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Making Change on Gender-Based Violence: Assessing Shifting Political Opportunities in Canada

By Lisa Boucher¹

Abstract

Feminist anti-violence organizations provide much needed services and advocate for changes to culture and policy. However, their ability to continue with this work is jeopardized by fraught and changing relations with governments. This is especially the case for state-funded feminist service organizations which, through their ties to state funders, risk their ability to engage in advocacy. While scholars and activists warn of the challenges associated with state funding, situating funding relationships within particular social, historical, geographic, and political contexts can illuminate both the threats facing feminist service organizations, as well as openings in the political opportunity structure. Using the Canadian province of Ontario as a case study, this paper highlights changes to funding for anti-violence work between 1990 and 2015 and considers the implications of shifts in the funding regime. My findings indicate that while state resources for anti-violence initiatives have expanded over time in both the province of Ontario and at the federal level, neoliberal governance has altered the distribution of government funding which has contributed to heightened competition between organizations. I conclude by offering reflections on existing political opportunities for the feminist anti-violence movement in Canada.

Keywords: Feminist anti-violence organizations, Feminist movements, State-social movement relations, Gender-based violence, Neoliberalism, Non-profit sector, Policy analysis

Introduction

In response to decades of feminist activism drawing attention to violence against women, Canadian governments across the political spectrum have promised action and resources. Despite this rhetoric, little change has been made, and women and girls both globally and in Canada continue to face alarming rates of gender-based violence² (Sinha 2013; World Health Organization & Human Reproduction Programme 2019). The allocation of government funding is reflective of policy priorities and can provide insight into the pressures governments face to respond to particular issues, interests, and groups. In the 1970s, feminists in Canada began to actively organize around the issue of violence against women, creating a network of responsive

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² Throughout this paper, I use the terms gender-based violence and violence against women. I understand gender-based violence to encompass violence based on gender identity, gender expression, or perceived gender. The focus of this research is on one type of gender-based violence, violence against women. Although some of the funding discussed here may be directed at men or trans people, it is likely that the majority is aimed at violence against women given its high prevalence (Sinha 2013) and gaps in services for transgender and gender diverse survivors (Tabibi, Kubow & Baker 2017; Guadalupe-Diaz & Jasinski 2017).

organizations, raising public awareness, and advocating for victims and survivors. As they engaged in this work, they looked to the state to alter existing legislation and policy and to support community-based organizations and initiatives (Beres, Crow & Gotell 2009; Janovicek 2007). Although state resources present risks for feminist organizations, these resources also have the potential to provide stability, sustainability, and opportunities. Thus, the issue of government funding raises complexities and tensions for feminist activists and scholars alike.

This paper explores how state funding priorities and policies can create political opportunities or constraints for feminist anti-violence organizations. To better understand these dynamics, I undertook a policy study to track shifts in funding for community-based anti-violence work in Ontario. Ontario is the most populous province in Canada and is home to a range of feminist anti-violence organizations, including shelters, transition houses, and sexual assault centres. My findings indicate that while state resources for initiatives aimed at addressing gender-based violence have increased over time, neoliberal governance has transformed the funding climate in significant ways. This has altered the distribution of government funding, negatively impacting community-based feminist organizations by heightening competition for scarce resources. This paper begins by contextualizing the study and situating the research in the literature about state-social movement relations. Next, I introduce the concept of “political opportunities” which is used in this paper to raise questions about social movement strategy. After outlining the study’s rationale and approach, I explore some notable changes to the allocation of provincial anti-violence funding. I conclude by evaluating existing political opportunities and offer some reflections on the conditions necessary to support intersectional, feminist anti-violence work. Although this research focuses on changes to state funding for Canadian feminist anti-violence organizations, the challenges it grapples with—including the tensions associated with state funding and increased pressures introduced by neoliberalism—are relevant to feminist anti-violence organizations globally.

Feminist Service Organizations, State-Social Movement Relations & Funding Regimes

Feminist service organizations contribute to their communities in a multitude of ways, for instance, by filling voids in services, through their collaborations with community partners and through their advocacy on social justice issues. They also act as cultural and community spaces and can offer opportunities for political engagement for those typically marginalized from civic participation. They—and the broader non-profit sector—play essential roles in democratic societies. The many diverse roles that these organizations undertake often necessitate engagement with state institutions and actors. This engagement takes different forms and the nature of the relationship to the state is shaped by many factors including movement or organizational goals, repertoires of action, and state configurations (Beckwith 2007; Poloni-Staudinger & Orbals 2011).

Relationships with state institutions come with risks for feminist organizations. Feminist scholars have highlighted the challenges associated with state funding in particular (Bumiller 2008; Das Gupta 2007; Durazo 2007; Rios 2018). Funding relationships can undermine the democratic potential of feminist organizations, presenting dilemmas associated with institutionalization and cooptation. For example, pressures to maintain working relationships with government funding bodies, to professionalize, and to gain legitimacy can dilute the politics of an organization (Bumiller 2008; Durazo 2007; Rios 2018). Although this risk is ever-present, it is also necessary to account for the complex factors involved, including the many ways feminist service organizations negotiate challenges in their political environments as well as changes in

political opportunities over time. In Canada, feminist service organizations have historically relied heavily on state funding to support their various activities (Meinhard & Foster 2003; Rodgers & Knight 2011), and this continues to be the case. For instance, recently the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAOW) conducted a survey of 95 women's organizations from across the country. Survey respondents expressed an ongoing dependence on some form of government funding and many reported that their organizations receive funding from multiple government sources simultaneously (CRIAOW-ICREF, 2019).

This long-standing funding relationship must be understood as a part of a history of funding for the broader non-profit sector in Canada. State/non-profit sector relations in Canada have transformed dramatically since the 1960s. In the 1960s and 1970s, the federal Liberal government acknowledged the non-profit sector as a partner in the policy process and as offering vital social supports. This approach was motivated by concerns about national unity in Canada and as a strategic way to address gaps in government services (Brodie & Bakker 2007; Corrigan-Brown & Ho 2018; Smith 2018). During this period, non-profit organizations experienced an opening in the political opportunity structure as governments expanded state funding and resources for community groups. This period was relatively short-lived however, and with the rise of neoliberalism and neoconservatism, non-profit organizations have experienced what could be characterized as uneasy and strained relationships with government funding bodies at various levels. Significant changes include the delegitimization of advocacy as an acceptable activity for non-profit organizations and the weakening of federal and provincial institutional supports for gender equality work (Brodie & Bakker 2007; Knight & Rodgers 2012). Furthermore, feminist service organizations and the broader non-profit sector face ongoing challenges due to funding cuts, a movement towards short-term project-based funding rather than core funding, and a strict accountability regime (Boucher 2018; Gibson et al. 2007; Knight & Rodgers 2012; Richmond & Shields 2004; Ready 2016). Understanding these broad trends is vital when assessing to what extent feminist anti-violence organizations can pursue their social justice mandates. However, it is also necessary to avoid over-generalizations which fail to account for particular social and political contexts.

Theorizing Political Opportunities

Social movement scholars have demonstrated the importance of context to collective mobilization. Moving beyond early psychological theories of collective action, political process theorists have conceptualized social movements as complex political phenomenon. According to this school of thought, activists are rational actors who strategically assess their political environments and base their actions on a variety of considerations, including the resources available, and threats and opportunities in their political environments (Staggenborg 2012).

Political opportunities are characterized as factors which influence both the emergence of social movements and the likelihood of successful mobilization (Giugni 2011; Staggenborg 2012). They can shape the form of mobilization, the nature of the claims made, the choice in tactics, the ability to build alliances, and the overall impact on institutions and policy (Meyer 2004; Poloni-Staudinger & Ortals 2011). Tarrow (2012: 78) defines political opportunities as "...signals to social and political actors that either encourage or discourage them to use their internal resources to form social movements". These signals do not only come from the state and formal institutions but are also received from informal structures and forces which can offer resources or present opportunities or threats (ibid). Tarrow (2012) also identifies five dominant signals for activists

including the openness of a polity, changes in political alignments, access to influential allies, divisions or conflicts amongst political elites, and levels of state repression. Others have expanded this list to include existing public policies, the discursive field, and the *perception* of opportunities or threats in a political landscape (Giugni 2011; Meyer 2004).

Critics claim that political process theory provides an overly structural analysis of social movement activity. They have argued that the focus on rationality and strategy has negated attention away from cultural considerations. Moreover, some have contended that the concept of political opportunities or political opportunity structures can act as a “catch all” or “sponge” and, therefore, fail to adequately explain the longevity, form, and effectiveness of particular social movements (Gamson & Meyer 1996; Giugni 2011). In response, political process theorists have highlighted the dynamic nature of political opportunities, and the importance of examining opportunities and threats in any given context. Additionally, the agency of activists is centred and, in general, there has been a movement away from more structural analyses. Emphasis is instead placed on process rather than on static structures and conditions. Social movement actors are envisioned as not only responding to political opportunities in their environment but also as playing a key role in shaping and opening opportunities for collective action (Chappell 2000; Giugni 2011; Meyer 2004; Tarrow 2012). My use of political opportunities as a theoretical frame in this paper embraces the understanding that political opportunities are shifting and dynamic. I am also interested in examining how feminist activists operate in relation to existing opportunities and threats and in exploring how they can carve out new spaces for their social justice work.

Research Methods

This study grew out of previous work which examined the effects of a neoliberal funding regime on the daily work of two feminist service organizations. Intent on understanding government responses to gender-based violence over time and associated impacts on the feminist anti-violence sector, I engaged in an in-depth analysis of state funding and policy documents. Data was collected from provincial and federal public accounts to track support for feminist anti-violence initiatives over a 25-year period (1990-2015). Public accounts are government records which communicate information about government expenditures, including data on transfer payments to non-profit organizations. Analyses of the Public Accounts are helpful because these documents provide “accurate and comprehensive” information about government spending (Clement 2018). As social spending in Canada is largely a provincial responsibility, my research uses Ontario as a case study, and the discussion in this paper focuses on data at the provincial level. Additionally, because funding for anti-violence work falls under the purview of particular government bodies, my analysis focuses on transfer payments made by select provincial ministries including the Ministry of Community and Social Services, Ministry of the Solicitor General, Ministry of the Attorney General, and the Office Responsible for Women’s Issues. Information was also pulled from the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Citizenship.

Data was extracted from each annual report over the 25-year period and entered into an Excel file for analysis. Data was then coded both deductively and inductively to uncover patterns to government funding for gender-based violence over time. Specifically, documents were coded to draw out distinctions between types of organizations funded, as well as size of transfer payments and multiple grants per year. This approach identified important distinctions between organizations based on their primary focus and illuminated differences in amounts of funding

received. Next, a comparative analysis across the years was employed to examine changes over time to both the types of organizations funded and the amounts of funding allocated.

The time period selected for this study was identified due to its potential to reveal a shift in governance and because it represents significant historical moments relevant to feminist anti-violence activism in Canada. The early 1990s saw a reinvigorated national discourse on the issue of violence against women, following the tragedy of the Montreal Massacre³. This, in turn, led to the establishment of the Canadian Panel on Violence against Women in 1991 which investigated the reality of violence in Canadian women's lives and proposed recommendations for change (Canadian Panel on Violence against Women 1993). Then, in 1993, the Violence against Women survey was released, which was the first of its kind internationally (Fraser 2014). More recently in the province of Ontario, the Liberal government led by Kathleen Wynne unrolled the Action Plan to Stop Sexual Violence and Harassment in 2015 (Mathieu, Benzie & Poisson 2015). Arguably, this comprehensive piece of legislation was developed in response to decades of feminist mobilization, and its creation involved meaningful community involvement (Ross-Marquette & Komiotis 2016).

Thus, the time frame studied encapsulates moments which provided openings for feminist activism on the issue of gender-based violence. However, during this time, governments at both the federal and provincial levels embraced New Public Management (NPM) principles in their funding arrangements with non-profits. NPM is a type of public sector management which emphasizes fiscal accountability, efficiency through set targets, and ongoing (top-down) monitoring and evaluation. The use of NPM is intended to slow down or reverse government spending and encourages the privatization of services. As a result, the adoption of this approach has had a deep impact on the non-profit sector and social services (Baines 2004; Evans, Richmond & Shields 2005). In addition to facing heightened pressures introduced through NPM, feminist organizations and other equity seeking groups in Ontario also faced backlash and deep slashes to funding under the Harris Progressive Conservative government (1995-2002) from which they have never fully recovered (Ready 2016). While this study focuses on the provincial level and a specific geographic context, it is also attuned to connections between different levels of governance, and in turn, the way these connections can produce particular opportunities or threats for feminist anti-violence organizations.

Shifts over Time: Funding Directed at Gender-Based Violence

When analysing the Ontario public accounts, some interesting patterns emerge, providing a fuller picture of changes to opportunities for feminist and women's organizations in the province. In general, Ontario has increased spending on gender-based violence over time. In 1990, provincial transfer payments to organizations working on this issue⁴ accounted for approximately \$36,000,000. When adjusted for inflation, this amounts to roughly \$59,000,000⁵. By 2015, this number was approximately \$139,000,000. This represents a 135% increase. However, focusing solely on amounts of money spent can be deceiving. Thus, it is necessary to draw out trends in

³ On December 6th, 1989, an armed man entered l'École Polytechnique in Montreal and killed 14 women. The killer left behind a letter which rationalized his violence as a response to what he viewed as unfair advantages awarded to women and which blamed feminists for these perceived inequities (Fraser 2014; Rebeck 2005).

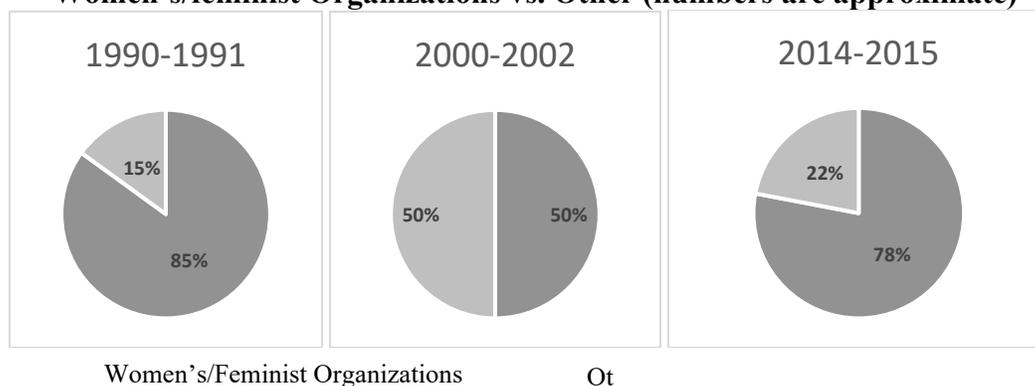
⁴ These numbers are derived from transfer payments made by provincial ministries where this funding is traditionally located.

⁵ This number was calculated using the Bank of Canada inflation calculator.

how resources are distributed. Although there has been a rise in the overall amount of funding directed at gender-based violence both in Ontario and federally, this has not necessarily translated into larger grants for individual organizations. Instead, a greater number of organizations are receiving monies. For example, federally Status of Women Canada's Women's Program has seen a boost to the overall funding available over time. At the same time, there has also been an expansion in the number of organizations receiving funding. In their study of federal funding for Indigenous, Women's and Environmental NGOs, Corrigan-Brown and Ho (2018) observe a pattern wherein, depending on the government in power and the particular issue, governments either "sprinkle" funding across numerous organizations or concentrate it amongst a smaller group of organizations. Therefore, it is important to recognize that increases in funding directed at violence against women have not necessarily resulted in larger grants for many organizations or in more sustainable funding.

In addition to looking at amounts of funding available, data from the public accounts was also coded to distinguish between organizations that could be identified as women's or feminist groups from community groups not organized around gender or feminist politics⁶. Interestingly, there has been a fluctuation in this funding for women's and feminist organizations over time (refer to Chart 1). In Ontario in 1990, approximately 85% of funding for work on gender-based violence was directed specifically towards women's and feminist groups. Between 2000 and 2002, this number decreased to approximately 50%. After 2005, this number rose again with over 80% of organizations receiving funding for anti-violence work being women's and feminist organizations. By the 2014-2015 fiscal year, women and feminist organizations accounted for 78% of funding recipients.

Chart 1: Provincial Funding (Ontario) for Gender-based Violence Work – Women's/feminist Organizations vs. Other (numbers are approximate)

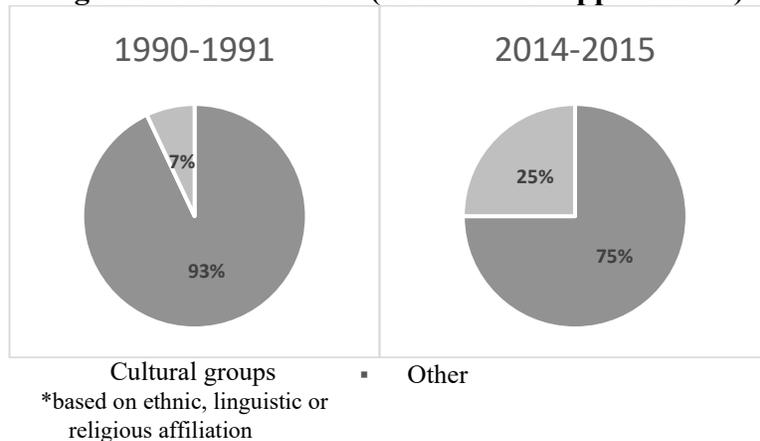


Simultaneously, between 1990 and 2015, cultural organizations (identified here as groups organized around an ethnic, linguistic, or religious affiliation) experienced a gain in provincial grants for work focused on gender-based violence. While there is some overlap between the two

⁶ This method has some limitations. This distinction was made first by conducting a scan of organizational names to pull out organizations which could be easily identified as women's and/or feminist organizations. For organizations not easily recognized, internet research was conducted to determine how to categorize each group. However, given the historical nature of this research (and lack of virtual presence in some cases), there is a small possibility that some early groups were left out of the women's/feminist organizations category.

categories, cultural groups that cannot be categorized as women’s or feminist organizations are increasingly visible as recipients of government funding for the issue of violence against women. Some examples include the Centre for Spanish Speaking Peoples, Jewish Family and Child Services of Metropolitan Toronto, Chinese Family Services of Ontario, and Catholic Family Counselling.

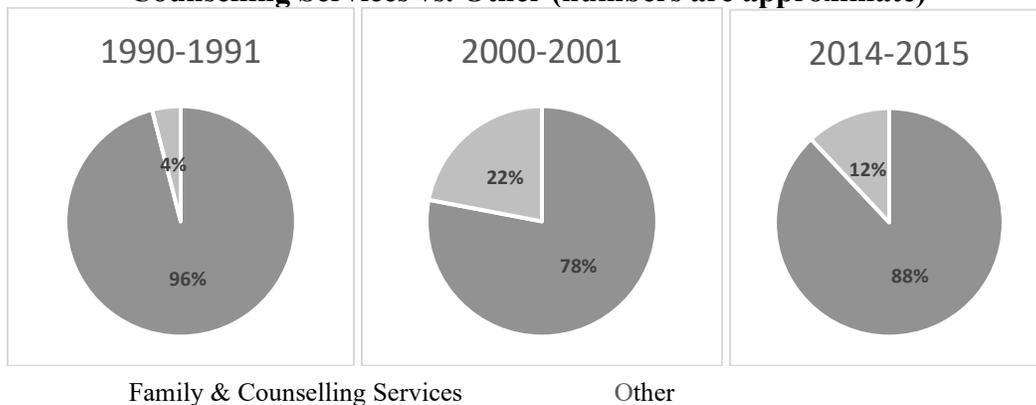
Chart 2: Provincial Funding (Ontario) for Gender-based Violence Work - Cultural Organizations vs. Other (numbers are approximate)



In 1990, cultural groups represented 7% of organizations that received this funding. By 2014-2015, cultural groups consisted of 25% of all groups funded for anti-violence work (refer to Chart 2).

There has also been a rise in funding for family services and counselling services. In 1990-91, funding for these services (not delivered out of feminist or women’s organizations) accounted for only 4% of all violence against women grants. By 2000-2001, this number had rose sharply to 22% under the Harris PC government. This number decreased by 2014-2015, with family and counselling services receiving 12% of grants for work on gender-based violence (refer to Chart 3).

Chart 3: Provincial Funding (Ontario) for Gender-based Violence Work - Family & Counselling Services vs. Other (numbers are approximate)



Overall, there has been an expansion in this funding for family and counselling services. It is worth noting that increases in funding are tied in part to the governing party and changes can be

linked to transitions of power. However, while these shifts are associated with particular parties and political moments, the changes made appear to have a lingering impact (also see Ready 2016).

These trends can be connected to a troubling tendency to apply a gender-neutral analysis to gender-based violence (Brodie 2008; Collier 2012; Gotell 2007; Ready 2016). For example, in her study of provincial policy documents between 1984 and 2010, Collier (2012) found a rise over time in the use of gender-neutral and law-and-order frames in discussions of violence against women. Similarly, Ready (2016) shows how gender-neutral language at the policy level has influenced community organizations which increasingly feel pressure to adopt this discourse in their efforts to conform to funders' expectations. This shift in language is concerning because it masks systemic power imbalances based on gender and ignores the gendered dynamics of gender-based violence. It also has the effect of individualizing a social and political problem. Moreover, as my data suggests, the use of gender-neutral frames has implications for the distribution of resources. The expanded diversity of types of organizations receiving funding for work related to gender-based violence raises questions about the approaches used. Organizations that do not identify as women's or feminist organizations may offer compassionate support to survivors of violence and fill a need for community specific and/or culturally safe services and advocacy. Indeed, this increased diversity can potentially contribute in critical ways to the feminist anti-violence movement (for example, see Janovicek 2007, Matthews 1994). However, if these organizations do not utilize a gender-based analysis, their ability to effectively address violence against women is limited. For instance, family services which either encourage family reunification in situations of violence or which pressure women to leave abusive relationships despite risks to their own safety fail to address the unequal power relations embedded in gender-based violence (for example, see Johnson & Sullivan 2008).

Furthermore, when funding that is earmarked for services and advocacy around gender-based violence is directed away from organizations connected to women's and feminist movements, this undermines their sustainability and impact. Increased competition means that organizations must repeatedly prove themselves as worthy of funding. To do so, organizations spend greater amounts of time and resources on grant application processes and fundraising. This draws their focus and energy away from important tasks associated with service provision, advocacy, and community building (Boucher 2018; Gibson, O'Donnell & Rideout 2007). Thus, the patterns my data reveal must be contextualized as a fundamental component of a neoliberal funding environment, where non-profit organizations are awarded smaller and short-term pockets of funding and are made to compete over limited resources.

Assessing Political Opportunities, Moving Forward

An in-depth look at funding for anti-violence work over the period studied provides some insights into the possibilities available for feminist anti-violence work. The rise in government spending for anti-violence work over time, I would argue, can partially be attributed to the ongoing salience of gender-based violence as an issue. Although the nature of the larger discourse about violence against women has changed over time, feminists have been successful in keeping gender-based violence on the cultural and political radar. This has left governments of various party affiliations with little choice but to be seen as taking some action to address this social problem (also see Beer 2017; Whittier 2016). However, it would be naïve to simply see an expansion in funding alone as evidence of progressive social change on the issue. In fact, in their research, Corrigan-Brown and Ho (2018) found that Conservative governments at the federal level tended

to spend more money on “women’s issues”. Additionally, others have demonstrated that government attention to the issue of violence against women has at times supported political initiatives which “other” groups and advance law-and-order agendas and xenophobic policies (Arat-Koç, 2012; Hunnicutt 2019; Mason 2017; Whittier 2016). Therefore, understanding how these resources are distributed and the constraints placed on funding is necessary when considering how state funding influences political opportunities.

My research demonstrates that the government in power does matter to the types of organizations that receive funding for anti-violence work. The percentage of grants awarded to women’s and/or feminist organizations on this issue decreased significantly during the Harris Conservative years. During this period, family and counselling services were clearly favoured. The election of Conservative governments often places constraints on the political opportunities available to feminist service organizations and limits their access to state resources. Nonetheless, changes to funding for women’s and/or feminist organizations cannot simply be reduced to an analysis of which political party is in power. Although this is important, it does not explain broader shifts in the funding regime. For example, when looking at provincial anti-violence funding, there has been a gradual but notable and consistent boost in the number of cultural groups funded for this work. Moreover, the rise in the number of grants awarded, the associated competition between organizations for state resources, and the move to providing short-term grants in lieu of core funding are products of neoliberalism. Many of these changes have undermined the stability of feminist service organizations, as well as the broader non-profit sector over time regardless of which party is governing.

What opportunities exist for feminist anti-violence organizations in the current social and political context? Again, Ontario is faced with a provincial government which seeks to reduce social spending and further delegitimize social justice groups. When looking specifically at the issue of gender-based violence, since coming to power in June 2018, the provincial Conservative government under Doug Ford has disbanded the Roundtable on Violence against Women. The Roundtable was a group of experts, the majority of whom were volunteers, which provided advice to the provincial government on emerging issues related to gender-based violence (Hayes & Stone 2018). Additionally, sexual assault centres were set to receive a boost of \$14.8 million over three years. Unfortunately, this commitment was made by the former Liberal government and the Ford government announced that the Office of the Attorney General would only distribute a small fraction of this amount to the organizations. Instead of the \$14.8 million expected, the government stated that it would distribute \$1 million to be shared between 42 organizations for the 2019-2020 year (“Toronto Rape Crisis Centre Says Funding Boost from Province Falls Short”, 2019). This amount was later increased by \$2 million in response to backlash; however, this funding has limitations as it is specifically directed at supports for victims of sex trafficking (Nasser 2020). Furthermore, the Ford government has also announced that it will be reviewing victim services from across the province (“Toronto Rape Crisis Centre says Funding Boost from Province Falls Short”, 2019). At the provincial level at least then, the situation continues to present challenges to the feminist anti-violence sector.

Federally, the funding landscape for anti-violence work has also changed. While feminist organizations faced political threats under the Conservative Harper government (Knight & Rodgers 2012), the election of the Trudeau Liberals in 2015 and subsequent re-election in 2019 has potentially created openings for feminist anti-violence organizations. Under the Trudeau government, new funding directed towards addressing gender-based violence has been announced, with funds being targeted towards underserved communities including Indigenous women and

girls, seniors, LGBTQ+ groups, and immigrant women (Harris 2018; Eagland 2019). This shift in the federal funding landscape illuminates the importance of attending to opportunities at multiple levels. It also underscores the dynamic—and hence at times fleeting—nature of these opportunities. Most recently, the funding landscape has again shifted due to COVID-19. Since March 2020, governments at both the provincial and federal levels have promised resources to feminist anti-violence organizations in response to heightened need during the pandemic (Ireton, 2020).

Seeking out cracks in the political opportunity structure is not without challenges, but it is also not an impossible endeavor. While it is clear that the governing party has an impact on the opportunities available, this is not the only factor which deserves attention. For instance, in her study of violence against women legislation in Mexico, Beer (2017) found that the most important factor to consider when assessing the implementation of comprehensive violence against women laws was the presence of a strong feminist movement. This had a greater influence than the ideology of the party in power or even the percentage of women in government. Looking to examples in Ontario, feminist organizations have successfully pushed back against decreases to anti-violence funding in the past. During the Harris years, the Step it Up campaign, which was developed and led by feminist anti-violence organizations, placed pressure on the Conservative government following a number of high-profile murders of women by their partners in the province. The campaign was successful in gaining funding for anti-violence work (Ready 2016). All this is to say that organizations and movements are not passive actors in any given political opportunity structure, but rather are active agents which play a role in shaping the political opportunities available.

It is also helpful to remember that movements are more than their organizations. Feminist organizations' reduced capacity under neoliberalism is cause for real concern, but this also serves as a reminder of the importance of alliances and coalitions. Feminist organizations find that their relationships with other groups provide them with greater capacity and some protection against threats in their political environments. These connections can also facilitate advocacy that would not be possible otherwise. However, making and sustaining these connections is difficult, especially with limited resources (Boucher 2018; CRIAW-ICREF 2019; Ready 2016; also see Burrowes & LaForest 2017). Nonetheless, identifying opportunities to bring together resources—both monetary and non-monetary resources—is a necessary strategy for strengthening and advancing intersectional feminist anti-violence work. This could involve nurturing existing relationships and building new relationships across difference to maintain organizational links to social justice movements. Moving forward, it will be important to study the political opportunities coalition work can create, as well as the threats feminist coalitions face under neoliberalism.

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