

A man in a dark suit and tie is shown from the chest up, crying with his eyes closed and mouth open. In the background, a police officer in a dark uniform is partially visible, looking down. The scene is set indoors with a window with horizontal blinds in the background.

OKLAHOMA CITY DAYS OF VISIBILITY & ACCOUNTABILITY

An Intersectional Toolkit for Demanding Justice for the OKC 13
#SayHerName #BlackWomenMatter #Visible4Justice

The following toolkit has been prepared to raise awareness of the Daniel Holtzclaw case and to support the Black women he victimized.



aapf.org | [@aapolicyforum](https://twitter.com/aapolicyforum) | info@aapf.org

The African American Policy Forum (AAPF) is an innovative think tank that connects academics, activists and policy-makers to promote efforts to dismantle structural inequality. We utilize new ideas and innovative perspectives to transform public discourse and policy. We promote frameworks and strategies that address a vision of racial justice that embraces the intersections of race, gender, class, and the array of barriers that disempower those who are marginalized in society. AAPF is dedicated to advancing and expanding racial justice, gender equality, and the indivisibility of all human rights, both in the U.S. and internationally.

Executive Director: Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw

On December 10, 2015, former Oklahoma City Police Officer Daniel Holtzclaw was convicted of 18 of 36 counts of sexual assault of Black women during the course of duty. After Holtzclaw pulled over grandmother Jannie Ligons, and forced her to perform a sex act on him, she reported the crime to the police. The subsequent investigation revealed that he had sexually assaulted at least 13 Black women in six months. The day of accountability is coming soon for Holtzclaw—he will be sentenced on January 21, 2016.



Holtzclaw's sentencing cannot be the sole focus of our efforts for justice. This must be an opening for communities across the country to look beyond the verdict and focus on the broader systemic flaws that made his actions possible. Holtzclaw was able to prey upon his victims' vulnerability to sexual violence at the intersections of race, gender, class, substance dependency and system-involvement—vulnerabilities that will continue to exist for countless Black women even while Holtzclaw is in prison.



“The problem is not one police officer, it's not one rogue cop, it's not a particular bad apple, it's **structural**.”

–Devon Carbado, UCLA
Law School

TABLE OF CONTENTS



1. THE DANIEL HOLTZCLAW CASE

2. TOWARD VISIBILITY

3. HOW TO GET INVOLVED

4. AAPF DAYS OF VISIBILITY AND
ACCOUNTABILITY

1. THE DANIEL HOLTZCLAW CASE

CHARGES

- ▶ Rape
- ▶ Stalking
- ▶ Forcible Oral Sodomy
- ▶ Sexual Battery



WHAT HAPPENED IN OKLAHOMA CITY?

On June 18, 2014, Holtzclaw pulled over 57-year-old grandmother Jannie Ligons, accusing her of drinking and driving. He then asked her to step out of the car and forced her to perform a sex act on him. After her assault, Ms. Ligons went to the police and reported the crime.

Holtzclaw was arrested in August, 2014 and placed on paid administrative leave. After his bail was reduced from \$5 million to \$500,000, he was released on bond & placed under house arrest--which he violated multiple times.

He was fired from the Oklahoma City Police Department in January, 2015.



WHAT HAPPENED IN OKLAHOMA CITY?

Evidence leading to his conviction included cell phone/GPS data and DNA evidence that confirmed the victims' testimonies. Holtzclaw used his position as a police officer to conduct background checks on vulnerable women, threatening arrest if they did not perform sexual acts. Multiple victims testified that Holtzclaw violated them in their own homes. One of his victims was chained to a hospital bed & sexually assaulted. His youngest victim, a 17-year-old, testified that she was raped on her mother's front porch.



An all-white jury convicted Holtzclaw and recommended a sentence of 263 years in prison. Sentencing will take place on January 21st, 2016.

A BADGE TO RAPE.

Holtzclaw relied on the culturally-embedded assumption that if his victims reported sexual abuse, no one would believe their allegations and legal action would not be pursued. So why was this possible?

1 The intersections of mass criminalization of Black people, patriarchy, and sexism erase Black women from dominant conceptions of who can be a victim of sexual violence in American society

2 Law-enforced racism: Men who assault Black women are the least likely to receive jail time -- average rape sentencing statistics in the U.S. show that across the board, the shortest sentences are served when the victim is a Black woman.

3 Victims fear reporting: A 17-year-old victim who came forward during the trial described her distrust of reporting Holtzclaw's abuse to the police out of fear of what could happen to her. "What am I going to do? Call the cops? He was a cop," she testified.

4 Law enforcement abuse of authority: The CATO Institute's 2010 Annual Report on police misconduct found that: "Sexual misconduct was the second most common form of misconduct reported throughout 2010." When the existing—though limited—data on police sexual assault are compared to FBI crime statistics, the results indicate that "sexual assault rates are significantly higher for police when compared to the general population."

*Context: Oklahoma is currently ranked number ONE for female incarceration per capita in the United States. Nearly 80% of Oklahoma's incarcerated women are nonviolent offenders

A BADGE TO RAPE.

A number of Holtzclaw's victims were previously **system-involved, incarcerated, living in poverty, or substance dependent**. Holtzclaw used background checks to scan for women tied to the carceral system and to force their compliance into sexual acts - using these checks as a way to initiate and, in some cases, maintain contact with them.



WHAT WOULD ACCOUNTABILITY LOOK LIKE?

A formal sentencing will be held in Oklahoma City Court on January 21, 2016. Holtzclaw will be ruled by the judge to either serve his 263-year sentence consecutively or concurrently.

IF CONSECUTIVE: Holtzclaw will definitely serve a full life sentence.

IF CONCURRENT: Since Holtzclaw was convicted of with 13 charges of sexual assault, the judge can rule that he serve each sentence per charge all at once. This means there is a real possibility that he may not serve a full life sentence.



We stand by each of
Holtzclaw's victims by
demanding that he serve
each count of his sentence
separately, just as he
traumatized each of them
individually.





But we know that justice is not solely about whether Holtzclaw serves concurrent or consecutive terms...

JUSTICE is also about examining the societal conditions that made it possible for a serial rapist to victimize over a dozen Black women with *little* public outcry. There will be no **real accountability** until the abuse of power inflicted on some of our most vulnerable citizens by police officers is visible, acknowledged & repudiated.

DANIEL HOLTZCLAW IS NOT AN ANOMALY.

As of 2015 approximately **1,000** officers lost their badges in a six-year period after having engaged in some form of sexual misconduct. Too few know that sexual misconduct is the second most reported form of police abuse.

Moreover, Holtzclaw's actions took place in Oklahoma, which has one of the highest rates of sexual assault & female incarceration in the U.S. Holtzclaw's trial showed how the criminalization of Black women can be used to justify their dehumanization and abuse at the hands of the state. **Using law enforcement status as a badge to rape is a pervasive method for maintaining white supremacy through policing the boundaries of race, class and gender -- a method which dates back to slavery.**



VICTIMS ON TRIAL.

"You could have called anybody at 911 and said, 'Not only was I raped by an Oklahoma City police officer, but I have DNA evidence all over the place in my room.'" –Holtzclaw defense attorney's statement to a witness after reading her criminal history aloud to the courtroom.

Holtzclaw's defense
dehumanized his victims
by employing race, gender &
criminalizing stereotypes to
preclude them from the
fundamental consideration that
every rape victim deserves.



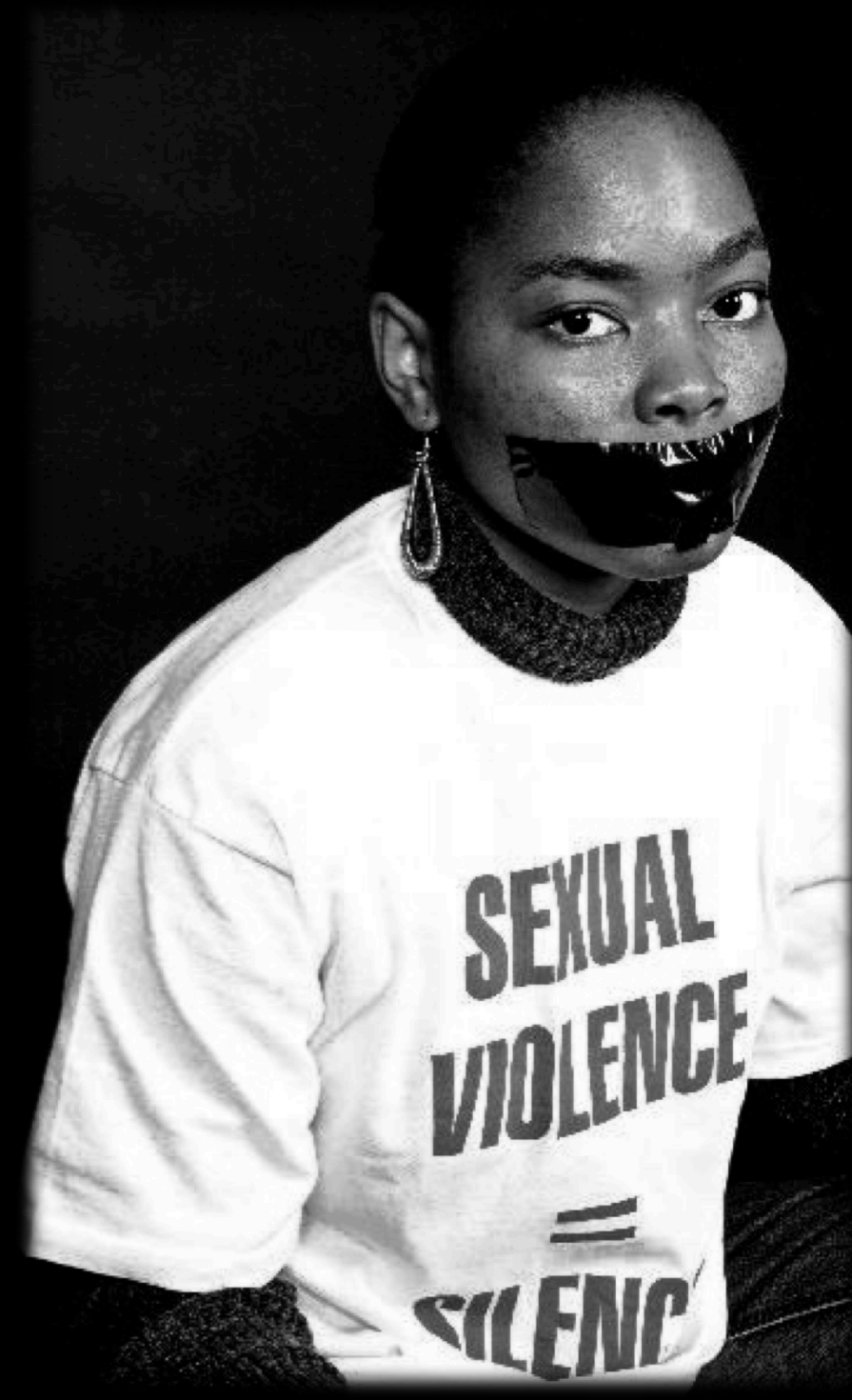
BLACK WOMEN & GIRLS FACE **SERIOUS** RISKS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE



STOP
SEXUAL
ASSAULT

According to Black Women's Blueprint, by the age of 18, **40%** of Black girls & women report having experienced “coercive contact of a sexual nature”

Holtzclaw's **preying on Black women** was cultivated in an institutional and social context that reinforces the idea that women of color -- especially those further marginalized by system-involvement, class or ability status -- *are not human beings who can be wronged, violated, and abused.*



2. TOWARD VISIBILITY



TALKING POINTS

The below talking points are central to the OKC Days of Visibility and Accountability and strengthening our collective response to race and gender-based violence.

1

Rape is not a “crime of passion”.

Sexual violence is not exclusively private, nor interpersonally motivated, though it is often described as a “crime of passion”. With roots in slavery, in the context of race and gender-based violence, rape continues to be used as a tool to exert power over Black and Brown bodies. There is a long legacy in this country of Black women being systematically silenced from seeking justice and protection from their rapists, which continues to this day.

2

Black and Brown women also experience police brutality.

Despite nearly exclusive media attention to race violence carried out by police against Black men, state violence also targets women of color in many ways, both shared and unique. Including Black women and girls in this discourse sends the powerful message that indeed all Black lives matter. If our collective outrage around cases of police violence is meant to serve as a warning to the state that its agents cannot kill without consequence, our silence around the cases of Black women and girls sends the message that certain deaths do not merit repercussions.

3

Sexual violence is a form of police brutality.

Media negligence and lack of federal funding towards initiatives erases Black women from public consciousness, but sexual violence on the spectrum between verbal harassment and rape is a far-too-common reality for women of color who have had encounters with the police or are system-involved.

4

“Bad cops” are created by a broken system.

Interpreting Daniel Holtzclaw as a rogue, isolated sexual predator keeps us from addressing the environment in which his violence went unchecked before his indictment. Holtzclaw was not just a “bad apple.” When the barrel holding the fruit is poisoned, throwing away the bad apples is not enough. We need to build a new barrel. We need systemic change to our carceral system.

TALKING POINTS

The below talking points are central to the OKC Days of Visibility and Accountability and strengthening our collective response to race and gender-based violence.

5

Action and healing requires solidarity.

Mainstream media has done little to cover this case and generate public awareness. On the ground, too many self-identified feminist and anti-violence organizations, small and large, have been silent during opportunities to support the OKC 13, and to build solidarity around responding to the Holtzclaw case as a systemic problem. Moving forward, social justice initiatives and media outlets need to demonstrate greater collective responsibility for the rights and well being of Black and Brown women by covering Holtzclaw's sentencing and his victims' quests for justice.



3. GET INVOLVED

DEMANDING

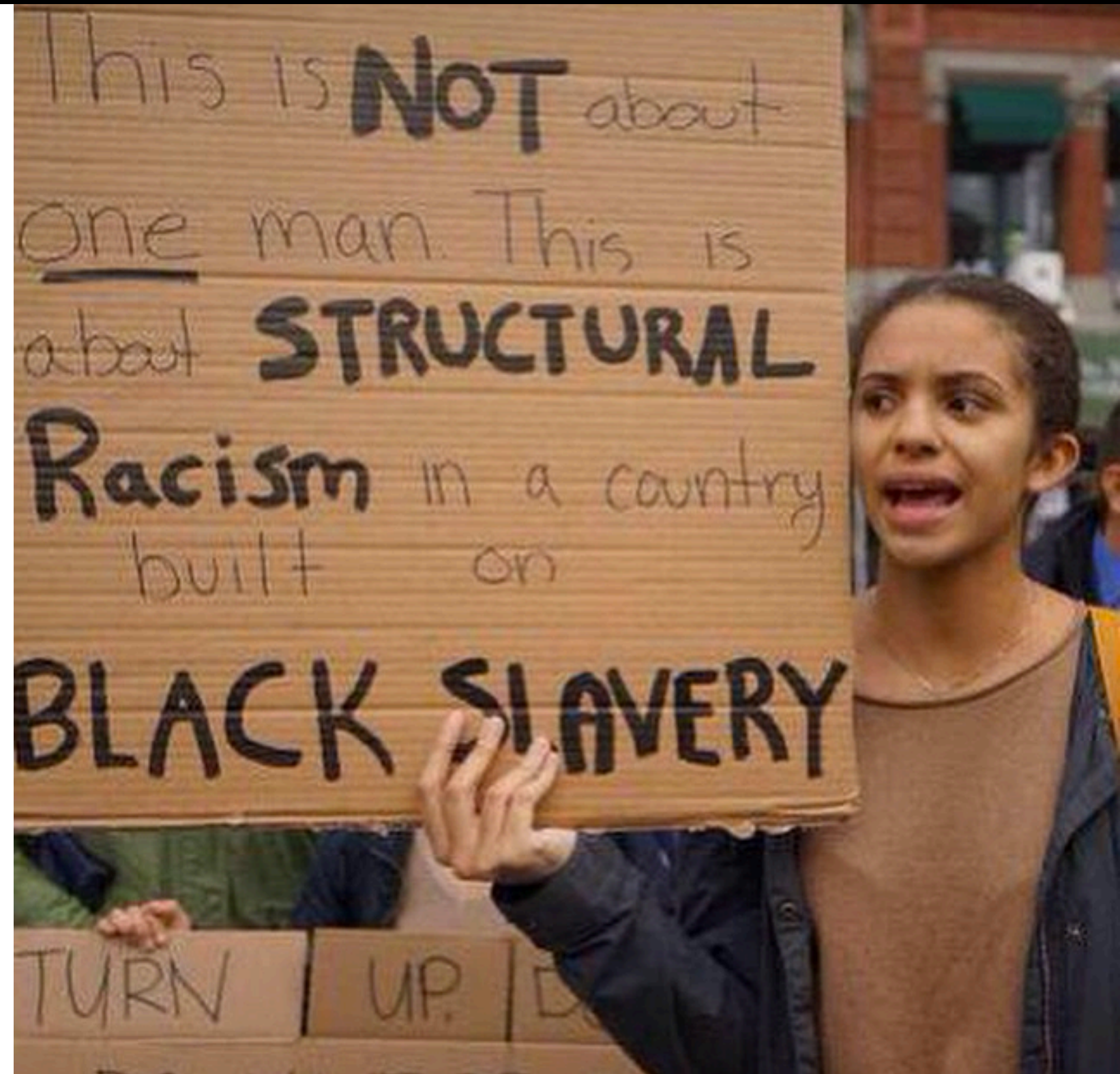
JUSTICE

IN #OKC



IF YOU HAVE 10 MINUTES...

- 1 Tweet in solidarity** with the 13 survivors seeking justice.
- 2 Call for visibility of Black women's vulnerabilities** to state-sanctioned violence and demand that the rapes of Black women are made a national issue using #SayHerName #BlackWomenMatter #visible4justice
- 3 Tweet a 30 second video to @AAPolicyForum**, either of you or a group, telling America why #BlackWomenMatter and why we should #SayHerName
- 4 Submit your creative expression** (poetry, art, video work) to the #Visible4Justice Facebook group.



IF YOU HAVE ONE HOUR...

- 1 Familiarize yourself, your loved ones, and your networks** with sexual misconduct by law enforcement officers perpetrated against women of color -- read [Say Her Name: Resisting Police Brutality Against Black Women](#) and share a story from the report with a friend.
- 2 Write, call or email the U.S. Department of Justice Community Oriented Policing Services Department** and urge them to adopt and fully implement the recommendations of the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing around development of model policies for local law enforcement agencies on profiling and sexual harassment and assault by police, and interactions and processing of LGBTQ people in police custody. Ask them to condition federal funding to local law enforcement agencies on adoption and effective implementation of the model policies. Contact info is available here.
- 3 Call your local police department** & ask them if they have a policy addressing sexual assault of members of public by police officers, and if not, why not. Share the answers you get with us!



IF YOU HAVE ONE DAY...

- 1 Host a teach-in on **#SayHerName** -- use the guidelines for a community conversation in Say Her Name or create your own!
- 2 Download a copy **of No! The Rape Documentary**. Gather your friends, family, community group or church to watch the film and use this toolkit to shape discussion.
- 3 **Organize a “know your rights” training** specific to women's experiences of policing for 10 Black women you know. Use these resources as a guide:
[Incite! Sample Workshop](#)
[Incite! Know Your Rights!](#)
[Know Your Rights! Help End Discriminatory, Abusive, Illegal Policing!](#)



Join the **BLACK
WOMEN'S BLUEPRINT**
in their centering of Black
women and ride down to
OKC to stand in solidarity
with the survivors of
former police officer,
Daniel Holtzclaw.

Jannie Ligon Sexually Assaulted by Holtzclaw

Shardegreene Hill Sexually Assaulted by Holtzclaw

Stand With Black Sisters Sexually Assaulted by Holtzclaw

Stand With Black Sisters Sexually Assaulted by Holtzclaw

Stand With Black Sisters Sexually Assaulted by Holtzclaw

Stand With Black Sisters Sexually Assaulted by Holtzclaw

The 7th

Stand With Sisters Sexually Assaulted by Holtzclaw

Stand With Sisters Sexually Assaulted by Holtzclaw

The 9th Black Sister Sexually Assaulted by Holtzclaw

The 10th Black Sister Sexually Assaulted by Holtzclaw

The 11th Black Sister Sexually Assaulted by Holtzclaw

The 12th Black Sister Sexually Assaulted by Holtzclaw

The 13th Black Sister Sexually Assaulted by Holtzclaw

All the Black Sisters Sexually Assaulted by Holtzclaw

 blackwomensblueprint.org/ourblog.html

Stand With

**Each Woman
Deserves We
STAND WITH
HER at the
Oklahoma
City Court
House
#StandWithHer**

Stand With Her

4. AAPF DAYS OF VISIBILITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY: 1/19 – 1/21

OKLAHOMA CITY **DAYS OF VISIBILITY** **& ACCOUNTABILITY**

MOVING BEYOND THE HOLTZCLAW VERDICT



WEBINAR 1/19 * DAY OF VISIBILITY 1/20 * DAY OF ACCOUNTABILITY 1/21
#SAYHERNAME #BLACKWOMENMATTER #VISIBLE4JUSTICE

JOIN AAPF'S DAYS OF VISIBILITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Join us for a webinar and Twitter chat on January 19, a Day of Visibility on January 20, and a Day of Accountability on January 21. Take the following actions with us:

- **January 19 – Join the African American Policy Forum's webinar at 2:00 EST – Visibility and Accountability Beyond the Holtzclaw Verdict: Confronting the Sexual Abuse of Black Women by the Police**, where OKC activists Candace Liger and Grace Franklin will join national advocates including Kimberle Crenshaw and Barbara Arnwine to brief participants on actions they can take to support Holtzclaw's victims and demand systemic change to our police system. [RSVP at bit.ly/holtzclaw](https://bit.ly/holtzclaw)
- **January 19 – Familiarize yourself, your loved ones, and your networks with the forms of police violence perpetrated against women of color** -- read and share [Say Her Name: Resisting Police Brutality Against Black Women](#) from AAPF and [Law Enforcement Violence Against Women of Color and Trans People of Color](#) from INCITE!
- **January 20 – Join the Days of Visibility Twitter Storm at 12:00 EST!** Using the hashtags #SayHerName, #BlackWomenMatter and #Visibile4Justice, share your story of sexual assault, other stories you know, & your thoughts on why this case matters.
- **January 20 – Share a poem, reflection or artistic expression** that sheds light on Black women's experiences of sexual assault on Facebook and Twitter. Together, we can show that what happened to the OKC 13 was not an anomaly.
- **January 20 – Hold a forum, or impromptu discussion** to draw attention to the circumstances that make Black women vulnerable to police abuse. If you are in Oklahoma City, attend OKC Artists for Justice Community Forum to discuss the Holtzclaw case and how community members can get involved in making changes. Panelists will include Grace Franklin, Candace Liger, Barbara Arnwine, Kimberle Crenshaw, and more. The event will be at 6:00pm at Langston University, 4205 North Lincoln Blvd.

JOIN AAPF'S DAYS OF VISIBILITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

On January 21, the day of Holtzclaw's sentencing, join us in sharing and demanding the following steps toward accountability:

- **Reporting sexual assault:** Officers should recognize the impact of trauma on victims of sexual assault by attending to immediate health and safety concerns and carefully explaining all steps of the reporting and investigation process.
- **Investigating sexual misconduct by law enforcement:** Departments should employ early intervention systems to monitor, identify and prevent problem behavior by collecting data on each officer to detect suspicious trends. Agencies must enforce zero tolerance sexual offense policies that support victims, provide an environment in which a victim can feel safe to report, and reinforce officer accountability.
- **As recommended by the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing:** We call for the passage of the End Racial Profiling Act of 2015, which for the first time includes a ban on racial profiling based on gender, gender identity, and sexual orientation, and urge local police departments to adopt and enforce gender and sexuality-inclusive racial profiling bans. Holtzclaw was able to take advantage of the lack of racial profiling regulation to freely profile Black women without oversight.
- **We demand Daniel Holtzclaw's sentence be served consecutively** to demonstrate that systematic preying on women of color is a violation of basic rights that will result in a life sentence. If Holtzclaw is ruled to serve this time concurrently, his victims would have to live with the awareness that he could walk free in 25 years.

“Although **Black women are routinely killed, raped, and beaten by the police**, their experiences are *rarely* foregrounded in popular understandings of police brutality. Yet, **inclusion of Black women’s experiences** in social movements, media narratives, and policy demands around policing and police brutality is ***critical*** to effectively combatting racialized state violence for Black communities & other communities of color.”

-Kimberle Crenshaw, AAPF Exec. Director



Let's join *together* to combat the **intersectional erasure** of victims of state violence and rape.