BREAKING THE SILENCE:

Supporting Survivors of Police Sexual Violence

A Curriculum For Sexual Assault Service Providers

ICINTERRUPTING CRIMINALIZATION

Introduction

Amidst a growing national conversation about sexual violence sparked by #MeToo and the 'me, too.' movement originated by Tarana Burke, and an ongoing national reckoning around the violence of policing, one form of sexual and police violence remains shrouded in silence: ***police sexual violence.***

This is a curriculum for sexual assault service providers intended to accompany Interrupting Criminalization's report *Shrouded in Silence: Police Sexual Violence - What We Know and What We Can Do About It.* Facilitators and participants are strongly encouraged to review the report before using any of the exercises in this curriculum.

Together, the exercises in this curriculum add up to a full day's training. Given the subject matter, if you plan on moving through the full curriculum, we recommend breaking it up over at least two days - or taking an hour or two a month at staff meetings to move through one section at a time. You can also pick and choose which sections you feel will work best in your setting. No matter how you decide to use this, we recommend starting with Where We Enter. See *Appendix A* for sample agendas.

No matter where you begin, start by acknowledging that these exercises might be triggering, as they involve discussions of sexual violence, and invite participants to take care of themselves. Have support available for people who might need it - someone on hand who is willing to step outside or into a separate zoom room or phone call with participants to have a conversation, take a breath, sit in silence, etc. Also make sure that you have a list of hotline numbers on hand for your local sexual assault and domestic violence organizations or the National Hotlines.

This curriculum was developed by Andrea J. Ritchie and Mariame Kaba, drawing in part, with deep appreciation, on materials developed by Beth E. Richie, Ann Russo, Deana Lewis, and Survived and Punished. Copyediting: Eva Nagao. Design: Danbee Kim

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Where We Enter

30 MINS

WHAT YOU'LL NEED: A journal or piece of paper, a pen, and butcher paper or a jamboard to collect individual reflections.

Ask participants to take 5-7 minutes to write what immediately comes to mind when they hear the words "sexual assault"

- Who do they imagine as the person who committed the sexual assault? The survivor/victim?
- What is the context in which they imagine sexual assault taking place?

Next, ask participants to take 5-7 minutes to write what immediately comes to mind when they hear the words "police violence"

- Who do they imagine as the perpetrator? The survivor?
- What is the context in which they imagine police violence taking place?
- What do they imagine as the response?

Invite participants to share key points from their responses on a piece of butcher paper or a jamboard, and reflect on how sexual violence by police officers did - or didn't - show up in how we think about sexual violence or police violence.

Why? Why not?

What Are We Talking About?

75 MINUTES

WHAT YOU'LL NEED: A journal or piece of paper, a pen, copies or a slide of the Violence Matrix (Appendix B), and butcher paper or a jamboard to collect individual reflections.

Prepare pieces of butcher paper or a section of a jamboard with existing definitions of police sexual violence and a definition of criminalization to discuss as a group after you have come up with your own.

PART 1 - DEFINITIONS (30 MINUTES)

1) Starting with any responses to the prompts in the Where We Enter exercise that involved sexual violence by police, collectively brainstorm (other) forms that sexual violence by police might take. List them on a piece of butcher paper or a jamboard.

2) Based on what is on the butcher paper or jamboard, work toward developing a collective definition of police sexual violence.

3) Once participants have settled on a collective definition of police sexual violence, share the definitions below one at a time and ask volunteers to read them out.

4) After reading each one, ask participants:

- How do these line up with the definitions we developed?
- Where are the differences?
- If you notice any differences, what do you think accounts for them?

Definition 1

Police sexual violence includes:

» Sexual harassment – cat calling, questions/comments about body, sexual practices, comments of a sexual nature, requests for phone numbers, unwanted callbacks, asking for dates, questions about sexual orientation, sexual practices, anatomy;

» Photos, videos, texts of a sexual nature;

» Forcible touching, groping – including during stops, searches;

» Sexual extortion – demanding sexual acts in exchange for not taking enforcement action;

» Rape and sexual assault;

» (Unlawful) strip searches or cavity searches;

» Consensual on-duty sexual conduct;

» Any time an officer engages in sexual conduct while acting "under color of law" – using the power of the badge or implicit threat of force, arrest, ICE, child welfare, etc.

Definition 2

Police sexual violence is any act taking advantage of an officer's authority and power in order to engage in sexually harassing, degrading, discriminatory, violent or violative acts.

Definition 3

According to the UN Committee Against Torture, sexual violence by a state security agent is considered torture under international law. Torture requires specific interventions which recognize the particular trauma that accompanies violation of rights and dignity by a state actor.

Close out by highlighting and underlining the following:

» Police sexual violence is an expansive term, takes many forms, and is often coupled with other forms of violence.

» Police sexual violence takes place both on- and off-duty, but is always facilitated by the individual and collective power of police.

» Police sexual violence is a corollary and consequence of criminalization, and of the access and power police exercise over criminalized and vulnerable populations.

» Police sexual violence is not an isolated act by rogue officers. It is a tool to assert state power & control over particular populations of people, and to reinforce existing relations of power based on race, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation, immigration status, disability, and class. Incidents of police sexual violence are attacks on the individual *and* the community that the individual is thought to represent.

» Police target women and trans people of color, who are framed by controlling narratives as inherently rapeable, and women perceived to be violating norms of gender and sexuality, including women in the drug and sex trades, women who drink alcohol, lesbians, and trans women.

» We need to focus on prevention and detection, as well as accountability for police sexual violence, reducing police contact and power, and creating safety for people targeted for sexual violence by police officers.

"Criminalization extends beyond laws and policies to more symbolic - and more deeply entrenched- processes of creating categories of people deemed "criminals." This process is fueled by widespread and commonly accepted stereotypes. These highly racialized and gendered narratives - whether they are about "thugs," "crack mothers," "welfare queen," or "bad hombres" - are used to fuel a generalized state of anxiety and fear, and to brand people labeled "criminal" as threatening, dangerous, and inhuman. In this context, violence, banishment and exile, denial of protection, and restrictions on freedom, expression, movement, and ultimately existence of people deemed "criminal" within our communities becomes a "natural" response."

This is part of a definition of criminalization contained in *The Crisis of Criminalization: A Call for a Comprehensive Response* by Beth Richie and Andrea J. Ritchie.

PART 2 -WHERE DOES POLICE SEXUAL VIOLENCE FIT WITHIN OUR BROADER UNDERSTANDING OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE? (45 MINUTES)

1) Invite participants to review the violence matrix developed by Dr. Beth Richie in *Arrested Justice: Black Women, Violence, and America's Prison Nation.*

The Violence Matrix

(by Beth E. Richie, PhD)

	PHYSICAL ASSAULT	SEXUAL ASSAULT	SOCIAL DISENFRANCHISEMENT
Intimate Households	Direct physical assaults by intimate partners or household members, victim retaliation	Sexual aggression by intimate partners or household members	Emotional abuse and manipulation by intimate partners or household members, forced use of drug and alcohol, isolation and economic abuse
Community	Assaults by neighbors, lack of bystander intervention, availability of weapons	Sexual harassment, acquaintance rape, gang rape, trafficking into sex industry, stalking	Degrading comments, hostile neighborhood conditions, hostile or unresponsive school and work environments, residential segregation, lack of social capital, threat of violence
Social Sphere	Stranger assault, state violence (e.g. police), gun control policies	Stranger rape, coerced sterilization, unwanted exposure to pornography	Negative media images, denial of significance of victimization, degrading encounters with public agencies, victim blaming, lack of affordable housing, lack of employment and health care, mistrust of public agencies, poverty

From: Richie, Beth E. Arrested Justice: Black Women, Violence, and America's Prison Nation. New York: New York University Press, 2012. Do not duplicate without proper citation.

Surrounding the Violence Matrix is the tangled web of structural disadvantages, institutionalized racism, gender domination, class exploitation, heteropatriarchy and other forms of oppression that locks the systematic abuse of Black women in place. Responses need to be developed that take all of the forms of abuse and all of the spheres within which injustice occurs into account.

2) Together, map how police sexual violence fits in this broader landscape of gender based violence through a Black feminist lens by discussing the following questions:

» ***Where does sexual violence by police show up on the matrix?***

» ***How does police sexual violence promote and reinforce sexual violence across the matrix? For example,***

- Police sexual violence against people in the sex trades increases risk of sexual violence with impunity by people in community;
- Emotional abuse and manipulation can make survivors vulnerable to police sexual violence.

FACILITATOR NOTES

Intimate sphere:

Police engage in domestic violence at higher rates than the general population.

Half of incidents leading to the arrest of police for sexual offenses involve minors.

Community sphere:

Police engage in sexual harassment and assault in the context of traffic stops, responses to sexual assault and domestic violence calls, in schools and in community settings.

Social sphere:

Police engage in sexual assault and violence using the power of the badge.

Police engage in stop and frisk, strip searches and body cavity searches in the context of "broken windows" policing and the war on drugs which are experienced as sexual assaults.

Police commit every form of sexual violence.

3) Finally, review the common responses to police sexual violence listed in the chart below, and ask participants:

How could recognition of the ways police sexual violence plays out in the matrix of violence shape our response?

COMMON RESPONSE	RESPONSE INFORMED BY BLACK FEMINIST ANALYSIS OF POLICE SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN THE BROADER MATRIX OF VIOLENCE
Narrowly focuses on individual, isolated incidents of police sexual violence.	Recognizes police sexual violence as a systemic form of racialized gender-based violence that operates within the matrix of violence.
Constructs narrow image of "innocence" that excludes criminalized survivors, including people in the sex and drug trades, migrant, disabled, queer and trans survivors.	Affirms and publicly supports criminalized survivors and survivors who are young, low-income, queer, trans, disabled, use drugs or alcohol, migrants, or living in vulnerable circumstances.
Relies on and expands policing, law enforcement, and in criminal legal system.	Develops community responses for support, intervention, healing, and accountability that do not rely on the state.
Call for prosecutions, elimination of consent defense, police misconduct registries, increased oversight, new laws and increased policing, arrest, and criminalization.	Committed to prevention and interruption of police sexual violence, healing, support and reparations for survivors, decriminalization and reduction of police power, contact, and impunity, moving toward police abolition and dismantling of the prison nation.

This table draws and builds on the *Comparison of Carceral Feminist and Transformative Justice Feminist Approaches to Violence* based on Beth Richie's book, *Arrested Justice: Black Women, Violence, and America's Prison Nation* (NYU Press, 2012) exercise developed by Anne Russo and Deana Lewis for their "Transformative Justice Workshop: From Arrested Justice to Transformative Justice" at the *From Carceral Feminisms to Transformative Justice* conference held on March 8, 2014, at DePaul University.

What Would We Do?

90 MINUTES

WHAT YOU'LL NEED: A journal or piece of paper, a pen, copies or slides of the case studies below, and butcher paper or a jamboard to collect individual reflections.

Invite participants to take 10 minutes to quietly read through the stories below.

Based on your local context and the populations you serve, collectively *choose one or two to workshop together as a group*, spending about 30-40 minutes on each discussing the following questions:

1) What would you/your organization currently be able to offer the survivor that specifically addresses their experience as a survivor of sexual assault by police?

» Are there any options that would not send the survivor back to the police?

2) What kinds of additional supports could the group imagine creating/making available that would not send the survivor back to the police?

» What would it take to start building these supports at your organization?

» What obstacles would stand in the way of building them? How might you address them?

3) What kind of public statement would you/your organization be willing to make about the case if asked by the survivor and supporters?

» What would hold you back from making a statement? How might you start to address those obstacles?

The goal of this exercise is to begin to develop an organizational protocol for responding to police sexual violence that recognizes its unique circumstances, impacts, and risks to survivors, and supporting efforts to make systemic change that will prevent, interrupt and ensure accountability for instances of police sexual violence.

A CALL FOR HELP

Read this excerpt from a New York Times story about Tiawanda Moore:

Ms. Moore lived with her boyfriend at the time of the incident and theirs was a stormy relationship, filled with fights and visits by the police, Mr. Johnson said. Last July, the boyfriend called the police and said he wanted Ms. Moore out of his house. But by the time the police arrived, Mr. Johnson said, the couple had calmed down. Still, one of the officers talked to Ms. Moore upstairs while his partner interviewed the boyfriend.

On Aug. 18, Ms. Moore and her boyfriend went to Police Headquarters to file a complaint with Internal Affairs about the officer who had talked to her alone. Ms. Moore said the officer had fondled her and left his personal telephone number, which she handed over to the investigators.

Ms. Moore said the investigators tried to talk her out of filing a complaint, saying the officer had a good record and that they could "guarantee" that he would not bother her again.

"They keep giving her the run-around, basically trying to discourage her from making a report," Mr. Johnson said. "Finally, she decides to record them on her cellphone to show how they're not helping her."

The investigators discovered that she was recording them and she was arrested and charged with two counts of eavesdropping, Mr. Johnson said. But he added that the law contains a crucial exception. If citizens have "reasonable suspicion" that a crime is about to be committed against them, they may obtain evidence by recording it.

"I contend that the Internal Affairs investigators were committing the crime of official misconduct in preventing her from filing a complaint," Mr. Johnson said. "She's young. She had no idea what she was getting into when she went in there to make a simple complaint. It's just a shame when the people watching the cops aren't up to it."

If Tiawanda Moore came to your agency:

What services or support could you currently offer her specific to her experience as a survivor of violence who experienced sexual harassment and violence by police in the context of a domestic violence call, and is now being criminalized?

What public statements might you make about her case and the charges brought against her by the prosecutor's office (with her permission)?

What additional services or support would you like to be able to offer her? What would it take to make those services or support a reality?

Notes

A SEXUAL ASSAULT INVESTIGATION

Read this excerpt from Buzzfeed:

It didn't take long for the lead investigator in M.B.'s rape case to get back to her, but it wasn't the response she expected. The case looked weak, Detective Michel Toro of the Miami Police Department warned M.B. in a pair of text messages on Feb. 4, 2016, five days after he'd taken her statement accusing her ex-fiancé of sexual assault.

Then, his tone shifted.

"Well I can't lie, your such a beautiful and attractive woman," he wrote on Feb. 5. "I just wanted to let u know that I'm someone u could trust."

"One kiss, on those beautiful lips," he texted later that day, the first of many that saw increasingly suggestive messages sent from Toro to M.B., who asked that her name not be used. The 43-year-old former radio DJ demurred at one point, telling him that some of his messages "did not sit well with me." At some stage, he seemed to get the hint: "I guess you dont feel the same way :("

But he kept up his pursuit. "I bite soft, kiss, and lick at the same time," Toro, 38 at the time, texted her on Feb. 9. "From head to toes." He sent her a picture of himself shirtless and said he wanted to "lift up your skirt and kiss you all over."

"I was just desperate. I didn't know what to do."

Three days later, shortly after midnight, Toro showed up outside M.B.'s apartment after texting that he wanted to see her, according to a police internal affairs report obtained by BuzzFeed News. M.B. went outside to sit in his unmarked squad car, and, she said, that's when Toro made his move, leaning over to kiss her and eventually putting his finger inside of her. She was shaking in fear, so much so that Toro stopped and asked if he'd done anything wrong, M.B. said, but she was afraid to tell him to stop. If she didn't go along with what Toro wanted, she feared he would drop the case against her ex-fiancé. "I was just desperate," she told me. "I didn't know what to do."

They had two more sexual encounters over the next nine days, the detective arriving at her apartment during his shift in the middle of the night wearing a suit, with his radio, gun, and badge still on his belt, she said. M.B. couldn't ignore him, given his role in investigating her case, but she felt increasingly stuck in a situation of having to have sex with Toro whenever he wanted it.

If M.B. contacted your agency, how would you respond?

What kinds of healing and support would you be able to offer her specific to her experience as a survivor of sexual assault by an officer investigating a sexual assault she reported to the police department?

What referrals or options would you offer her?

What could you imagine that would better respond to her needs and experience?

Notes

A YOUTH EXPLORER PROGRAM

Read this excerpt from a Washington Post article:

She was 17 years old, an aspiring law enforcement officer interning at the Las Cruces Police Department in New Mexico.

He was 35, a veteran detective with a troubled history.

In 2011, Guerrero accompanied Michael Garcia to a crime scene. But instead of driving her back to the police department afterwards, he took her to a secluded neighborhood that was still under construction.

It was there inside his patrol car that Garcia, an officer of 15 years assigned to the child abuse and sex crimes investigations unit, reached inside Guerrero's panties and fondled her. Then he unzipped his own pants and forced the high school student to touch his genitals.

If Diana Guerrero contacted your agency, how would you respond?

What kinds of healing and support would you be able to offer her specific to her experience as a survivor of sexual assault by a cop who is part of a child abuse and sex crimes investigations unit?

What referrals and options would you offer her?

What could you imagine that would better respond to her needs and experience?

A TRAFFIC STOP

Watch an excerpt from Wyatt Cenac's "Problem Areas" video from 6:33-9:45

If Glennys contacted your agency, how would you respond?

What kinds of healing and support would you be able to offer her that is specific to her experience as a survivor of sexual assault by a cop?

What referrals and options would you offer her? Her daughter?

What could you imagine that would better respond to her needs and experience?

Notes

PUBLIC INTOXICATION

Read this excerpt of coverage of Brett Hankison, one of the officers who killed Breonna Taylor:

A woman identified as Margo Borders, said in a June 4 Facebook post that on one occasion in April 2018, she went out to a bar with friends. When she went to call an Uber to get home, she said an officer she had interacted with on many occasions at bars in St. Matthews, a city in the Louisville metropolitan area, offered her a ride home.

"He drove me home in uniform, in his marked car, invited himself into my apartment and sexually assaulted me while I was unconscious," she wrote.

She said it took her months to process what had happened and to realize that it wasn't her fault.

She said she did not go to police because she feared retaliation.

"I had no proof of what happened and he had the upper hand because he was a police officer," she wrote. "Who do you call when the person who assaulted you is a police officer? Who were they going to believe? I knew it wouldn't be me."

Borders referenced Taylor's shooting in her post, suggesting that it was Hankison's involvement in that which prompted her to come forward.

A second woman, Emily Terry, also gave her account on Facebook on June 4, writing that in early fall 2019, she was walking home from a bar intoxicated. She said a police officer pulled up next to her and offered her a ride home.

"I thought to myself, 'Wow. That is so nice of him,'" she wrote, adding that she willingly got into his car.

"He began making sexual advances towards me; rubbing my thigh, kissing my forehead, and calling me 'baby,'" she wrote. "Mortified, I did not move. I continued to talk about my grad school experiences and ignored him."

As soon as he pulled up to her apartment building, she said, she got out of the car and ran to the back.

If Margo or Emily contacted your agency, how would you respond?

What kinds of healing and support would you be able to offer her specific to her experience as a survivor of sexual assault by a cop?

What referrals and options would you offer her?

What could you imagine that would better respond to her needs and experience?

How do you think more awareness of and responsiveness to sexual violence by police might have prevented Breonna Taylor's murder?

Notes

ON THE STROLL

Read this excerpt from the Chicago Tribune:

On the night of March 5, she was out on Fifth Avenue near a viaduct a couple blocks east of Cicero Avenue, an area of the Lawndale neighborhood she called the "Stroll" that is known by police for prostitution. The woman did not admit she was working as a prostitute that night. But at the time, she said, she was with a man — whom she referred to as her boyfriend — who was "watching out for her" and "acting as her security" when a marked Chicago police vehicle pulled up.

The transgender woman gave a detailed description of the white officer who wore a sergeant's uniform. She said she had never spoken with him before but had seen him in the past and believed he patrolled the area.

"What are you doing out here?" she quoted the sergeant as asking her.

She told him she was going home.

If she didn't want to go jail, the sergeant told her, she would perform a sex act on him because "that's what you do," the alleged victim told detectives.

The sergeant directed her to get into the front passenger seat of the police vehicle, and as her boyfriend looked on, the sergeant drove off, ultimately ending up in an alley near Kostner and Lexington avenues — with the Eisenhower Expressway visible in the distance.

At some point, the sergeant closed the cover on a computer mounted between the driver and passenger seats, the alleged victim told detectives.

On the night of the alleged assault, the woman later told detectives, she had given staffers at Rush four numbers that had been written on the computer with what appeared to be magic marker.

The transgender woman told detectives that the sergeant exposed himself and ordered her to perform a sex act. She said she complied out of fear.

The woman went to Rush hospital about 11:40 p.m. March 5 and told its staff she had been sexually assaulted little more than an hour earlier near Fifth and Cicero avenues, according to the police reports. The woman also gave the hospital DNA evidence she said she had been able to save from the suspect, the reports said.

But she left Rush without talking to police or being tested with a rape kit, telling staffers that the presence of officers at the hospital made her fearful of retaliation.

If the woman in this story contacted your agency, how would you respond?

What kinds of healing and support would you be able to offer her that is specific to her experience as a survivor of sexual assault by a cop? As a trans woman? As someone who is profiled and criminalized in the context of the sex trade?

What referrals and options would you offer her?

What could you imagine that would better respond to her needs and experience?

Notes

A STREET STOP

Read the following excerpt from Buzzfeed's coverage of the Daniel Holtzclaw case:

S.B., 48, was out walking when Holtzclaw stopped her, pulling his patrol car alongside her. He stayed in the car while asking her where she was coming from and where she was going.

There is a house on the corner, and he asked me did I come from that house. And I was telling him, 'No.' And he was saying that it was a drug house. And I didn't know why he was asking me that because that's not where I was coming from.

He asked me did I have anything on me or, you know, the usual questions.

Any drug paraphernalia, drugs, whatever, weapons, whatever.

S.B. said she didn't have anything on her. Holtzclaw got out of his car, putting her in the backseat, and ran her name for outstanding warrants. She didn't have any.

He said, 'Well, you got two choices. I can take you to detox or to jail.'

I had been drinking earlier and I guess I had alcohol smell on me or something.

She told the officer she'd rather go home.

Well, he sat there for a minute and he said, 'Okay, I'm going to take you home.'

[He said] that he was really trying to get me off the streets and he was going to take me home, you know.

Instead Holtzclaw took her to place the neighborhood calls Dead Man's Curve. He slowed down and told her she had two choices — oral sodomy and rape or jail.

I was like, 'Really?' ... And he said, 'No, really, I'm serious. You're going to give me head, sex, or you're going to jail.'

S.B. said "Okay." She was forced into oral sodomy and raped.

[Afterward] I sat back in the backseat, closed the door.

He said, 'Do you know where you are?' And I said, 'Yes, I do.' He said, 'Well, it's about time for me to get off duty.' He said, 'Can you make it from here?' I said, 'Yes, I can.' He got out the car, he opened the back door and he let me out and he said, 'I'll see you again.'

If S.B. contacted you/your agency, how would you respond?

What kinds of healing and support would you be able to offer her that is specific to her experience as a survivor of sexual assault by a cop?

What referrals or additional options would you offer her?

How would you respond if she/her supporters asked you to make a public statement about the case?

What could you imagine that would better respond to her needs and experience?

Notes

PREYING ON VULNERABLE PEOPLE

Read this excerpt from Power Inside's testimony in the Department of Justice investigation of the Baltimore Police Department:

Lorraine (not her real name) was repeatedly being coerced to have sex with an on duty, uniformed police officer, in exchange the officer would give her food and money for drugs. She was homeless, lived in an abandoned house, and was drug addicted at the time.

Interviewer: *"If you weren't homeless or you weren't addicted, would you have had sex with him [the police officer]?"*

Lorraine: *"No, I know I wouldn't do it. I feel as though he was an officer of the law, he should've gotten me help. Instead of giving me help, he participated in my addiction and kept me strung out longer. I don't appreciate that."*

If Lorraine contacted you/your agency, how would you respond?

What kinds of healing and support would you be able to offer her that is specific to her experience as a survivor of sexual assault by a cop? As an unhoused person? As someone who uses drugs?

What referrals or additional options would you offer her?

How would you respond if she/her supporters asked you to make a public statement about the case?

What could you imagine that would better respond to her needs and experience?

Gathering and Sharing Information

60 MINUTES

Start by discussing why none of the stories discussed in the previous sections come to mind when we think of sexual violence or police violence:

» ***Why don't we know more about police sexual violence?***

» ***What could we do to rectify this?***

Brainstorm:

How could you/your organization help gather and share more information about sexual violence by police?

» ***Do you currently document sexual violence, harassment and extortion by police officers your clients/constituents experience? If so how?***

Use the organizational assessment tool below to assess where and how you gather information about sexual violence by police and support survivors.

SUPPORTING SURVIVORS OF POLICE SEXUAL VIOLENCE: A SELF-ASSESSMENT TOOL					
Question	Response				
	Never	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*What is stopping us from doing this?*
DIRECT SERVICES AND OUTREACH					
Do you ask crisis line callers whether the person who assaulted them was a police officer?					

	Never	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*What is stopping us from doing this?*
Do you ask crisis line callers whether there was anything in their interactions with police that made them uncomfortable?					
Do you ask survivors on intake whether the person who assaulted them was a police officer?					
Do you ask people on intake whether there was anything in their interactions with police that made them uncomfortable?					
Do you offer survivors support in identifying and pursuing a path to healing and accountability that does not involve reporting the incident to the police or pursuing criminal charges?					
Do you track information about clients' responses to questions about police involvement in sexual violence?					

	Never	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*What is stopping us from doing this?*
Do you reference sexual violence by law enforcement in survivor support groups?					
Do you have survivor support groups specifically targeted to survivors of sexual violence by law enforcement/state actors (child welfare, parole, probation, prison guards, immigration officers, etc.)?					
Do you have materials posted throughout your space that reference sexual violence by law enforcement?					
Do you work to ensure that information is posted in police precincts, jails, prisons, and detention centers offering support to survivors of police sexual violence, as required by federal Prison Rape Elimination Act regulations?					

	Never	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*What is stopping us from doing this?*
Do you conduct outreach to criminalized populations and ask about sexual violence by law enforcement agents?					
Do you document sexual harassment and sexually inappropriate interactions between police and survivors observed by staff and volunteers stationed inside police precincts, during ride-alongs, co-response or anti-trafficking/ anti-prostitution raids?					
Do you collect, analyze and publicize anonymous aggregate data about instances and patterns of police sexual violence that come to your attention?					
Could you create and advertise an anonymous hotline for survivors of police sexual violence?					
Anything else you can think of?					

ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*What is stopping us from doing this?*
Prioritize survivors of sexual violence by police and criminalized people as potential staff, board, and volunteers?					
Include support for criminalized/ incarcerated survivors, including survivors of sexual violence by law enforcement, as part of the organization's population served, mission, values and priorities?					
Include education on police sexual violence, criminalization, race, and sexual violence in volunteer training programs?					
Train staff, board and volunteers on police sexual violence, criminalization, race, and sexual violence and how to support criminalized/ incarcerated survivors (trauma-informed cultural competency, education on police, prison and immigration systems, impacts of racism/sexism on our legal systems, etc)?					

	Never	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*What is stopping us from doing this?*
Create stronger boundaries between organizations and police (ex: challenge silence around police sexual violence; document/ report police sexual violence and sexist, racist, homophobic and transphobic comments and behavior by police to justify criminalizing survivors; challenge notion that police are natural allies or should be in leadership roles for anti-violence organizations; etc)?					

COMMUNITY ORGANIZING AND ADVOCACY	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*What is stopping us from doing this?*
Partner with groups organizing around police violence to document and support survivors of police sexual violence they come into contact with?					
Share anonymized information about your clients/constituents' experiences of police sexual violence with community-based groups to inform their organizing?					
Refer survivors of police sexual violence to local organizations working to end police violence in your community?					
Prioritize the development of community-based strategies to addressing sexual violence that don't place survivors at risk of police sexual harassment and violence?					

	Never	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*What is stopping us from doing this?*
Share skills for addressing sexual assault with people organizing to end police violence and other community members (ex: emotional support, safety planning, de-escalation, etc)?					
Create structures to support people who make complaints of police sexual violence to civilian oversight agencies regardless of whether they pursue their complaints or prosecution?					
Conduct exit interviews at police precincts, courtrooms, and jails to ask about police/jail treatment, including experiences of sexual violence?					
Challenge the notion that increasing criminalization and incarceration will increase safety for survivors?					

	Never	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*What is stopping us from doing this?*
Ground analysis in context of harmful impacts of policing, immigration enforcement and prisons on communities, particularly Black/ Indigenous/immigrant communities—including women and trans/queer people?					
Build alliances with organizations working toward decriminalization, divestment from policing, and increased investment in community-based safety strategies?					
Oppose initiatives that increase policing and criminalization to address sexual assault?					
Prioritize anti-criminalization legislation in policy advocacy, including advocacy to end police sexual violence (shift focus away from prosecutions of individual officers who engage in sexual violence, mandatory arrest, increased penalties for sexual offenses and prostitution-related offenses)?					

This table draws and builds on Survived and Punished's Anti-violence Organizations & Criminalized/Incarcerated Survivors: Self-assessment Tool (May 2016).

Building a Movement to End Police Sexual Violence

60 MINUTES

Based on the information in *Shrouded in Silence: Police Sexual Violence - What We Know and What We Can Do About It*, the information below and in the appendices, and what you've learned about police sexual violence so far, invite participants to discuss how they would respond to the the following initiatives or campaigns in the community and why?

The police are proposing to increase youth engagement programs where youth intern at police departments and police host after-school programs to "build community trust."

» A significant number of complaints of police sexual violence take place in the context of youth engagement programs - one study found that 38% of complaints reported in a single year were connected to police Explorer programs.

Politicians are proposing to increase police presence in LGBTQ and Asian communities in response to a rise in violence targeting these demographic groups.

» Trans people report some of the highest levels of police sexual violence.

» Lesbians routlinely report homophobic police sexual harassment and violence by police.

» Asian women report frequent profiling and sexual harassment and assault by police.

Sexual assault providers are proposing to increase police presence in hospitals to make it easier for survivors to report sexual assaults to police.

» As noted in the "On the Stroll" example in the What Would We Do exercise, many survivors are deterred from seeking treatment and reporting sexual assaults at hospitals due to presence of police. This is particularly true of criminalized survivors and survivors who experience police violence, including police sexual violence.

Organizers across the state are calling for the decriminalization of drugs.

» The criminalization of drugs is one of the primary drivers of police sexual violence - from strip searches and cavity searches to extortion of sex in exchange for leniency to sexual assault fueled by the knowledge that people who use drugs or who are involved in the drug trades are less likely to be believed and more likely to be charged if they come forward.

Local organizers are calling for an end to "broken windows" policing.

» Stop and frisk practices and criminalization of acts such as drinking in public, disorderly conduct, and presence in public spaces are prime sites of sexual harassment, extortion, and assault.

Local organizers launch a campaign to decriminalize sex work.

» Policing of prostitution and trafficking-related offenses is one of the primary contexts in which police sexual harassment, extortion, assault and violence takes place. Up to 30% of people in the sex trades report sexual violence by police, and one study by and about youth in the sex trade conducted by the Young Women's Empowerment Project named police as a primary source of violence.

Local organizers launch a campaign to defund police.

» For more on why campaigns to #DefundPolice are survivor-led strategies to increase safety and options for prevention and healing for survivors, see the Interrupting Criminalization Domestic Violence Awareness fact sheet and the Moment of Truth statement in the appendices (p 82).

Migrant justice groups are calling for decriminalization of migration.

» Sexual violence by Border Patrol, immigration authorities and police against migrants, and particularly undocumented migrants, is pervasive and often takes place with impunity due to fear of retaliation or deportation.

Sexual assault advocates are calling for the elimination of the consent defense for police charged with sexual violence against people in their custody.

» Read *Shrouded in Silence: Police Sexual Violence - What We Know and What We Can Do About It* and the article in Appendix D to learn more about why this solution is insufficient to prevent and ensure accountability for police sexual violence.

Using Poetry to Talk about Police Sexual Violence

TIMES DEPENDING ON EXERCISES CHOSEN

Download Giving Name to the Nameless, a resource developed by Mariame Kaba and Project Nia to support youth and adults in using poetry to talk about gender-based violence.

Find a poem in the section on sexual violence that speaks to the dynamics of police sexual violence (even if it is not explicitly about that) to discuss at a staff meeting or in a group, or use the facilitation tools to invite coworkers, clients, constituents or community members to write poems about police sexual violence.

Notes

Appendix A: Sample Agendas

This curriculum is intended to be used with the Interrupting Criminalization report *Shrouded in Silence: Police Sexual Violence - What We Know and What We Can Do About it* - please ensure that facilitators and participants have had a chance to review the report ahead of time.

IF YOU HAVE 90 MINUTES:
Where We Enter (30 minutes)
AND
Gathering and Sharing Information (60 minutes)

IF YOU HAVE 2 HOURS:
Where we enter (30 minutes)
AND
What Are We Talking About (75 minutes)
OR
What Would We Do? (90 minutes)

IF YOU HAVE 3 HOURS:
Where We Enter (30 minutes)
What Are We Talking About (75 minutes)
Gathering and Sharing information (60 minutes)
AND
Building a Movement to End Sexual Violence (60 minutes)

IF YOU HAVE 4 HOURS:
Where we enter (30 minutes)
What are We Talking About (75 minutes)
What Would We Do (90 minutes)
AND
Gathering and Sharing information (60 minutes)
Building a Movement to End Police Sexual Violence (60 minutes)

Appendix B: Violence Matrix

	PHYSICAL ASSAULT	SEXUAL ASSAULT	SOCIAL DISENFRANCHISEMENT
Intimate Households	Direct physical assaults by intimate partners or household members, victim retaliation	Sexual aggression by intimate partners or household members	Emotional abuse and manipulation by intimate partners or household members, forced use of drug and alcohol, isolation and economic abuse
Community	Assaults by neighbors, lack of bystander intervention, availability of weapons	Sexual harassment, acquaintance rape, gang rape, trafficking into sex industry, stalking	Degrading comments, hostile neighborhood conditions, hostile or unresponsive school and work environments, residential segregation, lack of social capital, threat of violence
Social Sphere	Stranger assault, state violence (e.g. police), gun control policies	Stranger rape, coerced sterilization, unwanted exposure to pornography	Negative media images, denial of significance of victimization, degrading encounters with public agencies, victim blaming, lack of affordable housing, lack of employment and health care, mistrust of public agencies, poverty

Surrounding the Violence Matrix is the tangled web of structural disadvantages, institutionalized racism, gender domination, class exploitation, heteropatriarchy and other forms of oppression that locks the systematic abuse of Black women in place. Responses need to be developed that take all of the forms of abuse and all of the spheres within which injustice occurs into account.

Appendix C: Supporting Survivors of Police Sexual Violence: A Self-Assessment Tool

SUPPORTING SURVIVORS OF POLICE SEXUAL VIOLENCE: A SELF-ASSESSMENT TOOL					
Question	Response				
	Never	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*What is stopping us from doing this?*
DIRECT SERVICES AND OUTREACH					
Do you ask crisis line callers whether the person who assaulted them was a police officer?					
Do you ask crisis line callers whether there was anything in their interactions with police that made them uncomfortable?					
Do you ask survivors on intake whether the person who assaulted them was a police officer?					
Do you ask people on intake whether there was anything in their interactions with police that made them uncomfortable?					

	Never	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*What is stopping us from doing this?*
Do you offer survivors support in identifying and pursuing a path to healing and accountability that does not involve reporting the incident to the police or pursuing criminal charges?					
Do you track information about clients' responses to questions about police involvement in sexual violence?					
Do you reference sexual violence by law enforcement in survivor support groups?					
Do you have survivor support groups specifically targeted to survivors of sexual violence by law enforcement/state actors (child welfare, parole, probation, prison guards, immigration officers, etc.)?					
Do you have materials posted throughout your space that reference sexual violence by law enforcement?					

	Never	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*What is stopping us from doing this?*
Do you work to ensure that information is posted in police precincts, jails, prisons, and detention centers offering support to survivors of police sexual violence, as required by federal Prison Rape Elimination Act regulations?					
Do you conduct outreach to criminalized populations and ask about sexual violence by law enforcement agents?					
Do you document sexual harassment and sexually inappropriate interactions between police and survivors observed by staff and volunteers stationed inside police precincts, during ride-alongs, co-response or anti-trafficking/ anti-prostitution raids?					
Do you collect, analyze and publicize anonymous aggregate data about instances and patterns of police sexual violence that come to your attention?					

	Never	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*What is stopping us from doing this?*
Could you create and advertise an anonymous hotline for survivors of police sexual violence?					
Anything else you can think of?					

ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*What is stopping us from doing this?*
Prioritize survivors of sexual violence by police and criminalized people as potential staff, board, and volunteers?					
Include support for criminalized/ incarcerated survivors, including survivors of sexual violence by law enforcement, as part of the organization's population served, mission, values and priorities?					
Include education on police sexual violence, criminalization, race, and sexual violence in volunteer training programs?					

	Never	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*What is stopping us from doing this?*
Train staff, board and volunteers on police sexual violence, criminalization, race, and sexual violence and how to support criminalized/ incarcerated survivors (trauma-informed cultural competency, education on police, prison and immigration systems, impacts of racism/sexism on our legal systems, etc)?					
Create stronger boundaries between organizations and police (ex: challenge silence around police sexual violence; document/ report police sexual violence and sexist, racist, homophobic and transphobic comments and behavior by police to justify criminalizing survivors; challenge notion that police are natural allies or should be in leadership roles for anti-violence organizations; etc)?					

COMMUNITY ORGANIZING AND ADVOCACY	*Never*	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*What is stopping us from doing this?*
Partner with groups organizing around police violence to document and support survivors of police sexual violence they come into contact with?					
Share anonymized information about your clients/constituents' experiences of police sexual violence with community-based groups to inform their organizing?					
Refer survivors of police sexual violence to local organizations working to end police violence in your community?					
Prioritize the development of community-based strategies to addressing sexual violence that don't place survivors at risk of police sexual harassment and violence?					

	Never	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*What is stopping us from doing this?*
Share skills for addressing sexual assault with people organizing to end police violence and other community members (ex: emotional support, safety planning, de-escalation, etc)?					
Create structures to support people who make complaints of police sexual violence to civilian oversight agencies regardless of whether they pursue their complaints or prosecution?					
Conduct exit interviews at police precincts, courtrooms, and jails to ask about police/jail treatment, including experiences of sexual violence?					
Challenge notion that increasing criminalization and incarceration will increase safety for survivors?					

	Never	*Rarely*	*Sometimes*	*Often*	*What is stopping us from doing this?*
Ground analysis in context of harmful impacts of policing, immigration enforcement and prisons on communities, particularly Black/ Indigenous/immigrant communities—including women and trans/queer people?					
Build alliances with organizations working toward decriminalization, divestment from policing, and increased investment in community-based safety strategies?					
Oppose initiatives that increase policing and criminalization to address sexual assault?					
Prioritize anti-criminalization legislation in policy advocacy, including advocacy to end police sexual violence (shift focus away from prosecutions of individual officers who engage in sexual violence, mandatory arrest, increased penalties for sexual offenses and prostitution-related offenses)?					

This table draws and builds on Survived and Punished's Anti-violence Organizations & Criminalized/Incarcerated Survivors: Self-assessment Tool (May 2016).

Appendix D: Article

"States are trying to tackle police sexual violence, but the solutions fall dangerously short"

"WE NEED TACKLE THE POLICE CULTURE THAT ALLOWS SEXUAL VIOLENCE TO TAKE PLACE WITH IMPUNITY."

By Andrea J. Ritchie
Think Progress
May 10, 2018

An Omaha, Nebraska police officer pulls a woman over and tickets her for driving under the influence. He then drives her home. She follows him on Instagram. He immediately sends her a private message. A few days later the officer shows up at her apartment with alcohol. The next morning, the woman wakes up with no pants on. She believes she was drugged, and says that she wouldn't have otherwise had sex with the officer. She immediately files a sexual assault complaint with the local Sheriff's Department, but no criminal charges are filed. The district attorney says there isn't enough evidence to prove the case beyond a reasonable doubt.

The recent Omaha case is one of countless incidents in which police officers target people they come into contact with in a variety of circumstances, including traffic stops, drug and prostitution arrests, calls for assistance, and community engagement programs. According to a review of hundreds of incidents conducted by the Buffalo News, on average, an officer is caught in an act of sexual misconduct every five days — and those are just the ones who are caught.

The problem is systemic, according to Phil Stinson, a former police officer who has conducted extensive research on the issue.

"Police commonly encounter citizens who are vulnerable, usually because they are victims, criminal suspects, or perceived as 'suspicious' and subject to the power and coercive authority granted to police," Stinson wrote in one study of hundreds of officers arrested for acts of sexual "misconduct" nationwide.

Police-citizen interactions often occur in the late-night hours that provide low public visibility and ample opportunities to those officers who are able and willing to take advantage of citizens to … perpetrate sex crimes."

"Officers who may commit these crimes, like other offenders, are skilled at picking out people who are not likely to be believed, or who are less likely to report or to pursue a complaint – women involved in prostitution, women who are homeless, women for whom English is a second language," Sarah Layden, director of programs and public policy at Rape Victim Advocates, a Chicago-based agency that works with survivors of sexual assault, told ThinkProgress.

The problem is so widespread, in fact, that the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the Obama administration's Task Force on 21st Century Policing, the U.S. Department of Justice, and the New York City Commission to Combat Police Corruption have all called on police departments to address it. Several states are aiming to do just that.

"NOT TOO MUCH IS DONE IN THOSE CASES"

Although some media coverage has suggested otherwise, sexual assault and rape — by anyone, including law enforcement officers — is squarely against the law in all 50 states, regardless of whether an individual is in custody, or whether police officers can assert a defense of consent.

Following several high profile cases and investigations, states like New York, Maryland, Louisiana, Illinois, Delaware, Alabama, and Wisconsin are taking additional steps to tackle the problem. New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo (D) recently signed a law, originally passed as a budget amendment, that eliminates the option of raising a defense of consent when police officers are charged with sexual assault of an individual in "actual custody." In Maryland, the House recently passed a bill that would go beyond eliminating the consent defense to categorically stating that a "law enforcement officer may not engage in sexual contact, vaginal intercourse, or a sexual act with a person in the custody of the law enforcement officer."

In Illinois, a bill would go one step further by providing that any officer convicted of custodial sexual misconduct would immediately lose their job. Last year, Illinois passed a law mandating that investigation of complaints of criminal sexual assaults by law enforcement agents be conducted by employees of a different agency. However, following lobbying efforts by police unions, the external investigation requirement doesn't apply to the state's largest agencies, including the Chicago Police Department.

Still, none of these bills would have changed the outcome in the Omaha case, because no criminal charges were brought against the officer –- as is true in the vast majority of cases of police sexual harassment, assault, or violence.

"Not too much is done in those cases. You first have to have a person willing to come forward, then a law enforcement entity willing to investigate, and last, a state's attorney who is willing to prosecute," Layden said.

Nor would the changes to the criminal code currently under consideration by legislatures across the country apply even if criminal charges had been filed, because the woman was not under arrest — or "in custody" — at the time of the encounter in her apartment, even though the charges against her were still pending.

Illinois' proposal to fire officers convicted of sexual misconduct also wouldn't apply because there was no criminal conviction against the officer.

And, the fact that the Omaha woman's complaint was investigated by another law enforcement agency also did not make a difference in her case. The sheriff pointed to the absence of witnesses and corroborating evidence beyond the survivor's testimony. This is often the case in instances of police sexual violence, no matter who investigates.

The reality is that current and proposed legislation banning what is euphemistically called "custodial sexual misconduct" falls dangerously short of addressing the problem.

ABUSING THE POWER OF THE BADGE

Bills limited to individuals "in custody" do not reach a number of contexts in which police sexual harassment and abuse is commonplace.

For instance, research has found that police officers frequently target victims or witnesses in sexual assault or domestic violence investigations, young people they encounter as they patrol school hallways or through youth engagement ("Explorer") programs, and people seeking assistance who are not in police custody, but are still subject to officers wielding the power of the badge.

Even when off duty, officers have been known to use service weapons, patrol cars, the threat of a ticket, arrest, or force, to play on survivors' need for protection and investigation of crimes they have reported. None of the aforementioned legislation

would, for instance, have addressed the circumstances under which M.B., a rape survivor, felt coerced into sex with the investigating officer, after fearing, among other things, that he would drop the investigation of the sexual assault she reported to him.

These realities point to the need for comprehensive and proactive responses to a persistent and pervasive problem. My research on this issue over the past two decades suggests that, at a minimum, state and local legislation should explicitly bar all sexual conduct by officers agents acting "under color of law" – a legal term referring to use of authority conferred on law enforcement officers, regardless of whether individuals are formally "in custody."

Cynthia Conti-Cook, staff attorney at the Legal Aid Society of New York's special litigation unit, which brings suits against officers involved in misconduct, agrees, saying "bans on sexual contact should include all interactions with officers occurring when they act under color of law, which is already a legal standard used to discern when officers' conduct, whether on or off duty, should be subject to constitutional constraints. This is important because otherwise officers could still take advantage of the power they exercise over people during non-custodial interactions like street encounters and questioning."

Advocates in New York are hopeful that legislators will go beyond eliminating the consent defense where individuals are in "actual custody." According to Erika Lorshbough, legislative counsel at the New York Civil Liberties Union, New York State legislators could still conceivably introduce legislation that expands upon the measure that passed in March.

Additionally, ensuring that bans on sexual conduct by on-duty police officers are in fact implemented would require mandating that law enforcement agencies within each jurisdiction adopt and effectively enforce policies consistent with the law, and create mechanisms to prevent and detect sexual harassment, extortion, and assault of members of the public.

For instance, the Omaha Police Department does not have a policy that explicitly bans sexual harassment and sexual contact with victims, witnesses, suspects, or others they may come into contact with in the course of their duties.

Omaha Police Chief Todd Schmaderer originally justified the absence of a specific policy, saying in a statement released when the story first broke that "it's simply too difficult to cover every set of facts with individual rules." He later relented, saying, "If a policy needs

to be put into place to address that and not in broad strokes, then we'll go ahead and do that."

The same is true of the majority of the largest departments across the country – including the New York Police Department, which employed the officers accused of raping a teenager while she was handcuffed in a back of a police vehicle, prompting the introduction of the recently passed New York State legislation.

The New York City Commission to Combat Police Corruption roundly critiqued the department last year for its failure to enact specific policies, stating "The Commission continues to recommend that the Department set forth a list of explicit rules to put members of the service on notice that this behavior [sexual violence] is not acceptable. A strict prohibition against engaging in social and intimate conduct with victims, defendants, or witnesses ... at least during the pendency of the investigation and criminal prosecution, would protect these victims, witnesses, and defendants from feeling powerless to refuse this contact...."

The NYPD has yet to follow the Commission's recommendation, in spite of the passage of the state bill.

Ultimately, legislative approaches focused on criminal prosecutions and consent defenses are limited in their impact.

"We need to think about what delivers justice to survivors, what puts survivors' needs as a central question, what will put an end to that behavior," Piper Kerman, author of Orange is The New Black, said at a panel at a recent Atlantic Live event. "The prospect of a woman obtaining justice from the system that incarcerates her is negligible," she added.

Additionally, "these laws don't make women safe from sexual violence by police officers," Layden said, because they do nothing to prevent police sexual assault. Rather, advocates and survivors call for increased awareness, identifying common circumstances and targets of police sexual violence, limiting officers' power, discretion, and access to potential victims, and shifting police culture as effective prevention tools.

Given the failure of many police departments to adequately investigate complaints of sexual violence by police officers, advocates are also calling for giving survivors of sexual violence by law enforcement officers the option of reporting to someone other than the police – whether it's the department that employs the officer or another one. While New York City's Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB) recently took important steps in

this direction, it still lacks the resources, authority, and political will to take on serious complaints of police sexual violence. In Illinois, unions blocked legislative efforts to have complaints of police sexual violence independently investigated by a civilian oversight agency.

According to Kylynn Grier of Girls for Gender Equity, an organization that is part of the push to have the CCRB take over cases of sexual harassment assault by police, survivors need access to services, accountability, and compensation, regardless of whether the police officers who perpetrate sexual violence against them are prosecuted.

Layman said the Illinois bills are "a step in the right direction, but how comprehensive they are is another question."

The Maryland state bill also represents "first step toward acknowledging the issue," said Jacqueline Robarge of Baltimore's Power Inside, a human rights and harm reduction organization that tracks over a hundred instances of police sexual assault and extortion. But she emphasized "this is by no means the end — this is not prevention."

"This not only an issue of police accountability and transparency," Robarge added. "We do need to increase access to information about investigations of complaints of sexual violence by police officers through reform of the Maryland Public Information Act. And we need to pierce the shroud of silence and lack of accountability for police misconduct fostered by the Law Enforcement Officers' Bill of Rights."

"But we also need to reduce the power police officers have to engage in sexual violence and extortion through decriminalization of drug, prostitution and minor offenses. We need tackle the police culture that allows sexual violence to take place with impunity. It's all a piece of the puzzle."