Home Work: Survivors of Sexual Violence on Doing Community and Re/orienting

Justice Through Experiences of Trauma and in Times of Crisis

by

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ABSTRACT

People in college are made vulnerable to sexual, domestic, and relationship violence by narratives of individual "bad apples" that obscure violence as a cultural condition. Scholars in Gender Studies have worked to name and identify the extent of the problem of sexual, domestic, and relationship violence and argue that victims must be centered in campus-based research. Cultural Geographers have investigated violence as socially re/produced through the relationships between culture, community, and space. However, few works have engaged survivors as research partners to investigate survivorhood, relationality, and trauma to understand how to undo rape culture, thus endorsing survivors as passive subjects rather than active agents for social change.

My dissertation asserts that home work is the personal and relational labor of practicing community and enacting justice that survivors engage in to come to feel at home in our bodyminds and relationships. My interlocutors are 10 survivors of sexual violence experienced while attending university in Minneapolis and five survivor-advocacy practitioners. To be survivor-centered and uplift survivor-voice, this project partners with my interlocutors as co-researchers and is built upon critical ethnography and Indigenous methodologies. I utilize semi-structured interviews, walking conversations, and group discussions in which I co-performatively witness survivorhood with my interlocutors.

Chapter 1 situates sexual violence in the United States, discusses survivor-voice and the project's method/ologies, and the significances of Minneapolis as the site of study. Chapter 2 explores "why" my interlocutors "do community": To meet various needs, to support their growth, and to engage in mutual aid. Chapter 3 explores "how" my

interlocutors do community: Showing up, vulnerability, and mutual care. In Chapter 4, my interlocutors and I build our theory of justice as a process of doing community rooted in accountability, responsibility, and relationships that allows us to feel at home in our bodyminds, relationships, and encounters.

My research shows that active community engagement is the core variable for pursuing justice, shifting views on community building, campus policies, and processes of justice related to sexual violence. Situated in Minneapolis, my research connects rape culture, white supremacy, and state violence to the crisis of sexual violence on campus.

"Rarely, if ever, are any of us healed in isolation.

Healing is an act of communion."

– bell hooks (All About Love, 2000, p. 215)

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated first and foremost to my mom, from whom I first came to understand survival as an ongoing and never-ending process. I owe all that I am, and all that I achieve, to her.

This dissertation is dedicated to bell hooks, who the world lost too soon, as I was writing this dissertation in December 2021. From hooks, I first came to understand that love is not merely an emotion that we fall into or out of. Love is a choice, love is work, and love is a process. This framing set the foundation for how I understand that the "nameable clarities" we take for granted—home, family, love, community—are all verbs in perpetual process; they are aspirations, horizons toward which we orient our actions.² They are all work that we choose, that we must engage with intention.

This dissertation is dedicated to Daisy Coleman, who died by suicide as she struggled to survive rape culture, her trauma, and the ongoing victimization at the hands of men. This dissertation is dedicated to Daisy's mom, Melinda, who could not overcome her grief and died by suicide four months after Daisy.

This dissertation is dedicated to those who struggle for the well-being of others while fighting for their own survival.

This dissertation is dedicated to survivors everywhere.

What happens to you matters.

-

¹ (Stewart, 2011)

² (Ahmed, 2006)

"We can't do anything alone that's worth it. Everything that is worthwhile is done with other people." – Mariame Kaba (We Do This 'til We Free Us, 2021, p. 178)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project could only have been completed *in* community. It is with deep gratitude that I recognize the people who supported this project's becoming. Omissions result solely from space constraints and not one's lack of influence or importance to me.

There are no words to adequately acknowledge my mom, my brother, and my dad for shaping the person that I am and the work I do. *Thank you*, will have to suffice.

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My interlocutors—Alice, Bree, Calia, Charlie, Claire, Elle, M, Mary, Stanley, and Z.Z—without whom my life would be less rich, and this project would not have become.

To those named and not, I am who I am because you share/d my journey.

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³ With the exception of Illustration 1, all of the maps included in this dissertation were created by Shea Lemar, Director of Geospatial Research & Solutions in the School of Geographical Sciences and Urban Planning at Arizona State University, and generously paid for by my chair, Rashad Shabazz. Maps were created with ArcGIS using data from: Esri, NASA, NGA, City of Minneapolis, Metropolitan Council, MetroGIS, Esri Canada, HERE, Garmin, SafeGraph, METI/NASA, EPA, NPS, USDA, USGS, NGA, FEMA, Three Rivers Park District, US Census Bureau, University of Minnesota.

"I do not write to trigger victims. I write to comfort them, and I've found that victims identify more with pain than platitudes ...

I write to stand beside them in their suffering."

- Chanel Miller (Know My Name: A Memoir, 2020, p. 311)

AUTHOR'S NOTE & CONTENT ADVISORY

In order to *do community* with you as a reader and person engaging with this project with me and my interlocutors, it is important that I take a moment to properly prepare you for the content contained herein. Though this is not a project about victimization, most of the people involved in the project—myself, my participants, and many of my research partners—identify as having experienced sexual, domestic, and/or relationship violence. These experiences are not described in detail, though they are referenced and discussed in various ways throughout this dissertation.

Additionally, this project is grounded in Minneapolis, MN and was designed and conducted throughout 2020-2022. The lynching of George Floyd at the hands of the Minneapolis Police Department is a central point of discussion throughout. Histories and legacies of state violence and systemic oppression—white supremacy, rape culture, patriarchy, misogyny, ableism, and others—establish the foundations upon which my analysis is built and are discussed throughout this dissertation. Additionally, Minneapolis lies within the Indigenous homeland of the Wahpekute, Dakota peoples.⁴ George Floyd's murder resides in a genealogy of state violence in Minnesota, including the federal mass execution of 38 Dakota people fighting displacement by white settlers in 1862.⁵

Please do what you need to do in order to take care of yourself as you read.

⁴ https://native-land.ca/maps/territories/wahpekute/

⁵ https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/largest-mass-execution-us-history-150-years-ago-today/

MAP OF HENNEPIN COUNTY, MINNESOTA

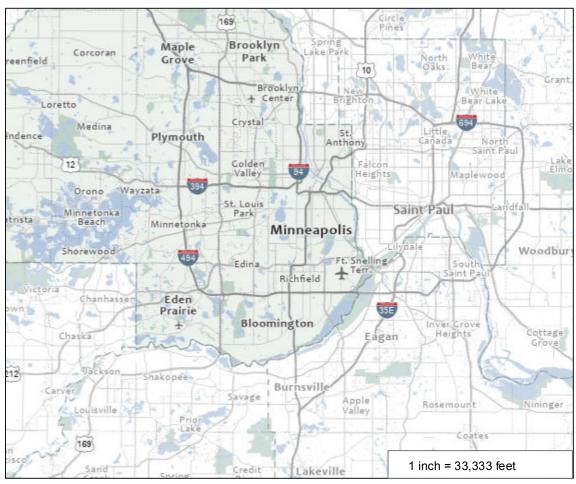


Illustration 1. Hennepin County, Minnesota [map]

The above image depicts Hennepin County and includes the city of Minneapolis and its metropolitan area to the south and west. With the exception of the Northeast region (seen above including the neighborhood of St. Anthony) and University neighborhood, Hennepin County is bordered on the east by the Mississippi River, and on the south by the Minnesota River. Minneapolis' "twin city" of St. Paul, the capital of Minnesota, is to the east of the Mississippi River, with its metropolitan area in Ramsey County.

Image created by the Hennepin County Division of Property, https://gis.hennepin.us/property/map/default.aspx

MAP OF MINNEAPOLIS NEIGHBORHOODS & KEY SITES

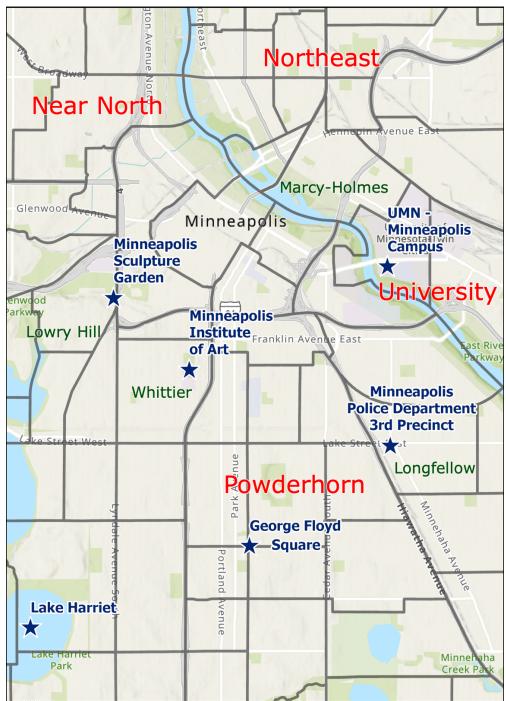


Illustration 2. Minneapolis neighborhoods and key points of interest [map] The image above depicts the city of Minneapolis subdivided into its localized neighborhoods. Communities relevant to the study are named in red. Smaller relevant neighborhoods are in green. When in Minneapolis, I live in Northeast; most of my interlocutors live/d in Powderhorn, as did George Floyd before he died there. Locations marked with a star will be discussed in the dissertation. Source: Shea Lemar, Arizona State University

"I believe community is something that's practiced ... something that you have to work at every single day to keep building relationships built on transparency, authenticity, trust, and shared values."

— Z.Z.

CHAPTER 1 HOME WORK IN THE ACTIVE PRACTICE OF COMMUNITY



Illustration 3. The Elf Door 2021
This image depicts the elf door when I stumbled across it with Mary in May 2021. It had changed since last I saw it sometime in 2018; the painted rocks were new, and the door was now sealed shut.

Source: Author's photograph

The sun is shining on an especially warm May day in Minneapolis. You never quite know what spring might bring in this city. It often feels like summer without the humidity, but the threat of a blizzard always looms in the background of our plans. There is something about the intensity and length of winters in this place that plants a seed in the back of our minds that festers on even the nicest of days. Trauma comes from

unlikely places. Mary⁶ (24, she/her) and I (38, he/they) are walking around Lake Harriet, the southernmost lake in Minneapolis's chain of lakes [Illustration 4]. Though she is over a decade younger than me, I am surprised by how much Mary reminds me of the girls I went to high school with, in her black jeans ripped at the knees, untied black Doc Martens boots, flannel shirt, and long untamed hair. She chain-smokes as we walk, each puff of her cigarette or vape pen a moment to carefully choose her next words.



Illustration 4. Lake Harriet [map] Lake Harriet in South Minneapolis, the southernmost lake in the chain of lakes.

Source: Shea Lemar, Arizona State University

⁶ Interlocutor-participants in this project selected their own pseudonym by which they are referred throughout this dissertation and any subsequent work. Calia is the only participant to decline the choice to use a pseudonym; her choice to use her real name will be discussed in Chapter 4.

As we walk, we happen upon "the elf door," a small art installation at the base of a tree [Illustration 3 above]. I had first seen the elf door on Instagram several years ago and tracked it down while walking around the lake following a nearby therapy session.

Since I was first here [Illustration 5], the elf's door had been sealed shut and a collection of stones have gathered in the elf's front yard. One of the larger stones acts as a marker reading, "George Floyd." The alterations to the door illustrate how Minneapolis has changed over the last few years, perhaps becoming more isolated and closed off, perhaps more protective of itself. I describe these differences to Mary, who had not seen the elf door before. Mary comments that the sealed door reminds her of the boarded-up windows of storefronts during the George Floyd uprisings of summer 2020; the stones are reminiscent of the people who gathered in the streets carrying protest signs. The elf door more clearly than ever is a place of and for community.



This image depicts the elf door located near Lake Harriet, Minneapolis. I took this photo the first time I found the elf door in person. At the time, there was a small plastic bag inside the door in which people would leave notes or small gifts for the elf. The elf would often leave printed notes for visitors in return.

Source: Author's photograph

Like the varied collection of stones producing a sense of community at the elf's home, this dissertation is a product of individual and collective work to make home; work striving to be in community as much as on community; work in, on, and through crisis, trauma, resiliency, and survival. This project has been a community-building process as my interlocutors and I struggled to survive in/through the personal and collective traumas of 2020/21: The global COVID-19 pandemic, experiences of state violence, and the rise of white supremacist fascism in the United States. My interlocutors are 10 survivors who experienced sexual, domestic, and/or relationship violence while attending college or university in Minneapolis between 2010-2020, as well as five Minneapolis-based mental health practitioners, survivor advocates, and violence prevention activists who supported the project and me in the process. We work to understand community as an active practice and ongoing process, and the pursuit of justice as a process of doing community. These concepts exemplify *home work*: the individual and collective practices that allow us to feel at home in our bodyminds, relationships, and communities. I utilize the frame bodymind/s from Crip Theory and Disability Studies scholars (see: Kafai, 2021; Schalk, 2018; Kafer, 2013) to highlight the inseparable interactions of our bodies and our minds, asserting the difficulty of distinguishing physical from mental processes.

This project began with my own home work to build community by bringing my initial project partners—Christina, Sawyer, and Morgan—who are friends and colleagues I have known since 2016, into the project as co-designers of the research protocols [Appendices E, F, G, and H]. My project partners acted as a sort of community-based

⁷ My project partners—Christina, Sawyer, Morgan, Sarah and Kia—chose not to use a pseudonym for the project. More information on each of my interlocutors can be found in Appendix A.

committee (Callahan, 2018) complementing my academic committee, by ensuring that this project was in line with our values as advocates for victim/survivors of sexual violence. Vulnerability, as discussed in Chapter 3, was foundational to my embodying home work as I began processes of relationship building with interested participants. In the recruitment materials [Appendix D], I shared that I identify as a survivor of domestic violence in my home of origin and of intimate partner abuse, along with a brief biography outlining my professional, academic, and activist history, including being a certified advocate and crisis counselor for victim/survivors of sexual violence. I also linked to my personal/professional website, thebridgesweburn.com, wherein they could read my editorials detailing at length my struggles with mental illness (anxiety, depression, suicidal ideations, and disordered eating). I shared this information with potential participants so that they could see how we are situated similarly, though not synonymously, and begin to understand how I was approaching the project through my co-performative witnessing (Madison, 2007) of the emotional labor of survivorhood.

In order to make home work explicit and tangible, this project answers three questions: 1) Why do survivors of sexual violence do community? 2) How do survivors of sexual violence do community in their daily lives? And, 3) What does justice mean or look like to survivors of sexual violence? To answer these questions, I center survivorvoices, both of my interlocutors and my own, through two methods of data collection with my interlocutors: 1) Structured individual interviews with semi-structured follow-up

conversations and/or informal walking conversations;⁸ and 2) small group discussions based on original presentation videos.⁹

Resulting from these processes, we have come to understand that survivors of sexual, domestic, and relationship violence do community in their home work for three key reasons: 1) To meet one's physical, social, emotional, and psychological needs; 2) to support one's efforts for learning and growth, both as individuals and collectively; and 3) to move through times of crisis through processes of mutual aid. Built upon the foundation of these "whys," my interlocutors and I argue that survivorhood informs how they and we do community, rooted in three fundamental doings: 1) Showing up; 2) vulnerability; and 3) mutual care and support. With these understandings of why and how we do community, my interlocutors and I assert that justice must be understood as a process of doing community that brings our ideals for ourselves, relationships, and communities into being; we explore three framings of justice: 1) Justice as accountability; 2) justice as responsibility; and 3) justice as relationships. Through these interpersonal, relational, and communal doings of justice, we are able to come to feel at home in our bodyminds, relationships, and communities.

This research on home work is necessary because we are at a crossroads in this nation, wherein rape culture, white supremacy, settler colonialism, and other systemic oppressions are being critically discussed in our national discourses, with tangible and

⁸ The fifteen structured interviews were conducted on Zoom and lasted 60-90 minutes. Twenty follow-up conversations lasted from 30 minutes to over two hours. Conversations conducted on Zoom tended to be 30-60 minutes, while in-person walking conversations were often 60 minutes, with several extending to over two hours.

⁹ The four small group discussions each lasted about 90 minutes and were conducted on Zoom. Detailed information on the presentation videos can be found in Appendix F.

materially repercussions in our lives, relationships, and communities. Justice, accountability, and punishment are often conflated, and to truly realize the types of communities and relationships that we want to live, we need to see justice not as punishment or "canceling" of those who do harm, but as the active righting of wrongs, addressing root causes, and committing to do better. This research is necessary because what happens to survivors of sexual violence matters; their lives, experiences, needs, and dreams matter. This research is necessary because too often policy and procedures on and off campus sideline and silence survivors and those most vulnerable to victimization.

This project validates survivors as active social agents who are necessary co-conspirators in the development of communities of care and empathy that work to undo the everyday manifestations of systemic oppression and rape culture.

But this project was also necessary for my interlocutors and for me in ways that I could not have predicted as I designed it, or as we began to engage in the formal research processes. The process of *doing* this project, and the relationships that I developed with my interlocutors as we engaged in community, worked to support us through the repeating cycles of the pandemic's waves, as well as experiencing the processes of "justice" related to the murder of George Floyd. Home work, the personal and relational labor that allows us to come to feel at home in our bodyminds, relationships, and communities, emerges in part from our survivorhood and offers us tools for surviving, but it is also the labor that allows us to begin to *thrive*. This research is necessary because it makes this labor explicit, exemplifying it for everyone struggling to survive crises mundane and exceptional.

When I first met Mary over Zoom in January 2021, she was eager to participate, though her nervousness was palpable. Sitting on an oversized couch with her two cats crossing her lap throughout the interview, Mary flipped her hair back and forth over her head as she spoke, each adjustment a calibration of her thoughts and a moment to pause. Months later, walking shoulder to shoulder, Mary's words are less mediated by technology or nerves. Somewhere around Lake Harriet, Mary shares that her participation in the project has helped her to move through an emotional breakup, to plan to move out of state for a job opportunity, and to process the ongoing realities of the George Floyd lynching and the trial of George Floyd's murderer, police officer Derek Chauvin.

This is what I hoped this project would be: not only the collection of data on sexual violence, justice, and community, but also building relationships with my interlocutors that move in and out of the space of the project. As a researcher who developed a project on community while living in isolation, and as a person living with mental illness struggling through the loneliness of a pandemic, the conversations for this project have been for me lifesaving. As we walk for several hours, sometimes the words flow freely, and at times we walk in silent contemplation. I say to Mary that being able to share silence comfortably is a deep form of connection I can have with someone, to just be present with them. Mary looks at me and nods silently in affirmation. We both smile.

In this chapter I will situate the theoretical roots of *home work* within the fields of Cultural Geography, Black Feminism, and Crip Theory. Then I will discuss how this project builds upon scholarship on campus-based sexual violence and rape culture. With these foundations I will discuss the methodological interventions of this project that bring home work to life through centering and amplifying survivor voice and my co-

performative witnessing of survivorhood with my interlocutors. I will discuss the significance of Minneapolis as the site of study and place of home work for my interlocutors before presenting the research processes and labor of each chapter.

Placing home work in theory and practice

"Because I can't imagine a future where truth and peace co-exist in our family. Because our family has generational trauma from never having known peace ...

I'm addicted to the idea of home. The sanctity, the safety, of home.

Everything has a place. I find things where I leave them."

(Patterson J., 2016, p. 117)

In spring 2017, as a result of several high-profile incidences of sexual violence involving a prominent fraternity, a group of student-survivors attending the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities (UMN-TC) began organizing for culture and policy change on their campus. This group of students was liaising with UMN-TC administrators while also supporting confrontational direct-action activism campaigns. Their goals were to encourage the university to develop response processes that center the needs of survivors rather than privilege perpetrators, and to also create compulsory and comprehensive programming for violence prevention through promoting healthy identities, sexualities, and relationships. My collaborations with these survivor-activists led me to consider what restorative (Nielsen & Zion, 2005; Acorn, 2004), transformative (Ross, 1996), or transitional (Duthie, 2017; Hayner, 2011) forms of justice might look like in the context of campus-based sexual violence.

I share this story to illuminate the survivor-based roots of this project and to highlight the relationality and collective focus of survivors' and survivor-activists' home

¹⁰ I was supporting these students as an advocate for victim/survivors of sexual violence with a background as a community organizer and an activist. The struggles and pitfalls of campus-based organizing is a necessary conversation, but for another time; however, this experience was foundational to the ideological inspirations for this project, as well as the participatory and convivial methodologies of its doing.

work. Several of these survivors had recently graduated, so they were struggling to make life on campus better, not for themselves, but for people they would likely never know or meet. Their home work was focused on giving other young adults and people on campus the ability and opportunity to *feel* at home without fear or threat of violence.

In order to understand the *home* of home work, I turn first to Cultural Geography, which illustrates how we make places of significance from the vast possibilities of space:

Places then are not 'nouns' -- they are not fixed and solid things, rather they are 'verbs,' they are doings, and they are always active. Cultural geographers therefore analyze and interrogate all the agents, activities, ideas and contexts that combine together to produce these places (Anderson, 2010, p. 52).

Places are culturally constructed, contextual to particular histories and genealogies, and change over time. Space is continually re/un/politicized and re/un/organized into places in relation to/with the particular biological, psychological, spiritual, social, institutional, and political, needs of the people who are connected to/with those spaces and places. Places, people, and communities perpetually co-constitute one another.

Home is one of the most ubiquitously *done* places, and Tuan (1977) offers a traditional and idealistic framing as a place that is familiar, comforting, and safe: "This surely is the meaning of home—a place where every day is multiplied by all the days before it" (quoting Freya Stark, p. 144). Because the quality and content of one's days are individually situated and relationally and contextually defined, the concept of home is both universally understood yet particular in its creation and definition. Further, Gill Valentine (2001) provides seven "meanings" of home: shelter, hearth (comfort), heart (support and affection), privacy, roots, abode (a place to sleep and rest), and paradise (pp.

72-73). Through these meanings we come to understand that home is inexorably linked to/with the concept of *family*, or the people with whom we share the place of home and engage in the doings of home. Family often implicitly refers to family *of origin*.

Rooting "of origin"

The nuclear family [of origin] is an ideological and political construction rooted in the assertion that biology forges substantive and lasting connections. This ideology is also founded upon heteropatriarchy, wherein men are the "natural" heads of both households and the nation-state (Smith, 2010). Heteropatriarchy privileges not only heterosexuality, but specifically monogamous relationships that result in marriage and children (Javaid, 2018); love, romance, and the mandate of marriage, "function to subordinate and subjugate women in heterosexual relationships so that patriarchal power and dominance can be circulated against them" (p. 85). The United States has depended upon heterosexuality for the perpetuation of a white supremacist capitalist settler state.

In the first volume of *The History of Sexuality* (1990), Michel Foucault outlines an understanding of sexuality not as a biological given or imperative, but as a political construction that disciplines and regulates society, culture/s, interpersonal relationships, and individual lives. This regulation is achieved through the production of norms that discipline individuals based on narratives of acceptable identities and behaviors that are perpetuated and normalized in and through the nuclear family. This is described by Adrienne Rich's (1980) analysis of *compulsory heterosexuality* in the United States. This analysis, however, originates largely from a white perspective that does not take into account the lives of women of color or queer people who have lacked the reproductive freedom to decide when/how/whether to have children, build a family, or have a home.

Further, compulsory sexuality, according to McRuer (2006) reinforces able-bodiedness and limited notions of what bodies are acceptable in the public sphere (bodies whose labor can be sold to capitalists), and in the privacy of bedrooms for love/reproduction.

In the ongoing colonization of the Americas, marriage has been utilized as a tool to "civilize" Indigenous women, forcing their assimilation into settler society and working to "whiten" Indigenous bloodlines (Deer, 2015). Prior to emancipation, Black women held as slaves were raped by white slave owners to produce the next generation of slaves (because the children of Black women could not claim rights based on paternity) (Nagel, 2013). In the post-World War II era, the culture of the United States was built through bureaucratic processes of financial incentives and social benefits¹¹ that served to define the rights and responsibilities of the ideal (i.e., white, male, heterosexual) citizen, in contrast to constructions of otherness (unmarried, female, Black, homosexual, immigrant) (Canaday, 2013). Through these processes, the home was privatized, isolating matters of identity and relationships to the *privacy* of the home and thus under the discretion of the male head of household and out of reach of the government, and isolated from networks of community support.

The "meanings of home" presented by Valentine (2001) above align within the hegemonic notion of home and family of origin. In contrast, she offers the necessary complications that privacy can lead to loneliness (such as for elderly people) and perpetrators of domestic violence often weaponize privacy, isolating their victims from

¹¹ The GI Bill, credited with launching the modern middle class via state-funded welfare that allowed returning WWII veterans to buy homes, earn a college degree, or start a business, was a racialized and gender-segregated program. Benefits were unequally accessible to women or GIs of color, while processes of redlining created Black urban ghettos and white flight to the suburbs. The GI Bill made heterosexuality compulsory by not being equally accessible to single women or homosexual couples (Canaday, 2013).

potential networks of support. Building on these complications of home and family of origin, Johnson and Longhurst (2010) identify home as the place where many people first come to know violence: Children witness the domestic violence of one parent against another, or they experience child sexual abuse; in their home and the homes of their peers, children undergo the *mundane violences* of gender and cultural socialization.

Mundane violences, according to Tyner (2012), are the everyday violences that are overlooked, normalized, or accepted as the cost of doing business. Tyner asserts that the notion of violence is one that is *supposed* to disrupt the mundane, not define it.

As such, Tyner asks us to consider how violence shapes our perceptions and conceptions of particular places, such as within the home where people of all ages are victimized by intimate partners, family members, or acquaintances. And, as Loretta Ross (2006) and the Reproductive Justice movement has made explicit, women have rarely known safety in the homes of men; people of color have rarely known safety in the homes of white people; and LGBTQIA+ people, and particularly children, have rarely known safety in heteronormative and heteropatriarchal homes. The privatization of both the home and family *of origin* has served to perpetuate conditions of victimization and uphold white supremacist heteropatriarchy. Under neoliberalism, we all become *managers* within our homes/lives of our individual conditions of crisis (McRuer, 2006); in order to survive, "[individuals] adapt and perform as if the crisis had never happened" (p. 17); the collective conditions to support us have been privatized and made redundant, and compulsory able-bodiedness/mindedness does not allow for the weakness of trauma.

Uprooting home

In discussing the experience of Black women, living under white supremacy, bell hooks (1990) introduces the concept of *homeplace* as the intentional work of building home in opposition to oppression. hooks argues that homeplace is "about the construction of a safe place where black people could affirm one another and by so doing heal many of the wounds inflicted by racist domination" (p. 42). Bailey and Shabazz (2014) assert that hooks's *homeplace* must be complicated through an intersectional analysis of race with other social locations; hooks's framework does not account for the particular violence experienced by Black queers within the cis-heteropatriarchal home place.

Bailey's (2013) work additionally focuses on the *kin labor* of built family within the Black queer subculture of ballroom. At times, this "housework" mimics the patriarchal structure of the nuclear family of origin; but this intentional built family is part performance and part rejection of heteronormativity that works to communally heal the experiences of homophobia, racism, poverty, isolation, and exclusion that defined many ballroom participants' histories within their family, home, or communities of origin.

The built family of kin labor and built home of housework resonates with the Crip Theory framing of *care work* that necessitates that we ask, "What does it mean to shift our ideas of access and care (whether it's disability, childcare, economic access, or many more) from an individual chore, an unfortunate cost of having an unfortunate body, to a collective responsibility that's maybe even deeply joyful" (Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2018, p. 33)? Crip Theory recognizes that bodies change over the span of a lifetime, economic needs/capacities shift, and circumstances arise unexpectedly. These experiences/realities should not be burdens carried by individuals alone when everyone at some point or

another will share similar circumstances (Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2018; Kafer, 2013; McRuer, 2006). Just as kin labor and housework recognize the violence of heteronormativity and the realities that homes/families of origin are not inherently safe or supportive, so too does care work recognize the ableism built into normative home/family constructs. Depending only upon families of origin or traditional family structures to support us through our life cycles and circumstances ignores the many complicated realities of family and home.

Home work offers a counter-hegemonic notion of home and family rooted not in biology or ideology, but in relationships and labor that are intentionally and consensually engaged both in private and public/community places. Home work thus recognizes that how we work to build a sense of home in our lives is impacted and influenced by what we have known of home before. Sometimes we aspire to re-create our past experiences of home. And maybe more often than not, what we work to build is in opposition to our histories. For my interlocutors, their experiences of home work outside of their families of origin has occurred mostly in the context of attending college or university and being independent young adults for the first time. Their experiences of home work were disrupted, complicated, and violated by experiencing sexual, domestic, or relationship violence—an experience far too common for young people in the United States.

Sexual violence on campus

"Rape-prone behavior is associated with environmental insecurity and females are turned into objects to be controlled as men struggle to retain or gain control of their environments." (Reeves-Sanday, 1996, p. 430)

University campuses are sites that have been at the center of sexual violence discourse and debates in the United States for some time now. This results from rampant

rates of sexual violence on campus, histories of universities being unaccountable to survivors and privileging of perpetrators, and recently due to the anti-Title IX agenda of the former Trump administration and the perpetrator-centered policies of Education Secretary Betsy DeVos (Brodsky, 2021). Sexual violence occurs on college campuses or in campus-adjacent spaces at horrifying rates¹² and is both perpetrated and experienced by people of all racial and ethnic groups, people across the gender spectrum, and people of all sexualities (RAINN 2017, 2009; Germain, 2016; Argiero, et al., 2010). Literature on campus-based sexual violence has also been one of the key sites for identifying the role of hegemonic/toxic masculinities in perpetuating rape culture (Boswell & Spade, 1996; Reeves-Sanday, 1996) and that cis men on campus tend to be blissfully unaware of campus-based sexual violence prevention/response services (Halstead, et al., 2017).

Research into the gaps in the response policies and procedures toward sexual violence on campus by institutes of higher education have identified the need for victim-centered research as one proposed avenue for addressing these concerns (see: Monahan-Kreishman & Ingarfield, 2018; Koss, White, & Lopez, 2017; Krause, et al., 2017). Though these studies are essential in naming the problem and establishing the scope of violence and the gaps in university or college prevention and response efforts, they often unintentionally dehumanize the problem by erasing the actual experiences of survivors (through aggregating stories into data) and making anonymous the individuals who perpetrate violence or the specific organizations (fraternities, athletics, academic programs, etc.) that enable rape culture.

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¹² "21% of TGQN (transgender, genderqueer, nonconforming) college students have been sexually assaulted, compared to 18% of non-TGQN females, and 4% of non-TGQN males" (RAINN, 2017).

Studies that provide a platform for survivor voice (Hirsch & Khan, 2020; Grigoriadis, 2017; Dick & Ziering, 2016; Germain, 2016; Ziering, 2015) work to humanize the endemic reality of campus-based rape culture. Each of these texts feature numerous interviews with survivors sharing their experiences of delayed processes, lying administrators, closed-door meetings, high-priced lawyers for perpetrators and schools, and lack of mental health, academic, or advocacy services for victims struggling to navigate their pursuits of justice while they are trying to maintain their academic routines and life obligations. These texts make explicit the physical, emotional, and psychological toll of sexual violence, rape culture, and institutional betrayal.

Though this project deviated from this originating point of scholarship (discussed further in the Conclusion), it is important that I situate this dissertation among these texts. These studies were integral to the design of the research processes, and this project owes a debt of gratitude to these researchers and survivors who struggle against rape culture.

Research as a process of doing community

"The methodology needs to be based in a community context (be relational) and has to demonstrate respect, reciprocity and responsibility" (Wilson, 2008, p. 99)

My intervention operates at the confluence of Indigenous Methodologies, Critical Ethnography, and the politics of Disability Justice and amplifies survivor voice through the co-performative witnessing of survivorhood. This project was engaged under the isolation conditions of the COVID-19 pandemic and in the context of the lynching of George Floyd by the Minneapolis Police Department. For me, that included the loneliness of living alone and the isolation of living in a place, Tempe, AZ, where I did not feel a sense of community or a strong connection to a group of people, meaning that I did not

feel that I had people to lean on if I got sick or needed some sort of support. I also did not feel that I was filling that need for anyone else. At the same time, my mom and brother were quarantining with our abuser, my father, two time zones away. These experiences would be an integral point of connection with my interlocutors.

One of the founding principles of the disability rights movement is "nothing about us without us" (Charlton, 1998). I hold this ethos dear in my activist, advocacy, and academic work. This project believes that survivorhood does not make survivors of sexual violence inherently fragile or vulnerable, though the ongoing conditions of rape culture does. My interlocutors are my co-researchers, who each have particular skills and knowledge "because of and not despite our survivorhood" (Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2018, p. 232). In this project, I am as invested in *what* is learned, as *how* we learn it.

As mentioned above, research is too often *on* survivors, not *with* or *by* survivors. This echoes Indigenous scholars' recognition that their communities are often being studied *on* by outside [white] academics, and not studied *with*, or better, studied *by* the communities themselves (Wilson, 2008). The tenets of Indigenous methodologies fundamentally inform, influence, and deepen how I approach research and support my belief that the research space is sacred, and must be a shared and collaborative space because it is a space with vast possibilities and incredible consequences (Swentzell, 2020). Understanding a research project as a process of doing community means that I carry with me the responsibility of honoring relationships long after the moment of data collection ends. I hold this responsibility sacred working with survivors of sexual, domestic, and/or relationship violence who are living through a pandemic in a city at the

heart of global uprisings against anti-Black racism and state violence, and who are all in their own ways struggling to survive and thrive in and despite a rape culture.

Indigenous methodologies assert that research does not only occur within a community, or focus on a community, but that it has the potential to make community, and is a process of doing community (Wilson, 2008). Research is thus situated in the realm of ceremony for Indigenous scholars, emphasizing the great responsibility of researchers to hold a process that has the potential to be world building and culture shifting. "Research is all about unanswered questions, but it also reveals our unquestioned answers" (p. 6). Research as ceremony challenges hegemony by revealing what has gone unnamed, unquestioned, and accepted as what just is. As a result, research has the potential to be revolutionary for a community, in the service of justice, and individually transformative; "if research doesn't change you as a person, then you haven't done it right" (p. 135). As I stood at the elf door with Mary, looking over the painted rocks, I knew that I was not the same person who last stood there three years ago, or even the person who began collecting data six months earlier.

Each rock represents a person who took the time to adorn an object with paint, maybe with a pattern or design, and a few with words carefully written out. Someone chose a rock, the colors, the words, and navigated to this place. Perhaps they live nearby, or like me, sought it out from faraway, or like Mary, stumbled across it while bimbling with a friend. Whatever their origins, the rocks have come together to make the place of the elf door, now in memorium and in community. Someone acts as the caretaker of the elf door; their home work is a ceremony, a sacred holding of this space of community in memory of George Floyd for the communities and places that now persist in his absence.

Survivor voice

"This was no longer a fight against my rapist, it was a fight to be humanized.

I had to hold on to my story, figure out how to make myself heard.

If I didn't break out, I'd become a statistic. Another red figure in a grid."

(Miller, 2020, p. 140)

Sharing other people's story is a sacred responsibility and one I do not take on lightly or flippantly. Too often research is *on* rather than *with* survivors, perpetuating their victimization rather than fostering their empowerment and supporting their agency. My particular doing of community in the place of Minneapolis has been largely through relationships connected to survival and survivorhood. Honoring, centering, and amplifying the voices of survivors is fundamental not only to this project but also has been a focus of my life and my advocacy work for some time now. In my years as an advocate with The Sexual Violence Center (SVC), a rape-crisis center in Minneapolis, my role was to validate and support victim/survivors of sexual violence by meeting them wherever they were and to share their healing journey in the ways they identified as needed.

As a person struggling to survive the ongoing conditions of domestic violence in my family of origin, I have questioned whether or how to claim the identity of either victim or survivor. I am also working to claim my identity as a survivor of intimate partner abuse in my past relationships. Through this project, I am learning from my interlocutors how to lift my own voice from this particular positionality. These struggles are not only personal ones; they also impact how I approach my work, how I developed this project, and how I interact/ed with my interlocutors.

In order to better understand how the process of documenting one's own struggle to survive impacts a survivor-author, I consulted two books written by survivors in order to re/claim their voice, name, and story. Chanel Miller's *Know My Name: A Memoir* (2020) is a fundamental component of her ongoing work to heal. Miller was digitally raped and sexually assaulted while intoxicated, and her body was dragged behind a dumpster by her rapist, Brock Turner, who attempted to flee the scene. Miller underwent a drawn-out trial in which she existed anonymously in the media as "Jane Doe" for over a year. *Know My Name* is Miller's reclamation of her name and her story, and the beginning of her life as a survivor. Chessy Prout wrote *I Have the Right To* (2018) with co-author Jenn Abelson. Prout was raped at the end of her first year in high school at an elite private boarding school. The subsequent trial and the school's extensive smear campaign to protect its reputation at the expense of her education and emotional and psychological well-being is a harrowing story of institutional betrayal and structural rape culture.

These two incredible young women have mobilized their horrible experiences into powerful processes of healing and acts of solidarity with survivors. As both survivor and advocate myself, this project is an effort to mobilize my experiences and to provide a platform to amplify other survivors, as I strive to take Miller's words to heart: "Do not become the ones who hurt you. Stay tender with your power. Never fight to injure, fight to uplift" (Miller, 2020, p. 328).

But I also take the lessons of their experiences to heart: that the processes of "justice" in the United States are often drawn out and exhausting; that even "success" takes its toll, as does speaking from the positionality of survivorhood. Countless young people every year across college campuses and campus-adjacent spaces will experience sexual violence in isolation. Most victims will never experience any sort of justice. We

will likely never know their names, stories, or pain. They will suffer and struggle to heal alone. This project begins in and with these realities.

While Miller and Prout discuss in grueling detail their experiences of sexual violence and the physical, emotional, and psychological trauma that resulted, this project is not *about* victimization, though it is always in the background of our discussions. I made clear to my interlocutors that they would not be asked about their victimization/s, though they were invited to speak on any topic that they were comfortable with sharing. I do not believe it is necessary that survivors relive their most traumatic experiences in order for their voices to be heard or for their contributions to the discourse be taken as valid. Believing, honoring, and centering survivors does not mean that we have a right to their histories, though space should always be open for survivors to share in ways that they are comfortable with and that support their unique healing journeys.

It is also important to note that my usage of quotations and citations throughout this dissertation is an intentional practice. Blockquotes give space to my interlocutors as well as situate my work within a particular academic and advocacy genealogy; "[Sara Ahmed] argues that citations are not passive things we include in our writings; they chronicle specific histories and are a political practice: 'Citation is how we acknowledge our debt to those who came before; those who helped us find our way." (Kafai, 2021, p. 26) As a project on community engaged *in* community, when appropriate, I synthesize my conversations, and when necessary, my interlocutors and those who informed how this project came together, are presented in their own words.

Co-performative witnessing

"It is through dialogue and meeting with the Other that I am most fully myself ... communion with an Other brings the self more fully into being and ...

Through the lessons of the above research and testimonials, and my work as an advocate, I recognized the weight of what I was asking my interlocutors to take on, even though I assured them that I would not ask them to talk about victimization. Survival in a rape culture is victimizing. It was important to me that I show my interlocutors from the earliest possible points that I was not going to ask of them anything I was not willing to take on myself. Because survival is our shared reality, in partnering with my interlocutors, I am co-performing (Madison, 2007) survivorhood in this project as I am witness, documenter, and researcher of their experiences and our shared experiences.

In talking with my interlocutors, and learning to share from the positionality of survivorhood, I am working to understand survival as an ongoing process. In moving from "researcher as observer" to "researcher as interlocutor" (Madison, 2007), I am doing the work of learning and struggling with my participants and partners who are all in similar, though unique, states of survival and struggle; "the praxis of co-performative witnessing and what it means to be radically engaged and committed, body-to-body, in the field ... participant observation does not capture the active, risky, and intimate engagement with Others" (p. 826). Collaborating and co-witnessing are political and personal acts that carry implications beyond data collection for a research project; "It is with politicized intention that I write myself in by using first person I and first-person plural we throughout the book or by turning outward and speaking directly to you" (Kafai, 2021, p. 25). This project is about our lives and how we survive.

I fundamentally do not believe that a researcher can be *neutral*. We are all products of our context and conditions. As Fine (2018) asserts, an assumed and uninterrogated state of researcher-neutrality actually works to mask the power and privilege at play. In order to understand people's lived realities, research studies must situate not only the conditions of the study within historical, structural, and social contexts, but also the dynamic of the researcher to/with the study and their participants. This is therefore a political project seeking to further notions of justice and equity (Madison, 2005). In the next section, I will situate myself to/with the research, taking up the first of Maddison's "key questions for critical ethnography" (p.4)¹³: How do we reflect upon and evaluate our own purpose, intentions, and frames of analysis as researchers?

Madison's second question asks, "How do we predict consequences or evaluate our own potential to do harm?" I have been particularly focused on the inherent potential for harm to be done to survivors through even ancillary discussions related to sexual violence. Therefore, I have worked to incorporate aspects of the Positive Empowerment Approach (PEA) that "positions victim-survivors as active agents and stakeholders in generating new knowledge on subjects with their experiential expertise" (McGlynn & Westmarland, 2019, p. 183). I was intentional and up front with my interlocutors that this project is not about victimization, and I reiterated throughout our conversations that any

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¹³ "1. How do we reflect upon and evaluate our own purpose, intentions, and frames of analysis as researchers? 2. How do we predict consequences or evaluate our own potential to do harm? 3. How do we create and maintain a dialogue of collaboration in our research projects between ourselves and Others? 4. How is the specificity of the local story relevant to the broader meanings and operations of the human condition? 5. How—in what location or through what intervention—will our work make the greatest contribution to equity, freedom, and justice?" (Madison, 2005, p. 4)

topic or question could be skipped and anything they said could be later omitted. The coperformative witnessing of this project is "a shared temporality, bodies on the line, soundscapes of power, dialogic inter-animation, political action, and matters of the heart" (Madison, 2007, p. 827) through shared space, traumas, and labor.

Homing myself

"It is a willful act to name myself as a disabled, Mad queer femme of color in a society that tells me to hide my Madness and queerness, that tells me to avoid claiming my identities with pride." (Kafai, 2021, p. 25)

As I work to center and uplift the voices of my interlocutors, so too do I work to claim my own voice as one of survivorhood. Research is never neutral, and neither is the role of the researcher (Fine, 2018); this is undoubtedly a political project and I am an activist, an advocate, and an academic—a scholar-activist. To understand this research project it is necessary to understand me, the researcher, and how I relate to both the work and to/with my interlocutors. Like many of my interlocutors, I am a survivor of domestic violence and intimate partner abuse. Though I differ from my interlocutors in many ways, particularly in age (I am a decade older than my eldest participant) and in gender (as the only cisgender man in the study). I am also a white, Jewish descendent of immigrants. In my public school growing up, I was the Jewish kid, and among my Hebrew school peers, I was the poor kid. Class is a fluid and tenuous experience in the United States, and my family of origin has navigated the shaky terrain between a middle- and a working-class/poor livelihood.

For most of my life I identified as a cisgender heterosexual man, but in part because of this project, I am coming to accept myself as queer in gender and sexuality. I

live with mental illnesses—suicidal ideations, anxiety, depression, and disordered eating—as well as chronic pain, and have come to identify with/as *crip*. Sami Schalk (2013) recognizes that identities and positionalities are personal, relational, and political; "that I am similarly situated in regard to many vectors of power as people with disabilities and that interrogation into the processes which have so situated us are needed in order to develop coalitional theory and political solidarity" (p. 8). In Chapter 2, my interlocutors Alice, Claire, and I will discuss disability and cross-disability solidarity, which has helped me to understand not only my relationship with/to my bodymind, but also my relationship with/to other disabled people, and informed my journey, similar to Schalk's, of "coming to claim crip."

Beyond these identity markers, one of the ways I am able to understand myself is through Sara Ahmed's analytic of *homing devices* (2006), by situating myself to/with/in the places that were formative to my processes of becoming; "we learn what home means, or how we occupy space at home and as home, when we leave home" (p. 9). The places, people, and encounters that were formative to my processes of becoming are felt by me as *homes*, or wherein I can feel *at home*. Homing devices support home work by identifying home as, and as more than, physical buildings or the feeling amongst family and loved ones; home is a verb, a process, a *doing*.

At the time of this writing, I am 38 years old. In these 38 years, I have lived at least three lives—as a media professional and artist in New York City, an activist and community organizer with Occupy Wall Street and Occupy Sandy, and now an advocate and academic working to undermine rape culture. In 38 years, I have called five cities

home: Glenview, IL; New York, NY; Minneapolis, MN; Ciudad Colon, Costa Rica; and Tempe, AZ. I have worked to make home in three intimate relationships.

As a survivor of domestic violence in my family of origin, *home* became a complicated concept earlier in my life than I could understand at the time. My dad is a narcissist and compulsive liar; his father taught him the lesson that his worth as a man was demonstrated not by the health and well-being of his family but how much money he earned. My father wields psychological and emotional terror to control my mom, my older brother, and me. He is a gambling addict, and 15 years sober from casinos, he now treats the truth like an everyday game of chance. His narcissistic abuse took me nearly two decades to name, and I am completing nearly another two decades of working through the trauma; but it is hard to heal from the trauma of abuse that has not stopped.

When I was 11 years old, because my dad had decided not to pay his taxes, the federal government sent agents to evict us from my childhood home, the house my parents built shortly after marrying. Thanks to the financial intervention of his father, we were not immediately made houseless, but my parents were forced to sell our house.

Since then, they have always had to be renters. While I was in undergrad in New York City, my parents moved into the rental house they still live in; for the last 16 years, when I go "home" to visit, I go to a place that is owned by a stranger who causes my parents stress in the place they are meant to feel comfort and safety; a place in which I have never

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¹⁴ I have pieced this story together over the years as my mom does not like to talk about it, for obvious reasons. Interestingly, I was home visiting in July 2021, the first time in nearly two years because of the pandemic. One morning, we watched as three Cook County Sheriff police cars and six officers arrived to evict a family who lived down the street. When one of the officers took out a handheld battering ram, my mom grew visibly upset and spoke about how it was triggering. She could not look out the window throughout the day without seeing the belongings of the family being carried out onto the driveway and later packed into a U-Haul. She was so sad for the family and knew how traumatic this experience would be for them.

lived or had my own private space; a place where I sleep on a couch in the living room.

When I say I am going "home," I mean that I am going to my mom. Home has not been my parents' house or my dad for a very long time.

As an adult, I have worked to re/define home in/on my own terms. For 12 years, home was New York City, and Brooklyn in particular. Home was my partner of six years—the first woman I ever loved, who I expected to one day marry, have children with, and grow old with—until she no longer shared that sentiment, leaving me in part because she said I dedicated more of my time and energy to the relationship than growing myself as an individual. Our breakup was devastating, drawn out, and awful. I learned that like my mother, I will accept abuse and believe I deserve it, so long as my abuser tells me, every once in a while, that they love me. I learned that I cannot sustain the feeling of home for others who are not interested or willing to share the labor.

Home has been activism and direct action on the streets. Almost a year after my breakup, on October 18, 2011, I stepped into Liberty Square and the General Assembly of Occupy Wall Street (OWS)¹⁵ and felt alive for the first time in years. Through my experiences of activism, direct action, and direct democracy, and beginning to learn the language of anti-oppression, I found that home can be a community of people fighting for a better world and more hopeful future. In leaving behind the life I had lived for the first 28 years of my life, I was leaving behind the legacy of my father and my former partner. I

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¹⁵ Occupy Wall Street (OWS) began in New York City on September 17, 2011 as direct action and protest against the Obama administration's bailing out of the banks and support for Wall Street in the aftermath of the 2008 financial collapse while everyday people were given little support or relief. The encampment at Liberty Square, the renamed Zuccotti Park, was a few blocks from the Wall Street financial district and featured a kitchen providing three meals a day, free medical services, a library, teach-ins, and numerous grassroots organizations advocating for a variety of social justice causes. OWS was popularized in part through its daily General Assembly that operated via direct democracy and consensus process. Within days, localized versions of OWS emerged in cities large and small across the United States and the world.

carry the trauma and baggage of both of them with me, but I refuse/d to live in their shadow or to be the person they work/ed so hard to destroy.

Home has been the relief centers and community spaces across the Rockaways where I spent the better part of year. After a year of activism with OWS, Hurricane Sandy¹⁶ came to New York City. In its wake, OWS organizers shifted our focus and we created Occupy Sandy (OS), a community-based network for relief and recovery that would be the first on-the-ground responders in many of New York City's most devastated areas, preceding the city, FEMA, the Red Cross, and the National Guard by weeks to months. This work carried over the anti-capitalist class lens and race analysis developed through Occupy Wall Street. But we did not have a proper gender lens or an explicitly feminist pedagogy. As a result, we re/created gender oppression in our organizing spaces and carried it with us into the community. To address some of our missteps, several friends and I created the "Challenging Patriarchy" group for organizers who identified as men. We spent four to six hours a week for several months unpacking our internalized sexism and the ways that patriarchy manifested in our work and relationships. In this space I began centering gender in my activism, and then academic and professional work.

Home has been the family I built with 12 women from nine different countries who converged in Costa Rica for our master's program. Home has been Mariah and Caleb's house in Minneapolis that they inexplicably keep opening up to me. Home has

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¹⁶ On October 29, 2012 Superstorm Sandy made landfall in New York City and neighboring states. Sandy resulted in devastating flooding, causing \$19 billion in damage and killing 44 New Yorkers. Almost exactly a year earlier, New Yorkers had been warned about Hurricane Irene, who over-prepared for a storm that thankfully had little impact. As a result, many New Yorkers did not take Sandy as seriously. The tolerable wind and rain of Irene were replaced by Sandy's damaging storm surge and unprecedented flooding. https://www.britannica.com/event/Superstorm-Sandy

been the feeling of walking into particular coffee shops¹⁷ or the sound of the voice of my most recent partner. I have not felt at home in a long time, even before the pandemic exacerbated my mental illnesses. Only time will tell what form home might take on next.

These are only a few stories that begin to scratch the surface of how I understand myself, my approach to this moment, my project, and the relationships with my interlocutors. It is with these understandings that I walk into the community organizing space, the classroom, or the coffee shop. I mentioned that one of my homes has been Minneapolis; for reasons both personal and political, Minneapolis is the site of study for this project, and the place wherein I engaged home work with my interlocutors.

Homing Minneapolis

"I will always live in Minneapolis." It's so cold, it keeps the bad people out." - Prince

I have not been able to track down exactly where or when Prince said this quote; perhaps urban legend, it is a fitting sentiment for people who live in Minneapolis, MN, the city where the idea for my research was sparked and wherein I collected data for this project. Minneapolis is a city that I keep coming back to, despite my failed attempts to put down more permanent roots there. As an upper Midwest metropolitan area—ripe with diverse cultures, unique-feeling neighborhoods, a thriving art and music scene— Minneapolis reminds me of Chicago and its northwest suburbs where I grew up. For

¹⁷ I anticipated writing this dissertation from Anelace Coffee in Northeast Minneapolis. At the countertop of Anelace, I wrote love letters to my then-long-distance partner; I wrote doctoral program applications; I founded and launched my website and company, The Bridges We Burn; I wrote the wedding ceremony for my best friends all while sitting at that countertop. But Anelace burned to the ground on March 22, 2020. Only a week or so into the global pandemic's impact on the United States, a fire started in the apartment above a connected storefront. Somewhat cruelly, Anelace is the only building on the block to have been completely destroyed, despite the fire beginning several buildings over.

these same reasons, Minneapolis reminds me of New York City, wherein I lived for 12 years starting when I began undergrad at New York University in 2001.

In contrast to my interlocutor Mary who moved to Minneapolis to find community, I first moved there in 2013 to *leave* community; I needed to slow down after a year of community organizing with the Occupy Sandy and two years of houselessness and transient living across NYC during my time with both OWS and OS. I needed the emotional and temporal space to come to terms with my victimization in an intimate partnership and process its ongoing impacts on my mental and physical health. During my second stint in Minneapolis, after completing my master's program in Costa Rica, working with student-survivors inspired the questions for this project and allowed me to begin owning the identity of a survivor as I struggled to survive the ongoing conditions of domestic violence in my family of origin.

Minneapolis is also close geographically and politically to Duluth, MN, where the modern movement against domestic and sexual violence originated in the 1980s. The anti-domestic violence movement was fundamentally reshaped by what has come to be known as "the Duluth model" that originated through community-based research and advocacy efforts. The Duluth model is known for re/framing domestic violence as specifically about abusers utilizing various tactics to gain and maintain "power and control" over their victims. The Duluth model also explicitly frames domestic violence as a cultural product and social problem, not a private issue within families or relationships. This legacy is embodied in Minneapolis by The Sexual Violence Center (SVC), a rape-

18 https://www.theduluthmodel.org/

crisis center where I volunteered as an advocate/crisis counselor for victim/survivors of sexual violence and worked as a violence prevention program developer and educator.

Minneapolis feels like home to me, though like Brooklyn, my mom's house, and my former partner's voice, I know these feelings of home are fleeting. That it's a home I return to only briefly and not a place for me to set down roots. Because of my personal and professional connections, and the historical significance of Minneapolis and Duluth to the anti-domestic violence movement, Minneapolis was a strategic and convenient site of study for this research. Then on May 25, 2020, four months into the global COVID-19 pandemic, Minneapolis became the *necessary* site of study.

George Floyd

"Our minds are not built to witness somebody die like that."

-Z.Z

On May 25, 2020 the United States was over two months into the stay-at-home orders and isolation conditions of the global COVID-19 pandemic. Several of my interlocutors including Mary and Elle had recently graduated college. Charlie was beginning to prepare her law school applications for submission in the fall; Bree and Stanley were completing their clinical hours requirements for their master's in clinical therapy. My semester had recently ended, and I was preparing to teach my first course, JUS-329 Domestic Violence, for ASU's online summer session.

And on May 25, 2020, the world learned of George Floyd, a Black man who was publicly lynched by white Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin. ¹⁹ George Floyd became a household name after the cell phone footage by 17-year-old Darnella Frazier

¹⁹ https://www.startribune.com/george-floyd-hoped-moving-to-minnesota-would-save-him-what-he-faced-here-killed-him/573417181/

went viral, footage that captured the heartbreaking last minutes of George Floyd's life. But George Floyd is more than his death, just as my interlocutors are more than their victimization/s. Over the next days and weeks, the life of George Floyd would be teased out. We would come to learn of his struggles to make home in Minneapolis, struggles to feel at home through his experiences of addiction, poverty, incarceration, and anti-Black racism.

Like my interlocutor Stanley, George Floyd began to find a sense of home through the religious practice he learned while in prison and committed to be a man of God upon his release in 2013. Like my interlocutor Mary, George Floyd moved to Minneapolis to find a sense of community in a place he had been told was known for supporting people in recovery. Like the "Challenging Patriarchy" men's group I helped start, George Floyd found a community of men on Minneapolis's north side working together through their struggles with addiction; he learned that he was more than his mistakes. George Floyd's home work focused on supporting other Black men who were stigmatized and marginalized by anti-Blackness and a shrinking social safety net that criminalized mental illness, addiction, and poverty.

George Floyd was hired as a bouncer at Conga Latin Bistro, a popular nightclub in the Northeast neighborhood. At Conga, George Floyd was known for remembering customers' names, for not tolerating belligerent drunks, and for stepping in when men were making women feel uncomfortable. Like my interlocutors Alice, Bree, Christina, and Stanley, George Floyd embodied home work in his workplace by creating conditions for other people to feel welcome, safe, and *at home*.

But on May 25, 2020, George Floyd's ability to engage in home work was brutally cut short, quite literally under the knee of the state. Derek Chauvin, a white Minneapolis police officer, knelt on George Floyd's neck while detaining him for allegedly using a counterfeit \$20 bill at Cup Foods in South Minneapolis [Illustration 6].

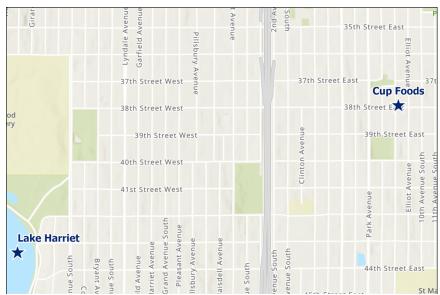


Illustration 6. Cup Foods, E 38th St & Chicago Ave [map] Chicago Avenue (one block west of Elliot Avenue) north of 38th Street East, which runs in front of Cup Foods, was ceremoniously renamed George Perry Floyd Jr. Pl. Source: Shea Lemar, Arizona State University

While detained, George Floyd begged for his life; he told Chauvin that he was in pain and could not breathe. With his final breaths, George Floyd cried out for his mama. Like me, George Floyd's notion of home was most strongly signified by the thought of his mom, the person who for him meant safety and comfort. After nine and a half minutes with Chauvin's knee on his neck, George Floyd died. He was 46 years old.

Frazier's cell phone footage prevented the city of Minneapolis from covering up the murder²⁰and sparked a revolution against anti-Black violence and the sort of institutional betrayal my interlocutors will speak to in Chapter 4. My interlocutors

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²⁰ https://www.cnn.com/2021/04/21/us/minneapolis-police-george-floyd-death/index.html

watched the footage, wherein just blocks away from their homes, Minneapolis police—the same people they are told will protect them from perpetrators of sexual, domestic, and relationship violence—slowly murdered a man calling out for his mom and begging for his life. They watched the footage of three other Minneapolis police officers holding back a crowd of George Floyd's friends and neighbors pleading for Chauvin to get off of him. They watched the footage of those officers, who had the power to intervene, choose not to, while preventing those without the power to intervene from doing so.

The revitalization of the Movement for Black Lives resulted in uprisings at a scale, energy, and militance that had not been seen before. On May 28, 2020, the 3rd Precinct of the Minneapolis Police (Chauvin's precinct) was set on fire. Across the street a fire was set in the entryway of a Target; the neighborhood then reclaimed the contents of the store and turned the building into a community hub that provided food, cleaning supplies, baby food and diapers, and other material goods to people in need across the neighborhood. The uprising spread across the city, country, and world. Marches, riots, and property destruction were signature aspects of the George Floyd uprising. But so too was *mutual aid*, as my interlocutors and I will discuss in Chapter 2.

The lynching of George Floyd, the uprising, the eventual murder trial of Derek Chauvin, and the ongoing debate about "defunding the police," had immeasurable impact on my interlocutors, the development of this project, and the orientations of our discussions. Research on home work, on how we do community, and on survivorcentered notions of justice that are not dependent upon punishment are needed and necessary. Grounding my work in Minneapolis speaks to this revolutionary moment of radical possibilities.

George Floyd's death is already impacting the lives of future generations as we debate the role of police in our communities and the priorities of social spending, but this is a frustrating and complicated consolation that is occurring in the absence of his life. George Floyd did not have a say in how we mobilize based on his name, his image, or his death. Survivors of sexual violence are too often mobilized outside of their own agency by the state and within academia. This project works to disrupt this legacy by centering survivors and amplifying survivor voice as I partner with my interlocutors as coresearchers, and through my co-performative witnessing of survivorhood.

Collaborative processes and research partnerships

"Community-based research respects that people's lived experience is their expertise ... there is an inherent knowledge from living this existence."

-M

Because of the realities of living through a pandemic, recruitment occurred entirely online utilizing social media and my advocacy networks.²¹ Recruitment materials can be found in Appendix D. My initial correspondences with potential participants included my short biography so that participants got to know more about me and my work. From these early stages I began to co-performatively witness survivorhood by showing potential participants that I was willing to do some of the emotional labor that I would be asking of them. Thirteen individuals expressed interest and 10 of them became participants; nine out of 10 participants sustained engagement through the processes of

also shared the recruitment materials across their social media. Friends and colleagues shared these posts among their own personal and professional networks.

²¹ My project partner, Sarah, who began the Minneapolis-based survivor advocacy organization Break the Silence, was instrumental in recruitment efforts. Ashley, the Office Manager of the Sexual Violence Center

primary data collection.²² My interlocutors—participants and research partners—were invited to partake in all of the research processes, with no minimum threshold for engagement in the project. Based on the content of the study, as well as the ongoing conditions of the pandemic and uprising, in addition to their personal circumstances, I was truly grateful for as much or as little of their time and participation as they were willing to give to me and the project.

Individual interviews

Semi/structured ethnographic interviews conducted virtually via Zoom form the foundation of my dissertation research and were the first component of the project for my participants. One of my mentors, Dr. Marlon M. Bailey, advised that I engage the interviews first (rather than the group sessions, as initially intended) to help build rapport between my interlocutors and myself. Dr. Bailey asserted that group work is more fruitful when built upon the foundations of the interpersonal work of individual interviews. The interviews were in fact instrumental in shaping the subsequent group conversations.

I approached the interviews as the first step in what I hoped to be an ongoing process of relationship and community building. In the initial structured interviews, each participant was asked the same 21 questions [Appendix E] with few if any follow-ups or additional questions. ²³ I shared the list of interview questions with my participants at least a day in advance of their scheduled interview. Having participated in countless job

²² These nine participants have continued to support or participate in the project in ways that they choose based on my regular invitation to talk, casual check-ins, or participating in analysis and review phases, aligning with their individual capacities and interest.

²³ The individual interviews focused on three key topic areas: doing community in their daily lives, reflecting on 2020, and community in the university setting. I informed participants that I was unlikely to ask follow-up questions (with the exception of perhaps clarifying questions). I wanted to ensure a level of consistency across the interviews, knowing that I would be inviting participants to follow-up discussions rooted in their individual and particular responses.

that people are able to provide more substantive, thoughtful, and nuanced responses when they have the opportunity to prepare and reflect on the questions. Also, as someone with anxiety and depression, I experience what Kafer (2013) calls *anticipatory scheduling*, which refers to the emotional, psychological, or physical labor required of preparing for social engagements or physical activity or required in its aftermath. Sharing this rationale with my interlocutors worked to co-performatively witness mental illness and to support any of my interlocutors who might also engage in this sort of labor, while also confirming for them that no questions would be asked about their victimization.

Mary and I had spent close to 10 hours in conversation for this project prior to us stumbling across the elf door.²⁴ Our walk that day, however, was only the second time we had not been mediated by the digital space of Zoom or the distance of a phone call. A few days before our walk around Lake Harriet, Mary and I spent several hours walking through the Minneapolis Sculpture Garden [Illustration 7].

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²⁴ The initial interviews lasted from 60-90 minutes and most were supported by one of my research partners. Follow-up conversations conducted on Zoom were about an hour. As the pandemic restrictions began to lift, I was able to spend time in Minneapolis for the first time in about two years (which also coincided with the one-year anniversary of the death of George Floyd, on May 25, 2021) and met Mary and M. In the summer and fall of 2021, I was able to spend more significant time in Minneapolis with Elle, Calia, Bree, and Alice, and continued to connect via Zoom or phone with Mary, Z.Z, and Charlie.



Illustration 7. Minneapolis Sculpture Garden at the Walker Art Center The Minneapolis Sculpture Garden is located next to the modern art museum, The Walker Art Center on the border of the Lowry Hill and Loring Park neighborhoods. The famous Spoon & Cherry sculpture is located here. The Basilica of Saint Mary can be seen in the background. Source: Flickr.com user, jpellgen, @1179 jp. Creative commons license

These walking conversations with Mary were less formal than the Zoom interviews; I did not record them, took only a few notes in the moment, and jotted down my significant takeaways in an email draft in my car afterwards. As Kinney (2017) describes, in *bimbling* walking interviews, "The route and the geographical area that the walking interview occurs in is not important to the outcome. It is the process of walking and talking that is important" (p. 2). The locations where I engaged in bimbling walking interviews with Mary, Bree, Alice, Calia, Elle, and M were held in places of significance selected by each of them. The locations, in contrast to Kinney's description, were actually instrumental in our relationship building.

Learning sessions

The learning sessions were designed to provide information, case studies, and topics related to how justice is pursued and enacted that would establish a shared foundation and jumping-off point for our small group discussions [Detailed information

about the specific content of each video can be found in Appendix F]. To resolve my concerns around scheduling 16 people across several sessions, the realities of Zoom fatigue, and accounting for anticipatory scheduling, I recorded three presentation videos rather than attempting synchronous live presentations. Each video is roughly 15 minutes long and was shared via an unlisted YouTube channel. Providing recorded videos allowed my interlocutors to view the content on their own time, and to pause, review, take notes, etc., at a pace that worked for their individual learning style.

The first video, "Justice as it is," provides an overview of criminal justice in the United States, the movement for prison and police abolition, and procedural/administrative justice on university campuses. The second video, "Justice re/imagined," presents two case studies: 1) The South African Commission for Truth and Reconciliation conducted at the end of Apartheid; and 2) the Rwandan gacaca courts implemented as the nation worked to come to terms with the 1994 civil war and ethnic genocide. The final video, "Justice transformed," explores restorative and transformative justice through discussions of community circles in Duluth, MN, Navajo Nation peacemaking, and the concept of accountability and apologies.

Small group discussions

The small group discussions were opportunities to bring my interlocutors together in conversation to build relationships and collective knowledge on justice and approaches to accountability. As Kaba (2021) says, "We can't do anything alone that's worth it.

Everything that is worthwhile is done with other people" (p. 178), and as my interlocutor M (26, they/them) said, "You don't think in a vacuum, you think with other people."

Small group discussions allow for a process of collaboration that engages with my

interlocutors as knowledge holders and experts on in/justice rooted in their lived experiences (KU Work Group for Community Health and Development, 2014) and were complicated by the learning sessions, and the sociopolitical realities of 2020/21.

Three small group discussions were conducted via Zoom after my interlocutors had access to the YouTube channel for at least a week. At least 24 hours in advance, I provided the list of six guiding questions [Appendix G] so that participants could prepare however they preferred. Each group discussion was attended by two participants, plus my research partner Christina or Morgan, and facilitated by me. Christina and Morgan were invited to engage fully in the discussion to the extent they were compelled, and not obligated to co-facilitate with me. Through sharing stories of in/justice, shared realities of 2020/21 living in Minneapolis, experiencing a pandemic, and more, my interlocutors and I fostered relationships through the small group discussions as we discussed how justice could be differently pursued in ways that center and validate survivors.

Data analysis

"Qualitative research is a form of interpretive inquiry in which researchers make an interpretation of what they see, hear and understand.

Their interpretations cannot be separated from their own backgrounds, history, contexts, and prior understandings."

(Creswell, 2009, p. 176)

This project has consisted (so far) of over 30 individual interviews, follow-up discussions, and informal meetings with my 10 participants; the three small group discussions; and numerous ongoing conversations with my research partners. As a result, this project has generated an abundance of raw data, far more findings than I could reasonably convey in this dissertation alone. Following the individual interviews, I engaged in conversations with my project partners on the emergent themes of the project

in order to begin collectively processing the lessons learned from my participants (Creswell, 2007); as Fine (2018) asserts, we should, "never trust our own solitary, privileged perspectives" (p. 115). Additionally, my project partners often identified nonverbal cues, emotional changes, and commonalities across interviews that I might have missed by not sharing physical space and proximity with my participants during the interviews. This collaborative analysis process worked to address a potential limitation of the online aspect of my data collection.

Coding then allowed for me to collectivize the individual experiences of my interlocutors. I have undergone two cycles of data coding to identify themes and patterns in topics, concerns, or ideas across interviews. This coding process was a "method of discovery" (Saldaña, 2011, p. 95) that worked to find value not only in the consistencies across interviews, but also in unique experiences and disparate opinions. I utilized affective coding methods—emotions²⁵ and values²⁶—to put the experiences of my interlocutors as individuals into conversation with one another and within a cultural and sociopolitical context in order to "investigate subjective qualities of human experience (e.g., emotions, values, conflicts, judgments) by directly acknowledging and naming those experiences" (p. 124). This iterative and integrated process recognizes that coding

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²⁵ Emotions coding worked to gain insight into individual experiences and patterns across research participants, as well as to identify unique or outlier emotional experiences. Sexual violence is both an individual experience and a result of social dynamics (Buchwald, Fletcher, & Roth, 2005); emotions coding provides an analytic for understanding "matters of social relationships, reasoning, decision-making, judgment, and risk-taking" (Saldaña, 2011, p. 125).

²⁶ Simultaneously utilizing values coding allowed for analysis of the data to "reflect a participant's values, attitudes, and beliefs, representing his or her perspectives or worldview" (p. 131). Values coding was particularly insightful due to the unrelenting social/political context of 2020. This first cycle of coding informed the topics and questions of my follow-up conversations with my participants, and the reflective discussions on "emergent themes" with my research partners.

is analysis, not a precursor to the process; "Coding is a cyclical act ... [that] manages, filters, highlights, and focuses the salient features of the qualitative data record for generating categories, themes, and concepts, grasping meaning, and/or building theory" (Saldaña, 2016, p. 9).

Theoretical coding was utilized for second cycle coding in order to create umbrella codes that put the two simultaneous first cycle codes into conversation. The development of umbrella codes worked to integrate my interlocutors' individual experiences into our collective theorizations on community and justice and resulted in the development of *home work*, our grounded theoretical framework.

Organization of the dissertation

Chapter 2 introduces more of my interlocutors through the individual interviews and our follow-up conversations. These conversations were heavily influenced by the sociopolitical realities of 2020, and serve to build the foundations for the development of our grounded theoretical framework of home work. My interlocutors and I discussed *why* we seek out others and pursue communal relationality even though we have been hurt in the past. We argue that home work, enacted through doing community, is engaged for three primary reasons: 1) To meet their/our physical, social, emotional, and psychological needs; 2) to support their/our efforts for learning and growth; and 3) to move through times of crisis via processes of mutual aid.

Chapter 3 builds upon this foundation of *why* to then explore *how* my interlocutors do community in their daily lives and emerges largely from the follow-up conversations on emergent themes across the individual interviews. My interlocutors and I argue that our home work's practice of community is represented by three key *doings*:

1) Showing up; 2) vulnerability; and 3) mutual care and support. While potentially acting as a roadblock to relationality, my interlocutors show how survivorhood informs their home work by creating skills for developing deep connections, caring relationships, and intentional communities.

Chapter 4 mobilizes home work and our collective theory of doing community to build a framework for justice that orients away from hierarchical notions of power and punishment. My interlocutors and I have come to understand that justice is a homing device through which we find ourselves, connect with others, and shape the world as a place in which we want to live. We thus assert that justice is a practice of *doing community* that enacts home work. Through the small group discussions, my interlocutors and I discussed three framings of justice: 1) Justice as accountability; 2) justice as responsibility; and 3) justice as relationships. These three framings are not distinct; they work together to frame justice as relational and communal processes that allow us to come to *feel at home* in our bodyminds, relationships, and communities.

In this dissertation's concluding chapter, I will briefly reflect on the process of this project's doing; recognizing its accomplishments and necessarily acknowledge its challenges and limitations. Emerging from these, I will discuss the next steps for this project in my ongoing scholarship and advocacy efforts for/with survivors of sexual, domestic, and relationship violence. And as a project on/in community, I will share the final pages with the words and voices of my interlocutors.

The whole point of mutual aid is that it strains you in proportion to you, whether that be resources or ability, whatever it is, it's challenging you a little bit.

But it's about building something with others.

You each bring your capacities, and recognize one another's limits.

Together you're stronger than you were alone."

- M

CHAPTER 2 WHY WE DO COMMUNITY

Throughout the spring of 2020, as cases of COVID-19 began to spread, colleges and universities across Minneapolis shifted to online education. Stay-at-home orders, shelter-in-place mandates, and other conditions of pandemic life necessitated flexible modalities that could accommodate remote work and learning. "Zoom" became a household word as the places wherein we were accustomed to live, work, and play shuttered and were replaced by virtual spaces. In the spring of 2020, Claire (23, she/they) was in their final semester attending public university in Minneapolis and ultimately would have to graduate via Zoom. A year later, Claire's degree is propped open atop the mostly empty bookshelf that sits behind them in the Zoom square of our virtual interview space. Gold wire-rimmed frames take up nearly the entire upper half of Claire's face, and when they smile, which is often during our conversations, it fills their face's lower half. They seem at ease throughout our conversations, even the first time we met, and they share openly and candidly. Claire often fidgets with their nose ring or adjusts their position in their seat as we talk, which perhaps speaks more to their ADHD than to any dis/comfort in our conversation.

Before transferring to university in Minneapolis, Claire attended two years at one of the smaller University of Wisconsin campuses. Neither experience was a positive one for Claire: "I hated it ... I spent most of undergrad just waiting for it to be over." As a

young person coming to understand themself as nonbinary and identifying primarily with the lesbian community, and as someone who struggles with physical disabilities and neurodivergence, Claire felt othered by the "normalness" that their peers went out of their way to embody. However, shared majors and the proximity of dorm living allowed Claire to make a few strong connections with people who were together "growing into adulthood, at the same time, you know, adjacent to each other." Despite moving to Minneapolis to finish undergrad, a larger and more metropolitan area than their small Wisconsin college town, Claire did not feel less othered by the campus community.

In their last semester, with the shift to universal online education because of the pandemic, Claire was left feeling both hopeful and despondent. The accommodations they had been needing and requesting to alleviate the toll of their physical disabilities and neurodivergence had finally been made available. However, these accommodations had not been made when it was specifically disabled students who needed them; it was only when able-bodied students became vulnerable to COVID-19 and in need of remote accessibility that these accommodations were put in place. Not only were the accommodations suddenly made available, but they were also implemented with surprising speed and ease.

In this chapter, my interlocutors and I work to understand *why* we do community; by investigating and discussing the motivations behind our home work, we make tangible what is often considered as "coming naturally," or what has become habitual, goes unsaid, or is uninterrogated in our pursuits of relationality. In 2020, the pandemic and the George Floyd uprisings brought crisis conditions to the forefront of our collective reality.

But for my interlocutors and I, as survivors, crisis was a familiar experience; survivorhood has become a way of life.

Through crisis conditions new and old, my interlocutors were faced with both opportunities and barriers to understand themselves and their needs in new contexts. The realities of the pandemic allowed for a newly tangible understanding of their relationships and community connections, and why, despite past hurts, disappointments, violences, and ongoing traumas, my interlocutors continue to do home work, embodied in part through their work of doing community. In this chapter, we discuss three motivating *whys* that inspires my interlocutors to do community: 1) To meet their/our physical, social, emotional, and psychological needs; 2) to support their/our efforts for learning and growth; and 3) to move through times of crisis via processes of mutual aid.

Meeting needs

"Living alone in the pandemic in 2020 left me with some really difficult mental health issues, because I was grieving the loss of my mom, and the loss of my relationship. So it brought on a lot of depression. And I felt really isolated." — Stanley

Claire, along with Elle, Stanley, Bree, and Charlie, graduated in the spring of 2020, at home over Zoom. They each described experiencing a feeling of grief over not being able to wrap up their time in undergrad in the ways they had hoped. In years prior, they had seen their friends and family members gather for photos, parties, and events to mark the end of the year and the culmination of their degrees. This occasion of transition and mixed emotions was made even more complicated in the isolation of a pandemic.

Isolation is a common experience for victim/survivors of sexual, domestic, or relationship violence, both during and after the violence. Isolation may be a tactic enacted

by an abuser to gain power over a victim or to facilitate an assault. Victims often express feeling alone, ashamed, or silenced when they try to discuss their experiences, seek support, or learn how to heal (Miller, 2020; Prout & Abelson, 2018; Germain, 2016). The global COVID-19 pandemic that emerged in early 2020 resulted in stay-at-home orders and social isolation/distancing protocols. Several participants noted the conflict of having to act in ways that promoted physical safety, which had negative implications upon their mental health and well-being. Mary (24, she/her) commented, "I think it's actually been a little bit triggering on some levels, too, just because [the pandemic] is so isolated and that was something that I experienced in my relationship too." Mary expressed how her abuser's gaslighting and forced isolation impacted her relationships with friends, roommates, and other people in her life. Psychological abuse makes victims question their reality, question others' intentions, question their own mind and feelings. Living through the pandemic triggered these experiences for Mary and similar experiences for my interlocutors, as well as for me.

At the same time, for my participants with physical disabilities and chronic pain, being able to engage with coursework from home brought incredible relief; as Elle (23, she/they) said, "Remote classes were life changing when I got the opportunity to take online classes." However, Elle was simultaneously frustrated knowing how quickly and easily these accommodations were employed, while they, like Claire above, had been denied such accessibilities throughout their academic career up to this point. This quick mobilization of institutional accessibility was put into conversation in my interviews with M and Bree, among others, when looking at how quickly the state mobilized its forces

against protestors in Minneapolis and cites across the country engaging in the George Floyd uprisings.

M, Bree, and activists far and wide questioned where this response was in supporting people struggling through the conditions of the pandemic. M (26, they/them) questioned why the state can quickly be put into action to quell protests, but not to help distribute food and water, or to provide childcare or dependent adult care for those who have to continue working or who cannot work because of these emergent care duties. Similarly, why had schools, workplaces, and municipalities not previously provided these accommodations for which disabled people had been asking for decades? Seeing how quickly accessible options were employed when needed by able-bodied and neurotypical people was felt as a slap in the face by my interlocutors. As Claire said, "I was a little mad because I've been asking for that accommodation for years, and they always said, 'Nope that's totally impossible, we can't do that,' then you know, the second a bunch of able-bodied people need it, now it's fine."

Elle attended a small private arts college. Their pixie cut of brightly dyed hair changes color or intensity each time we meet and complements their eagerness in our conversations. They described their experiences with ableism throughout undergrad:

I feel like ableism and professors not understanding that I look like I'm able to walk, I look like I should be able to meet these goals, and even though I have this letter from the school that says, 'Hey, they have all these issues,' [professors'] intrinsic belief was not that I deserved [accommodations].

Elle's experiences of invisible (or not always visible) disabilities were shared by other participants, as was the lack of empathy for students with disabilities even when the school determined they should receive official accommodations.

Claire, who has both physical and mental disabilities, described a complicated and conflicting experience of moving from in-person education to online formats. When I asked how the pandemic impacted their daily life, Claire responded that the experience has been "terrible," and that engaging with school from home "is very, very difficult for me, because I have ADHD, so learning online is a disaster." However, prior to the pandemic, because of their physical disability,

a lot of times I can't get to campus physically, and I would end up taking a lot of hits on attendance for that and it actually ended up lowering my GPA ... to take class from home and not having [my physical disability] be a factor in whether or not I can attend was actually super nice. Like I didn't miss a single class all year, and that was amazing.

Claire was not unique in feeling the complications of pandemic conditions, though they were one of the only participants who very clearly expressed online education being both beneficial in a physical capacity while detrimental mentally.

These lessons are important takeaways from the pandemic. My interlocutors were particularly frustrated by the discourse of wanting to "return to normal." My interlocutors are survivors of sexual, domestic, and relationship violence, several of whom live with mental illness as well as physical and mental disabilities; as a result of these realities, they expressed never actually knowing this illustrious and imaginary *normal*. For Claire and Elle, *normal* was inaccessible and exclusionary. The experience of the pandemic

emphasized the need for accommodations to be fluid and flexible, particularly for individuals who are navigating a number of complex and sometimes contradictory needs.

Stanley (25, she/her) was one of two of my interlocutors, along with Bree, who was a graduate student working toward their degree in clinical therapy when the pandemic began. At the time we spoke, Stanley had completed her degree and was actively seeing clients utilizing virtual meetings. Though Stanley spoke rather candidly and was forthcoming about some of the more difficult experiences of her recent life, she often smirked knowingly at my questions and left things seemingly unsaid. While I did not get the opportunity to follow up with Stanley,²⁷ based on our initial interview, I got the impression that she did not particularly enjoy being the one in the conversation who was having to answer the questions rather than asking them. This is understandable, because several individually difficult circumstances compounded into an exponentially tumultuous experience for Stanley throughout 2020.

In December of 2019, Stanley's mother died by suicide. Shortly after, Stanley and her intimate partner ended their relationship. Stanley began 2020 in a process of grieving, and that experience would not relent; "It brought on a lot of depression. And I felt really isolated because I wasn't able to see people because of the pandemic." Stanley described being part of the Jewish community and finding a particularly close-knit group of friends and mentors through a group for Jewish students at her public university. The group came

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²⁷ Stanley is the only participant who has not engaged with the project beyond this initial interview. Because of the circumstances she was navigating, I am not surprised that Stanley did not want to spend her limited free time discussing these topics further. Stanley is Jewish, and the only participant to actively identify with a religious community. She and I have shared experiences rooted in our Jewishness in our youth that played out very differently for us as adults. I was hoping, but unable, to dive more into that conversation with her to understand how a strong religious identity intersects with her survivorhood.

together over food, especially on Friday nights for Shabbat. The process of sharing a table and a meal fostered closeness and support. The pandemic made in-person gatherings unsafe, and Stanley did not find the group's virtual gatherings to be a comparable replacement.

Stanley carried grief and loss with her into 2020, which was then compounded with the loss of her social network and the spaces that defined it. At the same time, the requirements of her degree necessitated that she begin seeing clients as a therapist in order to fulfill her degree's clinical hour requirements. Because of the pandemic, these sessions were required to be online, the very space that she found to be unsupportive and unfulfilling. The experience of seeing clients gave Stanley focus and purpose. Though this was not an easy task given her many circumstances, "it was really a challenging dance of figuring out how to support my clients, while also not feeling like I have the support in place that I need." While feeling isolated from her community, newly separated from her partner, and without her mom, Stanley had to figure out how to show up for others in ways she did not feel she was receiving herself.

A few weeks after our first conversation, I asked Claire to Zoom with me again. This time, Claire is not wearing their eyeglasses and their choppy ear-length brown hair has been unleashed from the bandana they first wore. Claire is warm and friendly and eager to join me in conversation again. Claire is solidly in the Zoomer generation, and I am a proud "geriatric millennial;" their eyes light up when I ask them how the social media platform TikTok works. In passing in our first conversation, Claire had mentioned utilizing TikTok to find and build community among other people who live with disabilities and neurodivergence. While Stanley felt the absence of her familiar

community and was resentful of online spaces, Claire engaged their home work by utilizing social media to intentionally craft a space that could foster a sense of community they had never known before.

Digitizing community

"So I definitely have to, like, relearn socializing online because it's not something I really enjoy ...
I only even text people for the purpose of making plans.
So that was definitely a hard adjustment, but I know my family will host a weekly Zoom now and I'll host, like, Zoom parties with my friends sometimes.
So we're making [digital life] work but it's definitely different."
— Claire

Claire uses the social media platform TikTok to raise awareness about their disabilities, particularly ADHD, and to connect with others over shared experiences and identities; "I kind of built it up to be a space where people who identify in a similar way to me or been through similar experiences and stuff like that can just feel, um, kind of represented and seen through my content or can interact with other people and with me." Through confronting their experiences with disability, with being queer, with mental illness, Claire embodies their vulnerability in order to educate, foster empathy, and open space for others to share. Claire curates their space by interacting with other TikTok users via written comments on each other's video posts and by posting response videos to one another. Claire argues that these interactions are more personal and impactful than other forms of social media and works to destignatize various forms of disability.

These interactions make Claire feel less alone and less insecure, both living through the pandemic, and in their experiences of disability; "if 1,000 people can comment and be like, 'Oh my God, I do that too, like, that's crazy,' then I feel like, 'Oh I'm not just like some dumb idiot who can't, like, get to work on time [because of my

ADHD],' you know?" Curating a space on TikTok in which they can be vulnerable allows for their own growth through normalizing the experiences of mental illness and physical disability, while doing community by supporting others who may have also felt alone in or isolated by their experiences, thus embodying the crip concept of care work (Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2018).

I shared this story (without specific details that could identify Claire or their TikTok account) with Alice (24, she/they), the last of my interlocutors to join the project. Alice always conveys an impressive amount of positive energy even months into the pandemic, and even spending a few minutes in conversation with her always raises my spirit and energy level. Alice brings this energy to their passion in life, which is supporting survivors of domestic violence through her professional work and academic pursuits. The second time Alice and I meet, she invites me to join her lunch break at the coffee shop where she goes every day, located around the corner from her workplace. Alice uses a powerchair because of a bone disorder and laughs when she tells me that I will easily find her because it is unlikely anyone else at the café will be a 3-foot-tall person who is using a wheelchair.

In our first conversation several months earlier, Alice described identifying as living with both physical and mental disabilities and expressed a feeling of longing for more connection within the disabled community. Alice, as well as Claire, discussed lateral ableism in the disabled community, and the feeling of disconnection that comes from not understanding or empathizing with people with different disabilities:

I feel like I would like more engagement with the disabled community too because I still realize, like, I have a lot of, even though I don't walk far, and, like, I'm very visibly disabled, I still have a mindset of an able-bodied person where, like, if I see another disabled person my brain is like, "No, we got to avoid them" and I'm like, "No, I want to build that connection."

Alice is honest about the ways she has internalized ableism, and recognizes that being upfront about this, and specifically naming it, is an important step in doing the personal work of Disability Justice. At the time of my conversations with Alice and Claire, I was not yet familiar with the framework of cross-disability solidarity that allows for "the reality of our different disabilities not being a liability" (Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2018, p. 50) fueled by ableism that foments disconnection within the disabled community. Cross-disability solidarity is embodied by Claire's TikTok and speaks to Alice's expressed interests in becoming more connected to the disabled community.

Alice had not thought about curating her own space utilizing social media, though she engages with accounts like Claire's and expressed appreciation for spaces cultivated and facilitated by other disabled people. While Alice says she "requires" frequent inperson engagement with people in her "inner circle" such as her partner,

I think [2020] made me understand, like, I don't have to physically hang out with somebody in order to, like, feel a connection with them ... I've been doing things more online, and I was able to get kind of more connected with the community for my specific disability with all of these people all over the country and all over the world.

Being forced into digital spaces because of the pandemic resulted in Alice discovering a particular community that met a specific need of hers that she may not have encountered had she not been required to be utilizing online spaces. Walking back to my car after having coffee with Alice, I reflected that the intention of this project, and its shared spaces, echoes the curated space of Claire's TikTok. And the spaces of this project had

been providing me with similar emotional and psychological fulfillment as Claire and Alice find in their digital communities.

The limitations of emotional connection across the digital space, however, were commented upon by Stanley. As we discussed what she felt she was missing from her usual engagement with her Jewish community (discussed further in Chapter 3), she said, "I wish this pandemic was over, so that we can meet in person; I think virtual spaces just aren't comparable. Reaching out from other people's end [would help] too." Stanley was the most vocally critical of the impacts of life in digital spaces. Based on her contributions in the initial interview (as Stanley did not engage in the project further, and did not fill out the demographic survey), I do not believe that she identifies as living with any physical disabilities, though she does have mental health struggles. The accommodations of online life were not ones that she had sought out prior to the pandemic, so the impacts of virtual life exacerbated her depression and feelings of isolation following the death of her mother and separation from an intimate partner. Stanley saw the need to re/connect in person with the Jewish community to work through these struggles because of the strong sense of community she had previously held with her Jewish student group.

To learn and to grow

"I still forget that I am not the person that moved into this apartment."

— Elle

By April 2020, Minnesota and Minneapolis had instituted mandatory stay-at-home orders to mitigate the spread of COVID-19. Elle was in the last semester of undergrad, pursuing a BFA in graphic design with a minor in art history at a small private arts school in Minneapolis. Elle's classes had moved online, art studios limited in-person

access, and eventually the symposiums to present their end-of-year or end-of-degree projects would also be conducted over Zoom. In April, Elle would also begin a new lease for a studio apartment that, unbeknownst to them at the time, would become the place wherein they would spend most of a tumultuous and transformative year. Elle, like Claire, has an energizing presence. Elle is quick to smile and wears their lavender-dyed hair in a pixie cut underneath oversized headphones. Across Zoom they gesture widely as they apologize that the wall behind them is so blank. As an art student and visual person, Elle tells me that their spaces are usually overflowing with both their own work and work that inspires them. But when we talk in February 2021, Elle is preparing to move again.

When Elle said, "I still forget that I am not the person that moved into this apartment," they recognize that it is hard to see growth and change, or stagnation and complacency, from inside out. Participating in this project encouraged Elle to reflect upon their last year. It was only through intentional reflection that Elle began to see how much occurred, and how they changed as a result. When they moved into that apartment in April 2020, they did not know that they would graduate in that apartment. Elle would learn of revelations of sexual violence and abuse in the independent art/music scene they identified as one of their communities and would navigate this experience from that apartment. Elle would watch the video capturing the final minutes of George Floyd's life, livestreams of nearby businesses set aflame and the 3rd Precinct burn to the ground, and learn of local mutual aid efforts, all from inside that apartment.

It is not simply that nearly a year had passed that resulted in Elle not being the person who moved into their apartment. At 22, Elle graduated from undergrad while isolated from a global pandemic in a city fueling a worldwide uprising against anti-Black

racism and police violence. The trauma of these experiences can only begin to be processed and understood in such a short time frame. Throughout my conversations, participants reflected on 2020 through the lens of their survivorhood. This lens impacted how they experienced the pandemic and the uprising in their city, as well as how they perceived their communities' and universities' reactions/responses to these events. As survivors, these individuals have experienced and moved through crisis, tragedy, and violence with a resiliency that informed their experience of 2020.

In the summer of 2021, I met up with Elle at a café in the Powderhorn community of south Minneapolis. When they arrived, Elle joked that I would not recognize them because they no longer had dyed hair; "[laughs], I look so normy." Elle chose this café because it usually acts as a gallery for local artists and would regularly hold showcase events, though the interior is currently not in use because of the pandemic. Elle now works with preschoolers and equates their own experience of moving through 2020 with the growth experiences of the young children they teach. Whether it's the physical growth of bones, the emergence of new teeth, or the emotional growth that results from life transitions or romantic breakups, Elle points out that "growth is painful." Elle says that though this pain may be experienced individually—in one's body, mind, or heart—healing and moving through the pain happens with other people, relationally and in community. Together, my interlocutors and I worked to collectively process the almost incomprehensible growing pains that resulted from living in/through 2020.

Growing pains

"I'm happy that I'm working through [the trauma] and growing and changing, but it's been a growth spurt, and it's been painful." My interlocutors recognized that isolation protocols and stay-at-home orders were necessary for promoting their physical health, but without some sort of end in sight, the pandemic took a significant mental and emotional toll. The shift to online education, as recognized by Elle in their discussion above on accommodations, was both welcome and not. The abrupt move to online education resulted in completely shifting the social patterns and habits of my interlocutors whose entire lives were rooted in the places of their campuses. These patterns and habits were carefully crafted in response to their mental health, past traumas, and ongoing coping skills. The abruptness of the onset of the pandemic and logistical adjustments did not allow for a measured or intentional shift in their patterns, and instead they were forced to respond in crisis mode, which was itself triggering, bringing them back to moments or experiences of past harms, as Mary above described in her feeling of isolation.

Z.Z (23, she/her) expressed that she was grateful for having graduated in January 2020, though her social network remained closely tied to her campus-based communities; "[had I been in school during spring 2020] my last semester would have looked very bleak." Z.Z was one of the most excited and eager respondents to my recruitment materials. As both a survivor and a social science researcher focusing on sex trafficking in Minnesota, Z.Z seemed to recognize the potential impacts of participating in the study for her own healing journey, as well as the potential impacts her contributions and the study might have for others. In our first Zoom conversation, Z.Z sits close to her computer and often leans in as she speaks, her long red hair filling the frame, her hands gesturing expressively.

Her positive energy and body language shifts when reflecting on the impacts of the pandemic, particularly the isolation from her place-based community connections; when I ask if she currently feels connected to her communities, Z.Z responds:

Honestly, [chokes up] no, um, and I think that's not anything that has to do with other people. I think it's just my own thing and ... I'm sorry [crying], I am getting emotional because I've had a really hard day and I've talked about this a little bit today, but this last year I feel like I was really, like, set back like emotionally and like physically, um [crying]. So I feel like it was hard for me to connect with others, this last year, so no. I'm very sorry [stops talking to grab a tissue].

I tell Z.Z that she never has to apologize to me for having an emotional experience or crying. I am someone who feels all the feelings all the time; my emotions are big, and I thank her for being a part of this project. This is a moment where being mediated over Zoom makes me feel distant from Z.Z. While this was only the first time we interacted (other than over email), we share a connection that allows for Z.Z to open up. It is possible that talking over Zoom allows for Z.Z to be in a place where she felt comfortable (her kitchen) and is able to open up with me more quickly than if we had met in person in a "neutral" interview space. But in this moment, I feel the weight of living in virtual spaces; I wish that I could do more to support Z.Z, to hand her the tissues, to ask if she wants a hug, or to take a walk for a change of scenery. But instead, we stare somewhat awkwardly at each other across digital space. Re/learning how to connect across digital divides was one of the necessities of 2020, and how that process was navigated, as evidenced by the disparate experiences discussed above of Claire and Stanley, speaks to the growing pains of the pandemic.

Mutual aid and solidarity

"I think I only feel connected if people are doing mutual aid or working together, something that is more intentional than just like having a conversation with someone who happens to also be queer and trans, more maybe about action or even just eating and imagining a future together,

something that feels a little more like we're making something together."

– M

By May 2020, the world was only a few months into the global pandemic, and stay-at-home orders, social distance protocols, and mask mandates were continually being updated. But 2020 was about to become even more complicated for my interlocutors in Minneapolis. As discussed in Chapter 1, on May 25, 2020, George Floyd was lynched by Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin. The entire heartbreaking incident was recorded by 17-year-old Darnella Frazier and quickly shared on social media. Minneapolis erupted in sadness and rage, and then so did cities around the United States and the world. Some protests became riots; flames engulfed the city—but so too did love and solidarity.

I first came to understand both the specific language and practice of *mutual aid* while a community organizer in New York City working on hurricane relief and recovery after Hurricane Sandy; we were "mutual aid, not charity." Our relief and recovery network had preceded city, state, and federal support agencies by weeks or months in several of the most devastated neighborhoods. The abandonment by the state is difficult to describe or understand from the outside. The contrast between state responses to the George Floyd uprisings—swift, vast, and forceful—and state responses to the needs of people experiencing a pandemic—meek and underfunded or absent altogether—was glaring. The pandemic and then the lynching and subsequent uprisings brought the notion of community front and center for my interlocutors and the world at large.

The state often weaponizes the language of community and works to influence who is considered a valid member or participant in the public places of a community. To enact agendas of control, regulation, and discipline in May 2020, militarized police forces, often supported by the National Guard, were deployed into communities of color to suppress their expressions of sadness and rage at the seemingly daily murders of Black and Brown people at the hands of police. The swiftness and violence of state responses to peaceful protests and riots alike worked to code state actions as normal, acceptable, and necessary in the name of peace and order, and supposedly in service of the community. But community is not synonymous with orderliness; community, as identified by several of my interlocutors is embodied by, for example, mutual aid. Piepzna-Samarasinha (2018) defines mutual aid as the "voluntary reciprocal exchange of resources and services for mutual benefit. Mutual aid, as opposed to charity, does not connote moral superiority of the giver over the receiver" (p. 41). In the era of late-Capitalism and a shrinking social safety net, mutual aid becomes necessary because of a natural disaster, an illness, or a loved one being an essential worker in a pandemic.

Reviewing the interview video with my interlocutor, M (26, they/them), I can see myself reflected in one lens of their oversized, black-rimmed glasses. This serves as a visual irony being that, despite the differences in our identities, I see myself reflected in M's politics, passion for social justice, and even mannerisms. M articulated among the strongest and clearest identifications and engagement with their specific communities: Filipino, queer, and academic. M is also a social science researcher working to support people who engage in sex work and have experienced commercial sexual exploitation. M has struggled with substance abuse and has traded sex to survive. Across the differences

in our lived experiences, we align quite closely in our politics and outlook on the state of the world and what can be done about it. M is an impassioned speaker who gestures with their hands and speaks in detail and with care. Talking with M takes me back to the early days of Occupy Wall Street, sitting around Liberty Square discussing, debating, and scheming. Politically and socially, I felt understood by M, and felt this project validated by M's enthusiastic engagement and encouragement.

M was seemingly the only one of my participants who entered 2020 having engaged in mutual aid while utilizing that particular language for it. As a result of this past experience, and seeing how mutual aid was deployed throughout 2020, M discussed the need for mutual aid to not only be reactive to moments of crisis;

especially in the age of social uprising, practicing mutual aid and trying to be connected with neighbors and community a lot more, I think there needs to definitely be the distinction that this is an ongoing act and not something that's, you know, singularly defined.

M points out that crisis is not new or *abnormal* for people of color, women, immigrants and undocumented folks, queer people, survivors of sexual, domestic, and relationship violence, and so many others. Crisis is the condition in which so many people live all the time.

The George Floyd uprisings were the latest iteration of the Movement for Black Lives that introduced the phrase "Black Lives Matter" to popular discourse as both a battle cry and organizing principle. One of the central messages of the Movement for Black Lives is to make explicit how the state, the police, and the criminal punishment system (Kaba, 2021) is a system of death for Black people and communities of color in the United States. Mutual aid is a cornerstone of revolutionary groups from the free

breakfast program of the Black Panthers²⁸ to the People's Kitchen²⁹ and free medical services³⁰ of Occupy Wall Street's encampment in Liberty Square. Mutual aid was one of the defining aspects of activism in Minneapolis throughout 2020, as a result of the uprising and the abandonment by the state of neighborhoods that dared to challenge state power and police violence. Mutual aid is a tangible practice of reciprocity and communal care that encourages us to show up, as M said, within our capacities while challenging us to stretch those capacities in order to strengthen our relationships and support our communities.

A few of my participants identified physical disabilities, social anxiety (both pandemic-related and not), as well as other safety concerns as reasons for not being "on the front lines" of the uprising, though they felt part of "the movement." Such limitations resulted in them finding other ways of contributing to the uprising and supporting their communities, recognizing that mutual aid comes in many forms. Bree (28, she/her), like Stanley, had recently graduated from grad school, and carried a significant client list as she completed her clinical hour requirements to become a licensed therapist. I have known Bree for a few years now, though we have grown closer through our collaboration on this project. She is small in stature, but a giant in spirit and spunk. She hails from Milwaukee and takes pride in being a straight talker, "Milwaukee Mean" rather than

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²⁸ https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/black-panther-partys-free-breakfast-program-1969-1980/

²⁹ https://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/12/dining/protesters-at-occupy-wall-street-eat-well.html

³⁰ https://gothamist.com/news/inside-occupy-wall-streets-new-24-hour-medical-center

"Minnesota Nice." As the uprisings began and her communities were joining in the streets, Bree recognized that being on the front lines was perhaps not physically safe for her, nor the best way for her to show up for her communities, including her clients:

I had to redefine what community looks like and what my role was in it, right? And then you add in COVID, if I got sick, my entire case load drops. What's going to happen to [my clients and coworkers] if I'm out of commission? What's going to happen to them if I get arrested and they don't know that I'm not showing up? How does that further their traumas, 'oh my God my therapist left me?' So it was this whole tug-of-war of like, 'I'm not doing enough,' and also, 'I'm actually doing everything by creating the space for my clients.'

Bree here expresses a sentiment I have seen throughout my activist and community organizing experiences, wherein being on the front lines is seen as more glamorous, more real, or more deserving of attention and *street cred*.

Support roles are often feminized and thus seen as less integral to the movement, when in fact, they facilitate the movement's endurance and sustain its capacity to continue. Bree describes having to internally reorient away from external expectations of what forms of participation are valid, turning toward an internal recognition of the ways in which she was able to show up, contribute, and support individuals and the movement; "not every role in community is an active one." Bree reflects upon her own negotiations of what community means to her, and the importance of setting limits so that she could

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³¹ The notion of "Minnesota Nice" has provided for illustrative discussions with my research partners on doing community and relationality. For those from Minnesota, it is commonly understood that this phrase is tongue-in-cheek, referring to Midwesterners' tendency for passive aggressive communication. My research partner Christina (she/her) explained that passive aggressive communication results in people making assumptions about one another's intentions or meaning. The results is that people "end up having two different conversations." Bree's preference for "Milwaukee Mean" works to avoid misconceptions.

show up in ways that were genuine, healthy, and sustainable; "I am [part of the community]; it's just my role looks different."

Bree's concluding thought is one that echoed throughout my conversations, particularly by Claire, Elle, and Alice, my interlocutors who live with physical disabilities, mental disability, and/or mental illness, who have struggled with and against societal and internalized ableism. They engage with/in their communities—before, during, and likely after the conditions of 2020—in ways that may look different than able-bodied or neurotypical people. But this does not mean they are not equal and valuable members. Like, Bree, their role/s just look different.

Alice grew up in the Twin Cities, but was studying 80 miles away in Mankato, MN in the spring of 2020. She discussed how the uprising resulted in her becoming more actively engaged in and with her campus community, despite having physical disabilities that made direct action in the streets more difficult. Alice tells me that there is a bridge in Mankato used as a gathering spot for public protests; to get there, Alice would have to ask for a ride because she uses a wheelchair; "I kept having to be like, 'Can I get a ride?' And everybody was like, 'To protest yeah, yeah we'll give you rides.' So, I wound up being more out in my community. And really having to get comfortable being uncomfortable." Later in our discussion, Alice commented that it had not always been this easy to get her friends to show up for her when she had needs stemming from her physical disabilities. But here, she notes that when it came to engaging in the protest, her friends were more accommodating. This realization made her uncomfortable.

Additionally, Alice described the protest as an opportunity for her to listen and learn from people of color and others who are not often given large platforms to discuss

their experiences. Despite identifying as living with a number of physical disabilities and being working poor, Alice identifies as a white woman, and therefore "part of the problem" of race relations in this country. This position of privilege is motivating for Alice and she wants to mobilize her privilege to advocate and support those who are not given a voice in society. Alice identified as an advocate for other disabled people, as well as for those who have experienced violence. These advocacy roles extend from her own experiences. The uprising allowed her to expand her understanding of her advocacy work and responsibilities to look outside of herself to build connection across difference.

What Alice did not fully recognize was that her lived realities and experiences as a disabled person brings important knowledge about collectivity and relationality to discussions and engagement of/in community and struggles for social justice. The intervention of Disability Justice is to demand that we re/vision not only our relationships with our own bodyminds, but also our responsibilities to one another across bodies, bodyminds, and abilities. Disability Justice asks us to consider:

What does it mean to shift our ideas of access and care (whether it's disability, childcare, economic access, or many more) from an individual chore, an unfortunate cost of having an unfortunate body, to a collective responsibility that's maybe even deeply joyful? (Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2018, p. 33)

By participating in the protests, and depending on her friends for rides, Alice was perhaps making able-bodied protestors/organizers/allies more aware of the accessibility issues of their events and politics.

The crisis conditions of the pandemic and the uprisings moved the language of mutual aid from activist communities to mainstream discourse; M discussed how mutual

aid not only facilitates connection in the moment of crisis, but fosters a greater sense of empathy that may build foundations for personal growth and greater relationality that extends beyond the moment:

Connection and crisis is really important because I think crisis, it's not that it reveals true colors, but it also kind of pushes you into action where a lot of [movement work] is not a lot of action, it's a lot of deliberating and thinking and theorizing, especially as we're in these academic circles, just like, you know, theorizing about what the next solution is without talking about like, where's the actions? There needs to be action now, and so I think it's definitely measured in my heart. I feel it's measured by, are you getting creative with what you can do? And if you know your community, or communities you don't belong to, are suffering right now, and it's still not a priority? I mean, I think it's important to feel connected to people you've never talked to, and people you will never meet.

Mutual aid as an ongoing process builds foundations of support and care that better prepares us to weather ongoing crises and to be more prepared for the next crisis moment.

Participating in mutual aid amidst the particular crisis conditions of 2020 was a unique and new way of doing/building community for a number of my participants, encouraging them to reflect upon the ways in which they can actively engage with their communities. For Claire, who curated a place for themselves to be understood and share space with other disabled people on TikTok, their form of virtual-space mutual aid emerged from the recognition that sharing space is an act of care and solidarity:

Existing near other people in the community, I think that's the main thing that really makes me feel part of it ... I think just spending that time and not necessarily always talking about community stuff but, just like, you know, being around them, like remembering that there's more than just me. It's always nice so whether that's through an online community or in person, you know, either way it's just nice to exist around them.

This sentiment of co-existing in proximity to others is foundational to Claire's doing of community that makes them feel less alone and more understood. Claire commented that they did not know whether their TikTok would resonate with others when they started it, but it felt like a necessary and accessible way for them to reach out in a time of isolation.

As stated by Sami Schalk, "We cannot do the beautiful dance of coalition if we do not communicate" (2013, p. 15). Dialogue takes time, and Schalk observes, "Stasis can be productive. Sometimes we need to slow down, stop, and reflect. Sometimes our plans go awry, and it is better to pause, communicate, and regroup than to keep moving and hoping it somehow works out" (p. 15). Schalk recognizes that outcomes are not given or inevitable; things go wrong, or we encounter unexpected circumstances. The events of 2020 certainly validated this sentiment, and for Claire, it was not a definite outcome that motivated them to initiate a new form of home work; it was the potential that lay in the process. It is not the outcome but the process of *doing* coalition that brings community into being; Schalk asserts, "We cannot know in advance what might arise from creatively bringing our differences together" (p. 15). In times of crisis, coming together across our difference to support one another does community in ways that we may not understand in the moment, but it is the process that matters, that allows us to feel at home.

Building community and doing home work

"We'll figure it out by working to get there. You don't have to know all the answers in order to be able to press for a vision." (Kaba, 2021, p. 167)

Claire's TikTok feed can be understood as an *interzone* (Shabazz, 2015; Mumford, 1996), a place wherein culture and community is done in oppositional ways to

normative constructs; "interzones should be understood foremost as areas of cultural, sexual, and social interchange" (Mumford, 1996, p.20). Claire is not using TikTok to lipsync or perform a choreographed dance, as do many of the platforms "influencers;" Claire is leveraging the platform to raise awareness of living with neurodivergence and forge connections with others who have been made to feel isolated and different. They are defying the mandates of ableist society by not hiding or being ashamed of their neurodivergence and disabilities. Home work is defined by and in the places we curate within the spaces in which we find ourselves and how those places impact and influence our inter/actions with others.

Through the co-performance of survivorhood, my interlocutors and I come together to build community defined in part by "shared mental constructs" (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010, p. 61) that are informed by the physical geographic proximity and particular context of Minneapolis. Proximity works to facilitate shared mental constructs, just as shared mental constructs can encourage people to be in proximity with others (for example Mary moving to Minneapolis to find and build her community). In this way we can understand community as an ongoing process, not fixed spatially or conceptually, and that, "Communities are both sites of social action and produced by social action. They are spaces that both reflect and reinforce particular sets of social relations" (p. 61). This is a socio-spatial dialectic, wherein "social processes shaping spatiality at the same time spatiality shapes social processes" (Soja, 2010, p. 18). Community is thus perpetually un/re/done, impacted and influenced by the ongoing relationships and encounters over time between and among people as they convert spaces into their places of meaning.

While communities of shared mental constructs foster a sense of inclusion through commonalities, inclusion requires some degree of *exclusion* (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010); to create belonging, boundaries are established that inform *not* belonging. The dynamic between belonging and not asserts that communities are thus "relational rather than a categorical concept, defined both by material social relations and by symbolic meanings ... context dependent, contingent, and defined by power relations" (McDowell, 1999, p. 100). This negotiation between inclusion and exclusion is not necessarily intentional or inherently malicious and is often unspoken.

This process works to establish a sense of normativity within a given community; "Our environment, our cities and towns, our borders, our maps, continually render the world around us as simply given; we move through and around its familiar and unchanging arrangements: space just is" (McKittrick, 2006, p. 145). When the border between inclusion/exclusion *just is*, and is not recognized as a designed or intentional process, then the injustice, violence, or oppression that result are invisibilized and subsequently *made* normal:

So often the hierarchical and inequitable divides produced by global capitalism, imperialism, white supremacy, patriarchy, and heteronormativity get played out in our relationships and communities as well as in our organizations, activism, and advocacy. (Russo, 2019, p. 1)

Community, relationships, and even ourselves, *take place*. Home work recognizes these dynamics, and in the construction and curation of our interzones, my interlocutors assert that mutual aid supports placemaking that does not replicate the same conditions that victimize and marginalize.

Home work in troubled times

"My hopes are low for my queer locale here just because I think that I haven't adjusted my expectations and I tend to be a dreamer; that's why I tend to be really passionate, because I'm like, "Why don't you care about it, like me?"

-M

Despite the many difficulties of 2020, the drastic shift in lived reality for my interlocutors, most of whom were already navigating transitional periods in their lives, allowed for them to re/align and put into perspective that which is most important to them. The realities of the pandemic compounded with the sociopolitical dynamics of the George Floyd uprisings put community and relationality front and center for my interlocutors, even before I entered their lives with this project. As Mary expressed earlier, this project supported my interlocutor's ongoing home work by providing a space in which they could reflect intentionally on their lives, relationships, and communities.

Isolation, as mentioned, is often a key tactic for domestic abusers and is weaponized in the enactment of sexual violence. Victimization is often experienced alone and then compounded by the experience of being abandoned, let down, or re/traumatized by institutions that wield the privatization of the home and family against victim/survivors. This weaponization of isolation is foundational to rape culture wherein we are conditioned not to discuss what happens inside our communities, our homes, our relationships, or even our own minds with those *on the outside*. The pandemic, the murder of George Floyd, and the uprisings were collective experiences that many of my interlocutors, as well as I, navigated while in isolation and made to *feel* alone.

Mary, who moved to Minneapolis to be closer to opportunities for creating community, had been finding the conditions of the pandemic particularly triggering

because her abuser had weaponized isolation to control her. Her experiences of feeling in community before the pandemic were fostered in particular spaces where she and others could share authentically and be comfortably vulnerable. Meeting her neighbors for the first during the pandemic became an experience that fulfilled these needs and defied the isolation of the stay-at-home orders:

One of [my neighbors] was crying outside by my dumpster because her relative had just died. And that was like the first time we met. And [they] were like, 'If you ever need anything, just text us or come knock on our door,' and I think that's something that makes me feel a lot safer is knowing that someone's right there, they're literally like right over there [points over her shoulder] ... I think people [in the poetry workshop] were willing to be more vulnerable, at least at the beginning of the pandemic, and really just want to reach out because everybody really felt like they're in like the same boat.

This shared boat resulted first from the collective experience of the pandemic. After seeing the video of George Floyd being lynched, and then the violent response of the state in reaction to a community in rage and mourning, the shared boat began navigating even more turbulent waters.

2020 resulted in collective conditions where many people across differences recognized that we are in the same boat, and that boat is likely sinking. As Z.Z said:

To like, see the emotion on people's faces, to smell [smoke] in the air, to see [the lynching] happening, to see just how much pain people were in. To not only, like, watch the city burn, but also to watch somebody die on video was a very hard experience. Our minds are not built to witness somebody die like that.

The realization of being in a shared boat in crisis conditions, navigating shared and personal traumas, necessitates that our home work become more intentional and

communal at varying scales of relationality to defy the weaponization of privacy and the privatization of social responsibility. Showing up for others knowing they too will show up for you puts the *mutual* in mutual aid.

Home work is often engaged without purposeful thought, by habit or instinct; home work is often the unspoken labor of maintaining relationships, caring for others, and working to feel safe and secure. The crises of 2020 fostered the conditions, both welcome and not, for my interlocutors to engage in an intentional reflection on their needs in relation to their relationships and communities and highlighted why they do community and seek out relationality. In this chapter, my interlocutors and I worked to make explicit that which goes unspoken, and detailed three framings explaining *why* we do community in our home work: 1) To meet their/our physical, social, emotional, and psychological needs; 2) to support their/our efforts for learning and growth; and 3) to move through times of crisis new and old, mundane and exceptional, through processes of mutual aid.

In the next chapter, my interlocutors and I will build upon these foundations and work to make our doings of home work explicit and tangible as we discuss *how* we do community through experiences of trauma and in times of crisis.

"If [community] is a verb, it's something we can do, and we can work toward, versus if it's a noun it's this, like, always out-of-reach feeling. We are empowered to build where we are, you know ... and that's constantly a work in progress with other people."

— Bree

CHAPTER 3 HOW WE DO COMMUNITY

It was raining most of the morning, but the sun breaks through the clouds above the bandshell on the north side of Lake Harriet [Illustration 8]. It is Sunday morning in early August 2021 and there is a small crowd gathered for a church service dispersed throughout the pavilion seating area, socially distanced and wearing masks. I receive a text from Bree (28, she/her) that reads, "Here!"



Illustration 8. Lake Harriet - 2 [map] Source: Shea Lemar, Arizona State University

Bree is the only one of my interlocutor-participants who I knew before the project, though we have grown closer and more familiar through our several hours of discussion for this project. This is the first time we will meet in person for the project and the first time we will have seen each other in person since well before the pandemic began. Bree

invites me to meet her at "the bench" [Illustration 9], a place of deep significance for her that she wants to share with me and with the project. Just over two years ago, Bree's best friend died from injuries sustained in a car accident after 13 days in the hospital. Bree and her friend's mom, with whom she is still very close, installed the bench and a brick marker in front of the pavilion to commemorate his life and memory.



Illustration 9. Bree's memorial bench
This image depicts the view of Lake Harriet and the memorial bench installed by Bree and her friend's
mom to commemorate the life and memory of a young man who was loved and lost too soon.

Source: Author's photograph

Indicative of who Bree is as a person, despite the deep sense of loss she carries, she lights up when she talks about her friend and their time together. I am perpetually moved by Bree's ability to shine light in the darkness and am envious of the care she must provide for her clients as a clinical therapist. Bree discusses that when she lost her best friend, she lost her sense of community; Bree's home work was made tangible through this relationship as she came to understand herself and how to connect with others. This friend had been there for Bree as she processed the traumas of sexual violence and abusive relationships. Bree had been there for him through his struggles

with substance abuse. This was a relationship built on and through crisis and survival.

But now Bree was left alone. The process of installing the bench worked to ground this place in his memory and the connection they shared.

In this chapter, my interlocutors and I will discuss the tangible and material ways that we do home work by exploring how we do community in our daily lives. My interlocutor-participants in this project are all in their early to mid-20s, many of them were in school or had completed undergrad in 2020. They entered post-university adulthood under unprecedented, unpredictable, and unbelievable circumstances. The experience of both the pandemic and the centering of Minneapolis in the Movement for Black Lives (and subsequent debates around defunding police forces), resulted in my participants reflecting on community in intentional and critical ways, even before engaging in this project. Whether it was in isolation in the darkest days of the pandemic fighting to see what might come to be when the world opened back up, in conversation with loved ones across time and digital space utilizing Zoom or FaceTime, in therapy sessions, or in the streets marching shoulder to shoulder with co-conspirators against anti-Black racism and state violence, my interlocutors debated and reflected upon what it meant and looked like to do community in and through crisis. These reflections helped to shape the orientations of their home work and inform the types of relationships they want to engage in and the communities they want to work to build.

Through our conversations, built upon the understandings of the "whys" discussed in the previous chapter, my interlocutors and I argue that survivorhood informs our home work, and is rooted in three fundamental ways to *do* community: 1) Showing up; 2) vulnerability; and 3) mutual care and support. While a potential roadblock to

relationality, my interlocutors show how survivorhood creates skill sets for home work and developing deep connections, caring relationships, and intentional communities.

Showing up

"Existing near other people in the community ...
being recognized for my place in the community
and understanding others' place in the community.

I think just spending that time and not necessarily always talking about community stuff
but, you know, being around them,
remembering that there's more than just me, it's always nice.
So whether that's through an online community or in person,
you know, either way it's just nice to exist around them."

— Claire

On Friday nights while she was attending university, Stanley (25, she/her) was at Shabbat dinner hosted by her Rabbi and his wife. Though they were much older than the students in attendance, the Rabbi and his wife were felt to be the bedrocks of this community and were foundational in Stanley coming to feel a part of something larger than herself. Stanley was the only one of my interlocutors who identified a religious group as one of her communities, and she discussed this community as being embodied during her time in university by this Jewish student group. Stanley's understanding of how community is actively practiced was complicated by her Jewishness; "being Jewish I think I could go anywhere in the world and meet a Jewish person and we would connect, and that would be community, in a sense, which maybe feels a bit effortless." Though shared religious identity may allow for quick connection, Stanley also recognized that it was the act of showing up and sharing space, such as at Friday Shabbat dinner, that built the *sense* of community she cared for so deeply.

Stanley's discussion of her religion as a dynamic that establishes an immediate feeling of community is somewhat of an outlier in the project and also contrasts

significantly to my own experiences of/in the Jewish community. I shared with Stanley that growing up, I was "the Jewish kid" at my predominantly Christian public elementary school. At the same time, I was "the poor kid" at Hebrew school because my family of origin lived in Glenview, IL, a socioeconomically diverse Chicago suburb, whereas my peers mostly lived in the more affluent suburbs of Northbrook and Highland Park that also had larger Jewish populations. Throughout my youth, my Jewish-ness was a point of disconnection, and to this day I do not feel an inherent affinity toward people who strongly identify with being Jewish. In contrast, the lasting impacts of class precarity in childhood and in our families of origin is a shared experience with many of my interlocutors that we connected over and makes me feel in community with them.

Stanley's experiences and my experiences of Jewish identity do not discount one another, of course. They co-exist and speak to the nuanced, contextual, and complicated dynamics of doing community through, across, or despite identity. Through the interactions of individuals and of groups, community is continually built and rebuilt as the product of relationships, as discussed by Elle (23, she/they):

I feel like community goes through so many changes as well, because it involves each person who is an individual having so many different experiences. Community is kind of like a macro and micro; like the community is made up of these small interactions and these small groups of people that all kind of overlap.

This framing of community that recognizes various scales of relationships and interconnections of people highlights how *showing up* moves an idea *of* a community—as expressed by Z.Z (23, she/her), "community is sometimes seen as kind of this overarching concept that intertwines people"—to the *felt* sense of *doing* community, as in

Stanley's framing of her experiences with the Jewish community: "something that you also have to work at every single day to keep building relationships built on transparency, authenticity, trust, and shared values." This description of showing up in community speaks to Stanley's experience of Shabbat dinners and reflects my experiences of dis/connection with my Jewish peers. Though we shared space of Hebrew school, our Jewishness did not foster shared values that bridged our economic divides.

Mary (24, she/her) was one of my participants who expressed a deep longing for wanting to be in community, and who had moved to Minneapolis before the pandemic to work toward fulfilling this desire. Community for Mary is a multivariant concept; "community is kind of a place, and even if you're not an active participant, like your actions and how you act within the community, even if you don't necessarily feel like you're a part of it, still affects the community." But community for Mary is not always tangible; it also a feeling, which she said is "a little more difficult to attain." Mary identifies that community is *placed*, and that to find a sense of community, she had to be in proximity to people with shared values, experiences, and intentions. Growing up in a more rural area outside of the Twin Cities, Mary struggled with substance abuse throughout her youth as a way of escaping her mental illnesses. Mary sought out the vast possibilities for connection and growth that living in Minneapolis might allow for and that attending a large public university would help foster.

M (26, they/them) similarly recognized that community is about showing up—physically or otherwise—for the people you care about:

You come together when it's dire, when it's really dire I think that shows [you], when it comes down to it, are you going to show up are you going to not? And so I think that

that was a really strong way to, for me, to see and feel—that's something I deeply feel—when it's like, well, we're not going to be able to get through it if we don't do it together.

M's expression of collectivity here is describing that community is not just a sense, an identity, or a place; community for M is created in and by showing up in times of crisis.

These times of crisis are not only global pandemics or social uprisings against oppression and state violence, though these were the salient realities of 2020. For survivors of sexual, domestic, and relationship violence, crisis is an ongoing condition with unpredictable impacts in/on every moment. Charlie (22, she/her) is soft spoken, and the only one of my interlocutors to use an artificial background for her Zoom square, thus obscuring her whereabouts; her large frame glasses and silk headscarf similarly obscured her person. The first time we meet, she sits very still in the center of the frame. As she considers her response to my questions, she often looks directly into her webcam, silently choosing her words. Charlie identifies as a Black lesbian, and often described feeling othered at her private university, as one of the few Black women in her courses. She framed her views on relationality and community as being influenced and shaped by her survivorhood; "I mean, this is just coming from someone who, like, experiences that feeling of abandonment, and loneliness, or being left alone." Charlie describes that her doings of community and relationship building were often implicitly in reaction to actions that triggered her trauma and working to not perpetuate unhealthy cycles.

Charlie's survivorhood means that the act of showing up for others, or seeing others show up for her, is what brings community "to life" and works to defy "this fantasy, or this picture of what society has shown you [about community]." Here Charlie

is speaking about the ideals of community based on thin or artificial connections, or even identity alone; community, for Charlie, Stanley, Z.Z, Mary, and M was *felt* and realized through the act of showing up.

Re/orienting community

"Orientation as direction, but also how we come to feel at home." (Ahmed, 2006, p. 7)

Embodying home work through the act of showing up brings community into being for Stanley, Mary, M, Z.Z, and Charlie. Showing up may be initiated by a shared identity or shared values or a shared place. But its doing moves community beyond an idea, as Charlie said, to the feeling that Mary longed for. Both the idea and the feeling become a horizon, which, according to Sarah Ahmed (2006), are the aspirations toward which we orient that influence, shape, and inform our actions—how we do relationality and community. Stanley may orient toward those with a shared identity that allows for particular practices of relationality to emerge. Charlie, on the other hand, orients toward those with shared practices, as in, toward those who have demonstrated that they will show up for her. M orients toward those whose politics are backed up by their actions. The analytic of horizons focuses our attention on the means rather than the ends; since the horizon can never actually be reached, there is in fact no end, only our perpetual processes of home work. Community is thus destabilized, queered, through the recognition that our processes never end but are perpetually *un/re/done* as one's values, needs, and dreams are continually re/negotiated in relationship with other people and their re/negotiations, and contextual to time and place.

Orientations, Ahmed asserts, must be understood as not casual, neutral, or apolitical; one's orientations are a result of their previous decisions—the pathways that

have been laid by those who came before—and of availability, both of which are contingent upon socioeconomic and politic realities. In dominant society, white men have more available pathways than, for example, Black women (McKittrick, 2006), and the discussion of Crip Theory in Chapter 1 highlights the social construction of disability, which makes fewer pathways in/to the public sphere for people with impairments. My interlocutors make explicit that our orientations are impacted as a result of survivorhood, trauma, mental illness, and dis/ability. These are political realities as much as they are relational. Home work is thus personal and political, theoretical and practical.

As Stanley discussed, doing community often means taking on, or acquiescing to, the orientations of the community, as in her experiences with the Jewish community. And in orienting *toward* something, we thus orient *away* from other things; "We follow the line that is followed by others: the repetition of the act of following makes the line disappear from view as the point from which 'we' emerge" (Ahmed, 2016, p. 15). This point of emergence is political and has both individual and collective consequence. Home work as a counter-hegemonic intervention encourages defying the well-worn paths of normativity, instead supporting our efforts to create new and individualized *desire lines:* "unofficial paths carved by everyday comings and goings" (p. 19). To create our particular desire lines is to disorient normativity and do community in liberatory ways that allow us to come to feel at home in our bodyminds and relationships.

Similar to desire lines that indicate how and where we choose to orient, Driskill (2010) discusses the concept of *dissent lines*. The Cherokee rhetorical strategy of doubleweaving, according to Driskill, refers both to a literal form of basket weaving, and a form of rhetoric that combines disparate components or styles in order to create

something new, stronger, and more complex than its component parts. Dissent lines indicate where our paths have diverged from normative expectations or predetermined paths. But dissent lines also indicate how these lines were conceived and constructed; through the weaving together of our motivations, values, identities, and relationships, our orientations are complicated, becoming politicized constructions. Dissent lines, like desire lines, signify what Driskill calls *rhetorical sovereignty*: "the inherent right of *peoples* to determine their own communicative needs and desires in this pursuit, to decide for themselves the goals, modes, styles, and languages of political discourse" (p. 72). Dissent lines can be thought of as the tracks left by doing community; as our paths, goals, language, etc. converge with those of other people as we orient toward the same aspirations, dissent lines are the evidence left by our home work.

As Charlie says, "Life is what you make it," which she meant quite literally, referring to agency and the interesting things that happen when you show up and connect with others. Claiming our agency to shape our world, communities, relationships, and selves through word and deed in ways that are liberatory, collective, and power-sharing is to orient away from the limitations of oppressive normativity and toward possibilities for both individual fulfilment and being in collective/communal relationship in ways we have never known before—ways that encourage our ability to come to feel at home.

Break the Silence

"We envision a world where survivors of sexual violence can tell their stories and trust they will be met with validation, compassion, and support."

— Break the Silence³²

³² From Break the Silence's "Our Story" page on their no-longer active website.

Showing up for survivors of sexual violence and making space for trauma, pain, and collective healing is the foundational purpose of Break the Silence. Founded by my interlocutor-research partner, Sarah (she/her),³³ in 2016 with the first "Break the Silence Day," the organization, and Sarah, focuses on creating spaces wherein survivors can claim their names and their stories and build solidarity across and through trauma. In 2015, Sarah was raped at knifepoint in her home by an ex-boyfriend. Sarah immediately pressed charges and cooperated actively with the investigation and prosecution. Due to the level of violence Sarah experienced and her active participation, Sarah's case became a high-profile criminal case resulting in prosecution, conviction, and a 12-year incarceration sentence for her perpetrator.

As details of her case were discussed in the media, Sarah decided to "go public" as the victim in the case, rather than remain anonymous. Sarah wanted to claim her right to tell her story and to embody survival on her own terms. In our discussions, Sarah recognized that keeping the victim anonymous in the press may work to maintain their safety, it also invisiblizes them, and allows for people to keep the victim, and rape culture, at arm's length. Sarah was frustrated that because her perpetrator was named and known publicly, both the media and his loved ones had the ability to humanize him in the public eye, a privilege that as an anonymous victim, Sarah was not granted.

Sarah also expressed that she wanted to go public to put a face to the experience of violence that people reading the story could empathize with. She wanted to encourage the public to understand that it is incredibly likely that they too have family, friends, and

³³ Sarah and I first connected in 2016 but had not actually spoken face to face (or Zoom to Zoom in the case of meeting in a pandemic) until the spring of 2021. Sarah was gracious to help with the recruitment of participants in January 2021 utilizing the online community of Break the Silence.

acquaintances in their lives who are victims of sexual, domestic, and/or intimate partner violence. Through her trauma, Sarah was creating desire lines that defied how the system often treats survivors: As nameless victims, witnesses for the state, punching bags for drawn-out and uncompassionate processes of "justice" (as Chanel Miller and Chessy Prout spoke to in Chapter 1). In forging her own desire lines, Sarah was doing community and building the foundations of future dissent line with survivors she did not even know yet. Sarah created Break the Silence to hold storytelling events for victim/survivors to be in spaces of empathy, understanding, and validation with and among other victim/survivors. These events were held regularly over the next few years.

The work of Break the Silence planted a seed for the doing of this project by making evident that one of the ways we do community is by showing up; both of these projects worked to open space for survivors to engage on their own terms. Sarah did not set expectations or mandates for how others participated in Break the Silence's speakouts, noting that "many survivors just wanted to listen to others; to not feel alone in their experiences." Sarah often told her story to open the space and make it feel safer for others to share. In the development of this project, I also worked to take steps into the shared space to demonstrate how I was showing up in the project for my interlocutors and not expecting of them what I was not willing to give myself.

In both doings of community, Sarah and I took the first steps, working to exhibit vulnerability knowing that this was what we were inviting our participants to engage in as well, our desire lines opening space for the creation of a collective dissent line. As I took those first steps in my recruitment materials, I did not yet realize how important vulnerability would be to our collective understanding of home work.

Doing vulnerability

"If I was vulnerable in some situations,
I would end up having to comfort someone else,
or it'd be met with violence.
So [being vulnerable] is so scary to do ...
I think it is really just about people holding space for you ...
I feel like if people aren't holding that space,
then I'll isolate, really feel alienated,
or feel like I'm going to be hurt in some way."

— Mary

When Mary transferred from community college to a public university, she was most looking forward to moving to Minneapolis to be closer to campus. Mary believed that proximity would help support her desire to build a friend group and cultivate a sense of community. These were very important to her, particularly as she worked through the trauma of an abusive partner who utilized isolation tactics to gain power and control over her and cut her off from her support networks. The connection between these two dynamics was a hard-won realization of living in the pandemic; the isolation of the pandemic left Mary feeling that she was moving backward, losing the progress she had worked so hard to achieve over the past few years.

Through our discussions, Mary came to understand that her home work is embodied by the practice of vulnerability, and she identified it as a core value of her relationships and an important signifier of the presence of *feeling* in community. For Mary, this feeling is fostered through her ability to *be* vulnerable with someone, as well as to hold space for someone else so that they too can feel safe and comfortable being vulnerable with her. Further, to be in a space where the ability to be vulnerable in a group encourages growth and connection versus causing harm is how Mary identifies home work at the community scale. Mary discussed this dynamic by contrasting two group

experiences during her time in university, in a support group for victim/survivors of sexual and domestic violence and in a creative writing poetry workshop.

Mary saw a flier on campus for the university's dedicated rape crisis center. She called and spoke to an advocate who referred her to one of the support groups. This group seemed like it would be an ideal space to feel in community with victim/survivors who might understand what she experienced in an abusive relationship. But Mary felt like an outlier in the group, having experienced intimate partner violence while the other participants seemed to have experienced date or acquaintance rape. She wanted to be vulnerable in this space but was not left feeling like it would be safe to be fully open about her experiences. Mary did not feel that she would be fully understood by the other participants and not judged, for example, for not "just leaving" her partner, which is a commonly misunderstood "solution" to domestic violence. This was disappointing and frustrating for Mary's efforts to engage in home work in her new place of community.

On the other hand, Mary did find both a sense of community and a space to share vulnerability in a place she was not explicitly looking for it: Through creative writing in a poetry workshop; "I think, maybe part of it was because we're just sharing [our work] and not passing judgment, or like, not handing out advice. You really just, like, sit and listen." The lack of agendas or transactional dynamics to the shared space of the workshop was particularly notable for Mary, and seemed to contrast to both the survivors' group, and her abusive relationship:

Using art is a medium to process stuff too; it can be really powerful because it's something that exists without you having to explain it. That's sort of the point of it ... you're not trying to convince someone of anything, you're not trying to get something from someone else. And I think

that's an issue with conflict too, like you're both going into a conflict wanting or not wanting something.

The connection between the "agenda" of people in the survivors' group with her experiences of an abusive partner was particularly disappointing for Mary. Feeling that people were not truly listening to understand, or listening to support, but merely waiting for their chance to speak, did not foster the sense of community Mary was seeking. On the other hand, the sense of community in the poetry workshop was fostered in part through the lack of agenda other than sharing a space for creativity; "you go into conflict with a goal; and there were no real intentions, other than to talk about something or create something in the poetry workshop." The sense of competing agendas or misaligned intentions in the survivors' group resulted in the space feeling like a place of conflict for Mary; she could not show up vulnerably in such a place. Because it felt like people were showing up only for themselves, or only for others with a closely aligned experience, the survivors' group could not promote the sense of community that Mary was seeking.

When life moved online in March 2020 because of the pandemic, Mary's feeling of progress achieved through her experiences in the poetry workshop was disrupted. The conditions of the pandemic were difficult for participants like Mary who were navigating living with their own mental illnesses, such as her struggles with social anxiety:

I was starting to get over them, talk a lot more in class, and [I was] starting to make friends. Then the pandemic came ... I'm struggling with social anxiety on Zoom now and I definitely struggle to reach out to people that I don't know super well.

Mary discussed how the move to online education allowed her to feel that she was *physically* safe in regard to COVID but caused harm to her mental well-being. These coexisting realities made the conditions of the pandemic particularly difficult to navigate.

Under the best of conditions, I too struggle with social anxiety. Even making plans with my favorite people or engaging in an activity/gathering that I am looking forward to necessitates a significant amount of notice, set plans, and no last-minute changes. I require mental and emotional preparation work in order to be able to socialize. This is a concept that Kafer (2013) refers to as *anticipatory scheduling*. In addition, because I live with chronic pain, physical activities require that I account for the toll that will be taken on my body. These are repercussions that I also must schedule and are sometimes prohibitive of my participation. Claire (23, she/they) and I connected over our experiences of anticipatory scheduling (though Kafer's work was new to them). In sharing my experiences with anxiety and pain with Claire, we began to understand each other better. As Mary had attempted to do, Claire and I connected through our bodily vulnerabilities. In so doing, we were leaning into the crip roots of home work in our doing of community.

Cripping community

"In refusing to acknowledge pain, fatigue, or depression, 'our collective ability to conceive of, and achieve, a world which does not disable is diminished."" (Kafer, 2013, p. 8)

In December 2020, I was working remotely with my project partners to finalize the participant recruitment materials [Appendix D] planning to roll out the call for participants in early January 2021. How we worked to convey the study and portray me as the researcher was informed in part by the fact that at the time I was going through a

slow-burning anxiety attack. Or maybe a simmering panic attack, with spurts of manic feelings and prolonged bouts of uncontrollable crying. I reached out to a friend who I knew was experiencing a similarly difficult time emotionally and psychologically.

During an extended silence in our conversation, I asked what was on her mind; she said, "I just can't wrap my head around rallying for 50 more years of this." *This*: Her struggles, her unhappiness, and the unrelentingness of *everything*. That phrase haunted me.

I live with anxiety and depression; I experience disordered eating, chronic pain, and suicidal ideations. Over the past several years, I have spent more time alone writing *about* community than being *in* community. But through the process of developing this project and engaging in conversations with my research partners in which I shared honestly what I had been experiencing, I began to see the need for vulnerability in our home work to experience the transformative power of community. Additionally, over the past few years as my scholarship has engaged with Crip Theory (Schalk, 2018, 2013; Kafer, 2013; McRuer, 2006) and Disability Justice (Kafai, 2021; Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2018), I have learned life-saving language for understanding myself and understanding how these supposedly personal experiences are both political and socially constructed. These discourses also prepared me in unexpected ways to relate to my interlocutors, most of whom identify as disabled, neurodivergent, and/or living with mental illness.

Physical bodies and embodiment (the way we represent ourselves in place/s) are critical components of who we are, how we understand ourselves, and how we interact with others. Crip Theory has complicated my understanding of self while shaping my interrogations of how individuals become relational beings who build, do, and experience community in relation to and with other beings. Disability Justice is "a framework [that]

understands that all bodies are unique and essential, that all bodies have strengths and needs that must be met" (Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2018, p. 21). Through Crip Theory and Disability Justice I am working to come to terms with the limitations of my body not as an individual weakness or my personal failure to uphold the hegemonic standards of masculinity in a rape culture, but as a source of knowledge and point of connection from which I can build dissent lines with others. Crip Theory asserts that able-bodiedness is a fleeting and contextually-dependent reality (Kafer, 2013; McRuer, 2006). Bodyminds change over time, and are continually made vulnerable resulting from age, disease, accident, or the social construction of place. Therefore, it is necessary to recognize that while bodyminds may have *impairments* (physical and/or mental), it is how we design and construct our places that result in disability. The inaccessibility of our places is the result of policy choices that represent our ethical failures.

As discussed in Chapter 1, Crip Theory moves away from dis/ability as a discrete, stable category and distinguishes between identifying *with* and identifying *as*; "I argue that I am similarly situated in regard to many vectors of power as people with disabilities and that interrogation into the processes which have so situated us are needed in order to develop coalitional theory and political solidarity" (Schalk, 2013, p. 8). This recognition of similarities across differences fosters coalitional community that is not dependent solely on shared identity, but also "shared mental constructs" (Johnston & Longhurst, 2010, p. 61) created by living in and through the individual and collective traumas of times of crisis, states of violence, and systemic oppressions. Crip Theory encourages that in our home work, we defy the violence and isolation of normativity as we forge our desire lines into collective dissent lines.

With the knowledge that comes from my lived experience, in conversation with the scholars discussed above, I am learning to do community in ways that do not disable particular bodies or minds, or that is prohibitive of participation and engagement as a result of one's mental or physical impairments. For example, once I learned that my interlocutors identify as living with mental and physical disabilities or mental illness, I understood that utilizing Zoom to conduct the initial interviews allowed for my disabled interlocutors to actively participate from the comfort of their home, and to engage with the project without feeling like accommodations were being made specifically for them.

Whether through this project's shared Zoom spaces, Friday night dinners, support groups or a writing workshops, or on a curated social media feed, home work is embodied by our practices of doing community wherein we show up with/for others, by being vulnerable and holding space for other's vulnerability. In so doing, we recognize and share each other's humanity. Such *doings* of home work builds foundations of community that can engage mutual care and support in times of crisis or otherwise.

Mutual care and support

"I think there just needs to be a whole revisiting of what it means to listen; I feel like if you're trying to listen for what the person is actually asking for and trying your best to try to meet that, I think that that's great ...

other people that can bear witness, other people who have a stake in that experience because maybe they've had it too, or if it's an experience that their community faces ... there's lots of levels of support, not just like a single person that you come to but, you know, there's a lot of people."

— M

Elle (23, she/they), like Alice and Claire, identifies as living with both mental and physical disabilities. Elle discussed how these lived realities, compounded with being a survivor of sexual and relationship violence, complicated their ability to connect with

people they care about even before the added struggles and difficulties of 2020. Elle recognized what Stanley spoke to earlier, that shared identities (religion, dis/ability, race, sexuality, etc.) can foster a sense of community, as does shared experiences (particularly sexual, domestic, or relationship violence personally experienced or occurring in a shared community). While these shared realities likely result in empathy and understanding, Elle argued that home work is reflected in *how* we enact empathy and understanding. Elle points out that expressions of empathy can easily become triggering or upsetting for people with a deep understanding of shared realities or experiences, particularly when thinking about sexual, domestic, or relationship violence.

This recognition has encouraged Elle to be intentional in their conversations, and to seek out explicit consent before discussing her victimizations with other people. For example, Elle will ask, "Are you in a place to listen to me talk about [topic]? If not, that is totally okay." This practice of empathy emerges from Elle's lived experience and works to ensure that people they care about are ready to listen and hold that particular space with it being minimally triggering. Understanding how Elle is/has been affected by these experiences has helped them to be mindful of how others might be affected as well. This intentionality and care for the emotional experience of others is one of the ways that Elle's home work is relational and how they practice community as empathy in action.

Additionally, by embodying care, Elle is emulating behaviors that can easily be replicated by others, thus building a practice of reciprocal care within their relationships and communities that can become a cultural norm. This element of reciprocity in relationships is a common theme that emerged across my conversations. Several of my interlocutors discussed a nuanced and critical understanding of reciprocity and empathy

within their relationships and communities. My interlocutors expressed the understanding that equity is not measured in any one moment, but compounds over time. Being in relationship and community means that sometimes the needs of others will be centered, but in so doing, we know that when we need to be centered, the community or relationship will honor that need in turn.

As I designed this project, and particularly in the months leading up to the launch of participant recruitment, when collaborating with my research partners Christina, Sawyer, and Morgan, we were striving for ways this project could embody being *in* community with my interlocutors while conducting research *on* community. This intention was rooted in an ethic of care, recognizing the weight of the topics and experiences of victimization and survivorhood that were bringing my interlocutors into the project. Additionally, I do not believe that interviews (whether for research or jobs) result in the most substantive, thoughtful, or even honest responses when participants are not given the opportunity to prepare. Surprising research participants or job applicants with questions may not allow them the capacity to give answers they are happy with, that most fully answer the question, or that best represent them or their experience/thoughts. This capacity can be especially diminished when participants are feeling nervous, experiencing test or social anxiety, dealing with mental illness or chronic pain, or just having a bad day.

In sharing with my interlocutors how I was framing the project, details of my background and identity, how I was thinking about community, and the specific questions for interviews or focus groups, I worked to bring my interlocutors into the thought process and motivations of the project. This allowed them to reflect and prepare for our

interviews however they needed or wanted to. And, importantly, by seeing the questions in advance, they hopefully felt re/assured that I was not going to ask them specific questions about their experiences of victimization, which the recruitment materials stated the project would not be doing.

As discussed in Chapter 1, I also shared aspects of myself in these introductory materials that I thought might resonate with my interlocutors, including my struggles with mental illness and the fact that I have experienced relationship abuse and domestic violence in my family of origin. Some of my interlocutors referred to this in our conversations; for those that did not, while I cannot say for sure, it is possible that in my being vulnerable with them, they felt more comfortable being vulnerable in turn. Perhaps as Kafer (2013) speaks to in the quote above, by acknowledging my pain and depression, my interlocutors and I became more equipped to envision a world that does not disable.

The home work of this project has been a process of embodying Crip Theory as my research partners and I developed methods of engagement with our participants that are in a culture of care and recognize a diversity of bodyminds. I did not know in advance how many of my participants would identify as living with a mental illness or physical disability. Several of my interlocutors expressed gratitude to have received the questions in advance, and most expressed appreciation for being able to participate from home. While I had initially understood Zoom to be a functional limitation while being a health necessity of our current reality living in a pandemic, ease of virtual participation was actually a long-desired accommodation for several of my interlocutors.

Claire expressed that prior to the pandemic, living with physical disabilities made commuting to school and navigating the large outdoor campus physically taxing and

emotionally exhausting. Somewhat ironically, and Claire laughed when they shared this, living with ADHD made engaging with school virtually from home during the pandemic a struggle in its own way. When Claire shared this struggle, this inspired me to ask them, and then all of my interlocutors, if they had preferred methods of communication other than email. I had defaulted to communication that felt easy for me but had not asked if this sentiment was shared. As a result of asking, I now know that Claire requires follow-up emails, Alice wants a reminder email in the morning before a scheduled meeting, , Elle and Mary prefer to be texted, and texting M is the best way to remind M of a scheduled appointment if they are late.

Because of this seemingly small act of doing community with my interlocutors, I was able to make adjustments to how I communicated with them to align better with their needs. While sending repeated communications makes me feel incredibly anxious and bothersome, it was helpful for Claire and Elle, who both expressed appreciation that I would regularly send follow-up emails/texts to schedule meetings, check in, or remind them to fill out the demographic survey. These reassuring comments re/oriented how I assumed these actions were being received by them. Doing community may necessitate stepping out of our individual comfort zones to work toward meeting others in the middle, between their comfort zone and ours, thus creating a shared dissent line.

Rather unintentionally, sharing the questions in advance, conducting initial research processes over Zoom, and sending follow-up reminders were acts of care that worked to do community by treating my interlocutors as stakeholders in the process and meeting them where they were. My interlocutors repeatedly showed up for me through their time, energy, vulnerability, and sharing their stories. Doing community and building

relationships with my interlocutors is rooted in reciprocity and a give-and-take; as Charlie reflected: "[Doing community], I find it intriguing. There's this constant cycle of reciprocity among people in places, and yeah, it's not fixed, there is really no end." In asserting that this project be survivor-centered, I worked to find ways to center not only the experiences of survivors but also their ongoing needs and lived realities, and together we built a project rooted in reciprocity that fostered a shared feeling of home.

How we get better

"A Disability Justice framework understands that all bodies are unique and essential, that all bodies have strengths and needs that must be met." (Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2018, p. 21)

At age 17, Mary chose to enter the foster care system; "I know I'm not going to get better here," ³⁴ she said to her birth mother about her home of origin. For the six years leading up to this moment, Mary had explored and daydreamed ways to create distance from her family of origin—go to boarding school in New Hampshire, build a cabin in the woods, become an emancipated minor—but cost, logistics, and parental permission got in the way. She turned to drugs and alcohol to cope, to escape, to *survive*; "there's no specific moment when I get so jaded that I start to think that if I can't escape physically, I can at least escape mentally, and I start getting high." For Mary, her home work meant orienting *away* from the ideas and construction of home she knew through her family of origin. While in foster care, Mary achieved the distance from her parents of origin that she had been desiring, but continued to struggle with alcohol and drugs, depression, and disordered eating. It was not only the place that impacted Mary's capacity to "get better."

³⁴ Mary shared several of her short stories with me from a creative writing class she often discussed in our various conversations on doing community. The quotes in this paragraph come from one of these stories.

The discussion of Crip Theory above encourages a re/orientation of how we understand our bodyminds; Crip Theory emphasizes the social construction of disability based on normative and limited notions of "acceptable" bodies and minds. 35 "People with impairments are disabled by their environments; or, to put it differently, impairments aren't disabling, social and architectural barriers are" (Kafer, 2013, p. 7). With this understanding, people with physical, mental, or emotional impairments do not carry individual burdens; rather it is a social and collective responsibility to construct a world that does not disable those with impairments from full and equitable engagement. As my interlocutors and I re/orient our home work, we work to understand relationality through the particular lens of survivorhood and how its impacts intersect with physical dis/ability, mental illness, neurodivergence, etc. Crip Theory demands recognition that all lives are worthy of life, and that there are as many ways to do living as there are bodies, minds, and individuals. The crip theoretical roots of home work demands that we re/vision not only our relationships with our own bodyminds, but also our responsibilities to one another across bodyminds, abilities, and identities.

Further, re/orienting home and home work through the lens of Disability Justice necessitates that we ask, "What does it mean to shift our ideas of access and care (whether it's disability, childcare, economic access, or many more) from an individual chore, an unfortunate cost of having an unfortunate body, to a collective responsibility that's maybe even deeply joyful" (Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2018, p. 33)? This recognizes that bodies change over the span of a lifetime, economic needs/capacities shift,

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³⁵ This normative construct also seeks to separate the body from the mind; the frame *bodymind/s* (see: Kafai, 2021; Schalk, 2018; Kafer, 2013) is utilized to discuss the inseparable interactions of our bodies and our minds, asserting the difficulty of distinguishing physical from mental processes.

circumstances arise without notice; these experiences or realities should not be burdens carried by individuals alone when everyone at some point or another will share similar circumstances. These realities have been brought to the forefront of our lives and relationships throughout 2020/2021. Our home work must build cultures of mutual aid, care, and support across bodyminds, experiences, and lived realities.

To create our desire and dissent lines away from legacies of ableist oppression and exclusion, Disability Justice asserts that our understanding of liberation and justice moves beyond the bare minimum of *inclusion* and *access*. Disability Justice struggles to move beyond assimilation and representation of disabled bodies, minds, and people into systems of oppression or normative institutions; "But our focus is less on civil rights legislation as the only solution to ableism and more on a vision of liberation that understands that the state was built on racist, colonialist ableism and will not save us, because it was created to kill us" (Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2018, p. 23). Assimilation into violent systems or institutions may make them more diverse, but it does not make them less violent or oppressive.

For Mary, "getting better" meant facilitating for herself the circumstances in which she could not only survive but begin to thrive. This entailed leaving her home and family of origin to enter the foster care system. Mary's home work focused on creating for herself the conditions of security, stability, and maybe even happiness that others had not facilitated for her. Mary knew why she wanted to make home but struggled to manifest its reality. In the last two chapters, my interlocutors and I engaged in similar labor. In this chapter, our collective efforts identified three ways that we do community in

the service of our home work: By showing up, by being vulnerable and making space for others' vulnerability, and through mutual care and support.

In the next chapter, my interlocutors and I utilize our collective work on why and how we do community in our home work to discuss justice from the perspective and lived reality of survivorhood. In our small group discussions, my interlocutors and I discuss sexual violence, trauma, conditions of crisis, and experiences of in/justice that disrupt our home work with negative implications on our communities, relationships, and understandings of self. As a result of these discussions, my interlocutors and I develop our collective theory of justice as an ongoing process rather than a fixed outcome that is one of the ways that we *do community*. In such a theorization, justice acts as a *homing device* (Ahmed, 2006) by reflecting our visions, hopes, and goals, and works to realize the world in which we want to live, thus allowing us to come to feel at home in our bodyminds, relationships, and communities.

"You know, in some of the ways that justice is used it can feel like diluted ...
like fairness, but you know, who's deciding what's fair?

I think [justice] has to do with radical listening and radical storytelling.

Some relearning and undoing ...

you need to always be curious,
there's always something more that can be learned,
or more voices that can be listened to, more considerations to make."

CHAPTER 4 HOMING JUSTICE

Mary's (24, she/her) birth mother is a survivor of child sexual abuse by her own mother's boyfriend. I learn this detail from one of Mary's short stories that she shared with me, and it clarifies comments Mary has made about her relationship with her mother. One of the impacts of Mary's mother's trauma is that she becomes overbearing with Mary, grooming Mary to the inevitability of sexual violence and victimization. Mary's birth parents do not emulate for her the type of relationships she should seek out; they do not compassionately caution her against what sort of partners or behaviors to avoid. Mary's mother believes that Mary's victimization is merely a matter of time.

In her early 20s, when Mary experienced intimate partner abuse by her boyfriend, it included physical violence, isolation tactics that prevented her from seeing friends and family, and being gaslit so that she questioned the abuse, her emotions, and her thoughts that were telling her that what was happening was not okay. Mary's home work was defined by perpetually re/orientating *away* from her previous directions and constructions of home. This manifested first in choosing to enter the foster care system to build home with foster parents, then as a young adult working to build home in her own partnerships, and then moving to Minneapolis to find community at a new college. For Mary, her home work was a reactionary process against what she knew was *not* home. Mary's efforts to

make home on her own terms were continually disrupted, often violently, by the people she strived to make home with: her birth parents, her sister, her foster mom, her boyfriend. But she kept trying and continues trying to engage in home work so that one day she will come to *feel at home*, if not with others, at least in her bodymind.

Mary's multiple experiences of home, of sexual violence, of living with mental illnesses and struggles with addiction, inform how she does home work. For Mary, a fundamental aspect of her home work is in support of other people's capacity to also feel at home. In the aftermath of her boyfriend's abuse, Mary's pursuit of justice was grounded in wanting to protect other people from potentially experiencing his harm in the future. For Mary, sexual violence is not inevitable; it is preventable, and part of her home work is the felt responsibility to prevent it.

In Chapter 1, as I worked to situate myself in connection to this project and my interlocutors, I utilized the analytic of homing devices. I discussed that the places, people, and encounters that were formative to my processes of becoming are felt by me as *homes*, or wherein I can feel *at home*; "we learn what home means, or how we occupy space at home and as home, when we leave home" (Ahmed, 2006, p. 9). Home is, and is more than, physical buildings or the feeling amongst family and loved ones; home is a verb, a process, a *doing*. Chapter 2 explored the *whys* of my interlocutors' orientations toward community and relationality. These whys inform the *hows* of their/our processes and ways of being in and doing community, explored in Chapter 3. These two chapters build the foundation of home work.

In this chapter I will utilize the small group discussions in which I engaged with my interlocutors to discuss how we came to understand justice as relational and

communal processes, represented by three framings of justice: 1) Justice as accountability; 2) justice as responsibility; and 3) justice as relationships. These three framings are not distinct, however; they work together to re/orient justice away from violent, top-down, hierarchical applications, toward a horizontal and communal practice of relationality and collectivity that believes justice is a practice of doing community that allows us to come to *feel at home* in our bodyminds, relationships, and communities.

Mary is one of three of my interlocutors who shared the experience of going to the police to report her abuser in order to pursue the most commonly held understanding of "justice" for victims of violence: criminal justice. Mary wanted the police to arrest her abuser and for him to be prosecuted. Justice for Mary was in part about creating ongoing safety for herself and for her experiences to be validated by "the system;" to have her abuse documented would make it real, thus undermining the isolation and gaslighting tactics of her abuser. "It wasn't even so much about my abuser being punished, it was more really wanting to be heard," Mary said. Pursuing criminal justice was also about working to facilitate the circumstances that she hoped would protect other people from his violence in the future by creating a public record of his behavior; "[I wanted the abuse] to exist on paper [so] if it happens again ... then he would get a higher charge, there would have been some level of, like, accountability, had they done anything."

Mary and the people in the future she attempted to look out for, however, were denied justice. Despite having physical evidence—"I had pictures of bruises and stuff, and they didn't want them because it didn't have a date on it"³⁶—and being willing to

³⁶ Mary noted later in the conversation that since the photos were taken with her phone, the police could have pulled the metadata from the images, which would have included the date and likely the location.

actively engage with the process,³⁷ the police did not document her abuse, they did not arrest her abuser, and he was not engaged by the criminal justice system. When Mary speaks about *accountability*, she is not speaking of retribution; her motivations for reporting echo the consistently expressed sentiments for victim/survivors of sexual, domestic, and relationship violence: to protect others from their abuser.

After having interviewed each participant and holding several follow-up conversations to dig deeper into specific topics they shared or engage them in discussion on emergent themes across interviews, we held a series of small group discussions on justice, sexual violence, campus cultures, and community. Through these discussions, my interlocutors and I worked to understand justice beyond notions of punishment as it is often minimized and hegemonically favored in the United States (Kaba, 2021). For a number of my interlocutors, highlighted by Mary above, justice was connected to feeling heard, being believed, and having the weight of their experiences validated by others. As a result of these discussions, my interlocutors and I theorize justice as a process of doing community; justice in this framing is how we come to *feel at home* in our own bodyminds, relationally, and collectively in our shared places.

As my interlocutors and I put our experiences in conversation with the case studies and examples presented in the learning sessions [Appendix F] we understand that processes of justice work to realize and embody our aspirations, values, and ideals for

³⁷ Many victims are reluctant to engage with the police, prosecutors, or administrative processes for fear of re-traumatization, escalating violence from their abuser, or not feeling up to the incredible burden—emotional, physical, and time—among other reasons (Miller, 2020; Hirsch & Khan, 2020; Prout & Abelson, 2018; Germain, 2016).

³⁸ Four small group discussions were held; each had four people participating, two interlocutor-participants, one interlocutor-research partner (either Christina or Morgan), and myself.

ourselves, relationships, and communities. In orienting our doing of justice away from retribution and punishment, and toward horizontality, mutuality, and care, my interlocutors' experiences highlight how justice can be a process of home work that allows them to come to feel at home in their bodyminds, relationships, and communities.

Justice as accountability

"I feel like there's a line in the sand between what should be a human right, and what should be a privilege. And it also then challenges us to think about how much our country fails to protect people's basic human rights of housing, food, clean water, education, health care, safety, etc. If we were able to hold people accountable, first and foremost, we could strip some of them of the privileges on a level that matches the severity of what they've committed, but also keeping intact all of their human rights."

— Sarah

Elle (23, she/they) attended a private art school in Minneapolis with a small student body and close-knit academic departments dedicated to specific art forms. Elle describes that the campus community felt "cliquish" with an engrained hierarchy based on which programs were better funded, had updated equipment or modern facilities, and were seen as "sexier" than other programs. Though Elle's school lacked two of the key social circles often associated with campus-based sexual violence—athletics and Greek life (Grigoriadis, 2017; Germain, 2016; Dick & Ziering, 2016)—sexual violence was not absent in Elle's campus experience.

Through the grapevine of the small campus community, it came to light that a particular student, a young man, had sexually assaulted a number of women students. The university, it was rumored, had been made aware of his history and had not acted to prevent him from repeatedly perpetrating sexual violence. Much like my interactions with the survivor-activists whose story I shared in Chapter 1, Elle supported student-activists

and their allies who were working to pressure the university to hold both the student and their own policies accountable. At least one of these assaults occurred off campus where one of the student-victims lived; this individual was a third-year student and only first-and second-year students were permitted to live on campus. According to Elle, the school used this policy to not have to deal with sexual assault or other violations of the code of conduct that occurred "off campus." This policy weaponized privacy by treating off-campus spaces as outside of the school's realm of responsibility, thus leaving students vulnerable to victimization and without strong institutional systems of support. This "loophole" in responsibility was one of the central talking points for the activists: the need for accountability to address not only the particular perpetrator, but the policies of the university that facilitated rape culture and incidents of sexual violence.

In response to student activism around administrative inaction, Elle described how the administration called for a series of "listening sessions" to make students "feel heard" by the school's Dean of Students and Vice President. However, Elle commented, "I don't think they were necessarily productive or really led to anything." Elle discussed that the public nature of these listening sessions "felt odd" and that one of victims expressed that "it was not beneficial to her and actually did a lot of harm" because students who were friends of the perpetrator had been playing "devil's advocate" and engaging in victim blaming. These students utilized the open forum to "take stabs" at the victim to harm her image and credibility. Elle noted that despite administrators leading the meeting, there was little recognition of how much harm the event was causing the victims; "the school didn't recognize it or couldn't recognize it because they weren't actually engaged, they were just looking to cover their ass." As a result of the students'

activism, the perpetrator was not allowed to participate in graduation and was instead given a private ceremony at the Minneapolis Institute of Art; Elle did not consider this to be a punishment.

What Elle here and Mary above are discussing is accountability in somewhat of a top-down manner; institutions or authorities are expected to deploy their power for a common good to name and hold someone responsible for their harmful actions. This is a common usage of the concept of accountability. "Holding someone accountable" has become rather synonymous with serving justice in our social discourse. In Elle's story, the survivors who instigated the listening session were seeking for both the university to hold the perpetrator accountable for his violence, as well as for the university to recognize its role in facilitating particular conditions (including no campus-based housing for third- and fourth- year students) that created a context for sexual violence to occur "outside" of their realm of responsibility. These two pursuits for accountability speak to the breadth of what accountability has come to mean and requires some unpacking.

Defining accountability

"And there is an extent to 'cancel culture'
that doesn't leave room for context,
doesn't leave room for humanity,
doesn't leave room for growth and change."

— Charlie

In my experience as an activist, community organizer, and now scholar in Justice Studies, there are few concepts that I have encountered that seem less defined while being as widely applied in numerous contexts than *accountability*. It is a concept that I have thought about, and held dearly, since my days with Occupy Wall Street when I first began to learn the language of consensus, anti-oppression, mutual aid, and liberation. But

I must admit, until recently I would have been hard-pressed to provide a thorough and succinct definition for accountability. I am probably guilty of mis/using it in a variety of ways: *Hold them accountable. They need to take accountability. You can hold me accountable. Accountability process.* It is not necessarily that these usages are wrong, but what I am coming to understand is that accountability is a deeply personal practice of home work, doing community, and engaging relationally that cannot be forced upon anyone else.

Often when accountability is used, it is standing in for "punishment." For example, in spring 2021 as I was engaging in conversations with my interlocutors, the murder trial of Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin was taking place. On April 20, 2021, Chauvin was convicted on all three counts for the murder of George Floyd. Two months later he was given a sentence of 22.5 years in prison.³⁹ One of the common phrases in the media was that Chauvin was "being held accountable" for the murder of George Floyd. Chauvin was certainly being *punished* for murdering George Floyd. But his conviction and prison sentence does not inherently mean that *he* is taking responsibility for committing murder and taking George Floyd away from his family and community. Thus, the *punishment* of Derek Chauvin is not inherently *justice* for George Floyd, his family, or the communities of Minneapolis.

As the murder trial was underway, Kim Potter, a white police officer serving in the Minneapolis suburb of Brooklyn Center, shot and killed a 20-year-old Black man

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³⁹ https://www.npr.org/sections/trial-over-killing-of-george-floyd/2021/06/25/1009524284/derek-chauvin-sentencing-george-floyd-murder

named Daunte Wright.⁴⁰ Potter was tried and on December 23, 2021, found guilty on two counts of manslaughter. Following the announcement of the conviction, Minnesota Attorney General Keith Ellison stated, "Accountability is not justice. Justice is restoration. Justice would be restoring Daunte to life and making the Wright family whole again."⁴¹

These usages of what accountability is *not*, necessitates defining what accountability *is*. Disability Justice activist and educator Mia Mingus of the Bay Area Transformative Justice Collective⁴² asserts, "Accountability is not merely confessing what you've done; it is a process that must be practiced" (Mingus, 2019); accountability is thus a verb, an ongoing way of being in relation with others rooted in shared values, goals, and commitments. Mingus breaks down accountability into four parts:

- 1) Self-reflection, "This is what I have done."
- 2) Apology, "I am sorry for what I did."
- 3) Repair, "This is how I will work to fix the harm I have caused."
- 4) Changed behavior, "I will work to not do this again."

With this foundation it becomes clear how accountability is not only a verb, but a way of being, an ongoing a practice of relational awareness, not a single act or outcome.

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⁴⁰ https://www.nytimes.com/article/daunte-wright-death-minnesota.html

 $^{^{41}\} https://www.npr.org/2021/12/23/1066012247/kim-potter-trial-daunte-wright$

⁴² https://batjc.wordpress.com

In a small group discussion (discussed further in the next section) with Elle and Z.Z (23, she/her), they each discussed how the frame of accountability is easy to pay lip service to but is often unfulfilling or dishonest in practice. Z.Z said:

You know [Greek life administration] kind of had the lip service of accountability, but it wasn't met with action and they weren't living up to it. It's all these ways to like, gesture toward, 'oh we're doing the right thing,' but, they're not actually following it up with action, you know?

Z.Z's comments here about Greek life at her school reflect accountability stopping at Mingus' first step. There may be recognition of an issue, perhaps an apology will be issued, but repair is not engaged in a way that centers the needs of the victim, and nothing either systemic nor individual is done to ensure that conditions or behaviors change to prevent the harm from re-occurring. Accountability, in Mingus's framing, is a holistic, ongoing, and continually re/negotiated process of relationality and responsibility.

Accountability as practice is foundational to our home work, our relationships, and *how* we do community because it is rooted in an understanding of our needs and values, those of other people, and our mutual responsibility to one another:

Community accountability, at its best, then, becomes a collective process and way of life, rather than an individual response to individual acts. Supportive relationships that center a praxis of accountability contribute to building and expanding a broader movement toward change. (Russo, 2019, p. 36)

Thus, accountability acts as a homing device that situates us with and among other people in relation to our/their needs and values. When we practice accountability in our relationships, we come to feel at home in them; the active practice of accountability

makes violence unthinkable and uncommon, because violence defies our collective values and undermines our mutual needs.

In/justice on campus

"[University administration] actually forced me to report and take it to [the police] when I didn't really want to. They had me sit down with, like, several different people and just recount every single detail, like, over and over and over again, and then at the end of it they're like, 'Well there's nothing we can do,' [laughs sarcastically] and it was like, 'I know, that's why I didn't say anything.' I was so irritated.

So obviously they do not handle things well and that's pretty much why I left [that school]. I have never had a positive experience [with university systems]." — Claire

Elle shared several stories, their own as well as those of friends and classmates, who attempted to navigate university systems following experiences of sexual violence. In each story, the victims did not feel supported by either individual administrators or campus policies. As a result, Elle describes that they, and other survivors, were left feeling alone and without any semblance of justice, accountability, or community interest having been served. Elle described to me a particularly frustrating and ultimately wrongheaded experience with a university-employed therapist. Elle had mentioned to the therapist "sort of in passing" that they had been sexually assaulted. The therapist then warned Elle that as a mandated reporter, she may not be able to keep confidential information that was disclosed to her regarding sexual violence, and that if Elle disclosed specific details of a sexual assault, the therapist would be required by law to report the incident to the Minneapolis Police Department. Elle would not learn for several months

that this information was factually inaccurate and not in line with Title IX policies.⁴³

Communication with mental health professionals falls under The Health Insurance

Portability and Accountability Act of 1996 (HIPAA) privacy guidelines, and therefore they have far less strict reporting mandates than other campus-based mandated reporters; this therapist should have been adept at giving patients options for discussing their experiences in ways that mitigate the potential to have to make a report.⁴⁴

Though Elle was "testing the waters" on whether they wanted to report or pursue some sort of justice process through their school, the reactionary and inaccurate response of the therapist did not leave them feeling supported or validated. Elle told me that they were interested in reporting for the same reason that Mary and Sarah (discussed in Chapter 3) both reported to the police: to create a record that might help prevent future violence. But ultimately, Elle did not file a report either through Title IX at their college or with the Minneapolis police because Elle was left feeling that it would be a traumatic and fruitless endeavor requiring immense time and emotional energy. This feeling was later validated when Elle participated as an ally with the survivors who had instigated the "listening session" previously discussed.

Greek life

When developing this project, I had a number of assumptions rooted in the literature on campus based sexual violence (see: Brodsky, 2021; Hirsch & Khan, 2020;

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⁴³ Unless someone is in immediate danger, a therapist is not mandated to break confidentiality with their patient. Additionally, a university-based mandated reporter would have a designated chain of command within the university for reporting under Title IX guidelines. Reporting to the police is only ever the discretion of the victim, unless someone is in immediate danger.

⁴⁴ Such as speaking in hypotheticals or discussing the events as if they happened to a third party. It is also likely that a therapist would not be mandated to report unless there was evident belief that someone was in immediate danger of harming themselves, someone else, or a child.

Grigoriadis, 2017; Dick & Ziering, 2016; Germain, 2016; Reeves-Sanday, 1996), as well as my previous experience with student survivor-activists at the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities (discussed in Chapter 1). One of these assumptions was that Greek life and/or athletics would play a significant role in my interlocutors' experiences of campus life and potentially their victimization, and thus also in our conversations. I was incorrect about this, as neither group played a significant role in the life or experiences of any but one of my participants, Z.Z.

Though not being in a sorority herself, Z.Z met her current boyfriend through hanging out at social gatherings at his fraternity house. Z.Z identified the fraternity as one of her social groups while attending university. The fraternity house is also where Z.Z was sexually assaulted by one of her boyfriend's fraternity brothers. At the time, this particular fraternity was being investigated by the Interfraternity Council (IFC)⁴⁵ for several allegations of sexual assault, including Z.Z's. Each victim handled their situation differently, Z.Z said:

I didn't go to the police because I don't believe in that, and so I think that [the IFC] took the case that involved law enforcement more seriously because it had that external factor attached to it. And then another case had a connection to the [university rape crisis center] which brought the case to the fraternity, which then had to bring it to the IFC. So I was the one who wasn't very involved with [university systems] and they wanted to keep it that way.

⁴⁵ Greek life, though central to the community, culture, and financial viability of many institutions of higher education throughout the United States, is technically not a part of the institution. Greek life is governed by the Interfraternity Council, which is a governing body of elected representatives of each local fraternity and sorority that is accountable to the regional and national bodies of those fraternities (Grigoriadis, 2017). Greek life provides a significant amount of housing for students for which universities and colleges are not liable. As a result, it allows universities to hold Greek life-related accountability at arm's length while reaping the benefits being associated with this key element of college life that many students expect and look forward to (Germain, 2016).

IFC procedures for investigating offenses are facilitated by the Executive Board, and an alleged perpetrator or fraternity is known as being "e-boarded" when they are engaged in an official process before the board. Because Z.Z was not in a sorority herself, she was not officially a member of Greek life; as a result, she was not allowed to actively participate in the e-boarding of her perpetrator. She was asked for a written statement that would be read on her behalf; "it was very indirect, and I didn't get to talk to anyone specifically; I had to talk to people who would interact with [the Executive Board]."

Z.Z believes she was kept at arm's length in a closed-door process in order to sweep her accusations under the rug and protect the image of Greek life; "[the perpetrator] was high up within their fraternity... and the [Executive Board] also did not want things to be known by the university, so they kept it within their Greek life circle ... So that's really interesting for accountability isn't it?" Z.Z's frustration was palpable across the Zoom space of our small group discussion, eliciting Elle's active head-nodding, sympathetic smiles, and groans of solidarity.

Recognizing the limitations of administrative processes, compounded with a lack of will and misplaced priorities, Z.Z summed up the experience of survivors seeking justice on campus: "How do you get justice for sexual violence? It doesn't always feel complete, fulfilled. I really identify the inability for college campuses to enact justice when it's on administrative terms." Z.Z's experiences align with my expectations and the literature on campus-based sexual violence cited and discussed throughout this dissertation. The relationship between universities and Greek life perpetuates rape culture for the financial benefit of institutions at the expense of students' health, safety, and well-being (Grigoriadis, 2017), but it is not the only problematic system on campus.

Administrative in/justice

Before transferring to a college in St. Paul, MN, Claire (23, she/they) attended one of the smaller campuses of the public University of Wisconsin (UW) system. Claire discussed that during their first year at UW, their best friend was in a violently abusive relationship with another student. Claire's friend reported the abuse to university administration and sought a restraining order for campus spaces. The school's solution was to require the perpetrator to sit in the back of lecture halls or classrooms in their shared classes. Despite Claire's friend also pursuing legal charges through the criminal justice system, the school was not willing to recognize the severity of abuse that Claire's friend experienced and failed to support her in ways that promoted her safety or center her well-being.

Claire experienced different circumstances but similar disappointment and frustration when navigating their own assault through the same university system:

[UW administration] actually forced me to report and take it to [the police] when I didn't really want to. They had me sit down with, like, several different people and just recount every single detail, like, over and over and over again, and then at the end of it they're like, 'Well there's nothing we can do,' [laughs sarcastically] and it was like, 'I know, that's why I didn't say anything.' I was so irritated. So obviously they do not handle things well and that's pretty much why I left [UW] I have never had a positive experience [with university systems].

Claire's description here is frustratingly common throughout my conversations as well as in the literature on campus-based sexual violence.⁴⁶ Victims are often put through

https://sundevilsagainstsexualassault.wordpress.com/metooasu/

⁴⁶ At Arizona State University, the student group Sun Devils Against Sexual Assault has been compiling dozens of anonymous student testimonials about their experiences of trying to pursue justice through ASU institutional systems. The testimonials are frustrating, heartbreaking, and so very preventable.

exhausting interrogations—not to ensure the ongoing safety of victims, or for the purpose of accountability or even punishment of the perpetrator, or for the purpose of preventing reoccurring violence, but for the institution to ensure that it cannot be held liable for the violence experienced by its students on or off campus.

The lack of accountability experienced by Elle, Z.Z, and Claire speaks to a devaluing of survivors by university administrators and by the police in Mary and Claire's cases. Survivors are treated as illegible objects by these institutions, and thus expendable subjects of the community; they are made to feel powerless in places that are supposed to be their community or by the systems in place to "protect" them.

Experiences of injustice disconnect victim/survivors from the places wherein they engage their home work, the very places that should have the potential to feel like home.

These are examples of hierarchical in/justice wherein the institutions, administrators, policies, and/or police failed to uphold their responsibility to administer justice in expected or prescribed ways by not seeing survivors as legible subjects. When institutions or structures fail to act in the ways we are conditioned to believe they will, our worldviews splinter, impacting how we fit into the world, how we relate to others, and especially for survivors, disrupting our capacity to feel at home in our own bodyminds.

Institutional accountability

"Damn, I think the most impactful thing is when you realize that the Code of Conduct standard isn't held equally to everyone."

-M

The participants of this project have experiences at fifteen institutions of higher education (including 12 in the Twin Cities Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area). Each of my interlocutors shared at least one story, such as those by Z.Z and Elle, above, highlighting how they did not feel valued, cared for, or protected by the policies of their institutions. In their view, processes of justice were not intended to facilitate healthy and safe communities; they were to protect the institution at the expense of students, particularly survivors, students of color, and queer students. My interlocutors recognized that their institutions mobilized their policies and procedures at the expense of students who were economically disadvantaged, spatially deprived of accommodations, genderqueer, neurodivergent, and living with mental illness. This is a failure of their institutions' responsibility to support their students and facilitate a sense of community.

In the small groups, we discussed that one of the policies that *could* be utilized to build the foundations for mutual care and responsibility among community members is the Code of Conduct. But as my research partner Morgan (she/her) pointed out, "The code of conduct are like the terms and conditions; who the fuck reads it before they say 'Yes, I agree?" In relating her school's Code of Conduct to the terms and conditions on software, Morgan frames them as inaccessibly written long documents, encountered at inconvenient times to truly be digested and understood, and considered as compulsory rather than valuable. In order for the Code of Conduct to be utilized to cultivate a sense of community and shared identity of belonging within a university, it must be a standard that everyone is equally held to, which was not M's (26, they/them) experience; "[I have] memories of white supremacists being able to do whatever the hell they want on campus

... and memories of which voices were stifled the most and which were allowed under the protection of free speech to say hateful thing."

In M's experience, the lack of equitable treatment under the Code of Conduct, despite students and faculty explicitly consenting to abide it, not only undermined its supposed purpose, but actually worked to cultivate a violent community culture that enabled white supremacy and sexism: "All of these laws and conducts are not standardly held for everyone." These macro community experiences compounded with M's micro individual experiences of racial discrimination and ableism at the hands of specific professors who did not recognize M's university-approved accommodations.

Collectively, these experiences resulted in M not feeling that they were a valued or respected member of their university community.

If taken more seriously, and connected with fostering a shared sense of community, responsibility, and belonging, codes of conduct could build this foundation through students/faculty compulsory engagement. Codes of conduct have the potential to foster a sense of what it means to be a part of particular community (Bonner, 2017), often through campaigns that associate ideal behavior with the school mascot as representative of assimilation into the community (as in *being* a Sun Devil at ASU, or a Gopher at the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities) (Patterson, Beach, Reyes, & Sloan, 2021). While following the laws in the United States is sometimes accompanied by the narrative of being a good *citizen*, lawfulness is not a particularly salient quality in discussions of what makes for being a valued member of a community.

As my interlocutors and I discussed our experiences of justice un/realized, we were building a collective understanding of what justice *is not*, which, when looked at

from a different orientation, begins to build a theory of what justice *is*. From justice as accountability administered top-down, to justice as a mutual responsibility between individuals and/or with institutions, our understanding of justice is flattening, becoming more horizontal in theory and practice. Accountability, as in Mingus's framing above, builds the foundation for justice as a mutual, relational *doing* that fulfils our visions and ideals for our communities, rather than merely (and inequitably) punishing those who break the rules or codes of the community.

Justice as responsibility

"A lot of young people have been holding accountability and trying to tell other people to take accountability, and I think that that's something that should keep happening, that we should keep doing, um, because I know that people aren't perfect; we all go through stuff; I feel like as long as we all take accountability and grow and try to learn, to, like, unlearn, unlearn to learn, like, we all need to do that."

— Calia

Mary was not specifically interested in her abuser, her ex-boyfriend, being punished for his actions. When Mary reported her abuser to the police, she "wanted to be heard." She would never be able to undo her experiences, but Mary knew that part of processing her traumas, and working to heal from them, necessitated that her hurt and pain be acknowledged and taken seriously. Most importantly for Mary, she wanted to protect others from her abuser by creating an official record of his actions that could be used to build a stronger case against him in the future if he tried to harm someone else. Survivors are often less interested in their abuser being punished for punishment's sake

than in wanting to ensure they are not given platforms or maintain agency to cause future harm (Miller, 2020; Prout & Abelson, 2018; Germain, 2016). Mary shared:

I said that to the police multiple times I was willing to testify, which supposedly isn't very common; but even wanting to participate in the criminal justice process, like, that wasn't enough; it wasn't enough to have physical evidence. None of it was enough.

Mary was denied justice by the police, the only avenue for justice she believed available. As a result, Mary was left alone to remember the violence she experienced and to process her trauma. Further, Mary was abandoned by the state to worry that her abuser might go unchecked to hurt someone else in the future. The state did not support or share Mary's felt sense of responsibility to protect others.

Elle shared a similar experience when considering whether to engage with the criminal justice system:

The situation was, 'you don't have enough evidence,' so I know I can't go forward and that shouldn't be how it is ... [grows in frustration] it was within the time period and even if you do everything right ... you as the victim aren't being prioritized.

When the criminal justice system is the only available means for achieving some notion of justice, survivors may reluctantly pursue criminal charges; for cases occurring on campus, other systems for engaging punishments, sanctions, or repercussions are pursued more wholeheartedly, though not necessarily with any less frustration or feeling of justice having been served, as Elle, Claire, and Z.Z spoke to above. Whether through the criminal justice system or through campus-based processes, my interlocutors expressed that as survivors, they were not prioritized or centered, and their feeling of responsibility for creating conditions of ongoing safety for themselves and others went unfulfilled.

Calia (she/her) is a member of the Hmong community in the Twin Cities, and has recently begun to identify as pansexual, which she has found to be personally empowering. Calia is the only one of my participants who is still enrolled in undergrad and who was attending online even before the pandemic began. Calia's Hmong community in St. Paul, MN was increasingly a subject of focus in 2021 due to the success of one of its other members, gold-medal gymnast Sunisa Lee at the 2020 Summer Olympics. For Calia, this has been welcomed to counteract the negative attention her community received resulting from Donald Trump's fomenting of anti-Asian sentiment throughout the COVID-19 pandemic by repeatedly using the term *China virus*. 47

Calia and I sit outside at a café in southeast Minneapolis on a beautiful summer day. She is eager to catch up since it has been several months since we last spoke. She tells me that she has since broken up with her boyfriend after learning that he cheated on her. Calia laughs sheepishly when she says that despite this they still live together, along with several of both of their younger siblings who they help to raise. Despite his actions that led to their breakup, Calia continues to be on good terms with him "for the health of the household and the benefit of our siblings."

Calia believes balance in the household is more important than her individual hurt and asserts that for her ex-boyfriend to engage accountability for the hurt he caused, it must be a process, not the one-time punishment of ending their intimate relationship.

Calia said, "I have to ask myself, who is important in this situation? What are the impacts of my decisions?" This understanding was hard-earned by Calia, stemming from her

 $^{47}\ https://thehill.com/regulation/court-battles/554708-trump-sued-by-civil-rights-group-for-calling-covid-19-china-virus$

experiences of being groomed at a young age⁴⁸ and realizing that her parents' relationship began with her father grooming her mother, who is much younger than him, into effectively becoming his child bride.

The Hmong community, according to Calia, continues to perpetuate traditional and outdated gender roles and patriarchal practices, including grooming of young girls, underage marriage, and men's infidelity. As a survivor of sexual violence and grooming herself, Calia is particularly attuned into the impacts of community values and actions upon individuals, and she hopes, vice versa. For Calia, the process of holding her exboyfriend accountable is not about perpetually punishing him; her ending the relationship was a punishment, and Calia continuing to work to make him understand how his actions affected her is the ongoing relational process of accountability. Calia's home work embeds the process of accountability into the relationships that take place in her home among her family (both of origin and built). Justice, for Calia, is not about severing the connection with her ex-boyfriend but about building upon it so that she may heal from the hurt of his infidelity, work with him so that he understands the harm he caused and embody a productive relational dynamic for their siblings. Justice is taking place in Calia's home work, intertwined with the physical place and relational dynamics of Calia's built home.

Doing this work in contrast to the context of their community values makes the work harder and, to Calia, more necessary. Calia understands that other people are impacted by the relationship with her ex-boyfriend; to only focus on how to punish him

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⁴⁸ Sexual grooming is a process by which a perpetrator systemically manipulates and coerces a potential victim, and methodically works to minimize their risk of being caught. Victims of grooming tend to be underage youth or vulnerable adults. https://www.rainn.org/news/grooming-know-warning-signs

for cheating would not create a sense of justice in/for the community of their shared household. Calia says that focusing only on punishing her ex is about trying to make herself feel better in the moment—"he did a terrible thing, but he is not a terrible person"—and that cutting him off would do little to ensure that he accepts responsibility for the impacts of his actions. Calia is quite literally homing justice while emulating and embodying a different way of doing relationships for her siblings.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Calia is the only one of my interlocutor-participants who requested that I *not* use a pseudonym for them in the project. Calia hoped that other young Hmong women or gender/sexuality-questioning Hmong people could learn from her experiences and insights. She questioned whether being anonymous would undermine her words and the impact of sharing her experiences. Like Chanel Miller (2020), Chessy Prout (Prout & Abelson, 2018), and my research partner Sarah, Calia is claiming her name and her story as she works to understand herself, her survivorhood, and her responsibilities to herself, her built household, her family of origin, and her community.

Though the Hmong community is one of the largest ethnic groups in the Twin Cities, Calia expressed that not many people at the community college she first attended in Minneapolis knew much about them; however, her mostly white peers "definitely recognized me to be Asian, and different from them" and often treated her as *other*. Throughout 2020 and 2021, largely because of the blatant racist ignorance of Donald Trump associating COVID-19 with China, Asian people of all ethnicities and origins were targeted for violence and discrimination. According to Calia, there is not traditionally a strong sense of solidarity between Asian and Black communities in the

United States or in Minneapolis specifically. But Calia shared that living through 2020/21 opened her eyes to the realities of other people of color:

Everything with George Floyd and COVID really made me realize that I'm Hmong. My life has been threatened a couple of times. During these times, I can see all my brothers and sisters [of] different colors going through it and I don't know, I was so oblivious. And I couldn't share their pain until now, and that really hurt me ... and there is, like, a side of the Hmong community who are like, 'Yes, Black lives matter' and there's another side like, 'Oh well, we hate Black people,' because a lot of people in the Hmong community are racist. It's so dumb because it's like, 'Hello, the main people who are hurting us are white people; we all share the same oppressor.' I think that my [anti-Asian] oppression and their [anti-Black] oppression are two different subjects, but they're still important, and I feel like everyone should focus on both problems.

Calia is speaking of a revolutionary solidarity across difference; much like the cross-disability solidarity needed to undo ableism that Alice, Claire, and I discussed in Chapter 2, Calia is speaking to a cross-racial/ethnic solidarity to defy white supremacy. In recognizing a shared oppressor that fosters solidarity and connection across racial differences, Calia's home work is embedded in a holistic sense of *social* justice. Calia aspires to do community across difference by bringing people together to solve shared problems and address violence from the roots.

Calia asserts that justice is more complicated than punishment; justice is practiced as the embodiment of her values and ideals for her relationships and community. As such, the criminal *punishment* system (Kaba, 2021) cannot be reproduced in her home and reenacted by her; her responsibility to her community, both at large and in her home, makes it clear to Calia that we all must be more creative in our pursuit of justice than what punishment allows.

"We all have that, like, inner child, we like to say, with all these different layers of experiences, traumas, that create what we put out in the world ...

It's really easy to do what's easy and what's more convenient with your habits, for example, we create routines and things like that.

So with self-care, I kind of see it as just like looking into yourself ... taking a moment to just be aware of your presence, without having to be a project toward something else, but literally just be for you."

— Charlie

Charlie (22, she/her) is soft-spoken and chooses her words carefully. She often looks directly into her webcam as she thinks over my latest question or comment. The weight of the silence between us as Charlie considers how to respond can be rather unnerving for someone with anxiety. My habit is to fill the space with a new question or to rephrase the last thing I said. But I have learned that Charlie likes to take her time. Charlie graduated undergrad from a small private university in Minneapolis in spring 2021 and has since moved cross-country to begin law school. Charlie is a 22-year-old Black queer woman who identifies as living with mental disabilities and spent much of her undergraduate experience fighting for racial justice in her classrooms and across her university. Her energy spikes and her words come faster when recalling these particular experiences.

Charlie is frank about how her experiences of sexual violence have left her with shame, self-doubt, and struggles with anorexia. It had been a difficult realization to come to terms with the fact that she has often centered other people in her relationships, prioritizing their needs over her own and not asking her partners to address her needs as well as their own. Charlie now understands that in centering other people and ignoring

her own needs, whether large or small, she was avoiding acknowledging her traumas, which made working to heal from them nearly impossible. Charlie described 2020 and the opportunity to participate in this project as invitations to herself to slow down, interrupt old patterns, acknowledge her needs, and work to build connections with people in which she does not "have one foot out the door" to preemptively protect herself.

In Chapter 2, my interlocutors expressed that mutual aid emerges from a belief in shared responsibility that cultivates a culture of collective care. It is thus not surprising that our discussions of justice orient toward mutual responsibility; however, our responsibilities are not only to others. My interlocutors assert we have responsibilities to ourselves as well. The importance of *self*-care and its role in mutual aid was a common theme in our conversations. As Charlie made explicit, caring for the self must be a fundamental aspect of our home work, and is often a precursor to being able to engage in doing community and participating fully in mutual aid.

As Charlie is undergoing the deep personal work of processing her trauma, she knows that the impact is not for her alone. Like Calia, Charlie recognizes that in coming to understand herself, she is building strong foundations that will allow her to foster healthier relationships. In pursuing law school, Charlie describes wanting to build a skillset and work ethic in order to develop a coaching and mentoring business for Black women and women of color. Charlie is intentional in distinguishing that this is work to "assist, not help people" fulfill their potential and goals. Similar to the distinction of mutual aid from charity discussed earlier (Piepzna-Samarasinha, 2018), Charlie said, "I want to get out of the language of charity ... I go through my journey knowing I want to give my experiences to assist, not help people." Charlie asserts that it is important that

her work defy gender norms that position women as having to "give their all without receiving compensation" or reciprocal effort in return.

Charlie here is bringing the language of mutual aid from the community level to the interpersonal. Her discussion highlights several important points; first, that we cannot show up for others if our home work does not also account for meeting our needs; second, Charlie emphasizes that no matter how important our work is, or how much we may believe in it, our work should not be conducted at our expense. Our labor—which includes our time, energy, expertise, etc.—deserves to be fairly compensated, whether that is financial or some other form of equitable reciprocity. In this discussion, Charlie is speaking to the *mutual* in mutual aid.

Justice as relationships

"Setting boundaries is an act of love; boundaries are accountability in a relationship. Boundaries help us to convey our limitations and establish our capacity in relation to other people, their needs and ours as well." — Elle

As we find a seat in a coffee shop the week before Christmas 2021, Elle says, "I am really happy to be back in this neighborhood." We are both bundled in numerous layers as winter in Minneapolis is in full swing, with more than a foot of accumulated snow after a recent storm. "It is really fortunate that we got to meet here," Elle says, "this place is like my Anelace⁴⁹ ... [Elle smiles wide] ... this place feels like home." We are near the Minneapolis Institute of Art in the Whittier neighborhood where Elle lived

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⁴⁹ Elle and I have discussed our mutual connections and feelings of affinity for particular coffee shops and the significance they have played in our lives. Elle knows, as I described in the introduction, the deep meaning, and sense of loss I carry, for the Anelace Coffee shop that burned down in March 2020 (two months before and unconnected to the George Floyd uprisings).

throughout undergrad [Illustration 10]. As discussed in Chapter 2, Elle moved out of this neighborhood in their final months of undergrad and the early days of the pandemic and into an apartment where they would then experience the lynching of George Floyd and subsequent uprisings across Minneapolis as well as the ongoing-ness of the pandemic. Moving back to this neighborhood feels like returning home for Elle, offering them the opportunity, Elle describes, to reconnect with who they were *before*.



Illustration 10. Minneapolis Institute of Art [map] Source: Shea Lemar, Arizona State University

Elle starts to laugh as they say, "You won't believe who called me the day after we last got together [in September 2021]." Elle tells me that they were contacted by the most recent [ex-]girlfriend of Elle's abuser [who was their boyfriend at the time of the abuse]. The ex-girlfriend called Elle distraught, upset and confused because her relationship with Elle's abuser had recently ended, and her experiences with him mirrored Elle's public "outing" of him as an abuser several years earlier. She called Elle because she was having difficulty understanding her experiences; their mutual abuser was a liar who depended upon gaslighting to enable his abuse. She had an overwhelming need

to be heard and to have her experiences validated and knew that Elle would understand and empathize because Elle had shared experiences with this same abuser.

I asked Elle how they felt about the experience of this phone call; Elle sighed deeply. They said they felt "stung" because "[the abuse] keeps happening." Despite learning that Elle's abuser continued to spread lies about Elle to his new partners and their once-shared social circle and mutual friends, Elle said that they also felt validated by the phone call. The impacts of gaslighting do not end once the relationship or abuse ends; gaslighting—and the trauma of questioning one's reality, one's perception of events, one's sense of self—lingers; it festers with each new relationship, each casual misunderstanding or crossed wire in communication. This conversation was validating for the person who called Elle, as well; as they began processing the abuse, and their journey toward healing, they needed to be believed, to have their experiences of abuse recognized as real, wrong, and a significant weight to carry. The conversation was similarly validating for Elle, as sexual, domestic, and relationship violence result in cyclical processes of healing and trauma. These forms of violence plant seeds that are difficult to uproot, and even when we are mostly successful, their memories continue to haunt us in unexpected ways.

Though Elle did not use the language of justice in our conversation, I reflected afterward how this moment encapsulates a *sense* of justice that comes from being believed. These two survivors validated one another's experience and supported each other's journeys toward healing. Just as Charlie's discussion earlier on the need for self-care in the doing of mutual aid and relational work highlights how justice is in many ways a personal process, so too does Elle's conversation show that justice is embodied by

relationships and relational connections that help us to feel right in the world. This is what justice as punishment claims to do, to re/establish the balance that is disrupted by a crime. But the criminal punishment system, by sidelining victims in the centering of the state, fails to account for their actual needs. Thus, survivors like Elle, and Charlie earlier, must create a sense of justice on their own terms.

Who are the people in your neighborhood?

"The criminal justice system just does not relate to community for many reasons; often people who are involved [in an incident] aren't included [in the justice process] or aren't supported to be included in those discussions."

— Elle

My interlocutor M is 26 years old and identifies as a queer, genderfluid and transgender Filipino person living with mental disabilities with fluctuating physical dis/ability. They are currently a social science researcher at the public university in Minneapolis where they attended undergrad. While in undergrad, M struggled with substance abuse, which is not uncommon for campus life, but these experiences impacted M in personal and relational ways not necessarily common of those who partake in "the typical party scene" of college life. M faced serious consequences for using alcohol while underage and being overly intoxicated from substance use. While M recognizes they very easily could have been expelled, they were instead presented with an interesting repercussion for their substance abuse problem.

In addition to substance counseling, one of the components of M's "punishment" was to clean up several blocks of Dinkytown [Illustration 11], the campus-adjacent commercial district in which they had been partying. M and other students who were being similarly "punished" were required to pick up trash and beer cans that littered the

neighborhood where they had been partying in order to make amends to the residents of the area who had been disrespected by their excessive partying and intoxication.



Illustration 11. Dinkytown [map]
Dinkytown is a landmarked "Commercial Historic District" within the Marcy-Holmes neighborhood and
adjacent to the University neighborhood. 50
Source: Shea Lemar, Arizona State University

This enactment of accountability had resulted from a restorative justice process wherein the students in question listened to community members express the impacts of the partying on the neighborhood and their quality of life. M discussed the particular impact that the listening session had on them: "I know I didn't really stop to think how much me being drunk in public, how that really harmed other people, until I had that chance to listen to someone [directly impacted]." Directly repairing broken relationships through creative, context-specific solutions is the heart of restorative and transformative justice. This example of a productive listening session is also in contrast to the listening session described earlier by Elle as just paying "lip service" to accountability. The repercussion of cleaning up Dinkytown in response to M's partying had the consequential impact of

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⁵⁰ https://www2.minneapolismn.gov/resident-services/property-housing/property-info/landmarks/alphabetical/dinkytown-commercial-historic-district/

actually making M *feel* more connected to the place and people they had disrespected.

Accountability in this instance made M feel more *at home* in their neighborhood.

M's experience is the foundation of arguments for shifting resources away from police in favor of re-funding social services and creative solutions to social or community-based problems. Rather than punishing students for partying in ways that made them feel shamed or isolated, these community dialogues cultivated the feeling in M and others that they too were members of the community. It was an opportunity for M to learn and grow individually, for people in the neighborhood to get to know one another, to build relationships, and for the community to collectively and creatively move through a problem. This process of justice was quite literally a process of doing community that facilitated healing the damage caused by M and other students, allowing everyone involved to feel *at home* in their neighborhood and among their neighbors.

However, M acknowledged that these community meetings were held in the evenings at a time when people with care responsibilities, service jobs, or other life obligations might not have been able to attend. This reality potentially did a disservice to the collaborative process, because the specific acts of restoration were generated by those in attendance. M questions how these limitations might have impacted the ongoing process of community-building;

But I think, you know, if other people had been there, what else might they have proposed? What might that dialogue have looked like if there was more people able to attend. I think it planted a seed, that this is something that if we put more resources and structural effort to make this happen, we should be able to do it.

Reflecting on the potential to replicate the restorative justice process they engaged in, M asserts that what we do not support with our time, attention, and resources will fail before it even begins. M argued that this is how the hegemony of the criminal punishment system is maintained. In order for our processes of justice to fully embody our ideals and visions for doing community, they must be supported financially, materially, socially, politically, and structurally.

Doing justice is doing community

"You don't think in a vacuum, you think with other people."

-M

My interlocutors have identified a variety of ways of doing justice that aligns with their ideals. Justice is embodied by being heard and validated; by holding the emotional or psychological experience of another person; by having one's own experiences held by others; by having harm taken seriously; by believing in mutual responsibility; by caring for one's self; by recognizing the harm one has caused and working to making amends.

M reflected on the value of community processes⁵¹ in creating a sense of justice:

People can bear witness ... people who have a stake in that experience because maybe they've [experienced it] too. Or if it's an experience that their community faces, you know, there's lots of levels of support, not just like a single person that you come to, there's a lot of people.

The impact of the George Floyd uprisings and the labor of the Movement for Black Lives has been to re/orient our collective understanding of the capacities of justice away from the limited framework of policing and away from the state administering punishment on our behalf via incarceration. Instead, we are collectively re/orienting toward notions of

⁵¹ In addition to their own process, M was discussing restorative circle processes that were presented in the third listening session video [Gaarder, 2016 discussed in Appendix F].

justice that emerge *from* the impacted community or individuals and that are rooted in our visions *for* community. These notions of justice do community and enact home work.

M speaks to this dynamic by expressing that needs are complicated, and processes of "justice" must reflect the varying, conflicting, and disparate needs of those impacted. Having options for how needs can be met, accountability established, and reparations served works to facilitate justice in ways that can uphold our values and honor our relationships and interconnections. Justice in this framing *does community*. Though this orientation is in many ways antithetical to what we have come to understand as "justice" in the United States, it is not an entirely new concept. M states:

The whole point is [restorative justice] has been happening throughout history, throughout a lot of different cultures, time, and space. So it's not even that this process is not tested to work because it has worked in a lot of different settings, and it hasn't worked in a lot of different settings.

Re/orientating justice as doing community does not "necessarily need to throw everything out and bring in something new," Claire pointed out, "because again that's not realistic, either." But these re/orientations, Claire asserts, should build on the strengths of what is already working within communities with added financial, structural, or institutional support to bolster capacity.

M and Claire both spoke to the role of community elders and respected leaders who helped facilitate the creation of the George Floyd autonomous zone around Cup Foods at 38th and Chicago in South Minneapolis [Illustrations 12 and 13]. These trusted and valued members of the community worked to resolve issues and facilitate dialogue in the community rather than depend on the police to restore order when an issue arises.



Illustration 12. George Floyd Square Autonomous Zone [map]

The image depicts the community-established autonomous zone around George Floyd Square (point 4) at the intersection of 38th & Chicago and nearby Cup Foods (point 5). Points 2, 3, 6, and 7 indicate where barricades and checkpoints were established, blocking traffic and monitoring who entered the neighborhood to protect mourners and residents from anti-Black agitators and police. Point 1 is the art installation "Say Their Names Cemetery," featuring dozens of headstones reading the names of Black people and people of color killed by the police or white mobs in the United States.



Illustration 13. George Floyd Square

The intersection of 38th & Chicago in Minneapolis was transformed into an autonomous zone of art, mutual aid, and remembrance for George Floyd and other victims of police violence. The Minneapolis Police Department is not welcome in the autonomous zone and, in retaliation against the entire neighborhood, has stopped responding to calls from nearby residents.

Source: Author's photograph, May 2021

Claire argued that incorporating trusted members of campus communities, including those experienced working with survivors, might work to address the negative experiences they went through. "Whether it's the respect for community elders or if there's a community culture of collaboration or of discussion, just kind of working that into existing systems," Claire argues, would move administrative processes from "meeting deadlines by checking boxes and filling out forms" to an actual process of survivor-centered justice.

I definitely think that the harmed person and community needs to be invited, at least to be a part of the decision, and then, of course, as far as what they're capable of, what they're willing to do, that is completely up to them, and systems need to be in place for whatever they decide.

Just as research needs to center, engage, and make space for survivors, so too must our processes of justice.

Homing justice

As a project on survival, trauma, and community, mental illness has come up in nearly every conversation I have engaged in. My own mental health struggles have been present in the creation and fulfillment of this project; I must believe that they were formative in the particular ways this project was developed and came together. I am, in part, my mental health struggles. There was something almost reassuring in being a part of so many conversations with my interlocutors wherein they shared their experiences with mental illness and struggles with mental health, though I also felt saddened, angry, and sometimes despondent that we all live in a culture that cultivates such experiences.

Homing justice means learning from the collective traumas of 2020/21 and utilizing these experiences as an opportunity for us to re/imagine a world that does not

cultivate mental illness, to re/frame our individual and collective priorities and responsibilities and how we engage relationally and communally. As M said:

I think that a symptom of mental illness is diminished creativity and not being able to be, like, 'Well that's not the way things are, so we can't imagine that future.' [Without mental illness] you can see [another] future and what it would look like; the thoughts and ideas are already there, and a lot of it isn't being invented from scratch.

In a culture that cultivates mental illness through systemic oppressions, constructed scarcity and precarity, cultures of violence and competition, our in/ability to feel at home in our bodyminds, relationships, and communities impacts our capacity to do justice in ways that live up to our ideals for doing community. M argues that collaborative processes allow us the opportunity to orient differently,

through collaborative processes, when we're actually inviting people to all share, 'What would this utopia look like, how can we all fit in?'... I think getting people together to try to make a solution is why focus groups work really well: You're bouncing ideas off of each other and you don't think in a vacuum, you think with other people.

M argues that we realize utopia through collaboration and dialogue that produces justice through collective solution making; "I think even just having dialogue in itself, without even thinking about what the outcome is, like if that dialogue is really open, it can make a make a big impact on someone." M and I discussed utopia not in the idealized sense of fiction, but as a process, very much like our discussions throughout this dissertation of community as the process, not the outcome. M's envisioning of collaborative processes that bring utopia into being is about cultivating the conditions that allow us to heal and grow rather than cause further harm or encourage mental illness; these processes of doing community bring us home.

I have gone into the conversations of this project, as much as possible, with the mindset I learned from my days facilitating community meetings with Occupy Wall Street and Occupy Sandy: Be unattached to outcome; be present for the process. I had expectations for what these conversations would be about, and as mentioned previously, I assumed incorrectly as often as not. By being as present as possible within the conversations (utilizing the support of my research partners when possible), while recognizing the impacts on our conversations of the sociopolitical conditions and personal situations/struggles of my interlocutors, we engaged in a process that brought us to places I did not fully anticipate.

Through our conversations and ongoing doings of community, my participants, partners, and I have worked to understand how our home work supports our efforts to move through trauma and conditions of crisis. In the process, we re/vision how we *do justice* as a re/orientation away from the violence and negligence of hierarchy toward processes of mutual responsibility and care. Justice in this framing, as an embodiment of doing community, recognizes that justice is a process, not an outcome, that allows us to come to feel at home in our bodyminds, relationships, and communities.

"There is revolution in survivors remembering the omnipresence of rape, insisting that we remember shit right, and using our deepest dreams to create new worlds that we have never won."

— Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha (Care work, 2018, p. 231)

CONCLUSION ORIENTING HOME

There is a strange irony in developing a project on the *doing* of community while isolating by myself in a one-bedroom apartment in a city wherein I had few strong connections, and that I planned to leave at the earliest possible moment. Throughout the first year-plus of the pandemic, if I spoke aloud in the day, more often than not it was to the plush Grogu (aka Baby Yoda) toy that sat on the couch near my desk. Though I called Tempe and my little apartment *home* for the three years I lived there, I never came to feel *at home* in either. It made me feel like a hypocrite to develop this project, theorize about community, and focus my home work on people and a place more than 1,500-miles away, while I felt so terribly alone and incapable of making home in my daily life.

But the realities of 2020 made the focus of this project more salient and more necessary. The year that was 2020, that quite literally bled into 2021, and continues to bleed into 2022, opened up possibilities for re/imagining what community might mean in our lives, and what our home work might do *for* our lives. How we enact our home work and do community moving forward will either heed the lessons of 2020/21—that we can only thrive through mutual responsibility, accessibility, thoughtful accommodations, and collective care—or it will pretend that pre-2020 "normal" was not a state of oppression, competition, selfishness, constructed precarity and imposed scarcity, transactional relationships, weaponized privatization, and violence both mundane and exceptional.

I developed this project in part because I have been drawn toward community—in theory and practice—for over a decade. That focus began when I attended a workshop during my time as an activist with the Occupy Wall Street movement. An activity that asked us to name and unpack the various meanings *home* had taken on in our lives stuck with me, disrupting old foundations and planting roots for my home work.⁵² In the developmental stages of this project, I had no way to know just how much I would come to need the doing of this project. The home work I engaged in with my interlocutors, our doing of community as we collectively approached the one-year anniversary of the global COVID-19 pandemic in spring 2021, was lifesaving.

In the introduction, I discussed the importance of Indigenous methodologies (Swentzell, 2020; Wilson, 2008) as one of this project's foundations because they assert that research has incredible transformational potential; research can build, and research can destroy. Research can forge connections or force separations. I am continually working to recognize the ways in which this project might do harm as I aspire toward ensuring that it is generative, productive, and valuable for all involved, including for you, the reader. One of the unintended results of engaging in this project is that I am still here to write this dissertation. The last weeks of 2020 were among the darkest and most difficult times of my life, and my struggles with suicidal ideations moved from their usual place on the backburner to the front. I wrote interview questions but could not actually imagine anyone would volunteer for the study. I submitted Institutional Review

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⁵² In January 2012, two months after the eviction of Occupy Wall Street from Liberty Square by the New York Police Department, I participated in two-weeks of intensive coursework with the Institute for Social Ecology. This activity was part of the course, "Liberating Land for Community Control" facilitated by activists from Organizing 4 Occupation, featuring presentations from veteran organizers from housing and land rights movements including Picture the Homeless and Take Back the Land.

Board (IRB) documents [Appendix C] for a project I struggled to believe would come together.

But my mentor, Dr. Beth Blue Swadener, and project partners, Christina, Sawyer, and Morgan seemed to believe that the project was important and necessary; their encouragement, notes, and revisions pushed me along. I created deadlines and tasks and continued to prepare the work. The call for participants went out in early January 2021 and in a matter of days I had met 50% of my targeted goal of 10 to 12 participants. M, Elle, Claire, Mary, Z.Z, and Charlie had entered my life and the project became real. Within the next few weeks, Stanley, Bree, Alice, Calia, Kia, and Sarah would join the project. Through the doing of this project with my interlocutors, I began to *feel* at home, if not in place, at least in my bodymind and in this new community.

In their words and voices

As I was writing this chapter at the end of 2021 and early days of 2022, back in Minneapolis for the winter months, the Omicron variant began surging across the United States. I reached out to my participants to check in. I also asked if they were interested in writing a short response to this prompt for this conclusion: When I say "home" what ideas, words, people, places, or feelings come to mind? Who were you at the beginning of 2021? Who do you want to be in 2022? A few responded, and to share these final pages with the people who were instrumental to this project's becoming, their responses are included throughout this chapter, unedited and mostly unformatted.

Bree, on home

When I first received this prompt, my mind began to race with potential answers. I knew that I could sit down and tell you all sorts of fabricated, Hallmark Channel-type answers, but those all felt forced or canned. Then I realized that I

have always measured the idea of "home" not by what it is, but what it is not.

Home is not a building. I moved every single year for most of my life, totaling more than two dozen residential addresses.

Home is not a city. My birthplace is foreign to me. The surrounding suburbs where I grew up and spent the first 18 years of my life always felt out of place; I was itching to get out.

Home is not a person or people. My original instinct was to say that home is family, but even that lacks resonance because it is rarely so simple for people. People come and go, for better or for worse. Whether by choice or by force, by death or by circumstance, people will always eventually leave. Tying home to person(s) only sets us up for eventual homelessness.

So as I sat to respond to this prompt, I landed on home being a sense of surety. Home is security and stability—in logistics and in relationship. Home is confidence—in yourself, your choices, your community. Home is dynamic. Home is built and it is fostered. Home is creative and it is healing.

At the start of 2021, I would say that I was in the process of building my 'home.' The foundation had been laid. I had shelter, resources, and a steady career. I was just past the one-year mark of being single (my longest stretch since middle school!) and feeling good on my own. I was stable, but I was not sure. As I look ahead to 2022, I find myself actively planning the next phases of my life with a partner who loves me so purely that there is zero room to doubt. I know that I have a network of people I can rely upon (including my own therapist) to support me through every twist and turn that life may throw. I have never felt more sure in my life.

I am home.

What I set out to do

This project emerged from my activist/advocacy efforts with a group of studentsurvivor-activists in Minneapolis working to disrupt cycles and cultures of violence and institutional betrayal on campus. This project was designed to better understand why and how survivors of sexual, domestic, and/or relationship violence do community in their daily lives, and to understand what justice means or looks like to survivors of sexual, domestic, and/or relationship violence. Somewhat foolishly, I must admit, for much of the development of this project, I saw these as discrete questions. From the outset, I framed this project in the aspirational as not only being *on* community, but *in* community. This aspiration began its realization in my early collaborations with Christina, Sawyer, and Morgan, who supported the project by working with me to refine the recruitment materials [Appendix D] and interview questions [Appendix E], and then sharing the call for participants with their networks. But this reflects professional collaborations. More important were their individual ways of checking in and on me, making sure my needs were being met and that I was not only surviving in isolation, but that I was supported in making this project thrive.

It was my aspiration to replicate this dynamic, these sorts of mutually caring relationships, with my interlocutor-participants. Though the degree to which this was fulfilled differs greatly across my 10 participants, I believe that we have been successful in building and doing community together. Several of my interlocutors are included in their own words throughout the chapter, writings submitted nearly a year after they first participated, reflecting their ongoing commitment to this project.

What we found

In 2020, the pandemic and the lynching of George Floyd that resulted in worldwide uprisings against state violence and anti-Black racism brought crisis conditions to the forefront of our realities. But for my interlocutors and I, crisis was familiar as survivors living with the ongoing traumas of experiences of sexual, domestic, and/or relationship violence struggling to survive the conditions of rape culture. Through crisis conditions new and old, my interlocutors were faced with both opportunities and barriers to understand themselves and their needs in new contexts. The realities of the pandemic allowed for a newly tangible understanding of their relationships and community connections, and why, despite past hurts, disappointments, violences, and their ongoing traumas, my interlocutors continue to engage in home work. As a result of doing community together, we understand that survivors of sexual, domestic, and relationship violence do community in their home work for three key reasons: 1) To meet physical, social, emotional, and psychological needs; 2) to support efforts for learning and growth; and 3) to move through times of crisis through processes of mutual aid.

Why my interlocutors orient toward community and relationality in their home work informs the hows of their/our processes and ways of being in and doing community. Through our conversations, built upon these "whys," my interlocutors and I assert that survivorhood informs how we do home work and is made evident by three fundamental doings of community: 1) Showing up; 2) vulnerability; and 3) mutual care and support. While potentially acting as a roadblock to relationality, my interlocutors show how survivorhood creates skill sets for our home work that fosters developing deep connections, caring relationships, and intentional communities.

While I initially shaped my interrogation of justice separately from our discussions on community, our conversations, collective home work, and the ongoing doing of community with my interlocutors resulted in the development of our collective theorization that justice is a process of doing community. As my interlocutors and I put our experiences in conversation with one another, and with the case studies and examples presented in the learning sessions [Appendix F], we began to understand that justice is an embodiment—a realization—of our aspirations, values, and ideals for our communities and our relationships. Justice is a relational and collective process identified by my interlocutors through three framings: 1) Justice as accountability; 2) justice as responsibility; and 3) justice as relationships. These interrelated framings together orient justice away from the violence of hierarchical applications—embodied both by the criminal punishment system and administrative processes on campus—toward horizontal, relational, victim/survivor-centered, and community-engaged processes. Through such processes, we find ourselves, connect with others, and work to build the world as a place in which we want to live, allowing us to come to feel at home in our bodyminds, relationships, and communities.

Elle, on home⁵³

I think of the Northwoods of Wisconsin, where I lived for the first 18 years of my life. My partner, J, and our cat. My dear friend E, who I shared a home with. I think of the many old apartment buildings I have called home since moving to Minneapolis five years ago and all the memories they hold.

I was a very tired and depleted version of myself. I was healing from the mess that was 2020. I had a job I loved but

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⁵³ Names of people mentioned have been shortened to their first letter.

was also depleting me. I was hopeful and jaded at the same time.

I want to feel secure. I want to be able to trust myself and others. I want to be healthy and continue to grow alongside the people I love most. I hope to find joy in the mundane. I want to make art again, without fear of rejection.

What this project is not

Through the early stages of this project, I held a number of assumptions that informed the development of the interview and focus group protocols [Appendices 4 and 6, respectively]. Many of these assumptions turned out to be incorrect. This project was set in the research site of Minneapolis; I made this decision in order to utilize my personal and professional network established through my work with the Minneapolis rape-crisis center, Sexual Violence Center (SVC), as an advocate, crisis counselor, and prevention educator. This decision was made prior to the lynching of George Floyd and the emergent relevance of Minneapolis in discourses on social and criminal justice. As a project on sexual, domestic, and relationship violence experienced by individuals while they were attending college or university in Minneapolis, I assumed that most, if not all, of my eventual participants would have attended the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities (UMN-TC) [Illustration 14]. UMN-TC is the largest [public] university in the upper Midwest and draws students from across Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, and the Dakotas, as well as from across the country, and also has a sizable international student body.

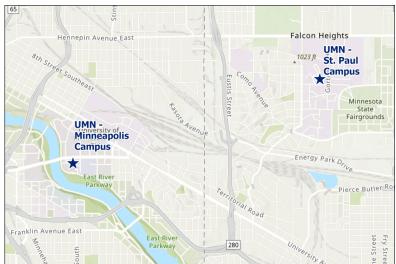


Illustration 14. University of Minnesota-Twin Cities campuses [map] Source: Shea Lemar, Arizona State University

While I was interested in discussing campus-based policies and procedures related to campus-based sexual violence, my intent was not necessarily for this project to become an indictment or reckoning on the UMN-TC specifically. As mentioned in Chapter 4, this assumption about my interlocutors' institutional connections turned out to be incorrect; though more than half of my participants had attended UMN-TC for at least some of their undergrad experience (several as transfer students), there was far more diversity in institutional attendance and experience than I expected. This meant that one of my assumed outcomes for this project would also not come to be. The small group discussions did not substantively focus on policy/procedure development for college campuses. There was not significant overlap in my interlocutors' engagements with processes of justice or institutions to engage a substantive conversation on policy reform; Mary was the only participant to voluntarily engage with the police, Z.Z the only participant to have experience with Greek life, and Elle and Claire the only participants to engage with Title IX (both at different institutions, neither of which were UMN-TC).

Additionally, having lived through a pandemic for nearly a year, and experienced the impacts of the lynching of George Floyd in their city, my interlocutors were oriented toward conversations on justice that were more relational and interpersonal and less institutional, as discussed in Chapter 4. What results is a dissertation that is less focused on the particular context of college campuses in its interrogation of home work, doing community, and the role of justice in our lives and relationships than I had originally anticipated. However, tangible and material ways of doing home work, building community on college campuses, and facilitating administrative, community, and/or interpersonal doings of justice can be derived from the labor of this project and will be one focus of my future projects. I will discuss this further later in the chapter.

A project not without its challenges and limitations

This project met or exceeded my expectations and the goals set out for it, including the number of participants, the number of data collection processes completed, the collective engagement of home work, and facilitating ongoing relationships with my interlocutors. Additionally, this project produced substantive conclusions that answer my initial research questions; however, it is necessary that I recognize several challenges to the implementation of the project and potential limitations to my findings.

First, the sample size of 10 interlocutor-participants and five interlocutor-research partners allowed for depth of engagement, and the ability for each participant to be substantively included in, and represented by, this dissertation. However, this relatively small sample size within one targeted demographic area (survivors who experienced sexual, domestic, and/or relationship violence while attending college/university in Minneapolis between 2010-2020) means that the data is contextual; perhaps then the

translatability of the data to other contexts (including place-based and demographic) may be questionable. Though I can argue that many of my findings align with those of larger, mixed-methods research studies on campus-based sexual violence,⁵⁴ the depth of my research into particular topics in the context of 2020 goes beyond the scope/s of these previous studies.

I have worked to minimize potential harm to my participants by their engagement in this project, and I was/am dedicated to ensuring that their participation was at least a valuable experience for them. Beyond modest monetary incentives, 55 my anxiety and feelings of care for my participants as people in general and as survivors specifically, makes me question whether they felt their participation was a worthwhile use of their time and energy. I have benefitted immensely from their generous contributions of time, emotional labor, and intellectual energy; I worry that they have not similarly benefitted. This is, of course, one of the challenges of community and relational work; as my interlocutors themselves recognize, equity in relationships cannot be measured in the moment but compounds over time. It is possible, and I am hopeful, that these relationships will continue into the future, and that I may be able to repay or return their generosity in kind, in ways unexpected and unique to each of my interlocutors.

The translatability of my findings to other contexts is also impacted by limitations in the demographic representation in the sample size of my participants and research

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⁵⁴ See: Hirsch & Khan, 2020; Grigoriadis, 2017; Halstead, Williams, & Gonzalez-Guarda, 2017; Koss, White, & Lopez, 2017; Dick & Ziering, 2016; Germain, 2016; Argiero, et al., 2010; Reeves-Sanday, 1996

⁵⁵ To show my appreciation for their energy and respect for their time, participants were incentivized for their participation in official data collection processes at the rate of \$25 per hour via gift cards to Target, Amazon, or Visa. The cost of incentives were paid for thanks to a \$1,500 research grant awarded through the Graduate & Professional Student Association (GPSA) and ASU Graduate College Graduate Research and Support Program (GRSP).

partners. Among the 16 individuals involved in this project, including myself, I am the only person who identifies as a cisgender man; my research partner, Sawyer (he/they), is a transman and masculine identifying. Based on my experience as a facilitator of support groups for adult men survivors of sexual violence, this is a very difficult demographic to reach. Based on my advocacy experience and research, I understand that this occurs for a number of reasons: 1) Hegemonic masculinity (including shame, silence, and gender stereotypes); 2) the tendency of the nonprofit industrial complex to frame services for victim/survivors of sexual, domestic, and relationship violence as being for women and children; and 3) rape myths that position men as solely perpetrators and not potential victims in these experiences. How survivors who are men, both cis and trans, do home work, engage relationally, do community, and view justice is likely a necessary project of its own; but I wonder about the implications on my findings, had my interlocutors included additional survivors who identify as cis and trans men.

The isolation restrictions of the pandemic resulted in recruitment limitations. I exclusively utilized social media and digital networks of friends and colleagues who have professional or personal connections to victim/survivor-service providers or advocacy groups. I wonder what the recruitment results might have been, particularly for increasing participation of underrepresented demographics, had I been able to post flyers in therapy offices, coffee shops, bookstores, and other public places.

Alice, on home

When I hear someone say the word "home" I think of the song "You're Gonna Miss Me." I think of growing up fast and wanting to be an adult so bad and move onto the next stage of life before you really enjoy the one you are in. Over the holidays I spent time with my partner and his family. While there, his grandmother had asked me if there

was anything in the world I wanted from her before she passes. I said "no," but my partner and I understood that she wants to see us married before she dies. We both agreed we want her there and are comfortable moving forward in our relationship quicker than expected.

Thinking about home makes me think about where I am at in my life and if and when I'm ready to move to the next stage of life. For me, I am only a year out of school and looking to go back to continue my education; I have a full-time job in my career, and I am happier than ever in my mental health and in my relationships with friends, my partner and my family.

Home isn't a physical place, it's more of a situation we are in that we work towards to feel whole and happy. We move onto different homes throughout our life and there are different stages of what home looks like for everyone.

Future orientations

In the next stage of this project, I intend to develop this dissertation into a manuscript for publishing with an academic publisher. The manuscript project will include several tasks, beginning with further development of the autoethnographic components of my experiences of domestic violence and relationship abuse to share more of the emotional labor of my interlocutors and put my experiences into conversation with my findings. This will support moving my findings beyond the particular context of this project's recruitment focus. Through this process, I intend to continue doing community with my interlocutors, growing our relationships, and seeking to understand how the intentional processes of this project may have impacted their lives, home work, relationships, and community engagements.

Because of the depth of engagement with my interlocutors (nearly a year from completion of the initial research processes at the time of writing this chapter in March 2022) I am hesitant to conduct additional research with new participants to be integrated

into the existing findings. I worry that it might do a disservice to new interlocutors who were not able to participate in the generation of the findings and theorizations. It might be interesting, however, if time and capacity permits, to engage in the processes anew with another small cohort of interlocutors, perhaps five or six, in another geographic context, to see how the results compare to the initial findings. As discussed earlier, the lack of cis and trans men in this study is a limitation of its findings. I will specifically recruit survivors who identify as cis and trans men or gender-masculine to discuss the findings of this study to see how it resonates and connects with their lives and experiences. This supplemental research could become an individual chapter, a subsequent journal article, and/or the foundation of a new study.

While this dissertation is representative of the breadth of topics and discussions of the project, it is certainly not wholly inclusive of everything my interlocutors and I discussed. I am particularly interested in developing journal articles and policy briefs that build upon this dissertation and focus specifically on processes of justice and community building in the campus setting. There remains unused and valuable findings that can support the development of programming and policies that can re/vision how campuses address sexual violence, support survivors, and work to prevent violence in the first place through community-building initiatives and fostering campus-based home work. I am also interested in developing a journal article that emerges from our conversations on accountability and the notion of "cancel culture."

Mary, on home

When I think of home, I think of places I haven't been—houses I pass on the street, their windows green with plants, their lights pressing warmth through the glass in the same

yellowish tone of the energy-inefficient light bulbs my mother would insist on buying because they felt "cozier."

This somehow organically leads me to remember the tarot reader I stayed with when I was 17—the squawking of her two adopted parrots, dogs barking when strangers passed the threshold of her crossed door. Her house was cluttered with mythology. A large print of Edmund Blair Leighton's *The Accolade* hung in the living room, perfectly placed where my eyes would wander to meet it when caught in long conversations. Her sharp tongue like the sword of the queen without her subtlety or gentleness—"Go forth. Stop being afraid." In the bathroom, an Anubis statue would watch as you washed your hands. The busyness of the house bled outside, dozens of windchimes placed anywhere they could be hung, bird baths and statues cascaded across the yard overlooking the river. Energy I could not see: "Did you see it? Did you see the spirit outside? It just moved."

The initial image feels separated from myself. My own room is an aspiration, is filled with my personal collection of mythology I don't think I live up to: my grandfather's funeral card with the Virgin Mary on the front, pictures of plants and animals (mostly birds), crystals meant to boost serenity and creativity. Mock life rendered inanimate.

I decided to move 1,000 miles away in 2021. It seemed that every time I tried to move forward in my life, I'd end up frozen, the entirety of myself caught in my throat, or I would be sucked backwards, screaming for release.

While the isolation of the pandemic was felt by everyone, my experience was tinged in a way that often made me feel unable to share or connect. This experience deepened as we went into early 2021, and the initial panic and comradery seemed to fade. Some days it was PTSD, others my brain just felt stretched thin by the lack of stimulation. I lost sight of the confidence and sense of self I was fostering in 2019. I found it difficult to identify my emotions and their roots, whereas I previously credited myself for being emotionally aware. My romantic relationship ended, and I no longer talked to my roommate, who was a long-term friend. In the first half of 2021 I felt silenced, unimportant, and isolated.

In moving I hoped to make new connections and create the life I had always dreamed of—one where I took an active role in my own fate, spent time developing my creative pursuits and felt at ease with other people who I could grow with. In the later part of 2021, in my new environment, I became bitter and defensive, because (unsurprisingly) moving far away does not fix internalized and compounded traumas, especially during a pandemic. I started drinking more and felt angry more often than not, getting into arguments with others on a frequent basis. I find that the stress of my job triggers these negative behaviors, but it also often feels like the only way to protect myself. To be jaded and combative is to be invulnerable. No one has the power to hurt me if my source of hurt is my own actions. No one has the power to hurt me if I just write them off.

This is not who I want to be. In 2022, I want to regain the connective tissue I once had, although in some cases with new people. I want to find the line between violating my own boundaries, forgiveness, and kindness. I want to stop pushing myself towards an illusion of success and ambition that in actuality only results in me never feeling like enough. I want to create things purely for myself. I want back the sense of hope I once had, despite so many previous versions of myself telling me it is naïve.

Home work

"I know that the way to create the world we want, and the one we owe those who come after us, is only something that can be achieved in community." (Birdsong, 2020, p. 230)

As I write this concluding chapter, my interlocutor-participants have been in my life for over a year. I am in the final days of four years of relative comfort and stability (having steady if unimpressive income as a funded doctoral student/candidate); the emergent anxiety of the unknown regarding what lies next for me begins to creep into my stomach, settling like a bowling ball. This is a horizon tinged with equal parts possibility and despondency. But I know that whatever comes next, I carry with me the community and relationships built in and through this project. The connective tissues of the project,

the people who in the past year have become instrumental to my survival, support my home work; they have, and will continue, to *orient me home*.

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APPENDIX A

INTERLOCUTORS

Below are two charts that include my interlocutors' demographic information and a brief contextualization. In line with my commitment that this project not center on victimization, my interlocutors' survivor-status will not be discussed outside of their own direct quotes on their experiences. Interlocutors identified as participants are those who responded to the call for participation in a research study and have no previous relationship with me. Interlocutors identified as research partners are individuals who I brought on to the project because of their knowledge of the fields of sexual violence, trauma, mental health, and survival, and by virtue of being based in Minneapolis. With the exception of Kia, who came to the project via my call for participants, I have known the four other research partners for several years through my advocacy work in Minneapolis.

Each of my interlocutors was offered the opportunity to select their pseudonym for the project. All of my participant-interlocutors are identified throughout this project via their selected pseudonym with the exception of Calia, who preferred to use her real name. My research partner-interlocutors elected to be identified by their first name and not choose a pseudonym. Interlocutors are listed below in alphabetical order with information provided by them in their interviews or in an elective demographic survey.

Participants

They/them/she/her; Alice is 24 and identifies as white, nonbinary, femme
presenting, and pansexual. Alice has a brittle-bone disease and uses a
wheelchair. They also live with mental disabilities. Alice is working-poor
and is currently an advocate for victims of domestic violence working
with a nonprofit agency serving the Twin Cities metropolitan area. They

	recently completed their master's and are applying to programs for their			
	doctorate.			
Bree	She/her/hers; Bree is 28 years old, a biracial, bisexual, cisgender Latir			
	woman. Bree attended public university in Minneapolis for undergrad and			
	for her master's degree. Bree works as a clinical therapist in Minneapolis.			
Calia*	She/her/hers; Calia is Hmong-American, a first-generation daughter of			
	immigrant parents. Calia identifies as a leftist, a feminist, and pansexual			
	woman. Calia attended community college in Minneapolis before			
	transferring to one of Minnesota's online public universities. She is			
	helping to raise her younger siblings and the siblings of her former			
	partner, with whom she still lives. Calia is the only participant to decline			
	the use of a pseudonym for the project.			
Charlie	She/her/hers; Charlie is 22 years old and identifies as a Black, queer,			
	pansexual, cisgender woman of lower/middle-class background, living			
	with mental disabilities. Charlie is a full-time student who graduated from			
	a private university in Minneapolis and recently relocated to a public			
	university in Texas to begin law school.			
Claire	She/her/they/them; Claire is 23 years old and identifies as disabled, living			
	with physical impairments and mental disabilities, including ADHD.			
	Claire is a lesbian and identifies that community as one of their strongest			
	connections. Claire attended a public university in Wisconsin for three			
	semesters before transferring to a public university in St. Paul, MN.			

Elle	They/them/she/her; Elle is 23 years old; they are genderqueer/nonbinary,				
	queer/bisexual, and live with mental and physical disabilities. Elle				
	identifies as being working class/poor, recognizing that it is contextual to				
	where they live and the socioeconomic conditions of their community.				
	Elle recently graduated from a private art school in Minneapolis.				
M	They/them; M is 26 years old and identifies as a queer, genderfluid and				
	transgender Filipino person living with mental disabilities who has had				
	fluctuating physical ability. They are working class and currently a social				
	science researcher at the public university in Minneapolis where they				
	attended undergrad.				
Mary	She/her/hers; Mary is 24 years old, a white, pansexual, cisgender woman				
	living with mental disabilities. She is a working-class, first-generation				
	college graduate who recently relocated to Pennsylvania for a job in K-12				
	education. Mary attended community college before transferring and				
	graduated from a public university in Minneapolis.				
Stanley	She/her/hers; Stanley is 25 years old and identifies as a white, Jewish				
	woman who grew up in a contentious family household, and was				
	particularly impacted by her mother's struggles with addiction. Stanley				
	attended public university in Minneapolis and currently works as a				
	clinical therapist. Stanley is the only participant to have stopped their				
	engagement with the project after the first individual interview.				

Z.Z	She/her/hers; Z.Z is 23 years old and identifies as a white, heterosexual,	
	cisgender woman living with PTSD, a mental/emotional disability. She is	
	a first-generation college graduate and considers herself to be working-	
	class/working-poor. Z.Z attended community college before transferring	
	and graduating from a public university in Minneapolis.	

Research partners

Christina	She/her/hers; Christina is 32 years old, and is a white, heterosexual,				
	cisgender woman. She is formerly the advocate training supervisor and				
	professional development coordinator at The Sexual Violence Center in				
	Minneapolis and is currently a therapist focusing on trauma. Christina is				
	also a mother of two young children.				
Kia	She/her/hers; Kia is 25 years old, a multiracial Black womxn who is				
	heterosexual and cisgender. Kia considers herself to be working class and				
	is an advocate for victim/survivors of sexual and domestic violence				
	working at a nonprofit agency in Minneapolis.				
Morgan	She/her/hers; Morgan is a 29 year old biracial Latina woman who is				
	bisexual and cisgender. She is a sex and relationship therapist who				
	primarily works with queer, kinky, and nonmonogamous folks, and was				
	an advocate who I had the privilege of working alongside at SVC.				
Sarah	She/her/hers; Sarah is 32 years old, a white, heterosexual, cisgender				
	woman. Sarah is the founder of Break the Silence, a nonprofit,				

	community-based advocacy organization for victim/survivors of sexu	
	violence based in Minneapolis/St. Paul, MN.	
Sawyer	He/him; Sawyer is a white trans man, a father to two children, and a	
	sexual violence prevention educator working at a nonprofit, community-	
	based advocacy organization based in Minneapolis/St. Paul, Mn. Sawyer	
	and I partnered to develop the <i>Ready to Act</i> bystander intervention	
	program for the Sexual Violence Center and Annex Teen Clinic in 2017.	

APPENDIX B

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

The following terms or concepts are utilized throughout this dissertation. The provided definitions explain how these terms are mobilized in this dissertation unless specifically indicated otherwise in a particular context in the dissertation.

Interlocutor – This term refers collectively to participants and research partners.

Participant / research participant – Refers to the 10 individuals who responded to the call for participants and engaged in one or more official data collection processes.

Rape culture – This concept explains sexual, domestic, and relationship violence as the result of social, cultural, institutional, and systemic contexts that perpetuates, enables, facilitates, and necessitates violence on multiple, intersectional, and co-constitutive scales from interpersonal to institutional to systemic.

Research partner – Refers to the five individuals who supported the project and me as co-facilitator of a data collection process, engaged in thematic discussions, or helped design the research protocols [see: Appendices E, F, G, H].

Sexual violence – This term is used as an umbrella concept to include a wide array of experiences of interpersonal violence when a person is forced, coerced, manipulated, or unable to consent to sexual-related activities including but not exclusively: rape, incest, domestic abuse, sexual harassment, street harassment (cat calling), child sexual abuse, commercial sexual exploitation (sex trafficking), revenge porn, stalking, quid pro quo sexual demands, hazing, substance-facilitated assault.

Survivor – This is often taken up as an identity for someone who has been victimized by sexual, domestic, relationship, or other forms of violence, and who has gone

through various processes to come to terms with their experience and to work toward healing.

Victim – This term is utilized to refer to a person who has experienced violence, usually in the short term immediately following the experience, and often in context of the incident as a criminal matter.

Victim/survivor – This term is often utilized by service providers to refer to a group of people impacted by sexual or domestic violence; a particular person who has not [yet] indicated that they identify with or prefer a specific term (victim or survivor, another term, or none).

APPENDIX C

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD (IRB) MATERIALS



		Page: 1 of 7
	PREPARED	APPROVE D BY:
	BY: IRB Staff	Heather Clark
DOCUMEN	DEPARTMEN	
T TITLE:	T: Office of	EFFECTIV
HRP 503 A	Research	E DATE:
Social	Integrity and	
Behavioral	Assurance	[3/26/2020]
Protocol	(ORIA)	

INSTRUCTIONS

Complete each section of the application. Based on the nature of the research being proposed some sections may not apply. Those sections can be marked as N/A. Remember that the IRB is concerned with risks and benefits to the research participant and your responses should clearly reflect these issues. You (the PI) need to retain the most recent protocol document for future revisions. Questions can be addressed to research.integrity@asu.edu. PIs are strongly encouraged to complete this application with words and terms used to describe the protocol is geared towards someone not specialized in the PI's area of expertise.

IRB: 1. Protocol Title: Being There and With: Foregrounding the Experiences and Voices of Survivors of Sexual Violence to Better Understand Community and Justice on College Campuses

IRB: 2. Background and Objectives

- 2.1 List the specific aims or research questions in 300 words or less.
- 2.2 Refer to findings relevant to the risks and benefits to participants in the proposed research.
- 2.3 Identify any past studies by ID number that are related to this study. If the work was done elsewhere, indicate the location.

TIPS for streamlining the review time:

- ✓ Two paragraphs or less is recommended.
- ✓ Do not submit sections of funded grants or similar. The IRB will request additional information, if needed.

- 2.1 The purpose of this research is to explore the experiences of survivors of sexual violence, their interactions with campus-based procedures, and the role of community relationships in their daily lives. The guiding research questions are:
 - 1. How do survivors of sexual violence frame or understand their experience in a social context?
 - 2. What does justice mean or look like to survivors of sexual violence?
 - 3. How do survivors of sexual violence engage in practices of community in their daily lives?
- 2.2 The purpose of this qualitative study is to improve the efficacy of prevention programming and response procedures regarding sexual violence on campus campuses based on the experiences of those who have navigated them in the past. The objective of this research is to foster survivor-centered policies by learning from the experiences of individuals who have navigated existing policies. The findings will seek to foster policies and procedures that meet the needs of survivors and create a more welcoming, equitable, and healthy campus culture.

IRB: 3. Data Use - What are the intended uses of the data generated from this project?

Examples include: Dissertation, thesis, undergraduate project, publication/journal article, conferences/presentations, results released to agency, organization, employer, or school. If other, then describe.

Response:

Data will be used for the completion of a dissertation, scholarly publications, journal articles and conferences/presentations. Findings will be shared with colleagues working with community-based and/or campus-based organizations for the purposes of survivor advocacy and prevention education especially any organizations or agencies that support recruitment, data collection, analysis or other research processes.

IRB: 4. Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

- 4.1 List criteria that define who will be included or excluded in your final sample. Indicate if each of the following special (vulnerable/protected) populations is included or excluded:
 - Minors (under 18)
 - Adults who are unable to consent (impaired decision-making capacity)
 - Prisoners
 - Economically or educationally disadvantaged individuals
- 4.2 If not obvious, what is the rationale for the exclusion of special populations?
- 4.3 What procedures will be used to determine inclusion/exclusion of special populations?

TIPS for streamlining the review time.

- ✓ Research involving only data analyses should only describe variables included in the dataset that will be used.
- ✓ For any research which includes or may likely include children/minors or adults unable to consent, review content [here]
- ✓ For research targeting Native Americans or populations with a high Native American demographic, or on or near tribal lands, review content [here] For research involving minors on campus, review content [here]

Response:

4.1 Research participants will include adults who attended a four-year university in Minnesota as a full-time, in-person student, since 2010. Participants are those who self-define as having experienced sexual, domestic, or intimate partner violence while attending university.

IRB: 5. Number of Participants

Indicate the total number of individuals you expect to recruit and enroll. For secondary data analyses, the response should reflect the number of cases in the dataset.

Response:

18 individuals recruited, 12 enrolled.

IRB: 6. Recruitment Methods

- 6.1 Identify who will be doing the recruitment and consenting of participants.
- 6.2 Identify when, where, and how potential participants will be identified, recruited, and consented.
- 6.3 Name materials that will be used (e.g., recruitment materials such as emails, flyers, advertisements, etc.) Please upload each recruitment material as a separate document, Name the document:
- recruitment methods email/flyer/advertisement dd-mm-yyyy
- 6.4 Describe the procedures relevant to using materials (e.g., consent form).

/

- 6.1 Brett Goldberg (Ph.D. Candidate) will utilize his contacts with practitioners and advocacy groups in Minneapolis to solicit participation in the research study and will do the consenting of participants.
- 6.2 Brett will utilize his network of current and former advocates and clinical therapists from the Sexual Violence Center and the Aurora Center, both located in Minneapolis, MN, to distribute the call for participation amongst their networks. Interested participants will be asked to contact Brett Goldberg to express interest or to ask questions. Participants will then be sent the project description that includes a short eligibility and interest questionnaire. Interested participants will then be asked to sign the digital consent documents. Participant recruitment will begin in January and conclude in February 2021.

At this time, individuals associated with the Sexual Violence Center and Aurora Center are contributing to the project as individuals and not as institutional representatives. Brett is in the process of discussing institutional support with representatives of these organizations.

- 6.3 See attachment recruitment methods socialmedia 11-6-2020.docx
- 6.4 Participation is voluntary, and participants may withdraw from the study at any time, without penalty. See attachment consent_form_11-6-2020.docx

IRB: 7. Study Procedures

- 7.1 List research procedure step by step (e.g., interventions, surveys, focus groups, observations, lab procedures, secondary data collection, accessing student or other records for research purposes, and follow-ups). Upload one attachment, dated, with all the materials relevant to this section. Name the document: supporting documents dd-mm-yyyy
- 7.2 For each procedure listed, describe <u>who</u> will be conducting it, <u>where</u> it will be performed, <u>how long</u> is participation in each procedure, and <u>how/what data</u> will be collected in each procedure.
- 7.3 Report the total period and span of time for the procedures (if applicable the timeline for follow ups).
- 7.4 For secondary data analyses, identify if it is a public dataset (please include a weblink where the data will be accessed from, if applicable). If not, describe the contents of the dataset, how it will be accessed, and attach data use agreement(s) if relevant.

TIPS for streamlining the review time.

- ✓ Ensure that research materials and procedures are explicitly connected to the articulated aims or research questions (from section 2 above).
- ✓ In some cases, a table enumerating the name of the measures, corresponding citation (if any), number of items, sources of data, time/wave if a repeated measures design can help the IRB streamline the review time.

- 7.1 Research procedures will be in four steps:
 - 1. Learning Session. Each participant will attend one learning session. In order to ensure that Learning Sessions have 4-7 participants, there will be at least two sessions scheduled and up to four. Brett Goldberg will conduct the learning session, and it will be attended by an advocate or therapist as a co-facilitator and support person. The learning sessions will be 60-90-minute academic presentations conducted online via Zoom on topics of "alternative" forms of justice. Topics will include Indigenous and Aboriginal forms of community-based justice processes, restorative practices, and Truth and Reconciliation commissions. The learning session will not specifically gather data as discussion will be saved for the Focus Groups, though clarifying questions that are asked will be tracked as data collected. All learning sessions will be conducted online utilizing Zoom and recorded.
 - 2. Focus Groups. There will be one focus group for each learning session. Focus groups will be 60-90 minutes, conducted by Brett Goldberg and will be attended by an advocate or therapist to provide support. All focus groups will be conducted online utilizing Zoom and recorded for analysis purposes.
 - 3. Questionnaires. Surveys utilizing Google Forms will be sent via email to focus group participants at the conclusion of each focus group. Surveys will be similar to course evaluations to gather anonymous information regarding participants impressions of the learning session and focus group. Participants will be asked for feedback on improving the learning session and to understand their takeaways. General demographic data will also be collected.
 - 4. Interviews. Participants will be interviewed by Brett Goldberg, and with their consent, an advocate or therapist will attend the interviews as co-facilitator and support person who will be focused on the emotional experience of interviewees. Interviews will be scheduled for one hour, and each participant may be asked for one or two follow-up 30-minute interviews. All interviews will be conducted online utilizing Zoom and recorded for analysis purposes.

See attachment interview_protocol_11-6-2020.docx for Interview, Learning Session, Focus Group, and Questionnaire Protocols.

7.2 All research procedures will be conducted by Brett Goldberg virtually using Zoom. The research design is rooted in the ethics of feminist praxis and the logistical principles of advocacy which necessitate two facilitators to appropriately attend to the various needs of the interview space. Brett will focus on the academic content of the interview process while the advocate will attend to the emotional experience of the interviewee and be available to provide support if needed. Additional information regarding risk to participant discussed in section IRB 9.

Research procedures will be recorded utilizing Zoom's record meeting function as well as audio recording via Screencast-O-Matic or QuickTime.

7.3 Research processes will begin in February 2021 with learning sessions and focus groups. These will be completed by the end of March 2021. Individual interviews will begin in March 2021 and all interviews and follow-ups will be concluded by June 2021.

7.4 N/A

IRB: 8. Compensation

- 8.1 Report the amount and timing of any compensation or credit to participants.
- 8.2 Identify the source of the funds to compensate participants.
- 8.3 Justify that the compensation to participants to indicate it is reasonable and/or how the compensation amount was determined.
- 8.4 Describe the procedures for distributing the compensation or assigning the credit to participants.

TIPS for streamlining the review time.

- ✓ If partial compensation or credit will be given or if completion of all elements is required, explain the rationale or a plan to avoid coercion
- ✓ For extra or course credit guidance, see "Research on educational programs or in classrooms" on the following page: https://researchintegrity.asu.edu/human-subjects/special-considerations.
- ✓ For compensation over \$100.00, review "Research Subject Compensation" at: https://researchintegrity.asu.edu/human-subjects/special-considerations for more information.

- 8.1 Research participants will receive a digital \$25.00 Visa gift card for their participation in each of the following activities:
 - Learning Session & Questionnaire
 - Focus Group
 - Initial Interview
 - Follow-up Interview 1
 - Follow-up Interview 2

Participant compensation will not exceed \$150 and payments will comply with FIN 421-05.

- 8.2 Funds to compensate participants will come from grants to which Brett is in the process of applying.
- 8.3 Each data collection process will run about an hour. According to inflation, the minimum wage in 2020 should be about \$22, therefore \$25 per hour is a reasonable amount of compensation to show gratitude and respect for the time and energy given by participants for the purposes of the study.
- 8.4 Participants will receive the gift card immediately following the completion of each research process.

IRB: 9. Risk to Participants

List the reasonably foreseeable risks, discomforts, or inconveniences related to participation in the research.

TIPS for streamlining the review time.

- ✓ Consider the broad definition of "minimal risk" as the probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipated in the research that are not greater in and of themselves than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine physical or psychological examinations or tests.
- ✓ Consider physical, psychological, social, legal, and economic risks.
- ✓ If there are risks, clearly describe the plan for mitigating the identified risks.

Discussions of sexual violence may be upsetting, uncomfortable, or triggering to survivors. To work to mitigate this possibility, the research will not be asking any specific or targeted questions about participants' victimization. Participants will not be discouraged from discussing any aspect of their experience if they choose to, but interview questions will not ask questions that seek this information. Participants will be given all questions in advance and may choose not to answer any question they are not comfortable with or may provide responses in alternate formats such as through an email or a recording they submit. All data collection processes that involve multiple participants will also include a Minnesota-state certified Advocate for Survivors of Sexual Violence who will be there to support participants during the process and be made available to them afterwards. With participants' consent, individual interviews will also be attended by an Advocate. Additionally, Brett Goldberg is a certified Advocate and will be bringing his knowledge and experience as a trauma-informed crisis counselor to the research process. Participants will be reminded throughout the process that they are in control and may skip questions, reschedule interviews, or remove their consent to participate at any time.

IRB: 10. Potential Direct Benefits to Participants

List the potential direct benefits to research participants. If there are risks noted in 9 (above), articulated benefits should outweigh such risks. These benefits are not to society or others not considered participants in the proposed research. Indicate if there is no direct benefit. A direct benefit comes as a direct result of the subject's participation in the research. An indirect benefit may be incidental to the subject's participation. Do not include compensation as a benefit.

Response:

There are three key potential benefits to the research participants:

- 1. Participants will have the opportunity to reframe their negative experiences into opportunities for learning that may help prevent violence and victimization in the future, as well as the creation of policies that better serve survivors.
- 2. Participants will have the opportunity to build and create community with other research participants through the learning sessions and focus groups. As a facilitator of support groups, Brett has seen first-hand the power of sharing stories and building community in countering the experiences of sexual violence that often leave survivors feeling alone and isolated.
- 3. The learning sessions are intended to be educational workshops that are interesting and valuable to the participants in addition to providing foundational information for the focus groups to discuss.

IRB: 11. Privacy and Confidentiality

Indicate the steps that will be taken to protect the participant's privacy.

- 11.1 Identify who will have access to the data.
- 11.2 Identify where, how, and how long data will be **stored** (e.g. ASU secure server, ASU cloud storage, filing cabinets).
- 11.3 Describe the procedures for sharing, managing and destroying data.
- 11.4 Describe any special measures to **protect** any extremely sensitive data (e.g. password protection, encryption, certificates of confidentiality, separation of identifiers and data, secured storage, etc.).
- 11.5 Describe how any <u>audio or video recordings</u> will be managed, secured, and/or de-identified.
- 11.6 Describe how will any signed consent, assent, and/or parental permission forms be secured and how long they will be maintained. These forms should separate from the rest of the study data.
- 11.7 Describe how any data will be <u>de-identified</u>, linked or tracked (e.g. master-list, contact list, reproducible participant ID, randomized ID, etc.). Outline the specific procedures and processes that will be followed.
- 11.8 Describe any and all identifying or contact information that will be collected for any reason during the course of the study and how it will be secured or protected. This includes contact information collected for follow-up, compensation, linking data, or recruitment.
- 11.9 For studies accessing existing data sets, clearly describe whether or not the data requires a Data Use Agreement or any other contracts/agreements to access it for research purposes.
- 11.10 For any data that may be covered under FERPA (student grades, etc.) additional information and requirements is available at https://researchintegrity.asu.edu/human-subjects/special-considerations.

- 11.1 Brett Goldberg will have access to the data in its entirety. Research partners and PI may be given selections of representative data for verification of codes during the analysis process. Representative data will not be associated to research participants by either their real names or assigned pseudonyms.
- 11.2 All data will be kept on a password-protected computer, in an encrypted, password protected folder. The data will be retained for approximately 10 years following the study's completion.
- 11.3 Names and other potentially identifying information will be kept confidential. A master list of the coding/pseudonyms will be kept by Brett on his password protected laptop in an encrypted password protected folder.
- 11.4 Participant consent forms will be coded as the master list, which will be maintained by Brett Goldberg in a locked file separate from data collected. The identification will only be used to ensure that data collected in multiple interviews is identified consistently. Assent and parental permission forms are not applicable for this research study.
- 11.5 All research activities will be conducted via Zoom and recorded utilizing Zoom's record function. Additionally, Screencast-o-matic or QuickTime will be used to create a secondary backup recording. Recordings will be stored on Brett Goldberg's password protected laptop, in a password protected and encrypted folder separate from other data. Recordings will be de-identified by using coding/pseudonyms of participants.
- 11.6 The signed consent forms will be kept on a password protected laptop, in a password protected and encrypted folder separate from other data. These documents will be retained for approximately 10 years following the study's completion.
- 11.7 A master list of the coding/pseudonyms will be kept on a password protected laptop, in a password protected encrypted folder separate from other data.
- 11.8 All contact information will be kept on a password protected laptop in a password protected encrypted folder.

11.9 N/A

11.10 N/A

IRB: 12. Consent

Describe the procedures that will be used to obtain consent or assent (and/or parental permission).

- 12.1 Who will be responsible for consenting participants?
- 12.2 Where will the consent process take place?
- 12.3 How will the consent be obtained (e.g., verbal, digital signature)?

TIPS for streamlining the review time.

- ✓ If participants who do not speak English will be enrolled, describe the process to ensure that the oral and/or written information provided to those participants will be in their preferred language. Indicate the language that will be used by those obtaining consent. For translation requirements, see Translating documents and materials under https://researchintegrity.asu.edu/human-subjects/protocol-submission
- ✓ Translated consent forms should be submitted after the English is version of all relevant materials are approved. Alternatively, submit translation certification letter.
- ✓ If a waiver for the informed consent process is requested, justify the waiver in terms of each of the following: (a) The research involves no more than minimal risk to the subjects; (b) The waiver or alteration will not adversely affect the rights and welfare of the subjects; (c) The research could not practicably be carried out without the waiver or alteration; and (d) Whenever appropriate, the subjects will be provided with additional pertinent information after participation. Studies involving confidential, one time, or anonymous data need not justify a waiver. A verbal consent or implied consent after reading a cover letter is sufficient.
- ✓ ASU consent templates are [here].
- ✓ Consents and related materials need to be congruent with the content of the application.

Response:

- 12.1 Brett Goldberg will be responsible for consenting participants.
- 12.2 The consent process will occur digitally over email.
- 12.3 Consent forms will be sent via email to participants by Brett Goldberg for their digital signature prior to engaging to any data collection processes. Participants will also be asked to confirm their ongoing consent at the beginning of each data collection process and will be reminded that they may rescind their consent at any point. Additionally, participants will be reminded that they may decide at any point for partial or complete omission of their data from the findings.

See attachment consent form 11-6-2020.docx

IRB: 13. Site(s) or locations where research will be conducted.

List the sites or locations where interactions with participants will occur-

- Identify where research procedures will be performed.
- For research conducted outside of the ASU describe:
 - o Site-specific regulations or customs affecting the research.
 - o Local scientific and ethical review structures in place.
- For research conducted outside of the United States/United States Territories describe:
 - Safeguards to ensure participants are protected.
- For information on international research, review the content [here].

For research conducted with secondary data (archived data):

- List what data will be collected and from where.
- Describe whether or not the data requires a Data Use Agreement or any other contracts/agreements to access it for research purposes.
- For any data that may be covered under FERPA (student grades, etc.) additional information and requirements is available [here].
- For any data that may be covered under FERPA (student grades, homework assignments, student ID numbers etc.), additional information and requirements is available [here].

Response:

Due to travel restrictions and ongoing safety concerns resulting from COVID-19, all research will be virtual, conducted via Zoom utilizing Brett Goldberg's encrypted ASU-employee account. Brett will always be participating from a private location where his screen cannot be viewed by others and will wear headphones to maximize the privacy of research processes. Research participants will be invited to participate in a location and under circumstances in which they are most comfortable. Group sessions will require privacy in order to emphasize confidentiality and ensure as much privacy and comfort as possible. The importance of confidentiality will be emphasized throughout focus groups and individual interviews.

IRB: 14. Human Subjects Certification from Training.

Provide the names of the members of the research team.

ASU affiliated individuals do not need attach Certificates. Non-ASU investigators and research team members anticipated to manage data and/or interact with participants, need to provide the most recent CITI training for human participants available at www.citiprogram.org. Certificates are valid for 4 years.

TIPS for streamlining the review time.

✓ If any of the study team members have not completed training through ASU's CITI training (i.e. they completed training at another university), copies of their completion reports will need to be uploaded when you submit.

- ✓ For any team members who are affiliated with another institution, please see "Collaborating with other institutions" [here]
- ✓ The IRB will verify that team members have completed IRB training. Details on how to complete IRB CITI training through ASU are [here]

PI-Dr. Rashad Shabazz, Brett S. Goldberg (Ph.D. Candidate)

General Tips:

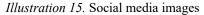
- Have all members of the research team complete IRB training before submitting.
- Ensure that all your instruments, recruitment materials, study instruments, and consent forms are submitted via ERA when you submit your protocol document. Templates are [here]
- Submit a complete protocol. Don't ask questions in the protocol submit with your best option and, if not appropriate, revisions will be requested.
- If your study has undeveloped phases, clearly indicate in the protocol document that the details and materials for those phases will be submitted via a modification when ready.
- Review all materials for consistency. Ensure that the procedures, lengths of
 participation, dates, etc., are consistent across all the materials you submit for
 review.
- Only ASU faculty, full time staff may serve as the PI. Students may prepare the submission by listing the faculty member as the PI. The submit button will only be visible to the PI.
- Information on how and what to submit with your study in ERA is [here]. Note that if you are a student, you will need to have your Principal Investigator submit.
- For details on how to submit this document as part of a study for review and approval by the ASU IRB, visit https://researchintegrity.asu.edu/human-subjects/protocol-submission.

APPENDIX D

RECRUITMENT MATERIALS

Social media images







Social media post

Are you interested in making campuses safer and healthy environments for students? Do you identify as someone who has experienced sexual, domestic, or relationship violence while attending university? Are you interested in talking about your experiences with university policies, community or social activities, and social justice? Are you at least 18 years old? And did you attend university in Minneapolis between 2010 and 2020? If you answered "yes" to all these questions, you are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Arizona State University! You will be asked to participate in one 90-minute presentation, one 60-90-minute group discussion, and one 60-minute interview. Participants will not be asked questions about their experiences of victimization. Participants will be compensated \$25 for each process. Participation is voluntary and you will have opportunities for ongoing participation if you are interested. For more information, contact Brett at brettg@asu.edu or 646-***-****.

⁵⁶ My phone number was included in the post but omitted here.

Flyer



Victim-survivors discussing community & accountability.

If you are 18 or older and experienced domestic, relationship, or sexual violence while attending college, you may be eligible to participate.

This research study is interested in understanding how justice or accountability was or was not experienced following experiences of harm that occurred while individuals were college students in Minneapolis/St. Paul.

This study wants to learn from survivors how their experiences have impacted their relationships and their communities, as well as their thoughts about social justice.

Participants will NOT be asked to discuss their experiences of victimization

Individuals are invited to participate via Zoom in:

- 1-hour individual interview with the researcher
 - View three 13-minute YouTube videos on re/thinking justice and community building
 - 90-minute group discussion on the videos
 - Additional voluntary opportunities for collaborating on the project can be discussed following the individual interview

Participants will receive a \$25 gift card for every 1-hour of their time, up to \$150

Location

 Research will be conducted in encrypted and invitation-only Zoom sessions

Are you eligible?

- 18 years or older
- Self-identify as a survivor of sexual, domestic, or relationship violence
- Experienced violence while attending a 4-year university in Minneapolis between 2010-2020

If you have questions, please feel free to reach out to Brett S. Goldberg (he/they), PhD Candidate & Study Researcher

- brettg@asu.edu
- 646-234-0311 (text preferred)
- tinyurl.com/communityresearchstudy

Support Services

- Sexual Violence Center 24-hour Crisis Line: 612-871-5111
- Crisis Counselor Text Line: Text HOME to 741741
- National Suicide Prevention Lifeline
 - o **800-273-8255**
 - Live Chat online suicidepreventionlifeline.org

FOR MORE INFORMATION CONTACT BRETT S. GOLDBERG (brettg@asu.edu)
OR VISIT https://tinyurl.com/communityresearchstudy TO SIGN UP



School of Social Transformation, College of Liberal Arts & Sciences, Arizona State University

Illustration 16. Recruitment flyer

Online contact form

Research Study on Survivors, Community, and Justice⁵⁷

Are you interested in making university campuses inclusive, safe, and equitable? Do you want to talk about social justice, campus policies, and violence prevention? Do you identify as having experienced sexual, domestic, or relationship violence while attending university?

I'm Brett, a PhD candidate in Justice Studies trying to learn how people who identify as survivors of sexual, domestic, or relationship violence think about social justice and community. Having experienced domestic and relationship violence myself, I know it impacts greatly how I see the world and how I connect with other people and form relationships. Your experiences and perspectives matter and are very important. I want to learn from you about your experiences in university related to campus response, how it impacted your relationships and communities, and your ideas about social justice more broadly.

You will NOT be asked about the specific details of your experiences of victimization.

To be eligible to participate in this study, you need to be over the age of 18 and self-identify as a survivor of sexual, domestic, or relationship violence who experienced violence while attending a 4-year university in Minneapolis between 2010-2020.

As participants you will be asked to:

- 1. Meet with a researcher and survivor advocate via Zoom for one 60-minute individual interview
- 2. View three short YouTube videos (13-minutes each) on topics of justice, accountability, and community building
- 3. Participate in an online 90-minute group discussion about the presentation

At the end of the individual interview, you will also be invited to continue participating in the research analysis and writing processes, per your own comfort, interest, and availability.

Study participants will receive a \$25 gift card for each process they participate in, up to \$150.

If you are interested, please contact me at brettg@asu.edu or 646-234-0311 (text preferred), or provide your email below.

Support services:

Sexual Violence Center, Minneapolis - 24-hour Crisis Line 612-871-5111

⁵⁷ People interested in participating in the project were directed to tinyurl.com/communityresearchstudy where they would find this document, and be able to contact me via a Google Form to express their interest.

Tubman Domestic Violence Crisis & Resource Center, Minneapolis - 24-hour Crisis Line 612-825-000

National Domestic Violence Hotline - Phone 800-799-SAFE (7233) / Live Chat thehotline.org

National Suicide Prevention Lifeline - Phone 800-273-8255 / Live Chat suicidepreventionlifeline.org

Crisis Counselor Text Line - Text HOME to 741741 to reach a counselor

If you are interested in participating and would like to be contacted by the research team, please provide your email below.

Preferred name & pronouns

If you have any questions or concerns, please let us know and we will do our best to answer them when we respond.

Consent Form

Being There and With: Foregrounding the Experiences and Voices of Survivors of Sexual Violence to Better Understand Community and Justice on College Campuses

I am a doctoral candidate in Justice Studies under the direction of Dr. Rashad Shabazz in the School of Social Transformation at Arizona State University. I am conducting research to explore the experiences of survivors who experienced sexual, domestic, or relationship violence while attending university. This study is to more fully understand how we might better meet the needs of survivors in the aftermath and ongoing, as well as how to more successfully prevent violence in the first place.

In addition to a grad student, I am also a trained and certified Advocate for Victim/Survivors of Sexual Violence. I recognize the risks in discussing experiences of sexual violence. I will work to ensure that all research processes are trauma-informed and to minimize risk or discomfort. I identify as having experienced domestic and relationship violence, and your comfort and safety are my highest priority.

I am inviting your participation, which will involve one 90-minute presentation, one 60-90-minute group discussion, and one 60-minute interview. You may be asked to participate in up to two 30-minute follow-up interviews if you are interested and available. Interview questions will be provided in advance, and you have the right to not answer any question, and to stop participation at any time. There will be no questions asking you to recount or discuss experiences of victimization.

All research activities will occur online using Zoom, and I would like to record these processes. The interviews will not be recorded without your permission. Please let me know if you do not want the interview to be recorded; you also can change your mind after the interview starts.

Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. You must be 18 or older to participate. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty. I will be offering a small compensation of \$25 gift cards per participant, per activity, for a total of up to \$150. Compensation will be distributed via email directly after each activity.

Your responses in the interviews and group discussions will be used for the purpose of academic research and publication (both in print and online). The data collected will be used for a doctoral dissertation tentatively titled, "Being There and With: Foregrounding the Experiences and Voices of Survivors of Sexual Violence to Better Understand

⁵⁸ The consent form was shared with my interlocutors utilizing DocuSign.com immediately after scheduling their first individual interview and was signed digitally.

Community and Justice on College Campuses," as well as for other scholarly reports, presentations, or publications.

Your responses in this study will be confidential, maintained by assigning you a pseudonym of your choice or using only your first name, whichever you prefer. All recordings will be saved on my personal laptop in an encrypted folder with a password that is only accessible to me. After 10 years the recordings will be deleted.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact the research team at: (brettg@asu.edu). If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788. Please let me know if you wish to be part of the study by signing this page.

By signing below you are agreeing to be part of the study.

Name:
Signature:
Date:
INVESTIGATOR'S STATEMENT
"I certify that I have explained to the above individual the nature and purpose, the potential benefits and possible risks associated with participation in this research study, have answered any questions that have been raised, and have witnessed the above signature. These elements of Informed Consent conform to the Assurance given by Arizona State University to the Office for Human Research Protections to protect the rights of human subjects. I have provided (offered) the subject/participant a copy of this signed consent document."
Signature of Investigator
Date

APPENDIX E

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS PROTOCOL

Research Study - Brett S. Goldberg, PhD Candidate, Arizona State University Survivors of Domestic, Relationship, and Sexual Violence Discussing Community and Justice⁵⁹

"Community" is often used as a noun to refer to a place or a group of people to imply something that is fixed and stable. However, I have come to understand that community is a verb; community is practiced; it is perpetually in process and in progress. This project emerges from this understanding. In order to re/think how justice is pursued and enacted in the context of sexual violence and college campuses, I first want to re/focus on what it means to be *in* community and to *do* the practice of community.

While this project originated with the intention of focusing on campus-based policy and community building, it has expanded in part due to the collective trauma of 2020—including the global pandemic, political landscape in the United States, and ongoing revolutions for social justice.

I identify as surviving domestic violence in my family of origin, and as a survivor of relationship violence in past intimate partnerships. Survival has shaped how I understand myself, how I interact with others, and how I engage with the world. This project is interested in centering the views and experiences of survivors without explicitly focusing on victimization. I am interested in what I can learn from and with other survivors about resiliency, relationships and community building, and moving through the collective experiences of trauma of the last year specifically, and of rape culture more generally.

The interview questions are provided below so that there are no surprises. As a participant in this project, you will not be expected to speak on your experiences of victimization though you are invited to share any topic or experience that feels comfortable for you and that you are compelled to discuss.

For purposes of anonymity, please choose a pseudonym that will be used for you throughout this research study. You will be asked to change your name in Zoom to match this pseudonym before recording begins.

Within the scope of our conversations, we will be discussing your experiences. I want to be explicit in that I fully respect however you choose to identify and will use the identities that you use to describe yourself when this study is analyzed and written up (such as victim, survivor, victim-survivor, etc.).

Support Services:

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- Sexual Violence Center, Minneapolis 24-hour Crisis Line 612-871-5111
- Tubman Domestic Violence Crisis & Resource Center, Minneapolis 24-hour Crisis Line 612-825-000

⁵⁹ This document was shared with each of my interlocutors at least 24-hours before their scheduled interview so that they could review the questions and prepare however they chose to=as determined by their own needs.

- National Domestic Violence Hotline Phone 800-799-SAFE (7233) / Live Chat thehotline.org
- National Suicide Prevention Lifeline Phone 800-273-8255 / Live Chat suicidepreventionlifeline.org
- Crisis Counselor Text Line Text HOME to 741741 to reach a counselor Hello! Thank you for meeting with me and for your interest in this study! I appreciate you and your time.

[Introduce co-facilitator/advocate. Provide links to crisis resources in the chat window].

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Introduction:

- 1. Do you believe a hot dog is a sandwich? Why or why not?
- 2. Where were you born/raised? Tell me a little about your family. What 3-5 buzzwords would people close to you use to describe you?
- 3. When and where did you attend university in Minnesota? What was your major?
- 4. What are some of your favorite memories of your time in university?
 - a. Who were some of your favorite people during your time at university? Why them?
 - b. Is there anyone within the university such as faculty or staff that particularly stands out for you? Why or why not?
 - c. Are you in touch with or connected to any of these people currently?
- 5. In the description of the project, I discuss community as being a verb, as something that is actively practiced. What was your reaction to that description?
- 6. What community/ies, if any, do you feel a part of? What does community involvement look like within these community/ies?
 - a. Are you satisfied with your current level of community involvement?
 - b. What would you need to feel more involved within your community/ies?
- 7. What do you think your community/ies value? How do you know that these are values?

2020

- 1. How has the pandemic impacted you and your daily life?
 - a. Who was in your immediate space? Did you create a pod or network?
- 2. Has COVID-19 and the related shutdowns shifted your understanding of community in any way? Why or why not?
- 3. Has COVID-19 changed or impacted your ability to connect or be involved with the communities you mentioned earlier?

- 4. In May of 2020, Minneapolis became a newly energized hub of social justice and activism after the murder of George Floyd. How, if at all, were you impacted by this event and the resulting protests?
 - a. How did your communities react to the murder and the protests?
 - b. Were these reactions in line with your view of the values of these communities?
 - c. Have you noticed any shifts in your ideas of community or of yourself as a result of the murder and/or the protests?
- 5. Throughout 2020, do you have a particular memory:
 - a. ... of community connection or coming together?
 - b. ...of feeling upset by the choices/actions/lack thereof of your communities?
 - c. ...of feeling proud of their choices/actions?
- 6. What are your hopes for your community/ies in the future? How do you see yourself contributing to, or impacting, these hopes?

University:

- 1. Were you a part of any groups, clubs, or organizations when you attended university? How did you learn about them? What drew you to them?
 - a. What was the culture or community of these like?
 - b. Were there particular values of these communities/organizations that motivated you to join or resonated with you while you were a part of them?
- 2. Did you feel connected to the larger community and culture of your university? What contributed to those feelings of connection or disconnection?
- 3. Were there certain groups or types of people that you found to be more or less connected to the university community?
 - a. Of the groups that were more connected to the university community, did you wish to be a part of them? Could you have been? Were there barriers?
- 4. Had the pandemic happened while you were attending university, how do you think your friendships, group involvement, and/or overall sense of belonging would have changed or remained the same?
- 5. Based on your experience, what advice would you give to first year college students entering your university?
- 6. How do you see your experiences in university as shaping who you are now, and where you see yourself going?

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#### Futures

1. Is there anything that I did not ask about that you would like to share or anything you'd like to add to our discussion?

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Thank you for your time and sharing your experiences and thoughts with us!

APPENDIX F

LEARNING SESSION PROTOCOLS

Video 1 - "Justice as it is"

As a student in justice studies, I approach the work with a background as an activist, a community organizer, and an advocate for victim/survivors of sexual violence. My foundations are in social justice. I believe that we all have a part to play in the pursuit, fulfillment, and enactment of justice. And I believe that the central questions of justice studies are and should be: What is the world I want to live in? And what do we and I need to do to bring it into being?

What I would like to try to do in this presentation is reorient our understanding or conception of justice looks like in our lives and communities. Justice is essentially how we organize our government, our communities, our relationships, and our lives in ways that facilitates and fosters the world that we want to live in.

Justice is often used synonymously with a number of different concepts, and often uncritically or unintentionally. Sometimes we speak of justice when we really just mean punishment or retribution. Sometimes justice is meant to mean restitution or seeking some sort of social or economic balance. Justice may be used to mean accountability or responsibility, of others, or oneself. Justice may be used to speak to notions of fairness, equity, or balance.

Not all of these concepts may align with our individual or collective notions of what is just, or justice served. So we must be specific about framing "justice" so that it speaks to our beliefs, our politics, and our vision for the future and the world. In the course that I teach on theories of justice and the institutions or organizations we have formed to manifest them, I frame justice as being about relationships, about how we envision the world we want to live in and the material and tangible ways that we bring that world into being.

In this first presentation I will discuss:

- 1. Criminal justice in the US
- 2. Administrative justice on campus
- 3. Police & prison abolition

1. Criminal Justice

In the United States, justice is often implicitly associated with the concept of Criminal justice which is fundamentally about retribution, or punishment. In the framework of criminal justice, the State is presented as the aggrieved or victim party. Even in crimes committed against individuals, such as murder, robbery, or assault, because those acts are against the law, the victim is the state, and the actual harmed person is essentially only a witness to the crime. When a person is found guilty, punishment is about making amends to the state and to society, and does not necessarily benefit or seek to make amends to specific individuals. Punishments reflect to what degree that person may be allowed to participate in civil society, and or what they need to do to re-earn participation. They may be sentenced to time in jail or prison, or they may be put on probation where jail or prison

is threatened if they do not behave in certain ways. They may be forced to pay penalties or fees, again not to the actual victim of the crime, but to the State. Or they may have to engage in community service activities. Criminal justice depends upon the belief that punishment is a necessary and effective deterrent to future crimes or misdeeds and keeps people acting in accordance with the values of society.

When looking at sexual violence, we cannot help but ask whether the notion of punishment as a deterrent is effective. And whether or not the system as it supports and enables victims to come forward to have justice served and their needs met to facilitate their healing and pursue a sense of justice.

[Graphic on sexual violence reporting -> Prosecution]

We live in a culture, where despite overwhelming evidence and personal connections to violence, we make it incredibly difficult on survivors.

2. Campus-based Justice

a. Code of Conduct

For purposes of "objectivity" in regards to my research study, I am going to utilize my current institution when discussion how justice is pursued on college campuses. Arizona State University is a large, public, land-grant institution that draws students from across the southwest, the nation, and has a significant international student body.

ASU Student Rights & Responsibilities – Mission: Guided by ASU's commitment to excellence, access, and impact, the Office of Student Rights and Responsibilities (SRR) supports a safe and inclusive environment that fosters the intellectual, personal, social, ethical development of all students. In partnership with university departments and programs, we help students see themselves as responsible members in a diverse community. SRR provides students with the opportunity to consider the ways in which their conduct may define and impact their college experience-personally and in relationship with others.

Code of Conduct outlines students' rights and responsibilities; administrative, not criminal, and thus offers ASU a lower threshold of proof, and students have to explicitly consent to abide by it.

Philosophy: The aim of education is the intellectual, personal, social, and ethical development of the individual. The educational process is ideally conducted in an environment that encourages reasoned discourse, intellectual honesty, openness to constructive change, and respect for the rights of all individuals. Self-discipline and a respect for the rights of others in the university community are necessary for the

fulfillment of such goals. The Student Code of Conduct is designed to promote this environment at each of the state universities

Encompassing all aspects of life within a community, both educational, and more generalized.

b. Title IX

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, as amended protects individuals from discrimination based on sex in any educational program or activity operated by recipients of federal financial assistance. As required by Title IX, ASU does not discriminate on the basis of sex in the education programs or activities that we operate, including in admission and employment.

ASU is committed to providing an environment free from discrimination based on sex and provides a number of supportive measures including resources and services to assist students, faculty and staff. Sexual violence, sexual harassment, stalking and relationship violence have a profound impact on academic, social, working, and personal life, and negatively affects friends and families, other students, co-workers, and members of the university community.

Though ASU has counseling services and an office of Sexual Violence Prevention Education, it has no dedicated rape crisis center, and no team of advocates that operates independently and anonymously from the ASU Police Department, despite ongoing demands by groups of survivors and ally organizations.

According to ASU's 2020 Annual Security and Fire Report, mandated by the Clery act; there were 259 reported incidents of sexual, domestic, and relationship violence across its multiple campuses between 2017 and 2019. Those are only incidents that were officially reported to ASU police, the Dean's office, or other mandated reporting agencies or departments.

3. Abolition

I know it can be difficult or confusing to think of a world without police, without prisons and jails. But justice does not come easy, and what is easy is very rarely what is best. We have to recognize the violence of what appears easy. And recognize that easy often comes with privilege. It is not easy or pleasant to reflect on how our privilege may be at the expense of someone else's oppression. We have to recognize the harm brought on communities of color, on Indigenous folks, on the queer community, on the poor, on people with disabilities. And on and on. It is crucial that we begin to understand the ways in which the police are not designed to protect us, our families, or our communities. The

police are fundamentally designed and intended to protect power and to protect property. Police can be traced to the renegade slave patrols acting as bounty hunters to collect enslaved peoples who had escaped and return them to servitude. This violent and oppressive legacy continues today, and we see it again and again in the extrajudicial murders of George Floyd, of Breonna Taylor, of Dion Johnson, and on and on. The ways we pursue justice are a reflection on our values and ideals.

Defund the police should be understood as the start of a conversation, not the end of it. It is the beginning of a revisioning of how our lives, communities, and governments are organized. Discussing what it means or would look like to defund the police allows us to start talking about re-funding social services, re-funding community development, refunding initiatives that support individuals, that can reduce poverty, reduce homelessness, create jobs, provide social services to those who struggle with substance abuse, or mental health disabilities. Re-allocating funds that come from our tax dollars and civil investments into programs and initiatives that help facilitate the world we want to live in.

To highlight this issue, let's take a look at the city budget of PHX ...

Now, let's also look at the city budget of Los Angeles, one of the most culturally diverse cities in the United States, and also one of the most liberal. And yet, this is their budget. These budgets are a reflection of priorities and values.

Emerging out of the Black Lives Matter movement and the long-time movement for prison abolition is an organization called 8 to abolition. Their platform is focused on redistributing the funds in city budgets away from policing and toward social services that strengthen communities, reduce poverty, end homelessness, support job creation and community development, and reduce the need for police by eliminating the social factors that harm communities at the source. This is about funding solutions that address root causes not treat symptoms. This is epistemic justice in action. Utilizing distributive justice to change and realign civil prioritization of funds, taking account for the ways that retributive justice has been applied inequitably, and the failures of retributive justice to truly address individual or systemic harm, and seeking to utilize procedural justice to shift how we allocate communal resources and programming in ways that reflect our priorities and values, and where we put our time and energy.

Because of the intersections of my work—social justice, gender studies, masculinities, rape culture—I often hear the question, "If we get rid of the police, what will happen to the rapists? Or who will you call if you are assaulted?" And those are tough questions for two reasons. First, because statistics and our lived experiences tell us that as a society, we are not doing much with the rapists now; either to punish them or prevent them. But this

is also a tough question because it gets to the heart of a deeper problem. That our only recourse in an emergency is to outsource the solution. We do not have community or network-based solutions that can respond to interpersonal, relational, or communal problems. With these realities in mind it is important to state that campaigns such as 8 to Abolition focus on transitioning funds over time, so as inflated police budgets are reallocated to social services, we are able to build the new while we tear down the old.

Video 2 - "International Case Studies of Transitional Justice"

For many years now, I have been interested in two international historical events that are somewhat watershed moments for what justice and accountability can look like in the most extreme circumstances. First, The South African Commission for Truth and Reconciliation that was implemented following the fall of the white supremacist Apartheid government, and the Rwandan Gacaca Courts, rooted in traditional community practices that were called upon for truth and accountability following the atrocities of the Rwandan genocide.

These are both examples of justice at the intersection of retribution (justice as punishment) and restorative, and transitional justice. Neither example is perfect, and there are justifiable and necessary critiques that I will share. But they tried something that they knew would be more difficult than typical trials, and recognized that healing must be as prioritized as punishment in order to move forward as a nation and people in communities.

South African Truth & Reconciliation

- 1. History of Apartheid
 - a. Apartheid (which means apart or separate in Afrikaans) was a legislated form of government lasting over 50 years, mirroring policies in the United States of both the Jim Crow south as well as our treatment of Indigenous nations.
 - b. Black Africans were made to live in reservations and barred from traditional forms of employment essential to their livelihoods. People were removed from their indigenous homelands so that it could be sold cheaply to whites.
 - c. The intention of separations was not only to isolate the minority white African ruling party from non-white Africans, but to also create a system of hierarchy amongst people of color to prevent solidarity.
 - d. South Africans of color were required to carry ID cards to pass between the various divided regions of the country
 - e. Interracial sex and marriage was made illegal

- f. Resistance to the Apartheid government, economic inequality, and racist policies took on multiple forms from non-violent civil disobedience to armed militant revolutionary groups.
- g. In 1989 a reformist government came to power, bowing to decades of internal resistance and international condemnation; President F.W. de Klerk worked to undue much of the Apartheid legislated government and a new constitution was drafted. Nelson Mandela, freed from decades in prison, was elected President of the new nation and he selected Archbishop Desmond Tutu to head the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation.

2. Process of Truth & Reconciliation

- a. Founded upon the doctrine of human rights and Christian theology, and largely shaped by the Commission Chairman Tutu, framed by concept of Ubuntu Africanism
 - i. [Ubuntu] "My humanity is caught up, is inextricably bound up, in yours."

b. Purpose

- i. Bear witness
- ii. Document truth
- iii. Grant amnesty to perpetrators
- iv. Provide reparations to victims
- v. Legitimate the new government in opposition to the old
- c. Third way between Retribution and Restoration
 - i. Full amnesty for perpetrators who detailed the truth of their crimes
 - ii. Apologies not necessary or required
 - iii. Victims denied civil claims against their perpetrators granted amnesty

3. Pros

- a. Rejection of Western retributivism, and the legacy of the Nuremberg Trials which was seen as "victor's justice;" a detached justice in which the Allies went home afterwards and did not have to live with or among the Axis.
- b. National amnesia in order to move on quickly was recognized as victimizing the victims anew

4. Cons

- a. By putting individual acts of "gross human rights violations" on trial, the commission failed to effectively put the system of apartheid on trial
- b. Reckoning over reconciliation
- c. Amnesty allowed for truth, but did it evade justice or accountability?
- d. Restorative element was largely conflated with reparations; Individual reparations seen as a balm on a wound, but were not significant enough to fully make speak to traumas or losses

e. Commission focused on Apartheid government and military officials; did not account for the reality that Apartheid lasted for as long as it did because of the silence, acquiescence, and collaboration of ordinary white citizens

5. Questions

- a. Can retribution facilitate reconciliation?
- b. How does truth precede reconciliation?
- c. Is reconciliation in the service of nation-building the same as reconciliation for healing and community building?

Rwanda Gacaca Courts (CW: sexual violence)

- 1. History of Ethnic Rwanda
 - a. Two ethnic groups majority Hutus & minority Tutsis
 - i. Same language, regions, and traditions
 - ii. Tutsis are taller and thinner and thought to originate from Ethiopia
 - iii. Beligium colonization began in 1916; privileged the Tutsis and gave them special benefits (better jobs and educational opportunities), which the Tutsis embraced
 - iv. Post-colonial Rwanda, the Hutus gained power and scapegoated the Tutsis for any domestic issue
 - v. Political "culture of war" violence as a way of doing politics and gaining power in a system of multipartyism

b. 1994 Rwandan Genocide

- i. Despite a peace accord between ethnic political parties, the President's plane was shot down in 1994 and rebel Tutsi groups were blamed, sparking an escalation of violence
- ii. Over the next 100 days between 800,000 and 1M Tutsis and moderate Hutus were murdered
- iii. Between 250,000 and 500,000 women were raped
- iv. 67% of the women who were raped were infected with HIV, marking the intentional use of HIV as a weapon of genocide
- v. At least 75,000 children were orphaned

c. Gacaca Courts

- i. Gacaca means "justice in the grass" community-based process
- ii. Judges were respected elders in the community
- iii. Reconciliation traditionally included reparations paid to both direct victims/family and then the community as a whole (beer)
- iv. Cattle theft, murder, and other serious crimes were judged by chiefs or representatives of the king

2. Process

- a. Purpose Five goals
 - i. Establish truth
 - ii. Accelerate the legal proceedings
 - iii. Eradicate a culture of impunity
 - iv. Reconcile Rwandans & reinforce unity
 - v. Use the capacities of the Rwandan society to administer justice based on Rwandan customs
- b. Restoration of social harmony the primary goal, truth, punishment, and reparations were secondary
- c. Justice from the grassroots, among the impacted community when possible; escalated when necessary
- d. "Confession-based" by the victims, community members, and the perpetrators

3. Pros

- a. Reinvented a traditional method of justice and community building, attempted to defy the retributivism of western justice
- b. Life-history approach to address subjectivity and meaning
 - i. "...retain the rich texture of the narratives and avoid reducing them to singular, anecdotal examples." p 83
 - ii. Quote collages: they consist of short sentences, explanations, evocations, and the like taken from individual life stories and assembled into a constructed narrative theme" p 84

4. Cons

- a. Modern gacaca was more retributive than traditional gacaca courts, and more focused on forensic "truth"
- b. Much of the official, state reporting on the courts, is quantitative rather than qualitative
- c. Confessions were utilized for personal reasons (get out of jail faster)
- d. Community service reparations often occurred in faraway work camps and did not serve the intended purpose of paying back the impacted community or individuals
- e. Concerns over trauma & safety of victim-survivors was not prioritized
- f. Scale, meant that judges were over-worked, potentially under-skilled to take on the weight and logistics of the process; process itself was slow and tedious at times, meant community engagement waned over time
- g. Compensation has still not been fulfilled to individual victims
- h. Cases involving sexual violence were not always handled with the anonymity or privacy requested of the victims

5. Questions

- a. "My findings also contest whether the forensic truth heals, as the field of transitional justice often claims it does. Dialogue and even silence, which occurred before, after, and in the margins of the *gacaca* process, also had a healing function."
- b. "Pragmatic theory of truth "what is true is that which gets things done and produces favorable outcomes in a particular space and time."
- c. "A stronger and more robust legal framework was needed to ensure judges' impartiality and to insist upon reasoned and fact-based judgments.

Video 3 - "Restorative & Transformative Justice"

Restorative justice recognizes that crimes or offenses cause harm or break a social norm create an imbalance in communities, relationships, and individual lives and that it is the offender's responsibility to make amends. Fundamentally restorative justice is about recognizing that when a crime, offense, or harm occurs, it does not exist only in that moment alone. There are repercussions, there may be lasting trauma, or there is a change in social, communal, or interpersonal relationships and dynamics. Restorative justice is about restoring the balance that existed before the harm occurred. Whereas retributive justice is largely concerned with the moment of harm or crime, restorative justice recognizes what came before and what lingers after the event and seeks to understand the event in a social and relational context.

Like many in the anti-domestic and sexual violence and women's movements, I have concerns about restorative justice as a framework. Because of this, I place my own work within the framework of Transformative justice which is a somewhat newer concept and less grounded in academic writing and practical implementation, but it can be seen in the actions of social movements, in radical and anarchist communities, and in many Indigenous practices. My concern with restorative justice as a framework is that it assumes that restoring back to the conditions before the moment of harm or the act of the crime will enable and facilitate justice. But what if it is in fact the existing social and cultural conditions that facilitated the harm or enabled it to occur? Social movements such as Black Lives Matters and MeToo have been working to make it clear that moments of harm are not disruptions to social harmony, they are products and the results of social, political, and economic disharmony. So what exactly are we restoring to?

Transformative justice does not work to only repair the experience of harm, but to change the very conditions that allowed for the harm in the first place. Transformative justice, through various context and situationally specific processes, seeks to change the very conditions, the social dynamic, and the realities of relationships, so that a specific harm is not only addressed but the facilitating conditions are changed, and future harms are prevented.

This critique and analysis is not meant to discount the very important work of restorative justice, and the necessary contribution that the framework has and continues to make in the United States in addressing the gaps and shortcomings of the criminal justice system.

Restorative justice is particularly important and necessary in disrupting the school to prison pipeline and replacing retributive forms of punishment such as expulsions in the school system that drastically and disproportionately impact children of color.

The contribution of restorative justice is both theoretical in challenging our understanding of what justice means, as well as tangibly making the lives of people better in ways that the criminal justice system is not equipped or interested in doing. It also must be stated that much of the restorative justice movement owes a debt of gratitude to traditional Indigenous and aboriginal practices of justice which are rooted in concepts of community and in many cases averse to retributive punishment, recognizing that harming someone for the harm they caused only perpetuates more harm, and cannot facilitate healing on the individual or communal level.

Restorative and transformative justice are fundamentally about relationships and considering what sort of work needs to go into making these relationships and communities healthy and productive.

1. Restorative Justice

- a. Community circles Duluth Center for Restorative Justice & Peacemaking
 - i. Everyday practices for everyday people building bridges, not walls, in our communication
 - ii. Questions of typical criminal justice
 - 1. What are the laws broken?
 - 2. Who did it?
 - 3. What do they deserve?
 - iii. Major Questions of RJ (from Howard Zehr)
 - 1. Who has been hurt?
 - 2. What are their needs?
 - 3. Whose obligations are these?
 - iv. "The state steals our conflicts from us"
 - v. Common elements of RJ
 - 1. Dialogue Listening Trust-building Ownership Empathy Reparation
 - 2. Values relationship, respect, responsibility
- b. Indigenous community practices
 - i. Hollow Water Community Holistic Circle Healing Program (CHCH)
 - 1. Ojibwe community in Canada, plagued by an epidemic of sexual violence; offenders both Indigenous and not victimizing Indigenous people
 - 2. Community-based response rooted in traditional practices of community building and accountability

- 3. Foundation The Four Circles
 - a. Ojibwe "Culture is not truth; it is a people's best approximation of the true nature of the cosmos."
 - b. Offender an honest and critical interrogation about the nature of sexual violence
 - c. Victim understanding compounding victimization and traumatization in order to facilitate and support healing
 - d. Hollow Water move through the silence and shame, reckoning and reconciliation; begin with yourself and move in relationship and in community
- 4. The team supports victim and victimizer alike who meets with an abuse worker weekly
- 5. Four Circles processes in which the offender accepts responsibility, listens to impacted individuals and past abusers, work through the experiences or traumas and impact of their family of origin and extended community, and is ultimately sentenced. Program repeats at six-month intervals to ensure the promises are being upheld and community expectations honored
- 6. Former victimizers are invited to be part of future processes and are seen as offering unique insight into the minds and behaviors of other victimizers
- ii. Navajo Nation Peacemaking
 - 1. a way of thinking and living. Peacemaking transforms individuals and communities as its dynamics of participatory democracy, talking things out, consensus, and respect-based communication
 - 2. No victims or offenders, everyone is a participant in a process
 - 3. Rooted in social/communal harmony (k'é); maintaining solidarity
 - a. Requires an unearthing and understanding of root causes
 - b. Not a commitment to abstract justice, but to righting imbalance in peoples' lives
 - c. Requires participation of the community, not just those most directly involved/impacted
 - d. Consensus of those involved, not hierarchically determined
 - 4. Processes are head by people who are respected, eloquent, and persuasive without being coercive
 - a. How to make things right for victims/their family?

- b. What to do with the wrongdoer?
- 5. Circle process invested in solving problems, not punishing or determining a winner/loser
- 6. Grounded in traditional ceremonies and engaged in places of significance to the community
- 7. Peacemaking as a way of life focused on one's responsibility to the community; not the one-time service of mediation
 - a. Mediation often ignores cultural values, in order to take on the illusion of neutrality
- c. Accountability Mia Mingus
 - i. "Accountability is generative, not punitive"
 - ii. Four Parts of Accountability
 - 1. Self-Reflection
 - a. You have to want to recognize that you caused harm and want to make amends
 - 2. Apologizing
 - a. acknowledge and take responsibility for the hurt or harm you caused or were complicit in
 - b. Building trust through vulnerability
 - 3. Repair
 - a. Beyond individual work of changing one's behavior, we must do work in relationship
 - b. Not a linear process; iterative
 - 4. Behavior Change
 - a. What do we need to do for ourselves, or work on our own to facilitate individual changes that support repair doing better next time?
 - b. What support networks do we need to lift this work and hold us accountable?
 - iii. Apologies
 - 1. "I'm sorry"
 - 2. Name the hurt/harm
 - 3. Name the impact
 - 4. Take responsibility by naming your actions
 - 5. Commit to not doing the hurt/harm again

APPENDIX G

SMALL GROUP DISCUSSIONS PROTOCOL

Thank you all for your joining us today, and for watching the presentation videos to prepare for our discussion.

I shared with you the guiding questions based on the presentation videos, as well as some group agreements to set intentions for our time and space together. I'm going to copy them into the chat window here as well.

Focus group agreements:

- Confidentiality what is said here, stays here; what is learned here, leaves here
- Focus on the ideas discussed, not the individual
- Use I statements and speak from one's own experience
- Mute yourself while others are talking
- Unmute to indicate that you'd like to speak next, or use the raise hand icon
- Share the space

As a quick introduction, let's go around and say our pseudonyms, preferred pronouns and the last thing we watched on Netflix. In the interest of confidentiality, please do not share your last names or specific details about where you are currently participating from.

Guiding Questions:⁶⁰

1. Were there topics that you found particularly thought provoking or surprising?

- 2. How do these forms of justice or accountability align with your personal definitions or experiences with justice or accountability?
 - a. What do these concepts mean to you?
- 3. Do you remember anything about your university's Code of Conduct? Did it impact your daily life or experiences in the communities we discussed in your interviews in any way?
- 4. When you think about your time in university, did you encounter or engage with any of the university's practices of accountability?
- 5. Thinking about the forms of justice presented in the videos, do you think any of them could be utilized by your university?
 - a. Under what circumstances?

b. What might be barriers to implementation?

6. Are there particular communities, organizations, or entities within the university that you think would especially benefit from integrating one of these systems?

⁶⁰ As with the individual interview questions, these six guiding questions were shared with my interlocutors at least 24-hours before their scheduled small group discussion.

APPENDIX H

DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY

Community Research Study - Demographic Survey⁶¹

These questions will be used for generalizing the participants in the study and will not be associated with you specifically without your expressed permission.

- 1. Name or Pseudonym for the project:
- 2. Email:
- 3. Gender: How do you identify? (Select all that apply)
 - Agender
 - o Genderqueer or non-binary
 - o Man
 - o Two-spirit
 - o Woman
 - o Prefer to self-describe (please use self-description question below)
- 4. Gender identity self-description:
- 5. Do you identify as transgender?

Mark only one oval.

- o Yes
- o No
- 6. What pronouns do you use?
- 7. Sexuality: How do you identify? (Select all that apply)
 - o Asexual
 - o Bisexual
 - o Gav
 - Heterosexual / Straight
 - Lesbian
 - o Pansexual
 - o Oueer
 - Prefer to self-describe (please use self-description question below)
- 8. Sexual orientation self-description:
- 9. What is your racial or ethnic identity? (Select all that apply)

⁶¹ The demographic survey was the last official data collection process that I asked my interlocutors to participate in. Ten of the fifteen participants and research partners elected to take the survey. I told them that as with the interviews, any question could be skipped. The data in the next section reflects my interlocutors who chose to participate, and the questions they chose to answer. It is intended to be representational, but not a comprehensive demography.

- o American Indian / Native Alaskan
- o Asian or Asian American
- o Black / African American
- Hispanic / Latine/x
- o Middle Eastern
- o Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander
- o White
- o Prefer to self-describe (please use self-description question below)
- 10. Racial/ethnic identity self-description:
- 11. Do you identify as living with a disability? (Select all that apply)
 - Physical
 - o Mental
 - o None
 - o Prefer to self-describe (please use self-description question below)
- 12. Disability self-description:
- 13. What is your age?
- 14. Do you identify with any of the following religions? (Select all that apply)
 - o Buddhism
 - o Catholicism
 - Christianity
 - o Inter/non-denominational
 - o Islam
 - o Judaism
 - Hinduism
 - o Native American
 - o Pagan
 - o Protestantism
 - o Spiritual
 - o None
 - Prefer to self-describe (please use self-description question below)
- 15. Religion self-description:
- 16. What language/s do you speak with your friends, families, or communities that you identify with? Feel free to be as specific or vague as you are comfortable with:
- 17. Do you identify as a first-generation college graduate?
 - Mark only one oval.
 - o Yes

0	No		
0	Other:		

- 18. How would you describe your family's socioeconomic level throughout your life/childhood? (Select all that apply)
 - Working class
 - Working poor
 - o Middle class
 - o Upper class
 - o Wealthy
 - o Poor
 - o Prefer to self-describe (please use self-description question below)
- 19. Class self-description:
- 20. Do you identify as being part of the same economic level/s in adulthood? Please explain if you would like to:
- 21. Based on your experiences, do you identify using any of the following? (Select all that apply)
 - o Survivor
 - o Victim
 - o Victim/survivor
 - None of these
 - o Prefer to self-describe (please use self-description question below)
- 22. Identity self-description:
- 23. Are there any aspects of your identity that were not asked about that you would like to add?
- 24. What are 3-5 words someone close to you might use to describe you?

Demographic survey – Results

Gender: How do you identify? (Select all that apply)
 10 responses

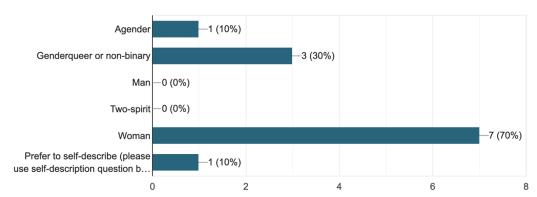


Table 1. Demographic survey: Gender identity

4. Gender identity self-descriptions:

3 responses

- Cisgender female
- Genderfluid
- I identify as non-binary and fem presenting

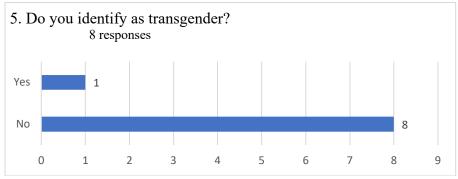


Table 2. Demographic survey: Transgender identity

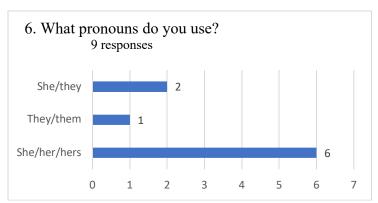


Table 3. Demographic survey: Pronouns

7.
Sexuality: How do you identify? (Select all that apply)
10 responses

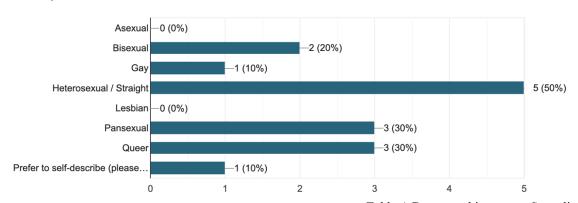


Table 4. Demographic survey: Sexuality

8. Sexual orientation identity self-description:

1 response

• I am attracted to men women or anyone really based on personality

9.

What is your racial or ethnic identity? (Select all that apply) 10 responses

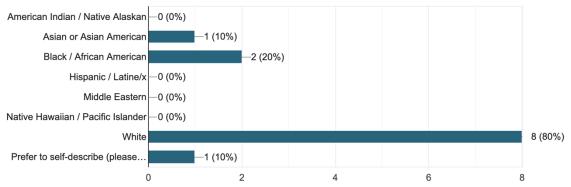


Table 5. Demographic survey: Racial/ethnic identity

10. Racial/ethnic identity self-descriptions:

1 response

• Multi-racial Black Womxn

11.

Do you identify as living with a disability? (Select all that apply) 10 responses

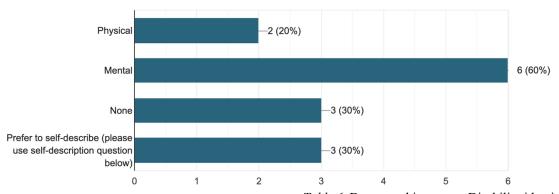


Table 6. Demographic survey: Disability identity

12. Disability self-descriptions:

3 responses

- PTSD Mental/emotional disability
- I have a brittle bone disease and use a wheelchair
- Have had fluctuating physical ability

13.

What is your age?

10 responses

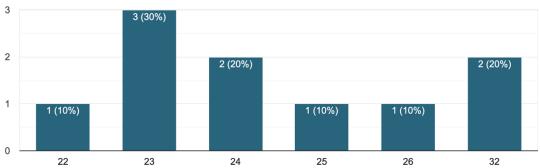


Table 7. Demographic survey: Age

14.

Do you identify with any of the following religions? (Select all that apply) $_{\rm 10\,responses}$

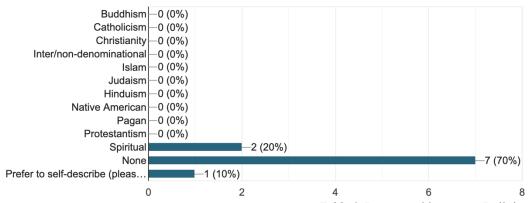


Table 8. Demographic survey: Religious identity

15. Religion self-descriptions:

1 response

• Christian-esoteric

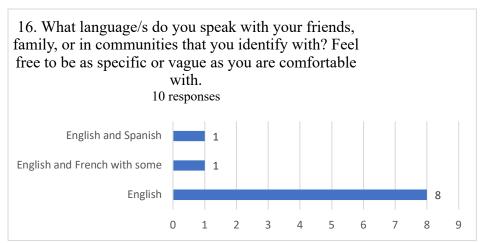


Table 9. Demographic survey: Languages spoken

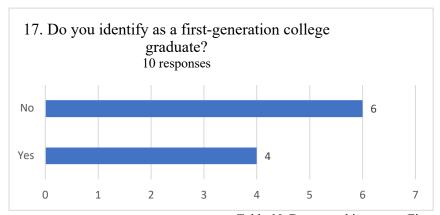


Table 10. Demographic survey: First-generation college graduate

18.

How would you describe your family's socioeconomic level throughout your life/childhood? (Select all that apply)

10 responses

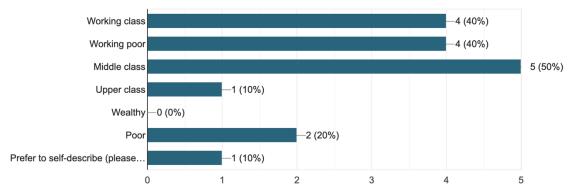


Table 11. Demographic survey: Family socioeconomic status

19. Class self-descriptions:

3 responses

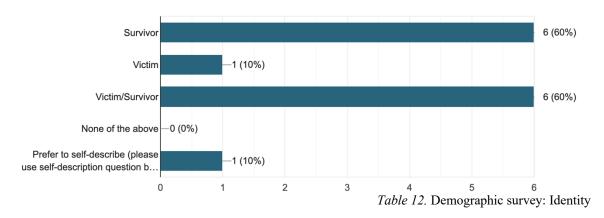
- Grew up in the poorest county in Wisconsin, my parents were working class, bordering middle class in relation to the population. But living anywhere else they would be considered poor
- Lower middle class
- My mother & father are two separate households, ones middle class & the other is poor/unemployed

20. Do you identify as being part of the same economic level/s in adulthood? Please explain if you would like to.

9 responses

- I would say I am personally working class / working poor. Even though I work fulltime
- Yes
- Working class
- Yes
- Yes
- Somewhat, maybe lower since I am a student and not a dependent fo my parents
- No I now would identify as lower middle class
- Yes and no. Living in Minneapolis I do make almost as much as my parents combined. But cost of living and my expenses/savings vary drastically from my parents.
- Yes

21. Based on your experiences, do you identify using any of the following? (Select all that apply) 10 responses



22. Identity self-descriptions:

1 response

• I don't identify with these terms as an identity marker, I just say I have experience sexual violence/r*pe, etc.

24. What are 3-5 words someone close to you might use to describe you? 8 responses

- Kind, honest, intelligent (if I were to guess)
- Ambitious, resilient, pro-black, scholar, everchanging
- Genuine, compassionate, bold, insightful, driven
- Loving, Goofy, Passionate
- Smart confident determined
- Nurturing, intelligent, funny, down to earth
- Tenacious, compassionate, enthusiastic
- caring, funny, insightful