

WOMEN'S CONVENTION SCREEN READ ACCESSIBLE MATERIALS  
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## WOMEN'S CONVENTION PROGRAM COVER PAGE

IMAGE: Women's Convention Logo. A torch in the shape of a fist with a flame on top colored in red and white. Three hands hold the torch, one hand is black, the next is gray with red fingernails and the third is white.

TEXT: Women's March Presents The Women's Convention, Reclaiming Our Time, October 27-29, 2017, Detroit

IMAGE: Red background with text in white print. A black flame shape appears from the right.

## WE ARE THE LEADERS WE'VE BEEN WAITING FOR

Welcome to the Women's Convention! Tapping into the power of women in leadership as the fundamental, grassroots force for change, we hope this weekend of workshops, trainings, inspiring forums, and network building will create a unique opportunity for you to learn, share expertise and unite with other women, femmes and allies over collective goals and strategies.

We cannot begin the Women's Convention without honoring the legacies and work of the women freedom fighters who came before us, from Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth to the Women's Suffrage and Second Wave Feminist movements to Chicana and Womanist movements to the 1997 Million Woman March, which occurred exactly twenty years ago on Wednesday, October 25th. There would be no Women's March without the labor and love of all the women who paved the way for us. We carry this herstory with us this weekend and as we move forward together towards the collective liberation of women of all races, ethnicities, ages, disabilities, sexualities, gender expressions, immigration statuses, religious faiths, and economic statuses.

Download The Women's Convention app in the App Store and on Google Play for updated information and all things convention-related. Follow Women's March on Twitter and Instagram at @womensmarch and on Facebook at @womensmarchonwash. The official hashtags of the Women's Convention are #WomensConvention and #ReclaimingOurTime.

IMAGE: The Women's March Logo. Three profile faces, the first is red, the second is black, the third is white, all against a red background.

### Speaker Names:

A'shanti Gholar	Amanda Litman
Abdul El-Sayed	Amber Tamblyn
Adrienne Burke	Senator Amy Klobuchar
Ai-jen Poo	Andrea Miller
Aída Hurtado	Andrea Ritchie
Aileen Rizo	Angel Harris
Aimee Allison	Angela Rye
Alex Niemczewski	Anika Goss-Foster
Ali Al Jundi	Anjali Purohit
Alicia Jay	Anne Stava-Murray
Alicia Renee Farris	Antonio Alarcon
Alie Brussel Faria	Anuja Rajendra
Alondra Alvarez	Arekia Bennett
Alyssa Klein	Arian Simone
	Art Reyes

Ashia George  
Audrey Sasson  
Aunjanue Ellis  
Barbara Ortiz Howard  
Bartosz Kumor  
Becky Bond  
Belem Morales  
Benita Robinson  
Bernadette Atuahene  
Bob Bland  
Brandi Collins  
Congresswoman Brenda Lawrence  
Britney Whaley  
Brittany Packnett  
Cadence Dubus  
Candace Moore  
Carla Sorey-Reed  
Carmella Gadsen  
Carmen Perez  
Cassady Fendlay  
Cathy McNally  
Charlotte Burrows  
Cherie Horrigan-Happy  
Christine Greig  
Claire McClinton  
Claire Sandberg  
Clare Doody  
Claressa Shields  
Colleen Flanagan  
Cristina Escobar  
Cristina Jiminez  
Dana Nessel  
Danielle Atkinson  
Congresswoman Debbie Dingell  
Senator Debbie Stabenow  
Dede Cummings  
Dee Poku  
Denise Gilmore  
Desiree Jordan  
Devon Weber  
Donna Lasinski  
Edelia Carthan  
Elahe Amani  
Elder Leslie Mathews  
Elisheva T. Johnson  
Elizabeth Tang

Emily Kutil  
Emily Robinson  
Emma Boorboor  
Erica Ford  
Erika Andiola  
Erika Geiss  
Erika Washington  
Erin M. Zettle  
Erin Villardi  
Faith Spotted Eagle  
Faiza Ali  
Fatuou-Seydi Sarr  
Fayrouz Saad  
Francesca Dulce Larson  
Gabby Weiss  
Gabriela Santiago-Romero  
Gillian Thomas  
Glenn Northern  
Glynda Carr  
Grace Starling  
Greisa Martinez  
Gretchen Whitmer  
Gwen Winston  
Heather Marie Scholl  
Helen Gym  
Hilary Linder  
Hiral Tipirneni  
Ibtihaj Muhammad  
Iliana A. Mora  
Ingrid Young  
Isra Chaker  
Jackie Cruz  
Jaimie Powell Horowitz  
Janet Kim  
Jay Wu  
Jean Ross  
Jeanette Vizguerra  
Jehmu Greene  
Jennifer Jones Austin  
Jennifer Suidan  
Jenny Byer  
Jess Morales Rocketto  
Jessica Jimenez  
Jessica Klaitman  
JoAnn Watson  
Jody Rabhan

Joi Chaney  
Josey Diomedea  
Joshua Berg  
Juani Oliveres  
Judith LeBlanc  
Julia Palovich Carr  
Julianne Hoffenberg  
Julie Alvin  
Julisa Abad  
Karen Finney  
Kate Childs  
Graham Katelyn Burns  
Katherine Costello  
Kayla Moya  
Kelly Dittmar  
Kenya Martin  
Khadija Gurnah  
Kim Blumenthal  
Kim Freeman Brown  
Kiran Waqar  
Senator Kirsten Gillibrand  
Kristy Pagan  
Krystal Leaphart  
Kym L. Worthy  
Lady April Cook-Hawkins  
Lala Zannell  
Laura De Palma  
Layidua Salazar  
Lenore Anderson  
Lenore Friedlaender  
Leo Ferguson  
Leslie Love  
NYC Public Advocate Letitia James  
Lilianna Angel Reyes  
Linda Sarsour L  
indsay Farrell  
Lindsay Videnieks  
Liz Plank  
Luba Cortes  
Lucy Flores  
Luiza Tanuri  
Lupe Gonzalo  
Lux Alptraum  
Mallory McMorro  
Manar Waheed  
Mari Copeny. Little Miss Flint  
Maria Salinas  
Maria Svart  
Mary Sheffield  
Maryam Aziz  
Mateo Guerrero-Tabares  
Maureen Conway  
Congresswoman Maxine Waters  
Maya Wiley  
Mayor Dr. Karen Weaver  
Melanie Campbell  
Melissa Byrne  
Melissa Leslie  
Melissa Mays  
Meredith Loomis  
Mia Ives-Rublee  
Micaela Stevenson  
Michaela Angela Davis  
Michelle Gilliam  
Mona Hanna-Attisha  
Monica Lewis Patrick  
Monica Ramirez  
Mrinalini Chakraborty  
Muthoni Wambu Kraal  
Nadia Gabet  
Nancy Banks  
Nantasha Williams  
Natali Rodriguez  
Natalie Offiah  
Nelini Stamp  
Nicky Brussel Faria  
Nicole Denson  
Nikia Paulette  
Nina Turner  
Noel Didla  
Nomiki Konst  
Noreen Farrell  
Odette Ramos  
Onetha McKnight  
Patrice Lawrence  
Phoebe Hopps  
Phylicia Porter  
Piper Carter  
Piper Perabo  
Quayneshia Smith  
Quinlan Oriana Powell  
Rachel Arone

Rafael Shimunov  
 Rameen Aminzadeh  
 Rana Abdelhamid  
 City Councilwoman Raquel Castañeda-  
 López  
 Raquel Vasquez Gilliland  
 Raquel Willis  
 Rashida Tlaib  
 Rashieda Smith  
 Rebecca Cokley  
 Rebekah Warren  
 Renee Chelian  
 Renee Johnson  
 Rhiannon Childs  
 Rita Bosworth  
 Roja Bandari  
 Roland Martin  
 Rosa Clemente  
 Rose McGowan  
 Rosie Hidalgo  
 Rukia Lumumba  
 Sabrina Stevens  
 Sage Carson  
 Sahar Sadighpour  
 Sally Kohn  
 Samantha Masters  
 Sara Reynolds  
 Sarah Ayers  
 Seema Sadanandan  
 Selvena Brooks  
 Shahrin Azim  
 Shakyra Diaz  
 Shannon Garret  
 Shannon Scribner  
 Sharon Dolente  
 Shea Sibula  
 Shelly Tygielski  
 Shenell Sowers (Magik)  
 Sherry Gay-Dagnogo  
 Soffiyah Elijah  
 Sommer Foster  
 Sophie Ellman-Golan  
 Staci Lowry  
 Stephanie Chang  
 Stephanie Kenner  
 Stephanie Llanes

Stephanie Loraine  
 Stephanie Schriock  
 Stosh Cotler  
 Sumaiya Ahmed  
 Sheikh Sunu Chandy  
 State Representative Stephanie Chang  
 Susan Hildebrand  
 Susan J. Lambert  
 Symone Sanders  
 Tabitha St. Bernard  
 Tahanie Aboushi  
 Tamika Mallory  
 Tarana Burke  
 Taryn Gal  
 Taylor Barnes  
 Taylor Harrell  
 Tayyaba Bukhari  
 Ted Jackson  
 Thay-Ling Moya Pérez  
 Toni Coral  
 Tonie Bell  
 Uyen Nguyen  
 V. Bozeman  
 Valerie Montgomery  
 Vanessa Cardenas  
 Virginia Dodge  
 Wendy Carrillo  
 Whitney Frierson  
 Whitney Parnell  
 Winnie Wong  
 Yandy Smith  
 Yonasda Lonewolf Hill  
 Zahra Billoo  
 Zaineb Hussein  
 Zakiyah Ansari  
 AND MANY MORE

## SCHEDULE

Content of this schedule reflects months of an intentional and inclusive process to crowdsource sessions from grassroots activists, movement leaders and partner organizations across the U.S., including Planned Parenthood on reproductive rights, health and advocacy, NRDC Action Fund on climate justice, EMILY's List on women running for office, and individual workshops from MomsRising, MoveOn, Our Revolution, Oxfam and the Barbara Lee Foundation.

Friday, October 27

Please check The Women's Convention app (see back cover for details) for full list of session speakers and panelists, and for any last minute programmatic changes.

### BREAKFAST

8:30AM - 10:00AM

HALL D

Friday Opening

Reclaiming Our Time: Setting the Agenda Together.

9:30AM - 10:45AM

HALL D We begin with the people who lived on this land first: Indigenous women. The Women's Convention will begin with prayers offered by Standing Rock elder Faith Spotted Eagle, followed by welcoming remarks.

Breakout Session 1

11:00AM - 12:15PM

ROOM 113ABC NRDC Action Fund Track: Environment, Climate and the 2018 Elections

ROOM 330B Coalition Building: Support Not Duplication - Overview of National, State & Local Organizations

ROOM 410A Innovation at the Local Level: Down the Ballot for Candidates and Voters

ROOM 320 I Dream Detroit: Engaging Women of Color in Crafting Detroit's Economic Development Plans

ROOM 321 Belly, Heart, Mouth: Using the body to become a comfortable, confident and compelling public speaker

ROOM 330A Hyperlocal Activism: How to Create Successful Neighborhood Groups

ROOM 411ABC #RepresentHer: Demanding Better Representation

ROOM 331ABC We Don't Wait Our Turn: Why Entrepreneurship is the Key to Women's Economic Empowerment

Breakout Session 2 - Working Lunch

NOTE: Pick up your boxed lunches to bring to the breakouts

12:30PM - 2:00PM

ROOM 113ABC NRDC Action Fund Track: Nevertheless We Persisted: Women and the Fight for Clean Water, From Flint to Puerto Rico

ROOM 411ABC When They Go Low, We Go Local

ROOM 330A GOTV: Voter Turnout Strategies - Marching to the Polls

ROOM 320 Lawyering for Gender Equity in the Age of Trump

ROOM 331ABC Future(s) of Work

ROOM 355 Healing for Justice

ROOM 330B How to Organize a Protest/Rally in Less Than 24 Hours!

ROOM 410A Interfaith Reproductive Justice Coalition: How Faith Informs Choice

ROOM 321 Asian American Women in Politics

ROOM 356 Confronting White Womanhood

### Breakout Session 3

2:15PM - 3:30PM

ROOM 360 Planned Parenthood Organizing the Repro Way Track: Grassroots Organizing 101: Power, Privilege, and Winning with Soul!

ROOM 113ABC NRDC Action Fund Track: How to Win the War the Trump Administration is Waging on our Health

ROOM 332 Restoring the Resistance: Release, Strength and Stretching

ROOM 410B Evolutionary Southern Women Organizing: Building Power in the Deep South

ROOM 321 Women on 20s: Change the Face of Money

ROOM 330A Fighting for Survivors of Sexual Assault in the Age of Betsy DeVos

ROOM 320 Creating Visionary Politics Today: Universal Family Care

ROOM 330B crImmigration: Fighting the Prison and Detention Industrial Complex

ROOM 411ABC Sustainable Publishing: Giving Voice to Women & Non-Binary Writers Who Will Make the World a Better Place

ROOM 410A We All We Got? Reflecting on 40 Years of Black Women Organizing

ROOM 355 Healing as Resistance Work

### Breakout Session 4

3:45PM - 5:00PM

ROOM 113ABC NRDC Action Fund Track: Session TBA

ROOM 330A A Seat at the Table: Gender Parity in the United States, Sponsored by the Barbara Lee Foundation

ROOM 142C Oxfam Refugee Road: A unique and interactive event to engage with the powerful themes of choice, loss, and uncertainty

ROOM 411ABC #RunAsYouAre: Issue + Candidate Campaign Planning Exercise

ROOM 321 Lobbying and Grassroots Advocacy: How Do We Work on the Inside and Win?

ROOM 410A Making Waves: The Flint Healing Stories

ROOM 410B Learning from Our Ancestors: Sacred Organizing Principles for Transformational Change

ROOM 356 Mindfulness for Activists

ROOM 331ABC Courts Matter! Especially to Women! Especially Now!



ROOM 355 Being an Effective Ally: An Interactive Workshop  
 ROOM 320 The Role of Cities in Protecting Reproductive Freedom  
 ROOM 330B I am Anita. I am Betty. I am Lilly. I am Aileen.  
 ROOM 140 DEFG There is No Gender Justice Without Medicare For All,  
 Sponsored by Our Revolution  
 ROOM 310AB A Conversation with Women in Film

Welcome Reception

5:00PM - 6:30PM

RIVER ATRIUM Welcome Reception: Art for the Resistance

Restoring the Resistance: Release, Strength and Stretching

5:15PM-6:30PM

ROOM 332 A restorative yoga class including stretching, strengthening and stability to relieve sore backs, knees, hearts and minds, coming together as a community to restore our strength in the face of the work ahead.

YOUTH ICE CREAM SOCIAL

5:30PM - 6:45PM

OUTSIDE ROOM 250 The Youth Ice Cream Social is an opportunity for youth attendees to build community, to meet fellow young leaders and connect over a shared passion for activism in an informal environment. Ice cream is provided by Ben & Jerry's.

Kabbalat Shabbat Service

6:00PM - 7:00PM

ROOM 335 The Jewish Sabbath begins at 6:14pm on Friday night in Detroit. Jewish participants and any other interested attendees are invited to join this optional Rabbi-led Kabbalat Shabbat Service to mark the beginning of Shabbat.

Evening Welcome: The Power of Our Potential

6:45PM - 8:00PM

HALL D Keynote remarks delivered by Senator Debbie Stabenow, Senator Kirsten Gillibrand and Congresswoman Brenda Lawrence.

FRIDAY PLENARY: Resistance Organizing in the Age of Trump

8:00PM - 9:15PM

HALL D This panel will feature political and resistance leaders discussing what resistance organizing looks like and requires in the Trump Era, from the stakes that have been raised to the risks that must be taken.

SATURDAY, October 28

Please check The Women's Convention app (see back cover for details) for full list of session speakers and panelists, and for any last minute programmatic changes.

BREAKFAST

8:00AM - 10:00AM

## HALL D

SATURDAY Opening Plenary: Dismantling All Forms Of Oppression As One Movement through Intersectionality

9:00AM - 10:15AM

HALL D Women hold multiple identities and experience multiple forms of oppression at the same time. In order to build a world in which all women are truly free and safe, we must address not only the individual oppressions women experience, but the ways oppressive systems intersect and reinforce each other. This plenary discussion will feature women from a wide range of backgrounds, coming together to explore what is truly required to achieve collective liberation.

## Breakout Session 5

10:30AM - 11:45AM

ROOM 360 Planned Parenthood Organizing the Repro Way Track: Let's Talk about Sex (and Politics): Messaging and Communications on Repo Issues

ROOM 113ABC NRDC Action Fund Track: Session TBA

ROOM 355 GOTV: Digital Voter Contact Systems, Data Collection and Voter Data Systems

ROOM 330A Confronting Anti-Semitism and White Supremacy

ROOM 331ABC Build Her Up, Don't Tear Her Down: Avoiding Standing in Our Own Way

ROOM 140DEFG 94 Percent Voted Against Trump: Following Black Women in 2018

ROOM 411ABC Harvest Without Violence: How Farmworkers are Advancing Women's Rights in U.S. Agriculture

ROOM 410A Immigrants Welcome: Protecting Immigrants on a Local Level Through Policy Campaigns

ROOM 410B Online Security: Tips for Assessing Threats, Troubleshooting Trolls, Bots and More

ROOM 320 Freedom is Not Free: Fundraising for the Revolution

ROOM 321 Building a New Vision for Safety to Overcome Mass Incarceration

ROOM 330B How Online Petitions Can Help Win Campaigns, Sponsored by MoveOn

ROOM 332 Restoring the Resistance: Release, Strength and Stretching

"Ain't I A Woman?" The Sojourner Truth Luncheon honoring Congresswoman Maxine Waters

12:00PM - 1:15PM

ROOM Hall D

## Plenary Sessions

1:30PM - 2:45PM

Hall D Planned Parenthood Reproductive Rights Plenary: Reclaiming Our Time and Our Bodies: Achieving Reproductive Freedom for All

ROOM 140DEFG Cultural Influencers as the Gatekeepers of Truth in the 21st Century  
 ROOM 310AB This Is What Democracy Looks Like, Engaging New Voters in  
 2018

Young Leaders Track: Reclaiming our voice: Public speaking training for youth  
 organizers  
 1:30PM - 2:45PM  
 ROOM 110AB

Run to Win, Sponsored and Presented by EMILY's List  
 2:00PM - 6:00PM (registration opens at 1:30pm)  
 ROOM 112ABCD

Breakout Session 6  
 3:00PM - 4:15PM

ROOM 360 Planned Parenthood Organizing the Repro Way Track: Winning for  
 the Future: Running Reproductive Health Campaigns On the Ground and Online that  
 Build for the Future

ROOM 113ABC NRDC Action Fund Track: What it Means to Thrive: Healthy  
 Homes & Communities in the Face of Climate Disasters

ROOM 110AB Young Leaders Track: Strategies for Youth: Organizing in Schools  
 & Communities

ROOM 330B Baltimore Women United: A Model for Engaging Women in the  
 Political Process

ROOM 310AB #BadAssHelenKeller and #FierceFannyLou: How Disability Rights  
 Can Save the Women's Movement

ROOM 140DEFG Say Her Name: Police Violence Against Women of Color is a  
 Feminist Issue

ROOM 321 Speechwriting the Resistance

ROOM 320 My Humanity is Not Partisan: Lifting Women of Color from City Hall to  
 the White House

ROOM 356 Ethical Fashion: What it Means for Consumers, Laborers and the  
 Planet

ROOM 410A #NoMuslimBanEver: Let Us Not Repeat History

ROOM 411ABC She the People: The New Politics of Women of Color

ROOM 331ABC The Power of Networking

ROOM 330A New Organizing: Why We Still Need Unions

ROOM 355 Essentially Empowered: How Self-Care Fuels Rebellion

ROOM 142C Oxfam Refugee Road: A unique and interactive event to engage  
 with the powerful themes of choice, loss, and uncertainty

ROOM 410B Latinx People Are Not a Monolith: Latina Women on the Front Lines of  
 Social Justice

Breakout Session 7  
 4:30PM - 5:45PM

ROOM 113ABC NRDC Action Fund Track: Session TBA  
 ROOM 110AB Young Leaders Track: Support, Not Overtake: A Workshop for Adults on How to Work with Youth Activists  
 ROOM 330A Flint Reloaded: The Courage to Move Forward  
 ROOM 140DEFG Turning Points for Social and Economic Justice Reform  
 ROOM 410A Circles of Our Multicultural Selves: Combatting Sexual Violence with Community  
 ROOM 411ABC Not All Pussies Are Pink and Not All Women Have Pussies  
 ROOM 320 #DropOReilly: How to Take Down a Sexist, Racist, Media Giant  
 ROOM 321 Making Your Voice Heard: Civic Engagement with the Legislature  
 ROOM 331ABC Public Narrative [NOTE: This session will run until 7:30PM]  
 ROOM 410B Out of Sight and Out of Mind: the Status of Women in the U.S. Colony of Puerto Rico  
 ROOM 330B Sharing Our Abortion Stories for the Revolution  
 ROOM 142C Oxfam Refugee Road: a unique and interactive event to engage with the powerful themes of choice, loss, and uncertainty  
 ROOM 357 Self Defense and Healing: Security for Self and Community

Restoring the Resistance: Release, Strength and Stretching

6:00PM - 7:15PM

ROOM 332 A restorative yoga class including stretching, strengthening and stability to relieve sore backs, knees, hearts and minds, coming together as a community to restore our strength in the face of the work ahead.

"Artists are the gatekeepers of truth - Paul Robeson"

#### FILM SCREENINGS

6:00PM - 7:45PM

On Saturday evening, choose from one of several film screenings, followed by artist panels or talkback sessions on the topics addressed. Please visit The Women's Convention app for more details.

ROOM 140DEFG "Indivisible: Love Knows No Borders"  
 ROOM 310AB Work in Progress Screening "Bigger Than Water"  
 ROOM 410B "The Hunting Ground"  
 ROOM 410A "American Revolutionary: The Evolution of Grace Lee Boggs"

#### SOCIAL JUSTICE CONCERT

8:00PM - 11:00PM

HALL D

As civil rights icon Harry Belafonte has famously said, "When the music is strong, the movement is strong." Art has always been a key component of resistance. The Social Justice Concert, featuring performers from Detroit and beyond, will be an evening of joy to rejuvenate spirits, strengthen resolve, or just kick back and relax.

SUNDAY, October 29

Please check The Women's Convention app (see back cover for details) for full list of session speakers and panelists, and for any last minute programmatic changes.

#### BREAKFAST

8:30AM to 10:00AM

HALL D

Non-Denominational Ecumenical Service: Centering Our Movements in Love and Justice

9:15AM - 10:00AM

Hall D An optional Sunday morning Church service

Young Leaders Track

9:15AM - 10:00AM

ROOM 110AB Social Media Training For Youth: From Snapchat to the Streets

Breakout Session 8

10:15AM - 11:15AM

ROOM 360 Planned Parenthood Organizing the Repro Way Track: Art and Activism

ROOM 113ABC NRDC Action Fund Track: Connecting with Culture: Moving Action with Hip Hop

ROOM 410B Volunteer Team Building: Recruitment, Coordination and Management Techniques

ROOM 355 Self Care Is An Act of Resistance: From "Fight-or-Flight" to "Empathy-or-Action"

ROOM 411ABC Red State Organizing Solutions that Work: Handmaids, Non-traditional Allies, and Rebranding

ROOM 321 Engaging Women of Color: How to Step Up Your Game

ROOM 320 Bullets Have No Color: We are Stronger than the Gun Lobby

ROOM 331ABC Media Training and Public Speaking Bootcamp

ROOM 330A Safe Spaces for Queer Communities

ROOM 356 Beyond the Frame: Feminist Immigrants and Refugee Women from MENA Region and Current Political Climate in U.S.

ROOM 410A Running as a Woman of Color: Our Personal Stories

ROOM 140DEFG #KeepMarching: Building A Maternal Justice Agenda for 2018 and Beyond, Sponsored by MomsRising

ROOM 332 Restoring the Resistance: Release, Strength and Stretching

ROOM 330B Women, Media and the Political Revolution

ROOM 110AB Young Leaders Track: Art, Civil Disobedience and Direct Action Training hosted by the Justice League [NOTE: This session will run until 11:45AM]

State Caucuses: Building a Network for the Revolution

11:30AM - 12:30PM

Multiple Rooms

Participants will break out into state-specific groups to discuss local issues and campaigns, connect with activists in their regions and build networks to better prepare for the work at home.

Closing Ceremony: Where do we go from here?

12:45PM-2:00PM

Hall D

Choir Performance: A performance from the Detroit Women's Chorus and the Wayne State University Women's Chorale.

Plenary Discussion: Where do we go from here? This panel discussion, the final program of the Women's Convention, will set the stage for the work ahead. Panelists will offer closing takeaways, mapping out movement strategies for the months ahead.

## ONGOING PROGRAMMING

The following program will take place throughout the Women's Convention. Unless specific times are listed, drop in as you please!

### GOTV TEXT AND PHONE BANK

**ROOM 358** The Women's Convention is taking place during a critical election time in our nation. Grassroots campaigns are powered by volunteers talking to voters and turning people out to the polls, and phone banking has evolved to include texting to engage voters. Come learn how to phone and text bank, refresh your engagement skills, and get real world experience by contacting voters in critical state and local races throughout the country for elections this November 7. The phone and text bank will be available throughout the conference, ensuring the Women's March community has a real impact on critical races. Hosted by #VOTEPROCHOICE

### SOCIAL JUSTICE CITY

**HALL E** The communal centerpiece of the Women's Convention is our Social Justice City, an exhibition hall of booths featuring our wonderful sponsors, local and national progressive organizations, a Women's Market with socially conscious vendors, and States Row with Women's March state organizers. Get your official Women's March merchandise here as well! The exhibition hall also features a stage with ad hoc programming, open mic time, a healing space, music, art and fun activities throughout the weekend.

**NATIONAL AND LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS** Connect with national and local progressive organizations, including groups from Detroit and our sponsors. Learn about the work being done and how to get involved. Check app for a detailed list.

**WOMEN'S MARKET** Women's March believes in upholding our values in all aspects of life, including how we produce and consume. Women's Market will be a place for us to celebrate and uplift design and production with a social justice mission, made by independent manufacturers and small business owners. We are proud to uplift the work of women of color, LGBTQIA+ people, immigrant women and local Detroit businesses whose work celebrates and practices social justice.

**STATES ROW** Our State Organizers are the lifeblood of Women's March, doing the boots-on-the-ground work day in and day out. Come meet our State Chapters and find out how you can get involved locally. If you don't see your state represented, please check in at the main Women's March booth to see how you can plug in locally.

### **SOCIAL JUSTICE CITY STAGE**

Women's March State Organizers will be hosting panels and brief talks on a diverse array of topics including important campaigns and legislative victories in their states, the success stories behind their mass mobilizations and actions, and current projects.

**Friday 2:00PM - 4:00PM and Saturday 10:00AM - 11:00AM; 2:45PM - 4:30PM.**

When not being used for State Chapter programming, the stage will have an open mic for you to share your voice, share your thoughts, and share your work. Please check the Women's Convention app for detailed schedule.

**REST & RECHARGE** Social Justice City will also have areas for music, healing, art and fun activities, so please stop by!

### **THE ART GALLERY**

**RIVER ATRIUM** Experience the power of storytelling through visual art. Visit the Art Gallery curated by Amplifier to see intersectional artwork from over 70 US-based, femme-identifying artists exploring women's rights, anti-Muslim bigotry, immigration/migration, American identity, prison reform, and more! Download your favorite pieces for free at [amplifier.org](http://amplifier.org), and install them in public spaces throughout your community to help reshape the national narrative.

### **OXFAM Refugee Road**

**ROOM 142C** Right now, more people around the world are displaced from their homes than ever before. Women and girls in particular are often impacted in unimaginable ways. Families from Syria to South Sudan are fleeing for their lives and desperate to find refuge. "Refugee Road" is a unique and interactive event for participants to engage with the powerful themes of choice, loss, and uncertainty. Oxfam humanitarian experts will also share the latest developments surrounding the global refugee crisis, including the effects of the recent U.S. Government's decisions and what you can do to help.

Refugee Road will be available at the following times:

Friday, October 27 3:45PM – 5:00PM

Saturday, October 28 3:00PM – 4:15PM, 4:30PM – 5:45PM

### **SELF-CARE**

In order to do this work sustainably, we need to care for ourselves. The below programming is arranged to encourage self-care throughout the Women's Convention.

### Restoring the Resistance: Release, Strength and Stretching ROOM # 332

A restorative yoga class will be offered throughout the Women's Convention weekend, presented by Brooklyn Strength and Mario Batali Enterprises. Participants will be led in safe stretching and deep tissue release followed by gentle strengthening and stability exercises to relieve sore backs, knees, hearts and minds, coming together as a community to restore our strength in the face of the work ahead. Classes will be offered throughout the weekend at the following times:

- Friday, October 27 2:15PM - 3:30PM, 5:15PM - 6:30PM
- Saturday, October 28 10:30AM - 11:45AM, 6:00PM - 7:15PM
- Sunday, October 29 10:15AM - 11:15AM

### Chill Out Room

ROOM 337 provides a quiet, stimulus-free space for participants who want to relax away from the convention action and center their energy.

### HEALING JUSTICE PRACTICE SPACE

#### ROOM 333

**Healing by Choice!** is a circle of women-of-color healers and health practitioners offering a range of healing modalities for self-care and the reduction of racial harm in mind, body, and institution. Visit the Healing Justice Practice space during the following times for Reiki and Ear Acupuncture group circles, Relaxation Tea, Aromatherapy and a restorative relaxation area.

**Friday, October 27** 11:00AM - 12:30PM, 1:00PM - 2:30pm,  
2:45 - 4:00PM, 4:00PM - 5:00PM (relaxation space only)

**Saturday, October 28** 10:30AM - 12:30PM, 12:45PM - 2:30PM, 2:45PM - 4:30PM,  
4:45PM - 5:45PM (relaxation space only)

**Sunday, October 29** 10:15AM - 11:15AM (relaxation space only)

### FAMILY SPACES

Activism is a family affair and we couldn't imagine having a conference for women without making a space for parents who often juggle everyday lives while fighting for justice. The Women's Convention has dedicated spaces for families, nursing parents and small children. Please note that all minors must be accompanied by an adult at all times.

### The Kids Room

ROOM 115AB is a designated area for children ages 2-12. The room will be divided into groups according age. Activities include: Coloring pages (ages 2-5); Storybook readings (ages 2-5); Sign-making (ages 5-12).



The Parents' Room ROOM 341 is a quiet room available for parents with small children to rest. This room is designated for nursing parents and resting children under 3. Please note that we are not able to provide beds for resting children; Parents should bring whatever individual bedding their children may need.

#### MAMAVA PUMPING POD FIRST FLOOR

A pumping pod will be available for breastfeeding parents who need to pump over the weekend. It is a fully enclosed structure, providing complete privacy for occupants. Parents are responsible for providing individual materials needed to pump and store their milk, e.g. individual cooler, breast pump, etc.

#### YOUNG LEADERS TRACK

Young people are not just leaders of tomorrow; they are leaders of today. Women's Convention has programming, events and spaces tailored for young people ages 13-20. Youth-specific programming is crafted in partnership with young leaders to address the needs of youth activists.

#### THE YOUNG LEADERS ROOM

ROOM 110AB is a dedicated hub for young activists, youth-centered programming and activities throughout the duration of the convention.

#### ICE CREAM SOCIAL OUTSIDE ROOM 250

Friday, October 27

5:30PM - 6:45PM

Come hang out with young activists from all over the country, while enjoying a cool treat from Ben & Jerry's.

#### SESSIONS

Please check The Women's Convention app for more information.

Saturday, October 28

1:30pm-2:45pm

Reclaiming Our Voice: Public Speaking Training for Youth Organizers

3:00pm-4:15pm

Panel: Strategies for Youth: Organizing in Schools & Communities

4:30pm - 5:45pm

Support, Not Overtake: A Workshop for Adults on How to Work with Youth Activists

Sunday, Oct 29

9:15am-10:00am

Social Media Training For Youth: From Snapchat to the Streets

10:15AM - 11:45AM

Art, Civil Disobedience and Direct Action Training hosted by the Justice League

## MAPS

MAP IMAGE 1: COBO Center Level One. Access to exit to Service Animal Relief Area, Art Gallery, Parents Room, Young Leaders Room (110AB), Volunteer Room (111AB), Emily's List Track (112SB CD), NDRC Action Fund Track (113ABC), The Kid's Room (115AB) and OXFAM Refugee Road (142C)

MAP IMAGE 2: COBO Center Level: Access to COBO Center Information, Accessibility Services Table, Convention Information, Registration, Women's Convention Shop and Hall D for plenary sessions

MAP IMAGE 3: COBO Center Level three. Access to Breakout Rooms (300 level), Parents Room, Restoration Room (332), Healing Room (333), Chill Out Room (337), GOTV Phone and Text Bank (358) and Planned Parenthood Track (360)

MAP IMAGE 4: COBO Center Level four. Access to Breakout Rooms 410 through 415.

## ACCESSIBILITY

The Women's Convention national organizing team and our local partners value and encourage the participation of people with disabilities. Please visit the Accessibility Services table in the main concourse outside of Hall C for these accommodations:

- Wheelchair check out and stewards
- Sighted Guides to your sessions
- American Sign Language
- Assisted Listening Devices
- Scribes
- Pick up materials in alternate formats (advance accommodation requests)
- Information and resources

General plenary sessions will include American Sign Language interpretation and CART live captioning. Communication access will be available for breakout sessions for those who made reasonable accommodation requests in advance.

The service animal relief area is located in Hart Plaza along the Riverwalk; bags are provided at the Accessibility Services table.

### Scent Free / Chemical Free Policy

Fragrance can be an access barrier! To help make this conference accessible to participants for whom chemicals or fragrances are an access barrier, we request that you refrain from wearing any scented products, including considering fragrances in your

laundry. This includes clothing that has been laundered with fragranced detergent or fabric softening products. Additionally, please completely air out any dry-cleaned clothing before wearing it to the conference.

Stay connected and active with the Women’s March on Washington Disability Caucus. Find us and like us on Facebook at [www.Facebook.com/WMWDisability](http://www.Facebook.com/WMWDisability) or on Twitter at @WMWDisability.

## DETROIT HOST COMMITTEE

The Detroit Host Committee brought together more than 120 community leaders from the non-profit, grassroots, political, local business and academic sectors. Consisting of task forces in outreach, programming, vendors, volunteerism, fundraising, media, and arts and culture, the Detroit Host Committee met weekly to discuss opportunities for this national convening to engage at the local level. This ensured the Women's Convention would positively impact the Michigan community. We as the Detroit Host Committee were very intentional about making sure all voices were heard and representative of the Michigan community, with an emphasis on engaging women of color, femmes and allies.

## SUSTAINABILITY

Women’s March is committed to environmental justice. We believe that every person and every community in our nation has the right to clean water, clean air, and access to and enjoyment of public lands. We believe that our environment and our climate must be protected, and that our land and natural resources cannot be exploited for corporate gain or greed — especially at the risk of public safety and health.

With this in mind, we aim to reduce waste at the Women’s Convention and have taken steps to minimize our impact on all levels. We have arranged for solar-powered charging stations for attendees whose devices need extra juice. Find them in Social Justice City. Please help us by using your own reusable water bottles or cups, and filling them at one of the drinking water stations we’ve provided throughout the convention center.

IMAGE: A flaming torch, the base of the torch is drawn from a fist and arm. Text says “Sponsors.”

## SPONSORS

IMAGES: Logos for these sponsors below:

Planned Parenthood (text: Act. No matter what.)  
 American Civil Liberties Union (text: People Power)  
 Emily’s List  
 NRDC Action Fund

Moms Rising  
 MoveOn.org (text: Democracy in Action)  
 The Kresge Foundation  
 Barbara Lee Family Foundation  
 OXFAM  
 Our Revolution  
 Feminist Majority  
 BA Rudolph Foundation  
 Communication Workers of America  
 NextGen America

SPECIAL THANKS Action Network, Ben & Jerry's, Bonfire, Brooklyn Strength, Cora, Demos, DoubleDutch, Hewlett Foundation, Mamava Breastfeeding Pod, Mario Batali Enterprises, Organic, Otherwild, Phone2Action, Pop Culture Hero, Skadden, The Outrage. And a special depth of gratitude to Desiree Vincent Levy.

## A BRAVE SPACE

IMAGE: Under text on page. A flaming torch, the base of the torch is drawn from a fist and arm.

The Women's Convention is a women-led effort bringing people of all genders, ages, races, religions, sexual orientations, cultures, political affiliations, disabilities and backgrounds together around an ambitious, fundamental and comprehensive agenda. Recognizing that women have intersecting identities and are therefore impacted by a multitude of social justice and human rights issues, we welcome vibrant collaboration into this space and we know that misunderstandings and disagreements will naturally arise.

The world is not equally safe for all people. We will not ignore this reality by calling the Women's Convention a safe space. Instead, the Women's Convention is a brave space—an environment for honest and meaningful conversations that allow us all to learn and grow. We ask that we all treat each other with respect and kindness, suspend our first judgements, actively diffuse our own defensiveness and remember that we all carry individual pain and trauma, which impact our behavior. It takes great strength to be honest, vulnerable and compassionate. It also takes self-awareness: Understanding the different privileges we each hold as individuals is a crucial part of giving others space to share difficult and vulnerable truths about their experiences.

We do this work out of love—for each other, for the movements that came before us and for the freedom fighters that will follow us. We commit to working together towards the collective liberation of women of all races, ethnicities, ages, disabilities, sexual orientations, gender expressions, immigrant statuses, religions and economic statuses.

Please check The Women's Convention app for updated information, more details and all things convention related. Download the Women's Convention app in the app store and on Google Play.

#WomensConvention

#ReclaimingOurTime

[WWW.WOMENSCONVENTION.COM](http://WWW.WOMENSCONVENTION.COM)

## BALTIMORE WOMEN UNITED A MODEL FOR ENGAGING WOMEN IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS

IMAGE: Baltimore Women United logo. Human figures drawn in purple stand in a line against a yellow background.

Baltimore Women United is an all-volunteer woman-led progressive movement motivated to uplift, advance, and advocate for women. As forward-thinking & progressive catalysts, we believe in an all-embracing inclusive approach toward women's issues for a greater Maryland. We are dedicated to activating women to playing a decisive role in politics: as voters, constituents, donors, and candidates.

We have Actions on every 8<sup>th</sup> Day of the Month to advance this work. Below is the list of the 8<sup>th</sup> Days of Action we had in 2017. Please note we started with issues in order to engage women based on their interests, then advanced toward voter turnout, voter registration and supporting candidates. We will turn to issues again in the new year, as the Maryland General Assembly is from January-April each year. BWU will be endorsing candidates and possibly producing the "Women's Ballot" for the polls at the primary.

**January:** Organizing meeting, talked about what BWU could be and brainstormed on top issues. We also engaged women to plan the next 5 Days of Action.

**February:** Legislative Update – what is happening in the Maryland General Assembly (overview of the Budget process, school funding debate, Maryland Trust act related to immigration, and more). Invited advocates and legislators to speak. Wrote post cards to the Governor on these issues.

**March:** Conversation about Race and Intersectional Feminism - Postcard writing to Governor

**April:** Environmental Clean Up with local group Blue Water Baltimore

**May:** Conversation with Baltimore City schools CEO regarding school funding

**June:** Voter Registration and Canvass Training. We provided an overview of data obtained through analysis of the Voter Action Network data base to find our universe of women we are targeting for voter turnout. Baltimore Board of Elections also came to train participants on registering people to vote. Local elected officials came to train on effective door knocking techniques.

**July, August, September:** Door knocking in each legislative district. Team captains in each district. Our universe is women voters who have voted 2 of the past three primary elections. They are inconsistent voters and we wanted them to be consistent voters especially this primary season.

**October:** Fundraising Workshop

**November:** House Parties – re-engage with BWU

**December:** Holiday Reception with women candidates who have filed. Participants will bring non-perishable food items to donate for the Maryland Food Bank.

**January, February:** General Assembly issue advocacy -

**March:** International Women’s Day action (potential fundraiser? Candidate forum?)

## BELLY, HEART, MOUTH: USING THE BODY TO BECOME A CONFORTABLE, CONFIDENT AND COMPELLING PUBLIC SPEAKER

### **Belly: source of our fire and our fear – *Why we speak***

1. What's the thing you're most afraid of when speaking? (what's the fear you feel in your belly?)
2. What's the personal reason you want your voice to be heard? (where's the fire in your belly?)

### **Heart: source of our connection with our listeners – *What we speak***

What do we want our speaking “to do to” our listeners? Hug? Shake? Push? Pat?

3. Think of a talk or speech you might want to give. What's your intention for your audience? What do you want to do to them? (Hug? Shake? Push? Nudge? Pat?) Why?
4. When they leave, what will they feel, believe, do?

### **Mouth: source of our expression – *How we speak***

How can we create and speak words in a way that moves audiences in the way we want?

5. Think of an issue that you care about or would like to speak about. What is the most moving 1-3 sentences you can write to move people? \*

**\*Tip:** avoid abstractions, use pronouns, images of people, emotion, surprise, and story. (A story here can mean referring to person even briefly such as “with online voting, a single mom won't have to lose a day's pay to stand in line at her overcrowded polling place.”)

Women Speak Up!  
 Womenspeakup.org  
 Cathy McNally  
[Cathy@womenspeakup.org](mailto:Cathy@womenspeakup.org)  
 413-575-5164



## BEYOND THE FRAME: FEMINIST IMMIGRANTS AND REFUGEE WOMEN FROM MENA REGION AND CURRENT POLITICAL CLIMATE IN THE US

### **Beyond the Frame: Feminist Immigrants and Refugee Women from MENA Region and Current Political Climate in the US**

Since Trump came to power, he has undertaken a series of executive actions meant to threaten and terrorize a multitude of 'others': immigrants, Muslims, women, African Americans, Native Americans, LGBTQIA+ communities. Immigrants, refugees and naturalized citizens from Muslim-majority countries were affected by Trump's Muslim ban this year. In this workshop, Iranian-American women's rights advocates speak about the precarious case of immigrants and refugees from Muslim-majority countries with a history of human rights violations.

#### **Breakout Session 8**

**10:15AM - 11:15AM**

Who is impacted by Trump's Ban?

Seven countries were initially in Trump's ban (Syria, Iraq, Iran, Sudan, Yemen, Somalia, and Libya). Since then, Iraq and Sudan were removed and instead Chad, North Korea, and Venezuela were added. Below are the lists of countries in the latest version of the ban, alongside their populations and the number of immigrants, refugees and asylees in the US from these countries.

In addition to impacting people from these countries, the ban is a dog whistle aimed to incite racism against all Muslim Americans and Muslim immigrants from other countries.

#### **Population of countries on the Immigration/Muslim Ban (from high to low):**

Iran: 80M  
 Venezuela: 31M  
 Yemen: 27M  
 North Korea: 25M  
 Syria: 18M  
 Somalia: 14M  
 Chad: 14M  
 Libya: 6M

#### **US immigrant population of each of the above countries (from high to low):**

Iran: 500K-1M  
 Venezuela: 320K  
 Somalia: 35K-150K  
 Yemen: 30K-50K  
 Syria: 50K  
 Libya: 2K-10K

#### **\*US refugee status granted in 2016 to countries in the ban:**

Syria: 12,587  
 Somalia: 9,020

Iran: 3,750

**\*US Asylee status granted each year 2012-2014:**

Syria: 300-900

Iran: 600-700

\* Data from

[https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/Refugees\\_Asylees\\_2014.pdf](https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/Refugees_Asylees_2014.pdf)

## Resources about Iran

### Women Study Scholarly Books & Articles:

- *Iran Awakening: One Woman's Journey to Reclaim Her Life and Country* - by Nobel Peace Laureate Shirin Ebadi
- *The women's rights movement in Iran: Mutiny, appeasement, and repression from 1900 to Khomeini* - by Eliz Sanasarian
- *Persepolis* - by Marjaneh Satrapi
- Mehrangiz Kar : Book chapter and articles:
  - “*Shari’a Law in Iran*” (English) in *Radical Islam’s Rules: The Worldwide Spread of Extreme Shari’a Law*, edited by Paul Marshall, Freedom House’s Center for Religious Freedom, 2005.
  - “*Women and Civil Society in Iran*” (English) in *On Shifting Ground: Muslim Women in the Global Era*, edited by Fereshteh Nourai-Simone, New York: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, 2005.
  - “*Women’s Strategies in Iran from the 1979 Revolution to 1999*” (English) in *Globalization, Gender and Religion: The Politics of Women’s Rights in Catholic and Muslim Contexts*, Jane Bayes and Nayereh Tohidi, eds., New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2001.
  - “*The Invasion of the Private Sphere in Iran*” (English) in *International Quarterly of the Social Sciences*, edited by Arien Mack, fall 2003.
- *Sexual Politics in Modern Iran* - by Janet Afary
- *Patriarchy and the Politics of Gender in Modernising Societies: Iran, Pakistan, and Afghanistan*- by Valentine M. Moghadam
- *Until We Are Free: My Fight for Human Rights in Iran* – by Shirin Ebadi
- *Religious minorities in Iran* - by Eliz Sanasarian
- *The Fire, the Star and the Cross: Minority Religions in Medieval and Early Modern Iran* - by Eliz Sanasarian
- *Modernity, Sexuality, and Ideology in Iran: The Life and Legacy of a Popular Female Artist* - by Kamran Talattof
- *Women and Politics in Iran: Veiling, Unveiling, and Reveiling* - by Hamideh Sedghi
- *Globalization, Gender, and Religion: The Politics of Women's Rights in Catholic and Muslim Contexts* - by Nayereh Tohidi
- *Women in the Limelight: Some Recent Books on Middle Eastern Women's History* - by Nikki R. Keddie
- *Words, Not Swords: Iranian Women Writers and the Freedom of Movement* - by Farzaneh Milani

- *Ghosts of Revolution: Rekindled Memories of Imprisonment in Iran* - by Shahla Talebi
- *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity* - by Afsaneh Najmabadi
- *Women in Iran* - by Hammed Shahidian

### **Films:**

We are half of Iran's population (Documentary about women's political participation) - Rakhshan Bani Etemad

Offside (Feature about girls watching football in stadiums) - Jafar Panahi

Persepolis (autobiography - animation) - Marjaneh Satrapi

A Separation (Academy Award 2012) - Asghar Farhadi

### **Human Rights Resources:**

Center for Human Rights in Iran: <https://www.iranhumanrights.org/>

Amnesty International: <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/middle-east-and-north-africa/iran/>

MENA Amnesty: [https://twitter.com/mena\\_amnesty](https://twitter.com/mena_amnesty)

### **Speaker Contact:**

Elahe Amani: Twitter handle: @elahe4peace email: elahe4peace@yahoo.com

Roja Bandari - Twitter handle: @morningRoja

### **ICWIN ( Iranian Circle of Women's Intercultural Network)**

[www.icwin.org](http://www.icwin.org)

Facebook: Iranian Circle of Women's Intercultural Network ICWIN

Instagram : icwin5

Twitter : @zanan4change

Email : ICWIN@winaction.org

### **Women's Intercultural Network**

[www.winaction.org](http://www.winaction.org)

## COALITION BUILDING SUPPORT NOT DUPLICATE: OVERVIEW OF NATIONAL STATE AND LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS

When will we see progressive policies?

About Emerge America Emerge America is changing the face of politics by recruiting, training and providing a powerful network for Democratic women to run for office. Since our founding in 2005, we have expanded the Emerge program into 22 states—Alabama, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia, Washington and Wisconsin—and trained over 2,500 women.

IMAGE: A woman stands with Senator Elizabeth Warren who has fist raised (Left). A woman looks at a man, picture over the man's shoulder showing the woman's face.

### Why Emerge

- The U.S. ranks 100th in the world in terms of women's representation in government, with women holding less than 20% of elected offices.
- Women are less likely to self-select themselves as candidates and need to be actively recruited and supported.
- Women bring unique and varied perspectives to the table—their life experiences are critical to progressive policymaking.
- There are 520,000 elected offices in this country. We need our political leadership to reflect the diversity and talent of our country.

### The Emerge Difference

- Early-stage recruitment with staff on the ground in each state and an intensive, 70-hour curriculum Ø Exclusive focus on training Democratic women
- A proven commitment to diversity (39% of our alumnae are women of color) Ø A cohort-based program to build a powerful ongoing network of support

- A fifteen-year track record of success—52% of Emerge alumnae have run for office or been appointed, and in 2016, 70% of our candidates won their races
- In May 2017, Hillary Clinton announced her support for Emerge’s work through her Onward Together PAC

When we change the legislative map by recruiting and training qualified Democratic women

Why now? We need to change this map. 2017 State Legislative Control

IMAGE: A map of the United States showing the electoral results from 2016 with Republican states in Red, Democratic state in blue and bipartisan states in purple. Emerge America chapter state are marked with a green Emerge America logo: Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Colorado, New Mexico, Louisiana, Alabama, South Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Wisconsin, Michigan, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, Maine.

IMAGE: A picture of a woman holding a political yard sign that says: Kiah Morris.

“The Emerge training really forced me to question what my motivations for running were—and that was a clear reminder of the elements of my leadership that make me uniquely qualified to serve as an elected official.”  
— Rep. Kiah Morris

### Our 2016 Election Results

- In 2016, we trained over 350 women.
- 330 alums ran for office.
- 214 candidates appeared on the November ballot.
- 70% of them won!
- 34% of our 2016 candidates are women of color.
- 21% are labor-affiliated. Ø 8% identify as LGBTQ.
- 49% were running for office for the first time!

Contact us

[www.emergeamerica.org](http://www.emergeamerica.org)

[contact@emergeamerica.org](mailto:contact@emergeamerica.org)

(415) 344-0323

@EmergeAmerica

IMAGE: Emerge America Logo. Text says: emerge America women leaders for a democratic future.

COURTS MATTER EXPECIALLY TO WOMEN! ESPECIALLY NOW!

## Reproductive Rights and the Federal Courts

IMAGE: Benchmark logo. A gavel drawn in orange, text says "Benchmark, NCJW's Judicial Nominations Campaign.

**The decision of whether and when to have children is a personal, private matter and an individual right.** Over the years, reproductive rights have been advanced and rolled back in federal courts, impacting access to safe and legal abortion; insurance coverage for basic health care; when a woman may choose to terminate a pregnancy, and beyond. For better or for worse, the judges sitting in lifetime seats on the federal bench interpret the law and decide how it should be applied.

Though the public and the media tend to focus on a few high-profile cases each year heard by the US Supreme Court, every day critical decisions are also being made in federal district and circuit courts. **Justice for all depends on a diverse and independent judiciary committed to core constitutional rights, including reproductive rights.**

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**Let's explore examples of how the United States Supreme Court has impacted reproductive rights over the decades:**

- ▶ *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965): Estelle Griswold, executive director of the Planned Parenthood League of Connecticut, was convicted under a Connecticut law for giving information, instruction, and other medical advice to married couples concerning birth control. The law prohibited any person from using "any drug, medicinal article or instrument for the purpose of preventing conception." In a 7-2 decision, the Supreme Court ruled that the law was invalid, finding that it infringed on the right to marital privacy established by the Bill of Rights. *Griswold* paved the way to **greater access to birth control for unmarried individuals.**
- ▶ *Eisenstadt v. Baird* (1972): After lecturing on birth control at Boston University, William Baird gave contraceptive foam to an unmarried college student and was arrested for violating Massachusetts law. In a 6-1 decision, the Supreme Court ruled that **unmarried individuals had the same rights as married couples to obtain birth control.**
- ▶ *Roe v. Wade* (1973): A Texas resident sought to end her pregnancy by abortion; however, Texas law prohibited abortions except when the life of the pregnant woman was endangered. In a 7-2 decision, the Supreme Court ruled that a **constitutional right to privacy includes the right to an abortion.**
- ▶ *Harris v. McRae* (1980): When Cora McRae, who was enrolled in New York's Medicaid program, sought to end her pregnancy, the New York City Health and Hospitals Corp. and others tried to stop the enforcement of the Hyde Amendment (which restricts federal Medicaid funding from paying for abortion except in cases of

rape, incest, or when a woman's life is endangered). In a 5-4 decision, the Supreme Court **ruled that withholding Medicaid coverage for abortion was constitutional**, even when an abortion was needed to protect a woman's health. The decision chipped away at *Roe* and enabled Hyde-like bans to pervade other federal programs.

- ▶ *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern PA v. Casey* (1992): The Pennsylvania legislature amended its abortion control law in 1988 and 1989, creating new requirements before abortions could be performed. In a 5-4 decision, while the Supreme Court upheld *Roe*, it created a new tougher standard to determine the legality of laws restricting access to abortion, based on whether a law has the purpose or effect of imposing an "undue burden" on women. The decision **further eroded *Roe***.
- ▶ *Stenberg v. Carhart* (2000): In a 5-4 decision, the Supreme Court **struck down Nebraska's so-called "partial-birth abortion" ban** because it placed an undue burden on a woman's right to abortion and because the law did not allow an exception to preserve a woman's health.
- ▶ *Gonzales v. Carhart and Gonzales v. Planned Parenthood Federation of America* (2007): In a 5-4 decision, the Supreme Court reversed its decision in *Stenberg v. Carhart* and ruled that the federal "**Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act of 2003**" was **constitutional**. The Court decided that the law, which prohibited a method of abortion usually used in the second trimester, did not place an undue burden on a woman's right to abortion. The Court's decision undermined a core tenant of *Roe* -- that women's health must be paramount.
- ▶ *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby* (2014): Owners of a for-profit chain crafts store cited their religious objections to allowing their employees to take advantage of the birth control coverage benefit provided by the Affordable Care Act. In a 5-4 decision the Supreme Court ruled that Hobby Lobby and other "**closely held**" **corporation could have religious beliefs that should exempt them from covering birth control** as guaranteed in the health care law.
- ▶ *Young v. United Parcel Service (UPS)* (2015): Ms. Young, a UPS driver, was told by her doctor that she should not lift more than 20 pounds while pregnant. UPS refused, despite providing accommodations to other employees who were injured or who had disabilities. The Supreme Court, considering the Pregnancy Discrimination Act, ruled that it is **unconstitutional to provide accommodations to injured and disabled employees, but not provide accommodations for pregnant employees**.
- ▶ *Whole Woman's Health v. Hellerstedt* (2016): In 2013, Texas-passed law mandating that abortion clinics adhere to ambulatory surgical center requirements and that clinic doctors have admitting privileges at local hospitals — neither requirement is deemed to be medically necessary by professional health associations and experts.



In 2016, the **Supreme Court struck down these Texas requirements as unconstitutional**, finding that they created an undue burden on abortion access.

- ▶ *Zubik v. Burwell* (2016): The Supreme Court clarified its ruling in *Burwell v. Hobby Lobby*, holding that **employers must provide coverage for contraceptives**, either through their own healthcare coverage plans or through a third party in the case of a religious exemption.

IMAGE: National Council of Jewish Women logo, text says “NCJW (the ‘W’ is turned sideways) National Council of Jewish Women.”

### **Courts Matter. And so do the judges who sit on those courts.**

Through **BenchMark: NCJW’s Judicial Nominations Campaign**, NCJW has been a leading voice in the progressive community’s fight to ensure a fair and independent judiciary that keeps faith with constitutional values. Our powerful grassroots network seeks to educate our communities about the importance of the judiciary and mobilizes and advocates to ensure that court vacancies are filled by qualified, diverse nominees. Contact Caroline Ostro at [caroline@ncjwdc.org](mailto:caroline@ncjwdc.org) to get involved.

October 2017

Learn more at [ncjw.org/benchmark](http://ncjw.org/benchmark)

## FIGHTING FOR SURVIVORS OF SEXUAL ASSAULT IN THE AGE OF BETSY DEVOS

### HANDOUT 1

#### Frequently asked questions About Betsy DeVos + Title IX

I heard that Betsy DeVos gave a controversial press conference on Thursday. What did she say?

DeVos announced that she plans to roll back years of civil rights protections for student survivors across the country. She's using a dry, procedural, and seemingly innocuous administrative process—called “notice and comment”—to launch what is an outright attack on students' civil rights. Yikes. What's that mean for survivors?

Right now: nothing. Title IX is still the law of the land, which means schools must still promptly and equitably investigate sexual harassment and assault. (And college students are still entitled to their rights under the Clery Act, too.) Schools receiving federal funds still must identify Title IX coordinators, publish a nondiscrimination policy, adopt grievance procedures, and investigate complaints. In addition, schools must provide survivors the accommodations and support services, including counseling, they need in order to remain in school and learn. Students can learn more about their rights at [knowyourIX.org](http://knowyourIX.org). DeVos claimed that the Obama Administration pressured schools to deny due process to students accused of sexual assault. Is that true?

No. To the contrary, Title IX and the Obama Administration's Dear Colleague Letter, provide accused students more protections than arguably any other federal law—including the U.S. Constitution. For example, the Dear Colleague Letter and its sister guidance, the 2014 Questions and Answers, state that both the victim and the accused:

- “Must be afforded similar and timely access to any information that will be used at the hearing.”
- “Must have an equal opportunity to present relevant witnesses and other evidence.”
- “If a school chooses to provide for an appeal of the findings or remedy or both, it must do so equally for both parties.”
- “If [a] school allows one party to be present for the entirety of a hearing, it must do so equally for both parties.”
- “If [a] school allows one party to cross-examine witnesses, it must do so equally for both parties.” Further, the DCL recommends that “the parties . . . submit questions to a trained third party (e.g., the hearing panel) to ask the questions on their behalf.” That's

consistent with court’s approaches. If DeVos actually cared about accused students, as she purports, what would she do?

Enforce existing civil rights law. Given the wealth of procedural protections available under

Frequently asked questions About Betsy DeVos + Title IX

Title IX, when schools violate accused students’ rights, the Education Department should enforce Title IX, not undermine it. Indeed, in 2016, the Obama Education Department did just that, issuing a finding of noncompliance against Wesley College for its failure to provide an accused student an opportunity to respond to the complaint against him. DeVos made it sound like wrongful accusations occur at the same rate as rapes. Is that true?

No. That’s a myth the DeVos team has peddled repeatedly. Though research places the rate of false accusations at 2-6%—the same rate as that of other crimes—DeVos’s colleague, Candice Jackson, told the New York Times that 90% of rape allegations were false. DeVos and her team have created a false equivalency between the prevalence of wrongful accusations (which are rare) and the prevalence of sexual assaults (one in five women, according to numerous studies), perpetuating the same old misogyny we’ve seen for centuries. Wait, why do schools even handle sexual assault? Shouldn’t the cops do that?

Rape is a crime, and students who report to their schools can also report to the police. However, rape and other forms of gender-based violence can make it hard to show up to class and learn, and federal antidiscrimination law recognizes that. To make sure that all students, regardless of their gender identity and expression, have equal access to education, schools are required to prevent and respond to reports of sexual violence. This isn’t a replacement for reporting to the police; it’s a parallel option for survivors based in civil rights—rather than criminal— law. To learn more about schools’ obligations under Title IX, visit [knowyourIX.org](http://knowyourIX.org). What can I do to help? Glad you asked! Here are three steps allies can take today:

1. SIGN-UP for our list: [\[link\]](#).
2. SEND the president of your university or alma mater a letter, urging him or her to commit to upholding existing protections for student survivors. We have a sample you can use [here](#).
3. SUPPORT survivors. Donate what you can to help us fight back.

IMAGE: Square shaped thought bubble with text that says “Know Your IX.”

HANDOUT 2

IMAGE: National Women's Law Center Logo

National Women's Law Center Fact Sheet August 2017

## EDUCATION MYTHBUSTING: TITLE IX AND SEXUAL ASSAULT

Myth: President Obama invented the idea that Title IX covers sexual assault. Fact: Courts have long recognized that Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendment's prohibition on sex discrimination requires schools to respond to reports of sexual harassment, including sexual assault. The Supreme Court has agreed in a number of cases, starting in 1992 with its opinion in *Franklin v. Gwinnett County Public School*.<sup>1</sup> Courts confirmed that this obligation includes sexual harassment committed by students by the mid-1990s.<sup>2</sup> Any lingering doubts about Title IX's application to student-on-student sexual harassment ended in 1999, when the Supreme Court endorsed this principle.<sup>3</sup> The Department of Education had also long told schools they must respond to sexual assault, including in 1997 and 2001 guidance.<sup>4</sup> In 2011, the Department of Education released a letter, known as the "Dear Colleague Letter," that summarized and clarified these existing responsibilities.

Myth: Schools do not have the capacity or expertise to handle these kinds of serious claims. Fact: Schools have long handled all kinds of disciplinary violations that threaten their students' safety. In fact, universities even handle murder investigations: a criminal trial can take years, and they need to protect their students before any conviction that might come down.<sup>5</sup> To single out sexual assault claims for different treatment is discriminatory and suggests that survivors are less worthy of being believed.

Myth: Sexual violence is uncommon in schools. Fact: We wish this myth were true. Unfortunately, studies have repeatedly shown that a disturbingly high proportion of students are sexually assaulted. A 2016 survey by the U.S. Department of Justice found that 24% of transgender and gender nonconforming students, 23% of cisgender female students, and 6% of cisgender male students report experiencing sexual misconduct during their time in college.<sup>6</sup> When 27 top universities surveyed their student bodies, a fifth of women reported that they had been sexually victimized.<sup>7</sup> And the problem starts well before college. A recent national survey by NWLC found that one in five girls ages 14-18 has been kissed or touched without her consent.<sup>8</sup> Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender girls report these forms of sexual assault at even higher rates, as do Latina, Black, and Native American girls.<sup>9</sup> While statistics are helpful to understand the scope of the problem, at the end of the day, one is too many.

Myth: The Dear Colleague Letter ("DCL") required schools to use an unusually low standard of evidence. Fact: The DCL simply made clear what the Department of Education had long required: schools must use the "preponderance of the evidence" ("POE") standard in investigations of sexual harassment, including sexual violence. That means the school must find in favor of the complaining student if most of the evidence supports such a finding.. While some schools pretended to be surprised, the

Department had required POE since at least 1995, throughout both Democratic and Republican presidencies. Despite what news media sometimes report, POE is the standard favored by schools for all disciplinary hearings. Even before the DCL, most schools that identified a standard of evidence used POE.<sup>10</sup> And student conduct professionals have long endorsed using the preponderance standard for all student misconduct, including sexual assault, and continue to do so.<sup>11</sup> Preponderance of the evidence is also the standard used in almost all civil trials – that is, court proceedings where the possible consequences do not include incarceration. That means if a rape victim sues his or her assailant in court, the court will use the POE standard, whether or not a prosecutor is also pursuing criminal charges. Resolving sexual harassment reports using the POE standard is necessary to assure fairness and equality. Only that standard

EDUCATION MYTHBUSTING: TITLE IX AND SEXUAL ASSAULT  
NATIONAL WOMEN'S LAW CENTER | FACT SHEET | AUG 2017

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WWW.NWLC.ORG EDUCATION | PAGE 2

places both parties on a level playing field, acknowledging that both students' educations are equally important and that both sides are equally credible.<sup>12</sup> A standard that equally values both parties is particularly necessary in the case of disciplinary proceedings that implicate students' civil rights – rights that demand universities protect and value those students systemically unprotected and undervalued, those historically excluded from education and public life. By contrast, a heightened standard of evidence prioritizes accused students over alleged victims and creates too much room for the very biases, including credibility-robbing rape myths, that Title IX is intended to address.<sup>13</sup> A higher standard, such as "clear and convincing," would do the most harm to the students whose credibility is most likely to be doubted, including and especially LGBT people and women of color.<sup>14</sup> A clear and convincing standard would render findings of responsibility much, much less likely, especially where the university is uniquely invested in protecting an accused student like a varsity athlete or child of alumni. Without a doubt, complainants would be less likely to come forward.

Myth: The Dear Colleague Letter and Title IX require schools to violate the due process rights of accused students. Fact: All student parties to a disciplinary proceeding, regardless of the issues involved, must be treated fairly. Some courts have found that schools have mistreated students accused of disciplinary violations, including sexual misconduct. However, none of these violations were because of Title IX<sup>15</sup> – and in many cases schools' actions violated the civil rights law. The answer is not to undermine Title IX but to enforce it. Central to the letter and spirit of Title IX is the need to value the educations of both student victims and students accused of sexual misconduct. Agency regulations,<sup>16</sup> guidance,<sup>17</sup> and enforcement<sup>18</sup> make clear that both parties are entitled to a fair and transparent disciplinary process that treats the two sides equally. Any right or opportunity provided to one party must be provided to the other.<sup>19</sup> Thanks to specific procedural protections required by Title IX and emphasized by the DCL, students accused of sexual violence have greater protections than

classmates accused of other disciplinary infractions such as simple assault.<sup>20</sup> Importantly, the Supreme Court has noted that school disciplinary processes need not and should not look like criminal trials to be fair.<sup>21</sup>

Myth: Recent Department of Education guidance documents and enforcement agreements set up a new standard that would allow a student to be punished for asking someone on a date or giving someone a valentine.

Fact: In order for sexual harassment to rise to the level of a “hostile environment”—which would require a college to take steps calculated to stop the harassment—it must be “unwelcome conduct of a sexual nature” that is “severe” or “pervasive” enough to “deprive a student of her access to education.”<sup>22</sup> Certainly a valentine or asking someone out on a date would not rise to this standard. These legal interpretations, which the Department of Education consistently relies on in its guidance documents and resolutions, have been used by the Department for decades.<sup>23</sup>

Myth: Department of Education guidance stifles students’ right to free speech. Fact: Sexual assault and harassment are not protected speech.<sup>24</sup> But even if a student were to claim that they were, the expression must rise to the level of unwelcome sexual conduct that is “severe” or “pervasive” in order to constitute a hostile environment.<sup>25</sup> That high standard excludes the free exchange of ideas so important to campus communities. Accordingly, federal courts have held that policies narrowly tailored to address harassment or prevent similar disruptions in the classroom are consistent with the First Amendment in both secondary<sup>26</sup> and post-secondary institutions.<sup>27</sup>

Myth: Survivors would all be better off if they just reported to the police. Fact: Currently, survivors can choose whether and how to report to the police—and some do choose to involve law enforcement. However, there are many reasons a survivor may choose to do otherwise. For starters, prosecutors rarely bring charges and juries rarely convict in rape cases.<sup>28</sup> Some survivors may decide that being involved in a criminal trial is not worth the emotional and educational toll given the low chance of a conviction. Plus, most survivors know their assailants, and may fear retaliation or may not necessarily want to see their assailants go to prison. Among some communities of color and LGBTQ communities, there is a deep mistrust of law enforcement stemming from a history of police violence and harassment and officers’ frequent skepticism of rape survivors. International or undocumented students may fear that being involved in a criminal investigation could jeopardize their visa status or expose them or their families to threats of deportation. It’s not surprising, then, that in a March 2015 survey conducted by Know Your IX and the National Alliance to End Sexual Violence, 88% of survivors said that if schools were forced to report sexual assaults to the police against the victim’s wishes, fewer students would report incidents to their schools.<sup>29</sup>

503 U.S. 60 (1992). 2 E.g. *Bosley v. Kearney R-1 Sch. Dist.*, 904 F. Supp. 1006, 1025 (W.D. Mo. 1995), *aff’d*, 140 F.3d 776 (8th Cir. 1998); *Doe By & Through Doe v. Petaluma City Sch. Dist.*, 830 F. Supp. 1560, 1576 (N.D. Cal. 1993). 3 *Davis Next Friend LaShonda D. v. Monroe Cty. Bd. of Educ.*, 526 U.S. 629, 646-47 (1999). 4 Office for Civil Rights, *Revised Sexual Harassment Guidance*, Dept. of Educ. 2, 6 (Jan. 19,

2001), <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/shguide.pdf>. 5 Michelle Anderson, I'm a college president. Betsy DeVos should help me deal with campus sexual assault, *Washington Post* (July 13, 2017), [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/posteverything/wp/2017/07/13/im-a-college-president-devos-shouldnt-stop-me-from-dealing-withsexual-assault/?utm\\_term=.0cb88a3d96b6](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/posteverything/wp/2017/07/13/im-a-college-president-devos-shouldnt-stop-me-from-dealing-withsexual-assault/?utm_term=.0cb88a3d96b6). 6 Christopher Krebs, et al., U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Campus Climate Survey Validity Study Final Technical Report* (2016), <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/ccsvsfr.pdf>. 7 See Nick Anderson and Susan Svrluga, What a massive sexual assault survey found at 27 top universities, *The Washington Post* (Sept. 21, 2015), [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/gradpoint/wp/2015/09/21/what-a-massive-sexual-assault-survey-showed-about-27-top-usuniversities/?utm\\_term=.07c97b1f0c90](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/gradpoint/wp/2015/09/21/what-a-massive-sexual-assault-survey-showed-about-27-top-usuniversities/?utm_term=.07c97b1f0c90). 8 See Kayla Patrick and Neena Chaudhry, National Women's Law Center, *Let Her Learn: Stopping School Pushout for Girls Who Have Suffered Harassment and Sexual Violence 1* (2017), [https://nwlc.org/wpcontent/uploads/2017/04/final\\_nwlc\\_Gates\\_HarassmentViolence.pdf](https://nwlc.org/wpcontent/uploads/2017/04/final_nwlc_Gates_HarassmentViolence.pdf). 9 *Id.* at 3. 10 Michelle J. Anderson, *Campus Sexual Assault Adjudication and Resistance to Reform*, 125 *Yale L.J.* 1940, 198688 (2016); FIRE: Foundation for Individual Rights in Education, APPENDIX, available at <http://www.thefire.org/pdfs/8d799cc3bccca596e58e0c2998e6b2ce4.pdf>; Angela F. Amar, et al., *Administrators' Perceptions of College Campus Protocols, Response, and Student Prevention Efforts for Campus Sexual Assault*, 29 (4) *Violence and Victims* 579, 584-85 (2014); Michelle J. Anderson, *The Legacy of the Prompt Complaint Requirement, Corroboration Requirement, and Cautionary Instructions on Campus Sexual Assault*, 84 *B.U. L. REV.* 945, 1000 (2004); Heather M. Karjane et al., *Campus Sexual Assault: How America's Institutions of Higher Education Respond* 122 *tbl.6.12* (2002), available at <http://www.hhd.org/sites/hhd.org/files/mso44.pdf>; *Title IX & the preponderance of the evidence: a white paper* 7-8 (Aug. 7, 2016), available at <http://www.feministlawprofessors.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Title-IX-Preponderance-White-Paper-signed-8.7.16.pdf>. 11 Deborah L. Brake, *Fighting the Rape Culture Wars Through the Preponderance of the Evidence Standard*, 78 *Mont. L. Rev.* 109, 128 (2017) (discussing an influential Model Student Conduct Code published in 2004); Chris Loschiavo & Jennifer L. Waller, Association for Student Conduct Administration, *The Preponderance of the Evidence Standard: Use in Higher Education Campus Conduct Processes*, <http://www.theasca.org/files/The%20Preponderance%20of%20Evidence%20Standard.pdf>. 12 Brake, *Fighting the Rape Culture Wars Through the Preponderance of the Evidence Standard*, 78 *Mont. L. Rev.* at 133-37 (arguing that only the preponderance of the evidence standard holds in equipoise the credibility of the parties and the relative interests at stake). 13 *Id.* at 131. 14 *Id.* at 137-39. 15 Erin E. Buzuvis, *Title IX and Procedural Fairness: Why Disciplined-Student Litigation Does Not Undermine the Role of Title IX in Campus Sexual Assault*, 78 *Mont. L. Rev.* 71 (2017). 16 34 C.F.R. § 106.8(b). 17 E.g. Office for Civil Rights, *Dear Colleague Letter*, Dep't of Educ. 8-14

(Apr. 4, 2011), <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-201104.pdf>.

18 In the fall of 2016, the Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) announced that Wesley College had violated Title IX when, among other violations, it denied a student accused of livestreaming sex without the victim's consent proper notice of his hearing. Letter to Robert E. Clark II from Beth Gelman-Beer (Oct. 12, 2016), <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/investigations/more/03152329-a.pdf>.

19 E.g. Office for Civil Rights, Questions and Answers on Title IX and Sexual Violence, Dep't of Edu., 26 (Apr. 29, 2014), <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/qa-201404-title-ix.pdf>.

20 Alexandra Brodsky, A Rising Tide: Learning about Fair Disciplinary Process from Title IX, 77 *Journal of Legal Education* (2017), [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3012818](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3012818).

21 E.g. *Goss v. Lopez*, 419 U.S. 565, 583 (1975) ("To impose in each such case even truncated trial-type procedures might well overwhelm administrative facilities in many places and, by diverting resources, cost more than it would save in educational effectiveness. Moreover, further formalizing the suspension process and escalating its formality and adversary nature may not only make it too costly as a regular disciplinary tool but also destroy its effectiveness as part of the teaching process."); see also *Nash v. Auburn Univ.*, 812 F.2d 655, 664 (11th Cir. 1987) (holding that accused students' rights in a disciplinary hearing "are not co-extensive with the rights of litigants in a civil trial or with those of defendants in a criminal trial"); *Brewer by Dreyfus v. Austin Indep. Sch. Dist.*, 779 F.2d 260, 263 (5th Cir. 1985) (urging parties not to "confuse[] two quite distinct processes: school disciplinary actions and criminal sentencing proceedings").

22 Office for Civil Rights, Revised Sexual Harassment Guidance, Dept. of Educ. 2, 6 (Jan. 19, 2001), <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/shguide.pdf>.

23 See, e.g., *id.*

24 E.g. *Saxe v. State Coll. Area Sch. Dist.*, 240 F.3d 200, 206 (3d Cir. 2001); see also *Wisconsin v. Mitchell*, 508 U.S. 476, 484 (1993) ("[A] physical assault is not by any stretch of the imagination expressive conduct protected by the First Amendment.").

25 Office for Civil Rights, Revised Sexual Harassment Guidance, Dept. of Educ. 6 (Jan. 19, 2001), <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/shguide.pdf>.

26 E.g., *Barr v. Lafon*, 538 F.3d 554, 569 (6th Cir. 2008); *West v. Derby Unified Sch. Dist.* No. 260, 206 F.3d 1358, 1365 (10th Cir. 2000).

27 E.g., *Koeppel v. Romano*, No. 6:15-cv-1800-Orl-40KRS, 2017 WL 2226681, \*9 (M.D. Fla. May 11, 2017); *Marshall v. Ohio University*, No. 2:15-cv-775, 2015 WL 1179955, \*5-\*7 (S.D. Ohio 2015).

28 Reporting Rates, Rape, Abuse, & Incest National Network, <https://rainn.org/get-information/statistics/reporting-rates> (aggregating data from U.S. Dep't of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, National Crime Victimization Surveys from 2008-2012, Fed. Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports from 2006-2010; and U.S. Dep't of Justice, Felony Defendants in Large Urban Counties from 2002-2006)

29 Resisting State-Level Mandatory Police Referral Efforts, Know Your IX, <http://knowyourix.org/ask-survivors>.



DEAR SURVIVORS,

No matter what Betsy DeVos says, your college must still:

1. Act to ensure your campus is not a hostile environment.
2. Promptly investigate and respond to your complaint.
3. Provide you the accommodations, including counseling, you need to learn.
4. Provide you the opportunity to be accompanied by an advisor of your choice to a disciplinary hearing and notice of the outcome.
5. Provide violence prevention training to students.

Title IX and the Clery Act are still the laws of the land.

Learn more: [knowyourix.org](http://knowyourix.org)

Join us: [knowyourix.org/join-the-movement](http://knowyourix.org/join-the-movement)

IMAGE: Square shaped thought bubble with text that says “ Know Your IX.”

## FUTURE(S) OF WORK

### HANDOUT 1

#### Building a Better Future for America's Working Women

IMAGE: Women Employed logo

Fair wages. Advancement opportunities. Respect in the workplace. Access to high-quality education and training. For more than 40 years, Women Employed has been fighting to ensure that all women can achieve their aspirations and support themselves and their families. The changes we have won over the last four decades have opened doors and broken barriers for millions. Yet too many women are still trapped in low-paying jobs.

IMAGE: A woman behind a service counter smiles and hands a customer a cup of coffee.

#### OUR PRIORITIES:

Guaranteed paid sick time for all workers.

Fairer work schedules so employees can predict their hours and wages.

Eliminating workplace discrimination.

Ensuring more women can succeed in education and training programs that lead to good jobs.

Raising the minimum wage.

Closing the wage gap, so women can earn equal pay for equal work.

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IMAGE: text says "It's up to us."

### HANDOUT 2

IMAGE: A game board with a spin dial and a winding path through a grassy area.

## The Game of Life With An Unpredictable Schedule

I have been scheduled for as few as 6 hours in a week, and as many as 40, with just a few days' notice. How is anyone supposed to plan their budget or schedule? – sales associate for a major retailer

For too many low-wage workers, this is a familiar story. It's estimated that 59 percent of full-time hourly workers experience volatile schedules, and it's even worse for part-time workers. It's bad for business too. In industries with these scheduling practices, employee morale and loyalty are low, leading to high turnover and massive costs for employers.

But it doesn't have to be this way. Women Employed is increasing awareness, promoting solutions, and collaborating with employers to make schedules more consistent, predictable, and adequate—benefiting workers, their families, and businesses themselves.

Read more about the issue, solutions, and employers who use fair scheduling practices at [womenemployed.org/scheduling](http://womenemployed.org/scheduling).

Women Employed  
65 E. Wacker Place, Suite 1500 Chicago, IL 60601-7253

## GOTV VOTER STRATEGIES MARCHING TO THE POLLS

Leveraging Local Power: Winning on the inside

### Rashida Tlaib

#### Sugar Law Center for Economic & Social Justice

Fellow, Leaders in Government

Cass Commons, 4605 Cass Ave,

Detroit, Mi 48201

www.sugarlaw.org

@Sugarlawjustice

### Examples of asks that create opportunities

#### Going beyond policy changes—bills, ordinances:

IMAGE: People stand in a circle in a courtyard.

IMAGE: Environmental Justice Forum flyer

- Power of letterhead
- Power to convene
- Leading press conferences
- Place in the speakers group
- Media presence supporting CBA
- Avoid FOIAs & red tape by asking city council members
- Use their lists (newsletters, etc.)
- Neighborhood tours (show them the issues!)

### Organizing **Strategies**

IMAGE: Protesters with arms raised in the air surround shipping trucks.

- ▶ Educate and build allies
- ▶ Find leverage points
- ▶ Use the beyond policy asks to build credibility for your movement
- ▶ Adopt multiple strategies at the same time
- ▶ Include outside and inside agitation
- ▶ Organizing the press
- ▶ Visualize the problem as much as you can.
- ▶ Civil disobedience is an option!

## **Elevating your neighbors' voices not in the room**

IMAGE: Community Benefits Agreement logo, text says "Stop The Giveaways EquitableDetroit.org."

IMAGE: Protesters march at a rally.

## **Find the message that works & stick to it**



Status quo not working (and show them).



If we have to pay, we should have a say.



Mayors and elected officials come and go, but neighborhoods don't.



You had your chance, now it's the community's turn to have the seat at the table to help ensure real equity.

## **Visualize the problem!**



39.1% of children live below poverty levels versus 19.9% statewide



30% of residents below the poverty level



78.3% of residents below poverty are renting Source : <http://www.city-data.com/poverty/poverty-St.-Louis-Missouri.html#ixzz4ifrMmjz>

## **The neighborhood post-refinery expansion, **no-CBA****

IMAGE: A skyline over a factory, smoke billows out from smoke stacks.

IMAGE: An African American woman stands in a community yard and art space.

IMAGE: Sugar Law Center logo.

Questions?

Contact Rashida Tlaib at:

**Sugar Law Center for Economic & Social Justice**

At the Cass Commons, 4605 Cass Ave, Detroit, Mi 48201  
(313) 993-4505  
[Rashida@sugarlaw.org](mailto:Rashida@sugarlaw.org)  
[@Sugarlawjustice](#)

## I AM ANITA. I AM BETTY. I AM LILLY. I AM AILEEN. I AM REVOLUTIONIZING THE WORKPLACE FOR WOMEN

Thank you for attending Equal Pay Today's Women's March Convention panel, entitled "I am Anita. I am Betty. I am Lilly. I am Aileen. I am Revolutionizing the Workplace for Women," featuring:

1. Charlotte Burrows, Commissioner, U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission;
2. Joi Chaney, Executive Director, Equal Pay Today! (Moderator);
3. Noreen Farrell, Executive Director, Equal Rights Advocates;
4. Mónica Ramírez, Deputy Director, Labor Council for Latin American Advancement;
5. Aileen Rizo, Math Educator & Equal Pay Champion; and
6. Gillian Thomas, Senior Staff Attorney, ACLU Women's Rights Project & Author of "Because of Sex: One Law, Ten Cases, and Fifty Years That Changed American Women's Lives at Work."

Equal Pay Today!, a project of the Tides Center, is an innovative collaboration of women's and workers' rights organizations working at the state, regional, and national level to close the gender wage gap and engage diverse constituencies in the fight for equal pay. Engage and support us at [www.equalpaytoday.org](http://www.equalpaytoday.org). Our organizations include:

### STEERING COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Equal Rights Advocates (San Francisco, CA) -- CHAIR  
 A Better Balance (New York, NY)  
 ACLU Women's Rights Project (New York, NY)  
 Gender Justice (St. Paul, MN)  
 National Women's Law Center (Washington, DC)  
 Southwest Women's Law Center  
 (Albuquerque, NM)  
 Women's Law Project (Philadelphia, PA)

### ROUNDTABLE MEMBERS

9to5 (Denver, CO)  
 American Association of University Women (Washington, DC)  
 Atlanta Women for Equality (Atlanta, GA)  
 California Women's Law Center (Los Angeles, CA)  
 Labor Council for Latin American Advancement (Washington, DC)  
 Legal Aid Society- Employment Law Center  
 (San Francisco, CA)  
 Legal Momentum (New York, NY)  
 Legal Voice (Seattle, WA)  
 MomRising (Nationwide)

National Center for Law and Economic Justice  
(New York, NY)  
National Employment Law Project  
(Washington, DC)  
National Partnership for Women and Families (Washington, DC)  
ROC-United (New York, NY & Washington, DC)  
Women Employed (Chicago, IL)

**AFFILIATED MEMBERS**

Institute for Women's Policy Research  
(Washington, DC)

If you think you've been the victim of employment discrimination, contact  
[www.eeoc.gov](http://www.eeoc.gov).

**EQUAL PAY DAYS**

**Remaining 2017 Observances:**

Latina Equal Pay Day – November 2 (54 cents)

**2018 Observances**

Equal Pay Day (Women v Men) -- April 10 (80 cents)

Asian Women v. White, non-Hispanic Men -- February 22 (87 cents)

White, non-Hispanic Women v. White, non-Hispanic Men -- April 17 (79 cents)

Black Women v. White, non-Hispanic Men -- August 7 (63 cents)

Native Women v. White, non-Hispanic Men -- September 27 (57 cents)

Latinas v. White, non-Hispanic Men-- November 1 (54 cents)



## INTERFAITH REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE COALITION

### HANDOUT 1

#### WE BELIEVE PETITION

IMAGE: a line of heads with typical women's hairstyles silhouette in red against a white background.

The constitutional right to have an abortion is under attack. Elected officials, including the President, many of our representatives in Congress, and state legislatures are doing everything they can to ban all abortions and to make it as expensive and inaccessible as possible. This is wrong. Take a stand and fill out this petition today:

We believe politics have no place in the personal and private decision of whether to have an abortion, and that policymakers should instead uphold Americans' constitutional rights under *Roe v. Wade*.

We believe that patients and medical staff, while going into and out of health facilities that offer abortion, should not be subjected to threats or harassment, and that no one should interfere in the doctor-patient relationship. All decisions about the timing and method of medical treatment should be wholly based upon the highest standards of medical care and the best interests of the patient.

We believe abortion care should be accessible to all regardless of income; that all types of health insurance, public and private, should cover abortion; and that no employer should be allowed to fire or punish employees simply because they have chosen to have an abortion.

And in support of our beliefs, we petition our state legislators to fight for everyone's right to consider their own personal and medical circumstances and make their own healthcare decisions.

### HANDOUT 2

#### Restoring Reproductive Health Care Access

In Michigan, and across the country, there is a growing effort to make it as difficult as possible for a woman who has made her decision to have an abortion to legally get the care she needs. Many laws have been introduced under the guise of protecting women's health when, in reality, their sole purpose is to make it difficult, or in some cases, impossible, for a woman to get the safe, legal, high-quality care she deserves. It's time to demand that lawmakers respect a woman's

Studies Show:

A woman who seeks an abortion and is turned down is more likely to fall into poverty than a woman who is able to get an abortion.

Based on 2008 abortion rates:

1 in 10 women will have an abortion by age 20

1 in 4 women will have an abortion by age 30

3 in 10 women will have an abortion by age 45

At least half of American women will experience an unintended pregnancy by age 45.

When Political Interference Restricts Access to Abortion:

Low-income women of color are hurt the most.

Women are more likely to experience poverty, domestic violence, and poor health.

Women are more likely to obtain an abortion illegally, putting their lives at risk.

Since 2011, there has been a 33% decline in abortion-providing clinics in Michigan

IMAGE: Outline of the state of Michigan in black

In 2014, roughly 89% of Michigan counties had no abortion-providing clinics.

It's time for sensible policy solutions including:

1. Prevent Political Interference from Delaying Abortion (HB 4760 – Faris) Remove unnecessary restrictions that delay access to abortion care by repealing the 24-hour informed consent requirement.

2. Repeal the Abortion Insurance Opt-Out Act (HB 4761 – Greig) Repeal the requirement that women pre-purchase abortion insurance riders prior to becoming pregnant.

3. Keep Politics Out of the Exam Room (HB 4762– Guerra) Prevents health care professionals from providing a patient with information that is not medically accurate or medical services in a manner that is not evidence-based.

4. Prevent Double Standards (HB 4763 – Pagan) Place in statute that any law or regulation on abortion that places a burden on access to abortion is unenforceable if it does not confer a legitimate health benefit.

5. Patients Right to Abortion Information (HB 4765 – Love) Requires that a health facility shall not refuse to provide reproductive health services if withholding them would result in health risks.

Paid for by: Michigan Progressive Women's Caucus

P.O. Box 13253, Lansing, MI 48901 [www.miprogressivewomen.com](http://www.miprogressivewomen.com)

info@miprogressivewomen.com  
@michiganpwc /miprogressivewomen

IMAGE: Progressive Women's Caucus logo, sketch of Michigan state capitol building.

### HANDOUT 3

#### WE BELIEVE PETITION

DESCRIPTION: Below is a form, after each field below is space to fill in the information

NAME:

E-MAIL:

ADDRESS:

ZIP CODE:

PHONE:

IMAGE: a small check box

By checking this box I agree receive important text messages from the Michigan Voices for Women's Health Coalition alerting me how I can stay informed on these issues. Msg & data rates may apply.

IMAGE: Public Leadership Institute Logo

IMAGE: Eight women of difference racial backgrounds, stand in a line wearing different white outfits. One woman is pregnant, one has a cane, one holds a child and one wears a hijab.

## LAWYERING FOR GENDER EQUITY IN THE AGE OF TRUMP

**Lawyering for Gender Equity in the Age of Trump** - Friday, October 27 from 12:30-2:00 pm

### **Front:**

#### **Legal Network for Gender Equity**

In response to extensive threats to women's rights, the National Women's Law Center is launching the first national legal network to combat sex discrimination faced by women and girls. The Legal Network will provide information enabling those facing sexual harassment and other forms of sex discrimination to connect with the legal resources they need to fight back. The Network has initially recruited more than 200 attorneys from across the country who stand ready to provide an initial free legal consultation and, when appropriate, represent women and girls who experience sex discrimination on the job, at school, and in the health care system.

#### **JOIN THE ATTORNEY NETWORK**

##### **Sign up here:**

[www.nwlc.org/jointhe-legal-network](http://www.nwlc.org/jointhe-legal-network)

#### **FOR LEGAL HELP**

##### **Contact us at:**

[www.nwlc.org/legalassistance](http://www.nwlc.org/legalassistance)

### **Back:**

Before joining the Legal Network, a participating attorney must determine whether being listed is consistent with applicable state law and professional responsibility rules. The National Women's Law Center is not responsible for any lawyer's decision to be listed that does not comply with his or her state rules.

For those contacting NWLC seeking legal help, please be advised that sharing information about attorneys is not a referral, recommendation or endorsement of any attorney. The National Women's Law Center does not undertake representation of those seeking legal information from the Network or co-counsel with Network attorneys in these matters, except in rare cases where it specifically agrees in writing to do so.

**National Women's Law Center** | [202-588-5180](tel:202-588-5180) | [www.nwlc.org](http://www.nwlc.org)  
[202-588-5180](tel:202-588-5180) [www.nwlc.org](http://www.nwlc.org)

SAY HER NAME: POLICE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN OF COLOR IS A FEMINIST ISSUE

### **Say Her Name Police Violence Against Women of Color is a Feminist Issue**

IMAGE: An animated image of a woman with brown skin wearing a white head scarf, tears drain from her eyes. Text says "People's Retort To the Prosecutor's Report."

People's Retort to the prosecutor 's report

Aura Rain Rosser was shot dead by Ann Arbor police early on November 10, 2014. The Michigan State Police conducted an investigation and on January 30, 2015, Washtenaw County Prosecutor Brian Mackie announced his decision not to indict Officer David Ried for homicide. This report empowers the people to question and challenge Mackie's report, the incomplete and biased investigation, and the entire system of racism and injustice that resulted in the killing of Aura Rosser.

Ann Arbor Is America

Aura Rosser's killing and the official exoneration of Ried is part of a national pattern of disregard for Black lives. Though no reliable statistics are even kept on use of force by police,<sup>1</sup> conservative estimates are that a Black person is killed by police, security guards, or vigilantes every 28 hours, on average.<sup>2</sup> Blacks face force or threat of force from police at a rate at least 3.6 times higher than Whites.<sup>3</sup> Ann Arbor, one of the 10 most economically segregated cities of any size in the nation,<sup>4</sup> is not exempt from racism and patterns of police violence. Indeed, Ann Arbor is America. Never before has the impunity of police received greater attention nationwide, but local "leaders" remain intent on keeping the status quo. Aura's killing proves that the liberal haven of Ann Arbor is no safer for Blacks than the rest of America. Mayor Christopher Taylor, Chief of Police

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John Seto, the media, and city councilmembers all accepted Mackie's decision without question, even enthusiastically. Taking a cue from Mackie's report, with palpable relief they blamed the killing on Aura Rosser herself.<sup>5</sup> We see victim-blaming in nearly every case of police homicide nationwide, most recently in the horrifying response of Cleveland to the killing of 12-year-old Tamir Rice, within seconds of police arriving at the scene. The city attorney claimed his death was "directly and proximately" caused by the child's own actions.<sup>6</sup> This is not the first time Mackie exonerated a homicidal officer. In 2007, lawnet (Livingston and Washtenaw Narcotics Enforcement Team) murdered a young Black man who was fleeing an alleged drug buy (staged by lawnet).<sup>7</sup> The national war on drugs, through which lawnet receives its funding, has disproportionately targeted Black communities. Ried has worked undercover for lawnet. Local and national

politics are intertwined. We reject the national narrative being regurgitated by the Ann Arbor authorities and corporate media. Scholar-activist Austin McCoy writes:

The shooting of Aura Rosser confirms how Ann Arbor looks like the rest of America. Appraisals of Rosser's character in the local media and in the prosecutor's report reads more like the characterizations of Ezell Ford and Michael Brown. The crucial difference is that Rosser is black and female. Being black and female in America today means that black women not only die at the hands of the state like men, their suffering is obscured while making their physicality and psychological state hyper-visible. Black women's suffering is unseen by the authorities, but the state tries to highlight how they are "aggressive" and "hysterical."<sup>8</sup>

The lack of accountability for police homicide of Blacks is a central issue that Aura Rosser's life and death raises for us as a community. We hope this

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retort will catalyze the beginning of a community-wide conversation that will also address problems of unemployment, housing, violence against women, interclass exploitation and violence, chemical dependency treatment, mental health services, poverty, and the criminalization of poverty.

#### Police Investigating Police ≠ Independent Investigation

We turn now to the specific, most obvious discrepancies in the Michigan State Police (MSP) investigative materials and the subsequent prosecutor's memo.<sup>9</sup> We have many questions, and surely you will have others. At minimum, these concerns confirm that when state police investigate local police, the public is in no way reassured that the investigation is unbiased and complete. When the state's report is turned over to a county prosecuting attorney who, by the very nature of his role, relies on the local police, we see even greater bias and distortion. Police investigating police can never mean an independent investigation. The distortions we see in Aura Rosser's case are not a question of "bad apples"; they reveal, rather, a policing and legal system which is structurally racist.

Ω 1. Ried and the other officer present, Mark Raab, were never interviewed by the MSP. 1.1. The MSP report states: "Officers David Ried and Mark Raab elected to submit police reports as their statements in lieu of giving a formal interview."<sup>10</sup> 1.2. Can anyone imagine a civilian suspect of homicide being permitted to submit a written statement instead of being questioned aggressively by a detective? 1.3. In the ongoing investigation of the police killing of Antonio Zambrano-Montes, a migrant worker in Washington State, the public

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was outraged that investigators waited over two weeks before interviewing the officers responsible.<sup>11</sup> In Ann Arbor, the officers have never been interviewed or questioned,

much less testified before a jury. They only submitted written statements saying they “feared for their lives,” which is the legal cover for use of deadly force; it is a legal expression, not an emotional one. 1.4. Mackie fails to mention this critical shortcoming of the investigation in his 12-page memo.

Ω 2. Ried already knew Aura Rosser. This fact is never mentioned, much less investigated, by the MSP nor by the prosecutor. 2.1. A police report from an earlier incident indicates that Ried had interacted with both Aura and her ex-boyfriend Victor Stephens. In his written statement, Ried only mentions that he already knew Stephens, not Aura. 2.2. The MSP report summarizes the “previous incidents involving Aura Rosser,” omitting the fact that Ried was the answering officer in at least one incident. Why does the MSP report attempt to minimize or hide the fact that Ried already knew Aura? 2.3. Previous incident reports indicate that the police already knew Aura was under mental health care. 13 Why did officers not contact CSTS (community mental health) prior to entering the house? Why was a social worker not called to the scene to assist with deescalation? Why has AAPD not been transparent about its policy for responding to potential mental health crises? 2.4. What is the police protocol for responding to a call with someone in a possible mental health crisis? Why is this question not being asked and answered by city and county officials?

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Ω 3. The collaborating witness for the police is on parole,<sup>14</sup> and has been helpful to the police in the past.<sup>15</sup> 3.1. This means that a key witness to the shooting was already known to Ried from multiple past interactions. His reliability as a witness to a police homicide is compromised by his dependence on the police and prosecutor for his liberty. In his report on a prior incident, Ried himself questioned the witness’s credibility with respect to accusations against Aura.<sup>16</sup> 3.2. Is the public to believe that the MSP conducted a thorough and independent investigation, without noticing and reporting these facts? 3.3. Some members of the community who are privy to police involvement in drug trafficking theorize that the police may have had a motive to intervene and eliminate Aura. The point is that we will never know, because the sham investigation never explored possible alternative motives or relationships among the individuals.

Ω 4. In the MSP Lab Controlled Substances Report dated December 12, 2014 (seven weeks before Mackie’s decision), the “nature of offense” is listed as “0900-4 Justifiable Homicide.”<sup>17</sup> It appears that the MSP’s investigation was biased from the start and the outcome was a foregone conclusion.

Ω 5. The alleged threat posed by Aura to the police officers and/or to Stephens is exaggerated in every possible way. 5.1. As biased as the MSP investigation seems to have been, Mackie’s memo takes bias and distortion to new levels. The MSP report estimates that Aura was 13 to 14 feet from the officers when they

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shot her (based on the distance between the taser probes). Stephens estimated 15 feet.<sup>18</sup> Mackie's memo instead reports the distance as 6 to 10 feet, based on the cops' claims and disregarding MSP forensic evidence. 5.2. While both police officers describe Aura as "walking" towards them, walking becomes "confronting" in the MSP report summary, "advancing" in Mackie's memo, "came at" in Mackie's press release, and "charged" in the sensationalized Ann Arbor News version, which proves that corporate media is not just a parrot, but an accomplice for local authorities.<sup>19</sup> 5.3. To make his self-defense claim plausible, Ried knows he must justify why he, a fully-armed and trained police officer with a partner by his side, was in fear for his life from a woman holding a knife with a 4-inch blade. He and Raab describe, and Mackie emphasizes, that Aura "opened her eyes very wide" and "appeared to be in a deranged state," with "a blank stare."<sup>20</sup> We hear in these perceptions the echo of the self-defense claims of Darren Wilson in Ferguson, who claimed that Michael Brown looked "like a demon."<sup>21</sup> Mackie takes these racist tropes and runs with them in his report, seeking out support for his theory that Rosser was indeed "deranged," and therefore mortally threatening, not just in an angry dispute with her ex-boyfriend. 5.4. Stephens describes Aura as holding a filet knife forward with her thumb on top of the handle; the police officers claim she held it in a "threatening" position with the handle pointing towards the thumb side of the hand (i.e. thumb on the bottom of the handle) and with the knife held up near her head. The only fingerprint found on the knife by the MSP Lab was from Aura's left ring

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finger.<sup>22</sup> The main MSP report mentions "the possible presence of blood" on the knife, darkly hinting at violence committed; only in a separate MSP Lab report do we learn that the stain on the blade was from Aura's own blood.<sup>23</sup> 5.5. Mackie's determination that Ried "honestly and reasonably" believed that he or another person would be "killed or seriously injured" is based on the notion that an attacker could charge across a distance of 15 feet within two seconds. For this to be plausible, a woman walking towards officers with a 4-inch knife blade must be rhetorically transformed into a deranged, armed attacker. 5.6. Stephens said a) he heard the cops announce "police," b) Aura took three steps towards them, c) cops said "freeze," and d) he heard "pop pop" (taser and gun). Ried claimed in his statement that he yelled loudly for Aura to drop the knife several times before Aura even turned towards the officers. Raab claimed he yelled "Police, drop the knife!", then Aura turned, and then he yelled similar orders at least three times. Mackie makes no attempt to reconcile the discrepancies. 5.7. Raab also writes: "The time from when officers first entered the house and yelled police to when she was shot and Tasered was approximately 5–10 seconds." Considering the conflicting claims about how much warning Aura was given, and even whether she was asked to drop the knife at all, it seems that she was given little to no opportunity in 5–10 seconds to save herself from police assault. 5.8. It is also evident that in the 5–10 seconds after entering the open door of the home, the police officers made no attempt to resolve the situation peacefully. They entered, yelled aggressively, and fired.



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Ω 6. Taser and gun at the same time? It makes no sense! 6.1. Nowhere in the investigation, Mackie's memo, or in responses from city officials does anyone address head-on the most obvious contradiction—that if Raab's decision was to draw a Taser, wasn't Ried's decision to draw and fire a gun into her heart excessive use of force by comparison? Less lethal force is routinely used by police to disable people like intoxicated football fans. Surely potential mental health crises deserve at least as much restraint. 6.2. Instead of answering this question, Mackie further reveals his pro-police bias by arguing that Raab's firing of a Taser actually supports Ried's claim he killed out of fear of mortal danger. Because they are alleged to have shot at about the same time, they both felt fearful at the same time, his argument goes. No forensic evidence reported to date proves the precise timing and sequence of the shots. The MSP investigation does not even clarify whether Ried was carrying a Taser. 6.3. The question on our minds is this: If Aura Rosser was white, would Ried have used less lethal force? Ried's decision to kill Aura must be seen within the context of national (and international) disregard for the lives of Black and Brown people. In 2012, at least 313 Black people were killed extrajudicially, or one every 28 hours. 136 (44%) of those killed that year had no weapon at all at the time they were executed.<sup>24</sup> 6.4. When the editor of the Ann Arbor Independent recently requested, under FOIA, citizen complaints against police, the AAPD redacted all officers' names, contrary to state law. We do know that Ried was a named defendant in a 2012 lawsuit alleging incidents of explicit racism on the part of the police, including Ried.<sup>25</sup>

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Ω 7. More unanswered questions: 7.1. If Aura was shot in the heart, with an upward trajectory towards the right, why did she fall to her left into the kitchen? How did she then end up on her back? The wound to her heart was devastating, on top of the disabling Taser probes. It's unlikely she would have been able to move after the fatal wounding. 7.2. What were the officers' predisposition and assumptions before they arrived on the scene? They were never questioned about this. Why, when answering a 911 call, did they stop at every red light and not run their emergency lights? We hear the dispatcher ask, "Where the heck was Baker 22 coming from?" Why did the dashboard camera record audio only after the shooting when Ried turned on the emergency lights? 7.3. Why was the crime scene not secured until 4:05 a.m., almost four hours after Aura was pronounced dead? The MSP investigators arrived at 8:45 a.m.<sup>26</sup> Indeed, the main MSP report takes as truth the AAPD Report (140056140) and repeats most of its statements. 7.4. The ambulance run report appears nowhere in the investigation. Why? 7.5. The 13-minute 911 call recording includes periods when Stephens left the phone line open and voices can be heard in the background. MSP investigators did not bother to closely examine or transcribe the recording. After Stephens tells the 911 operator that Aura is "in my room with the door locked," he can be heard shouting "One more time, open up that door!" We hear another voice saying

“What’s up man, what the f\*\*\*you doing dog?” and what sounds like “Don’t hit her, you can’t hit her.” Later we hear Aura’s voice shouting, “Leave me alone!”<sup>27</sup>Who was the aggressor?Why does

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the MSP investigation not bother to ask? It is not uncommon for abusers to call police and claim they are victims. Stephens had called 911 on multiple previous occasions, never resulting in serious injury or charges brought against Aura. 7.6. While Mackie leads his memo with a caricature of Aura as a psychotic drug abuser o≠ her meds, the autopsy report indicates that levels of recent-use cocaine and THC in her blood were very minimal and could have resulted from consumption days prior to the incident.<sup>28</sup> There is no serious evidence that Aura was delirious due to not taking her medicines and recently consuming high levels of cocaine—this is only speculation.

Is this what passes for “outside investigation?” The MSP investigation and Mackie’s responding memo are full of gaps, inconsistencies, and blatant bias towards the defendants. We contest the legitimacy of the investigation and the decision, and we condemn the mishandling of this case.

Legality ≠Moral Legitimacy

Mackie declined to indict Ried based on statutes that give broad latitude to officers to commit assault and homicide—a primary reason for the low rates of prosecution of police officers. It is exceedingly difficult to prove that a cop has broken the law in a confrontation because all they need to do is claim they believe they were in mortal danger—the danger does not even have to be proven true. By this means, cops can and do manipulate racist assumptions to claim they feared Black victims simply because of their appearance. In the legal system, the police have been given excessive leeway to get away with assault and homicide. But legal cover does not equal moral le

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gitimacy. Mackie refused to indict, but this does not mean Ried’s behavior was within policy, much less within reason and common sense. Chief of Police John Seto, Mayor Christopher Taylor, the city, and the county still have a responsibility to transparently scrutinize Ried’s behavior against not only police policy and training, but also in light of the broad societal discourse that is calling into question the legitimacy of police authority. We need to have this dialogue in this community, especially among those most affected by extrajudicial policing and institutional racism.

Ω 8. Consider this: 8.1. In Washtenaw County’s budget, our single largest expense is law enforcement, matched only by the Washtenaw jail budget. Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti police are also the single largest expenses in these cities.<sup>29</sup> 8.2. In the county jail, African American inmates (whether sentenced, unsentenced, or felon) outnumber White inmates,<sup>30</sup> even though Whites account for an almost six times larger percentage of the general population.<sup>31</sup> 8.3. The complaint process is currently non-transparent, and the

public is not privy to the policies and standards of procedure that supposedly guide AAPD operations. 8.4. Killedbypolice.net reports that in 2014, at least 1004 people were killed by police across the U.S.—nearly 3 per day. 8.5. When statutes give police too much leniency to commit assault and homicide, those statutes can be changed. The power police are given under the law can and should be taken away when systematically abused. When the entire law enforcement and judicial system reflects systematic abuse, then we condemn the entire system. 8.6. When police officers violate policy and protocol, they can be dis

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ciplined and fired. Raab responded with drawing a Taser while Ried committed homicide without reasonable cause. We reject his dubious claim that he feared for his life. The legal process has been corrupted by a biased and incomplete investigatory process, but disciplinary action can still be taken. Ried has by now returned to regular duty. We call on Seto and Taylor to fire Ried now. 8.7. Mayor Taylor expressed sympathy for “everyone” affected by the killing, but the city, county, and AAPD have yet to apologize, formally or informally, for the killing. No doubt they fear litigation from Aura’s family. We call on Seto and Taylor to apologize now, and pay Aura’s family immediately for costs associated with the funeral. 8.8. To begin to do right by Aura’s family and her memory, authorities can and should meet these demands immediately. To truly restore justice will require the entire community to confront the truth of racism, economic injustice, and police violence, in Ann Arbor as in America. Only from a place of truth can we imagine a new, more just world where Aura Rosser would still be alive.

#### Aura Rosser’s Life Matters

This report only begins to outline the problems with the investigation. It puts to rest the mayor’s unconvincing claim that “Officer Ried’s actions were justified. He and his partner acted professionally and properly in defense of Mr. Stephens and in defense of themselves. The plain facts show this to be true.”<sup>32</sup> We remind the mayor that there has been no trial to establish “facts,” and that in the entire investigatory process, no one has been an advocate for Aura Rosser.

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We stand up for Aura Rain Rosser. By accounts of those who knew her and love her still, she was a beautiful, creative, and soulful woman. She was the mother of three children. Like many creative people, she had mental health struggles. According to her records, she was also a survivor of domestic violence and an abusive childhood. She was smart and strong, and defended herself against the exploitative men in her life. We need to commemorate her artistry, her poetry, her motherhood, her being in this world. She had friends and family. She had spirit. She loved. She stood up for herself. She did not need to die. We demand justice for Aura Rosser.

notes

11. [www.motherjones.com/politics/2014/08/police-shootings-michael-brown-ferguson-black-men](http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2014/08/police-shootings-michael-brown-ferguson-black-men) 12. [mxgm.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Operation-Ghetto-Storm.pdf](http://mxgm.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Operation-Ghetto-Storm.pdf) 13. Matthew R. Durose et al., "Contacts between Police and the Public, 2005," (Bureau of Justice Statistics, April 2007), 1 and 8. 14. [www.citylab.com/work/2015/02/americas-most-economically-segregated-cities/](http://www.citylab.com/work/2015/02/americas-most-economically-segregated-cities/) 385709/ 15. [www.mlive.com/news/ann-arbor/index.ssf/2015/01/ann\\_arbor\\_mayor\\_aura\\_rosser\\_sh.html](http://www.mlive.com/news/ann-arbor/index.ssf/2015/01/ann_arbor_mayor_aura_rosser_sh.html) 16. [alj.am/1CkCYZY](http://alj.am/1CkCYZY) 17. [policecrime.proboards.com/thread/4423/ocer-samuel-wallace-uriah-hamilton](http://policecrime.proboards.com/thread/4423/ocer-samuel-wallace-uriah-hamilton) 18. "Ann Arbor is America: The Police Kill Aura Rosser and the System Exonerates Itself — Again," 31 Jan. 2015. [medium.com/@austinmccoy/ann-arbor-is-america-the-police-kill-aura-rosser-and-the-system-exonerates-itself-again-f73fae9bba7f](http://medium.com/@austinmccoy/ann-arbor-is-america-the-police-kill-aura-rosser-and-the-system-exonerates-itself-again-f73fae9bba7f) 19. [www.ewashtenaw.org/government/prosecuting\\_attorney/ann-arbor-shooting/](http://www.ewashtenaw.org/government/prosecuting_attorney/ann-arbor-shooting/) 10. "MSP 10-1075-14 24 pages," p. 3. 11. [www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/feb/25/police-ocers-fired-17-times-antoniozambrano-montes-unarmed-mexican-man-washington](http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/feb/25/police-ocers-fired-17-times-antoniozambrano-montes-unarmed-mexican-man-washington)

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12. "AAPD Incident Report 140049689 4 pages." 13. "AAPD Incident Report 140043957 7\_4Pages." 14. Marshall, Michael David. "The Killing of Aura Rosser," *The Ann*, March 2015, pp. 16–25. 15. [www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/USCOURTS-mied-2\\_06-cv-14885/pdf/USCOURTS-mied-2\\_06-cv-14885-0.pdf](http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/USCOURTS-mied-2_06-cv-14885/pdf/USCOURTS-mied-2_06-cv-14885-0.pdf) 16. "AAPD Incident Report 140049689 4 pages." 17. "MSP Lab - Controlled Substance Report NV 14-9381 Rec 4." 18. "MSP 10-1075-14 24 pages," p. 10, p. 23. 19. [www.mlive.com/news/ann-arbor/index.ssf/2015/01/aclu\\_community\\_leaders\\_respond.html](http://www.mlive.com/news/ann-arbor/index.ssf/2015/01/aclu_community_leaders_respond.html) 20. "MSP 10-1075-14 24 pages," p. 4–6. 21. [www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2014/11/25/why-darren-wilson-said-he-killed-michael-brown/](http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2014/11/25/why-darren-wilson-said-he-killed-michael-brown/) 22. "MSP Lab - Fingerprint Report NV 14-9381 Rec 5." 23. "MSP Lab - Biology Report NV 14-9381 Rec 3." 24. [mxgm.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Operation-Ghetto-Storm.pdf](http://mxgm.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Operation-Ghetto-Storm.pdf) 25. [annarborchronicle.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/AmendedDreamNiteClub\\_CM\\_ECF-U.S.-District-Court\\_mied-CM\\_ECF-U.S.pdf](http://annarborchronicle.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/AmendedDreamNiteClub_CM_ECF-U.S.-District-Court_mied-CM_ECF-U.S.pdf) 26. "MSP Lab - Scene Report NV 14-9381 Rec 1." 27. "14-56140.911.mp3." The MSP report wrongly states that it is Stephens, not Aura, who is locked in a room. 28. [www.nhtsa.gov/people/injury/research/job185drugs/cocain.htm](http://www.nhtsa.gov/people/injury/research/job185drugs/cocain.htm) 29. [www.ewashtenaw.org/government/departments/finance/budget/final-budget2014-2017](http://www.ewashtenaw.org/government/departments/finance/budget/final-budget2014-2017), [www.cityofypsilanti.com/Portals/0/docs/Accounting/Budget%202014/1.%20Budget%20Letter%204-29-2014pdf.pdf](http://www.cityofypsilanti.com/Portals/0/docs/Accounting/Budget%202014/1.%20Budget%20Letter%204-29-2014pdf.pdf), [media.mlive.com/annarbornews\\_impact/other/2015%20proposed%20city%20budget.pdf](http://media.mlive.com/annarbornews_impact/other/2015%20proposed%20city%20budget.pdf) 30. [www.ewashtenaw.org/government/departments/cjcc/cjcc-resources-readinglists/1st-quarter-jail-report-2012](http://www.ewashtenaw.org/government/departments/cjcc/cjcc-resources-readinglists/1st-quarter-jail-report-2012) 31. [quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/26/26161.html](http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/26/26161.html) 32. [hosted-p0.vresp.com/1381223/5255ae9438/ARCHIVE](http://hosted-p0.vresp.com/1381223/5255ae9438/ARCHIVE)

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PEOPLE'S

retort TO THE PROSECUTOR 'S REPORT

LEARN MORE and connect with the

movement locally

join the ongoing protest at huron and main st. in downtown ann arbor every wednesday and friday, from 5–6 p.m. ≈ For a digital copy of this pamphlet, go to [radicalwashtenaw.org](http://radicalwashtenaw.org) ≈ [aa2ferguson.tumblr.com](http://aa2ferguson.tumblr.com) [facebook.com/annarbortoferguson](https://www.facebook.com/annarbortoferguson) ≈ #BlackLivesMatter #AA2Ferguson #AuraRosser ≈ in the tradition of 19th-century anti-slavery pamphlets, this work is published anonymously.

drawing of aura rosser by rich black

## HARVEST WITHOUT VIOLENCE: HOW FARMWORKERS ARE ADVANCING WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN US AGRICULTURE

### HANDOUT 1

#### BOYCOTT WENDY'S!

[WWW.BOYCOTT-WENDYS.ORG](http://WWW.BOYCOTT-WENDYS.ORG)

Join thousands of farmworkers, students, people of faith and consumers of conscience in refusing to patronize Wendy's until the world's third largest hamburger chain joins the Fair Food Program!

#### WHY WENDY'S?

1. Wendy's ran from responsibility and abandoned Florida tomato growers who are doing the right thing.

Wendy's has not only refused to join the Coalition of Immokalee Workers' (CIW) Fair Food Program, but has stopped buying tomatoes from Florida altogether following the implementation of the Fair Food Program there. Rather than support U.S. growers setting new standards for human rights in the agricultural industry, Wendy's took its tomato purchases to Mexico, where the widespread denial of human rights in the produce industry was the subject of an in-depth exposé by the Los Angeles Times.

2. Wendy's is championing the discredited practice of Corporate-led Social Responsibility.

Instead of joining the Fair Food Program and its widely acclaimed, uniquely successful worker-led model of social responsibility, Wendy's released a new supplier code of conduct in November 2015 that contains no effective mechanisms for worker participation or enforcement. Wendy's new code represents the very worst of the traditional corporate approach to social responsibility driven by public relations concerns rather than the verifiable protection of human rights. From its vague "expectations" for ethical behavior from its suppliers to its toothless approach to consequences for suppliers who fail to meet those expectations, Wendy's latest corporate response simply doesn't measure up to the Fair Food Program.

3. Wendy's has opted to profit from farmworker poverty and abuse.

Of the 5 largest fast food companies, Wendy's is the only one not participating in the Fair Food Program. McDonald's, Taco Bell, Subway, and Burger King all pay a penny more per pound for

their tomatoes to help alleviate farmworker poverty. They also buy only from growers who agree to protect their workers' human rights by complying with the Fair Food Code of Conduct. By refusing to participate, Wendy's is deriving a very real cost advantage over its competitors, while continuing to provide an alternative market for less reputable growers. In short, rather than do its part to end farmworker poverty, Wendy's has chosen to profit from it. To continue to cling to the low-bar standards of the past when presented with an acclaimed and proven alternative, one in which all its major competitors have agreed to participate, is morally indefensible.

## BOYCOTT WENDY'S!

Pledge your commitment to boycott Wendy's until the final fast food holdout joins the CIW's Fair Food Program online at [www.boycott-wendys.org](http://www.boycott-wendys.org). Join the conversation on social media, and tag your posts and tweets with #BoycottWendys and @Wendys. Organize actions in your community with a local Fair Food Group or Student/ Farmworker Alliance chapter – or start your own! Contact the Alliance for Fair Food at [organize@allianceforfairfood.org](mailto:organize@allianceforfairfood.org) to connect with someone locally or for more information on how to get involved.

## ABOUT THE FAIR FOOD PROGRAM

In four short years of implementation, the CIW's Fair Food Program has eliminated modern-day slavery and sexual violence, improved farmworker wages for the first time in decades, and guaranteed basic protections for workers. Today, 14 major food retailers participate in the Fair Food Program, from Whole Foods to Walmart and McDonald's. Participating retailers agree to purchase exclusively from suppliers who meet a worker-designed Code of Conduct, which includes a zero-tolerance policy for slavery and sexual harassment. Retailers also pay a "penny-per-pound" premium, which is passed down through the supply chain and paid out directly to workers by their employers. Since the Program's inception in 2011, buyers have paid over \$20 million into the FFP. In 2015, the Program expanded for the first time beyond Florida to tomato fields in Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, and New Jersey, and in the 2015-2016 season, the Fair Food Program expanded to two new Florida crops, strawberries and bell peppers.

The Program has been called "the best workplace-monitoring program" in the U.S. in the New York Times, and "one of the great human rights success stories of our day" in the Washington Post, and has won widespread recognition for its unique effectiveness from a broad spectrum of human rights observers, from the United Nations to the White House. The Program is the leading example of a new and growing form of human rights protection known as Worker-driven Social Responsibility (WSR). In the WSR approach, the workers whose rights are at issue play

a leading role in the definition, monitoring and protection of those rights, enforcement is at a premium, and retail brands make a binding commitment to support that enforcement with their purchases.

## ABOUT THE COALITION OF IMMOKALEE WORKERS

The Coalition of Immokalee Workers is a worker-led human rights organization internationally recognized for its achievements in the fields of social responsibility, human trafficking, and gender-based violence at work. Built on a foundation of farmworker community organizing starting in 1993, and reinforced with the creation of a national consumer network since 2000, CIW's work has steadily grown over more than 20 years to encompass three broad and overlapping spheres: the Fair Food Program, the Anti-Slavery Campaign and the Campaign for Fair Food.

## HANDOUT 2

### HARPER'S MAGAZINE

March 16, 2016

#### "Trump's Tomatoes"

The story behind the billionaire's fast food of choice

By Andrew Cockburn

According to the Washington Post, guests on Donald Trump's luxurious personal 757 jet—gold-plated seat-belt buckles!—who get peckish and order a burger are served Wendy's. It would have to be Wendy's. No other food chain strives so hard to avoid buying tomatoes from Florida, where they are almost guaranteed to have been picked by immigrants, a policy surely appealing to Trump. Admittedly, the tomatoes in question are quite possibly picked by a worker confined in conditions of near slavery, paid minimal amounts and forced to scavenge for food, but at least he or she is not an immigrant working in this country.

To understand the background to the Wendy's guarantee, we have to go back to the beginning of the century, when a workers' rights group in Florida, the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, pioneered an innovative and effective strategy. Agricultural workers are a traditionally exploited group, excluded from the National Labor Relations Act, the New Deal law enshrining basic workers' rights such as collective bargaining. Conditions have been especially dire for the men and women, almost entirely immigrants from Mexico and Central America, who picked the



Florida fruit and vegetable crops. In 2001, tomato pickers were still being paid the forty cents per thirty-two-pound bucket of tomatoes that they were two decades earlier. (Some received nothing at all. When I visited Immokalee in 2001, the C.I.W. had just uncovered a slave camp nestled between a Ramada Inn and a retirement community in the little town of Lake Placid, the fifth such operation busted by the Coalition in the past six years. Inmates who tried to escape risked beatings or worse.)

Naturally, the workers had fought for better conditions using traditional means, but a number of strikes had yielded only defeat. In 2001, however, the C.I.W. conceived and adopted a new strategy, targeting not the agribusinesses that employed and exploited them, but the farmers' corporate customers, using the leverage of consumers' social conscience. In the first such campaign, the group fomented a nationwide boycott of Taco Bell. The demand was simple: Commit to paying an extra penny a pound directly to the pickers. is Boycott the Bell movement, augmented with widely publicized hunger strikes by C.I.W. organizers, caught on across the country, especially on college campuses. Eventually Yum! Brands Inc., the parent company of Taco Bell, caved and accepted the terms. Over successive years other giant enterprises have fallen into line. Burger King, McDonald's, Chipotle, and Walmart all eventually signed on to the Fair Food Program, a C.I.W. initiative in which participating retailers agree to purchase Florida tomatoes exclusively from suppliers who observe a specified code of conduct that includes zero-tolerance for slavery and sexual violence, as well as the direct penny-a-pound payments.

The program has been a big success. Fourteen major companies, including Walmart and McDonald's, have now signed on, as have growers responsible for over 90 percent of Florida's tomato production.

Only one major fast-food enterprise has refused to join: Wendy's.

For a period, the company, which is controlled by hedge-fund billionaire Nelson Peltz's Trian Partners, adopted the P.R. gambit of telling consumers, via its website, that it didn't need to join the program because it was already buying from Fair Food Program growers. Left unmentioned was the fact that it was not paying the workers their penny a pound, nor did it agree to buy only from program-affiliated growers. is subterfuge did not last long. In early 2015, the C.I.W. stepped up pressure on the errant firm to mend its ways, fomenting a campaign for consumers to call its headquarters and demand that it sign on to the program. But Wendy's now had a ready response. Caller after caller was informed that the company's strictures were beside the point, because the firm was not buying any tomatoes from Florida at all. Again, the devil was in the omissions, because winter tomatoes for the North American market can only come from

three places: Florida, Canada, and Mexico.

So which alternate supplier would a corporation too mean to shell out an extra penny a pound in Florida choose as substitute—Canada or Mexico? Clue: Canadian tomatoes are three times as expensive at retail as Mexican tomatoes.

The Kaliroy Corporation, headquartered in Nogales, Arizona, with offices in McAllen, Texas, and Los Angeles, is the U.S. distribution arm of the major Mexican tomato grower, Bioparques de Occidente, which, according to the Los Angeles Times, produces up to 6 million boxes of the red fruit each year for the U.S. market—an enormous operation whose expansion has been fueled in part by a \$17 million loan from the World Bank. As Kaliroy confirmed when I called, they are one of the suppliers to Wendy's.

Bioparques workers who spoke to Times reporter Richard Marosi for an investigation published December 10, 2014, described subhuman conditions, with workers forced to work without pay, trapped for months at a time in scorpion-infested camps, often without beds, fed on scraps, and beaten when they tried to quit.

Although such reports raised eyebrows among some of the firm's American customers, Wendy's continues to buy some of its tomatoes from Mexican suppliers. "Walking away from the most effective human-rights program in the food industry into an industry where human-rights violations are endemic and unchecked," C.I.W. co-founder Greg Asbed told me, "is not only indefensible but immoral."

In consequence, the Immokalee coalition has dusted off the nuclear weapon last deployed against Taco Bell all those years ago: a nationwide boycott, launched with a march last week that ended at Peltz's offices in Manhattan.

"We're going to keep this up until they join the Fair Food Program," Asbed tells me, "and if history is any guide, they will."

But where will The Donald get his tomatoes then?

### HANDOUT 3

#### **Coalition of Immokalee Workers ABOUT THE CIW**

#### **Consciousness + Commitment = Change**

The Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW) is a worker- based human rights organization

internationally recognized for its achievements in the fields of corporate social responsibility, community organizing, and sustainable food. The CIW is also a leader in the growing movement to end human trafficking due to its groundbreaking work to combat modern-day slavery and other labor abuses common in agriculture. The CIW works in three broad and overlapping spheres: The Campaign for Fair Food, the Fair Food Program and the Anti-Slavery Campaign.

### **The Campaign for Fair Food**

The CIW's national Campaign for Fair Food educates consumers on the issue of farm labor exploitation – its causes and solutions – and forges alliances between farmworkers and consumers in an effort to enlist the market power of major corporate buyers to help end that exploitation. Since 2001, the campaign has combined creative, on-the-ground actions with cutting edge online organizing to win Fair Food Agreements with fourteen multi-billion dollar food retailers, including Walmart, McDonald's, Taco Bell, Sodexo and Whole Foods, establishing more humane farm labor standards and fairer wages for farmworkers in their tomato suppliers' operations.

### **The Fair Food Program**

In 2010, the Campaign for Fair Food resulted in the creation of the CIW's Fair Food Program (FFP), a groundbreaking model for social responsibility based on a unique partnership among farmworkers, Florida tomato growers, and participating buyers. Under the FFP, the CIW conducts worker education sessions, held on-the-farm and on-the-clock, on the new labor rights set forth in the Fair Food Code of Conduct; the Fair Food Standards Council, a third-party monitor created to ensure compliance with the FFP, conducts regular audits and carries out ongoing complaint investigation and resolution; and participating buyers pay a "penny per pound" premium which tomato growers pass onto workers as a line-item bonus on their regular paychecks.

The FFP standards are backed by the market consequences established in the CIW's Fair Food Agreements, in which participating buyers commit to buy Florida tomatoes only from growers in good standing with the FFP, and to cease purchases from growers who fail or refuse to comply with the Program. The FFP has been called "one of the great human rights success stories of our day" in a Washington Post op-ed, "the best workplace monitoring program" in the U.S. in the New York Times, and a "smart mix of tools" that "could serve as a model elsewhere in the world" by the United Nations Working Group on Business and Human Rights.

### **Anti-Slavery Campaign**

The CIW's Anti-Slavery Campaign has uncovered, investigated, and assisted in the prosecution of numerous multi-state, multi-worker farm slavery operations across the Southeastern U.S., helping liberate over 1,200 workers held against their will; pioneered the worker-centered approach to slavery prosecution; played a key role in the passage of the 2000 Trafficking Victims Protection Act; and co-founded the national Freedom Network USA and the Freedom Network Training Institute, which is regularly attended by local, state and federal law

enforcement officials. The implementation of the Fair Food Program has ushered in the newest phase of the CIW's anti-slavery efforts, that of prevention, whereby the market consequences built into the FFP, including zero tolerance for forced labor, encourage participating growers to actively police their own operations, and the worker-to-worker education program at the heart of the FFP informs and empowers tens of thousands of workers to serve as monitors to identify and expose slavery operations wherever they might be present.

### **We are all leaders: Our history**

The CIW began organizing in 1993 as a small group of workers meeting weekly in a room borrowed from a local church to discuss how to better their community and their lives. Combining three community-wide work stoppages with intense public pressure – including an unprecedented month-long hunger strike by six members in 1998 and a historic 234-mile march – the CIW's early organizing ended over twenty years of declining wages in the tomato industry. Despite these gains and a new-found political and social respect from the outside world, wages remained below poverty level and were slow to improve.

In 2001, having won some wage increases for Florida tomato pickers and investigated some of the country's earliest cases of modern-day slavery, the CIW did a deep analysis of the industry to understand where the power to make true systemic change resided. It became clear that the corporate food industry as a whole – companies such as current campaign targets– purchased a tremendous volume of fruits and vegetables, leveraging its buying power to demand the lowest possible prices from its suppliers, in turn exerting a powerful downward pressure on wages and working conditions in these suppliers' operations.

With this realization, the CIW turned a new page in their organizing, launching the first-ever farmworker boycott of a major fast-food company – Taco Bell – calling on the fast-food giant to take responsibility for human rights abuses in the fields where its produce is grown and picked. Over its four years, the Taco Bell boycott gained broad student, religious, labor, and community support, and was ended in March 2005 when Taco Bell agreed to meet all of the CIW's demands to improve wages and working conditions for Florida tomato pickers in its supply chain.

Following the successful conclusion of the boycott, the national network of allies that had helped carry that campaign to victory consolidated into key ally organizations, the Student/Farmworker Alliance and Interfaith Action (Just Harvest USA, comprised of food movement leaders and grassroots organizations, would later form in 2010), signaling to the corporate food industry that the Campaign for Fair Food would not stop at Taco Bell. To date, the CIW has won Fair Food Agreements with twelve multi-billion dollar food retailers, including Walmart, McDonald's, Subway, Aramark and Whole Foods.

In late 2010, the CIW signed a groundbreaking agreement with the Florida Tomato Growers Exchange to extend the CIW's Fair Food principles – including a strict code of conduct, a cooperative complaint resolution system, a participatory health and safety program, and a worker-to-

worker education process – to over 90% of the Florida tomato industry. With that agreement, the Fair Food Program was born. Today, bolstered by the independent auditing and oversight of the Fair Food Standards Council (FFSC), the Fair Food Program is unprecedentedly transforming farm labor conditions in Florida’s fields and was hailed on the front page of the New York Times as “the best workplace monitoring program in the U.S.”

But the pace, depth, and sustainability of this transformation will ultimately depend on the participation of all the major purchasers of Florida’s tomatoes. Despite widespread support for this collaborative solution, major buyers such as Publix, Kroger, Ahold USA, and Wendy’s have yet to do their part, and is thus creating an obstacle in the way of long-awaited, sustainable change in the fields.

**Immokalee today: Nothing is impossible...**

Over the past several years, through the Campaign for Fair Food and our anti-slavery work, and culminating with the emergence of the Fair Food Program, Immokalee has evolved from being one of the poorest, most powerless communities in the country to become today an important national and statewide presence with forceful, committed leadership directly from the base of our community – young, migrant workers forging a future of livable wages and modern labor relations in Florida’s fields.

The breadth of the CIW’s work is reflected in the wide range of national and international recognition it has received, including: the 2015 Presidential Medal for Extraordinary Efforts to Combat Human Trafficking; the 2014 Clinton Global Citizen Award; the 2013 Freedom from Want Medal from the Roosevelt Institute; from former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, the 2010 Hero Acting to End Modern-Day Slavery Award and the 2007 Anti-Slavery Award from Anti-Slavery International of London.