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**Is AIDS Activism Dead?  
Kaiser Family Foundation  
July 19, 2010**

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[START RECORDING]

**KEVIN MOODY:** I apologize for the delay, we were setting this up as a talk show format to be a little bit informal, and we thought that it would be closer to you if we were in front of the table instead of hiding behind it. So we just wanted to do a few more arrangements.

The format of this, as I said, is going to be a talk show, so it's going to be informal. We won't have formal presentations. I have a number of questions that I've prepared for our guests and we'll go through those questions and then we'll also give you an opportunity to ask questions of the guests.

But before we do that, I just want to say a disclaimer. I am a pharmacist. I'm really not an activist, although at the end of the day of this session, I may actually feel like more of an activist, because I've been working in PLHAV activism in a professional way for probably the last five or six years.

My name is Kevin Moody, I'm the International Coordinator of the Global Network of People Living with HIV and it's a pleasure to be here today. And I guess as we ask the question, is AIDS activism dead, we might want to reflect on yesterday's action in, just before the opening. How many people took part in that demonstration? Not that many from here.

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So maybe it is dead. I mean, so it was the first time I died in an action, it was a die-in, and I found it really interesting.

How many people here are from either North America or Western Europe? Okay, and of those people who aren't from those regions, in your countries would an action like that be possible? So if you live outside of North America and Europe, could you have an action like that? Put up your hand. And where would - and if you're living outside of North America and Europe could you get arrested for doing something like we did yesterday? Okay.

So yesterday was a type of activism, that is imported from the early days of the movement and it was really effective and there was a lot of attention and a lot of people heard us. I haven't been able to look at the press since yesterday, but I'm really interested and curious to see what kind of response that we got for that.

So today we're going to talk a lot about activism and different types of activism, and I want to introduce the panel. I'm going to just introduce them and ask them then to provide just a very short description of what they do in activism currently. Okay?

My first guest beside me is Amal El; sorry about this I'm really gonna mess up this one, Karouaoui?

**AMAL EL KAROUAOU:** Yep, Karouaoui.

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**KEVIN MOODY:** Karouaoui? Karouaoui.

**AMAL EL KAROUAOU:** Yes.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Amal, can you describe to us what kind of activism that it is that you do?

**AMAL EL KAROUAOU:** Yes, I work at, with the most at risk population to HIV, key population to HIV/AIDS and I work with the outreach worker directly and programs. I think this manner needs to be very near of the field of some activism we don't, just one issue, it's my English is very bad. If you have problem I switch in Arabic, I think everybody there understand. I think the outreach work it's for me, good manner to be near of the needs of the population, hear the population, hear the problems. And to be like one person, bridge between the key population and institutions. And that's it yes, so.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Great, thank you. And where is it that you work?

**AMAL EL KAROUAOU:** I work in the [inaudible].

**KEVIN MOODY:** Yes.

**AMAL EL KAROUAOU:** I'm from middle earth, I am from Morocco but I work in for the Middle East in North Africa programs. I work with a lot of institutions like UNAIDS for example and we have possibility to do the activism but the matter of working directly with the communities and the, yes.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay, thank you, we'll get more into that in a few minutes.

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**AMAL EL KAROUAOUI:** Yes.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Our next guest, sitting next to her is Sophie Strachan. Sophie?

**SOPHIE STRACHAN:** Strachan.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Strachan? Okay.

**SOPHIE STRACHAN:** Yes. Hi, my name's Sophie Strachan. I'm an HIV positive woman. I was diagnosed in prison just over seven years ago. I'm also a ex-drug user and openly gay. And I work for an organization called Positively UK. We campaign for people living with HIV.

Historically for twenty-three years we worked solely with women and families affected by HIV. We now launched as Positively UK this year and we're now working with men.

Our values are very much about advancing the rights of people living with HIV and the way that we have affected change is by our peer support, Ethos which is support workers who are HIV positive themselves, working at a ground level, offering one to one interventions, group settings, volunteering, and policy and involvement.

What I feel particularly passionate about and in the years that I've been working for Positively UK is very much about when I left prison after my experience in prison, it was, I felt really strongly for the need of robust policies within UK prisons, because there aren't any. To raise awareness for

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the harm discriminatory practice can cause, not just in prisons but also in health settings and by health professionals.

And there are a number of women who actively are working in changing policy and involvement by attending the Houses of Parliament and having a key part in changing government policies.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Thanks Sophie. And next to Sophie is Robert Carr. Robert, can you tell us the types of activism that you're involved in now and maybe what you've done in your previous work?

**ROBERT CARR:** Well, I have been an activist for a long time actually, but in terms of the work I've done in relation to HIV that really began in 1988 when I left the United States and went back home to Jamaica.

At that time I did a small study of stigma against people living with HIV in Jamaica and I was absolutely horrified at what I'd found. I'd just come from Washington D.C. where things had changed dramatically since the 1980s, but in Jamaica things were absolutely horrific. People were being turned out of their homes by their families, people were being abused in health centers and in hospitals, and on top of that nobody was saying anything about it and anybody who tried to say something about it was shut down by the authorities. And I became so enraged by this that I decided I was going to speak out.

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That eventually led to a job running an HIV, a national HIV NGO and while there I discovered that the programs providing outreach to men who have sex with men in particular in Jamaica, that the clients that we were having group counseling sessions with and one on one counseling sessions with on a Tuesday would come back on a Thursday and Friday, having been put out of their homes, having been beaten, and in some cases, that this was with the complicity of the police.

So that really, really made me understand the extremity of the situation at that time. This was in 1998, 99. And I became involved with a number of organizations in Jamaica around that.

A few years later I began organizing at the regional level across the Caribbean and supporting gay men, sex workers, prisoners, and drug users to organize and to engage in structural interventions to really change the conversation about HIV.

Currently, as of the beginning of this year, I became the Director of Policy and Advocacy at City Castle and there I work a lot at the global level, again with key populations, particularly holding the UN accountable to its commitment, particularly universal access. And also working with the Global Fund, and supporting community activism at the global level.

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**KEVIN MOODY:** Thank you. So we have absolutely qualified activists sitting next to me, and I am going to ask them a number of questions that I think will be interesting to you and hopefully it'll spark some discussion and debate. So the very first question is the title of this session, Is AIDS Activism Dead? Sophie, do you want to start off?

**SOPHIE STRACHAN:** Oh I always hate when people choose me first. Rather than just saying a clear cut no, I think the fact that we're all here today with world leaders and activists from every corner of the world clearly demonstrates that by no means is AIDS activism dead.

From a UK perspective, from a Positively UK perspective, absolutely no. We work on a national level and we, there's a network called PozFem with women on a national level working on policy consultation with government and at a very ground level just within communities.

We encourage our service users, if they don't feel able to show their face publically it's then to work with their communities. So it's working every level.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay, thank you. And Robert, what do you think? Is AIDS activism dead?

**ROBERT CARR:** No, I don't think AIDS activism is dead, but I think AIDS activism has changed dramatically over the past decades, say fifty years. For example in my own experience in Jamaica between the time I became involved in

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1998 when there was no discussion whatsoever stigma discrimination, no one even spoke the word stigma discrimination.

It then changed to a point where everybody was talking about stigma discrimination, but the only actions that were being used to address it were workshops to persuade people to be nicer to people living with HIV.

So at that point the strategy changed to talking about human rights, and governments trying to get to some of the fundamental issues about why this kind of institutional behavior was possible. And now of course it's gone on and now we have the Global Fund and their different kinds of structures in place.

So I think what's happened with activism is that as the activism has succeeded in certain milestones, it's had to change. And that's had an impact on the possibilities for activism at the national level in particular and also the development of global structures that can support activism at the global and national level as well.

So I think it's morphed over time and in response to changes and opportunities to really push systems and societies to be different.

**KEVIN MOODY:** So as traditional activism has succeeded, then we've had to adapt and become more [inaudible] in a way?

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**ROBERT CARR:** Exactly, exactly and as successes have been co-opted, we've had to, we have to change tactics and changes strategies to continue to move towards the kind of social justice changes that we're trying to see.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay, Amal? What is your opinion? Is AIDS activism dead? Try again.

**AMAL EL KAROUAOU:** Hi, yes. Certainly no, no. I think in my region in the middle earth, North Africa, Asian, we have different profile of activism. Some part we have very, very strong activism and other parts the activity it's growing slowly, but smally [misspelled?] and certainly. I think we have a possibility to be educated but some big activists for example, but we need more time for the activism to be mature. Yes, this what, yes.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay, and so in your opinion what do you need in your region then to support these changes in activism?

**AMAL EL KAROUAOU:** The first issue we have two lines of activism, activists for example. We have very strong people with lot of power, lot of knowledge, but they don't has the times for to do the, no follow, but to educate other small activists for example, to have a time for another of the region and I think this is obstacle.

But some part of the region where the activism it's growing, I think they leave his proper history also, it's interesting. And they educate herself with his context, and

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they take bridges with big institutions for example, for to be more strong.

I just want to talk about one small issue, it's the activism, it's to be like in Europe and America. I think in my region we don't, we have different context, like all people here, and we need leave our history. I think maybe that take time but people, maybe it's more educated, maybe more about HIV/AIDS, I mean, and more prepared for the activism like we're, yes.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay, so what you're saying is, is that especially in your region there's an issue around people who are good activists, who have a lot of information, and it's difficult for them to make time, or they don't want to make time to actually train new activists to have the same kind of knowledge. And because of the setting in your region, it's important to have smart activism that uses the mechanisms that are in place. And it's difficult to do that because only a handful of people are able to do that at the moment.

**AMAL EL KAROUAOUI:** It maybe a decision give help for this because we tell it's, maybe the people has the, I don't I think people, we are in the, I don't know if you know it's, my region it's low prevalence, but all factors tell we are in volcano. If we don't do a lot of work, we don't do collaborate together, maybe the volcano has, I don't know in English.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Exploding.

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**AMAL EL KAROUAOU:** Yes. But for helping this I think the activists need take time for reflection. I think the activist in my region it's the time of reflection for thinking about more strategy, more original strategy. No thinking just about my country, what I do, because they have the reason I think because if you have problems in your place, you think of your place. But the activist, I think, the live and work we have like activist, they need more thinking of original aspect. I think we have one for example that's work now; it's very interesting in its work, its original Arabic Network Against AIDS. I think maybe now we have possibility to take more original aspect. This gives our activists more strong level, yes.

**KEVIN MOODY:** I'm sure it would help to share the learning around this spot?

**AMAL EL KAROUAOU:** Yes, yes.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Robert, what do you think we need to support activism? What's missing and how can we get better at it?

**ROBERT CARR:** Well there's a number of ways to answer that. I mean certainly at the national level, at the individual level, I agree with you, that mentoring is something that we need a lot more of. There are no structures really to support mentoring. And indeed some of the people who are at the forefront of pushing societies and pushing systems to

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change are very often so swamped with requests for work and opportunities to engage but that they accept, that there's very little room for that reflection and that engagement with up and coming activists.

But I also think that, at the global level, in terms of the structure to support activism that there's the environment is changing and it's not particularly supportive of activism. There's a lot of money, for example, if you really look concretely at what the HIV response is funding, what you see is a lot of workshops, for example and a lot of documents being produced.

Very often what's really needed is a different kind of strategy, a different kind of response. The ability to confront, the ability to be confrontational but be supported in your confrontation, financially for example, so more human rights based activism.

So the way in which the global environment structures the resources to support you at your country level, really encourage you towards certain kinds of activities that more or less leave the status quo perhaps a meddled with but intact.

Whereas I think really what we need is to be able to support people who want to push the system more strongly. And that's the gap that prevents us I think from moving forward more powerfully than we do.

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**KEVIN MOODY:** So are you suggesting then that donors are responsible for the dumbing down of activism?

**ROBERT CARR:** I think so. I think it's a combination. I think it's a combination of the tools that we've just come to accept as the standard operating procedure that really again don't challenge the status quo very much. And this question of what kind of change can donors support and at a certain point it's about politics between governments. Can one government support activism in another government's country?

But I think it's also, to a certain extent, to be perfectly frank, a lack of imagination about what could really bring about changes that we agree need to happen.

**KEVIN MOODY:** So do you mean lack of imagination from the donor side or from the activist side or both?

**ROBERT CARR:** I think from the donor side frankly, more than the activist side. But the donor environment, the financial environment, to support what you do, cause we all have to eat, we all have to pay rent, kind of encourages you in certain directions that take you away from the really challenging stuff that could be done.

And I think your snapshot exercise at the beginning of this, about how many people could do the kind of sit-in and stage the kind of demonstration that we saw yesterday is a good example of that. You know what kind of challenge to the status quo is permissible. And that has to do with immediate

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environment but also how the response envisions challenging the status quo.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Right, and how many donors will actually pay organizations to hold those kind of demonstrations.

**ROBERT CARR:** Precisely and support people in them.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Right, okay, Sophie, you work a lot one on one and have worked a lot one on one with ex-prisoners and prisoners. What are the constraints that you've found in those settings for your work? Is it money, is it lack of information, is it lack of time? What do you need to be able to do your activism better?

**SOPHIE STRACHAN:** First and foremost recently Positively UK produced a magazine, which was called Behind Closed Walls, sorry, I've got some here, and what that did was give the outside world a picture of what was actually going on in prisons and detention centers, because people didn't know. And by doing this magazine we reached people who, and the response was really good.

And I actually interviewed a lady called Baroness Corston who had written a very well known a very well known report with around women in the criminal justice system. Interestingly enough, there were 44 recommendations and 41 of them were put forward to the government. There was not one mention about HIV and when we asked her, her answer was, it's not seen as a problem.

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So that in itself was profound. And from that we were contacted by a funder who told us about a funding pot that we could get funding from, because funding is an issue. There's also constraints, sometimes in getting into the prison system.

Positively UK have provided peer support and advocacy to one prison in particular in the UK for over 10 years. But we now visit three prisons. So, lack of education of what goes on behind these walls, definitely. But, again we as an organization have challenged that, by you know in this magazine and there's some copies of here, of personal stories, including my own, of women and their experiences in prison. But we also have a lot of professionals who have given their input as well. So, I hope that answers your question.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay, yes, no very good thanks. So what I'm hearing is that what we need is more information, we need more money and we also need the opportunities to use the various mechanisms for activism that suit the targets that we're going for, but we're facing more and more constraints over time?

A question just occurred to me know does the International AIDS Conference support or hinder your activism? So, the existence of this meeting that happens every other year with 20,000 of your best friends, some of them are here. Is it an opportunity for activism or does it detract from it?

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**ROBERT CARR:** I think it depends on how much you understand the International AIDS Conference. I know the first time I came to one of these conferences I was completely lost in the structure. I didn't understand how it was put together, but what I was able to do was find people who were interested in things that I was interested in and I spent a whole lot of time in the Global Village.

I did go so some of the sessions, but some of the formal sessions with PowerPoint presentations but those were less interesting to me than talking to fellow activists and understanding some of the possibilities.

It was also helpful for me at the time because I was trying to fundraise for the NGO I was running that was struggling. And so I was able to meet donors and persuade them the different ways of working with the populations I was working with, men who have sex with men, prisoners and so on could be a viable option.

So, it was useful that way and it was supportive in that way. But I think you really, the more you understand it the more you can get out of it, and I think frankly a lot of people who come to this vast 20,000, 30,000 people conferences get lost in it. They don't understand how to make the most of it.

So, when they go back home, they're actually in a better position than they were than when they initially came.

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Apart from the difficulty in getting to the conference in the first place, because somebody has to pick you up and give you money to get to Bangkok or to get to Toronto or to get to Vienna. And you have to be able to get a visa and so there are all these barriers that you have to go through.

So there's also a filtering process. But I think the opportunity presented by the conference is an important one. The question is how to help people understand it, make the most of it, and ensure the people have access to it.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay. Amal do you have anything to add to that?

**AMAL EL KAROUAOU:** I think it's, for example if I talk about the conference for myself it's very interesting to meet people with different experiences. For example, I go directly, all the time it's the second time I go to the conference, its meeting people, working with sex workers in Amazon in his region.

It's very important for us because we have some countries start programs like more than 15 years but we have experiences like one year, two years and we start now, in some countries for example and the men are Asian. I ask all time about what is his strategy for funding, for prevention awareness also, and also for to give the community the power to be there, in my place.

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Because what we have in my region it's rarely you have for example one MSM or sex workers in the panel talking about their experience in the region, her experience with his community. We are in the middle of, I don't talk about all countries, we are in the middle and most of the countries and just given HIV, AIDS information to the community. I think we don't go very far like this because we need give the community more than this.

I don't know maybe have scared, given the community the power, but yes.

**KEVIN MOODY:** So, if I understand what you're saying, then this opportunity is important to get out of the region in order to have the conversations with the people that you wouldn't necessarily be able to do there?

**AMAL EL KAROUAOU:** Yes.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay.

**AMAL EL KAROUAOU:** Yes.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Good, very good, okay, so I hear that. No, I think that's really important. Do you have anything to add to that about how the conference either detracts or provides opportunities for activism?

**SOPHIE STRACHAN:** I think it provides a fantastic opportunity for activists, non-activists to share their experience, to hear what works in their countries, what their challenges are, how we can share our experiences and the scope

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for networking. We work with a huge amount of migrants, we don't just work with women in prison, this really broad area, and I mean where better to come to meet women, men, everything from other countries to share our experiences.

**KEVIN MOODY:** So the point that you can meet with a broad range of people, including non-activists and even people who may be thinking differently than you are to get information and to hear what's going on.

I'm going to change tack a little bit, and talk about sort of what we're advocating for. When we were on the telephone Amal, you mentioned that sometimes we have to be pragmatic about the choices that we make in the targets for our activism. And you were talking about how sometimes it's easier and more effective to use existing laws to make change rather than trying to change the bad laws that are there.

**AMAL EL KAROUAOUI:** You talk about the informal networks?

**KEVIN MOODY:** Yes.

**AMAL EL KAROUAOUI:** Yes? This is what we talking about?

**KEVIN MOODY:** Yes, can you explain that a little bit?

**AMAL EL KAROUAOUI:** You talk about the informal networks? Informal networks?

**KEVIN MOODY:** Yes, yes.

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**AMAL EL KAROUAOUI:** Yes. I, now we're experience for example we have in the region some informal networks. For me it's the very good issue. Because it's from twelve years now, the informal network [inaudible] he has a lot of power. And he push a very, sometimes slowly, but in the time with when he need to and he has very good strategy because he help where we have the big problems. Like for access to treatment, like access to the community. I am in the first outreach worker.

I never I forget we have a lot of big problems with Anasan [misspelled?] and the informal network, he help lots, really, before the institutions and the, the formal network. For access to treatment we have some people, he has his proper network and he help for this. And also for the, I talk about the access, to the information also. And the access our region has this problem, its access to treatment in some countries. I advise for this.

Because sometimes we see to we talk about big networks, sometimes the big networks it has a lot of issues to do. It's sometimes it's still like there are a lot of bureaucracy there. I advise for the informal network, friendly network. It's more interesting and it's very fast it has reaction; it's very, very fast. And he is in the [speaks in foreign language], I don't know what in English. [Speaks in foreign language]. And he help a lots. I advise for this.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay.

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**AMAL EL KAROUAOUI:** Yes.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Good, so I mean, I guess the point is that there are formal mechanisms sometimes that cause barriers, but informal mechanisms can often be more expedient. Yes?

**AMAL EL KAROUAOUI:** I think it, we don't need to be close in one space. Speaking just for activism for activism, really, because at sometimes the word annoys me sometimes.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Oh, okay.

**AMAL EL KAROUAOUI:** Because we need to be constrictive or so with the activism. Because, for example, in my region we don't need all time start from zero, we need to look what we have, what is the opportunities, and we start from the some activism really give us more noise. Noise, no?

**KEVIN MOODY:** Yes, more noise.

**AMAL EL KAROUAOUI:** Noise. To try start from zero like with examples from other countries. We are an Arabic, Muslim, Christian, Judaism region and we have lot of taboos lot of struggles and talking about HIV/AIDS it's very difficult. I say now bravo to the people have this courage in my region, talking about this, working about this, but we need take time to have reflection about our context, what we need, what is our obstacles, what we need now. I think involve more people living with HIV.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay, okay.

**AMAL EL KAROUAOUI:** This is, yes.

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**KEVIN MOODY:** Yes, very good. I want to come back to that question with the others, but I think we have someone to introduce because she doesn't come in unobserved [laughter]. Next to me is Laxmi. And I would like you to just give us a very two sentence description of the type of activism that you do.

**LAXMI NARAYAN TRIPATHI:** Oh, first of all I'm sorry; I was opening the Global Village, all my apologies to every one of you.

Basically, as you'll see, I am transgender but I'm not only a transgender, I belong to a community. The oldest in the ethnic transgender group in the world, which prevails in four countries not to mean India, I belong from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and tri-region of Nepal.

So, there being the oldest and recognized group in the world and in our region, religiously, and socially, but there is so much of stigma and discrimination with us. Right of education, health care, I still remember when we started and we are higher off to community. We have a top head and then the community, it's like the queen and everybody, you know?

So, there is lot of problem within the community and community of course because being as he said, I don't go unrecognized. So my community also doesn't go unrecognized and the so-called mainstream society. So visibility plays double,

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double, double stigma. Anything which is visible, like me, has to go through hell.

When we started our activism way back in 1999 and we said that there is HIV/AIDS problem and we are, at that time I was, we founded the first transgender organization in Southeast Asia, [inaudible] for society. And that in the head of communities won't let us to work within the communities and their policy make us said, all you all don't have sex.

Because that is the notion for the outside world that Hijra's don't have sex. They are only there to bless and curse. Well, excuse me we are human beings.

So, it started right from there, to tell there is a problem. And I still remember way back in 2004 we had the first central civil violence in India only in Mumbai and the positivity rate for the community was 49-percent, which is alarming. Till the date it took us more years to get out of the closet of the MSM cause now, UN AIDS also has accepted MSM and transgender. Then again in our community in our country came the issue of transgender and Hijra's. Because effeminate men stood up and said we are transgender so the fit in the definition of transgender.

And then we said excuse us, we are here, we have to have access to medicine. Doctors don't touch us, they are scared of us. People look at us, mock at us, make fun at us. It's not easy for the Hijra culture and community to access

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everything possible. And then the fight started with TGs and Hijra's, of course somehow we are we are successful and [inaudible] has promised us to form a network in India.

It's not an easy job. It's fight on every minute. Not for me at least but for the common Hijran who is begging on the street, who is doing sex work on the street, who is even just walking, men find them as a sex toy. Goons can just raid them, police harassment is on a different strata.

So dealing advocacy with the police, advocacy with the healthcare providers, telling them that we are as human as you are, only the difference is our sexuality. And what, we are not hypocrites, what we are, we are. Excuse me, I don't want to be a woman, I don't want to be a man. I am what I am, a Hijra. To explain that itself took these many years.

**KEVIN MOODY:** I think that's really good to point out especially when the first part of what we went through a number of different types of activism and stuff and it's really good that you give us that introduction because I think it's important that everyone here uh, faces different types of stigma and discrimination. And the double stigma you talk about is common among people living with HIV who identify with another demographic.

**LAXMI NARAYAN TRIPATHI:** Actually like for us it becomes a problem that a Hijra, having HIV and then other more things. Hepatitis, you won't believe when I left for this

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conference from India, I passed the immigration and the security and I heard one of my disciple passed away with HIV and Hepatitis B. I had to keep that person in a private hospital. Giving [inaudible] a bomb off release [misspelled?] that he could get, she could get a better medical facilities and we could save her life. If she was in government she would be dead in one day.

So still, to access, because it is visibility please. It's stigma, four times more than as you're not sick. I don't understand when we say sexuality is so normal; we say what we want to be in the bedroom and what we want to be everybody's basic human rights. But any transgender are [inaudible] if it's visible, then the problem starts much more doubling.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Yes. Okay thank you for that, I think that's really important and so I want to have some interaction with the audience. I'll give you the chance to ask some questions, so I think what I'll do is just try to summarize what we've talked about.

We first asked the question, is AIDS activism dead? And we had a number of different responses to that. Then we asked the question, what is needed to support activism? And we talked also a little bit about the way in which we can be pragmatic regarding how we approach activism in our countries.

So what I'd like to do if my panel members will allow, I would like to open up for any questions or people who have

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any comments. I would ask you to come and line up behind the microphones and then we'll just take the questions in order. Please state your name and where you're from.

**SHIQUA:** Hi my name's Shiqua [misspelled?] I'm Australian, I live and work in China. I've got two questions. Firstly, have any of you faced any sort of harassment or any type of monitoring or anything like that from governments or security due to your activism?

And my second question is during this conference we've had a lot of positive things a lot of advancements that have been made. Bill Clinton said a lot of positive things that his foundation achieved, how does that make you feel as activists?

**LAXMI NARAYAN TRIPATHI:** Shall I start? I'll get as far as what you see about harassment and from the governmental staff, I remember, I when [inaudible] became the face of section 377 campaign in India, and of course I have good connection in politics also, being an activist and being close to extremists politicians. And there was threats to have a march onto our houses, me and Celina Jetlee [misspelled?].

And we were targeted mainly by religious groups for supporting and of course they could not deny that Hijra's are not a part of the religion and the culture but they said, you know you all should be killed and you should be bombed because you support the gays and the lesbians which is not right, and of course for that we went on. And recent, one case became a

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very big, and very well known in India, [inaudible] and my activism has given me a lot of face in the society.

I was in an elite club and when I entered that club, I was called by a today's conference people for be pre-conference dinner party and then the CEO of the club walked in after [inaudible] and said ask this person to leave. And that case is still going on the human rights commission of [inaudible] Mumbai.

I file, I took the club to the court, so this we have, I have faced. And as for as you promises, you talk promises was that we will achieve universal access. Did they keep the promise to the date? I doubt with whether everybody in the world got universal access and I don't believe in promises, I believe in action and if the action proves as an activist they should not only promise, their action should come in reality [applause]. Thank you.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Very good. Sophie, do you want answer either one of those two questions?

**SOPHIE STRACHAN:** Sure, I think in terms of, I'll probably answer the second one better. I was listening to Bill Clinton's speech this morning and I think in general what I'm hearing at the conference is just an increased awareness, or raising an awareness, of the particular issues for drug users.

The fact that is the level representation for lesbian, bisexual, transgender communities, being a lesbian myself and

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the work that Positively UK have done in setting up a support group. Just the fact that we're beginning to be recognized, I mean it's no disrespect to men who have sex with men, you know there's a huge amount of focus there and that's right. But there also needs to be a raised awareness for a community that might be a lot smaller, but there's still needs.

So on a global level, Bill Clinton spoke about the funding that they've put forward for needle exchange in America I just think is fantastic. And I mean, that's going to be really close to my heart because of my history and I, and again I don't mean to sound cynical but it's as Laxmi said, it is about action. And what I really hope is the what we learn here and what we can take from here can go back to our different countries and actually be auctioned [misspelled?]. Positively UK are going to continue to campaign against discrimination and to champion the rights for women and men living with HIV and I think it, and I'll just finish on this.

Educating people about their rights, their human rights, is definitely needed because we work with people who don't even know that they have rights and they just accept the discrimination that they experience.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Yes. Robert do you have any comment to share?

**ROBERT CARR:** Yes it's an interesting question for the Caribbean because we don't necessarily have that kind of brutal

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state repression that you have in other areas, but in other parts of the world. But certainly for me, a lot of the work that I was doing in the Caribbean, I had to be very careful about what I was public about and what I was private about.

And that lesson was brought home to me very dramatically actually, at the Mexico conference, when I thought that I could get away with a PowerPoint presentation of what I had been doing quietly under the radar, and there was a journalist in the audience.

And what she proceeded to do is that she published what I had said, well her version of what I had said, under the banner headline was the front page of the newspaper that said Jamaica receives gay bashing at international AIDS conference. And she gave my name; she gave the organization that I worked with. They called me a homosexual; they said they weren't sure why the international AIDS conference provided a platform for homosexuals, which in the context of Jamaica is a very serious thing.

Now if I had not organized myself before that, I would have lost my job, my family could have stopped talking to me, my neighbors could have turned on me. Luckily I had organized my life at home so that I wasn't vulnerable to those things, but it really brought home to me the level of venom that is underneath the surface, that people will bring to bear if they feel that you're pushing the system too much.

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**KEVIN MOODY:** Thanks Robert. Amal? Do you have a comment to make?

**AMAL EL KAROUAOUI:** Yes, in 1998 I try talking about my worth at, and we have some woman at home and my mom there and she asked me what you do? I work with sex workers. Silence, and my mom, she told me after okay can you tell woman with problems? Or something like this? This is in my region, we have, we need to be very careful with what we do sometimes. We have low profile. Some NGOs, big NGOs, with lot of power, and she has lot of, lot of problems with the media, with the politics.

They're talking about working with key population for example. I think it's some, Anasan and sex workers has harassment with the police because just he want to go to the NGO where we would want to talk about his experience. I think for this it's a, in my region we need to be very careful and they work in slowly sometimes with the local fights, not in all region but some part of my region.

If I talk about this conference, when you come here for example, and you meet people with access to health, with access to services and we talk with about a lot of new strategies. To strategies, we talk about human rights. And you come back, at home and you don't have access to treatment, you don't have, you are sex workers, you are MSM, you are arrested because you

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have or you are HIV positive. No, you are MSM for example, it's horrible.

It's for this I think we need to be very, we support each other and sometimes we need to be careful with experiences from each country's, we are sometimes, we are hurt. Hurt about with experiences, because it's very, no, I don't want tell it's new for us. A Human right, no it's new, but we take time and listen to you.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay so yes, you're saying that for especially in your region the whole thing around human rights is a real, real challenge?

**AMAL EL KAROUAOU:** Yes.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay, I know there are a number of other questions that are coming up, I'd like people to please stand in front of the mic in a line next, in a cue, so that I can judge how many. So who is the first one? You're the first? Okay. The guy at the back first.

**MALE SPEAKER:** Is it okay? Well, from the different panelists, I mean the three firsts. They don't think that its activist is dying and they just called about saying that there's money, there's information, there's time and skills. That's what we need, that's what they say. And from my perspective, it's all about frustration and solidarity.

If you are not frustrated and if we are not going to show solidarity to people, we can never do activism. And I

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think that this is dying from our heart, we are no longer feeling frustrated and we are no longer showing solidarity. And that's why I think that AIDS activist is dying right now. We are just doing things like we did in the past, yes lets demonstrate, we say let's do it like we do in the other days and the other past conference. But we need to feel it before doing it; this is really why I think that AIDS activist dying right now.

And a second thing, related to the organization. Civil society organization, community organization, they're just feeling about how they can functioning, and are looking for money. And that's the kind of collusion between this systems, the UN, the government system, and a civil society system. We are doing exactly the same thing. There is no [inaudible] between us, a civil society, and UN government also system.

This is something you need to interrogate when you talk about activism. Because really I think that we are doing the same thing. And in the beginning, in the beginning, we just show the difference by showing solidarity, because we are so frustrated. And right now we are frustrated but we are not showing really solidarity, that's what I'd like to add.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Thank you for those comments [applause]. Yes, yes. Thank you for those comments, and so what I'm hearing from you is that there's collusion in the system? The system is causing collusion and we're not actually doing

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activism anymore and at the same time, we're not uh, showing solidarity.

We don't have solidarity with each other, because the frustration that we should be having that would make us have that solidarity is gone, and this is a very provocative statement and Laxmi wants to comment on that.

**LAXMI NARAYAN TRIPATHI:** I feel the [inaudible] is very important is that this responsibility about activism is on every activist. At times I've seen activists turn as diplomats under the pressure of the UN and governments. Like I come from India, the government hates me. The policy makers hate me, but who cares? I'm an activist and I have nothing to lose. I'm the person, one should always feed from where the person comes, I always say I have nothing to lose. My community will be there, I will be there for centuries, [inaudible] may come and go.

So it is upon us how we keep the fire in our heart and in our soul alive, to keep the activism alive. I'm never dead. The activism is totally in us, we shouldn't be come bureaucrats, we shouldn't become diplomats. We should know where we have come from. We should remember the scratch foundation. So it's responsibility of each and every activist to keep the activism on, thank you.

**KEVIN MOODY:** I think I see four or five more questions. Can we move on with the questions? Okay, next.

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**FEMALE SPEAKER:** I have -

**KEVIN MOODY:** Oh no, here first, here first, sorry.

**LAXMI NARAYAN TRIPATHI:** Nope, she's first.

**KEVIN MOODY:** They weren't, he was the second in line,  
no.

**MALE SPEAKER:** Well -

**KEVIN MOODY:** I'm going to double back.

**MALE SPEAKER:** Activism has something to with denounce.  
I think everybody who are here today; we have something inside  
because something's happening in our countries that feel bad  
with us. And something's wrong.

So what is happening in Mexico for example, is that all  
the people who used to be activists in the past now they are  
part of a government now. And what happens is that knowing the  
problems and knowing the needs of that civil organization and  
the ONGs they don't do nothing for this. So what do you think  
about this conflict of interests, when activists become, part  
of the government?

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay.

**LAXMI NARAYAN TRIPATHI:** I just answered that.

**KEVIN MOODY:** But, Robert from your perspective, you  
now work for a big international NGO and there is, I've been  
told, after having worked at the WHO, that you know there's, by  
working in, for people living with HIV and people working  
activists working in UN agencies and in international NGOs like

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this that we're sort of diluting the part of activists. And the other way of looking at it is saying, actually we're implementing GPA and changing policy from within. It's a balance. What is your thought on that?

**ROBERT CARR:** I think it's a very important question and it actually relates to the question that was, or the statement that was made before. Part of the challenge is if you're trying to change institutions, how do you get institutions to change? And there's two ways to do it, one is to stay outside the institution and push the institution, the other way is to be inside the institution and try and change the institution and try and lead the institution to behave differently.

But it's very difficult because it gets very complicated very fast because sometimes when the institution invites you in, they're actually inviting you in, in bad faith. They're inviting you in and they're not telling the agenda that they have by doing that. So they bring you in precisely to silence you and precisely to control you. But I think that they, I think it's also very important though, strategically, to have allies inside of institutions.

A lot of the work that I do in my activism involves calling on people inside of those institutions to do the right thing, to under, to be honest about their institutional mandate and to be honest about where they're failing in those

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institutional mandates. And I think it really does require a dialogue and a push from outside and inside around accountability to try and get that institution to behave differently and do what it has pledged to do. It is a factor of where we've come, there was a time where we were completely excluded from the institutions and if evolution has meant that now we have an opportunity to be in, but it is very tricky and very often you see that when you're inside, people get inside the institution, they actually change.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Yes.

**ROBERT CARR:** And all the things that they used to quarrel about when they were outside the institution they actually start to do themselves and they start to fight you for pushing them to behave, to hold true to their original values. It's an important question; I think it's an ongoing question.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay, thanks Robert. Quick response?  
Okay.

**FEMALE SPEAKER:** Yes, I think we need to be just an intelligence. When we know the field, we are activists or we don't are an activist because I know really, some people they don't say I am activist and they do lot of work, what I talk about key populations. We need just to be an intelligent.

If we have possibility to work with the government or UN agencies, I have this experience and I don't think you need to go with what the people has in his agenda. You have

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possibility to impose your agenda. You need to be careful, you don't need to be corrupt sometimes, some policies and it's very I know it's very good for what you do, but, for example I, if I talk about MSM and sex workers in my region I think we have possibility.

We know the needs, we know the field, we have possibility to put our hand at the table, it's all, I know this problem, I want, we need to help in this point. And really my experience was very positive.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Yes, okay, that's good. Thank you so much, okay, we'll go to our next question, but first I think Laxmi has to leave us, right?

**LAXMI NARAYAN TRIPATHI:** Yes, I hope there is no questions for me especially.

**KEVIN MOODY:** No.

**LAXMI NARAYAN TRIPATHI:** No, okay, because I have to go for you.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay, so, let's tend to those questions now quickly for Laxmi.

**FEMALE SPEAKER:** The thing is my question is generally to all of you, because I'll just add one word to the topic and I'll ask you, is youth AIDS activism dead? And could you tell me a little more? Especially Sophie for you, and Laxmi for you.

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Because and [applause] maybe Amal for you, because I mean these are the regions where you're working in the prisons or you're working with people and you're working with women. So what about young women? How do you work with them? And a little about that please.

**LAXMI NARAYAN TRIPATHI:** Okay, so, should I? Yes, you said about youth activism. See, I had to finish the opening of the Global Village fast because the youth wanted it to do it, so I don't understand where it's getting over.

I have to leave the session and run back for the youth pavilion opening. They wanted me to be there. When I started my activism, I was young enough. I'm 31. Am I youth here according to the definition? I doubt it. But youth has always been the driving bolt and it is a responsibility of the leaders and activists to create a second line leadership and that is, I feel, even in my region and my community, I have always done that. That today, if I get a heart stroke or my plane crashes, well then, I need not worry about my work. There are another generation lined up behind who will carry forward my work. So, that is the way I look at it.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Thank you. Anything to add specifically on top of what Laxmi just said, on that point?

**SOPHIE STRACHAN:** From a positively UK perspective, we have a young lady here who is very much a youth activist. I know that there are some other caseworkers that specifically in

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prisons are engaging with a lot of younger women. It's a very hard group to reach, especially when they're in that institution, but again, we do have young women and young men actually, I think I'm right, working at a ground level who have a very strong voice.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay. Thank you, Sophie. Now, we'll take one more question for Laxmi, yes, and then we'll -

**MALE SPEAKER:** Yes. Thank you Laxmi for coming here. Let's talk about the round ten of the Global Fund. When we see that there is mobs, they are targeting mobs for funding, my question is, in the morning when we seen the plenary, we see that 84 of 136 country, we have criminalization laws against the key groups which mean that sex workers, trans, all things, and my feeling is how government can put us on the board to sit on the CCM and looking for money, and on the other side, we have criminalized laws?

**LAXMI NARAYAN TRIPATHI:** You are from which country?

**MALE SPEAKER:** I am from Mauritius.

**LAXMI NARAYAN TRIPATHI:** Mauritius, okay. I don't know about the laws in Mauritius, but as far as India is concerned, there is a law, Section 377, and the cases pending in the Supreme Court with 19 petition against Section 377, but we have sexual minority person and person who talks about issues of us in the CCM. It's how, as an activist, how as a group.

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In our respective countries, we push the government. Government is something else and laws are something else. That is the way we do it. We deal with the law in a different way, but we can push the agenda. There is the issue of health. Being a citizen, I have a constitutional right as a citizen of a country. I may not have a legal right with my sexuality, but then I use my constitutional right to say to the government, hey listen, you have to listen for this number of people in the country. They need this, this, this. And you need to give us [inaudible]. When I went to the government and I said, hey [inaudible], they said, you don't have sex so a charity's out of the [inaudible]. So it's upon us, how as activists, how is that we, the good way of advocacy to make the government understand that it's not only health, economy and it's the issue of the nation. Thank you.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Thank you, Laxmi. Okay, we're going to let Laxmi go and make her next thing. But there are two more questions, and we have time probably for another one or two.

[Interposing]

**KEVIN MOODY:** We really have to move on. She has to go. So let's just thank Laxmi for her contribution.

**LAXMI NARAYAN TRIPATHI:** I'm very sorry. Thank you so much.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay, it has to be a quick question then.

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**MALE SPEAKER:** Yep. Just regarding activists, the things that come under each stage of gain is about the declaration that our governments sign. We talk about the Abuja Declaration, about the 50-percent of the budget for health system. As an activist also, I think that there's somewhere we have failed. We have failed as activists because our government just signed a lot of convention and they don't respect it. I just wanted to hear from you your reaction also as activists. Thank you.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay, which one of you would like to respond to that?

**ROBERT CARR:** I can.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Yes, Robert. Thanks.

**ROBERT CARR:** That's for me a source of tremendous frustration because you engage in processes of dialogue with government. Again it goes back to the issue of bad faith. And more and more I wonder whether or not they really mean what they're saying. And what their motive is for saying what they do say.

More and more frankly, I've come to believe that they're saying what they believe the more powerful countries want them to say. In many cases because they believe that it will help them get aid which will improve their standing internationally, and so they say it, but they have absolutely no intention of doing it. When they get back to their

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countries, that's when you really see the failure of the process that you've just gone through.

I think it's something that as activists, we really have to think carefully about. I think it may be that we need to come together more tightly between the global, the regional and the national so that the national activists know what's going on. They understand what commitments the governments are making and we have a plan together to support each other to make sure that the weight of that global commitment is phrased, provides an entry point for the local activists to hold that government accountable. And if they don't do what they said they were going to do, that they can be shamed and that they can feel the consequences of that bad faith negotiation.

And especially in 2010, frankly, and I speak for myself here, especially in 2010 when we see not only the abysmal failure of governments to set targets around HIV programming for key populations, but their failure to meet even those abysmal targets, we really have to think again about the processes that we use where we engage governments in dialogue. They make bad promises, they don't fulfill them and then there are no consequences.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Thanks, Robert. Okay, Kiran [misspelled?].

**KIRAN:** Yes. I just have a quick question and comment before the question but it's related to the disconnect between

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the activism and the advocacy in the system. Somebody mentioned Clinton's presentation earlier this morning which to me highlights the reason why we absolutely need activism.

I was a point person for supporting that plenary presentation and we briefed Clinton's office in terms of what we were looking for, and would anyone know that that presentation was meant to be about accountability, political accountability, for universal access? And he was meant to be speaking and holding governments to account for the failure around universal access. You didn't hear any of that. And even if somebody who is no longer constrained by the political diplomacy of some kind, that he said he can say whatever he wants, he clearly can't. And that's why we really need AIDS activists and activism to really be holding governments to account.

So I think the related point then, he talked about, oh, rather than the activism that we had yesterday, it should be with the Congress and the Senate. And it's this issue of possible disconnect between AIDS activism and the AIDS advocacy that you might do within the system.

And it's really to ask the panelists for some good examples where you can have that activism on the streets and it's connected to the advocacy within the system. Maybe in Jamaica around the human rights, the MSN movement and gay rights movement and how that might work better in Jamaica.

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I know Laxmi has talked about stories where she's taken the hetero community to a prison where one member of her community has been taken to a prison unjustifiably and they've gone and they've stripped, a hundred Hijras stripped and demanded release of this person. And then she will go to the Minister of Health of India and have a conversation about her community and she's connecting those two things and it's a pity she was not here to say it.

But maybe a question there for how we can show good examples of how to connect the two because last year I just had a meeting with the president of Ford Foundation who asked this absolute question. He said, are we wasting our money on this advocacy? Shouldn't we supporting activism? So it would be good to hear some examples.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay, and I'll take Bernard's [misspelled?] last question and then we'll answer them together, okay?

**MALE SPEAKER:** Sure.

**KEVIN MOODY:** That works quite well.

**MALE SPEAKER:** My question is really about the activist side like the event yesterday. And I'm sure you need passion for that kind of event, but I'm struck by how ritualized they've become, and how same they've become. And this contrasts for me with my memory of the early act-up actions which were, had all the passion, but they also had a brilliance

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of creativity that really struck people and really got a message across in a very engaging way that brought along people who would have otherwise perhaps been not willing to engage.

So my question is, is the creativity gone out of our activism, or has it become so ritualized that people are just seeing anger and not getting a message.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay, so, to the panelists, this is going to be the last round, and those two last questions are really interesting. The first one is, can you give an example of activism that you can do in your country, as opposed to advocacy, talking to governments, policymakers or whatever. But activism that you've done that's been successful.

And then what Bernard was asking is, do we think that the creativity is coming out of activism and do you have an example of creative activism from your country or region.

Robert, do you want to start?

**ROBERT CARR:** Yes, it's an interesting question and the example I would like to use I think blurs the distinction between those two but perhaps instructively.

One of the most powerful pieces of activism I've been involved in was changing the behavior of the police in Jamaica towards gay people. Because when we began, the problem that made us want to engage the police was that not only were gay people being beaten, but the police were engaging in beating the people. And there were instances where the police would

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start the beating, a crowd would gather, and then the police would hand the person over to the crowd to continue the beating.

And what we did with that, was we actually stepped back from the one-on-one direct engagement because we knew that the people we wanted to engage hated us and felt that the beatings were proper behavior. So we stepped out and we made coalitions to impact the environment. We engaged with the human rights watch to produce that report that broke the silence on it and forced the country to confront the issue of the beatings. We also engaged with activists about music that celebrated those beatings. Now that created an environment in which people had to respond.

So we actually got to the point where the prime minister of the country who would in the same breath say that as long as he was prime minister, homosexuality would never be acceptable in this country, was saying that it was the responsibility of the police to defend the people who were being beaten. That created an entry point for us to then go and meet with the commissioner of police and say, you have an obligation to protect the people who are being beaten. And you need to think about the role of rights of citizens in policing that is leading your rank and file to believe that this is appropriate behavior.

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And that actually triggered a process where, six years later, six years later, the police are actually putting their lives on the line to defend gay people who are being beaten.

A dramatic story is during Jamaica carnival a couple of years ago, there was a couple of effeminate men who were gyrating just a bit too much for the crowd and the crowd turned on them. But the police actually pulled them into the police car and drove them to safety, even as the crowd was trying to destroy the police car for taking those gay men out of their hands.

So in that kind of environment, you really can't march through the streets saying gay rights or human rights, you have to think of another more creative way of forcing the institution to think, again about its responsibility. And it was a very big dramatic intervention, but it did have perhaps more than we had expected, a very powerful impact about the way the country thought about their obligations to the entire population.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Great. Thank you, Robert. Sophie?

**SOPHIE STRACHAN:** Yes.

**KEVIN MOODY:** And we have just a few minutes so we need to try to keep it short.

**SOPHIE STRACHAN:** I'll keep it really brief because the answer is no, really.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay.

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**SOPHIE STRACHAN:** Unfortunately, I think our core is very much around the advocacy and there isn't anything specific right now on the spot that I can –

**KEVIN MOODY:** But didn't you say to me in our interview that when you were in prison that you felt lonely and isolated –

**SOPHIE STRACHAN:** Yes.

**KEVIN MOODY:** And that someone came to visit you.

**SOPHIE STRACHAN:** Yes.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Isn't that active, actually going into a prison and visiting somebody.

[Interposing]

**SOPHIE STRACHAN:** Yes, sorry, if you look at it that way, I do see that as activism.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Yes.

**SOPHIE STRACHAN:** You know, I was visited by a worker at Positively UK and her sharing her experience over positive women with a similar background or very similar history just gave me hope in a place where I had absolutely no hope at all. So, I do personally believe that going into a particular place like that is activism, and then we go on to advocacy because when you're in that institution, you lose your right to liberty, you lose your right to freedom. Women don't have a voice.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Right.

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**SOPHIE STRACHAN:** And with that intervention it can give those women a voice.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Absolutely. Good. Thank you for that. Amal?

**AMAL EL KAROUAOUI:** Yes?

**KEVIN MOODY:** Do you have a short example.

**AMAL EL KAROUAOUI:** I think if we talk about proactivity, it's also a constructive message. And what she say, Laxmi, is create second line and third line activism. For me, this is proactivity.

I remember ten years ago when we started working with sex workers and MSM, our problem was, what is the manner to reach this population. What we do? What we have? All people come and, okay, we give them condom, that's enough. When we talk about human rights, access to another services, okay, don't tell me this because maybe it's STI conservation and condoms and gel, it's perfect. We don't talk more about this.

I think our way of talking, the creativity for us, was thinking about our message with the policies, the politics, with government, with the community also because going in the street and talking about understanding sex work, I think we did that in the same time. We take time for a reflection and we take time for a situation analysis, talking with community, and collecting needs and giving our message in a positive way because, I remember I have a meeting one day with one minister

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of health and he told me, okay, MSM, we don't have MSM here. What do you tell this person? He is in the power. I think the manner to hear this person talking about another experiences for example in the region was the manner to be more relaxed with the subject. And he wants more lesson, and he wants more give to the community.

I think it's the creativity she has to be very taking time for reflection but in the context. More creativity is to be in the streets calling for human rights.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Sure.

**AMAL EL KAROUAOU:** But we have a lot of flex before talking about this.

**KEVIN MOODY:** So, we have to close the questions, but I think that what's really important is that what you're saying is that if you can't confirm something with something specific about that person's country, you can also use examples from the other countries to say, look, this is what they do. Okay, thank you for that.

I want to close this session because I don't want to you to be late for your next session by asking the panelists to give us, in one word, so you can think about it. One word, what are we fighting for? So I'm just going to do a little close and after I do the close, I'm going to ask you one by one for one word that describes what we're fighting for.

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What we've heard today has been a lot about is activism dead? And we're sitting here comfortably in a chair in a nice city, one of the best cities in the world to live according to a lot of measurements, and we're talking about things like how do we talk to governments and how do we not have to follow donor agendas.

The most important thing that I think is really important is to really understand what it is that we're fighting for. And so that's where the frustration and the anger and the motivation of the sadness comes and it gets translated into action. And the person who asked the question earlier and talked about, you know, where is the frustration and how do we get to solidarity I think is an extremely important thing. We need to keep talking about activism, smart ways of activism. Activism that can feed into advocacy and that can change policy. And I think it's our duty to really talk to each other about these things and to figure out and remind ourselves what we're fighting for.

So, one-by-one down the panel, I just want to ask, Amal, what are you fighting for?

**AMAL EL KAROUAOU:** Just one word?

**KEVIN MOODY:** One word.

**AMAL EL KAROUAOU:** I think it's, for me it's maybe constructive measures. I talked about my -

**KEVIN MOODY:** Constructive message?

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**AMAL EL KAROUAOU:** Constructive message. Change the policy, yes.

**KEVIN MOODY:** You're fighting for a constructive message to change the policy.

**AMAL EL KAROUAOU:** Yes.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay. Sophie? One word, if you can.

**SOPHIE STRACHAN:** I have to do like, two and a half.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay.

**SOPHIE STRACHAN:** I think voice and for decriminalization.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Okay, so to have a voice. You're fighting for a voice to be heard and to fight for decriminalization.

**SOPHIE STRACHAN:** Yes. Oppose all forms of criminalization.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Yes. Great.

**ROBERT CARR:** Justice.

**KEVIN MOODY:** Justice. So, equality where citizens were equal members of a country so we need justice for everyone.

Okay, I really want to thank my panelists. Laxmi, who isn't here, Amal, Sophie, and Robert, thank you so much and enjoy the rest of the conference.

[Applause]

[END RECORDING]

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