

Coalition Chronicles

A newsletter of
End Domestic Abuse WI
Volume 36 Issue 1



The Next Generation of Leaders

End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin (End Abuse) has a long legacy of centering its programs and services on victims/survivors and underserved/underrepresented communities. During the early years of its formation, End Abuse (then the Wisconsin Coalition Against Domestic Violence) acknowledged that it had been part of a violence against women movement that had failed to recognize the unique needs of many victims and communities who have been historically marginalized. The “movement” built services for survivors generally without supporting the leadership of people of color.

In the early 1990’s, End Abuse initiated efforts to more thoughtfully engage survivors, advocates and activists of color to ensure that their voices were at the heart of the coalition. Initially, End Abuse supported the formation of a survivors’ group which named itself the Battered/Formerly Battered Women’s Task Force. In 1994, the coalition formed the Communities of People of Color (COPOC) project to support the efforts of racial minority communities to address the problem of domestic violence within their communities. COPOC provided input into coalition programming, training and curricula, and direction of grant applications. Over time, both the Battered/Formerly Battered Women’s Task Force and the COPOC grew from several people to between 30 and 50 participants.

By 2010, the groups refocused their efforts towards direct leadership development. Connected Cultures Leadership and Skill-building Institute (CCLI) was the first incarnation of a year-long leadership academy, with 30 survivors and advocates of color as the initial participants. By the end of 2011, CCLI participants provided useful feedback: they wanted smaller group sizes and they selected a new name: WE LEAD (Wisconsin Empowered! Leadership Enhancement and Ally Development). Thus, the current incarnation of our leadership work was formed. WE LEAD generally enrolls 12-15 participants annually, and the number of applicants to the program each year has grown significantly since the program’s inception. Participants commit to attending six in-person meetings each year, sharing and learning skills and strategies and supporting each other to be the next generation of leaders in the movement to end gender violence. We are proud to have committed our organization toward the development of leaders of color and survivor leadership, in different forms and formats, for over 20 years!

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Compiling this issue of the Coalition Chronicles provided an opportunity for exploring some of the resources that have been a part of the WE LEAD experience, and for digging into the Wisconsin Coalition Against Domestic Violence (WCADV) archives for related material. In doing so, I came across an archived issue of WCADV's Educational Journal that highlighted the voices of the women in the Battered/Formerly Battered Women's Committee, and featured *Advocacy on Behalf of Battered Women*, a 2001 article written by the late Ellen Pence. It chronicled the early years of the movement to end domestic abuse, which at the time was very specifically a movement against abuse of women. In 2017, the complexities of domestic abuse continue to be better identified, understood, and addressed, and the term "battered women" has largely disappeared. From our contemporary vantage point, this difference in language warrants thoughtful consideration.

Advocacy on Behalf of Battered Women leads with a discussion of reform efforts for battered women that began in an era when battery of women by their male partners and husbands was not widely regarded as a crime. Pence asserts, "We pursued an agenda of criminalization, not because women in shelters were saying, 'I want my partner prosecuted,' but because many activists believed that men would not stop battering women until the community thought of and treated doing so as a crime."¹ She also asserts that in describing the history of advocacy, "I will use terms such as we, us, and our as if there were a universal "we," but there never was. I use these terms to represent the social movement of the 1970s and 1980s, in which women worked toward common goals, even while holding different views on how to reach those goals."² The term "battered women" deliberately emphasized women as a class of people, and as such, domestic violence could be viewed as one manifestation of the oppression of women. There were then and still are today, many cases of domestic abuse that involve battery. At the same time, the term "battered women" clearly conveyed urgency and conjured an image that was perhaps politically expedient when focusing on criminalization.

The use of the term feminist is also addressed in this article, which "was used mostly by white women who offered an important gender analysis to our work. Progressive African, Native, Asian, and Latin American women in the movement were less likely to use the term feminist. Nevertheless, women of color brought a deeply historical and far less naïve understanding of relationships of domination and exploitation — and, correspondingly, of the pitfalls we would face in using institutions of social control to benefit women."³

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1994

The Communities of People of Color Project

"In accordance with and in support of the Wisconsin Coalition Against Domestic Violence (WCADV'S) mission statement, the mission of the Communities of People of Color (COPOC) project is to provide support and leadership to ensure that COPOC have the heart of WCADV's work to end violence against people of color.

Recognizing that the battered women's movement had failed its sisters of color, WCADV developed the Communities of People of Color Project. Initiated in 1994, the COPOC Project has supported the efforts of ethnic and racial minority communities to address the problem of domestic violence within their communities."

—excerpt from the COPOC Project mission statement

1995

In conjunction with the COPOC project, WCADV initially supported several initiatives such as [UNIDOS](#) and [American Indians Against Abuse](#) which later evolved into independent organizations.

In 1989 Black legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term “intersectionality” to describe the way multiple oppressions are experienced.⁴ Authors Jarune Uwujaren and Jamie Utt note that the intersectionality framework “...must be applied to all social justice work, a frame that recognizes the multiple aspects of identity that enrich our lives and experiences and that compound and complicate oppressions and marginalizations.”⁵ The authors illustrate the concept within the context of intimate partner violence:

“To better understand the concept of intersectionality, let’s look at one of the most cited pieces of evidence for the oppression of women: violence targeting women and girls. Using conservative estimates, between 25% and 50% of women experience gender-based violence (sexual violence, intimate partner violence, street harassment, or stalking) in their lifetime. But to cite that number without disaggregating the data hides the ways that multiple oppressions compound this violence.

For instance, women (and men) of color are more likely to experience these forms of violence than White women or men and that wealth privilege can help to insulate some women from some forms of violence. We also find that bisexual women are far more likely to experience sexual violence than other women. And of those murdered in LGBTQ-based hate incidents, 78% were people of color, and Transgender people are 27% more likely to experience hate violence than cisgender people.

In short, all women are at risk for gendered violence in the United States, but some women are far more at risk.”⁶

The text in boxes on this and the previous page are from documents created by members of the Communities of People of Color project and the Battered/Formerly Battered Women’s Committee. Read [HERE](#) about the 2010 Connected Cultures Leadership and Skill-building Institute, which led to the development WE LEAD and the Leadership Circle.

— Colleen Cox, Education Coordinator

2000

The Battered/Formerly Battered Women’s Committee

WCADV was organized as part of the grassroots movement to address violence against women in 1978. To ensure that battered women were active and helped to direct the work of WCADV and domestic violence programs, a sub-committee of battered and formerly battered women was formed and funded by WCADV in the early 1980’s. During the year 2000, stronger emphasis was placed on increasing committee membership and reaching a diversity of battered and formerly battered women from all across the state. Committee members handed out informational flyers at each WCADV training and networking meeting, encouraging survivors to become members. Committee membership continued to increase from 11 in 2000 to 42 in 2002. — taken from the 2002-2003 WCADV Educational Journal Issue on [Advocacy on Behalf of Battered Women](#)

1. Chapter 17 of “Sourcebook on Violence Against Women”, pp. 329-343, copyright © 2001. Reprinted with permission of Sage Publications, Inc., www.sagepub.com

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Smith, Sharon. “Black feminism and intersectionality.” International Socialist Review, no. 91 (Winter 2013-2014). Accessed June 1, 2017. <http://isreview.org/issue/91/black-feminism-and-intersectionality>.

5. “Why Our Feminism Must Be Intersectional (And 3 Ways to Practice It).” Everyday Feminism. 2015. Accessed January 26, 2016. <http://everydayfeminism.com/2015/01/why-our-feminism-must-be-intersectional/>.

6. Ibid.

WE LEAD

The WE LEAD program builds new leadership within the movement to end gender-based violence by providing hands on leadership development opportunities for survivors of violence and/or people from Wisconsin's underserved or underrepresented communities, which includes individuals who identify as people with disabilities, having limited English proficiency, people of color, Deaf or hard-of-hearing, LGBTQ, and refugee/immigrant, as well as the intersections of these identities.

WE LEAD participants attend free, two-day trainings six times annually in Madison.

Key Training Components:

- Learn about key leadership concepts and theories and practices of the prevention and intervention of gender-based violence, including its root causes of oppression, power and privilege;
- Build and enhance skill and capacity as leaders and agents of change;
- Become part of a network of socially conscious advocates and ally leaders committed to ending gender-based violence through new and innovative ways;
- Connect with fellow advocates throughout the state.

"The program works to build upon the knowledge people already have within themselves," says Danny Ho of End Abuse. Ho leads the program sessions with his colleagues Diane Wolff and CJ Duxtater and says that each of the facilitators brings a unique perspective to the work. Wolff has deep knowledge of infusing trauma-informed approaches into the culture and capacity of victim service organizations. Duxtater draws upon his decades of experience working in Native communities, with survivors who have disabilities and with elder populations to bring a richness to every WE LEAD conversation. Ho contributes his extensive experience bringing an intersectional analysis to gender-based violence prevention.

The WE LEAD program is growing, with nearly twice as many applicants as accepted participants each year. The WE LEAD Leadership Academy Selection Committee looks for individuals who:

- Are over 18 years old;
- Are seeking to enhance their leadership skills;
- Identify as a survivor of gender-based violence and/or as being from a marginalized or underrepresented community in Wisconsin;
- Are committed to learning new and innovative ways to end domestic and sexual violence;
- Are committed to full participation and attendance in all WE LEAD Leadership Academy training sessions and activities.



2015-2016 WE LEAD Participants

WE LEAD

Highlights: WE LEAD is facilitated by End Abuse staff Diane Wolff (Program Capacity and Support Coordinator), C. J. Doxtater and Danny Ho (REACH Coordinators). When each new cohort gathers for the first time in May, they develop group agreements to guide them together throughout the year. The program facilitators follow a very flexible program built around core themes of trauma-informed practices and organizations, reflective leadership, and understanding oppression and historical trauma, inviting guest presenters for specific topics occasionally throughout the year. The program is adapted to address both the unique group dynamic and the needs of individuals within each cohort. Below is a sampling of topics the 2016-2017 WE LEAD cohort explored at each meeting, followed by a more detailed look at the January WE LEAD program.

May 2016: WE LEAD Kick-off

Your Story Talking Circle
Trauma Basics and Trauma-Informed Practices
Marginalization and Reflection
Strengths-based Leadership

July 2016

Oppression, Trauma and Trauma-Informed Practices
Interpersonal Access/Mindful Interaction (Mark Sweet,
Disability Rights Wisconsin Trainer and Consultant)

September 2016

Gender and Gender-Based Violence Work
Mickey Mouse Monopoly (Selling Representations of
Gender, Race, and Ethnicity)
World without Violence

November 2016

Trauma and Oppression, Historical Trauma
Adaptive Leadership
Life Timeline Activity and Heteronormativity
Cultural Appropriation and Gender-Based Violence Work

January 2017

Capitol Tour and Scavenger Hunt (Chase Tarrier, Public Policy
Coordinator and Tony Gibart, Associate Director, End Abuse;
see pages 6-7)
Panel Presentation with Senator Ron Johnson and
Representative JoCasta Zamarripa
Mock Trial (Chase Tarrier and Tony Gibart)
Tribal Government (C. J. Doxtater)
Gender-Based Violence in LGBT Communities (Cody Warner,
Children and Youth Prevention and Outreach Coordinator,
End Abuse)
Creative Funding

March 2017: WE LEAD Graduation Day

Grantwriting (Sharon Lewandowski, Domestic Abuse
Program Coordinator, Department of Children and Families)

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Olivia Osborne
Women's Resource Center
Prevention /Youth Advocate

"WE LEAD provided me with the tools to flourish as a leader and champion in the community that I serve. I greatly appreciate the knowledge and bonds shared during this intense course. We started off as strangers and left as family."

The WE LEAD program culminates in a graduation ceremony each year in March. At the 2017 graduation, former WE LEAD participants Bobbi Jo Bentz, Sheba McCants, and Olivia Osborne appeared on a panel to share their reflections on their involvement in WE LEAD, and how they incorporated their WE LEAD experience into their professional and personal lives.

WE LEAD

Snapshot: The Journey of a Law (a self-guided tour of the Wisconsin State Capitol)

A popular activity during the WE LEAD session on Leadership in Government is “The Journey of a Law: a self-guided tour of the Wisconsin State Capitol.” The self-guided tour is really a scavenger hunt in which teams of two compete to see who can learn the most—quickly—about the work that happens in and around the Wisconsin State Capitol. Below is a sneak peek at what WE LEADERS see, learn and do during this activity.

Introduction

This activity will get you moving around the Capitol to see the process by which policy changes become enacted through legislation into law, implemented and interpreted. Legislative changes can affect many aspects of everyday life, from who is required to pay taxes and how much they are required to pay, to what services are funded by the government (such as services for victims domestic violence and sexual assault), the power and constraints placed on local government bodies, and what conduct is defined as criminal and how criminal acts are punished or otherwise treated.

1 Find your Legislator: In most cases, legislation starts with a bill being drafted and introduced by an individual legislator or legislators. ***Your first assignment is to identify a legislator that represents each member of your group.*** Every person who lives in Wisconsin is represented by one State Representative and one State Senator. You can look them up at: <http://maps.legis.wisconsin.gov/>. Once you know who your legislators are, find their offices in the Capitol. Take a picture of the door. You will earn more points if you take pictures with the legislator or their staff person.



Chee Thor, Family Center (left) and Rachel Fernandez, Menominee Crime Victims Program (right)

These two creative WE LEADERS went for maximum points. Although their legislator was not in the capitol the day of the scavenger hunt, they had their picture taken with the legislator's staffer while holding a photo of the legislator (and his wife)!

Bonus Badger Challenge: Wisconsin is the Badger State. There are a several badgers “hanging” around in the Capitol. When you see one, take a photo. Each badger is worth one point. Find the highest badger on the Capitol grounds for five points. Note, you’ll receive points for one picture of the state seal, which (hint, hint) has a badger on it.

2 Committee Hearings: Legislators typically draft bills that address issues brought to them by constituents or interest groups. End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin sometimes asks legislators to draft a bill that fixes a problem victim advocates have brought to our attention. Once the bill is drafted and introduced into either the Assembly or the Senate, it will be referred to a committee in that house. Each house has committees that consider bills dealing with various topics. For example, the Assembly Committee on Criminal Justice hears bills that deal with the criminal justice system.

Typically, committees will hold one meeting during which they hear public testimony about the bill, and another meeting during which the committee votes on whether to recommend that the full house pass the bill. The first type of meeting is called a public hearing. The second type is called an executive session. The

committee chair, who is a member of the majority party, controls if and when these meetings are scheduled. So, if a committee chair doesn't like a particular bill, it is possible that the bill will never even get a hearing and will go no further in the legislative process.

Legislative committees are meeting today. ***Your second assignment is to find a hearing room that is being used for a hearing and discover what bills the committee is hearing today.*** Take a picture of the hearing agenda, if you can find it, and the door of room where the hearing will be held. Note whether this is a committee of the Assembly or the Senate. The distinction is important because a bill typically has to go through committees of both houses before it can become law.

Fighting Bob Bonus Challenge: Robert "Fighting Bob" La Follette was Governor of Wisconsin from 1901 to 1906, and a member of the US Senate from 1906 to 1925. Wisconsin's most famous politician, he is known for his association with the Progressive Movement in Wisconsin and across the country. The progressive movement emphasized open government and more direct participation of the citizenry. Victories attributable to the progressive movement included creating momentum for women's suffrage, direct election of US senators, lobbying and anti-corruption regulations, and workers' rights, like the eight-hour workday.

Some Wisconsin Progressive accomplishments that are considered landmarks in US political history include the creation of the first system of workers' compensations for individuals who are injured on the job, and the passage of one of the first state income taxes in the country. If you find Fighting Bob, take a picture. This challenge will be used to break a tie.



3 & 4

Senate and Assembly Floors: After a bill is voted out of a committee, it may be scheduled for a full vote on the floors of the Senate and Assembly. The leaders of each house control which bills are scheduled for votes. In fact, there are special committees controlled by the leaders that create the "floor calendars" for days when the full houses are in session. A bill has to go through both houses to become law. So once a bill is voted on in one house and passed, it goes to the other house, where it will need to go through a committee and then come to the floor of that house.

Your third and fourth assignments: Go to entrances of the State Senate and Assembly. Take pictures of the Senate floor, the Assembly floor, a bulletin board of one of the houses, and the Assembly Electronic Roll Call Display. Also, see if you can tell how many state senators are in Wisconsin (you might be able to count better if you go to the Senate Gallery). If you know how many State Senators we have, multiple that answer by three, because there are three State Representatives for each State Senator.

5

Find The Governor's Office: Once a bill makes its way through both houses of the legislature, it must be signed by the Governor before it can become law. If the Governor instead chooses to veto the bill, it will only become law if two-thirds of the legislators in each house agree to override the veto.

Wisconsin's Governor has a third option for dealing with bills that spend money. The Governor can partially veto a bill, meaning he or she may sign the bill into law but also strike out sections that he or she doesn't like. This is a powerful tool, because the governor can strike out specific words that change the meaning of a provision in the bill. For example, if a bill said, "The state shall not spend any money allocated under this program to purchase speedboats," The Governor could partially veto the provision so that it reads, "The state shall ~~not~~ spend any money allocated under this program to purchase speedboats." The law, after being partially vetoed this way, would then require that the money be used to buy speedboats, even though the legislature intended exactly the opposite result. The use of the veto pen in this manner is called the "Frankenstein Veto" or, sometimes the "Vanna White Veto."

The Leadership Circle

The Leadership Circle is an initiative that evolved over the years from End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin's inclusion of the voices from Communities of People of Color and Battered/Formerly Battered Women's committees. As the WE LEAD program was being initiated, staff realized that a segment of advocates and service providers were being unintentionally displaced. In particular, experienced advocates who had grown into positions of management and program leadership were no longer in need of the type of growth experience that WE LEAD offered.

End Abuse identified twelve advocates of color who were knowledgeable of the domestic violence and sexual assault fields and brought them together to share their unique views and talents with each other and with End Abuse. The group coalesced into a working group that supported its members in their endeavors and also advised End Abuse, providing insight into the needs of the varied populations in our state. For example, the Leadership Circle developed its mission and values statement and helped to craft the job description for the present Children and Youth Prevention and Outreach Coordinator.

As the Leadership Circle aged, new projects and new members have emerged. Presently, the Leadership Circle is developing a mentorship project. Focusing on alumni of WE LEAD, the Leadership Circle will invite four graduates to join the Leadership Circle as mentees. The mentees will identify an element within the domestic abuse field about which they wish to become more knowledgeable. Over the following year, with mentorship and guidance from the Leadership Circle elders and the End Abuse facilitator, mentees will learn about this topic and offer the insights they have gained to survivors of abuse, to their programs, and to End Abuse, to improve the overall response to violence. Quarterly meetings with their chosen mentors will provide opportunities to share their progress and receive direction and encouragement. After the year-long mentorship, the mentees may join the Leadership Circle, where they may choose to mentor a new WE LEAD graduate.

This process aims to enhance the relationships among WE LEAD graduates, End Abuse, and other peers who are working to address domestic abuse. It will support all parties in learning new approaches, founded on the wisdom of those who came before them, to serve victims and reduce domestic violence.



“It's not all you. It can't be all you. Just like you need air to fly a kite, it's not the kite. It's the air.” —Pharrell Williams

— C. J. Doxtater, REACH Coordinator

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Recommended Resources and Authors for WE LEAD Participants

WE LEAD sessions are interactive and experiential, without relying heavily on outside reading. The facilitators draw extensively from several authors and resources. Some examples are highlighted below and on the following pages.

Legitimate vs. Abusive Uses of Authority

— Debi S. Edmund

We may be parents, teachers or supervisors. Or we may be considered experts on a particular subject. If we don't question what authority means, as well as how it should be used, what kind of parent, teacher or supervisor will we be? While authority is neither good nor bad in and of itself, how we use it matters.

Legitimate uses of authority

People use power and authority in a legitimate way when they:

- Operate in accordance with accepted ethical standards for the position they hold.
- Are willing to accept responsibility and accountability for their behavior and decisions.
- Respect the inherent worth and dignity of others, including those in a relationship with us who have less power.
- Communicate expectations in a way that is clear, consistent and easily understood.
- Understand that trust and loyalty must be earned, even by people in positions of authority.
- Seek input from people who will be affected by decisions.

© 2011 by Debi S. Edmund, from *Real Tools: Responding to Multi-Abuse Trauma*, Alaska Network on Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault
<http://www.andvsa.org/realtoolsprint/>



Reflective

Leadership

as a Strategy

for Accountability

— Terri Pease, Ph.D.

In reflective practice, we learn that accountability does not have to mean adherence to professional, academic, or medically based models of practice (although we should not deprive survivors of access to what is helpful from this knowledge). First, accountability should be to the survivors we work with and to our values and aspirations as individual advocates in a movement.

When we work and supervise reflectively, the feelings and responses of staff and leaders are just as relevant as information about standards, policies, and program requirements.

The reflective supervisor does not have to make her staff perform well. Reflective supervisors recognize that empowering staff to think about and refine their own work shares power and retains an empowerment based approach.

Above quotes taken from:

Pease, Terri, PhD. "Reflective Leadership as a Strategy for Accountability." *The Voice: The Journal of the Battered Women's Movement*, Spring 2009, 4-6.
<http://ncadv.org/Accountability%20Issue%20Spring%202009.pdf> accessed May 19, 2017

In the following excerpts from her [keynote address at the Color of Violence Conference](#) in 2000, Angela Davis acknowledges the success of the movement to end violence against women and also articulates the ways in which women of color have been harmed by the state and by the anti-violence movement itself:

“Given the racist and patriarchal patterns of the state, it is difficult to envision the state as the holder of solutions to the problem of violence against women of color. However, as the anti-violence movement has been institutionalized and professionalized, the state plays an increasingly dominant role in how we conceptualize and create strategies to minimize violence against women. One of the major tasks...of the anti-violence movement as a whole, is to address this contradiction, especially as it presents itself to poor communities of color.

[Some] analyses emphasize a greater incidence of misogynist violence in poor communities and communities of color, without necessarily acknowledging the greater extent of police surveillance in these communities—directly and through social service agencies. In other words, precisely because the primary strategies for addressing violence against women rely on the state and on constructing gendered assaults on women as “crimes,” the criminalization process further bolsters the racism of the courts and prisons. Those institutions, in turn, further contribute to violence against women.

On the one hand, we should applaud the courageous efforts of the many activists who are responsible for a new popular consciousness of violence against women, for a range of legal remedies, and for a network of shelters, crisis centers, and other sites where survivors are able to find support. But on the other hand, uncritical reliance on the government has resulted in serious problems. I suggest that we focus our thinking on this contradiction: Can a state that is thoroughly infused with racism, male dominance, class-bias, and homophobia and that constructs itself in and through violence, act to minimize violence in the lives of women? Should we rely on the state as the answer to the problem of violence against women?

As Kimberle Crenshaw's germinal study on violence against women suggests, the situation of Native American women shows that we must also include within our analytical framework the persisting colonial domination of indigenous nations and national formations within and outside the presumed territorial boundaries of the U.S. The U.S. colonial state's racist, sexist, and homophobic brutality in dealing with Native Americans once again shows the futility of relying upon the juridical or legislative processes of the state to resolve these problems.

Prisons are violent institutions. Like the military, they render women vulnerable in an even more systematic way to the forms of violence they may have experienced in their homes and in their communities. Women's prison experiences point to a continuum of violence at the intersection of racism, patriarchy, and state power.”*

* Davis, A. (2000). *The Color of Violence Against Women*. Retrieved February 17, 2016, from <http://www.colorlines.com/articles/color-violence-against-women>

Ronald Takaki

Ronald Takaki (April 12, 1939 – May 26, 2009) was the author and editor of more than 20 books, including:

- *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in 19th Century America* (1979),
- *Strangers From a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (1989),
- *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (1993) and
- *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II* (2000).

More information about the author and listed books can be found at the [Zinn Education Project](#).

From a 1999 interview with Ronald Takaki:

“Why do you distinguish between race and ethnicity?”

“In American history, Americans who had distinct characteristics because of their skin color or the shape of their eyes represented an ethnic group because they had different religions and different cultures – but they also represented a racial group. And people were stigmatized because of their distinct physical characteristics. This led to legislation against them, like slavery, the Chinese Exclusion Act, and the internment of Japanese Americans. Neither Italians nor Germans were interned during World War II. You have to make a distinction between ethnic experience and racial experience. To lump together race and ethnicity violates this complex reality.

I am a scholar who strives to make the distinction between race and ethnicity. European immigrant groups were ethnic groups. They represented different religions. And Catholics and Jews suffered the oppression of ethnocentrism inflicted upon them by a Protestant America. But because they were white, they were eligible for a naturalized citizenship, and they were able then to exercise political power and advance their economic and social interests.

On the other hand, Asian immigrants were not eligible for naturalized citizenship. The Naturalization Act of 1790 specified explicitly that to be eligible for naturalized citizenship you had to be white – and it used the term *white*. You might think, ‘That was 1790.’ Well, this law was in effect until 1952. My grandparents never became U.S. citizens. How is that for an example of the difference between race and ethnicity?” *

* Montgomery Halford, Joan. "A Different Mirror: A Conversation with Ronald Takaki." *Educational Leadership* 56, no. 7 (April 1999). Accessed May 8, 2017. <http://www.ascd.org/publications/educational-leadership/apr99/vol56/num07/A-Different-Mirror@-A-Conversation-with-Ronald-Takaki.aspx>.

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Dr. Joy DeGruy

is the author of the book “Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome: America’s Legacy of Enduring Injury and Healing,” which addresses the residual impacts of trauma on African descendants in the Americas. Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome lays the groundwork for understanding how the past has influenced the present, and opens up the discussion of how we can eliminate non-productive attitudes, beliefs, and adaptive behaviors, and build upon the strengths we have gained from the past to heal injuries of today. More information about the book and links to videos and resources can be found at Dr. DeGruy’s website

[DR. JOY DEGRUY: BE THE HEALING.](#)

Sarah Deer is currently co-director of the Indian Law Program at Mitchell Hamline School of Law in St Paul, Minnesota and will be joining the University of Kansas School of Law in the Fall of 2017. She is the author of “The Beginning and End of Rape: Confronting Sexual Violence in Native America.” She was the keynote speaker at CO-ADVOCACY, the 20th annual Leadership Institute, an Advocates of Color Conference of End Domestic Abuse Wisconsin in June of 2016.

The following excerpts are taken from an interview with Sarah Deer, conducted by Tom Weber of Minnesota Public Radio on November 6, 2015.

“Tribal nations across the state and the country are battling a host of social issues: alcoholism, homelessness, unemployment. But there's one issue, according to Sarah Deer, that needs to be addressed first: Rape.

‘When we look at why people drink, or why people don't work, or why people are homeless — all of these social challenges that tribal governments have been struggling with often have at the backdrop rape,’ Deer said.

Throughout her book, Deer uses the word ‘rape,’ instead of other terms.

‘I think terms like *sexual assault* and *sexual abuse* tend to sanitize the crime, and they also frame it as a sexual issue,’ Deer said. ‘I think *rape* reframes it as a violence issue and a political issue.’

The statistics for how many Native women experience sexual violence continue to grow.

‘As Native women, we are the most raped people in the nation by far,’ Deer said. ‘Recently new data has come out from the CDC that says over half of Native women have experienced some form of sexual violence. It's actually become more common to be raped than not to be raped as Native women.’

One of the issues that has led to the rise in sexual crime is the inability of tribal nations to prosecute offenders who do not belong to the tribe, Deer said.

‘You have to have some sort of criminal justice intervention that will resolve the perpetrators' behavior and provide support for the victims,’ Deer said. ‘Tribal nations for millennia did this well. Tribal nations had the power to deal with these crimes and they did a fairly good job. ... Fast forward to 2015, and we've had a series of laws that have systematically removed the authority from tribal nations so they have only limited authority to respond to rape.’

In particular, Deer cited a 1978 Supreme Court decision ‘which says that tribal nations cannot prosecute a non-Indian for any crime — that would include murder, child sexual abuse, rape, what have you. If you're a non-Indian and you commit a crime on a reservation, the tribe does have the authority to prosecute.’”*

* Deer, S. (2015, November 6). *Confronting sexual Violence Against Native Women* [Interview]. Retrieved May 1, 2017, from <http://www.mprnews.org/story/2015/11/06/bcst-beginning-and-end-of-rape>



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