https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/22pdf/21-476_c185.pdf)

<sup>12</sup> Supreme Court: [https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/22pdf/20-1199\\_hqdl.pdf](https://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/22pdf/20-1199_hqdl.pdf)

<sup>13</sup> United States District Court Western District of Louisiana Lake Charles Division: <https://www.courthousenews.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/Louisiana-v-EPA-complaint-usdc-western-louisiana.pdf>

<sup>14</sup> State of Arizona: <https://www.azleg.gov/legtext/55leg/2R/bills/HB2492H.pdf>

# A Coordinated Response:

## Defend Democracy, Demand Diversity, and Defeat Poverty

America is at an inflection point. State legislatures are leading attacks on voting rights, and extremists are manipulating the legal system to limit access to higher education and the workforce.

Building on the National Urban League empowerment goals set by President Marc H. Morial over 20 years ago, the movement is laying out a new framework of collective activism rooted in the organization's enduring pillars of Employment, Education, Housing, Healthcare, and Justice. Under this plan we are committed to fighting for you and working to **Defend Democracy, Demand Diversity, and Defeat Poverty.**



SEE THE NEXT PAGE  
FOR HOW YOU CAN  
GET INVOLVED.  
SCAN THE QR CODE  
FOR MORE INFO.

## DEFEND DEMOCRACY



- 1. Register to vote.** You can't vote against measures to limit voting rights or vote out extremist politicians if you aren't registered to vote. The best part is it's easy and can be done online. Visit our Reclaim Your Vote page to register today.
- 2. Call your Congressman, sign a petition, and raise awareness around the laws we need Congress to pass now!**
  - ⊕ The Freedom to Vote Act
  - ⊕ John Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act
  - ⊕ Protecting Our Democracy Act
- 3. Know your rights.** There is a lot of misinformation on social media about election day, where to vote, and who is eligible. Visit your secretary of state website to learn everything you need to know to make a voting plan.

## DEMAND DIVERSITY



### 1. Demand Diversity in the Workplace

- ⊕ Recruit, refer, and hire diverse candidates
- ⊕ Join an employee resource group (ERG)
- ⊕ Take Unconscious bias trainings

### 2. Stand Up to Laws in Your State

Call your state representatives to fight for the protection of DEI initiatives in the workplace and our schools, sign a petition, and raise awareness around the laws we need Congress to pass now!

- ⊕ Eliminate anti-racial justice initiatives like Florida's "Stop WOKE" Act
- ⊕ Require truthful and accurate teaching of Black history in schools
- ⊕ Every workplace adopt clear and specific policies for diversity, equity, and inclusiveness in recruitment, hiring, training, procurement, promotion

### 3. Diversify Our School System

- ⊕ Get active with your local school board.
- ⊕ Maintain an active role in your child's school
- ⊕ If you have a passion for kids, consider becoming an educator; our kids and our future need you

## DEFEAT POVERTY



### 1. Call your Congressman, sign a petition, and raise awareness around the issues that will help defeat poverty in America:

- ⊕ Expand the Earned Income Tax Credit
- ⊕ Expand the Child Tax Credit
- ⊕ Raise the federal minimum wage to \$15 and index it to inflation
- ⊕ Close the Medicaid Coverage Gap

### 2. Support the Urban League movement.

We provide free and reduced childcare, job training, and help first-time homebuyers. Want to make a difference? Volunteer with an Urban League affiliate today or donate to our fight against poverty in America.

### 3. Understand the Issues

There are many ways that our institutions create poverty in America. Review our list of issues to familiarize yourself with them and learn how to fight against them.

# The Biden Progress Report:

## The National Urban League Evaluates the Biden Administration’s Performance Three Years In

In 2020, Joseph Biden became the first general election candidate to put forward a policy agenda for Black America. The plan, titled *Lift Every Voice*, committed to prosecuting hate crimes, fighting gun violence, and fighting for significant investments in housing, and small business.

The Biden team also invited civil rights groups to provide feedback and offer suggestions on tangible goals that would positively impact the lives of Black Americans. The National Urban League provided Joseph Biden and his primary general election opponent with policy recommendations to bolster Black America’s socioeconomic, educational, and health outcomes. President Biden responded to the suggestion and incorporated many of our ideas into his agenda.

As the administration hit the ground running to achieve equity, antiracist forces launched a coordinated assault on our civil liberties by enacting laws that rewrite our history in schools, ban books, increase barriers to voting rights, and attack efforts to diversify our schools and workplaces.

In the face of these challenges, the administration has pushed ahead with some of the most significant racial justice commitments our country has seen in decades.

Three years into his presidency, we have evaluated President Biden’s commitments to Black America, tracked his accomplishments, and the unfinished business that makes the case for a second term.



## Promises Kept: Black America’s Wins Under the First Term of the Biden Administration

### A Cabinet and Senior Staff that Reflects the Soul of America

The Biden White House is the most diverse in American history. With nearly 50% of current appointees identifying as racially or ethnically diverse, the administration’s commitment to leadership reflective of our country is evident in his cabinet and senior staff.

- Kamala Harris, Vice President of the United States
- Lloyd Austin, Secretary of Defense
- Marcia Fudge, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development
- Deb Haaland, Secretary of the Interior
- Miguel Cardona, Secretary of Education
- Xavier Becerra, Secretary of Health and Human Services

- Cedric Richmond, Senior Advisor to the President and Director of the White House Office of Public Engagement
- Keisha Lance Bottoms, Senior Advisor to the President for Public Engagement
- Steven Benjamin, Senior Advisor to the President and Director of the White House Office of Public Engagement
- Susan Rice, Former Assistant to the President and Director of the White House Domestic Policy Council
- Don Graves, Deputy Secretary, Department of Commerce
- Don Cravins, Former Undersecretary of Commerce, Minority Business Development Agency
- Adewale “Wally” O. Adeyemo, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury
- Vanita Gupta, Associate Attorney General at the Department of Justice
- Philip Jefferson, Vice Chair of the Federal Reserve
- Lisa D. Cook, Member of the Federal Reserve Board of Governors
- 44 Black Federal Judicial Appointments<sup>15</sup>

### Investing in Black America and Improving the Economy

When President Biden took office in January 2021, the Black unemployment rate was 9.2%. As of January 2024, that number is 5.2%. Through a series of bills investing in America’s infrastructure, workforce, technological advantage, and climate, the administration has created opportunities for generations of Black Americans to prosper.

**The Promise:** “Advance the economic mobility of African Americans and close the racial wealth and income gap by investing in African-American workers, businesses, and communities, and expanding African-American homeownership and wealth-building.” The administration’s wins include passing:

- The American Rescue Plan.
- The Inflation Reduction Act.
- The Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act.
- The CHIPS and Science Act.
- The Minority Business Development Agency became a statutory agency for the first time, a 30-year goal of the National Urban League.

President Biden also signed the first-ever executive order on “advancing racial equity and support for underserved communities through the federal government” to make the American dream accessible to everyone with support and funding through government programs and agencies.

### Education Access

Since *Brown v. Board* in 1954, the fight for equality in American schools has been an uphill battle. For generations, schools in predominately Black communities have been underfunded, overcrowded, and under-resourced in comparison to schools in predominately white, higher-income communities.

The administration committed to expanding access to high-quality education to reverse the effects of decades of poor education policy.

**The Promise:** “Expand access to high-quality education and tackle racial inequity in our education system by investing in universal preschool, closing funding gaps by race, making college affordable, and tackling the student debt crisis.” The administration’s wins include:

- The administration has wiped out loans totaling \$127 billion for 3.6 million borrowers—the most significant wave of student debt cancellation since the government began backing educational loans more than 60 years ago.
- The Saving on a Valuable Education (SAVE) plan, a wave of new income-driven student loan repayment plans.
- Signing Executive Order 14050 establishing the White House Initiative on Advancing Educational Equity, Excellence, and Economic Opportunity for Black Americans (Initiative) to advance educational equity and economic opportunity for African American and Black students, families, and communities.

The President also proposed universal pre-kindergarten, free community college (Building Back Better Act), and expanding the Child Tax Credit (in the American Rescue Plan). Both passed in the House of Representatives but were filibustered in the Senate.



15 Nov. 5, 2023, Pew Research Center analysis of Federal Judicial Center data

NEARLY

50%

of Biden's current appointees identify as *racially diverse*.

### Expanding Healthcare Access

Under the Biden Administration, the Affordable Care Act has flourished. In the most recent enrollment period, more than 20 million Americans have signed up for plans, a record-breaking eight million more than before.

**The Promise:** "End health disparities by making far-reaching investments, expanding access to affordable health care, improving the quality of care African Americans receive, and making health equity a reality for African Americans."

In addition to expanding access to health coverage by lowering the cost of insurance plans, the administration has:

- ⊕ Empowered Medicare to negotiate specific drug prices for the first time.
- ⊕ Capped the cost of insulin at \$35 per month for millions of Americans who have diabetes, a disease that disproportionately affects Black Americans.
- ⊕ Allocated millions of new dollars for rural healthcare, including hospitals, and dollars for new staff.
- ⊕ In the face of the overturning of *Roe v. Wade*, the administration established the Task Force on Reproductive Health Care Access and increased protections for oral contraceptives.

### Criminal Justice Reform

The murder of George Floyd spurred a tidal wave of calls for racial justice in America. In an election year where extremists were actively fighting against measures to reform police practices and protect Black communities, the administration outlined a plan to improve community safety and introduce criminal justice practices that incorporated fairness and equity for

historically overpoliced and over-criminalized communities.

**The Promise:** "Strengthen America's commitment to justice by ending incarceration for drug use alone, reducing the number of people incarcerated, reinvesting those savings in communities affected by mass incarceration, and addressing systemic misconduct in police departments and prosecutors' offices." The administration's wins include:

- ⊕ The confirmation of Supreme Court Justice Ketanji Brown-Jackson.
- ⊕ The Justice Department awarded \$334M, including \$74M, to improve school security and \$43M for community policing and de-escalation training.
- ⊕ The Department of Justice has requested \$15 million in the President's 2024 budget to help young people expunge, seal, or vacate their juvenile records.

### Black Homeownership and Affordable Housing

In the 60 years since the Fair Housing Act made it illegal for financial institutions and landlords to discriminate against potential buyers and renters based on race, the gap between white and Black homeownership has grown. The 27% gap in 1960, white (65%) and Black (38%) increased to 29%, with 73% of white households owning a home compared with Black homeownership at 44% in 2021.

The Biden administration recognized this alarming trend and began work to improve housing across the board for Black Americans.

**The Promise:** "Expand African-American Homeownership and Access to Affordable, Safe Housing." Under President Biden and Secretary Marcia Fudge:

- ⊕ HUD led a first-of-its-kind interagency task force committed to rooting out racial and ethnic bias in home valuations, the Property Appraisal and Valuation Equity Task Force (PAVE).
- ⊕ More than 1.1 million struggling homeowners kept their homes through mortgage modifications and other permanent monthly payment reductions.
- ⊕ The American Rescue Plan \$25 billion in rental assistance the President's first year in office.

- ⊕ FHA revised its policies for student loan debt in mortgage applications and allowed a borrower's positive rental history to be included in evaluations of their creditworthiness for an FHA-insured mortgage.

The President's initial Build Back Better Plan offered a significant set of investments in housing, authored by Congresswoman Maxine Waters, with considerable input from the National Urban League. The housing provisions were removed from the bill in the Senate due to the opposition of Senator Joe Manchin (D-WV).

### Environmental Justice

Black communities are disproportionately exposed to high amounts of air and water pollution in this country. We are also the least prepared and supported in times of natural disasters. The Biden administration pledged to address these inequities through legislation that protects our communities and provides economic opportunities for a green future.

**The Promise:** "Address environmental justice by making historic investments, enforcing ecological justice legislation, and ensuring that African Americans are dealt in on the country's clean energy future."

The Inflation Reduction Act is the nation's most significant investment in climate justice and our environment in history. Billions of dollars have been allocated to invest in protecting and supporting communities affected by natural disasters and air, land, and water pollution. The landmark legislation also created a green economy with opportunities for minority-owned businesses to help build the future of this country and our planet.

### The Enforcement of Civil Rights Laws

Under the Biden Administration, the enforcement of civil rights laws in voting, hate crimes, policing, technology, and housing has been dramatically improved and increased. The administration has also stepped up the prosecution of hate crimes in its first three years by nominating highly qualified leadership across the government, including:

- ⊕ Merrick Garland, Attorney General
- ⊕ Vanita Gupta, Associate Attorney General
- ⊕ Kristin Clarke, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights

- ⊕ Catherine Lhamon, Assistant Secretary, Office for Civil Rights at the Department of Education
- ⊕ Charlotte Burrows, Chairwoman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

The murderers of George Floyd, Ahmaud Arbery, and the victims of the Tops grocery store in Buffalo have all been convicted of civil rights violations and punished with the maximum penalties under law. The prosecution of these crimes sends a signal to unjust criminal actors that the government is taking a stand against racial violence.

The enforcement of hate crimes is and has always been, a priority of the National Urban League and the civil rights community.

## Unfinished Business Going into 2024

### Student Loan Forgiveness

The President proposed an aggressive student loan forgiveness plan through executive action that the Supreme Court struck down. The administration has also worked to find other ways to provide borrowers with relief that have been met with opposition from Congress. Nonetheless, in just three years, the administration has forgiven \$136.6 billion for more than 3.7 million people with student loans.

The administration also launched a set of progressive changes to expand public service loan forgiveness programs and new income-driven repayment plans.

The administration is also attempting to create a new student debt relief process through the Higher Education Act (HEA), which will reach even more borrowers.

### Voting Rights

The National Urban League and the civil rights community advanced and strongly supported the John Lewis Voting Rights for Advancement Act and the Freedom to Vote Act. With President Biden's support, both bills advanced but were not voted on in the House nor taken up in the Senate due to political opposition.

In response, President Biden issued an Executive Order on Promoting Access to Voting, which calls on all agencies across the federal government to assess and implement ways to expand access to voter registration, education, and information.

The administration has also set a policy agenda to fight against harsh voter registration laws by making it easier to obtain state IDs nationwide and challenging laws that purge voter rolls and limit early and mail-in voting.

While we support the executive order, it is not a substitute for the John Lewis Voting Rights for Advancement Act and Freedom to Vote Act, which are necessary to defend democracy.

### Standing in Solidarity with Civil Rights Groups

The Biden administration stands in solidarity with civil rights groups like the National Urban League, calling for social and economic justice in America. We know what is at stake for Black America when groups are calling for the rollback of DEI, Affirmative Action, expanded childcare, the revision of our history, and blocking the ballot box. Our action items for the next term are:

- ⊕ Passing the John Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act.
- ⊕ Passing the Protecting Our Democracy Act.
- ⊕ Establishing a Reparations Commission.
- ⊕ Passing the Freedom to Vote Act.
- ⊕ Passing the George Floyd Justice in Policing Act.
- ⊕ Passing a National Living Wage Bill indexed for inflation.
- ⊕ Expanding the Child Tax Credit and Earned Income Tax Credit.

We cannot afford to walk back progress, and the administration is standing alongside these groups in the fight for justice.

The *Freedom to Vote Act* and *John Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act* have yet to be passed in Congress.



# Our Contributors



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46TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



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## NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

# Affiliates

### Akron, Ohio

Akron Community Service Center  
& Urban League

### Alexandria, Virginia

Northern Virginia Urban League

### Alton, Illinois

Madison County Urban League

### Atlanta, Georgia

Urban League of Greater Atlanta

### Aurora, Illinois

Quad County Urban League

### Austin, Texas

Austin Area Urban League

### Baltimore, Maryland

Greater Baltimore Urban League

### Battle Creek, Michigan

Southwestern Michigan Urban League

### Binghamton, New York

Broome County Urban League

### Birmingham, Alabama

Birmingham Urban League

### Boston, Massachusetts

Urban League of Eastern  
Massachusetts

### Buffalo, New York

Buffalo Urban League

### Canton, Ohio

Greater Stark County Urban  
League, Inc.

### Charleston, South Carolina

Charleston Trident Urban League

### Charlotte, North Carolina

Urban League of Central  
Carolinas, Inc.

### Chattanooga, Tennessee

Urban League of Greater  
Chattanooga, Inc.

### Chicago, Illinois

Chicago Urban League

### Cincinnati, Ohio

Urban League of Greater  
Southwestern Ohio

### Cleveland, Ohio

Urban League of Greater Cleveland

### Columbia, South Carolina

Columbia Urban League

### Columbus, Georgia

Urban League of Greater  
Columbus, Inc.

### Columbus, Ohio

Columbus Urban League

### Denver, Colorado

Urban League of Metropolitan Denver

### Detroit, Michigan

Urban League of Detroit &  
Southeastern Michigan

### Elizabeth, New Jersey

Urban League of Union County

### Elyria, Ohio

Lorain County Urban League

### Englewood, New Jersey

Urban League for Bergen County

### Farrell, Pennsylvania

Shenango Valley Urban League

### Flint, Michigan

Urban League of Flint

### Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Urban League of Broward County

### Fort Wayne, Indiana

Fort Wayne Urban League

### Gary, Indiana

Urban League of Northwest  
Indiana, Inc.

### Grand Rapids, Michigan

Urban League of West Michigan

### Greenville, South Carolina

Urban League of the Upstate, Inc.

### Hartford, Connecticut

Urban League of Greater Hartford

### Houston, Texas

Houston Area Urban League

### Indianapolis, Indiana

Indianapolis Urban League

### Jackson, Mississippi

Mississippi Urban League

### Jacksonville, Florida

Jacksonville Urban League

### Jersey City, New Jersey

Urban League of Hudson County

### Kansas City, Missouri

Urban League of Greater Kansas City

### Knoxville, Tennessee

Knoxville Area Urban League

### Las Vegas, Nevada

Las Vegas Urban League

### Lexington, Kentucky

Urban League of Lexington-  
Fayette County

### Little Rock, Arkansas

Urban League of the State  
of Arkansas

### Long Island, New York

Urban League of Long Island, Inc.

### Los Angeles, California

Los Angeles Urban League

### Louisville, Kentucky

Louisville Urban League

### Madison, Wisconsin

Urban League of Greater Madison

### Memphis, Tennessee

Memphis Urban League

### Miami, Florida

Urban League of Greater Miami

### Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Milwaukee Urban League

### Minneapolis, Minnesota

Urban League Twin Cities

### Morristown, New Jersey

Morris County Urban League

### Nashville, Tennessee

Urban League of Middle Tennessee

### New Orleans, Louisiana

Urban League of Louisiana

### New York, New York

New York Urban League

### Newark New Jersey

Urban League of Essex County

### Norfolk, Virginia

Urban League of Hampton Roads, Inc.

### Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Urban League of Greater  
Oklahoma City

### Omaha, Nebraska

Urban League of Nebraska, Inc.

### Oriando, Florida

Central Florida Urban League

### Peoria, Illinois

Tri-County Urban League

### Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Urban League of Philadelphia

### Phoenix, Arizona

Greater Phoenix Urban League

### Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Urban League of Greater Pittsburgh

### Portland, Oregon

Urban League of Portland

### Providence, Rhode Island

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### Saint Petersburg, Florida

Pinellas County Urban League

### San Diego, California

Urban League of San Diego County

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Urban League of Greater  
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### Seattle, Washington

Urban League of Metropolitan Seattle

### Springfield, Illinois

Springfield Urban League, Inc.

### Springfield, Massachusetts

Urban League of Springfield

### Stamford, Connecticut

Urban League of Southern  
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### Tampa, Florida

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Tucson Urban League

### Tulsa, Oklahoma

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### Warren, Ohio

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### Washington, D.C.

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### White Plains, New York

Urban League of Westchester County

### Wichita, Kansas

Urban League of Kansas, Inc.

### Wilmington, Delaware




Metropolitan Wilmington  
Urban League

### Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Winston-Salem Urban League

Support the work of the National Urban League as we continue to advance policies and programs to empower African American and other urban communities.

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