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## Panel on Organizing Campaigns (Transcript)

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Kelly Miller (moderator)

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## TRANSCRIPT<sup>o</sup>

CONVERGE! REIMAGINING THE MOVEMENT TO END GENDER  
VIOLENCE SYMPOSIUM:

### Panel on Organizing Campaigns

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI SCHOOL OF LAW

*Kelly Miller (moderator)<sup>\*†</sup>*

*Cathy Albisa*

*Ted Bunch*

*Jodeen Olguín-Tayler*

*Lumarie Orozco*

**OROZCO:** Good morning. My name is Lumarie Orozco and I work for Casa de Esperanza. I work for the National Latino Network for Healthy Families and Communities. I have been with Casa de Esperanza for about ten years now. I worked as a youth practitioner for many years and for a couple of years I oversaw our community engagement work. I am here to talk a little bit about having survivors at the table, where this community is at. I am a practitioner at heart and an academic second. So, today what I want to talk about are the community engagement approaches that we utilize at Casa de Esperanza. With this approach, we mobilize the Latino and Latina community members to end domestic violence and gender based violence in our community. What I want to do today is to take a step back and bring it back down to what is really

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<sup>o</sup> This transcript has been edited from its original transcription for clarity.

<sup>\*</sup> Kelly Miller is the Executive Director of the Idaho Coalition Against Sexual & Domestic Violence. Cathy Albisa is a constitutional and human rights lawyer with a background in the right to health. Albisa co-founded National Economic & Social Rights Initiative. Ted Bunch is the co-founder and co-director of A CALL TO MEN. Jodeen Olguín-Tayler is the Director of Organizing for Caring Across Generations. Lumarie Orozco is a community psychologist, youth practitioner, and trainer who previously managed Casa de Esperanza's community engagement initiatives including *Fuerza Unida* and Youth Initiatives.

<sup>†</sup> Original remarks from the CONVERGE! conference omitted.

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important, the people we are doing the work with, and those who we are doing the work for. At the end of the day, it is about the community and enhancing the leadership skills of the community members so that they are able to mobilize themselves to take action on gender based violence or other issues that they feel are important to them and the community.

Casa de Esperanza has been around for about thirty years. We are based out of St. Paul, Minnesota and we originally started as a shelter program. Fast forward thirty years later, and we are still a shelter program. We are also the National Latina Resource Center on Domestic Violence. We are one of the only resource centers that still provide direct services. And so our organization is grounded in community and community realities that inform our practice. So, everything that we learn and do on a local level is what informs our national work, our training and technical assistance work, our research work, and our policy work.

We started this movement about thirty years ago because Latinas in Minneapolis and in St. Paul said that they were experiencing domestic violence, but they did not have anywhere to go because service providers were not providing culturally appropriate and relevant services. Thus, seven Latinas decided to come together and build a shelter and start providing services that are culturally relevant and appropriate to Latinas in Minneapolis and St. Paul. Our work has become about engaging Latinas in this work. It is about sitting down and having conversations with Latinas, asking Latinas what they want; we strive to listen to what they are telling us and then put those things into action.

What I am going to talk a little bit about today is an overview of our Fuerza Unida work. Fuerza Unida means “strength united.” It is a community engagement approach that we utilize to help inform the work that we do. We do not develop new programs, we do not develop new tools, we do not develop new campaigns without first having conversations with our community members first, and without engaging community members in the process of developing programs. We do not have the right to define how this work should happen.

Another component of our community engagement work is not only to engage communities in these conversations, but it is also about providing opportunities for them to develop and enhance their own leadership skills. If provided with the appropriate tools, communities will find their own solutions to the problems that they are facing. What we have found over the years is that using this community engagement approach not only creates this sense of belonging for community members, it also increases connectedness, and it helps to build social support networks. Part of this listening engagement process is about being willing to take action on what the community is telling you to do. About two years ago, we had conversations with 120 Latinas from across

the Twin Cities, and the metropolitan/suburb areas. We found that women were looking for opportunities to develop their leadership. And so we expanded some of the work that we were currently doing with women to help them so that the program reflected what it was that they wanted from us. They were looking for access to education, they were looking for opportunities for informal and formal education, and they wanted us to start doing work with men. We heard that they also wanted us to work with their husbands and with sons. So, we began doing that through our youth/peer education initiative where we work. We have young men as peer educators to educate other young men about healthy relationships, gender roles, and other issues important to young men—education, all of those things. We provide information resources so that these communities become first responders, agents of change to lead the work we are doing in community. One of the recent projects with men in the community is under the leadership of Juan Carlos Arean, the Director of the National Latino Network, we brought together a group of about ten to fifteen men from the community and held listening sessions with them to figure out how men want to be involved in this work and how they would engage other men in this work. We had these conversations with men and what came out of that was that men want to be engaged and they want to be engaged in ways that make sense to the Latino community. So, they did not want for us to send them flyers and do things for them, they wanted to be able to do those things themselves. So, what came out of this was this PSA that I am going to share with you; the men in this PSA are the ones who said they wanted to be engaged in that way. We wanted to create this PSA so that we can invite men to start having this conversation.

This video is part of our “Invito” Campaign. This campaign targets Latino men and invites them to have conversations with other men about gender based violence and other issues that community members are facing. The beauty of this video is that this was unscripted. We just had conversations with men, they told us what they wanted to do, they came up with the idea of the video, and they came up with their own messages.

**ALBISA**: I am with the National Economic and Social Rights Initiative, a movement support organization working with grassroots partners to advance the human rights to decent work, healthcare, housing and education. The big theme or question being posed here at this conference is how we could all work intersectionally. That is a big word and a complicated concept—most people have never used or heard that word. But for decades, many of us have been using that word and talking about that word in part because we get really frustrated about the way identity politics can play out. So, if you consider yourself part of the women’s movement and care about poverty, racism, and economic

violence, and those issues never quite makes it onto the women's movement agenda because they do not affect all women, you look for a way to address that. But when we think about that word—intersectionality—in isolation, rather than getting us to a more inclusive, more connected space, it has actually created narrower political corridors over the years. That is partly why it can be a very limiting framework. I think it is a really important political and moral concept and principal. This panel is to talk about frameworks.

We need to think about frameworks that actually connect us and can be used to move intersectional work, which is different than using intersectionality as your primary framework or your messaging tool. So, what is a framework? At minimum, I think a framework should help us understand the world and the problems we are all outraged about and point us to some useful strategies and orient us towards solutions. We have been using a human rights framework.

A human rights framework is far from a magic bullet. It is not as if when you walk into a room and tell a policymaker, “hey, you know, when you violate the right to housing, you violate human rights,” they say “oh, my God, I’ve got to stop doing that.” That obviously does not happen. But, the human rights framework matters to people who are impacted and communities that are impacted. It resonates with people. It resonates as a message, not because of the legal dimensions, the treaties, or the UN processes. Those may or may not be useful and effective tool depending on the context. But it is really the ethical and moral implications of human rights that resonate. And because it resonates with people, it is something that brings them together so that they can work on under a collective vision. It is a powerful platform for some of the campaigns that we have been supporting. But why? Why does a human rights framework appeal to people? It seems to appeal to people because it is a claim on society. You are not talking about needs or charity. You are talking about something you have a claim to, a claim to be recognized as human; a claim to have your humanity recognized and valued. It is straightforward and simple, but also very profound. In some ways I feel like we should all be in North Carolina where 100,000 people are gathering in support of Moral Mondays instead of here. Right now there are growing voices all over the country for returning to some basic morality, and not the way the far right talks about it—but a morality that recognizes all people as human beings entitled to dignity, equal in rights. That framework brings people together in a large way. And it brings people together in very specific campaigns, and that is what I am going to be talking about.

The question we have to ask ourselves is: how do we frame human rights? You can look at the symptoms of a problem—gender based

violence being one of them. We are often used to looking at human rights that way—in a violations framework. I have kids who are twelve and fourteen, and they like these Percy Jackson movies. Inevitably, there is a multi-headed monster that the teenage demigod Percy has to slay. Because the entire theater has read the book, they are saying, “No Percy, don’t cut his head off!” You know you do not cut its head off because three more heads grow, right? Therefore, Percy being a demigod, I guess superior to the rest of us, figures out pretty quickly that he has to get at the heart of the monster. I think we have to think about our work that way. We have to get at the heart of the monster, not just keep cutting off heads. Otherwise we are just going to fight until we are exhausted, and we are going to fight until we lose. Human rights can help us get at the heart of the monster as well. It can help us do what Dr. King challenged us to do: question the whole of society, not the piece that is particularly under your skin.

I am also an admirer of Dr. Paul Farmer’s work. He talks about structural violence. Structural violence is not just specific incidents of physical or sexual violence. It is an analysis recognizing that we have designed society around inequality. The symptoms of inequality include the gender-based violence that you see amongst many other heads of the monster. But we are never going to kill or get rid of those heads, that is eliminate those violations and symptoms that are out to attack us if we do not get to the structure, to the heart of the monster.

Human rights are universal, that means basically for everyone. Human rights are not just about the symptoms of inequality, but recognizing what underlines them. It will recognize inequalities between two white men if one is subordinate to the other. It will also recognize inequalities faced by women of color that are pursued by a punitive state or abused by a partner. So while we know there are huge differences and spend a lot of time talking about them, it is a framework that we use to link the various struggles people face in their lives and in their political work. The case study I want to discuss today is a compelling one. Nelly Rodriguez is a farm worker and she is a member of the Coalition of Immokalee Workers. One of the times I saw her in action was at International Women’s Day. The Coalition of Immokalee Workers went on an eight day fast in front of Publix to protest that corporation’s refusal to enter into a Fair Food Agreement to increase wages and impose a code of conduct in the tomato fields to protect workers’ rights. She spoke that day about the violence she felt when she had to rip her infant from her arms at 4:00 in the morning to go work in the fields before she was fed or even awake. She had to rip her infant from herself and hand her over to somebody in a trailer every day at 4:00 in the morning to go work in the fields. She experienced that as violence. As a parent, I felt that story as

violence when I heard it. I particularly found it violent when I knew that they picked up the workers at 4:45 in the morning just to make sure that they had enough workers. They had them sit there until the crops dried and did not start work until 9:30. By the way, they did not get paid for that waiting time, which was for the growers' convenience to make sure they had enough slots filled up. So that was a reflection of the structural violence in one of the most abusive industries in our country and in the world.

Before the Coalition of Immokalee Workers won a big victory in 2009 with 90% of the tomato industry entering into a human rights agreement,<sup>1</sup> with them, a lot of other things happened in the fields as well. A lot of the ugly heads of the monster were there, and one of them was slavery. More than 1200 workers have been freed with federal government prosecutions. It is real slavery involving guns, chains, physical violence, and wages stolen. I am going to focus on sexual harassment because I think it is an example of how this organization that views human rights as their main message and frame has worked so well intersectionally.

The Coalition of Immokalee Worker's Fair Food Campaign has always been a human rights campaign. It is a human rights campaign in its framework, messaging, and in its DNA—in their deep, deep beliefs. They believe that what happens to agricultural workers is just the extreme end of what happens to all workers in this country. The Coalition uses this broad frame because they do not want to distinguish themselves as migrant workers. They see themselves as connected to all working people in the country. They know that before there were migrant workers, there were sharecroppers, child slavery, and a long history of abusing people of color. They go even further than that—if there were no people of color, they would find somebody else to abuse. It is a system and a structure. People of color get hit on the bottom because the system itself is structured in a way that is abusive and enables structural racism.

The Coalition looked at the agricultural system and went after the top of the supply chain—the big buyers who have power. A few buyers control most of the market. They have enormous power to put downward pressure on wages. The growers cannot cut seeds or tractors, so they cut labor, which is how you end up with coerced forced labor and slavery because sometimes they could not find people who would work under the conditions they had. The campaign, through all of these agreements, had a number of enormous victories. They now have, I believe, twelve

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<sup>1</sup> See *Historic Breakthrough in Florida's Tomato Fields*, COALITION OF IMMOKALEE WORKERS, (Nov. 16, 2010), available at [http://ciw-online.org/blog/2010/11/ftge\\_ciw\\_jo\\_int\\_release/](http://ciw-online.org/blog/2010/11/ftge_ciw_jo_int_release/).

agreements with major corporations, including Walmart. The corporations agreed to increase wages and implement a code of conduct that would eliminate a wide range of abuses through monitoring, auditing, a complaint system, and worker-to-worker education. On the farm and on the clock, workers come and do the “Know Your Rights” talk to other workers.

The agreements also created a whole new set of relationships. Farm workers were not actually employees of growers; they were employees of subcontractors, so the grower could wash their hands of responsibility. Now they are employees in the tomato fields of growers. There was also a dialogue set up whenever there was an issue between growers, subcontractors, and workers. It is really hard to not see someone as a human being if you have to be in dialogue and have empowered workers to talk about problems, propose solutions, and offer critique. Through this shift in power dynamics, we have had a cultural shift in the fields.

Sexual harassment turned out to be a huge issue. I do not even think the Coalition realized how big it was until they started implementing their victory. It became one of the main areas of complaints. Previously, it was so normalized that when the women participated in the worker to worker education, they would say, “Whoa, wait, you mean that’s not supposed to happen?” Some did not know it was illegal, but they also did not know it was not supposed to happen. Now the worker-to-worker education even includes peer-to-peer sexual harassment awareness-raising, even though it is not in the Code of Conduct. During sessions a trainer may give an example of a case and say, “Well, how would you feel if this happened to your mother or to your sister?” Then they point to the few women in the field and say, “These are your mothers and your sisters when you are out here in the field,” and it has had an impact on the culture. The other important piece of the puzzle is the leaders. When you have a leader like Nelly working with other farm workers, they have a huge impact on each other. That kind of modeling tends to start shifting things. You have to understand farm work is 80 to 90% male. However, the Coalition says that while sexual harassment only happens to 10 to 20% of the workers, it happens almost all of the time to those workers. So, here you have this organization that is 80 to 90% male workers who have made sexual harassment a priority. It is one of their four major pillars in all their marches and campaigns. It is one of the main areas of investigation in complaint resolution. No one could have gone in there and just gone after sexual harassment because until you change the rotting structure, you cannot really deal with anything else. You would never hear the word intersectionality in Immokalee. They are working about as intersectionally as you could. The interesting contradiction is they work intersectionally because they believe in universal rights.

**OLGUÍN-TAYLER:**<sup>2</sup> My name is Jodeen Olguin-Tayler. I am the Organizing Director with Caring Across Generations and before I came to work with Caring Across Generations, I got to spend about a decade doing organizing campaign work both in the Workers' Rights Movement, the Economic Justice Movement, and the Immigrant Rights Movement. My decade of work in the immigrant rights and economic justice movements is not work that was separate from the Movement to End Violence Against Women and Girls, not only because poverty is itself a form of violence, but also because so much violence happens in the workplace. I myself am a survivor of sexual assault in the workplace. One of the reasons why people immigrate is because of violence and immigrants experience a disproportionate level of violence in this country. When I came to work with the National Domestic Workers Alliance, which is the anchor group of the Caring Across Generations campaign, they already had thirty-eight affiliates across the country. Our members are mostly immigrant women, and African American women and, I would dare to say mostly are survivors. When I came to work at the National Domestic Workers Alliance, we were preparing to launch our first national campaign—a campaign called Caring Across Generations. We launched this campaign because after seven years of organizing to win the New York state-wide Domestic Worker Bill of Rights, which was a groundbreaking victory for domestic workers and low-wage workers across the country, we had gleaned important lessons about how to lead successful campaigns. We were ready to run campaigns that could help us scale our impact. In short, it clear to us that improving working conditions for the 2.5 million domestic workers in this country would require building up a lot more political power for our membership base. So Caring Across Generations was conceived as a strategy to build that political power. Caring Across Generations was launched as a national campaign that was multi-issue, built under the strategic premise that we need to identify areas of overlapping self-interest and interdependence with strategic allies so that we can bring allies into relationship with our members and take collective action on a multi-issue agenda.

We also believe that we need to be experimenting with strategies for jumping scales. I am talking about both increasing the scale of engagement with a constituent base, so increasing the scale of base-building work, but also experimenting with a larger scale impact on social change and policy change work. The policy agenda for the Caring Across Generations campaign was: (1) to create two million new

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<sup>2</sup> There were many slides used to illustrate the points made in this presentation. Slides can be obtained by e-mailing the author at [Jolguin-tayler@demos.org](mailto:Jolguin-tayler@demos.org).

homecare jobs that were good, living wage, quality jobs; (2) have a workforce development component so there was a training and pathway to citizenship for the care workers in that workforce; (3) by creating that good, well supported workforce, we would also be creating better access to more sustainable and higher quality long-term care for seniors and people with disabilities. So, we were interweaving not only issues, but interweaving the interests of people from different demographics. This approach of multi-issue, values-based organizing campaigns was to help break us out of our issue and sector silos to build new strategic partnerships that would result in more political power for all of us.

So, I do not want to focus on the details of the Caring Across Generations Campaign, instead I want to offer it as an example of the role that organizing campaigns can play in movement building work. In particular I want to think about the ways that we look at indicators of successful organizing campaigns—the ways that we are measuring our success. When we think about different kinds of success indicators for organizing campaigns, I think about three categories that indicate success. The first is around uniting and organizing people into more powerful relationships with each other. It is often thought about as base building, but it is not just about base building, it is about building the capacity for increasing the scale of base building work. The second category is concrete improvement in people's lives—meaning improvements in material conditions. And then the third category of success indicators is generative and transformational changes. When we look at the kind of success indicators of what organizing accomplishes, it is important to see that if an organizing campaign is successful, there will be these kinds of changes in behavior, political consciousness and culture; new infrastructure in relationships and partnerships; new innovations and practice and structural and systems change. All of these things lead to us having more power and a better ability to use our collective power together.

We have a saying in the domestic worker movement—the domestic work is the work that makes all other work possible. As an organizer, I feel that organizing campaigns are a critical piece of movement work that makes all other movement work possible to do. So, when we step back and think about the role of organizing campaigns and why organizing campaigns matter, it is because of that critical role they play in building movement infrastructure. And, as an organizer, one of the core beliefs that I hold most dearly is that there is no change in scale that is real change unless it is backed by, *fueled by*, and created by a social movement that is not only demanding those changes, but *creating* those changes. That is what creating lasting, real movement change means, and it is organizing campaigns that harness our ability to do that. Campaigns

align progressive infrastructure and turn it into movement infrastructure. When I am talking about movement infrastructure, I am talking about the different organizations and institutions that make up the entirety of progressive forces—the entirety of our organizations and institutions that are working on social change and progressive direction. Sectors and fields also have their own infrastructure and together it makes up progressive infrastructure. Although we need all of these core capacities to be functioning, to be doing movement building work, there is also a key part of it that is how these core capacities are functioning in relationship to each other. So, I am going to tell you guys a secret, which is that about a decade into my organizing work I started having nightmares about sinking ships. It was a nightmare about the state of our progressive movement and the lack of coordination of our infrastructure and our ability to work between different capacities. It has been through the work of working with the National Domestic Workers Alliance and the Caring Across Generations Campaign, and exposure to other campaigns and our sister alliances that are doing really innovative work that I have been able to see how organizing campaigns can start to be more aligned. There are different organization and issues leading in different lanes, but they are united in a vision and moving forward with more purpose. So, with the Caring Across Generations work, there were a lot of issues that we touched on. It is a multi-issue organizing campaign, so these issues are all intersecting and a challenge within the field is that so often these issues are siloed, they are not in relationship to each other, there are not cross strategies. What we were trying to do was to put these issues in relationship to each other to be able to use the different lenses so that we could function together with a primary lens of improving long term care, but doing that in a way that furthered the interests and the goals of these other sectors and movements.

There are a lot of examples of cross sector organizing campaigns that are doing this kind of work. Caring Across Generations is one of them, and Cindy Wiesner talked about another example, the World March of Women. As cross sector organizing campaigns work together, a real key challenge becomes coordinating so that these campaigns can become more than the sum of their parts and together these campaigns can help build the infrastructure for the entire progressive movement. We are aligning communications, we are aligning research, and we are moving forward with a shared framework that helps us become a movement of movements doing this work together. It is based on the belief that organizing campaigns are what is needed. Organizing campaigns makes all other movement work possible because no change is lasting or real unless there is a movement behind it building, demanding and creating that change.

**BUNCH:**

[Video played] As men, we have unwritten rules and agreements, un-negotiated deals and codes of silence that other men come to expect from us. This collectively defines many aspects of our manhood. I remember asking a twelve year old boy, a football player, so how would you feel if your coach told you in front of all the other players that you are playing like a girl? I thought he would say I'd be mad, I'd be angry, I'd be sad. But no, the boy told me, "It would destroy me." I said wow, if it would destroy him being told that he's playing like a girl, what are we as men teaching him about girls? If we continue to treat women and girls as if they are of less value, the property of men and sexual objects, we continue to maintain a culture that reinforces discrimination and abuse towards them. It is important to rethink and reshape how we as men have been taught to act and behave. We need to hold on to the many wonderful aspects of manhood and remove those things that hold us back. We need to stop laughing and begin challenging inappropriate comments made about women and girls. We need to educate ourselves, our sons and other young men and boys. Let's be the solution. Our liberation as men is directly tied to liberation of women. A CALL TO MEN works when men and women can create a world where all men and all women are loving and respectful and all women and girls are valued and safe. Help us create a new world by being part of the next generation of manhood.<sup>3</sup>

Thank you. That was sort of a Public Service Announcement for our organization, A CALL TO MEN. A CALL TO MEN is a national organization focused on violence prevention, specifically ending violence against women and galvanizing a national movement of men to do the same. We were born out of the Battered Women's Movement. About twelve years ago, we founded A CALL TO MEN. Our work was built on the work that women had already done. Some of those women are here today, including Beth Richie, and Lavon Morris-Grant, Jackie Payne, Monique Hoeflinger, Nan Stoops, and others. I also want to shout out to other men doing the work as well. Neil Irvin from *Men Can Stop*

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<sup>3</sup> A CALL TO MEN, *The Next Generation of Manhood* (Oct. 5, 2012), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GG9fefzuFWs> (last visited May 28, 2015).

*Rape* is in the room; David Rivers is also here for the New Mexico Coalition. Our work was born out of the Battered Women's Movement. I was running the largest batterers program in the country for Safe Horizons in New York City. We had about thirty classes a week with 600 men, all court mandated.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, Tony Porter (co-founder of A CALL TO MEN) was doing work with batterers with Phyllis Frank in Nyack, New York. We were doing all this work with men who batter, and it was clear to us that men who batter do not seek to make changes. Actually, most men who go into batterers programs are court mandated to attend, and they go because they have to go, or to get out of a jam, or because they are in trouble. But, when we look at the numbers of men who engage in violence against women, it is a much larger number than those sent to treatment programs. And even those men who wind up going to batterers programs, if they do not comply with the program, they are not held accountable for not attending.

We wanted to look at the socialization of men, which requires looking beyond the individual men who commit sexual assault or domestic violence. Yes, those men need to be held accountable, but the larger issue is about men as a collective. The men who are violent against women are acting out this thing in manhood that teaches men to dominate and control. It is embedded in our socialization that women have less value than men, that women are the property of men, and that women are objects for men. And all men play that socialization out in some level or in some way. So the differences are in how we play it out and whether we are aware of it or not.

I try to be aware of how we move in the world; how we take up the understanding that male privilege is available for me here. That is what male privilege is, it is already in the room waiting for the man to come in and to take it. In the beginning of A CALL TO MEN we sat outside of the circle until the women in the movement brought us in. We had to first demonstrate that we could be allies. And there was a lot of resistance to our work for really good reasons. Some were concerned that we were interested in taking over.

Our mission is to work to create a world where all men and boys are loving and respectful, and all women and girls are valued and safe. And I want to emphasize ALL because that means going into every community, that means going to Hmong communities, that means going to Indigenous communities, and that means going into inner-city Chicago in the most difficult of circumstances. That means going everywhere that men and boys are because if we are going to end violence against all

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<sup>4</sup> See A CALL TO MEN, <http://www.acalltomen.org/> (last visited May 22, 2015).

women, then we have to work with the men and boys that they love. That is our responsibility. So, when we say all women, that is what we mean—*all* women. And we have a motto: “We go from the board room to the barber shop.” Wherever there are men, that is where we want to go because all men are impacted by this everywhere. Wherever there is patriarchy, wherever there is sexism, you have violence against women, discrimination, and oppression of women.

I want to share with you the principles of A CALL TO MEN. First, the roots of violence and discrimination against women and girls—men’s violence and discrimination against women and girls—is rooted in the history of male domination that has deeply influenced the definition of manhood in our culture. The definition of manhood has three primary aspects that promote and support the culture of violence and discrimination. The overwhelming majority of violence against women is men’s violence, and though most men are not violent, we are silent about the violence that other men perpetrate, and our silence is as much a part of the problem as the violence itself. So, if eight out of the ten men say to the two men who are doing violence against women or making sexist remarks, “knock it off, I’m offended by that,” we believe that those two men will stop doing what they are doing. We are expecting them to, and we are holding them accountable. These men are not abusive in other areas. They are not abusive when the police come to the door, for example. They have the ability to change. They are beating and yelling at their partner, but when the police knock at the door, they answer the door with, “hello officers, may I help you?” Well, that is anger management, is it not?

So, the second principle of A CALL TO MEN is that women are perceived as of less value than men. We say to the six year old boy, “you’ve got to throw harder than that, *you throw like a girl.*” That is our socialization. A sixteen year old boy, when a girl walks by, he is expected to talk to her. He has learned that he should objectify her and if he does not, then he is seen as not a man. So, the issues of seeing women as less valuable, as property, and as objects, create an environment where violence and discrimination is accepted, even tolerated, even encouraged. Preventing domestic violence, sexual assault, and other forms of violence against women is primarily the responsibility of men. As men, it is our responsibility to address this in the same way that white people must organize other whites to address racism.

When we look at commercial sexual exploitation and trafficking of women, we see again women treated as less valuable, as property. This is how many of our youth are learning what sex looks like. Their exposure to what sex looks like is through the lens of degrading women.

The third principle of A CALL TO MEN is that we cannot focus on one form of violence and discrimination against women and girls without focusing on *all* forms of violence and discrimination. The third principle is about the importance of an intersectional framework. We are purposely comprehensive in our work, understanding that many women and communities experience multiple forms of oppression.

The fourth principle is the importance of including the voices of women and having systems of accountability to women. We had an all-woman board for the first ten years and we only opened our board up to men two years ago. Men can get together with the best of intentions, and create a program in their community, but we need to know from women leaders if it is helpful to women in that community. So, it is important to have leadership and vision from women.

We are committed to grass roots organizing. We do organizing through training and education. We want to not just go in and inspire a community with a one-time event, but instead, we want to *do* something within this community.

And then the final principle of A CALL TO MEN is that while we want to educate men—all men—to the realities around male domination, social norms, and the need for cultural change, we also want to provide hope and care for men. We want to provide healing for men. Men are harmed by patriarchy, as well. Our work is an invitation to men, not an indictment. I want to give you an example of what men have done without even trying, and to ask you to imagine what we could do if we organized with women and made an effort to make this social change. My sixteen year old boy is a jock. He eats, drinks, and lives sports. I am reeducating him every day because he is spending time with these men who are saying things like, “*you throw like a girl.*” So, it is all this reeducating, and it is a wonderful conversation, and a wonderful experience. My son Joshua came to me and said “Daddy, will you dye my socks pink?” Why do you think he wanted me to dye his socks pink? It was for breast cancer awareness, but it was not because he and his teammates cared that much about breast cancer awareness. He wanted to do this because the NFL put out a statement telling athletes to wear pink during October. He is wearing pink socks not because he is now going to go and volunteer to do a Breast Cancer Awareness march. He is wearing pink because the men that he emulates are wearing pink. So, my son, who two years ago would never have asked to wear pink, now is asking me to dye his socks pink. Because the NFL said so, pink is now a cool color for men—just like that. Joshua plays basketball. What color are that boy’s socks? Well, they are actually fuchsia because when I dyed them I said “oh, you want pink socks? You are going to get some pink

socks, my brother!” So, you go to Dick’s Sporting Goods, Walmart, you find pink socks for men. Pink, just like that. This is social change!

This is my final note. So, Joshua says “Dad, take me to get a haircut.” I said, “Sure, Josh.” So Josh comes out in his pink socks and his blue Vans. He is going to the barber shop. So, Joshua comes out like this to go to the barber shop. You talk about a male culture. Joshua’s not concerned about people seeing his pink socks. He is going to the barber shop and nobody is laughing at his pink socks. Now, a cultural shift has occurred. No one made an announcement about anything; they just did it, and look at the ripple effects. Now, everybody’s wearing pink, my son’s wearing pink, and all these boys say “cool color!” Just like that. So, pink is the new black, and this is really how social change can occur. All of these efforts that bring us into the same conversation towards social change—that is really where it is at and men need to be a big part of that change.