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Abstract

In the United States, the contemporary feminist movement against gender-based violence started in the early 1970s, just as ideologies and policies supporting mass criminalization launched what became a five-fold rise in U.S. rates of incarceration. Since the new millennium, people of color have taken the lead in re-envisioning fundamental notions of justice given the dramatic backdrop of mass incarceration and the recent upsurge in prison abolitionist possibilities. Central to this reformulation has been a social justice critique that recognizes the intersection of gender-based violence and other forms of interpersonal violence with the violence of the state, most concentrated within U.S. carceral institutions. While the U.S. roots of violence as well as resistance to this violence extend back to the earliest days of colonial occupation, the contemporary manifestation of the anti-violence struggle has taken on the labels of restorative justice and, more recently, transformative justice. This conceptual paper relies upon historical analysis of the contemporary anti-violence movement, secondary legal literature, and insider social movement knowledge to trace recent trends in the movement to redefine notions of justice in its application to gender-based violence, the contrasting trajectories of restorative justice and transformative justice, and the liberatory vision and practices of transformative justice.

Keywords

Gender-based violence, restorative justice, transformative justice, mass incarceration, feminism

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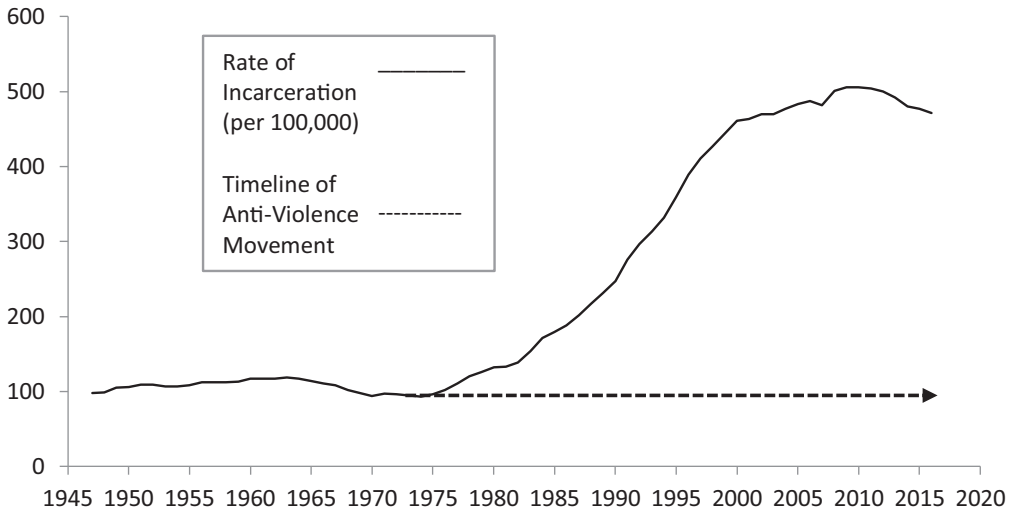


Figure 1. U.S. rates of incarceration and timeline of the feminist anti-violence movement.

Data from *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics* (Maguire, 2003, Table 6.28, p. 500), *Prisoners in 2016* (Carson, 2018, Table 6, p. 8); *Domestic tyranny: The making of American social policy against family violence from colonial times to the present* (Pleck, 1987).

For settler colonial nations such as the United States,¹ foundational principles of governance are tied to histories of genocide, forced occupations of land, and subsequent mythologies of democratic institutions cleansed of the violence that characterized the nation's origins as well as its ongoing history. It should not be surprising, therefore, that notions of U.S. justice evoke promises of equality under the law that mask the underlying reality of grossly disproportionate subjection of marginalized people to the brutalities of the punitive state. The growth of U.S. rates of incarceration, remarkably stable since the collection of such data in the 1920s, has increased five-fold since the early 1970s with a vastly disproportionate impact on communities of color (Alexander, 2010; Wacquant, 2009). The continued public reflex to equate justice with the U.S. criminal justice system urges us towards a critical re-examination of the meaning of justice, its implementation, and its consequences.

Since the last days of May 2020 when the world witnessed the police murder of George Floyd, a Black man slowly asphyxiated by a police officer's knee pressed against his neck, incendiary and sustained public protests have ushered in a once unthinkable reckoning regarding the abuses of police power and the ubiquity of white supremacy. What was a marginalized critique against the criminal legal system has escalated into widespread questioning of its very legitimacy. The demand for alternative visions of the law and of justice has never been so urgent.

The contemporary U.S. feminist anti-violence movement, challenging domestic violence, sexual assault, and, more recently, stalking and sex trafficking, emerged during the time of what is known as the U.S. *punitive turn*, a period of time starting in 1973, characterized by a sharp upward movement in rates of incarceration (Carson, 2018; Maguire, 2003) (Figure 1). This temporal alignment left its mark on the paradoxical course of an emancipatory feminist social movement that became intimately tied to the apparatus of crime control. It also served to align the notion of justice for gender-based violence with the logic and institutions of the U.S. criminal justice system,

the most masculine and repressive arm of the state (Bumiller, 2008; Gottschalk, 2006; Kim, 2020). Indeed, the development of the mainstream anti-violence movement is now well known for its pursuit of enhanced criminalization and, hence, active participation in the construction of U.S. policies of mass incarceration (Simon, 2007). This history has earned the movement to end gender-based violence the moniker of *carceral feminism* (Bernstein, 2005, 2012). Since the turn of the millennium, however, those most targeted by the carceral state, including communities of color, immigrants, lesbian-gay-bisexual-transgender-queer (LGBTQ) communities, people with disabilities, and those at the intersections of these categories, have argued most emphatically for truth-telling regarding the realities of the current system as well as the imperatives for accountability for interpersonal harms incurred (Bierria et al., 2012). Faced with the seeming futility of justice from the institutions of the state purported to carry out these mandates, marginalized communities have begun to articulate alternative forms of justice, rooted in communities and divested from the carceral state.

This article examines the development of close ties between the feminist anti-violence movement with *retributive* forms of justice associated with the U.S. criminal justice system or what many now refer to as the *criminal legal system* to distinguish the system from its hegemonic claim to justice. It also traces the emergence of alternative forms of justice in response to the violence of the state and the systems of oppression it has upheld. These include *transformative justice*, largely affiliated with radical feminist women of color and LGBTQ people of color movements, and *restorative justice*, an outgrowth of concepts of justice and related practices associated with alternative approaches to juvenile justice with roots in New Zealand and developing globally since the 1980s (Kim, 2018). The paper centers the question of criminal legal involvement in any alternative justice approach as critical to the assessment of its potential to challenge the carceral state or to simply serve as an accommodation which leaves its legitimacy intact.

Methods

This conceptual paper traces the development of the U.S. criminal legal system since the punitive turn of 1973 and the emergence of alternative formulations of justice that challenge the carceral state. The historical analysis is anchored in feminist critiques and alternative social movement frameworks and practices documented in social movement and critical legal literature and the author's prior historical research of the contemporary anti-domestic violence movement. The research was based upon interviews with feminist social movement leaders and archival data from the period 1973 to 1986 (Kim, 2020). The analysis further relies upon insider knowledge and experiences of the author, who has been a long-time advocate in the anti-violence movement and an active participant in the contemporary development of the transformative justice framework and related practices.

The pursuit of criminal legal justice

Feminist social movement investments in tough-on-crime policies

Strong engagement with law enforcement and the pursuit of enhanced criminalization characterizes the U.S. anti-violence movement response to gender-based violence (Bumiller, 2008; Goodmark, 2013; Gottschalk, 2006; Simon, 2007). However, struggles at the beginning of the contemporary movement in the 1970s to early 1980s, when law enforcement considered gender-

based violence a largely non-criminal manner, revealed passionate debates over whether or not to turn towards crime control (Schechter, 1982). A number of factors including the precedent of civil rights movement battles for legal claims as exemplified by *Brown vs Board of Education* and the Civil Right Act of 1964 placed social movement visions of justice soundly in U.S. courts (Brown and Halley, 2002).

As the emergence of the contemporary feminist anti-violence movement coincided with the unprecedented growth of the criminal justice apparatus, the turn towards the law to respond to gender-based violence tied the movement to the build-up of the carceral system (Bumiller, 2008; Goodmark, 2013; Gottschalk, 2006). Early feminist demands for police response to domestic violence during a time characterized by widespread impunity contributed to what would become an unwitting and enduring partnership with law enforcement. Such ties, initially viewed by some of the early leaders as the result of insurgent victories against recalcitrant actors and institutions of crime control, quickly eroded into more amiable relationships that softened a stance of protest to one of collaboration with the movement's former state target (Kim, 2020).

These early leaders, many of whom were emerging from the civil rights, anti-war, and welfare rights movements, were cognizant of the racial arguments warning against enhanced policing (Kim, 2020). However, the familiar limitations of the U.S. welfare system for poor women and families, especially for people of color, and the political legitimization and possible financial resources that 'domestic violence as a crime' potentially offered served as enticements that many found difficult to refuse (Gottschalk, 2006; Schechter, 1982).

Engagement with the police began in the form of new opportunities for collaboration with new partners in law enforcement (Kim, 2020). Such institutions as victim witness programs, embedded within prosecutor offices, Community Coordinated Response initiatives that linked anti-domestic violence advocates to police and prosecutors in joint meetings and strategies, and Sexual Assault Response Teams that tied advocates and medical staff to law enforcement are among the ways in which feminist demands for police response cemented into programs tying the feminist anti-violence movement to the agents of crime control. In what I describe as the *carceral creep* (Kim, 2020), these strategies gradually eroded feminist autonomy vis-à-vis the carceral state as the feminist social movement became increasingly occupied by carceral agendas, actors, and institutions. As legal scholars Brown and Halley (2002: 10) warned in their critique of left legalism and its reliance on legal reforms, 'once you win, you are the state'. For U.S. feminists, engagement with the criminal justice system translated into what is now known as *carceral feminism*, that is, the alignment of a once emancipatory social movement with the arm of the state associated with the police, criminal courts, jails, and prisons (Bernstein, 2005, 2012; Bumiller, 2008; Kim, 2018).

As a result, anti-violence feminist social movements in the United States conflated definitions, mechanisms, and institutions of justice with the criminal legal system, securing ties to the carceral state as U.S. rates of incarceration climbed five-fold (Goodmark, 2013; Simon, 2007). The Violence Against Women Act of 1994, federal legislation lauded for its historic protection of women's right to safety, passed as part of the draconian Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act (Crime Bill) of 1994. The close ties between the anti-violence movement and crime control ultimately expanded beyond a collaborative relationship; the very development of the anti-violence sector was co-constitutive of crime control institutions now central features of the carceral state (Kim, 2020). U.S. investments in policies of mass incarceration that have devastated huge swaths of the U.S. population, particularly within African American, Latino, and Native American communities, were met not by protest, but by an eerie silence among feminist anti-violence

advocates and activists who could hardly contest policies that they had so vigorously demanded (Bumiller, 2008; Matsuda, 1996).

Everyday investments in the promise of justice

Studies of everyday imaginations and experiences of justice examine women's pursuit of protection from relationship violence in a criminal legal system that finally began to respond to gender-based harm. Two studies found the realities of justice far from the dreams of those seeking its remedies. Sally Merry (1990) investigated the use of courts in Massachusetts in the early 1980s, a time when women were increasingly aware of a broad sense of rights and entitlement to the use of courts for protection from gender-based violence. Notably, Merry found that the plaintiffs did not necessarily feel alienated from society; they were, however, seeking remedies for what they viewed as personal harms deserving of state intervention. The largely poor and lower educated plaintiffs that made up the study, many of whom were white women, had a sense that '[d]espite their recognition of their unequal power, they nevertheless think they are entitled to the help of the court' (Merry, 1990: 2).

Contradictions between this sense of entitlement and the lived experience of engagement with the state arose in multiple ways. Merry's study reveals how the court administration, far from sharing this sense of responsibility, considered these plaintiffs and their problems as annoyances. Plaintiffs, motivated by a sense of rights and remedies, experienced entanglement in a complex system of indecipherable and, at times, unstoppable rules and processes only to be granted remedies often short of their initial hopes. Consequences emanated beyond the scope of the court as family and community members reacted to decisions to engage the state and faced their own set of entanglements resulting from these events. Seen as an alternative to informal and possibly violent resolutions to conflict, highly emotional reactions to perceived harms were managed and reframed through rational processes that included legal reasoning but also moral and administrative logics exercised by court personnel. Ultimately, the court system, according to Merry, maintained the threat of force, holding power and promise in this position of authority. But it exercised its power by bureaucratically reframing the experience of harm on its own administrative terms, meting out disappointing consequences that lacked the luster of justice.

Kristin Bumiller (1988), in her study of notions of justice among marginalized people in the United States, noted the paradoxical consequence of civil rights law. Rather than reducing discrimination, 'antidiscrimination ideology may serve to reinforce the victimization of women and racial minorities. Instead of providing a tool to lessen inequality, legal mechanisms, which create the legal identity of the discrimination victim, maintain divisions between the powerful and the powerless by means that are obscured by the ideology of equal protection' (p. 2). In a similar account of the pursuit of justice in the face of the bureaucratic apparatus of courts, Bumiller demonstrated the ways in which the realities of discriminatory behavior within families, workplaces, and community institutions operate in a complex context of unequal power that cannot be fully addressed by the law. Victims live under circumstances in which harms often appear as inescapable aspects of relationships of intimacy, kinship, employment, and other aspects of social life. Overt attempts to address abuses within the context of these relationships or through the law were often feared for their potential to worsen rather than improve these situations. While many perceived the pursuit of justice within the law as legitimate, their reality often kept them bound within harmful relationships; furthermore, the constraints of the law, that is, the narrow definitions

of what is legal or not and the evidence necessary to prove violation, rendered the pursuit of justice an impossible and even dangerous endeavor, one not worth pursuing.

Hence, while the legitimacy of criminal legal institutions remains unquestioned by the public, the experience of justice for many less powerful victims is alienating, partial, or, in certain cases, endangering. As the U.S. anti-violence movement placed increasing reliance upon law enforcement as the purveyor of justice, reveling in its success in gaining legitimacy under the law, these studies show how the everyday experience of justice often falls short for those who look to its promise as a remedy to violence. As Merry and Bumiller demonstrated, the power of the law is, in fact, intact even as its institutions fail to deliver remedies experienced as just. Who then is to blame for the failures of justice when those seeking its remedies know only to turn to the law? The burden, both would argue, has too often fallen upon those whose inability to secure justice subjects them to continued violence or to internalize blame for the shortfalls of the system in its failure to protect.

Contested notions of justice

Intersectionality and the critique of gender essentialism. Critical race theorist Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) first initiated her concept of *intersectionality* as a critique of white-dominated feminist strategies to counter sexual and domestic violence. While the empirical studies of Merry (1990) and Bumiller (1988) revealed gender and class dynamics underlying the differences between perceptions and experiences of the law, Crenshaw (1991) elevated race as a central category of difference. According to Crenshaw, by framing the issue of violence against women as one predominantly due to gender rather than the intersections of identity that also define women, such as race and class, the anti-violence movement failed to take into account the ways in which racism and poverty associated with economic discrimination influenced vulnerabilities to violence and forms of violence that differed from the experiences of white women. Crenshaw (1991) argued that policies and practices developed for battered women were, in fact, created by and for white, middle-class women. The assumptions that domestic violence policies addressed *all* battered women erased the experiences and needs of women of color, leaving them without protection and, in some cases, exposing them to increased harm. The experiences of domestic violence, for women of color, were not confined to relationship abuse alone but were shaped by negative structural conditions such as unemployment, lack of housing, and deportation. While such intersectional analysis has now become commonplace, it would be difficult to overestimate the influence of Crenshaw's argument and its continued relevance.

Three years after the publication of Crenshaw's groundbreaking article, the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) passed as part of the Crime Bill of 1994 along with federal support for such measures as three strike laws, the removal of educational aid for people convicted of felonies, and expansion of the death penalty. The Office of Violence Against Women was placed within the Department of Justice, replacing its former home in the Department of Health and Human Services. And 60 percent of the funds allotted to programming were earmarked for law enforcement. The feminist anti-violence movement claimed success with the passage of VAWA, but it came at a price. The suppression of protest or even recognition of the terms by which legitimization and state protection were gained spoke to the hegemony of carceral feminism by the 1990s.

Transformative justice: Centering marginalized communities. In 2000, women of color, many of whom identified as survivors of domestic or sexual violence and who volunteered or found employment

in crisis lines, counseling centers, shelters, and other advocacy programs, no longer remained silent (Bierria et al., 2012). Planned as a gathering of 200 women of color in a founding conference known as the Color of Violence I in Santa Cruz, California, the gathering attracted over 1,000 primarily women of color to forge a new social movement presence. INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence (now known as INCITE! Women, Trans and Gender Non-Conforming People of Color Against Violence) (INCITE!) centered the experiences and needs of women of color, thereby establishing a wholly different set of definitions and priorities for the U.S. anti-violence movement. Central to the tenets of those who gathered was a framework condemning both gender-based violence and state violence and the demand for prevention and intervention approaches that addressed the structural conditions contributing to the devastation of communities of color and other marginalized communities (INCITE!, 2006).

Committed to the dismantling of the criminal legal system and the interlinking systems of child welfare and immigration control, INCITE! emerged as a new social movement with an alternative vision of justice. Drawing upon the prison abolitionist politics of another social movement organization, Critical Resistance, that held its founding conference in Berkeley, California in 1998, INCITE! argued not for reform of a troubled criminal justice system, but for the rejection of any strategy that relied upon the legitimacy of the carceral state. At the turn of the millennium, the concept of justice was still firmly occupied by the notion of the criminal justice system and the promise of retribution it held. INCITE! asserted a new vision, grounded in the experiences of people of color and invested in liberation from interpersonal violence and the violence of the state, one that has emerged as defining *anti-carceral* or *abolition feminism* (Bierria et al., 2012).

During this period, generationFIVE, an organization led primarily by survivors of child sexual abuse, raised a parallel and intersecting political framework that championed transformative justice as a liberatory vision of justice (generationFIVE, 2017). The tenets of transformative justice looked towards collective, community-based responses to child sexual abuse and other forms of interpersonal violence rather than criminal legal forms of justice. The roots of interpersonal violence were understood to be embedded in systems of structural harm, conditions that needed to be changed in order for interpersonal or relational violence to also be eradicated. Accountability for the devastating harm of child sexual abuse was to be held in collective processes that relied upon connection and compassion rather than retribution. GenerationFIVE argued that the immeasurable social stigma and harsh carceral consequences for child sexual abuse, including permanent placement on a public sex registry, did not serve justice but rather prevented those who committed child sexual abuse from seeking support.

Various community-based organizations, taking both formal non-profit organizational status and volunteer, grassroots political forms emerged throughout the first two decades of the new millennium to locate transformative justice efforts in specific, local contexts² (Kim, 2018). Consisting largely of marginalized people within the intersection of communities of color, LGBTQ, immigrant, and disability rights communities, definitions of domestic and sexual violence evolved beyond gender binaries or the facile divides of victim versus perpetrator (Bierria et al., 2012). New language emerged not only claiming forms of justice as ‘transformative’ but also shifting from the discourse of perpetrator, abuser, or offender to the less stigmatizing term of ‘person who caused harm’. Community norms shifted from the language of ‘holding someone accountable’ to ‘supporting accountability.’ The police, child welfare, immigration control, and civil courts were avoided in favor of collective community strategies that took advantage of the support of friends, family, and community members rather than the authorities of state systems or even of conventional anti-violence services that still remain largely distrustful of these alternative strategies.

Transformative justice proponents, operating with little or no financial support and with little legitimacy, endured through political will and strong networks of solidarity (Kim, 2018).

Slowly, the unflagging persistence of those pursuing transformative justice and the incontrovertible evidence of the detrimental impact of the expanding carceral state destabilized the hegemony of carceral feminism in the United States. State-wide domestic violence and sexual assault coalitions, once committed to policies strengthening police powers through measures such as mandatory arrest, enhanced sentencing for gender-based crimes, sex registry laws, and mandatory minimum sentences, began to take pause (Kim, 2018). The ties between support for survivors and harsh consequences for those who caused harm began to unravel. The refusal to consider interventions that might include a process of restoration or transformation, and not only of adversarial divides, began to elicit curiosity rather than disdain.

Transformative justice and restorative justice: Contrasts and alignments. In contrast to transformative justice, restorative justice is a more familiar name for and form of justice, with a trajectory tied to the Maori people in New Zealand and other indigenous people in Canada and the United States. Despite these indigenous origins, the development of restorative justice has been much more rooted in Western criminal legal and institutional school settings (Coker, 2006; Kim, 2018). Today, restorative justice represents a more legitimized system of criminal diversion or alternatives to school discipline, also offering a set of values and a more tested set of techniques or methods such as peacemaking circles and family group conferencing.

While restorative justice had been historically more associated with juvenile justice or school-based conflict resolution in the U.S. context, it had been used on a very limited basis for domestic violence (Coker, 2006; Kim, 2018; Pennell and Burford, 2002; Ptacek, 2010). Primarily adopted within tribal contexts with long-standing indigenous practices based upon restorative and collective forms of justice, what Western conventions have named 'restorative justice' has taken on various forms, often with some relationship to tribal law enforcement which has sovereign status, to a certain extent, within the U.S. context (Coker, 2006). Strident feminist opposition to restorative justice in application to domestic violence or sexual assault has long prevented any widespread practice in situations of gender-based violence. However, some limited exploratory examples have also lent legitimacy to the possibility of alternative forms of justice in response to gender-based violence (Pennell and Burford, 2002; Ptacek, 2010). The more established set of skills and articulated values of community engagement associated with restorative justice have also been integrated within some of the practices more identified with transformative justice movements (Kim, 2018), promoting a blend of these distinct approaches.

While the methods of restorative justice and transformative justice and an orientation towards collective responses and repair characterize both of these alternative justice trajectories, their relationship with the criminal legal system remains a central and critical distinguishing feature. Compared to strongly anti-carceral or prison abolitionist transformative justice, restorative justice has been confined, to a large extent, to its role as an alternative to the criminal legal system that also leaves that system intact (Kim, 2018). Often initiated by law enforcement intent upon some diversion from the domination of its retributive character or at least sanctioned by law enforcement, restorative justice in the United States has relied upon the coercive threat of more punitive measures. Just as Merry (1990) and Bumiller (1988) demonstrated, the authority of hierarchical institutional power and the underlying state monopoly over violence shape the structure of justice and the everyday experience of its administration. Although restorative justice, similar to transformative justice, dramatically shifts the notion of harm from individual to collective and the

procedure of justice from punishment to dialogue, the persisting reliance upon law enforcement, school discipline, or child welfare keeps the retributive carceral state intact. Many restorative justice programs highlight the rejection of retributive forms of justice but still remain in relationship to the state purveyors of retribution embedded within the criminal legal system (Kim, 2018). This distinction remains significant. However, the persistence of transformative justice proponents in their critique of law enforcement and the escalating legitimization crisis of policing today have created opportunities for the consideration of wholesale divestments from the criminal legal system. Current practitioners of restorative justice are beginning to both acknowledge and question their continued reliance on police and prosecution, considering the future of restorative justice approaches that no longer work in tandem with law enforcement. These two trajectories of justice still remain distinct and yet, in limited situations, are starting to blend as the critical question of law enforcement involvement is brought to center (Kim, 2018).

Conclusion

The current moment of reflection within the conventional anti-violence movement and a growing documented set of transformative justice and restorative justice alternatives have shifted the trajectory of the feminist anti-violence movement in this past decade. New social movement energies primarily centered within marginalized communities of color, LGBTQ, immigrant, and disability rights communities have undergirded new visions and practices of justice only now gaining attention from more conventional actors and institutions. Under the Obama Administration, the Office of Violence Against Women admitted the harmful impact of the criminal justice system on Black women and girls, inviting proponents of transformative justice and restorative justice to envision alternative forms of justice for the first time.

The history of settler colonialism and white supremacy, and their endurance over time, also caution us about the ever-shifting forms of carcerality in the United States. A moment of legitimacy for transformative justice promises both the expansion of liberatory possibilities in the United States and the potential degradation of its radical political vision. The history of restorative justice's ties to the criminal legal system and reliance upon the state's monopoly on violence may serve as a more palatable form of alternative justice for funders and policymakers, offering placating alternatives that still accommodate the continuation of the carceral system as is. This is during a time when one of the only bipartisan legislative bills passed through the U.S. Congress besides pandemic relief has been criminal justice reform. Decarceration can reduce state spending; ankle bracelets and home detention can recruit the domestic sphere as new carceral spaces. So too could restorative justice usher in a cloaked expansion in the reach of the carceral system or serve as a way to devolve government responsibility from forms of protection it had considered unworthy of its attention only 40 years ago.

Transformative justice offers a liberatory and emergent vision of justice that asks the everyday person to participate as a likely survivor of violence, a potential perpetrator of violence, and someone invested in a world liberated from violence in all of its forms. It renders the intervention of violence and its prevention as an everyday democratic act, one not reserved for authorities of the state but offering a meaningful role for anyone part of a family, a neighborhood, or a community. While the practice of transformative justice remains exploratory and flawed, the community of practice across the United States remains strong in vision, well resourced in creativity, and committed to solidarity and generosity. In its current form, it is a still young practice with deep roots in

generations of resistance, resilience, and regeneration that characterize the many marginalized communities from which they spring.

More recently, the mass mobilization of forces leading to the legitimacy of demands to ‘defund the police,’ unthinkable before the uprisings beginning in late May and June 2020, has dramatically shifted the political landscape. These new demands have revealed the weak state of U.S. alternatives, limited by years of carceral feminist hegemony and repression by the carceral state. They have also elevated the critical need for their expansion. The unprecedented opening to new paradigms and practices presents opportunities to rapidly build the infrastructure necessary to nurture a robust transformative justice future. A grounded understanding of the distinctions between the current carceral state and calls for reform, the potential for restorative justice accommodation to and cooptation by law enforcement, and the radical vision of transformative justice divested from the institutions of state violence can inform important policy decisions that are being crafted in this unique historical moment.

Notes

1. Settler colonialism describes a political regime in which a dominant migrant population establishes itself as the primary political entity governing from within the geographic boundaries of occupied land. As the settler colonial state develops, it not only dominates indigenous populations but is in pursuit of their replacement (Veracini, 2010).
2. These include Bay Area Transformative Justice Collective (BATJC) in Oakland, California; Communities against Rape and Abuse (CARA) in Seattle, Washington; Creative Interventions in Oakland, California; Just Practice in Chicago, Illinois; Philly Stands Up and Philly’s Pissed in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Project Nia in Chicago, Illinois; SpiritHouse in Durham, North Carolina; Spring Up in Denver, Colorado; Support NY in New York, New York; and Ubuntu in Durham, North Carolina. See transformharm.org for transformative justice related resources.

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