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TRANSCRIPT^o

CONVERGE! REIMAGINING THE MOVEMENT TO END GENDER
VIOLENCE SYMPOSIUM:

Panel on New Possibilities for Reframing Work to End Gender-Based Violence

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI SCHOOL OF LAW

*Monique Hoeflinger (moderator)**

Neil Irvin

Marcia Olivo

Jackie Payne

PAYNE: I am here on behalf of the NoVo Foundation.¹ Move to End Violence is a ten year, \$80 million project of the NoVo Foundation. About seven years ago the NoVo Foundation was gifted a lot of money from Warren Buffet to his son, Peter Buffet and Peter's wife, Jennifer Buffet. Peter and Jennifer run the Foundation and they determined that they wanted to end domination and exploitation and expand collaboration and partnership. When they thought about how they wanted to do that, they felt like the best thing they could do was to center their strategies around the most powerful and untapped resource in the world

^o This transcript has been edited from its original transcription for clarity.

* Monique Hoeflinger has been active in social justice movements for the past 20 years, serving as a lawyer, organizer, strategist, and funder. Hoeflinger has served in leadership positions at the Ms. Foundation for Women, Obama for America (2008), National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, and the Ohio Justice and Policy Center. Neil Irvin is the Executive Director of Men Can Stop Rape (MCSR), which seeks to mobilize men to use their strength for creating cultures free from violence, especially men's violence against women. Marcia Olivo is one of the co-chairs of the CONVERGE! conference and co-founder of Miami Workers Center of Sisterhood Survivors. Jackie Payne is the director of Move to End Violence, a ten-year movement-building project of the NoVo Foundation. Hoeflinger, Irvin & Olivo are all MOVEMENT TO END VIOLENCE Cohort members.

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¹ For more information the NoVo Foundation, please visit <http://novofoundation.org/>.

and they believe that to be girls. If you view girls as the most powerful and untapped resource, you have to say what is holding girls back from being their fullest selves? And, as we all know, a big part of what is holding them back is violence.

There has been incredible progress over the last forty years in the work to stop violence against women and a lot of that progress is due to the tireless work of activists in this room. I want to acknowledge that and think about how attitudes have shifted, the importance of the work around resource allocation, and how folks have made changes to systems. And yet, as we all know and have talked so much about over the last couple of days, staggering rates of violence still exist in the United States and so much of what we have tried to do is not working for so many. The NoVo Foundation leaders asked themselves what could we do differently? They did not want to spend more money on services though that would have been a laudable goal; they wanted to see what work they could do that other funding providers would not invest in. And so, when we started out, we interviewed about 200 activists to find out what folks in the field thought were the strengths and challenges of the current work. Here are some of the themes that we heard in those conversations regarding strengths.

The first strength interviewees noted is that there has been a dramatic shift in public perception around the acceptability of violence against girls and women. The polling on this is striking. Second, federal VAWA funding has created a nationwide infrastructure that allows us to provide lifesaving services in every state in the nation. Other movements would love to have that infrastructure. Third, we have deep expertise on the issue, and continued improvements in how systems respond to violence, although, as we acknowledge, it still clearly is not enough. Fourth, there have been incredible innovations in the field, particularly the work being done in marginalized communities, work that reflects an intersectional analysis and approach.

What we heard regarding challenges, over and over again, was about burnout. People in the field are working themselves and their organizations absolutely to the bone to try to meet the needs of survivors. There is a scarcity of resources; there are only enough resources to meet a small percentage of the need. In fact, when I asked people what we should be investing in, they said do not just give us money, because if you give us money, we will have to use it for more beds and services because we cannot morally turn away the people at the door and yet I know that is not the best solution or the only solution. We have to expand our thinking. The second challenge was the limited funding for advocacy which is the result of a heavy reliance on government money. There is very little money from other sources and almost no money for

organizing or social change. People talked about being in a siloed, isolated and competitive field. A lot of folks talked about an abusive environment in which we are at each other's throats. Many expressed uncertainty about whether they are even part of a "movement" or are they just part of a field, and they were trying to figure out what the difference is and if it matters. Many expressed concern that our movement has moved away from our social change roots. Our field has increasingly become professionalized and we have a lack of experience now in organizing and social change and we have a feeling that we are not getting at the root causes of violence against girls and women. In fact, many organizations do not have a mission to end violence against women. A number of people said, "We are a movement of no"; they expressed a sense of feeling stuck.

In 2010, we launched Move to End Violence.² Our goal is to help strengthen the movement by bringing together innovative leaders from across different sectors to help redefine and expand what the movement looks like in today's America. We provide the time and space and resources to help these folks step away from the intense pressures of the everyday to come together to have essential movement building conversations, to think about strategy, and to develop skills. Over the course of ten years we hope to help the movement become a powerful engine for social change, made up of a critical mass of people aligned around a common vision and moving in the same direction. So, every two years we find people—innovative leaders from across the country, including lots of folks in this room, who are doing this work, and bring them together to have these conversations. Over the course of two years, we are giving them this opportunity to talk with one another, to lift up their own wisdom and their own knowledge, and to think about vision and strategies. We also provide individual leadership training and organizational support. We are looking for visionary leaders from organizations which really get intersecting oppressions at a fundamental level, and that often means folks from scrappy, under-resourced organizations working at the margins. We think they are on to something in terms of what the right direction is for how you create social change. The first cohort leaders worked on defining a new vision for the movement. The second group of movement makers is engaged in some of the essential conversations that we have been having at this conference: What do we mean by violence? What do we mean by gender? How do we understand violence as inextricably linked to racial and economic and social justice? If that is what we believe, what does

² MOVE TO END VIOLENCE, <http://www.movetoendviolence.org/our-people/> (last visited May 26, 2015).

that mean for how we approach the work? What opportunities does this present? What kind of movement will we need? Who should we be partnering with? How does it shift both our analysis and our approach to the work? What does it look like to do cross-movement building where we understand how we are all connected and we are working together towards a common strategy?

IRVIN: This conference is unfolding in a way which feels tangible and allows us to start thinking about what it looks like to work together and what are some solutions for all of the challenges that we face. My name is Neil Irvin. I am the Executive Director of Men Can Stop Rape,³ and based in Washington, D.C. Our mission, since our inception in 1997 is mobilizing men, to use our strength to create cultures free from violence—especially men to stop violence against women. And we are real intentional with that language—violence against women and girls, because we recognize that women are experiencing the majority of the violence. It is men and it is boys who are learning to devalue women and to perpetrate this kind of violence as an expression of our masculinity. We think that we are able to work with boys in the way that we do because of the work that you all are doing as advocates, as policy people, as direct service providers, and as leaders in this work.

One of the ways that we help boys to understand how they have been misled about their humanity and who they are as men is by uncovering dominant stories about masculinity. This dominant story tells them that being a man is determined by how much sex they have with women, how much money they make, and how much success they have on the athletic fields. They find themselves in relationships with no social or emotional intelligence to help them gauge how to interact with people in a full and healthy way.

Our work now starts in elementary school with summer camps and in middle schools and high schools. We have been working with some young men who have been a part of our program for almost 15 years. They serve as facilitators, trainers, speakers; they mentor our younger men and boys.

The words most often used to advertise boys' toys are: battle, launch, heroes, armor, vehicle, cage, special-forces, stop, hero, arena, stealth, ultimate, and action. Our boys know very quickly what happens if they disagree with those expectations of masculinity. The violence in our young people's lives is not theoretical. There are policies and laws that already say you are not supposed to harm people. More policies and laws may not be the thing that is going to create communities where young

³ MEN CAN STOP RAPE, <http://www.mencanstoprape.org/> (last visited May 26, 2015).

people are safe and can have role models of how to interact with one another in a healthy, productive way.

When it comes time to work with boys, we have some core principles and they are all focused on starting with social and emotional intelligence. *A CALL TO MEN*,⁴ co-directed by Ted Bunch, Ulester Douglas at Men Stopping Violence,⁵ and many other organizations across the country have done a great deal to engage boys and men in change. But now for the next twenty to forty years, we need to talk about *how* you do that. It is good to do it, but there is a way in which it needs to be done. If activists walk into a room to talk to boys about ending rape, nobody is listening because most men are not violent, they are not raping, so they think you are not talking to them. So, for us it is really important to build relationships. We stay positive; we are male positive. It is important that this field start to think about what is it to really embrace men and masculinity as a resource, the same way the Buffets are looking at girls as an untapped resource. We have to re-harness the resource that men and boys want to be. We want to organize young men to internalize this work and sustain it for a lifetime.

We have to meet young men where they are. You cannot talk about rape day one; we cannot talk about sexual orientation and gender identity on day one because the homophobia and the heterosexism are so high. All men do not agree with what they have been taught. It is important for us as activists to realize that many boys are just concerned about getting home safely. They do not really care about violence against girls because people are perpetrating violence against them. Boys are trying to heal from trauma and then they find themselves in relationships with people, and they have no emotional intelligence or ability to share or speak. We must develop leaders, be patient with them, have regular check-ins with these young men, and provide incentives for change.

The last thing I would say to you is to get involved. It does not mean you have to start a non-profit, it does not mean you have to do Take Back the Night marches. You may just go to a play. Maybe you can write a check. Maybe you can celebrate someone who got a good grade, but you have to be involved in young people's lives to show them the alternatives. Thank you.

OLIVO: (*ORIGINAL SPANISH*) Yo soy co-fundadora de Sisterhood of Survivors. Cuando nosotros empezamos Sisterhood of Survivors

⁴ For more information on *A CALL TO MEN*, please visit <http://www.acalltomen.org/>. See also Cathy Albisa et al., *Panel on Organizing Campaigns*, 5 U. MIAMI RACE & SOC. JUST. L. REV. 505 (2015).

⁵ For more information on Men Stopping Violence, please visit <http://www.menstoppingviolence.org/>.

estábamos en una organización que provee servicios. La idea original era crear un grupo de apoyo para mujeres sobrevivientes de violencia domestica. Como parte del trabajo teníamos que participar en diferentes espacios donde se desarrollan estrategias decisiones que impactarían a las familias afectadas por violencia domestica. Lo primero que nosotros observamos fue que esos espacios estaban ocupados por profesionales—pero las mujeres que la corte nos mandaba a nosotros no estaban sentada en la mesa, ni eran parte del proceso. Entonces de ahí nosotros vimos la oportunidad que había y la necesidad mas que todo, de que esas mujeres estuvieran sentadas en esas mesas, porque esas decisiones iban impactar sus vidas. Cuando nosotros empezamos a traer mujeres a esos espacios, un día tuvimos que salir de una reunión porque mientras la gente hablaba a un lado, nosotros le hacíamos la interpretación, y eso estaba molestando a las otras personas y tuvimos que salir. Entonces vimos esa oportunidad de crear un espacio donde la voz de las mujeres, esas mujeres marginalizada fueran las que estuvieran dirigiendo esa lucha. Llegó un punto en que ya no podíamos continuar estar ahí porque nos convertimos en un problema político para la organización que nos estaba alojando y para sus aliados.

Muchas de las personas e instituciones responsable de crear los cambios y responder a nuestras demandas eran parte de la junta directiva o tenían conecciones políticas o controlaban recursos. En ese proceso nosotros empezamos a buscar un espacio a donde ir, por que en esa época tampoco teníamos ni un centavo. Entonces no estábamos en condiciones de hacer un trabajo de independizarnos en nada de eso. Nosotros nos íbamos a ir a un espacio que fuera mas alineado con la visión que nosotros teníamos, entonces nosotros, después de un tiempo, terminamos en el Miami Workers Center. El Miami Workers Center es una organización que ha estado aquí en Miami por unos catorce años, pero su enfoque principal siempre fue justicia racial y justicia económica. La mayoría de los miembros del Miami Workers Center son mujeres, luego venimos nosotros y trajimos más mujeres. Lo que nosotros encontramos, y todavía la parte de los retos que tenemos en el Miami Workers Center, y no solo Miami Workers Center sino que es un reflejo del movimiento de justicia social, es que por ejemplo nosotros vinimos allí. Nosotros salimos de servicio, de una organización de servicio más que todo porque las organizaciones de servicios eran solamente eso, ocupando espacio sin un análisis de raza, sin un análisis de clase. Nosotros llegamos a Miami Workers Center, una organización con una historia de justicia social increíble aquí en Miami, y la mayoría de sus miembros son mujeres que habían sido expuesta, que habían sido victimas de violencia domestica, de asalto sexual, de todas esas cosas. Donde está ubicado el Miami Workers Center es una de las comunidades

mas pobres de Miami, sometida y viviendo diariamente la violencia del sistema. Lo que paso fue que nosotros veíamos, y es parte todavía de los retos que tenemos en el Miami Workers Center y fue un reflejo también de las otras organizaciones allá afuera, que no tienen un análisis de género. Y toda su vida en el transcurso de Miami Workers Center como una organización, han hecho un trabajo increíble pero sin tomar en cuenta realmente como esas personas, la mayoría de sus miembros, han sido impactadas precisamente por su género. Entonces estamos en esta gran contradicción que tenemos por que por ejemplo, el trabajo increíble que se está haciendo, el trabajo increíble que esta haciendo el Miami Workers Center, el trabajo increíble que está haciendo la Coalición de Inmigrantes de la Florida, el trabajo increíble que está haciendo las organizaciones por derechos laborales donde la mayoría de esas organizaciones, otra vez los miembros, que están dirigiendo la lucha, son mujeres. Pero todo esto esta pasando individualmente, “yo trabajo en inmigración, yo trabajo en esto, yo trabajo en esto” pero no hay nada que nos traiga junto, no hay nada que nos junte, no hay un análisis, no hay un análisis de genero y no hay un análisis de violencia.

Cuando nosotros empezamos con Sisterhood of Survivors, lo que nos trajo junto, la necesidad fue este grupo de mujeres que recibían golpes de sus. Eso significó que nosotros abrimos la puerta para cualquier mujer que fuera victima de violencia domestica. Ahí nosotros teníamos unas profesoras de acá de la universidad de Miami, que siempre nos escribían un buen cheque, teníamos abogadas, teníamos contadoras, teníamos mujeres blancas, teníamos musulmanas de todo estaba ahí. La mayoría de mujeres sin embargo, eran mujeres de color, mujeres de clase trabajadora, mujeres pobres. Cuando nosotros teníamos reuniones estas mujeres profesionales blancas hablando ingles dominaban el espacio. Ellas dominaban el espacio aun cuando eran menos. Cuando empezó eso a suceder, vino la necesidad de reestructurar la forma como nosotros estábamos trabajando y el enfoque de nuestro trabajo. Primero nosotros teníamos que determinar quien iba dirigir esa lucha. El trabajo que nosotros estábamos haciendo era en base a la opresión que sufren las mujeres de lo que esta pasando en nuestra sociedad, pero las principales personas afectadas eran esas mujeres, principalmente mujeres de color, mujeres de la clase trabajadora, mujeres pobres. Entonces, si ellas son la mayoría y son la que están mas impactada por eso a la hora de quien va dirigir la lucha, para nosotros era importante que esas mujeres—las persona mas marginalizada en nuestra sociedad—sean las que dirijan la lucha. Esa fue la primera cosa que tuvimos que hacer. Pero sin dejar de reconocer que los golpes son golpes, violencia domestica es una forma de opresión, no discrimina, no tiene raza, no tiene color, no tiene nada de eso. Entonces en ese espacio, a la misma ves que nosotros queríamos

determinar quien dirige la lucha nosotros también estábamos en una decisión de encontrar cual era el papel que esas mujeres—mujeres blancas, mujeres con un estatus económico mas alto—iban a jugar en ese movimiento y en ese espacio que nosotros estábamos desarrollando. Utilizando los privilegios que tienen, privilegios de raza o privilegios económicos, vamos a ver como nosotros podemos explotar eso para avanzar los derechos de las mujeres en general. Pero, quien va a dirigir la lucha son las mujeres que están directamente impactadas por esto.

Pero todavía lo estamos tratando de determinar, yo no tengo una respuesta todavía y yo espero que un día la tenga. Uno de los grandes impactos que Sisterhood of Survivors hizo aquí en Miami fue crear un espacio que estaba inexistente aquí en la Florida, donde se empezó a hablar de la participación de las mujeres desde un punto de vista político y el impacto que estaban teniendo. Todavía nosotros no estamos donde necesitamos estar, pero hemos visto los cambios que están sucediendo aquí, ahora todo el mundo quieren incluir mujeres y que bueno, porque eso es lo que nosotros queremos y que cada institución, cada organización, cada movimiento de justicia social incluyan un análisis de genero y un análisis de violencia en el enfoque del trabajo que hacen.

Como es que nosotros, como es que los servicios, como es que los movimientos de justicia social y como es que espacios como este de la universidad, espacios como esta conferencia que nosotros creamos aquí, van a trabajar juntos para avanzar esos derechos y para avanzar en una agenda que cambie las condiciones y la vida de las mujeres que están cada vez más impactada por las opresiones que vivimos.

Para mi es muy importante que en espacios como este si nosotros vamos hacer realmente reales en lo que queremos hacer, esas mujeres marginalizadas tienen que estar también. Esas conversaciones tenemos que tenerlas, estructuras de poder en términos no solo de poder de recursos, sino poder de espacio, poder político, todo esos poderes, nosotros tenemos que hablar de eso, y como cada uno de nosotros queremos relacionarnos en base a ese poder.

Las personas mas marginalizadas son las que tienen que estar a frente de la lucha. Segundo nosotros debemos determinar cual es el rol de las otras personas que no califiquen dentro de ese primer grupo, cual es el papel que van a desempeñar. Y tercero también determinar cuales son las necesidades de esas agencias para poder transformar el trabajo que ellos están haciendo. Que es lo que nosotros necesitamos hacer para cambiar esa estructuras? Para nosotros lograr los cambios que necesitamos en el estado de la Florida, tenemos que expandir nuestro trabajo y sacarlo de Miami-Dade County, necesitamos el trabajo aquí pero el trabajo tiene que ser un trabajo estatal donde se reúnan todos esos recursos. ¿Cómo es que las organizaciones por justicia social y derechos

laborales van a incluir en el trabajo que hacen, o van a enfocar el trabajo que hacen, en base de un análisis de género y un análisis de violencia? ¿Cuáles son los recursos que nosotros necesitamos para hacer ese trabajo? La respuesta yo no la tengo, pero lo que yo sí sé, es que cada uno de nosotros tenemos que salir de aquí y determinar, ¿Cuál es el rol que yo voy a jugar para yo lograr que esos cambios, pasen?”

Yo pienso que la mayoría de la gente que vino a esta conferencia es porque realmente están preocupadas y le preocupa todo lo que significa el impacto de la violencia en la comunidad y en todas nuestra gente. Pero, venir a una conferencia no es suficiente. ¿Qué es lo que nosotros necesitamos hacer? ¿Cuál es el rol que va a jugar cada uno de ustedes para lograr ser parte de ese movimiento y para lograr ser parte de esos cambios y para ayudarnos avanzar esa agenda y esa plataforma que nosotros necesitamos?

OLIVO: (*ENGLISH TRANSLATION*) My name is Marcia Olivo. I am the co-founder of Sisterhood of Survivors. When we began Sisterhood of Survivors we were with a service providing organization. The original idea was to create a support group for women that had survived domestic violence. As part of our job, we had to participate at the tables where domestic violence policy was being made. The first thing we found was that in that space were only this group of people--professionals--making decisions, but the women who the Court sent to us were not sitting at the table. The professionals were making decisions that would govern the lives of these women. We saw the opportunity and the need that those women be seated at the table because those decisions would impact their lives.

When we started taking women into those spaces, one day we had to leave a meeting because while people talked in English, we would interpret for the women on the side, and that was bothering other people, and so we had to go. From that we saw the opportunity to create a space where women, the voice of marginalized women, was to be heard and where they would be the ones guiding the fight. There came a point that we no longer could be in the service provider's office. Because we became a problem for the program and other service organizations with whom they worked. Many of the demands were made of those people who were at the table, so we had to leave that organization. We started looking for a space, but did not have a dime, so we were not in the right condition to become independent. We wanted to go to a space that was more aligned with our vision, so we ended up at the Miami Workers Center.

Miami Workers Center is an organization that has been here in Miami for about fourteen years; its main focus was racial and economic justice. The majority of the Miami Workers Center's members are

women and when we joined, we brought more women. A challenge we have with the Miami Workers Center, and not only with the Miami Workers Center, is that there was no analysis of gender. We left the service provider organization because the service provider organizations were without an analysis of race or class. We arrived at the Miami Workers Center, an organization with an incredible history of social justice work and the majority of its members are women who had been victims of domestic violence or sexual assault. Miami Workers Center is located in one of the poorest communities in Miami, where people experience on a daily basis the violence of the system. But MWC did not have an analysis of gender. Miami Workers Centers had done an incredible job, but without taking into account how the majority of its members have been impacted because of their gender. So, there is this great contradiction that we have the incredible work that Miami Workers Center is doing, the incredible work that the Florida Immigrant Coalition is doing, the incredible job that the organizations for labor rights are doing, where the majority of these organizations are led by women. But all this is happening separately. People say, "I work at immigration, I work in this, I work in this," but there is nothing that brings us together, there is nothing that joins us, there is not an analysis, there is not an analysis of gender, and there is not an analysis of violence.

When we began Sisterhood of Survivors, what brought us together was the need of this group of women who were being assaulted by their partners. So that meant that we opened the door to any woman who had been the victim of domestic violence. We had teachers from the University of Miami, who always wrote a nice check, we had lawyers, accountants, white women, Muslim women; we had everything there, but the majority of women were women of color, working-class women, and poor women. When we had meetings, these white professional women speaking English dominated the space. They dominated the space even when there were less of them. When that started to happen, it became necessary to restructure the way we were working and the focus of our work. We first had to determine who was going to lead this fight. The work we were doing was based on the oppression that women suffer, and the main persons affected by this oppression were women of color, women of the working class, and poor women. If they are the majority and they are the ones most impacted, it is important that these women—the most marginalized people in our society—be the ones that directed the fight. So that was the first thing we had to do. But we still recognized that hits are hits, domestic violence is a form of oppression, it does not discriminate, it does not have a race, and it has no color. At the same time that we were wanting to determine who was going to lead the fight, we were also making the decision of what role these white women,

women with a higher economic status, were going to play. Using the privileges they have, privileges of race or economic privileges, how can those privileges be used to advance the rights of women in general? Still, the ones that will *direct* the fight are women who are directly impacted.

I do not have an answer yet. Sisterhood of Survivors created a space that was non-existent here in Florida where we began to talk about the participation of women from a political point of view. We are still not where we need to be, but we have seen the changes that are happening here; now everybody wants to include women and that is good because we want every institution, every organization, every social justice movement to include an analysis of gender and an analysis of violence in the focus of the work they do.

How is it that we, how is it that the service providers, how is it that the social justice movements and spaces like this at the University, spaces such as this Conference that we created here, will work together to advance those rights and to advance an agenda that changes the conditions and lives of women who are most impacted by the oppression that we live?

For me it is very important that in spaces like this one, if we are going to be real about what we want to do, those marginalized women have to be here as well—not just when we go out and protest, not just when we occupy a space, but when decisions are being made. If we are really going to develop this movement, we have to talk about the structures of power in terms of resources, space, and political power, and how each one of us wants to relate on the basis of that power.

The most marginalized people have to be the ones in the front of the fight. Second, we must determine what is the role of the people who do not qualify within that first group, what is the role that they will play? Third, what do service agencies need in order to transform the work they are doing? What is it that we need to do to change those social service structures? We really have to expand our work and take it out of Miami-Dade County; we need to be state-wide. How is it that organizations for social justice and labor rights are going to include in the work they do an analysis of gender and an analysis of violence? What are the resources that we need to make this work? I do not have the answer, but what I do know is that each one of us has to get out of here and determine, “What is the role that I’m going to play so that I can make those changes happen?”

I believe that the majority of the people who came to this Conference are here because they are really concerned and worried about the impact of the violence in our community. But attending a conference is not enough. What is it that we need to do? What is the role that each one of

you will play to be part of this movement and to be part of these changes, and to help us advance this agenda and platform that we need?

PAYNE: One of the things that I think is the most challenging has to do with the current funding structures. The vast majority of our funding comes from the government. That funding limits what you do in terms of advocacy, organizing, and social change. But, I think we place more limitations on ourselves than funding actually requires. We need to take risks, understand the opportunities, and push. So, you heard from Nan Stoops this morning on the plenary about how to bring to the center of the mainstream movement the work that is happening on the margins to help folks shift the analysis and the approach.⁶ She has the incredible advantage of the infrastructure that that group of people gets together like six times a year. The folks who are working in the margins do not have that same level of resources. So, folks are recreating the wheel in isolation or just not having the opportunity to learn from each other, and the rest of this movement is not getting the full benefit of what is happening out there. So, I think that is a big one that we are trying to address. We have got to get comfortable about talking about targets and talking about power and the use of it and building it. We have to have a fundamental shift in how this movement is operating if we are going to win. That means we have to address how we can work together with our allies in the movement so we can hear each other and we can build our power.

HOEFLINGER: So, Marcia, your work relies on survivors leading the conversation and setting the agenda. What advice would you give to service providers and advocates who are interested in broadening the way they think about and engage with survivors? Neil, building on your last comment about men, you asked what does it mean for this movement to embrace men. What does it look like for men to be part of this movement? Jackie, I think one of the amazing things about the Move to End Violence Project is that we have service providers and activists and advocates and funders sitting in the same circle together and that is a rare opportunity. What are the benefits and challenges of this collaboration?

OLIVO: (*ORIGINAL SPANISH*) Lo que yo le diría a services providers y otros sectores del movimiento primero es hay que tomar riesgos. Si queremos ganar, hay que tomar riesgos. Y por ejemplo nosotros estamos claros que proveedores de servicios son instituciones creadas por el gobierno, pero yo como proveedora de esos servicio es parte de mi responsabilidad tomar riesgos y retar a ese sistema. Entonces uno para mi es que hay que tomar riesgos y son la condiciones que

⁶ See Caroline Bettinger-Lopez et al., *Plenary 4—Mobilization*, 5 U. MIAMI RACE & SOC. JUST. L. REV. 487 (2015).

tenemos pero hay que hacerlo. La otra parte que es sumamente importante sobre todo cuando viene a instituciones de servicios, es practicar humanidad y compasión con las personas a quien esos servicios van dirigidos. Y parte de lo que nosotros escuchamos cada día de las mujeres con quien nosotros trabajamos, es precisamente la falta de compasión y de humanidad de esas instituciones que representan al sistema.

OLIVO: (*ENGLISH TRANSLATION*) What I would say to service providers and other sectors of the movement is this. First, risks must be taken. If we want to win, we need to take risks. For example, we are clear that service provider institutions are created by the government, but as a service provider, it is my responsibility to take risks and challenge the system. So, you need to take risks within the conditions that you face. The other part is that service providers must practice humility and compassion with the persons with whom they work. What we hear every day from the women with whom we work is precisely the lack of compassion and humility from those institutions that represent the system. This is how institutions can turn into mechanisms of oppression.

IRVIN: I would like to see boys here. I would like to see young boys here learning, experiencing, and having this opportunity to role model. I would like to see young people here. They become the future generations that internalize this work—young men, young women who are learning and who can start helping us think about what the vision needs to look like. I would like to see more youth involved earlier and more diverse ways for men to be involved that serve this work, and be invited here to be awkward and heterosexist and homophobic because that is what we are going to be when we come in here. That should not to be a moment to attack, but to say, “Well, hey of course you’re that way because that is how you have been taught to be.”

PAYNE: In some ways the strengths are obvious. So many people in this room coming from different pieces of the spectrum of the movement, working on child abuse and domestic violence and sexual violence and domestic workers, and thinking about the intersections of all of the issues to understand how they are linked, to really explore their relationship between economic justice and racial justice and the end to violence. There are a couple of challenges. One of them is how we are together and how much space we have for each other to be able to learn and do better. How are we going to create a learning space? And then also there is a political question about what it means to be a movement and how if we understand the need to broaden our movement, how are we going to invite other folks into this even if we do not agree with everything they think. And they do not agree with everything we think. I was thinking about what is happening in the immigration reform movement and how

some of my gay male friends are working with some of the really extreme religious right to pass immigration reform, they are sitting at a table every day with people who think they are going to hell. They are making the choice to sit at that table with those folks because they want to win immigration reform. Their strategy is that sitting with those folks will help them win. I will leave it to you to make your own choice, but I will tell you when you are focused on the win, if you think that is going to help you get the strategy and create change for people, then maybe you make that choice.