



COMMUNITY VOICES

*A Community Needs Assessment & Action Plan about Partner Abuse & Services
in Black and Latin@ LGBTQ Communities in the Greater Boston Area*

July 2013

TOD@S is an interagency collaboration between The Hispanic Black Gay Coalition, The Violence Recovery Program at Fenway Health, The Network / La Red, and Renewal House (a program of the Unitarian Universalist Urban Ministry) in Boston, Massachusetts. Our mission is to improve and increase access to intervention and prevention services for Black and Latin@ lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) people affected by partner abuse.

The Hispanic Black Gay Coalition works to inspire and empower Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people by promoting spiritual growth, encouraging civic engagement, offering free and accessible STI testing and education, and building community solidarity through networking events, discussion groups, and community forums. The Violence Recovery Program offers counseling, advocacy, training, and connection to integrated medical and mental health services to LGBTQ survivors of domestic violence, sexual violence, hate crimes and police misconduct. The Network/La Red is a survivor-led, social justice organization that works to end partner abuse in lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, BDSM, polyamorous, and queer communities through organizing, education, and the provision of support services. Renewal House is faith-based LGBTQ inclusive domestic violence shelter that provides emergency housing and support services to survivors of partner abuse and their children.

For more information visit: www.todosinaction.org

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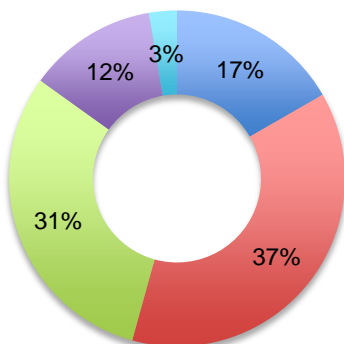
In order to assess the needs of Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people affected by partner abuse in Boston and the greater Boston area, TOD@S developed an online community needs assessment (hereafter referred to as “community assessment”) to better understand the following: (1) attitudes and beliefs about partner abuse in Black and Latin@ LGBTQ communities, (2) what Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people think about the existing partner abuse infrastructure and services in the Boston area (shelters, organizations, counseling, etc.), and (3) why Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people in the Boston area may or may not take advantage of these resources. The intention of this assessment is to begin a discussion among partner abuse service agencies and agencies that serve Black and Latin@ people in the Boston area, about how to meet the needs of people living with multiple (often marginalized) identities when they are abused by their partners. We have made recommendations for local service providers to better meet the needs of the Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people living in Boston and the Greater Boston area based on the community assessment findings.

TOD@S promoted the community assessment by reaching out to local organizations, targeting agencies and groups that come in contact with LGBTQ survivors of partner abuse and through social media and online communication (Facebook, Tumblr, Twitter, blogs, and e-newsletters). The target population was located in the Boston and Greater Boston area. We also implemented the assessment at local LGBTQ events, asking event attendees to complete a paper version of the assessment in person. In total, 228 members of Black and Latin@ LGBTQ communities, and service providers who work with survivors from these communities, responded to the online assessment. People were encouraged to respond to the assessment if they identified as a Black and/or Latin@ LGBTQ person or if they worked closely with Black and/or Latin@ LGBTQ people. People were not asked to identify as survivors of partner abuse in order to participate and no one was asked to speak about their own experience of being abused. The respondents represented a variety of different racial and ethnic backgrounds, sexual orientations, gender identities, and age groups. A percentage breakdown of the respondent demographics can be found below.

RESPONDENT DEMOGRAPHICS

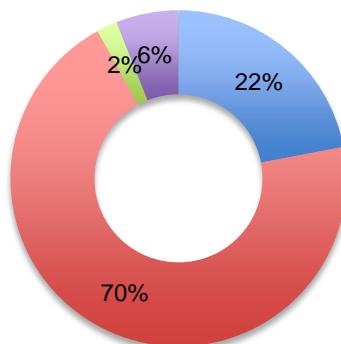
Sexual Orientation

- Bisexual
- Gay/Lesbian
- Heterosexual
- Queer
- Other



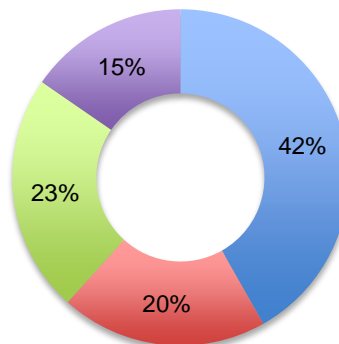
Gender

- Male
- Female
- Transgender
- Other



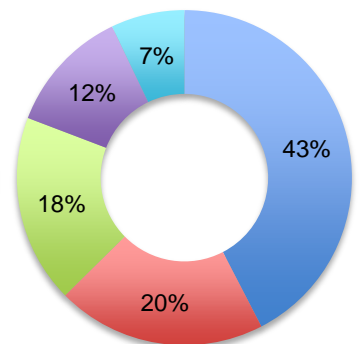
Race & Ethnicity

- Black
- White
- Latino/a
- Multi-Racial (Non-Latino/a)



Age Group

- 18-30
- 31-40
- 41-50
- 51-60
- 60+



LIMITATIONS OF THE COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT

While the results of this community assessment have revealed noteworthy information, it is important to point out its limitations and highlight opportunities for further needs assessment. Please note that the purpose of this assessment was to inform the TOD@S project of community needs and knowledge. The assessment was not intended to be used as research for others to gather generalizable data from.

First, it is important to note that the TOD@S community assessment was limited to Boston and the greater Boston area. Thus, the findings of this assessment are primarily reflective of the lived experience of individuals in this particular environment and cannot be generalized to other populations or Black and Latin@ LGBTQ communities as a whole.

Second, only 228 people answered all of the questions in the community assessment. This small number of respondents is not representative of the voices of all Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people in Boston and the greater Boston area. Though we attempted to cast a wide net by utilizing a variety of recruitment tactics and distribution channels, we were not able to reach as many community members as we would have liked to. In particular, males and transgender people were underrepresented. Only 22% of assessment respondents identified as male and only 2% identified as transgender. It was also hard to get a large number of community assessment respondents because of our specific focus on a subset of Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people: members of the community who have been affected by partner abuse. The availability and visibility of this group is also further restricted by the sensitive nature of the topic. Factors such as stigma, fear, or people simply not wanting to identify as being affected by partner abuse can decrease the likelihood of participation in this type of assessment.

It is important to acknowledge that the community assessment captured the voices of many individuals who did not identify as Black and Latin@. While it is true that many of these individuals regularly interact with Black and Latin@ LGBTQ communities, their voices cannot accurately express the lived experiences of this population due to their inherent distance from the cultural and racial realities that impact these communities. The same could be said for the 30% of the respondents who identified as heterosexual, though this particular case isn't as clear-cut given the more nuanced and fluid nature of sexual orientation/identity.

Our community assessment also failed to capture the voices of Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people who do not speak English as their primary language. Though the various partner abuse organizations working in the Boston area serve high numbers of Spanish-speaking survivors, about 90% of survey respondents completed the English version of the community assessment. This indicates that the non-English speaking segment of the target population is greatly underrepresented in the findings.

Future community assessments looking to expand on the work done here should directly address some of these shortcomings by specifically focusing on the target population and increasing the number of respondents. Developing and employing more creative and innovative outreach strategies to gather the narratives of members of the target population who may have been excluded by the more traditional outreach approach taken here is a difficult challenge that future assessments must address in order to include the perspectives of more of the community.

Additionally, more qualitative questions can provide more detailed information about the responses reported. While our community assessment did contain open-ended questions that gave respondents the opportunity to explain some of their responses, there is a need for more focused narrative

information. Qualitative responses can strengthen the findings in this report, while providing clearer answers to the questions posed in this community assessment.

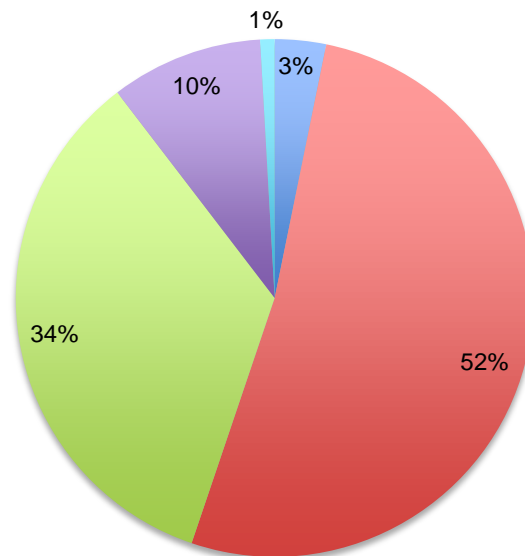
COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT RESULTS

The community assessment asked respondents to reflect on some of the common misconceptions about partner abuse that they have heard within Black and Latin@ LGBTQ communities. The misconception that partner abuse did not exist in Black and Latin@ LGBTQ communities was a persistent theme highlighted by respondents. Some respondents stated that Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people sometimes believe, as one respondent put it, violence between same sex partners is a “fair fight” – not abuse. Other variations of this particular misconception mentioned by respondents cited beliefs that women can’t be abusers, hence abuse can’t happen in lesbian relationships or that gay men are too feminine to be violent, hence abuse doesn’t happen in gay relationships either. Some respondents reported another common misconception is that partner abuse is a completely heterosexual phenomenon.

Additional misconceptions noted by respondents included the feeling that partner abuse is a natural part of relationships, the idea that partner abuse in these communities is due to inherently violent Black and Latin@ cultures, victim blaming, and the assumption that gender roles dictate partner abuse (the more masculine partner is always the aggressor and the feminine partner is the survivor).

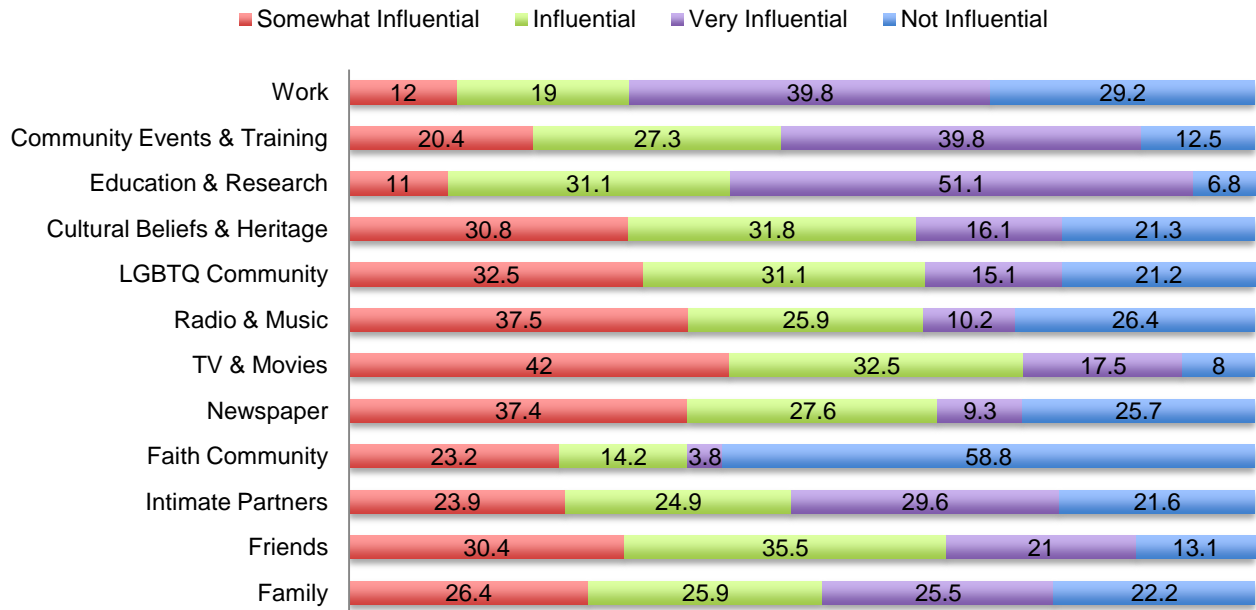
How Often Do You Think Partner Abuse is Talked About in Black and Latino/a LGBTQ Communities?

■ Never ■ Rarely ■ Sometimes ■ Often ■ Always



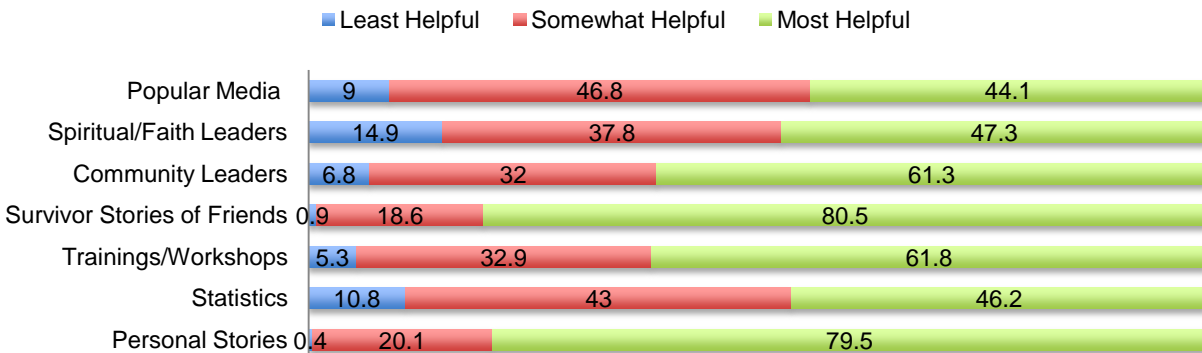
When respondents were asked how often they thought partner abuse was talked about in Black and Latin@ LGBTQ communities, only 10% of respondents reported that partner abuse is talked about in Black and Latin@ LGBTQ communities. Furthermore, a majority (52%) of respondents reported that the issue was rarely discussed in these communities.

What Has Influenced Your Understanding of Partner Abuse?



When asked about the degree to which various aspects of their lives contributed to their understanding of partner abuse, over 80% of respondents found education/research to be influential or very influential to their understanding of the issue. Additionally, another 67.1% of respondents found community events and trainings to have an impact on their understanding of partner abuse. Work also seemed to be an important influence, with about 60% of respondents rating it as influential or very influential. On the opposite end of the spectrum, 58.8% of respondents found faith communities to have zero influence on their understanding of partner abuse. This finding is particularly interesting given the typically strong link between religion/spirituality and Black and Latin@ communities.

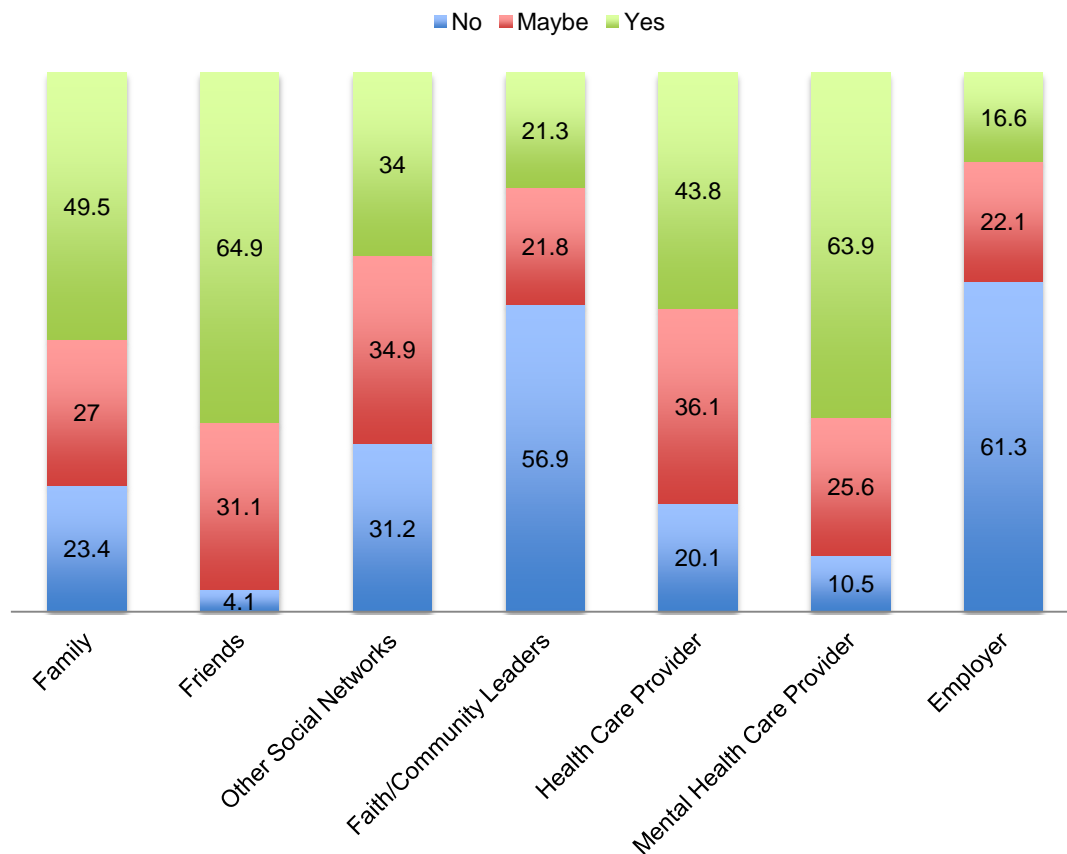
What Do You Think are the Most Helpful Ways to Communicate Information about Partner Abuse to the Community?



When asked what they thought would help communicate information about partner abuse, 85.1% of respondents reported that hearing faith leaders address the issue would be at least somewhat helpful.

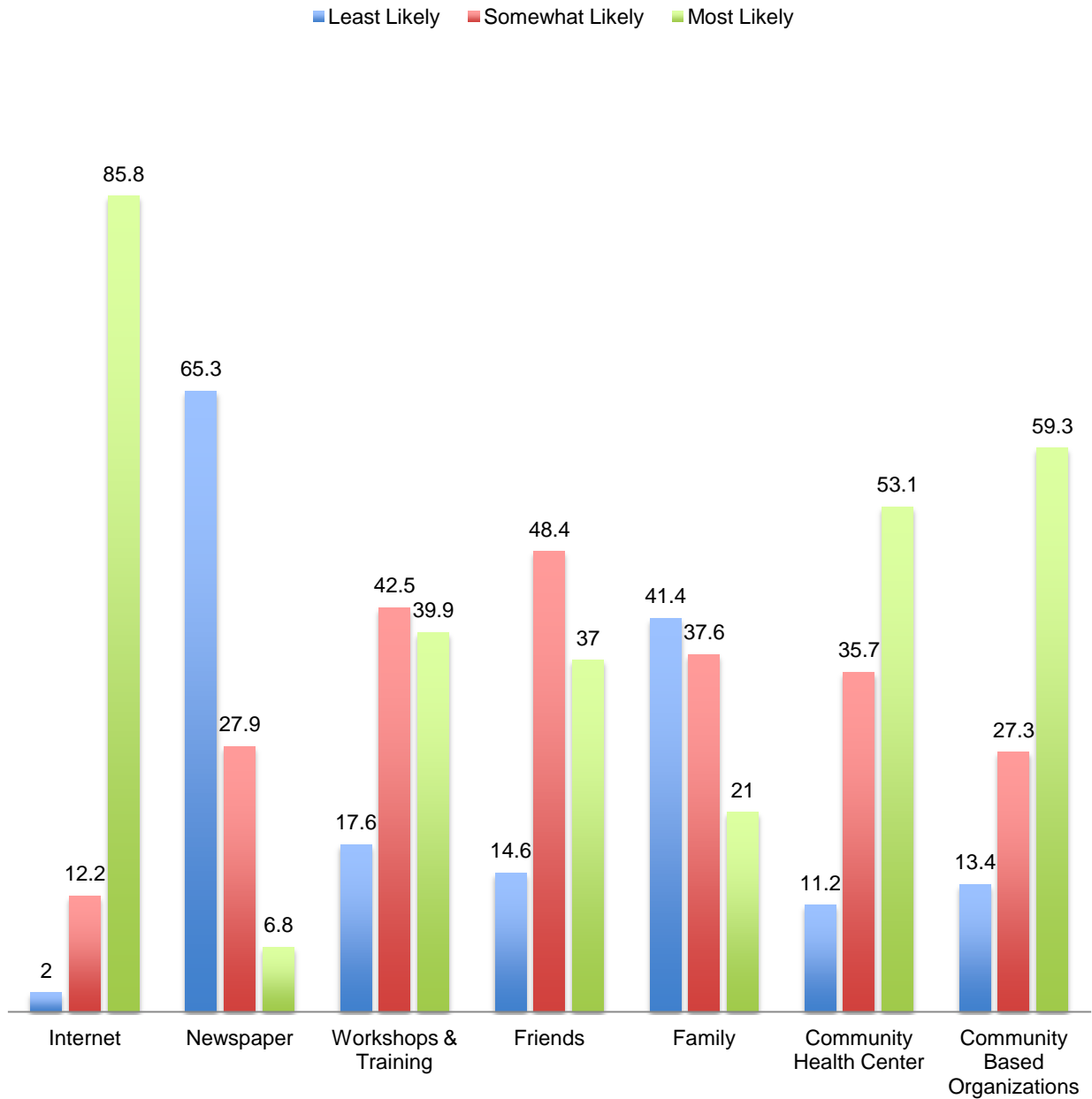
While a strong majority of respondents did highlight that spiritual/faith leaders could be at least somewhat helpful in communicating information about partner abuse to their communities, respondents did not indicate that spiritual/faith leaders were the most influential group. A little over 80% of all respondents indicated that hearing stories from their friends who survived partner abuse was the most helpful way to communicate information about the issue to Black and Latin@ LGBTQ communities (with 99.1% saying it is at least somewhat helpful). This was followed closely by hearing personal stories from others about their experience with partner abuse. 79.5% of all respondents found personal stories to be one of the most helpful ways of communicating information about partner abuse (with 99.5% of them rating it as at least somewhat helpful).

Who Would You Talk To if You Were Experiencing Partner Abuse in Your Relationship?



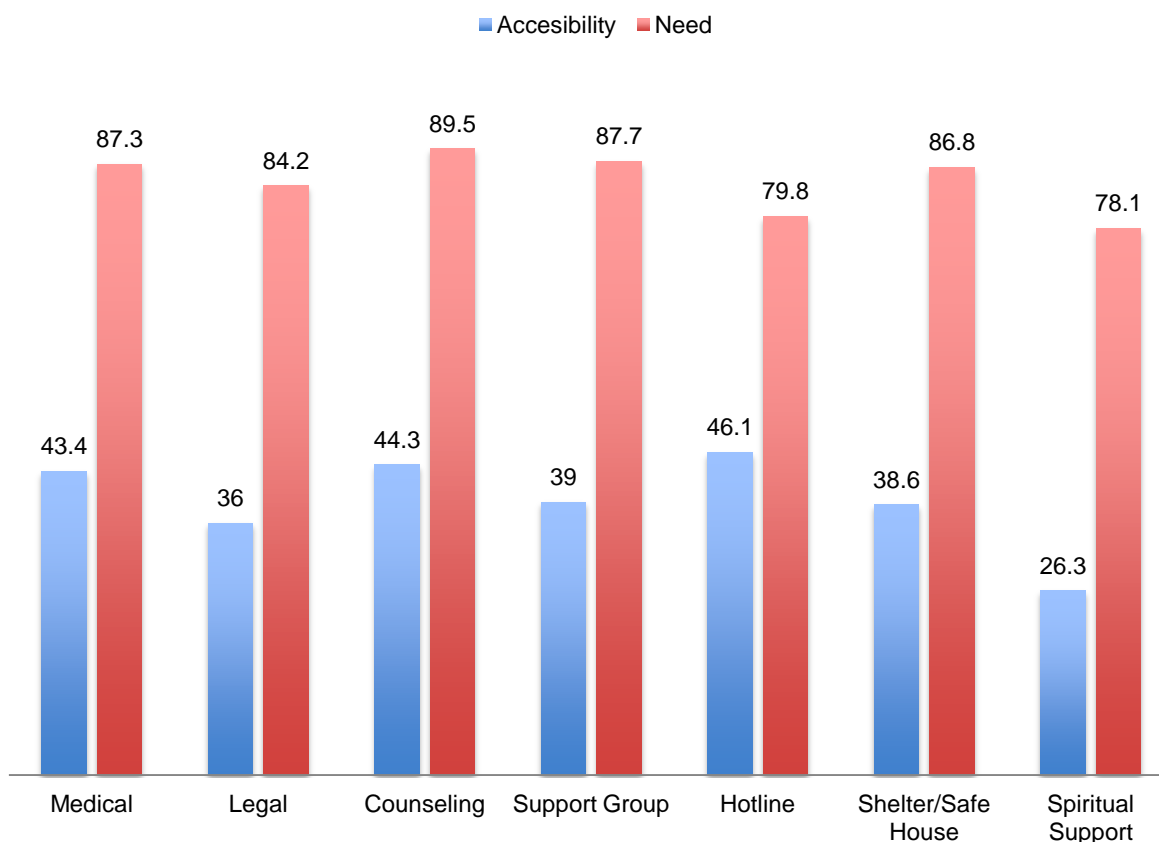
The results of this question are augmented by the fact that 76.5% of respondents said that they would at least consider telling a family member if they were experiencing partner abuse in their relationship. An even higher percentage of respondents (96%) indicated that they would at least consider telling a friend, with a majority of those respondents saying that they would definitely tell a friend. It is also noteworthy that most respondents said that they would (63.9%) or might (25.6%) talk to a mental health care provider if they were experiencing partner abuse, considering the prevalent stigma of seeing a mental health professional in many Black and Latin@ communities. Additionally, close to 56.9% of respondents stated that they would not talk to faith or community leaders if they were experiencing partner abuse in their relationship. This is important given that over 90% of respondents found community leaders to be at least somewhat helpful as resources for communicating information about partner abuse and over 80% of respondents felt the same way about spiritual/faith leaders.

Where Are You Most Likely To Search For Information About Partner Abuse Services?



Respondents were also asked about the ways in which they would go about searching for information about partner abuse services. The Internet was the resource of choice for the majority of respondents, with over 80% stating that they were most likely to browse the Internet for information about partner abuse. Over half of all respondents also stated that community based organizations and community health organizations were resources that they would most likely utilize to learn more about partner abuse services. About 40% of respondents stated that they were least likely to go to their family for information about partner abuse services and were much more likely to utilize their friends as a resource; this result mirrors the results of the question where respondents noted that they were more likely to talk to friends than family if they were experiencing partner abuse in their relationship.

What Services Do People Who Experiencing Partner Abuse Need and Which of These Services are Actually Accessible to Black and Latin@ LGBTQ People?



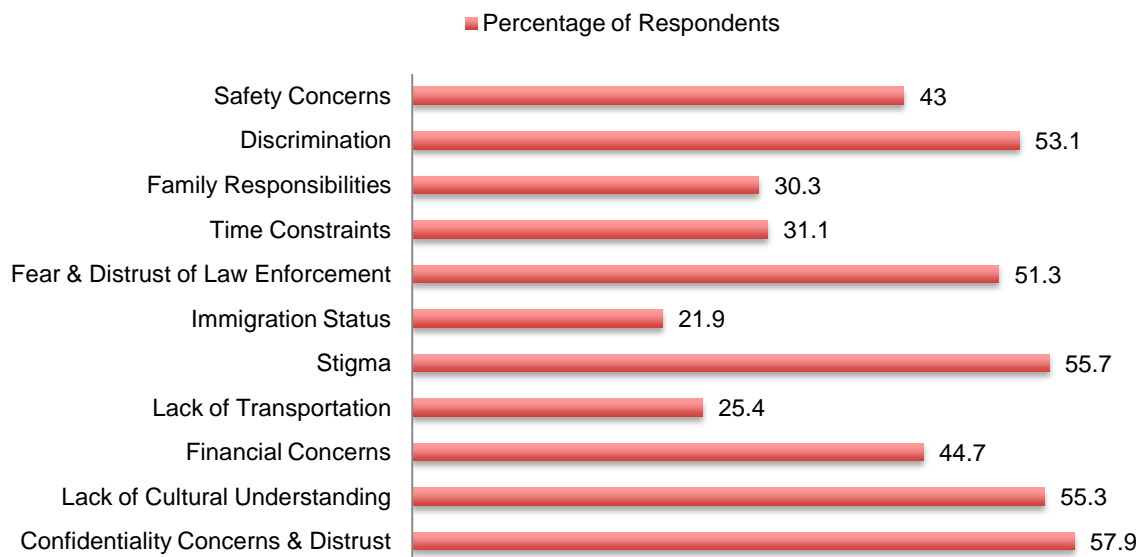
In order to assess how well the needs of Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people are being served by existing infrastructure, respondents were asked about what services Black and Latin@ LGBTQ survivors of partner abuse needed, and to what degree these services were accessible to them. While a strong majority indicated that all of these services are necessary for people who are experiencing partner abuse, the greater majority of respondents reported that they did not think that these services were accessible to Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people.

When asked why they believed that these services were not accessible to Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people, some respondents stated that there simply aren't LGBTQ partner abuse resources for people of color. A much more sizable portion of respondents explained that while there are resources available to Black and Latin@ LGBTQ survivors of partner abuse, there are significant barriers to accessing these resources. Respondents identified the stigma experienced by Black and Latin@ LGBTQ survivors of partner abuse, and the silence around the issue, as forces that have led to the creation of a situation where people do not have the information necessary to locate and utilize resources because they are too afraid to seek out the necessary information and support. Religion was specifically noted as adding another layer of difficulty to this particular barrier. One respondent stated, "Depending on the faith community, they may not be supportive of same-sex relationships". This lack of support can lead to condemnation and judgment that could make survivors less willing to come forward. Another respondent addressed the issue of religion as a barrier by highlighting the emphasis on forgiveness in some religious doctrines and how this idea can influence people to stay in abusive relationships.

Additionally, some respondents noted that Black and Latin@ LGBTQ individuals who experience partner abuse may not be able to afford access to whatever services do exist. Respondents indicated that this was not limited to the cost of the services themselves, but also extended to the cost of things necessary to access these services. For example, while the hotline may be free, you still have to pay for phone service. Some respondents stated that this problem is exacerbated by the economic inequality that has historically impacted communities of color. Respondents also mentioned geographic location as a part of the problem, stating that these services simply don't exist in certain areas and the cost of travel to where services are reduces accessibility.

Effective marketing and advertising targeted at Black and Latin@ LGBTQ communities was also identified as a barrier to accessing support services. One respondent stated that while these resources may exist and be available to Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people, organizations “simply don't advertise to these communities and therefore people don't know they exist”. Building upon this, other respondents specifically noted that not only do institutions need to raise awareness of their services for these communities, this message “has to be marketed appropriately” in order to be effective.

What Would Prevent You From Seeking Support Services if You Were Experiencing Partner Abuse in Your Relationship?



One of the final questions in the community assessment asked respondents to identify forces that would prevent them from seeking support services if they were experiencing partner abuse. While the results of this question were fairly mixed, over 50% of all respondents isolated discrimination, fear and distrust of law enforcement, stigma, lack of cultural understanding, and concerns about confidentiality as key factors that would impede them from seeking the support that they needed.

The assessment closed by asking respondents to reflect on some of the unique considerations that should be taken into account when working with Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people who have experienced partner abuse. Respondents expressed various considerations, many of which were mentioned in response to earlier questions: stigma, financial concerns, cultural understanding, fear and distrust.

Additional assessment responses worth noting include the notion that anyone providing services to Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people need to understand that these communities are particularly challenged due to their identification with two distinct minority groups. Respondents expressed that as dual-minorities defined by race and sexuality, Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people are simultaneously impacted by social realities that these two distinct groups struggle with separately. Multiple systems of oppression and disenfranchisement intersect to intensify the barriers faced by Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people. Such intersections become more complex when you also consider other factors mentioned by respondents such as gender identity, immigration status and HIV/AIDS status.

Respondents expressed a need for providers to move beyond heteronormative understandings of gender roles and power dynamics in relationships. Providers need to be open to exploring the unique dynamics of same-sex partnerships in order to provide effective and meaningful services to Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people.

Respondents also mentioned the size of Black and Latin@ LGBTQ communities as a unique factor that must be considered when assessing the accessibility and availability of partner abuse services. Respondents stated that the small number of Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people in helping professions made it less likely that they would be able to find a provider that they can identify with in terms of race, sexual orientation, and/or gender identity/expression. Community size was also mentioned in the context of confidentiality. Respondents reported that the small size of these communities, particularly in the Greater Boston area, made the assurance of confidentiality particularly important to Black and Latin@ LGBTQ individuals experiencing partner abuse.

ACTION PLAN

When TOD@S designed the community needs assessment, our objective was to identify opportunities to improve and expand support for Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people living in the Boston area who are affected by partner abuse. While there is still opportunity for a more in depth needs assessment, the TOD@S community needs assessment successfully identifies some of the shortcomings of current partner abuse support services in the greater Boston area.

The following summary of findings and suggested actions to be taken from the assessment highlight key areas that can help improve services for Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people affected by partner abuse in Boston and the greater Boston area.

A majority of assessment respondents reported that:

- Partner abuse is only rarely or sometimes talked about in Black and Latin@ LGBTQ communities.
 - **Action:** Increase community dialogue about partner abuse so that Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people recognize partner abuse as a relevant and important issue in the community and reduce stigma around the issue.
- They have learned the most about partner abuse through education/research, community events and trainings, and their places of employment.
 - **Action:** Integrate information about partner abuse in Black and Latin@ LGBTQ relationships into existing education and training about partner abuse.

- Hearing personal stories from survivors or hearing about a friend’s personal experience with partner abuse is the most influential way to communicate information about partner abuse.
 - **Action:** Find creative and safe ways to share survivor stories with Black and Latin@ LGBTQ communities.
- If they were being abused by a partner, they would most likely tell a friend.
 - **Action:** Develop bystander and peer intervention strategies for addressing partner abuse.
- Although respondents reported that faith leaders could be an important source of support and information regarding partner abuse, they would be least likely to tell a faith leader if they were experiencing partner abuse.
 - **Action:** Work with faith leaders to increase acceptance of LGBTQ relationships and awareness of partner abuse in the community.
- If they were looking for information on partner abuse, they would seek information on the Internet or at a community-based organization.
 - **Action:** Develop methods to use the Internet to disseminate information and support services.
- They do not think support services for Black and Latin@ survivors of partner abuse are accessible because of a lack of appropriately marketed information about services and because of the economic barriers to accessing services (i.e. money for transportation or a phone to call a hotline).
 - **Action:** 1) Develop culturally relevant social marketing and culturally appropriate methods of disseminating the marketing and 2) ensure partner abuse programs can provide basic material items, such as subway/bus passes and emergency cell phones and cell phone minute cards, for survivors to use to increase access to services.
- Discrimination, fear/distrust of law enforcement, stigma, lack of cultural understanding and concerns about confidentiality prevent people from seeking services.
 - **Action:** Build relationships with law enforcement, local organizations that serve Black and Latin@ people, and mainstream partner abuse agencies to increase awareness and understanding of partner abuse in Black and Latin@ LGBTQ communities.

FURTHER NEEDS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Boston has three organizations that work specifically with LGBTQ survivors of partner abuse and other local organizations working to empower and support Black and Latin@ people. Despite this, a majority of respondents reported that they believed that partner abuse services were not available or accessible to Black and Latin@ LGBTQ communities. What is the root of this perceived absence of resources when various population-specific resources do exist?

Respondents highlighted ineffective marketing and advertising as a barrier to accessing support services. This reported lack of relevant and targeted social marketing likely plays a role in why members of Black and Latin@ LGBTQ communities perceive a deficit in the resources available to survivors of partner abuse in their communities. Service providers in the greater Boston area have the opportunity to better serve Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people by increasing targeted social marketing and outreach in order to overcome this perceived lack of support. Improving targeted marketing can be done by highlighting when partner abuse agencies are LGBTQ inclusive, including images of Black and Latin@

LGBTQ people in marketing ads and using knowledge about Black and Latin@ cultures to inform messaging that people identify with.

In addition, organizations must be sure to create and distribute all promotional materials (including websites) in both English and Spanish. The degree to which non-English speaking members of these communities are underrepresented in this community assessment (an assessment designed specifically for members of these communities) is evidence that we need to improve our outreach to non-English speaking Latin@s. Our needs assessment implementation also demonstrates that simply creating and distributing materials in Spanish is not enough. We offered a Spanish version of the assessment but were still unable to engage sufficient numbers of non-English speaking Latin@s. When targeting Latin@ populations in particular, it is vital to build personal relationships that can help raise awareness about partner abuse and services in a way that is appropriate to the information sharing practices of Latin@s. We need to improve our outreach by working more closely with local organizations, attending events, and building relationships with community leaders who are important to Black and Latin@ communities in order to leverage these connections to make services accessible.

There are also opportunities for partner abuse agencies to build relationships with local organizations that serve Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people in order to increase awareness about partner abuse and how to get support, and in order to build trust with Black and Latin@ communities through local service providers. Such collaborations can help partner abuse service providers address shortcomings in outreach, services, and programming that address the specific needs of Black and Latin@ people and help local service providers better understand partner abuse in Black and Latin@ LGBTQ relationships. This type of reciprocal relationship also raises awareness about partner abuse in LGBTQ relationships that local Black and Latin@ agencies might not be aware of, thus helping to decrease the silence around the issue. These relationships can increase community trust in partner abuse service providers and create bridges wherein local agencies that serve Black and Latin@ people can vouch for the partner abuse agencies they are working with and vice versa. Partnerships like these can benefit Black and Latin@ community organizations by providing access to resources and services for LGBTQ people affected by partner abuse that local organizations might not be able to provide.

There is already a desire among Black and Latin@ LGBTQ community organizations and local service providers in Boston to engage in such partnerships, as evidenced by TOD@S. TOD@S is comprised of four different organizations: The Hispanic Black Gay Coalition, Fenway Health's Violence Recovery Program, The Network La Red, and Renewal House, a program of the Unitarian Universalist Urban Ministry. In 2011, our four organizations came together with the idea of leveraging each of our organizations' unique strengths and resources to improve and increase access to intervention and prevention services for LGBTQ Black and Latin@ people affected by partner abuse. One of the key aspects of our mission is to provide technical assistance and trainings to other service providers who are looking to enhance the services they offer to Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people and to provide free workshops for community members looking to make a difference. We also work to expand support for Black and Latin@ LGBTQ survivors by building relationships with larger institutions, such as the Boston City Council, to raise awareness about the needs of Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people. TOD@S serves as a working model of the types of collaborative relationships that can strengthen and develop partner abuse survivor support networks for Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people.

While improving the existing partner abuse service infrastructure is certainly important, it is also important to think of creative and alternative ways to expand direct services to Black and Latin@ LGBTQ communities. The results of the assessment highlighted the Internet as the place where community members are most likely to look for information about partner abuse services. While a lot of partner abuse service agencies have an Internet presence, there is opportunity for the role of the Internet and social media to expand beyond giving information about services. The Internet can also serve as a direct

platform for support. The Internet has the potential to provide anonymity; this makes the Internet an ideal space to provide services and resources to Black and Latin@ LGBTQ individuals experiencing partner abuse while negating some of the barriers to accessing support, such as confidentiality, fear of discrimination, and stigma. The global nature of the Internet would also address many of the concerns expressed by respondents in relation to the small size of Black and Latin@ LGBTQ communities. The ubiquity of the Internet could help to address concerns about geographic location and economic status decreasing accessibility to partner abuse services. In addition, the Internet is a place where anonymous survivor stories can be shared to raise awareness about partner abuse, which respondents identified as the most influential way to convey information about partner abuse. Caution and safety mechanisms regarding possible cyber abuse and stalking would need to be taken into account to ensure the safety of those who use any kind of online support forum.

Faith based organizations have significant opportunities to combat some of the ideological barriers that may prevent Black and Latin@ LGBTQ survivors of partner abuse from reaching out for support. Many religions emphasize forgiveness, have condemning views of homosexuality, and promote the idea of ‘Gods will/punishment’ as a consequence for living as an LGBTQ person. Notions of punishment have also been used to justify the abuse that survivors experience, while doctrine about forgiveness has been used to encourage people to forgive their abusers and stay in abusive relationships. Ideological barriers that prevent people from seeking help from faith based organizations are tied to passages and ideals presented in religious texts that have been interpreted and used in negative ways. Faith based organizations looking to support Black and Latin@ LGBTQ survivors may have to work to separate positive faith messages from some of the negative permutations of these messages that exist in order to create an environment where Black and Latin@ LGBTQ survivors feel welcome and supported. Partner abuse agencies that serve Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people should also engage faith leaders in conversation about these issues in order to better serve Black and Latin@ survivors for whom faith is an important part of their identity and healing.

Ultimately, existing organizations in the greater Boston area looking to better serve Black and Latin@ LGBTQ communities must develop a willingness to critically reflect on and challenge their organization’s own assumptions about service provision in order to assess their weaknesses and strengthen areas that Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people have identified as needing work: targeted outreach and advertisement (including bilingual messaging), using peer groups to engage in conversation, addressing barriers in faith communities, using accessible vehicles like the Internet to distribute information, providing material resources to increase service accessibility, building trust in the community through personal relationships, and reducing stigma through open conversations in the community. These interventions can be strengthened by building relationships with organizations that serve Black and Latin@ people and building the capacity of larger partner abuse agencies in order to increase their awareness of our communities’ needs. We at TOD@S see the Community Voices needs assessment as a starting point for this self-reflection and a call to action for existing partner abuse providers, local community organizations, and researchers. We hope that this needs assessment serves as the beginning of a more in-depth discussion about envisioning more effective support for Black and Latin@ LGBTQ people affected by partner abuse.