



NFG's 40 YEARS STRONG NATIONAL CONVENING SERIES

Technologies for Liberation: Moving Toward Abolitionist Futures

December 8, 2020

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>> **COURTNEY BANAYAD:** Hi, everyone, welcome to “Technologies for Liberation: Moving Toward Abolitionist Futures.” This is the final session in NFG's 40 Years Strong virtual convening series. I'm Courtney Banayad, she/her, and NFG's director of communications. We'll be getting started with an introduction by our board member and convening member Shona. I invite you to add your name and organization and pronouns. You can turn on your camera, but please keep your microphone muted off unless you are speaking. We have live captioning available. This session will be recorded and will be on NFG's website.

>> **SHONA CHAKRAVARTTY:** Hello, everyone. My name is Shona Chakravartty. I'm with the Hill-Snowdon Foundation. I live in New York City and my pronouns are she and her. I'm a proud NFG board member and was the co-chair of our convening that was supposed to happen this summer in Washington, D.C. We are celebrating NFG's 40th anniversary and had planned a fabulous three-day extravaganza in D.C. before the pandemic, you know, brought that to an end and forced us to change our plans.

And I think we've done actually a pretty amazing job of shifting a lot of our sessions. We held our plenary and they were very well attended. And what we decided to do

with some of the workshops that we had selected was to present a series of webinars. And so today's is actually the last in that series that started in September and reflect the themes of the conference. 40 Years Strong, people and place.

We are really excited about, I'm really excited about today's session because it's a topic that I actually don't know very much about. So, I'm eager to learn more about how movement groups are responding to the increased surveillance technology being used for surveillance to increased criminalization of vulnerable communities and how this connects to the abolitionist framework and movement.

So, before we get started, I just wanted to thank the staff of NFG, staff and consultants of NFG who worked so hard on the conference and we were just so excited to hold the conference in June, but have done an amazing job of pivoting and presenting all these sessions in a virtual format. So, I think it's been a really good experience and I hope we can continue doing some form of this in the future. With that, I'll turn it over to today's moderator, Brenda, who is senior program officer at the Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice.

>> **BRENDA SALAS NEVES:** Thank you so much, Shona. Good morning everyone and good afternoon. I am a senior program officer at the Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice. I use she and they pronouns.

I'm grateful to be in this space and we're so grateful that NFG is hosting us as part of their final session of this amazing session of conversations among all of us as funders. Many of you might have received the link to the website and the PDF from the NFG conference organizers. So, we invite you to go and check it out online and review the report.

At Astraea, we support queer, trans, two spirit, Black, and Indigenous, and people of color organizers who are working at the intersections of racial justice, gender justice, and economic justice whose communities are often targets of violence and criminalization. And really this report and this conversation today is part of the result of like very close conversations with movement organizers, researchers, policy advocates, media makers, human practitioners, movement technologies who are deeply rooted in abolition work. And these folks are often underresourced, like these organizations are often underresourced and they're still continuing to fight to end policing and the use of carceral logic.

As funders, we really believe it is our role. As you will hear in the panel today that technology has been used and is continued to use to amplify oppression of violence of movements in the U.S. And we've seen how movement organizers are reshaping this narrative of what it means to keep communities safe and what safety looks like. They're doing it with incredibly resilience and brilliance, and this is something we're learning from Astraea, and we believe this is an opportunity for us to fund up.

We believe that abolition is the antithesis of surveillance culture, which organizers tell us again and again. We want to honor this idea. Abolitionist organizing needs to be resourced and it's our responsibility as us as funders to do it. This conversation today, we're really pushing us to think more radically. If anything, this year has shown us that we must radically reimagine our present and also our futures. And that's why we need to radically reimagine how we're funding strategies in our funding approaches.

We hope that today is the beginning or the continuation to collectively strategize. So, I'm going to go ahead and ask our really amazing panelists to introduce themselves, where they're coming from regionally and politically before we get started with our conversation today. So, I'll pass it onto Jacinta.

>> **JACINTA GONZÁLEZ:** Hey, good morning, everyone. It is a real pleasure to be able to be here with you today. My name is Jacinta González, and I'm a senior organizer with Mijente. It's a national organization of Latina and Chaquita folks who are organizing around all the issues that impact all of us. I'm usually based in Phoenix, Arizona, but I'm calling in from Mexico this morning. Very excited to be here with everybody.

>> **BRENDA SALAS NEVES:** Thank you so much, Jacinta. And Ashe, if you want to introduce yourself, please.

>> **ASHE HELM-HERNÁNDEZ:** Greetings, everyone. I'm Ashe Helm-Hernandez, I'm project director of Tiger's Eye Collective that was born out of the Pulse incident in Orlando, Florida. We're a crew of Black, trans, and queer leaders, and basically we really want to be able to show and highlight that legacy of we're the ones, we're the ones we've been waiting for. And my paid work, I'm the national program for GSA Network. And I'm just honored to be here. Thank you, Brenda. Good to see everyone.

>> **BRENDA SALAS NEVES:** Thank you so much, Ashe. And Hamid, if you want to introduce yourself, too, please.

>> **HAMID KHAN:** Sure, good morning, everybody. Greetings from Long Beach, California. My name is Hamid Khan. I go by he/him. I'm one of the campaign coordinators of Stop LAPD Spying Coalition. We're based out of Skid Row in downtown Los Angeles.

One of the fundamental reasons that the coalition came about is that increasingly we were seeing that how occupation-style tactical tactics and programs which are being used overseas in the occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan and various other places

were being in a rapid way were being incorporated into domestic policing, including surveillance and other military-style tactics, which are rooted in occupation. That's what brought the coalition up, and we've been doing a lot of organizing, building knowledge, decolonizes knowledge, and have had some successes in dismantling some of the programs locally here. Looking forward to this conversation. Thank you.

>> **BRENDA SALAS NEVES:** Thank you so much, Hamid. For folks, just to let you know we're going to start first with a little bit of a context setting and then we'll jump into talking about the strategies that folks are using and also addressing the needs and then providing some ideas for us as funders of how do we step up, no? And how do we actually support these amazing folks?

So, let's begin with Hamid and then I'll be coming back to folks. Let's talk about the issues and what's going on. Hamid, can you share a little bit about how is policing and surveillance from the government impacting communities of color? And what are the threats of the so-called surveillance culture and so-called surveillance narratives?

>> **HAMID KHAN:** Sure. In order to better understand that where we are today with surveillance and policing, it's extremely instructive for us to have an understanding of history, as well. One of the founding guidelines of the Stop LAPD Spying Coalition is what we are seeing today, what we are going through is not a moment in time, but a continuation of history, which really helps us in debunking a lot of existing narratives and how we look at surveillance and how we experience surveillance, by which I mean that the conventional understanding is that surveillance is an invasion of privacy. Well, it definitely is. But I think what it does is it narrows the scope, which then informs of our fight, as well.

Because in order to fight back, we have to really know our fight. And typically, the historic response to that have been rooted in looking at it through a very narrow constitutional rights lens. Okay, which rights have been violated, which then turn into a fight back of looking for cases and then filing cases or looking for legislative fixes.

But when we start mapping out surveillance, and this is what the coalition has been doing, as a key tool to build knowledge and education in our communities, we go back to, for example, lantern laws, which of course other professors, Simone Brown, laws back from the early 1800s, where if you were an enslaved body, a person of African descent, you have to walk with a lantern through the city.

If we look at the black codes, immediately in the aftermath of emancipation of how Black codes were used to reincarcerate forced slave labor, which we still see as a result of mass incarceration, and then we look at the red codes. The red squads being a result of the Haymarket Strike, which led to international worker solidarity day,

known as May Day. And it proliferated across the country, into Philadelphia, New York, Los Angeles, other places, as well.

And then of course we see Jim Crow and quid pro quo, the counterintelligence programs of the 1970s and then moving into the 9/11 arena. I think it helps to understand who has been on the receiving end of these practices and who has been impacted the most?

And I think that's where we arrive at a better understanding that no, this is more than the invasion of privacy. This is the intent to cause harm. The intent to cause harm that how race and poverty and suspect bodies need to be policed, in which I would include queer, trans folks, various community members, how they need to be contained, how they need to be controlled, how they need to be policed, and what are the operations which then we constantly see the history of red lining. We see again the continuation of policing of segregation, as well, and weaponizing segregation in ways. But surveillance was a key element. Just the sundown laws. That's a form of surveillance.

So, now we do speak about technology. And I think what we have seen is that post 9/11, and that's what brought the coalition up, as well, with the expansion of surveillance, how information sharing is the primary vehicle of control. That how even thought has been commodified and monetized, as well, because there's a lot of money to be made. I'm sort of trying to create this big picture sort of sense for myself and folks, as well, that it's way much bigger and for us to understand.

And here maybe what I can share, we've been mapping the infrastructures and architectures, but this is something we've been working on. How information moves within various sectors, within the public sector, within the private sector, within law enforcement agencies, internationally, as well, that how information moves, how it then instructs and guides the border crossings, how it instructs and guides movement of people across the world, and especially now in these days. In a sense at a local level, how our bodies are being constantly traced and tract and monitored and literally being stuck to be contained and controlled.

We just released a report on the Department of Children and Family services, which provides benefits to Child Protective Services. But when you unpack the information sharing just within the Department of Children and Family Services, you see the scale of how vast the scope of the information sharing environment is. How our bodies are being policed, which helps us then to better understand then okay, what is our defense? That it's not just about listening into our phones or tracking our social media or tracking when we are driving down the road, the license plate leaders are when we're on the phone, sting rays have been deployed.

And lastly I would say the rise that has give on the the surveillance industrial complex, where you have companies and various other corporations that have come in and

monetized this massive information sharing environment. I think I'm going to stop here and pass it back to Brenda in the interest of time. But there's a whole lot to be said, but looking forward to the conversation. Thank you very much.

>> **BRENDA SALAS NEVES:** Yeah, thank you so much, Hamid. I feel Stop LAPD Spying Coalition has been doing such important work for years, and you've been mentors to us, how do we think about this report, and how do we actually share this information. So, thank you for sharing that.

And that was also a good segue to ask Jacinta around the surveillance industrial complex that you mentioned, Hamid, and how it's impacting migrant communities. How are they collaborating and using technologies against migrant communities here in the U.S.?

>> **JACINTA GONZÁLEZ:** Yeah. Well, first, thank you Hamid for that background and that history. I do feel like it sets us up to really be talking about both the history of surveillance, but how much things changed after 9/11 and how much that was really a catalyst for so much of the technologies that we're seeing now at the hands of police. You know, I think for a lot of us, I personally have been organizing a lot of folks at Mijente before we were Mijente. Before when we were part of the not one more deportation campaign, and fighting against ICE and different deportation agencies for a long time. That allows us to be able to track in different moments and different chapters how this problem is kind of constantly changing to adapt itself to the modern day.

So, you know, I think when 9/11 happened, and DHS was formed, this whole rhetoric of being able to defend the homeland was really used as kind of this messaging of that it's going to be okay to protect the homeland at all costs, right? And within that, there's the creation of ICE as an individual police force that is at the disposal of the president, that is being used to surveil, deport, and detain migrants in this country. DHS and ICE was created with this whole purpose of trying to deport everyone who was undocumented in this country. What that meant is they had a few agents and millions of people. From the beginning they were really thinking about how to amplify their force and how to have further reach.

So, the first way they started to do that, ICE was starting to work with local police forces. They might have secure communities inside of the jail so that they can share fingerprint information and be able to place retainers on people. But with that, as they were starting to expand that and have more relationships with local police officers and also start to access different networks of information, who started to build that up was actually tech companies. And many of those tech companies are also military companies, right? These are companies that have actually been creating things for the army, for international war zones for a very long time. Brought those

same service to a militarized border, and started to go into the interior by building up these local contracts.

But what we start to realize more and more, especially with the Trump Administration is people started to call us and were like ICE came to raid my home, but I have no idea how they have my address. Or they showed up and they knew that so and so was my cousin. How do they get this level of this information? Especially if I've never gotten a traffic ticket or had contact with a local police officer. We did a huge mapping of all of the corporations who have contracts with ICE with the purpose of deporting immigrants.

What we found was horrifying. We realized it's not just data coming from police. Thompson Reuters and other companies. Companies like Clear View that are inventing facial recognition technology that use people scraped from the internet to go after people. You start to have companies, as you start to create more and more data, you need data analytics companies that are going to process all of that information. Companies like Palentir. Where are you going to store store all of this? Contracts with Amazon, got you. They have huge storage.

We realized we had to start to campaign not only against DHS and ICE, but also against these corporations that were really kind of creating the machinery for this huge surveillance network that was existing. And so for us, it was a huge challenge as movement because we had to think about how do we do policy interventions, fight back against policing agencies, do those visions, but also how do we bring corporations to account when they're the ones who facilitate all of this and they're the ones creating technologies that are outpacing any sort of human rights campaigns.

That's when we launched the new tech for ICE campaign. It was precisely the opportunity for us to expose these companies and let people know where their data is going. But also give people corporate targets that we can be hitting to be exposing what's coming. I think conversation is going to particularly be important under this new administration, right? Because the Biden Administration is very comfortable with other conversations, but as soon as when it comes to surveillance and technology, they're the first proponents of it.

Many times they're saying it's a safer alternative, it's a less harmful alternative, that it's better, but it really means that new corporations are lining their pockets with this opportunity. It makes us have to be more vigilant on both of those fronts. If folks go to notechforice.com, you can see all the reports and go down the rabbit hole of all of these tech companies.

>> **BRENDA SALAS NEVES:** Yes, thank you so much, Jacinta. I think that's also something that as you were saying, how to think about how surveillance and policing, as you mentioned, has been justified. And this compilation, and these notions of safety and

security, especially as it comes from very militarized perspectives, as well. And how that is really impacting communities.

And Ashe also asking you, like you are rooted in the south. Like, if you can share how the impact is affecting communities in the south?

>> **ASHE HELM-HERNÁNDEZ:** Thank you, Hamid and Jacinta. Hamid, thank you for the historical context. It's greatly needed in this conversation. I would say especially in our most recent memory of the last 100 years or so as Black folks are up from slavery. I'm blessed to be in my ancestral land of Louisville, Kentucky. I'll aim from that perspective, along with the last decade was spent to Atlanta. But what we're seeing is a continuation, as Hamid said. The slave patrols turning into police, right? And so even at the turn of the century you have Black folks particularly have no way to go when slavery ended.

We're still at this point where Black communities are being overpoliced because of our bodies. Simultaneously, as we've been oppressed, we know that we are commodity. We know that there is a great importance and value in us. We have our own affirmations in that way, but the powers that be want to always keep a control over us. A population control. You'll continue to see where Black communities are being overpoliced and ways in which we have responded to that conversation with the talk. That Black men and Black women and trans and nonbinary folks have to be aware that they could lose their lives at any moment. My ancestors faced a grave danger that we too face in different ways, however we see that manifest through technology, and how we have that at our fingertips.

This affects our everyday lives, when you think about the ways our communities are able to grow economically, that we have great value on our culture. But simultaneously, we're being stopped, as Hamid said. There are ways in which I see our community facing the dangers of having our bodies overpoliced and ways in which the police can have the technology to surveil us, but there is no way police can use that same technology against themselves. And we see that. And I would relate the story to the Breonna Taylor case, where we lost our beloved. This person was stopped by police and surveillance. Now the lies that surround her death where police used a botched raid. So, again police are faced with saying this person is a criminal. And here are their accomplices. And all the people surrounding them.

So, Jacinta mentioned we know who your people are. So, tracing this woman and saying you're connected. Not only did we see this play out in the uprising and why the folks in Louisville this came to a head, we knew this woman was in community. She was an essential worker. At this time of her death, not only do we not have body cam footage, that the government is working against us. So, in this way this information doesn't come out until they're what? Exonerated from some of these things. So, in some ways, the community has been suffering. We're in a great deal of pain. And so

that's what I'm seeing is that with police, they're being used, right?

So, part of that story is about clearing out an area that is undesirable so that they can sell the homes for pennies on the dollar and redevelopment. These things go around and around about our communities are undervalued and how the overpolicing of our bodies are encompassing things now that we're calling gentrification. It burns me up because Black and Queer and Trans folks are on the fight for our lives. We've been in every movement.

It's hard today to see that technology is pervasive enough that the ways in which we engage with it is often against us. When we try to create community, there's often breakdown because police are often able to surveil. I see that play out in Atlanta where we were doing not one more deportation campaign. And we found it our duty as Black and Trans folks to be buffers against the police of our undocumented brothers and sisters.

Again, the community is facing the overpolicing. You know, this is one of the reasons why Tiger's Eye Collective even came about. I mentioned before the Orlando incident, but essentially we are the ones. We are a continuation of the Black Freedom movement, the Black Radical tradition. We want to uphold that promise that we will keep ourselves safe. And our formations oftentimes bring about that pervasiveness that I see now that movement leaders are facing being on quote, unquote lists where the FBI and other agencies have labeled the BLM movement as a terrorist group and that when we know that maybe BLM is an organization, but Black Lives Matter is an affirmation that had resound in the world and my generation that that is our affirmation, our call to the front line.

And so people will always go into the streets because we have always been under attack. We have always been in this oppressive mode. And so it is this call to duty. It is a fact that we must respond. There are ways in which our communities are hampered by police. It's hard for me to be, I had spent the last decade in Atlanta where I see the local government, because Atlanta is layered, has Black police. You have the communities pitted against each other, while you also see the face of the Klan. And you see the greater, you know, sort of state troopers be able to be this formation of white police that lead in a different way.

And so there's deeper, deeper layers of how the state is able to continue, you know, the genocide of our people. I think this puts us in a corner, but we're fighting. I know this uprising is only a continuation of where we will come and where we will go, and what we will continue to see, that the pandemic took away somewhat that veil and gave us time in which to respond. I'll leave it there for now, Brenda.

>> **BRENDA SALAS NEVES:** Thank you, Ashe, so much, and thank you for naming. There are two points that you mentioned around this notion of control and what the

government and the state are inflicting on communities, but also thank you for naming about we are living in a critical moment. Like 2020 is like a very critical year, while a lot of these issues have been going on for a while, there is a lot of things that are happening right now, specifically how it relates around surveillance. And in this moment of 2020, in the context of COVID-19.

So, bringing it back to you Jacinta, you can share about what you were seeing that is happening around the surveillance industry, how they are expanding as it relates to this global pandemic that we are going through.

>> **JACINTA GONZÁLEZ:** I think to kind of, one, I think we have to understand that what's happening with surveillance is obviously an expansion of control and all of the things that we've been discussing, but it's kind of happening at the same time that also surveillance capitalism is expanding.

So, the commodification of all of our lives, right? In terms of how our data is being bought and sold and is actually more profitable than oil, right? Like as an industry globally. You kind of have to understand that the consequences of that go in multiple directions, right? In terms of our access to information and thought. Hamid was talking about control of all of that. The way these huge corporations like Amazon, one of the wealthiest corporations in the history of humanity, all of this information and wealth controlled in just one or very few hands.

On top of that when you have a situation like a global pandemic, all of those forces are kind of at play. You start to see issues with the information around the pandemic, access to services, and how that politically plays out. You see issues around who has access to what, but also how people, you know, their lives are more than anything digital now. How many of our meetings are now Zoom? How much of our digital footprint has expanded? But that also means there's more interest from the state to be able to have access to that information, control it, and manipulate it for a bunch of different reasons.

So, one of the things that we've been watching and been very concerned about has been how some of these big tech and surveillance companies have taken advantage of the pandemic and the threat of COVID to expand their government contracts, but also expand their access to information.

So, before when I was talking about kind of the line that ICE has created where they'll have data brokers and then folks who do data analytics and then cloud services that host that, the data analytics part has been really important. You can have all of the data sources that you want, but if you don't have someone who is able to process it and package it nicely to hand it over to the police officers, because let's be really honest, they're not great investigators. So, you really got to put it, kind of set it out

for them, spell it out for them. Give them the file, give them the address. That data analytics has been a huge, huge industry that has grown. And some of the most unscrupulous companies have been the ones that go into it.

So, one company that really basically tailor-made the data analytics system for ICE is this company Palantir. They've had contracts with the military for a really long time. They were a private company for 17 years. They just launched their public listing a couple months. And they're trying to say that this is profitable. But they're actually showing us that the only way that they can make a profit is if they have government contracts.

So, it's actually not that there's a market, but they're actually going in and intentionally lobbying in the government to get access to all of this. Not only do they have a contract with ICE, Palantir has a contract with the IRS and Health and Human Services to create a program called Protect to monitor information for COVID. It came out yesterday that they have a contract with the FDA. What could go wrong with one company having access to all of that information?

COVID has become an excuse to be able to surveil people more, but also government agencies are allowing these companies to do back door deal to figure out these contracts without us having anymore information about where is our data going, how is it being used, and do we have any protections for this?

What we've seen is not only an expansion of what data they have access to, but also within government, kind of a deeper rooting of this idea well the government can't do this, we need a private corporation to come in and create these systems for us. And that is also creating this kind of really strong connection between these companies understanding that their way of making money is off of us, through our tax dollars. We just kind of see this cycle that is coming up more and more that is really, really dangerous.

And I think that's why we've been focusing more on targeting Palantir. Because a good organizer told me that every party needs a pinata. You need a company you can go and beat up on and make them that example. And in some ways Palantir is that pinata.

>> **BRENDA SALAS NEVES:** Thank you so much, Jacinta. And Hamid, based off of what Jacinta has shared and given the work that you're doing with such a clear understanding around the physical and digital threats, what should we be keeping in mind in these moments? What are additional threats that we need to be paying attention to in this moment of COVID-19?

>> **HAMID KHAN:** Well, in this moment, again, going back to, as I said, looking at it through an historic lens, as well, we see that at any time during this both supposed crisis or pandemics happen that how the national security police state expands itself, how it develops new programs, how it builds on existing programs to contain and control, how it accumulates the weapons, and what is the tactical strategy.

I think it's really critical to understand and to follow that and map it out. Ashe had mentioned Breonna Taylor. I think one of the key things around digital policing and some of these programs around data analytics, around this artificial intelligence, machine learning tools, predictive algorithms give you a small example of our fight against predictive policing, which we successfully dismantled and organized.

Community power and demand forced the LAPD into dismantling that program. In that process, we learned how communities were being very methodically targeted through this language of predictive policing, how full neighborhoods throughout Los Angeles, and predominantly communities that were Black and Brown and poor were being quarantined and hot zones were being created.

As you start mapping a lot of this information, a story emerges. A story emerges that it's not just about this whole pseudoscience of predicting crime. Because now we know in the history of intelligence led policing, and data harvesting is the primary focus and is the primary way of how policing happens. But then what happens with that, as well?

So, it's not just about predicting crime. It's about quarantining. It's about redlining. It's almost about a digital Jim Crow that we can see being unleashed all around our communities. In a sense the area that Breonna Taylor was living in, that is what people call location-based policing. That's what we would call this whole partnership between land speculators, this partnership between real estate developers.

So, in LA, for example, we have been uncovering communications between land developers, real estate speculators, neighborhood prosecutors, a city attorney's office, law enforcement agencies, that how in a sense banishment and removal of people is being done under the guise of this machine learning and pseudoscience and predictive policing. This area is a hot spot, this is where crime triggers are. So, in a sense whole malls have been deemed as these threat areas, as well.

And the language of laser zones and anchor points and hot spots is being used to really mask a lot of this harm that is happening. I think in a sense similarly what is happening is that COVID-19 has become a tremendous opportunity to expand the stalker state, as well.

And of course Palantir is central to this, and how this is set up, how this information will continue to provide more power and more knowledge and information about

communities to be tracked and traced and monitored. What it comes back to is what is our defense? And how do we fight back? I guess we will talk more about this organizing during this time of COVID, as well. But I think it's also an opportunity for us to kind of do a deep dive into these structures of violence, as well. That most of the time, and the coalition released a report two years ago, the title of the report was Before the Bullet Hits the Body. It talked about dismantling predictive policing in Los Angeles.

I'll post the link to that report. What it maps out is what are the conditions ultimately when the gun comes out and the triggered is pulled? What leads to that point of contact that escalates that confrontation? Is it social network analysis? Absolutely it is. Deeming areas as threat areas. Absolutely it is. Is it turning youth organizing into a national security issue by using the language of extremism and radicalization? Absolutely it is. I think we really have to look at it in a comprehensive way to better understand which will inform our fight, as well.

>> **BRENDA SALAS NEVES:** Yes. Thank you, Hamid. And transitioning into this space around thinking about what are the strategies that you all are doing, like the really amazing work that you all are doing, how you're responding back.

Ashe, specifically, do you especially, Tiger's Eye Collective is doing such meaningful work around thinking around security from a perspective of community specifically. If you can share more how you are providing support to other movement communities especially the work that you'll be doing during the uprising in support of Black lives over the last few months. And how are you, yeah, how is the work going around this big vision that you mentioned around for Black liberation?

>> **ASHE HELM-HERNÁNDEZ:** Thanks, Brenda for that. I feel like that this is such a meaty question, as well. Because right now with our organization, with our formation, you know, we've been trying to support community leaders on the ground. Especially in light of my hometown, Louisville, Kentucky, engaged in this uprising and being the center of so much attention on the case of Breonna Taylor.

For us, I think it's for us to use our networks and connect. And that's what we've been doing. And trying to partner with organizations where those connections make sense. I think, you know, we talk about providing a response. It's been a hard moment, you know, as we navigate that thin line that COVID has had an effect on us where you have the uprising, where people have ported to the streets. There are an insurmountable amount of people who have been supporting who are not in the streets. There is oftentimes this sort of push and pull, right? Because there are people who are able to put their bodies on the line directly. And so there are other folks who are able to be in board rooms and virtual classrooms, if you will and be able to support in ways in which we will never know and never see.

And so, you know, it's been our role to partner and to see, one because this has been a vulture moment where people see an opportunity. It's not just about Black liberation in that time. And the overpolicing and the surveillance of us gathering, right, where are we. And I've seen where Google Maps shifted and had a zone of where the uprising was. So, that when you looked at Google Maps you could see that. This is one of the things that our crew talked about. How are we interfacing with folks even where we live in getting to where we would want to be?

So, in our community in deciding to up rise, I mean I think that was a natural response to riot. We've seen that downtown was boarded up for quite some time, but it was boarded up during a period of time where there was absolutely nothing happening. But giving more of the illusion, the threat that folks have that they wanted to tell people against the uprising, right? People who didn't feel like there was a need to do those things. That there was trouble and it was a certain kind of people that were branding that trouble to a particular area of trouble.

And even then the National Guard went to a community where there wasn't an uprising happening, and suddenly a man was killed. You have so much surveillance going on that you tell us you don't know how this man got shot and killed, right? We see that as an opening for our group to start these discussions and conversations so we can find our people. Do know there's an opposition working against us and operatives are around and launching down into our communities.

For whatever reasons we know to derail that Black radical tradition, the Black freedom movement because they don't want us free to make decisions for ourselves. They don't want us to have that outcry about police and lowering budgets. Last summer we were under attack and closing public city schools. Where do you think young Black children were able to congregate? They couldn't. And you have a ballooned police budget. You see the overcriminalization of children in communities. No place to enjoy each other outside of school.

There's been a lot of emergence of different folks responding, especially with mutual aid, and that's where we found some of our best sort of connections with organizations who are providing mutual aid to people. We wanted to listen to folks. For us, it's our role as trans and nonbinary and queer folks to build and strengthen our network and to use this moment to double down and deepen our commitment on collective care and collective safety when we see no safety net and see that the government is not responding, when we see that our local government is not responding and when we have a mayor who is incapable of making any real decisions who in fact showed us again, and again I keep referencing this Breonna Taylor case because the family was awarded a large sum of money.

But then there's no responsibility for her death for the people who murdered her. But the city is saying there was a wrong. And what was the wrong? This woman was

murdered. But still, it's a slap in the face to us for them to have such a large budget when we still see young people impoverished. And a disproportionate number of queer and trans folks being rerouted.

It's in this moment that we found ourselves not at a crux or a crossroads, but it has given such a stark clearing that we see who is not for us and we are seeing who is against us because these are the very people who aren't trying to help. And so there is a multiple of people on the frontlines.

We see a myriad of ways these things are happening in our community here in Louisville with initiatives that have come up. It's weeding out the level of confusion and bringing a level of awareness to this movement especially for Black, queer, and trans folks. We are here, the ones to survive this moment, because we have each other's backs. We've always been pitted against each other. And this is a moment of going through the fire of us. And Tiger's Eye is trying to bring a cadre of folks who aren't just unafraid, but who are doing it and working through the fear.

So this is a time that we feel like that, you know, it spotlights our small little organization that's actually naming security and safety and we know that other organizations for whatever reasons can't name it. But are truly doing the work. That are truly intricate to the fabric of our survival. And so we want to continue to support those organizations, like I said, collective care and education, and especially arts and culture that are survival mechanisms, and are oftentimes the way we communicate prior to having such advanced technologies in place. The response has been for us to uplift those leaders, to stand side by side, to be folks that support their leadership, and for us to make inroads in this community. And I'll leave it there.

>> **BRENDA SALAS NEVES:** Thanks, Ashe. You raise such key points of the movement infrastructure, as well. And bringing this back to you, Hamid. If you could share also, you shared a little bit, but if you could share more about the infrastructures that you're building at Stop LAPD Spying Coalition around safety, the coalitions around healing justice and digital organizing and how you're defending from the ongoing surveillance from the government?

>> **HAMID KHAN:** So, thank you. As organizers, we need to adjust to the current moment of how do we keep on doing this knowledge exchange and building our collective power, what is our process of continuing reaching out to the community. Because in full disclosure we really just don't work to reforming the system. That's not our primary goal. It's about building knowledge and building power on the ground because the system is so vast and messed up that it can't be reformed. It's just a self-fulfilling prophesy. It's a self-fulfilling system a broader part of the capitalist state.

What we've been doing since COVID hit and as things were becoming more and more critical starting March 3rd because we would have a meeting every Tuesday, in person, in Skid Row, where folks would come together and map out strategies and organize and do knowledge exchange. So, we went into digital organizing and we've been holding a webinar every Tuesday since March 24th. And today, we have our webinar part 38. So, each one of these webinars is committed. So, the first Tuesday webinar is looking at the intersection of the police state, the surveillance state, and gender and sexuality, but also not just on a local level, but also on a global level. We've been able to through this how do we then, you know, build up on the tools that we have.

So, we've been speaking to folks around surveillance and the police state as for places like Saudi Arabia and Europe and Colombia with folks, with queer trans folks over there, and how sit impacting gender? What is the impact of gender? Just today at our 6 o'clock webinar, Pacific Time, and this is a shout out to invite people, as well, we will have folks from UK from an organization called Cage, which looks at how young people are being targeted particularly starting off with the Muslim, Arab, Middle Eastern communities proliferated and how it extends into other communities as well. We will have folks from the Palestinian youth movement, what is the global connection, what is the Israeli connection? What are the various connections on a global level of this information exchange?

And then of course the data-driven policing piece, which is critical that how it is expanding that's the fourth Tuesday of the month. And then the third Tuesday we look at the political moment and have general conversations. We've had Professor Dorothy Roberts, Simone Brown, and various other folks doing this work, especially in this time of COVID when the pandemic is all around us and basically we've been challenged both to save our lives on many different levels.

The continuing 500-year pandemic of white supremacy and settler colonialism and racism is a constant threat to particularly with our Black community, Indigenous community, as well. I think in a sense what it does is it creates opportunities to have a conversation that in this current moment, what is our defense? What is our defense where we do not even have to protect ourselves from the state violence and the pervasive monetization and the stocking of our bodies but also the rise in this current wave and I would say it's not just anything new at all of different faces of white supremacy, as well. Faces of violence, fascism, and various other groups have been formed, as well.

I think there's a lot of mapping that is going on. There is a lot of deep dive that is going on. There's a lot of community-based research that is going on, as well, which is then being brought out on the streets, which is then also helping build a stronger movement, with the goal that it's not really about, it's about building power and not paranoia. And really just knowing our fight that how are we pooling our resources and within that what is the role of mutual aid.

In Skid Row, for example, we are part of the Los Angeles Community Action Network larger family. Then how we using this opportunity to make sure that community folks who are in the largest unhoused community in a 50-block radius in the United States, and what does it mean to them. The Our Data Bodies Project, which the coalition was a partner in that project. So, how we have created various, you know, just playbooks, as well, for people to learn and better understand and map out information that surrounds them, as well. So, in a sense knowing our fight and then decolonizing that knowledge and bringing that knowledge together and building up our fight on many different levels.

>> **BRENDA SALAS NEVES:** Yeah. Thank you so much, Hamid. And a shout out to the Our Data, Our Bodies project that is doing amazing work. We can add the link later on in the chat here. I'm also looking at the time. I'm going to merge a little bit the questions that we have left so we also have some time for Q&A from everyone. So, folks, feel free to add your questions in the chat. We'll have a break before the Q&A and then we'll ask those questions to the panelists.

But taking it back to you Jacinta, if you also can share a little bit about the work that Mijente, how has Mijente been building relationships with other organizations and institutions across like movements and sectors to do this work that you are doing? And additionally, how is that part of this larger change you all have and what opportunities are you seeing for change in this moment we're all in right now?

>> **JACINTA GONZÁLEZ:** Thank you for that question, Brenda. The more we start to learn about surveillance and the way that tech companies are impacting everything, the more you start to feel like you're in a David and Goliath fight where you're like shit, they're getting bigger and bigger and bigger and you're getting smaller and smaller and smaller. Sometimes we get lost in all the analysis, we get lost in all of the mapping of all the companies. It can actually feel really, really overwhelming.

So, for us it's been really important in this fight to really root it in the history. Know that this is just the next chapter, right? This is really just the next chapter of policing and understanding it from that. Then you start to realize in all the moments in history where folks have felt so small, there's always been a reason to fight and there have always been ways that people have been able to push back.

For us, it's been important for us to keep that flowing through our veins to keep that energy going. But we also realize that because it's such a huge problem, we really have to be thinking about building power in many multiple forms and have multiplicity of strategies and partners where we're bringing this fight.

For example, because it's such an important thing for us to keep it rooted in the fight

against policing and this fight toward abolition, last year we had a conference called Take Back Tech. We partnered with media justice and tech coalitions to bring people together. Folks fighting for bail reform, and against predictive policing, veterans against the war. Bringing all of those folks together to talk about how tech and data is impacting it and what are the campaigns that you're involved in in fighting back? That was a really great space to be able to share analysis, share strategies, build relationships, build movement together, again across sectors.

I think another thing that we've really been focused on is how do we bring this information to folks who are directly confronting ICE on a day-to-day. We created a comic book explaining data capitalism and how the police uses surveillance and how the police use it and how we can organize. But we also know that local fights can be really vibrant and really hard. Fighting with your local police department and your local city council. We've created tool kits for people to be able to use in those different fights.

One of the things that to me has been really powerful has been seeing how precisely women of color from different parts of the country have been fighting these being tech companies. I think of one time that we got a meeting with the CEO of Salesforce who invited us to come and talk about Salesforce contract with CVP. They wanted to make us sign an NDA before going into the building. We refused. We organized and organized. And the thought that we were having this fight as he was wearing a feminist shirt on, and all these women saying let me tell you what is really going on. Being able to have these moments of direct confrontation between folks who are directly impacted and these corporations is really important, which is why we need to allow people safe spaces to organize. Sometimes that's your city. Sometimes that's outside of a corporation. But it's always around like how do we do the political education and getting people information to like giving them a lane to fight in.

But part of the collaboration has also been like we started to see within the tech sector tech workers themselves start to have a different consciousness about what they're doing. The thing is that organizing, you know, highly paid middle class like folks within tech companies turns out to be really difficult in a lot of ways that is kind of surprising. So, both like figuring out how we build relationships with tech workers who are trying to do that within their companies, but also creating a future for tech workers to figure out resistance, particularly with students.

We've been partnering closely with student groups on different campuses. Groups like the liberation for all people at Stanford. To have students on campus fighting against recruitment for these companies, promising and making pledges saying they're not going to work for these corporations has been really transformative. We see the culture starts to change. Five years ago having a fellowship or some sort of thing with Palantir was like ooh, I got an internship that's great. Now there's consequences. People understand that's not a cool job anymore. You're contributing to policing. And

figuring out those power balances.

Academia has been such a validator for a lot of these tech companies, right? Which kind of brings me to the next kind of sector that we've been organizing, which has been with academia and researchers. When you think about predictive policing and facial recognition technology, data analytics, so many of these companies get these like academics to really kind of sign off on their things. Oh, well we finished out this privacy form or this is how the ethics get justified, but actually being able to have community-based research or research that is coming from movement organizations to counterattack that and have academic validators has been really, really empowering, right? And really powerful. I shared the report. But, you know, having that report being taught in classes, in universities, has been incredibly powerful when we're having conversations with these tech companies and need outside validators.

Another group we've been working with closely is investors. It's a surprising one. We're under no delusions that this is how we're going to solve this. But we've been partnering with groups and have been doing different investor briefings and warnings using human rights analysis to show why these companies should not get investment.

So, for us it's been important to both like create a comic strip that, you know, explains to someone like how ICE is trying to target you, create an investor briefing telling someone why you shouldn't put your money here. Lesbians through Tech, drop Palantir as a sponsor. There's all kinds of options where people can find their lane. But using this frame of take back tech to have people also understand that we have a place to kind of come back to to be having these conversations across movements and sectors and across industries, too. Tech workers have their own way of kind of conceptualizing themselves. I think it's also being able to be open and allow for that to happen is kind of allowing them to create enough movement to have a different conversation around tech.

I think in a lot of ways so much of the tech stuff has moved faster than we've been able to respond. But now we're here at this moment. And the conversation is starting to shift. So, I actually think that this is such a great moment for funders, for organizations, for other people to get involved because we're kind of on the brink of what's going to be another couple of decades of fight on this terrain.

>> BRENDA SALAS NEVES: Thank you, Jacinta. And this also brings us into the role that funders can play, no? Like especially on this fight and on the work that you all are doing.

So, for you both, Ashe, Hamid, whoever wants to jump in first, but what are opportunities that you see in the work that you're doing? And then what opportunities, especially, or what is the role of funders and what specifically philanthropy needs to know and needs to do to support this fight, no? That is like a

long-term fight that needs immediate response. So, Ashe if you want to go first and then Hamid.

>> **ASHE HELM-HERNÁNDEZ:** Thank you, Brenda. I do feel like this role of funders, I can't say I'm well versed in philanthropy, but I have had some interactions and I feel like I've learned a great deal from the Trans Justice Funding Project, and how they do their application and work with grantee partners. I'm proud of the work that they've done.

For me in that limited scope, I feel like funders oftentimes have cumbersome processes without having given the tools to organizations and formations, rather, that need that support. I'm grateful that our crew has been able to have coaches and support from our program officers and such to guide us through those things and give us a deeper understanding because oftentimes the cumbersome work of even applying puts us in a position of taking us away from our work. Where we have the expertise in our lived experience, but we may not be an expert in philanthropy and the language that philanthropy may need to do their work and audits and such and things.

So, it begs the question of what are you doing to help support not just financially. We need the money, but not to encumber the process. There are some funders out here, and those may not be on the line, so I'm preaching to the choir, but put us in a bind to bend to your will. How do you not be so attached to that giving and questioning the people in which you seek to fund and look for ways to go outside of that funding and to bend over backwards and do what you must to make sure it gets into the hands of the people who not only deserve it, but have worked tirelessly without sort of that will reparations that's dually needed in this moment that the company should be coming to.

It shouldn't just be put on philanthropy alone, but philanthropy may need to press in the ways that they can other sectors and other people and other entities to give in ways in which we have not even dreamed up and to open up the purse that they have and the coffers, who need this money. My ancestors who built this country. A lot of them don't have bank accounts and IDs. How do we get the money to the people who need the funds. We have to beg.

It comes to this moment of how can you move out of the process and humble yourself in the way you do the work and utilize your advocacy to wield your pens if you will to come out of the ivory towers and into the streets and say yes, maybe you hold that position, but it is the time that you should act radically and stop having such judgment on people who cannot control their conditions.

And so it's a moment in time where we need to pivot and we need to stop saying that we have to follow the rules in which we create and we can wield the pen to undo these certain rules like Jacinta said. We have people in bed with the IRS, but y'all are scared

of the IRS. How do we move that meter? I'm at a point where I would like to work with people who are being revolutionary, you know? Because as Jamala Rogers said there's no algorithm, there's no theory that can predict when human rage reaches its boiling point. And I think that we know that we are at the boiling point. I'll leave it there.

>> **HAMID KHAN:** Thank you, Ashe. Building upon that, and thank you for that inspiration, I think, Brenda, we started this conversation speaking about abolition. And I think in that context, in that practice, in that journey, I think it's also critical to understand that the role of the foundations quite frankly has been pretty dismal.

Because what has happened is that in a sense, and I would be very blunt about it that there's been more support for counter-organizing in our journey towards abolition by funding reformers and national organizations and by funding groups that seem to appease the legislative branch or want to appease and have these backdoor negotiations with the very people that are causing intense harm.

So, instead of really investing in long-term, because abolition is a multigenerational journey, that how do we make policing irrelevant in our lives over time? So, there is no delete button. There is no such thing that you can have ordinances and reformers because they murder us transparently, they harm us transparently. There is no issue to think about funding things around more transparency or more accountability or more reporting.

Well, LAPD, the Los Angeles Police Department has been around since 1869. If we are still continuing to reform that department, which continues to be one of the most murderous police departments in the country, then we still need to ...this is one where I'm not known to hold myself back, but we need to start looking at it. That becomes a very white privileged space, as well. "Reform the system, we're going to work within the system."

If the system is rotten to the core and it's a diseased body, then we have to really start looking at it and start looking at how we dismantle this thing as we're looking at alternatives and collective healing and our health and fighting back trauma, as well. I think in a sense, just as these briefings and these breaking down, there's a lot to happen. There's a tool that's being developed.

As Jacinta was talking about, the coalition has been developing these Zines. This was done in collaboration with folks like Baby Anarchists and Palestinian Youth Movement, and justice coalitions and various other groups, really looking at it from the eyes of youth. What do they see? And what is their fight? And what is that power?

So, I think there's a lot of collective knowledge exchange, there's a lot of knowledge decolonization that needs to happen. There's a lot of fights that we have in front of

us, including the academy, as well. We started a whole campaign about academic complicity to academic rebellion. How are we going after these folks who are creating the intellectual frameworks for harm, as well. We are happy to build that together. But I think it's really for the funders to really look at it more deeply and try to understand that this is a multigenerational fight.

>> **BRENDA SALAS NEVES:** Yes. Thank you. Thank you all so much. We are running a little bit short on time. So, we are going to go on break, on a five-minute break. For the folks here, please don't go away. Stay. Because we're going to move into the Q&A section. If folks have questions, please add them into the chat. And then we'll have a closing led by Adriana. Everyone stay connected and we'll be back in five minutes. Thank you, all.

[BREAK]

>> **BRENDA SALAS NEVES:** Welcome back, everyone. It's great that everyone is back with us. So, we're going to move into the Q&A for 10 minutes before we have the closing by the NFG folks. So, if there are any questions from folks here, if they feel comfortable to either add them to the chat. Or if folks want to actually unmute themselves and then say them out loud, that would be great.

>> I have a question. Thank y'all. This was such an incredible panel. The report is not only powerful, but also so beautifully designed. It's such a great thing to be able to hear from you directly and so many of you have been doing this work for so many years before funders realized that this was important. So, thank you for all that ground work. My question to you all and maybe other funders that are on the call, if they could also answer on the chat is I was listening to Dr. Ruha Benjamin talking about what we need to change is not the technologies themselves, but our imagination, no?

I think y'all have talked about that already about how we're talking about systems and not necessarily the things that are easily changed. So, for you all, if you can say a little bit more, yeah, what part of our imagination do we need to change and for funders who are in this goal, as well, how can we push philanthropy a little bit better to honestly fund abolition work. Because honestly, this panel, there's not many folks talking about funding abolition work so openly. It's super inspiring, and also as funders, we do need to make the case for folks who aren't feeling it yet. It's a little bit of a broad question. Anywhere you want to take it. But thank you all.

>> **BRENDA SALAS NEVES:** Do any of you want to jump in first?

>> **HAMID KHAN:** I was waiting for Ashe and Jacinta. Jacinta, go ahead.

>> **JACINTA GONZÁLEZ:** It's the Zoom etiquette of who unmutes first. The constant. I do think, I remember Ashe mentioned this at one point. But an example I always give, you know, ICE figures out how to have technology to figure out exactly where you are located and who your cousin is and what your DNA is. Suddenly they separate children at the border, they go I don't know where they went. It isn't about the technology, it's about the uses of the technology and the power dynamics that are at play.

To me, the issue of the crisis of imagination is both around the uses of technology, but also around these ideas around abolition, right? I've been in so many places where people will talk about abolishing ICE and stopping deportations is not a good policy goal. But meanwhile folks have been pushing for comprehensive immigration reform for I don't know how many decades. That's seen as totally reasonable.

The crisis in imagination is really around how we can think about transforming power structures and how we can imagine a world where it's not needed. That's important because so many of these technologies are constantly portrayed as having a smaller carceral state, where they're really expanding control in so many ways. Visions of liberation that people are putting out in terms of how to think of a world without policing that can then allow like the imagination for other things to kind of go from there.

But I think it's, yeah, I think it's just a little bit complicated with funders, too, because there's a way in which there's this like level of how you have to have a little bit of proof of concept right before you go and that has been part of the thing that has been the most challenging around some of these issues. I think the imagination and the trust of knowing that this is where it's going.

>> **ASHE HELM-HERNÁNDEZ:** Thanks for this important question. I was trying to wrap my brain around even saying "abolitionist" because oftentimes people don't understand that it's not just the getting rid of something, but it's the building. That is the imagination part that you're asking about. And oftentimes people are against these things.

You think about the turn of the century abolitionists who fought tirelessly for freedom, but you had to have a vision for that particular freedom. And you had to follow those who were enslaved seeking freedom. You couldn't as someone who was part of the oppressor group envision that freedom for folks.

And so it's oftentimes I see that funders may have a framework, they're not ready for that, you know? That they themselves don't understand abolitionist work, and what

they're hearing is making them afraid to get rid of the system that they're so comfortable in. So, you know, we have to break free of that comfortability and be uncomfortable where we need to go and grow. I don't know if they even see themselves as part of that constellation of people who are seeking and desire freedom. There are multiple ways as there are stars in the skies to get to that place.

>> **HAMID KHAN:** Well, I think Jacinta and Ashe have really laid it out really well. I think I will just echo what is being shared, just the imagination of liberation, just the imagination of being free from state violence, imagination of free from harm, the imagination of what our personal and collective health and wellbeing really looks like.

But that also comes with a much deeper understanding and degree orienting ourselves, as well, in a sense of what does that journey really mean? It's a lot of hard work. It's a lot of just repetitive work, as well, but really truly understanding the extent of the harm, the tools of the harm, and that's where how do we, and it's very much being done, for example in our work, we've been able to weaponize the public records request. And understand not just through that legal lens of discovery or anything, but even what is the grant application that the Los Angeles Police Department is funding, what is their imagination of this program? What is their staffing going to look like? What is the operational opportunities that they've had? How it builds into the existing operations and programs that they have?

It's kind of reorienting ourselves and what sort of unpacking are we doing that is really rooted in our own lived experiences of being on the receiving end of the state violence, but how that collective power over centuries has been built. And this journey towards dismantling it and abolishing it. I think that there's a lot of reorientation that needs to happen. But that whole collective reorientation would only happen through conversations like this and having more clarity on these things.

>> **BRENDA SALAS NEVES:** Yeah, and if I can add, in my role as a funder, as well, I do think that there is, that we as funders play such a significant role in like advocating and organizing with other funders. I think when we were working on this report, we specifically remember the moment that we had a convening with some folks last year.

And I remember actually Hamid telling us, and some other folks, if you all are writing a report about technologies, you all need to be clear about where are you standing. And this is not about reform, this is about abolition. And that was very clear for us, no? In terms of like what is really our role as funders and also what is the framework that we're putting on this report? And like we're really listening or hoping to really listen to what folks are doing, no? On the ground. And then how do we bring this back to other spaces?

Like even before we launched this report and even before all of this really inspiring

uprisings have been happening here in the U.S. When we brought this conversation to some tech funding spaces, folks were kind of confused about us even bringing up this notion about abolition. Tech funders were like I don't know. It felt hard for us. And there was this fear about how do we make the case.

For me, especially, and how Astraea made us think about how we also need to follow how folks are really bold and we also need to be as bold in our funding strategies. I see that as a big role for us and how we're creating those spaces for political education around us as funders to really understand and advocate inside our internal structures, as well. I think that's where the heavy work, no?

Beyond the grant-making practices, politicizing ourselves within our own grant making structures, and our boards and our staff, and how are we practicing that? How are we implementing those visions that we actually preach and create? How do we actually practice internally, it's a long-term process. It's a whole life project for all of us. A multi-generation project, as Hamid said. We really need to get much better around that. Yeah.

And I'm also looking at the time and we might be at time. There is one question that Celia had, but I do know that I want us to transition into the closing by Adriana. So, maybe what we can do is maybe we can share the contact information from folks with everyone who attended this session and then feel free to follow up with them, feel free to learn about their work and connect with them and move money to support their resources and stay connected with us. Ultimately that's the big goal, no? We need to resource these amazing organizers and all of the organizations doing this amazing work.

Thank you so much. I'm going to pass this back to Adriana.

>> **ADRIANA ROCHA:** Thank you so much, everyone. I just really wanted to appreciate and close out our series. I want to express gratitude to all of our speakers, the session organizers, our program community, our convening cultures and homecoming queens, and the participants who made our virtual convening series a big success. I want to thank our staff series and our Girl Friday Events team, JC and Shelley. You're rock stars.

Thank you for your energy. We've explored many topics. Participatory grant making models, collaborative leadership of young people of color, and accountability and philanthropy's roles.

And you can view the recordings on our website, nfg.org/2020. We'll send that out to you. If we'd been gathering in person in D.C., where NFG was founded, we would have had the opportunity to celebrate with you all, and I would have been definitely directing folks to our karaoke after-party and then the after-after party.

And I want to remind you to one of the calls to action from our plenary on people, place, and power. Mary Hooks issued this call to action for philanthropy. She said we have to invest in the policy fights, but also in the new experiments and models. We have to take risks that are worthy of the courage of our people, so, when we're celebrating 80 years at NFG, we're celebrating these wins and the new world that we built together.

So, philanthropy has a duty to show up in this monumental moment in the fight ahead, and NFG is here to fight for the new world where communities thrive and we urge you to join us in 2021 and bring your colleagues across and beyond your grant making institutions to do our collective work to organize funders and act as we've been called upon to take risks that are worthy of the courage of our people.

Thank you so much, everybody, and we'll cue off with our deejay and final song.
[Music]
