

the political economy may generate greater opportunities for coalition building for and with domestic violence advocates.

The framework offered by models of patriarchy as source of domestic violence is no longer adequate; strategies of remedy through the criminal justice system are increasingly problematical.

918

2016] *RETHINKING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ADVOCACY* 919

domestic violence victims. Those benefits derive from the opportunity to connect more broadly with other social justice movements.¹⁵

The article concludes by observing that the opportunity to relocate

2016] *RETHINKING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ADVOCACY* 923

a type of advocacy that often facilitates failed and punitive policies.

A. *Welfare Programs and Domestic Violence*

1. Welfare Benefits

Public welfare in the United States has long been administered through federal assistance programs under the Social Security Act, and state general assistance programs.⁴³ The primary welfare program that provides economic support for victims of domestic violence is currently known as Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF),⁴⁴

provide support for victims who seek to transfer to a different subsidized unit in order to escape domestic violence.⁵⁵ The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development includes individuals and families who are fleeing or attempting to flee domestic violence as one of four federally defined categories eligible to receive public housing assistance if otherwise qualified.⁵⁶ The Fair Housing Act may also provide federal statutory protections to a victim of domestic violence who believes she has suffered discrimination on the basis of sex.⁵⁷

Margaret Johnson recently reviewed legislative remedies enacted to provide some measure of economic security for victims and identifies state statutes that provide in-state tuition and education waivers for persons subjected to abuse as well as their children.⁵⁸ For example, California enacted legislation that exempts victims of certain types of gender violence-related crimes victims from paying nonresidential tuition and waives certain college fees.⁵⁹ Similarly, New Jersey passed legislation that requires the state to pay for school tuition charges when a child resides in a domestic violence shelter or transitional housing.⁶⁰

B. From a Liberal to a Neoliberal Welfare State: Diminishing Assistance for Victims of Domestic Violence

Notwithstanding the benefits that may assist victims of domestic violence as described above, the U.S. welfare state has been and is

Phillips, *Addressing Barriers to Housing for Women Survivors of Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault*, 24 TEMP. POL. & CIV. RTS. L. REV. 323 (2015).

55. See Margaret E. Johnson, *A Home With Dignity: Domestic Violence and Property Rights*, 2014 B.Y.U. L. REV. 1, 36-37 (2014) (citing 42 U.S.C. § 1437f(r)(5) (2012) but explaining that tenants remain liable to the landlord).

56. *Homelessness Assistance*, HUD.GOV, http://portal.hud.gov/hudportal/HUD?src=/program_offices/comm_planning/homeless.

57. Meris L. Bergquist, *After the Violence: Using Fair Housing Laws to Keep Women and Children Safe at Home*, 34-SPG VT. B.J., 46, 46-47 (2008). Some states have followed the lead of the federal government and have enacted legislation to prohibit discrimination in housing on the basis of domestic violence. See Johnson, *supra* note 55, at 53; Bergquist, *supra* note 57, at 47-48; see generally Eryn Jane Branch & Amy Pincolini-Ford, *Family Violence: Legislative Update Volume 18*, NAT'L COUNCIL JUV. & FAM. CT. JUDGES (Oct. 23, 2013), <http://www.ncjfcj.org/resource-library/publications/family-violence-legislative-update-volume-18>; Rasheedah Phillips, *Addressing Barriers to Housing for Women Survivors of Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault*, 24 TEMP. POL. & CIV. RTS. L. REV. 323, 324-25 (2015) (noting that Philadelphia prohibits a landlord from terminating a lease of or otherwise retaliating against a tenant who is a victim of domestic violence and Pennsylvania prohibits nuisance provisions in a lease from being used to evict domestic violence victims).

58. Johnson, *supra* note 5, at 163-64.

59. *Id.* at 16 n.106.

60. *Id.*

increasingly stingy and punitive. Welfare programs have long operated in the realm of a political economy of efficiency that has celebrated the market as the optimal regulatory mechanism for the distribution of goods and services over government assistance.⁶¹ Since the 1996 enactment of the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PROWA), responsibility for subsistence has, more than ever, fallen to the individual, kinship systems, charities, and to a lesser degree, communities.⁶² Government benefits are no longer guaranteed, but rather are administered through a state block grant program functioning as restrained largess. PROWA now imposes time limits and work requirements in exchange for meager cash assistance.⁶³ Recipients are discharged from welfare rolls whether or not they are prepared for employment.⁶⁴ Welfare reform also requires that recipients cooperate with the federal child support enforcement program and assign child support payments to the state as reimbursement for subsistence payments.⁶⁵ Welfare reform has generated significant profits for private firms with which some states contract to administer the mandatory work programs.⁶⁶ The obligations of the state to provide for the day-to-day needs of its citizens have further contracted as the role of the state has been radically redefined to that of shoring up the institutions of the market and substituting private for public programs.⁶⁷

PROWA is not only an economic program that favors the market for family survival. Welfare reform, as part of the neoliberal order, must also be

61. Bob Jessup, *Liberalism, Neoliberalism, and Urban Governance: A State-Theoretical Perspective*, 34 *ANTIPODE* 452, 453-54 (2002).

62. See Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, Pub. L. No. 104-193, 110 Stat. 2105 (1996) (codified as amended at scattered sections of U.S.C.).

63. Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, Pub. L. No. 104-193, 110 Stat. 2105 (1996) (codified as amended at scattered sections of U.S.C.); 431.47 309.89 Tm[(431.47 309.89 Tm[(431.47 309.8

understood as a reformulation of a broad set of policies and strategies for neoliberal restructuring entailed both a political-economic dimension in the reorganization of laws and practices and an ideological dimension in which ⁶⁸ This conceptualization serves as a useful framework for considering the impact of welfare reform on victims of domestic violence.

1. Work, Punishment, and the Undeserving Victim

The neoliberal turn that has served to diminish and privatize what were once state obligations to provide a safety net has impacted all poor people who require government assistance, but perhaps most perniciously, victims of domestic violence, and more particularly women victims. As Jacqueline

the term which allows a cruelly unequal society to turn its back on those it has thrown on the ⁶⁹ It is women and single women who comprise the vast majority of welfare recipients and women who are domestic violence victims comprise a sizeable proportion of that cohort.⁷⁰

Welfare reform punishes domestic violence victims dependent on the state safety net due to circumstances that they may not control, but who are now required to work in order to receive benefits. The conditions of such work are punitive: the narrative of the underserving recipient embedded in the PROWA, in turn, has influenced the attitudes of employers who justify

welfare are unreliable and lazy.⁷¹ Black women suffer the greatest

of
has been well-established.⁷²

Welfare recipients are often pushed into the informal economy even while receiving benefits and complying with program work requirements due

68. ASCHOFF, *supra* note 67, at 87.

69. Jacqueline Rose, *Mothers*, 36 LONDON REV. BOOKS 17 (2015), <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v36/n12/jacqueline-rose/mothers> (reviewing PAT THANE & TANYA EVANS, *SINNERS? SCROUNGERS? SAINTS? UNMARRIED MOTHERHOOD IN 20TH-CENTURY ENGLAND* (2012)).

70. Raphael, *supra* note 49, at 204-05.

71. Mary C. Noonan & Colleen M. Heflin, *Does Welfare Participation Affect Women's Wages?* 86 SOC

The law has been a principal instrument by which those who rely on welfare are deemed to be personally responsible for their circumstances.⁸³ Indeed, as David Grewal and Jedediah Purdy have

⁸⁴ The neoliberal turn has all but

. . . to foster the dignity and well-being of all

persons

in a landmark decision during the period in which the field of poverty law flourished.⁸⁵

Once relegated to the low-wage work market, domestic violence victims have few rights to employment protection, notwithstanding studies that demonstrate the ways that domestic violence interferes with their work lives. The Family Medical Leave Act guarantees some categories of employees unpaid leave; however, the statutorily defined circumstances when such rights attach often do not apply to victims of domestic violence.⁸⁶ State leave laws may be more generous but are still insufficient, and often require a minimum number of employees before the laws are applicable.⁸⁷

A growing number of states have enacted legislation that allows employers to obtain workplace restraining orders.⁸⁸ These orders are often sought by employers without notice to or consent of victims who have determined not to seek their own protection order.⁸⁹ Most state statutes create a safe harbor for employers who are immune from liability for any consequences that result from the seeking of or issuance of the order.⁹⁰ Workplace restraining order statutes reflect a paternalistic attitude toward victims and may further endanger them. They reinforce neoliberal structures by protecting market interests without providing long-term safety or security

83. On *Kearse*, Symposium 2, 216 (2014) (TJETA 15(6)(c) 6362 #0195 (The 30(3)(c) 9(1) 1082 0201130 0010 am 52-21 50 unpaid leave at 6217(0) 0 10

for victims of domestic violence. In the end, these laws contribute to producing low-wage labor pool for a punishing market economy.

2. Other Economic Benefits, Punishment, and the Undeserving Victim

Notwithstanding the legal commitment to protect victims of domestic violence with regard to housing, the neoliberal framework that restrains the state from assisting the poor undermines the few housing protections that do exist. Domestic violence victims, the majority who are poor, are frequently unable to afford housing.⁹¹ Landlords who fix their rental rates per the whims of the market remain relatively unrestrained in their ability to determine to whom to rent or how much to charge, particularly when choosing between tenants who demonstrate economic stability and those who do not.

little use to domestic violence victims who may have a record of having been previously evicted from past dwellings, or who have had to break their lease,

2016] *RETHINKING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ADVOCACY* 931

result of racial profiling and over-

may need to avoid any contact with an abusive parent, an outcome likely to occur as a result of the child support system.¹⁰² Indeed, Congress seemingly recognized this dilemma when providing states with the option to allow welfare victims to seek a waiver of the child support enforcement cooperation requirement.¹⁰³ Yet study after study demonstrates that victims are most

of a domestic violence protection orders and have argued that assisting with enforcement of such orders through wage garnishments or other means constitutes standard practice.¹⁰⁹ However, recent studies reveal worrisome consequences that arise when poor people owe child support. In addition to the fact that many poor noncustodial parents are often assessed child support payments that they cannot realistically pay, their failure to meet their court additional fines, and penalties.¹¹⁰ These consequences not only further to their families for help in paying these debts, thus, further impoverishing an already economically vulnerable social network.¹¹¹

Poor women who are victims of domestic violence and punished for men who are unable to pay child support and are criminally punished as¹¹² Their fate may include incarceration.¹¹³ In the case of Walter Scott, a fifty-year old father, punishment and the threat of more punishment for unpaid child support contributed to his death.¹¹⁴ Scott was shot in the back eight times by police while running away after being stopped for a minor traffic infraction.¹¹⁵ As his family explained to the media, a warrant for his arrest for failure pay child support likely caused him to flee from the officer.¹¹⁶

The warrant, the threat of another stay behind bars and the potential loss of yet another job caused him to run, a brother, Rodney he has had, he has gotten fired from because he went to jail because he was

109. See A.B.A. COMM N ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, STANDARDS OF PRACTICE FOR LAWYERS REPRESENTING VICTIMS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE, SEXUAL ASSAULT AND STALKING IN CIVIL PROTECTION ORDER CASES 5, 56 (2007).

110. Ann Cammett, *Deadbeat Dads & Welfare Queens: How Metaphor Shapes Poverty Law*, 34 B.C. J.L. & SOC. JUST. 233, 262-63 (2014); Ann Cammett, *Expanding Collateral Sanctions: The Hidden Costs of Aggressive Child Support Enforcement Against Incarcerated Parents*, 13 GEO. J. ON POVERTY L. & POL Y 313, 320 (2006).

111. MITALI NAGRECHA ET. AL, WHEN ALL ELSE FAILS, FINING THE FAMILY 19-20 (2014), available at <http://www.communityalternatives.org/pdf/Criminal-Justice->

934

SOUTHWESTERN LAW REVIEW

[Vol. 45]

locked up for child

117

Disciplined by the market and the criminal justice system, poor parents, and especially men of color, along with their entire families suffer. Child support cannot be a substitute for government benefits. Moreover, in the *making mothers* make fathers pay means

2016] *RETHINKING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ADVOCACY* 935

groups fighting for socioeconomic justice.¹²³ Favoring a seemingly politically efficacious position that holds that domestic violence knows no

2016]

families, and particularly African-American parents who rely on welfare benefits, are more likely to be scrutinized by child protection agencies than families without connection to government programs.¹⁴² Victims describe

¹⁴³

Notwithstanding the reluctance of some to apply for welfare, studies reveal complaints by victims who reported that program workers coerced them to applying for welfare in order to benefit from the cash assistance victims receive and thus reduce shelter costs.¹⁴⁴ They expressed anger and frustration at shelter workers who required them to apply for welfare as a condition of
did not want to be part of the welfare

welfare recipients.¹⁴⁵ Rather than emphasizing the need to transform welfare programs so that they might better eradicate poverty, such programmatic action undermines a

create job services tailored to the needs of particular groups including older workers and undocumented immigrants.¹⁶⁴ Others commented on the failure of the job training and referral programs to consider the punitive aspects of welfare aid and whether the effect of wages would help or hurt family income and resources.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, readily available gender-stereotyped jobs such as restaurant and food service industries not only fail to pay a living wage, they are often characterized as a work environment in which sexual harassment is endemic.¹⁶⁶ Such observations reveal the insufficiency of both state and market income options. Employment opportunities offered to victims of domestic violence often fail to meet minimum criteria for

based benefits and workplace practices that recognize workers as members of fam¹⁶⁷

Employment-related services offered by domestic violence programs

challenge assumptions about the poor and especially poor women and work.¹⁶⁸ Little attention is given to the economic determinants of gender violence or the ways in which success in the workplace is less a function of individual effort and more a function of the contingent and low-paying work to which poor women are often assigned.¹⁶⁹ As explained above, domestic violence advocates are not immune from the impact of neoliberalism and

achieve meaningful social change.¹⁷⁰ However unwittingly, domestic violence advocates have aligned their efforts to obtain employment for victims within the structures of the exploitative labor market that in the end may contribute to the feminization of poverty, if not the perpetuation of

164. MCKEAN, *supra* note 153, at 28.

165. *Id.*

166. Mary Gatta, *Raise The Wage For Women's Economic Security and Workplace Safety*, WIDER OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN: ECON. SECURITY BLOG (Feb. 13, 2015), <http://www.wowonline.org/blog/2015/02/13/raise-the-wage-for-womens-economic-security-and-workplace-safety>.

167. *Good Jobs & Economic Security*, WIDER OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN, <http://www.wowonline.org/good-jobs-economic-security> (last visited Apr. 25, 2016). Wider Opportunities for Women further notes that failure to pay a living wage to survivors of domestic violence puts them at particular risk. Gatta, *supra* note 166.

168. ASCHOFF, *supra* note 67, at 12.

169.

domestic violence. There is little likelihood that victims of domestic violence will obtain meaningful economic progress and economic security without

2016] *RETHINKING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ADVOCACY* 943

close examination of the principles and practices that are fundamental to the curriculum provides an opportunity for critique and concern.¹⁷⁷

The principal financial literacy program for victims of domestic violence is sponsored by the Allstate Foundation and made available through the National Network to End Domestic Violence, among other organizations.¹⁷⁸ The course provides information about the indicators of economic abuse as a

assist victims manage family finances.¹⁷⁹

budgeting perspective, suggests that victims avail themselves of community charities and public benefits, and further provides advice as to how best to go about applying for additional financial resources.¹⁸⁰ It outlines the necessary steps to creating and implementing a budget which includes deducting expenses from income with balance put toward savings.¹⁸¹ Savings, in fact, are identified as a crucial component of budgeting.

Before you pay bills, set aside money for your savings. Then pay your other bills. If you do not have enough money to cover all the expenses, find ways to reduce your spending or increase your income. This may mean you have to work a few extra hours, avoid eating out or limit treats for your children. This may sound difficult, but you will feel good knowing you have money saved for your future. Over time, paying yourself first will get easier, and

¹⁸²

ebt is common in the United States, and there are many

¹⁸³ Credit cards are encouraged if frugality does not provide sufficient income inot-10(pas)onomie edces.

predatory loan schemes are not included.¹⁹² No warnings are provided about pay-day loan centers that prey on vulnerable communities, particularly as banks close their neighborhood branches at record rates.¹⁹³ Yet it is these financial practices and institutions that deepen economic disparities and degradation, and contribute to higher rates of domestic violence.¹⁹⁴ In some instances, victims of domestic violence often identify predatory lending as a significant obstacle to economic independence.¹⁹⁵

Notwithstanding these concerns, the curriculum encourages women to function in what one scholar has defined as by individual empowerment and choice where responsibility remains within the limits of the consumer . . .¹⁹⁶ Financial literacy is driven by the interests of the financial industry whose purpose differs from the goal of social justice movements to further the well-being of victims.¹⁹⁷ These curricula depoliticize the understanding of the financialization of daily life and obscure the consequences of the transformation of economic systems now dominated by financial markets at the expense of industrial and agricultural economies.¹⁹⁸ No critique of the consumer-consumption culture in the United States is offered. Moreover, the curriculum conceals the alizing socially-] and treating it as a technical rather than political

192. Postmus, *supra* note 175, at 4. See also Mark Belisle, *Wells Fargo is Baltimore's Real Looter*, REVERBPRESS (May 1, 2015), <http://reverbpress.com/justice/wells-fargo-is-baltimores-real-looter>.

193. Pyles, *supra* note 73, at 120; Gillian B. White, *Borrowing While Poor*, ATLANTIC (Nov. 5, 2015), <http://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2015/11/fixing-the-problem-of-payday-loans/414181/> (Payday storefronts are frequently found in poor neighborhoods, almost never in rich ones.); "How the Other Half Banks": Author Says America's Two-Tiered Banking System is a Threat to Democracy, DEMOCRACY NOW never 0 -0.06 Tf1 0 0 1 286.61 3u91 422.4ETIlsEVERB

disempowering the citizen, delegitimizes collective risk solutions and unjustly holds individual consumers responsible for economic risks they cannot manage.²⁰⁰

Through its use of corporate-designed financial literacy programs as a means to achieve economic justice for victims, the anti-domestic violence movement has confined its initiatives within the neoliberal framework. The lessons offered conform to the dictates of personal autonomy and self-reliance. Austerity and credit card debt are the means to obtain relief from the consequences of domestic violence while achieving the American dream.

-out description of economic problems and serves as a means to adhere to an economy that has contributed to the violence it now purports to mitigate.²⁰¹ And if more were

2016] *RETHINKING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ADVOCACY* 947

requires an agreement with regard to the proper use of the symbol and encourages use of a tagline and logos in social media, letterhead, and other written and web materials.²⁰⁵ The toolkit provides templates for flyers,

sticker for [. . .]²⁰⁶ NO MORE relies on PSAs by well-known popular culture personalities, including a webinar with celebrity

more [to] [. . .]-brand with Viacom.²⁰⁷ During the summer 2015, NO MORE announced its promotion that included an invitation to supporters to paint their fingernails purple, to host summer bake sales with lemonade, and emphasized their invitation to make purchases from the NO MORE store: caps, t-shirts, posters, post cards, back pack pins, water bottles, and tote bags.²⁰⁸ In honor of domestic violence awareness, the NO MORE store offered a 10 percent discount on purchases, proclaiming that [s]hopping NO MORE is a great way to show support for ending domestic

²⁰⁹ Similarly, the National Coalition to End Domestic Violence called for supporters to shop their store

²¹⁰ Still other organizations have developed their own campaigns that rely on celebrat ely on ce-21(end)9(i.05)-5(-164(i)6(t)-4([() TJETBT1 0 0 1 315.0

cannot but increase sorely-needed resources. Yet to emphasize market strategies suggests that the problems and their solutions can be commodified and purchased. Such campaigns move fully into the realm of market

²¹² The brands, the logos, the communication prompts are homogenized and promote widespread assumptions that gender violence is derived from one source and its victims are all similarly situated.²¹³

The NO MORE project relies on paradigmatic neoliberal strategies, including the promotion of public-private partnerships and reliance on charities and communities for economic support with no attention to the structural issues of economic vulnerability.²¹⁴ Rather than promote state

2016] *RETHINKING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ADVOCACY* 949

domestic violence movement may address the needs of battered persons as social rights, regain its claim as a critical social project, and obtain redistributive outcomes that would benefit social justice movements generally.

A. Challenging the State Welfare Apparatus

Domestic violence advocates have a vital role in advocating for reforms to the welfare state. They are closely situated to victims of gender violence who often turn to welfare as a means of escape and survival.²¹⁹

minimum level of financial assistance to families where parents are unable to provide sufficient resources for their children.²²⁴ This program was originally promoted before the 1996 welfare reform laws and before the narrative of the dead-beat dad took firm hold on government policies.²²⁵ It was first promoted as a means to support only those children whose parents were unmarried and who failed to provide a minimum level of security; over

based on the WIOA model.²³⁸ Studies demonstrate, however, that many of these programs do not coordinate with one another.²³⁹ Domestic violence advocates could identify the factors that support coordination and urge their implementation so that victims of domestic violence who are typically directed to TANF services might obtain up-graded training and educational opportunities provided through WIOA.²⁴⁰

These suggestions may seem beyond the reach of the current welfare state paradigm. Domestic violence advocates would not, however, be alone in urging these recommendations. Anti-poverty measures hold interest for social movements generally. Given the relationship between domestic violence and welfare, domestic violence advocates are well-positioned to provide leadership and guidance in seeking meaningful welfare reform.

B. *Employment-Related Services*

Domestic violence program strategies that focus on employment opportunities for victims are often constrained by lack of sufficient funding and the biases of an economic system that disadvantages poor women and women of color in particular.²⁴¹ Choices do exist, however, as to how to assist women in gaining meaningful employment and protections in the labor market. As noted above, statutory programs such as WIOA seek to increase the educational qualifications and skills for low-income persons that provide greater possibilities for escaping poverty.²⁴² Domestic violence programs could partner with WIOA programs independent of TANF and screen and refer victims for upgraded training and expanded opportunities for decent work.

Program advocates can identify local organizations that are similarly focused on procuring employment that is dignified and pays a living wage. Marion Crain has written about the importance of working in coalition around labor concerns, and has observed that labor unions, especially those

and gender movements [and] offer the potential for

²⁴³ Some

238. *Id.*, at xix.

239. *Id.* at 41.

240. *Id.* at 19-25 (identifying the factors and circumstances that facilitate coordination).

241. For a discussion on the importance of providing economic support to perpetrators, see Weissman, *supra* note 31.

242. KIRBY ET AL., *supra* note 236.

243. Marion Crain, *Feminism, Labor, and Power*, 65 S. CAL. L. REV. 1819, 1869 (1992).

2016] *RETHINKING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ADVOCACY* 953

employed.²⁵⁰ Staff salaries often fail to meet a living wage scale, and in recent years, there have been few, if any increases in pay.²⁵¹ Inadequate staff salaries affect the quality of services provided to victims and create significant dissatisfaction among program workers leading to turnover and program instability.²⁵²

influence wielded by these entities, and that the world of finance as currently constructed has been characterized by predatory practices likely to lead to greater inequality.²⁵⁵ Moreover, while financial security is promoted as a matter of individual endeavor, financial well-being has been specifically tied to financial products that are often not be affordable to low-income people.²⁵⁶ In this context, advocates would do well to consider financial literacy programs that are not market-designed to assist victims of domestic violence, and substitute such initiatives with a curriculum that challenges the structures of economic inequality and disavows the neoliberal notion that poor people are responsible for their plight.²⁵⁷

Financial literacy campaigns must educate individuals about the problems and practices of predatory lending and lenders. Scholars have urged a critical financial literacy education program to allow individual to reflect on and transform the very financial processes that keep people poor.²⁵⁸ These programs should shift from a focus on educating the consumer to educating the citizen:

Educating citizens . . . entails a fostering of critical thinking skills that will enable citizens to reflect on not only the choices available but also the conditions, which have created the choices. The goal of fostering this critical reflective capacity ought to be to support citizens who can alter the conditions, which create certain choices over others. . . . Any financial

should be one that enables us to reflect on and ask whether the economic system and configuration of political forces which influences/limits/creates the choices we face is one that we want.²⁵⁹

A financial literacy curriculum should not only provide information about the need to save and invest, but must also include knowledge about poverty levels and steps the government is taking to achieve greater equality. It should include information about the disproportionate burdens of the tax system, as well as other factors that point to structural obstacles rather than simply offering an obfuscating narrative of individual barriers to self-sufficiency.²⁶⁰

This is not to suggest that the burden of such a shift in curriculum be borne by domestic violence advocates alone. A commitment to undertaking

255. *Id.* at 33-35, 161.

256. *Id.* at 168 (noting that security is tied to the affordability of financial products).

257. ARTHUR, *supra* note 188, at 76-77.

258. *Id.*

2016] *RETHINKING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ADVOCACY* 957

advocates might include these recommendations as part and parcel of their demands pertaining to economic self-sufficiency.

CONCLUSION

This article demonstrates the complexity of domestic violence as a social issue and the challenges of neoliberal paradigms and their emphasis on individual solutions and market-driven initiatives.²⁶⁷ Attention to individuals and their particular needs and circumstances, of course, must be part of program remedies. Most victims possess the capacity to exercise autonomy and extract knowledge and services from current initiatives in ways that improve their lives. But more

²⁷³ In fact, domestic violence advocates as such have not participated in many coalition efforts with which they share similar concerns. Just as importantly, domestic violence advocates need to bring the issues pertaining to domestic violence to coalition partners. The solution to domestic violence is found within the realm of political economy. Domestic violence advocates have the opportunity to re-politicize the domestic violence movement and to contribute to the broader goals of social justice. The constraints of neoliberalism and its accompanying logic affect all efforts to achieve lives of dignity for all and they are best overcome in accordance with counter-hegemonic and progressive politics.

273. REVEREND DR. WILLIAM J. BARBER II WITH JONATHAN WILSON-HARTGROVE, *THE THIRD RECONSTRUCTION: MORAL MONDAYS, FUSION POLITICS, AND THE RISE OF A NEW JUSTICE MOVEMENT* 122 (2016).