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Organizing to End Violence Against Women:

An Evolution of Thought and Strategies

Shamita Das Dasgupta, Val Kalei Kanuha, Nan Stoops

April 17, 2019

>> Today we will talk with our speakers, we will talk about how social movements are formed and what the place of our movement, how the work has evolved considering some of the unintended consequences that have resulted from some of the strategies that were used.

>> There is a lot to dig into, joining the conversation we are happy to welcome three advocates who have engaged in this work for the past 40 years. They will share their insight on some the key decisions and strategies in our work. They will talk about how the advocacy and the movement is evolving and address emerging issues and what impact that might have on the future of our movement.

>> I am referring to this as a movement, that will be one of the discussion topics today about whether or not we are of movement.

>> A special welcome to our speakers, Shamita Das Dasgupta, you know her from the ALC faculty. We spent last week with her. She is an advocate and a researcher and a retired professor.

>> She usually hosted these keynotes so we are happy we can hear from her. Val Kalei Kanuha is an advocate, therapist, consultant whose work focuses on gender-based violence in the intersection of race, at this day, and gender. She is researching and writing a book on the history of the violence against women

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movement and she has worked as a researcher and consultant with organizations in Hawaii and the consul United States including with us for many years.

>> Nan Stoops is with us and she is working in the movement as an advocate and organizer. She serves as the strategic advisor of the Washington state coalition against domestic violence, she serves as the Executive Director for 17 years.

>> She was in class A of the ALC, the first ALC class. Welcome to all three of you. Thank you for being here today.

>> Thank you.

>> Let's jump into things. We will start with the movement question; we want to know about how you would describe the early days and the vision of the movement. What did it hope to accomplish? What was your entry into this work? Nan, let's start with you.

>> Hello. Good to see you again. I think we will get into a little bit later of what the early goals were. I thought I would say a little bit about my own entry point.

>> The thing about this is that I think it is important for each of us to have a passionate origin story. I know for myself, so many times I come back to it and I realize it is what has kept me going.

>> In 1977 I was a volunteer for an organization in King County, it was a small grassroots program. I was 18 years old. One of the first survivors said I was an advocate; she lived with her single mother and live on welfare. This girl had some profound learning disabilities, and, in many ways, she did not really understand a lot about her experience of having been by a neighbor.

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>> Over the course of my time with her and her mother, the thing that really stood out to me was the fact that in spite of their poverty, they always had cookies and coffee when I went to their apartment and they always walked out with me and watched my car as I drove away and she waved as I left.

>> It was my earliest learning around hospitality and dignity and grace. Survivors extend that to us because of what is happened to them and in spite of what is happened to them and I made a promise to that girl in 1977 that I would do this work until no one else experienced what she experienced.

>> I am still here doing the work. It's great to be with all of you.

>> Let's turn to Kalei .

>> Thank you. Thank you for sponsoring this call and thank you to all of you for joining. I love telling my story because it is based in Minnesota and how I began, my beginnings were 1975, on a snowy day in South Minneapolis. I saw this flyer that said come to a meeting about battered wives. If you can imagine in 1970 five, not that many people knew exactly what this meant. I went to the meeting, it was a dynamic group of mothers and our allies, we begin doing stuff as we understand that there were women who were either wives or girlfriends, partners, primarily gendered male and female, women were in an abusive relationship.

>> It was something that we have not heard of to be what it was and so the beginnings I don't think they were founded on joining the movement, it was addressing the needs.

>> For me, in 1975, it was really opening my heart and my mind to something that is almost unfathomable even today that someone who purports to love and care about you would hurt you in so many different ways.

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>> At my beginning, it was to serve and I think all of us who are part of that early coalition building from social workers, housing advocates, daycare providers, it was a coalition of people who wanted to serve and to help and so are beginnings were not linked to a movement per se it was linked to dealing with immediate needs of victims and survivors and their children had and the early vision was not even a vision except to help and I think for me, as a young woman of color, a lesbian, joining with so many great activists from different fields, it brought me into this work with the multiple place for all of us to stop and to address and to help women and children who were suffering from violence.

>> That was my beginning. It was not really a movement, it was serving.

>> Thank you, Kalei. That's at the things and I imagine we will back to. Shamita, welcome. What about your beginnings?

>> It's an honor to be with Kalei and Nan and Diane, it's amazing to be here with all of you. Thank you so much.

>> I have to look at myself a little bit. I came to this country when I was in my teens. My organizing skills and work began in India. This was my contemporary -- with all the wonderful aspirations of being an equal society and how wonderful it would be, by this time I was in high school. There was a huge food shortage in the country. Everyone was struggling and we do not have that much money, our organizing started with talking about equality in terms of everybody class wise.

>> Schoolchildren and college people, we all organize together, and this is the young energy that pushed the movement forward. There were a lot of skills and thinking that was developed, I moved to this country and this was around the Vietnam War. There was an organizing going on to end the Vietnam war. Being an

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immigrant from Asia, was an experience that thinking, this was imperialism. We wanted to end the war.

>> We never saw this as a one note organizing, we thought women have to be equal and women need to be having the rightful place in society and have their voices heard.

>> It had a big spread in terms of organizing, racism, immigration, cultural change. Listening to the people in the community, the women in the community, that was the focus. Sexual assault came out as one of the biggest issues. That is how we got into organizing around that. Not that we decided we have to focus about violence against women was only later on that organically that developed into a focus.

>> It was about bringing equality more than anything else.

>> Thank you. It's interesting hearing each of you share your different beginnings and imagining what is going on globally and across the U.S. and the ways in which these different efforts were connected and how they looked different.

>> I am sure participants listening are thinking of their own beginnings and when each of us first entered, I agree about how important it is to think about what our story is and what brought us here. Let's go back to the question of what was we were hoping to create. Perhaps initially it was not about that, but it was about meeting the need. Can you talk about what you would identify as the aspiration that the early movement was?

>> What I think is interesting about this slide, is the word "aspiration." I don't think we had aspirations, when I think about that I think of that as being hopeful, future oriented but it's more of a positive imagining, almost an ideal and it is positive.

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>> Coming from the all -- either by an event, and historical pattern of injustice, people get inspired and motivated and mobilized to quickly do something and I think that is where we were.

>> I would say probably; we had more inspiration than aspiration which is we were inspired and motivated to do something beyond crisis management.

>> I think this is a lot of how social movements evolve although more sophisticated movements draw from history and I think for many of us who are part of other movements, we see the similar patterns of organizing and collectivism.

>> You learn as you get older, you learn that maybe some of the things you did in another movement could carry over into a new movement. That was the case partially in the beginning of the pattern women's movement, I want to correct people that this movement was the first social movement addressing the issue of gender-based violence. It was sexual assault, that predated us by at least 10 years.

>> In some ways, many of us who transitioned into the battered women's movement came from sexual assault organizing and before that it was civil rights organizing, before that it was women's movement and equality.

>> You have to understand that what we call the battered women's movement, are we still a movement? I'm not so sure we are.

>> When we started the battered women's movement 45 years ago, many of us came out of other movements and that's an important thing to remember. The goals were beyond another shelter, finding another shelter bed making sure someone has legal representation. Making sure there was an advocate when a

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survivor had to go to an emergency room, we found very quickly on that these kinds of crisis first response interventions, that was not going to be sustainable. At the same time, we were doing these immediate crisis services, it was about saving lives.

>> That was the immediate response. We saw very quickly on, that was not going to cut it was not enough so I would say what began to be articulated as more of a collective future-oriented goal or changes in policy.

>> We were just going to ride along with policeman when they went to a call, we were going to make sure please were trained so all of those who went on a call to assess whether or not if they were being called to simply being injured that they could assess religion because they fell down the stairs or maybe their partner push them down the stairs.

>> We said we cannot go on every call, we do not have many of us that had training, what can we do to make sure at the systems level, child welfare departments, prosecutors, counselors, everybody who is going to be interfacing with victims and survivors and those who hurt them, they understood something more than just that's another person that we will help. What began to evolve into a collective goal, it became part of a movement and they were those kinds of things. The strategies included everything from training, building up more services and facilities like the shelter movement, it became one of the strategies so this question about movement strategies, it became a provision of service within structures.

>> Domestic violence units within the police departments, 15 years later, they were not domestic violence courts, this whole idea of doing strategies that met the goals of larger, higher multiple systems change I think reflected a movement.

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This point about the world we envision, we always say we envision a world without violence.

>> That was the goal, the goal was not to heal, it was not to end poverty, it was not to look at the root causes of violence it was really to look at stopping violence against women and children and many of us still say that but we understand that this is you is much more link to poverty, racism, Xena phobia, and so many other structural historical roots of oppression of an equity, inequality, of the ways that we think about the status of different kinds of people, this is not how we talked about it, it was very gendered in our early analyses which is this is about violence against women that is it.

>> What we talk about is the stereotype of who was being violated and who was the victim of the battering, it was really white, women did not fight back, we had this construction of the ideal victim and that is what we did but that's how social movements start which is the world we envision was an end to violence against women not an end to the structural conditions that allow violence against women and children to be a gendered violation to occur.

>> We were not intersectional, we were not very diverse in the way we thought about what we want to achieve, and we were not that sophisticated so it was an outgrowth of crisis management we saw that as a crisis, most of the strategy that grew in that were from that point of view, it was a narrow focus pitching and selling this as a problem.

>> So, this is really how social movements evolve which is the portrayal and the construction of the problem such that the masses will jump on and join us in a collective organizing and seeing that this is a problem with dealing with. Those are some of the inspirations and aspirations of the early years.

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>> A lot of food for thought. I am reminded of the early years and I think about the campaigns and posters that were aimed at getting people to recognize that something called domestic violence existed. So, we focus on awareness.

>> We welcome your questions and comments. You can send those into the Q&A box. Let me invite Shamita and Nan, is there anything you want to add or respond to and what was just shared?

>> I agree with everything she said.

>> That was the right thing to say.

>> One of the things that happens when one has done this work for a long time, it's easy to have a pretty robust critique of the strategies and the decisions that were made. Back in the early years, I want to say that while I do agree with everything Kalei said, I think that in that time and place the decisions were made with good intention and we have been a movement that has developed some muscle around critique and consequences and intent so sometimes it can be hard for people on the front lines working with survivors every day to think about, here is a critique of how we are doing our work and we offer that because we know we are a super thoughtful movement.

>> Part of our responsibility is to think carefully about the consequences of what we do and the decisions we make and we will get into more of that as we get to the call but I wanted to lift up this notion around intent and unintended consequences and how we grapple with that on a daily basis.

>> This is important and interesting; my experience is different. We came out of a colonized country, integration was recent. We had the experience of being colonized for so many years. There was a growing recognition about sexual

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assault movements. That is where in my work, it began on the college campus being involved in sexual assault. At the same time, I was organizing in the community. There was a war going on in Bangladesh at that point, there was a development and by the time I was at the stage where I graduated after getting my PhD, we were interested in looking at what is happening in our community.

>> We recognized that our community and culture was unrecognized in this country. Even the women in our community were saying, domestic violence is the biggest problem in our life, there was little recognition and our issues and problems were unrecognized.

>> The struggle became two-sided, one is inside the community which wanted to keep all the problems hidden and to save face, and outside the mainstream community which basically said you're in this country so be like ice. Kind of an interesting development in that way.

>> There are similarities and differences with the experiences here.

>> Thank you. We talked about both tips, robust critiques, can you speak about what you have seen as far as accomplishments. What has our work achieved?

>> I will not speak for every community; I will speak about my community. We started at that point that focusing on just domestic violence but all kinds of issues that we defined as violence. And that kept within our community, it spread from policies and institutional change to cultural factors, racism, everything we can think of. That gave us a large scope and at the same time because we were rabble-rousers in our own country, there was a good strong critique that state violence -- in the beginning, one of the things we did was to say we will not accept any state funding the state and federal.

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>> That is going to compromise our work. We recognized gender-based violence as being supported by the government. Which is also something that there is a strong critique about.

>> We started with that and in our work, our achievement was to get that kind of large definition of violence. We looked at -- one of the things we thought of as far as cultural issues, they became visible and we had a voice within our community to say you cannot mute women and their experiences and at the same time go outside the community and demanding that they are going to work for women than they need to look at communities that are being ignored.

>> I went to these meetings over and over and the moment I would walk into the room, I could see people's eyes rolling. I guess they still do. It was funny but it ended up as pushing the idea of communities that are overlooked at do not have a voice or are silenced.

>> At the same time, what we did was to cross pollinate, we learn from our experiences in our countries and the strategies and tactics of other movements. We tried to pull things out of different movements. That would be the major accomplishment for us. It was about bringing visibility in our community and outside of our community.

>> Thank you. As we have this conversation I think about the diversity of communities and who is affected by gender-based violence and the difference and the ways people are affected because of all the intersections.

>> Is a challenging conversation to have because it is not monolithic, we will go back to the funding comment but let me ask Nan and Kalei for anything you would add about what you feel like the accomplishments have been. What has the movement accomplished?

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>> I want to piggyback on the earlier point, the retrospective view is of view that allows us to not only look back and think about what we have learned but think that we might have done differently and I think the critical consciousness about our work as activists and advocates, it is really an important practice. If there's a muscle to be exercised that's it, you want to be critically conscious and reflect everything we do.

>> That is movement behavior. For any of us who wonder, is there still a movement, and a part of a movement? If you're always being critically aware of things that Mina come to the surface right away, that's a good way to be. Good structures allow that, and I think we have been critical of ourselves from the beginning. That did not stop us as a movement from moving ahead on some strategies that we felt that we are doing the right thing.

>> It probably was the right thing for the time because the things we might have wanted to do I think we could not have done so we are in a different time right now and there are things that are able to do and because of the current climate, economically, politically, we are more -- we have more freedom and less freedom to grow.

>> What this movement allows us to do around gender-based violence is to see the connections and there are many movements and individuals who are affected by this work.

>> The big accomplishment that this movement has helped his us to raise up and to make visible and to bring out of the shadows into the light, a very serious social problems that have spanned across generations.

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>> This is one of those issues that it affects everybody, everywhere. It was this movement that brought us to the forefront. That is one thing that is important, the idea of visibility.

>> Acceptability is visible and by bringing this visible, this is a legitimate problem and we have to do something about it. That's what a movement does really well. That is what we do.

>> In terms of ongoing reflection, as you listen in on the conversation and see the social change graphic, where the core activities of social advocacy are reflecting and adapting. How can we anticipate unintended consequence and's top them before they start? Anything you want to add?

>> As we think about how the shifts happen, Shamita talked about a critical decision they made with their work and not to accept state funding. I would call that a critical reflection to get in the way of any unintended consequences and it is a different tactic. That is one of the decisions that brought us to where we are. Can you speak to some of these decisions as these mile markers that brought us here?

>> We started with that and for about seven or eight years we remained in our pure intent of not having any money other than from the community. We came in and others joined. We bit the dust.

>> This is such an important topic; it's a defining moment was the decision about criminalizing sexual violence and domestic violence.

>> The call for the state to take responsibility for these problems, if we look at this drive towards public policy remedies for social problems, if we look at the history around and domestic violence legislation , we find that public policy was

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written out of the experiences of weight middle-class women who had been harmed by the brutal forms of violence but the implementation of the laws have disproportionately negatively impacted men of color and communities of color.

>> This is where we see the intersection of gender and race in these state-based solutions.

>> It is coming into focus now for us in the current climate that we are in. We cannot rely on a state that is built upon a foundation of white supremacy, and white nationalism. We cannot rely on the state. They cannot solve these problems. What we see is the state in so many ways contributing to the challenges that women and families are experiencing that include aspects of sexual violence and domestic violence.

>> This thing around criminalization looms large. When you look at the major cases of federal legislation that fund our work and drive and define what we can do in our work, it is the violence against women's act, it is the victim of crime act, very much services and interventions with a little bit more than a token smattering of resources for marginalized communities.

>> This thing that Shamita is talking about how hard it is to stay your -- to not engage with the state, in a movement that is that is very intertwined with the state, partner with the state, and in many places it doesn't.

>> It makes it hard for us because the vast majority of resourcing for this important work we are doing is coming from government sources and I think we can see that the government is not invested in the kind of social change that it would take to eradicate not only gender-based violence but racial violence, Xenophobia all of the kinds of violence that we know of. They intersect with domestic violence.

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>> One other thing I want to say about criminalization, criminalization was based on a stranger danger area of and the random inexpressible violent husband. What we know in fact, most is committed not by a stranger and most batterers are not these pathological people. Most survivors have some kind of relationship and many of them actually love the people who are hurting them, and prison is not what they are asking for.

>> We spent an inordinate amount of time and resources trying to leverage the criminal legal system to take care of a problem that many survivors do not want that particular Avenue to be used.

>> This is one of our greatest challenges right now is how to extricate ourselves from the criminal/legal system upon which we rely so much for the resourcing of our work.

>> I can imagine that you have anything to add to that. I wish we had another 90 minutes to explore those points you raised. Let me turn to Shamita for your thoughts.

>> Training has given a wonderful summary of our decisions that led us to where we are today. A couple of things, some of the things that are happening is we have focused on some things and not others, when we put so much value to building shelters, we have not focused as much to build communities to making our communities ready to support women.

>> That is something that happens when we end up focused on one thing for example, criminalization has led to the community giving up on the responsibility by saying I will call 911 and that is that but not taking on the responsibility of holding the perpetrators accountable who are nested in our communities.

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>> Some of those things have happened but I'm not saying it is either or it has to be both ways. The hotline is wonderful but at the same time we have given up on not calling on our relatives or neighbors. Funding coming out of a government is wonderful because it gives so much but still, it is more than we can raise from our communities perhaps.

>> We have not tried that because we just end up depending on one or the other. When you are so intimately intertwined with the government, we have to accept that the government is not ready to change something radically from the root cause.

>> It will have to change its own structure or change the status quo and most governments are not ready to do that. These are pieces we have had to researched and we probably do but I don't know if -- what is the solution to all of these issues that pop up?

>> The whole time that Nan and Shamita were speaking, I am hearing the Masters tool will never dismantle the master's house, this is emblematic of where we are today which is, we try to the cursory and breakdown the state such that we look at alternatives perhaps in addition to complement or to supplement imprisonment but the fact is that we cannot separate ourselves from the very thing that is causing the destruction of our communities.

>> It's a big conundrum that we are in. The role of advocacy, what will we advocate for? Who will pay for us to advocate? Will they pay for us to advocate against that funder? I don't think so. We are stuck in this really complex relationship with our funders and I was in a conference a couple of days ago, with Pacific islanders addressing violence and prevention.

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>> A colleague of mine was talking about three grades that she had to write. I said, is most of the money from the government funds and she said yes. I said to you raised any money through your community? She said our board is so great but from their point of view why should they raise money for us when we get so much government money.

>> It was interesting she said we had this conversation but from their point of view why should we ask communities when you get so much money from the government?

>> Are we advocating for those who are paying us to advocate? Are we to raise money from communities where getting enough money, it's a complicated situation, the master's tool will never dismantle the master's house.

>> This will be a challenge for us in this work, it is because we have become so mainstream and the fact that we have a \$500 million budget, it costs \$182 billion to incarcerate people in this country.

>> \$182 billion which includes many many people from our communities, many people who were at the margins of our community, and we get a lot of money from VAWA's so how are we to fight against incarceration and the un-Browning of jails and prisons when we have this minuscule amount of money so we need to look at where we are getting our funding but what else is being funded and what are we competing against it is full of complexity. Can we be a movement where we are mainstream it is difficult.

>> We cannot defund ourselves from government money, how are we to make deep rooted social change to support our communities and to invest in the economic and social development of our communities when we are funding

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piecemeal, in saving the lives of survivors and the people who are hurting them. We are in an exciting and complicated place right now.

>> Absolutely. Any thoughts?

>> I'm listening to Kalei and this has been an issue for me. The funding business. I think funding in some ways silences us because we are afraid to lose the funding. However how do we strategize?

>> How do we strategize as a collective to have that critical radical edge to our work? The money is not somebody else's money, it is coming out of our pockets. It is our money. How do we do that rather than be so afraid that we cannot do this or that? Is there a collective way we can do this work and have the radical edge?

>> You have done some organizing around this recently. I'm interested to hear how you address this.

>> A couple of things, this is a complicated question. I'm trying to figure out how to break things down. So much of the government funding that we have is going into maintaining and sustaining the infrastructure of our work and this is hard because we talk about people's paychecks, we are talking about advocates many of whom are themselves survivors.

>> They are employed in the movement that relies on state funding. It is tough but I want to give one example that we have learned in the domestic violence housing first work which is for DD work, the average cost to shelter a family of four is right around \$24,000. That is all the staffing, facility, services, all of that. The housing first model when we have been providing financial assistance, in the

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amount that the survivors says she needs to get on with her life, the average cost is \$2000.

>> That is just an example of the ways that we can spend the resources we have differently. We can do that differently and we can do that more cost-effectively and we can do that with infrastructure. I would call this of field challenge. We are talking about a nonprofit industrial complex field.

>> I think there are a lot of people that if we look at what our aspirations are, if we look at the world that we want people to have, if we look at the world we want our children and grandchildren to grow up in, what we will find is that that is a similar world that is shared across movements. It's not a gender violence only vision of the world and so when we focus on what we are for, instead of what we are against, we can find we have a lot more momentum and partnership and allies and a lot more resources.

>> That will require us to restructure ourselves differently, so this is a field challenge. It is a field challenge to be the movement that we are compelled to be. The thing that is an example, we have people who want to organize and can do so thickly and can do so without that risk assessment that is a strong muscle in our field but if we look at the me to movement, the letter that was written to Dr. Ford, a letter that got 120,000 signatures, those girls articulated the world they want for girls like themselves and for the girls when we can bust out of the structured way and very much funding defined way that we do our work, we can find a lot of allies and people in our communities and communities across the country who want to join I think they can join with their voices and their votes and their time so it is to get on the side of aspiration.

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>> It is not easy in this particular political moment that we are in but many people are trying to do this and they want to do this with others so I feel like that is the big opportunity for us and it is a big question that we have to figure out how can we shift as a field to be able to do this?

>> Thank you. Great thoughts you have raised. I want to remind people we would love to hear your comments.

>> One of the things that occurred to me, as far as aspirations, people have different motivations for getting involved but they are moving into these existing structures and institutions that are the bureaucracies that reflect the government culture.

>> It is difficult to feel like you can make change in the system. I hear from advocates and I think of my own time where activism did not happen in our programs we were involved in. That is something that comes to mind.

>> Often, I am asked about cultural competence. I talk about structure biases because the unjustified favoritism that is displayed by the institutions these are the things that manage our lives. That is something we have to critique front and center for us.

>> I agree. It is the benefit of hindsight and insight, but I understand aspirations, I feel fully aspirational now and it is a challenging and complex puzzling time, what are we to do but I continue to feel inspired for what is ahead. I believe change is possible. I am moving towards for what we hope for that is what is aspirational. Do not think about this survivor or this day but all the children is coming down the road I am looking to them. It is not that I am not focused on what we do today, for all the people that are in prison, all the people are being killed, I am thinking for all the young people and all the people and generations to come.

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>> We sense things that way, you feel aspirational. Always look ahead and have an eye on where we are today. I feel more hopeful today than I did when I started. When I did not have great hair.

>> As women grow older, they grow more radical. There will be a time when white-haired women will take over this world.

>> Are we already doing that?

>> I have grandchildren. I want them to grow in a world that is equal.

>> You connected with different coalitions in this field, each of you have spoken about what we can learn from other movements. Any examples of what you see by making the connections specifically about creative approaches? Anything you feel is working or makes you hopeful about the change we can create?

>> I have a lot of hope. There's a lot of energy around figuring out how to do the work that we are doing differently. I think we spend a lot of time trying to convince ourselves, each other, other people, about the challenges and the issues and a lot of people understand.

>> We need to stop trying to do that and now just move on. It is a series of questions. We need to move quickly. One of the things I've been pondering is this connection that our movement has been good at it is the connection between the personal and the political. We say the personal is political and the political is personal and we're back again right now into this deep connection between personal and political and we have the current political situation in this country to thank for our deeper insight into what that means.

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>> Political means partisan and we have to work really hard not to fall into the trap of avoiding the politics of our work because they are being defined by others as being partisan.

>> For all advocates, our work has always been political, and it should be political it should always forever be political. We should embrace that and covet that, and we should not fall into this trap of partisanship that has been set in front of us.

>> I feel a lot of political work is happening within our structure and in spite of our structures. We have to be in the communities we have to get out of the facilities we need to get out and be with people and know that those people are people who have been harmed by sexual violence and domestic violence. They are not just people that come to us for service they are everywhere.

>> If we are in the community with people, we will be with them and we will provide services and be engaged with the community and helping to come up with solutions for the problems and all the other problems that people are experiencing.

>> I see people doing cross movement work and taking on new partnerships that are relational partnerships that are not just transactional but are about building deeper relationships with folks in our communities that care about the same things that we do. It might be working with people on education, on housing, food, all kinds of basic things that people deserve to have in their lives and the other thing I want to say I think more and more people are turning to human rights.

>> There's a lot of stuff online. There are things from a human rights perspective and incorporating that into our work. It's an exciting time and if we look to young people to inform us about the solutions they need, many of them will not say I

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need a shelter and I need a crisis center . For us to stay relevant in our work we will have to look beyond the structures of the solutions we had for the last 40 years.

>> I am inspired with what we are talking about. I agree and I think about young people taking over the leadership and showing us the way. That is the way we have to go.

>> I want to thank my sisters for being on this call. It's been stimulating and challenging and inspiring in an aspirational way. It's been really great. We have to be vigilant. Part of critical conscious, as you get comfortable that is a danger sign. Scan your environment, skin everything around you do not take everything for granted. That is how you stay vibrant and relevant. That is what the ALC is trying to do and for all of us, that is how we sustain ourselves for the long journey ahead. There is more to come. We will need each and every one of our energies to be focused on that. Be vigilant not for the bad things but the things we have to be careful about.

>> Thank you to the three of you. Thank you for joining us today. You will get an evaluation that will pop up we are interested in your feedback. This concludes the webinar. Have a great afternoon.

>> Goodbye.

>> [Event concluded]