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Women Reauthorization Act of 2013**

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INTRODUCTION

The right to live free from violence is one of the most fundamental and important human rights; one that is a key component in internationally recognized documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It is a condition that many people in the United States take for granted, but is not always true for Native women.

In the 1970's, as a result of the women's movement, violence against women became understood as a significant social problem. 'In unprecedented numbers, scholars trained in such diverse disciplines as philosophy, literature, law, and sociology began to examine violence against women in the context of a feminist ideology' (TJjaden and Thoennes, 1). "Across the globe, such violence manifests as physical, emotional, sexual and economic. It includes issues of domestic violence, rape, stalking, female genital mutilation, human trafficking, forced prostitution, honor killings, and dowry murder." Not surprisingly the United Nations (2012) notes that specific groups of women and girls are more at risk for violence: racial, ethnic and sexual minorities, migrants, undocumented workers, women with disabilities or in detention, women with HIV, or women affected by armed conflict or in emergency settings. In fact, these populations may experience multiple forms of violence due to intersecting forms of discrimination and socio-economic exclusion (United Nations).

Without question, Native women experience violence more frequently than non-Native women (Sokoloff and Dupont, 38-64). Feminist intersectional approaches to this problem indicate these women experience a double bind of discrimination being both Native American and women. Moreover, the possibility that a woman will experience violence is likely to increase if she lives on a reservation and/or lives below the poverty line, which is common because unemployment is often high in these contexts. Furthermore, Native American historians note that traditional leadership roles for women have been devalued and often deliberately undermined by colonial forces based on Eurocentric patriarchal systems. Consequently, Native women's status has changed from one that was far more equitable to men, to one that is often characterized by marginalization. In addition, many laws, policies enacted or upheld by the United States Congress and the Supreme Court have helped to create legal systems that function to keep Native women's experiences of violence unrecognized (Indian Law Resource Center).

According to the Department of Justice, violence against Native women -- more than any other ethnic group -- is a crisis in the United States. "...American Indian and Alaskan Native women experience a higher rate of violence than any other group, including African-American men and other marginalized groups" (Deer, 1-9). One Justice Department report concluded that over one in three American Indian and Alaskan Native women will be raped during their lives and six in ten will be physically assaulted. Statistics also reveal that 86% of the perpetrators are non-Native. Further, on some reservations the murder rate is ten times the national average (Indian Law Resource Center; Department of Justice/OVW/Tribal Consultation; Amnesty International). In fact, scholars estimate these statistics may be higher because many Native women do not report their crimes, and, in fact, many expect violence to be a part of their daily lives. This violence leaves a legacy of historical trauma that is difficult to eradicate because of the colonizing-patriarchal attitudes and legal systems that continue to exist.

This journal article seeks to contribute to the work of scholars and activists interested in addressing the problems of violence against Native women – a history that remains under documented and researched.

Specifically, the research questions that guide my article include the following:

1. How have colonization, US policy and law, as well as capitalist practices created the conditions for a legacy of violence against Native women?

2. What are community-based strategies for addressing violence against Native women?

To explore these issues, I begin by analyzing legacies of colonization and histories of violence against Native women in the United States. Here, I focus on not only the ways that patriarchal colonialism was forced upon indigenous communities; I also explore the ways it informs constructions of gender, race and class. Europeans thought Natives should have the same culture, values and traditions as they did and did not understand that Native women were respected in their communities. Native women's sexual practices were very different and misunderstood, as the Euro-centric patriarchal white men thought they could sexual exploit Native women. "Native women have historically been the victims of a rape during times of war; it's colonization that distinguishes their situation from other at-risk groups" (LaDuke). In addition, I examine the Dawes Act, which had a major impact on Native women's gender roles, Native culture, traditions and values and perpetuate the cycles of violence, which continues to this day.

In the second section, I examine historical and current legislation related to violence against Native women, paying special attention to the Violence Against Women Act of 1994 (VAWA) and Reauthorization Acts of 2000, 2005 and 2013. Though VAWA's Reauthorization Act of 2013 was a milestone for Native women's fight against violence it is important to understand historic legislature that still prohibits Native Nations true sovereignty. Although, the 567 federally recognized tribes in the United States have inherent sovereign authority which is tribes' right to govern themselves, tribes sovereign rights are often limited or eroded by federal and state laws and policies, which in turn limits their ability to protect native women from violence and to provide them with adequate resources (Indian Law Resource Center). Many Native women feel they are unprotected and invisible to the legal system, because they are Native and because they are women.

Following this, I provide an analysis of the Coordinated Tribal Assistance Solicitation (CTAS) grant programs and Native American leaders' testimonies from the Department of Justice's annual Tribal Consultation on Violence Against American Indian and Alaskan Native Women. These are an important set of primary sources that have yet to be examined closely in published research in this area and provide an important site for community members to witness the social struggles faced by Native Americans. Tribal leaders continue to call attention to demands for sovereignty and recognition from the Department of Justice, as well as issues of privilege and oppression.

In the final section, I build on this evidence to demonstrate the important ways Native American community organizations, like the Indian Law Resource Center or Mending the Sacred Hoop are creating valuable "women-centered" resources to address violence against women. I then discuss the work of community activists and performers who are addressing the rising problem of sex trafficking in areas dominated by extractive industries and "man camps" that house workers from months to years and resemble army barracks or large mobile home complexes (Buckely, 2014). Highly publicized performances like The Extreme Extraction and Violence Against Native Women event uncover pattern of sex trafficking in regions of extreme energy extraction and pipeline construction that not only bring devastation of the earth but increased violence against women. As such, this thesis research illustrates the important ways in which Native American activists argue environmental destruction is intertwined with sexual violence and, more specifically, how Native American women are responding to the crisis.

To better understand these issues and examples, this thesis draws upon three interrelated strands of feminist theory: indigenous/native feminism, intersectionality and eco-feminism. All three seek to intervene in both feminist struggles and issues connected to sovereignty. Growing out of postcolonial feminism, indigenous/native feminisms focus on the oppression of women as a consequence of patriarchal and racist colonization. These approaches point toward the ways that equality amongst genders was practiced differently before colonialism and many theorists argue

that indigenous forms of feminism are better suited for understanding women's problems in Native communities (Smith, 116-132). In addition, processes of de-colonialization are advanced through a focus upon the recognition of Native narratives and histories. Feminist theories of intersectionality argue that racism and sexism factoring into women's lives in ways that cannot be captured by simply looking separately at race and gender (Collins, 41-53; Crenshaw, 1241-1299; Samuels and Ross-Sheriff, 5-9). Rather, race and gender interconnect in shaping structural, political and representational aspects of violence against women. As such, this approach advocates for the study of overlapping or intersecting social identities and related systems of oppression, domination or discrimination.

COLONIZATION and CHANGING GENDER ROLES

"Sexual violence has served as a tool of colonialism and white supremacy, the struggle for sovereignty and the struggle against sexual violence cannot be separated." Smith--

To fully understand how cycles of violence against Native women have extended over time, I first will examine the history of settler colonialism and European patriarchal systems that still exist today. Violence and gender discrimination against Native women by colonial powers has transpired for hundreds of years. When the Europeans came to the Americas to colonize the land they also felt entitled to violate Native women who inhabited it. According to Andrea Smith, author of *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*, "the project of colonial sexual violence establishes that Native bodies are inherently violable and by extension, that Native lands are also inherently violable" (Smith, 10).

When Columbus landed in the "New World" in 1492, Spaniards infected, killed, tortured, terrorized, and destroyed many Native civilizations they encountered. As Walter R. Echo-Hawk (Pawnee) notes, "colonialism (from 1492-1960) was a harsh, life-altering experience for Indigenous peoples because it meant invasion, appropriation land and natural resources, genocide, and ethnocide" (Echo-Hawk, 15). In fact, during the first forty years of colonialism, more than twelve million Native people died (Echo-Hawk, 15-16). Following other European colonial nations, the United States government wanted to create land title in North America and they acquired this through the "doctrine of discovery," which argued that any Christian nation, or "discoverer," could claim land already inhabited by non-Christian Indigenous peoples. According to Echo-Hawk, after the adoption of the Constitution, Natives people were seen as mere tenants of the United States. The federal government now held legal title to Indian land along with the exclusive preemptive right to extinguish the Indians' occupation by purchase or conquest (Echo-Hawk, 76).

Columbus's arrival represents not only the beginnings of the destruction of Indigenous cultures but also the moment when European men introduced rape as a major tool of that destruction (Deer, 1-9). A page from the diary of one of Columbus's aristocratic friends who accompanied him on the second voyages describes one such encounter:

"When I was in the boat, I captured a very beautiful Carib woman... having brought her into my cabin, and she being naked as is their custom. I conceived desire to take my pleasure. I wanted to put my desire to execution, but she was unwilling for me to do so and treated me with her nails in such a wise that I would prefer never to have begun. But seeing this...I took a rope-end and thrashed her well, following which she produced such screaming and wailing as would cause you not to believe your ears. Finally, we reached an agreement such that, I can tell you, she seemed to have been raised in a veritable school of harlots" (French, 193).

The arrogance and entitlement of this aristocrat was not unique. Indeed, many colonists expressed disdain for Native women and enacted their contempt through using rape as a tool of conquest. To the Europeans, the colonizing of new land paired with fear and hatred for Native people provided justification for such violence against Native women (Smith, 21-24).

Many Europeans also held troubling views about Native women's sexuality. Devon Abbott Mihesuah (Choctaw) argues that some European men felt justified in objectifying Native women because they conceptualized European women as racially "pure," "clean," and "civilized." This contrasted sharply with their notions of "exotic" Native American women who were thought to embody an inherent "savage sexuality" (Mihesuah, 59-61). For example, even differences in gendered clothing norms caused misperceptions about Native women's sexuality. Consequently, Native women were often viewed as sexual beings free for the taking and sexual violence against Native women was common after the invasion (Mihesuah, 59).

In this vein, Winona LaDuke (Ojibwe) -- author, activist and economist -- writes in *The Star Tribune* that, "Native women have historically been the victims of a lot of rape during all the war; it's colonization that distinguishes their situation from other at-risk groups. They were forced to go from being the harvesters at the center of their own cultures to being outcasts on the margins" (Tillotson). Europeans assumed that Native people lived as Europeans did, in patriarchal systems, in which elite men defined the "appropriate way" for women to behave. They failed to understand the equality of the sexes in some Native societies, where women enjoyed high economic, social, and political status (Mann, 60, 65-66). Indeed, before colonization, in many Native American cultures women were respected, treated as equals and held leadership roles. In addition to being basket makers, potters, weavers, caregivers, healers, these women were landholders and many worked in agriculture, which was considered by Europeans to be men's work.

Long after the first Europeans arrived in America; Native women continue to be victimized due to colonial-settler and Eurocentric-patriarchal mentality. In an attempt to assimilate Native peoples, Congress adopted the Dawes Act during the Allotment and Assimilation Era (1871-1934). The Dawes Act was inspired by both hunger for land and the colonizing efforts of the "friends of the Indians" who believed assimilation was the key to Indian prosperity. The Act was a massive experiment in social engineering and had severe consequences for Native women (Royster, 228). The Dawes Act worked, in a deliberate way, to destroy Native communities by dividing up and allotting 40 to 160 acres of land to individual Natives head of households. The "excess" land could then be sold to the settlers, and Natives would then become the holders of "private property," like their Euro-American neighbors. This was an assimilation tactic that was not only unsuccessful but also resulted in many Native people losing their allotted land because the concept of taxing the land was foreign to them (Mann, 63-64).

Furthermore, in 1888, the U.S. government passed an addendum to the Dawes Act that declared all Native women marrying-Euro-American men had "de facto" agreed to abandon their Native identity, including all their children. As a consequence, these women lost their legal right to be recognized as Native and to live their everyday lives within traditional community norms. Moreover, this legal framework incentivized settlers to marry Native women to strategically separate them from their lands. Without a recognizable Native identity, these women were also left unprotected by tribal laws and the safety net of the communities to which they once belonged. In addition, Native women -- especially in the southeast -- lost leadership rights and powers as matriarchal cultural systems were undermined or destroyed (Mann, 64). In this way, tribal systems were disrupted and the status of Native women diminished as male dominance increased. By the 1930s, a dramatic increase in wife abuse was reported, as well as alcohol abuse, especially among the Cherokee and Creeks, which also disrupted the male-female balance of respect (Mihesuah, 50).

The powerful legacy of settler-colonial and Eurocentric-patriarchal mentality continue to affect gender roles and women's experiences of violence in Native communities. As stated by the Asian Pacific Institute on Gender Based Violence, "The historical nature of gender-based violence confirms that it is not an unfavorable deviation but a systematically embedded in culture and society, reinforced and powered by patriarchy." (Asian Pacific Institute on Gender Based Violence, 2015).

An example of the embedded - gender-based violence is a report in the 2016 "North American Working Group on Violence Against Indigenous Women and Girls Framing Paper" suggests that: across Canada, the United States, and Mexico, Indigenous women and girls face alarmingly high levels of violence and often lack access to justice, health care, and social services. A new report from the United States Department of Justice (DOJ), National Institute of Justice (NIJ), which was released in May 2016, found that more than 84% of Alaska Native and American Indian women had experienced some form of violence in their lifetimes. According to the researchers, of those women, 66% experienced psychological violence, 56% experienced sexual violence, 55% experienced physical violence from an intimate partner, and 49% experienced stalking. Despite the grave need for support and protection from this violence, 38% of Alaska Native and American Indian female victims were unable to access legal, medical, and other services. The report also found that, among the women who reported experiencing violence in their lifetimes, 97% of victims experienced violence by a perpetrator who was not American Indian or Alaska Native (Department of Justice/OVW/Tribal Consultation).

Unfortunately, it is often the case that historical laws and legislative policies that still exist today in the United States judicial and legislative systems serve to perpetuate rather than diminish these systemic issues.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY: THE UNITED STATES and NATIVE NATIONS

The United States and the Native peoples have a long and complicated legislative history. Before the Violence Against Women Act was first passed in 1994, both Congress and the Supreme Court eroded tribal nations abilities to prosecute cases involving violence against Native women by gradually restricting tribes' jurisdictional authority. This section explores some of the most important of these laws, policies, and court cases.

In 1885, Congress passed The Major Crimes Act. This Act gave the United States government full authority to prosecute an Indian in Indian Country. The U.S. Supreme Court recognized tribal sovereignty; however, it also meant that tribes were allowed to prosecute crimes according to their tribal justice and traditions. Congress re-evaluated its Indian policies and determined it was unwilling to extend full federal or state criminal jurisdiction to the tribes. The Major Crimes Act also forced assimilation and required that Indians be prosecuted under "white man's" laws (Harring, 101-102, 146, 283).

To further complicate the issue in 1953 Congress deteriorated tribal jurisdiction by passing Public Law 83-280. Commonly referred to as Public Law 280 or PL 280 is a transfer of legal authority (jurisdiction) from the federal government to state governments which significantly changed the division of legal authority among tribal, federal, and state governments (Tribal Court Clearinghouse). Congress withdrew federal criminal jurisdiction on reservations in six states, and authorized those states to assume criminal jurisdiction over Native nations, and permitted all other states to acquire at their own option. This meant that under the PL. 280 federal responsibility of prosecution of serious crimes under the Major Crimes Act, such as sexual assault, would now be handled by the state's law enforcement agencies and not the federal government (Deer, 35-37). However, this also meant that in a non-PL. 280 state, only the federal government could prosecute

the non-Indian; however, if a Native woman accused her partner of domestic violence and her partner was an enrolled member of her tribe or any other tribe, the tribe and the federal government both had jurisdiction over her partner (Hart and Lowther, 191-195). Though PL. 280 did not alter civil or criminal jurisdictional authority of tribal governments, tribes located in PL. 280 jurisdictions were denied federal funds to support the development of tribal justice systems.

Another important legislative act that impacted Native communities was the Indian Civil Rights Act (1968). Through this act, tribal court's sentencing authority was limited. The Indian Civil Rights Act states that tribes cannot require "excessive" bail, impose "excessive" fines, inflict "cruel and unusual punishments," and imprisonment cannot be for more than one year or a fine more than \$5,000, or both (Deer, 39-41; Washington Law Help). The Act restricts tribal governments' ability to respond to the violence against Native women and reinforces the myth that offenders of such crimes will not sustain any exceptional ramifications (which perpetuates the cycle of violence against Native women).

To further erode tribal authority, the Supreme Court ruled in *Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe* (1978) that Indian nations do not have authority to prosecute crimes by non-Natives. This critical point and shift in criminal jurisdiction by the Supreme Court radically changed tribal governments' abilities to prosecute non-Natives in violence against Native women. It again gave the public the perception that murdering, kidnapping and assaulting Native women had few consequences (Deer, 41-42). This legislative history makes it almost impossible for justice to occur and has caused a modern day tangled jurisdictional web and a legal relationship distinct from any other group in the United States (Hart and Lowther, 225).

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN ACT 1994 AND THE REAUTHORIZATIONS OF 2000 & 2005

Women's groups had lobbied Congress for years to persuade them to legislate federal protections for women because the states were not addressing the issue of violence. In 1994 Congress passed the *Violence Against Women Act (VAWA)* as part of the *Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act*. The crimes included domestic violence, sexual assault, and stalking. Prior to this domestic violence was regarded, as a family matter and law enforcement did not get involved. When local law enforcement responded to an alleged abuse incident they would instruct the batterer to cool off and walk around the block. There would be no arrest. The Act ensured that law enforcement would treat domestic violence as a crime and prosecute accordingly. VAWA also included provisions focused on prevention and funding for victim services, such as, transitional housing, civil legal assistance and assistance for victims in rural communities and the disabled.

Reauthorizations of VAWA in 2000 and 2005 reauthorized grant programs funded by the VAWA of 1994 and were expanded to address funding for programs not only domestic violence, but also sexual assault and stalking. These grants were specifically meant to address the needs of underrepresented populations like Native women. VAWA 2000 improved protections for battered immigrants, sexual assault survivors, and victims of dating violence. In addition, it allows domestic violence victims who cross state lines to be able to receive custody orders without having to return to a jurisdiction where they may be in danger and improved enforcement of protection orders across state and tribal lines. VAWA 2005 is a continuation of the laws and improved them by bringing awareness and access to services for communities of color, immigrant women, and Native communities. VAWA 2005 created new programs, which include the Court Training and Improvements, Child Witness, and Culturally Specific programs (Department of Justice; National Network to End Domestic Violence; Legal Momentum). Though, Native women were included in VAWA, the provisions were weak because it did not allow for tribal jurisdictions to prosecute non-native men on reservations, which is a significant portion of residents on reservations (Chekuru).

THE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN REAUTHORIZATION ACT (2013)

After many more years of activism, lobbying, and negotiating for the safety of women, on March 7, 2013, President Obama signed the Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2013 into law. Unlike the previous authorizations that were weak because they did not offer much protection for Native women, the Reauthorization Act of 2013 was an attempt by the United States Department of Justice to shift inherent power to exercise criminal jurisdiction in special domestic violence cases to tribes.

The Native community hoped VAWA would help alleviate the complexity of the laws and jurisdictions between state, federal and tribes, which makes prosecution difficult. In the often-remote regions where Native reservations are located, tribal boundaries are delineated only with a sign, or a simple wire fence (Childress; Chekuru; Hudetz). Most tribes are not permitted to handle felony cases involving non-Natives by themselves, which in itself is problematic because non-Natives are a significant portion of the residents on many reservations: largely as a result of the United States government's sale of tribal land, a transaction known as the Dawes Act.

Over a period of five years, between 2005 and 2009, half of the reported crimes in Indian Country went unprosecuted. According to the Government Accountability Office, sixty-seven percent of sexual abuse cases sent to the federal government for prosecution were declined because of lack of evidence or issues with witnesses (Indian Law Resource Center; Chekuru). While VAWA 2013 may address some gaps in the law not addressed in previous versions, tribal jurisdiction is still too narrow. Tribes have a limited sentencing authority of three years, which means that some cases will still go to state or federal authorities. Because of these remaining limitations in the law, tribes cannot prosecute crimes of rape and sexual assault by non-Natives since these are considered felony cases, which can only be prosecuted by state or federal authorizes.

While the VAWA 2013 revision is an attempt to protect Native women from domestic and dating violence on the reservation, the stipulation for tribal authority for prosecution is that the assailant must be a person that the victim knows, such as a husband, boyfriend, or domestic partner, not a total stranger. It requires the victim to know her assailant, beyond first encounter, and a tribal prosecutor must be able to prove this beyond a reasonable doubt. In addition, tribal judges must have the proper credentials and due to lack of resources and funds some reservations struggle to staff qualified judges. For some reservations, this could be an added expense which they are not compensated for by VAWA and it may take a few years before they can implement proper credentials for tribal judges (Childress; Chekuru; Hudetz).

Lack of law enforcement on some reservations can also be an issue. On average, reservations have fewer than half the number of officers than do other communities in the United States, about only 1.3 officers per 1,000 people (Childress). The new provisions are narrow and it's not a perfect fix. However, most Native people say it's a good first step in addressing a decades-old problem (Childress). "It also sends a very strong message that you can't just beat up a Native woman and there's going to be no consequences," said Rep. Gwen Moore (D-Wisc.) who backed the full bill (Childress; Hunter). One way tribes hope to meet the crisis of violence on their reservations is by obtaining grants administered by the Office of Violence Against Women and approved through the original VAWA and later reauthorizations.

GRANT PROGRAMS – COORDINATED TRIBAL ASSISTANCE SOLICITATION (CTAS)

The CTAS grant program is an important on-going provision as part of the Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2000, 2005 and 2013 and is an integral step to the success of ending domestic violence within Native nations. This section offers a brief description of the grant program and examines how effectively it is being implemented to the tribal governments as reported in the Department of Justice Government-to-Government Consultations between tribal leaders and the Department of Justice.

The Department of Justice launched its Coordinated Tribal Assistance Solicitation (CTAS) in Fiscal Year 2010 in direct response to concerns raised by tribal leaders that the Department's grant process did not provide the flexibility tribes needed to address their criminal justice and public safety needs. In fiscal year 2015, CTAS awarded grants to 206 American Indian tribes, Alaska Native villages, tribal consortia and tribal designees. The grants provide funding to enhance law enforcement practices and sustain crime prevention and intervention efforts in nine purpose areas. These included: public safety and community policing; justice systems planning; alcohol and substance abuse; corrections and correctional alternatives; violence against women; juvenile justice; and tribal youth programs. The Justice Department had two primary goals: increase access and streamline the grant process and develop communications strategies to encourage more tribes to consider the CTAS funding programs and evaluate if these programs could help meet their public safety needs (Department of Justice).

Since the beginning of 2017, the Department of Justice, in an effort to increase access and streamline the grant process for the federally-recognized tribes, - for the first time ever - were able to submit a single application for most of the Justice Department's tribal grant programs. The Department of Justice designed this comprehensive approach to save time and resources and allow tribes and the department to gain a better understanding of the Tribes' overall public safety needs (Department of Justice).

U.S. Department of Justice Office on Violence Against Women 2016 Tribal Consultation Report ~ Palm Springs, CA December 6, 2016

The Department of Justice Tribal Consultation is an important gathering between the U.S. Government and tribal leaders. The annual Violence Against Women report issued by the U.S. Department of Justice each year, reveals startling testimonies about tribes' on-going frustrations for lack of resources to provide services to aid in preventing violence against Native women; an issue that tribes feel the U.S. Department of Justice is not taking seriously.

The Department of Justice's annual Tribal Consultation on Violence Against American Indian and Alaska Native Women is held pursuant to Public Law 109-162, Title IX, and Section 903 of the Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2005. This law requires the U.S. Attorney General to conduct an annual consultation with Indian Tribal governments to address the federal administration of all tribal funds and programs established under the Violence Against Women Acts (VAWA) of 1994, 2000, and 2005. The statute further directs the Attorney General to solicit recommendations from the Indian tribes at an annual consultation concerning the following items:

- administering tribal funds and programs
- enhancing the safety of Native women from domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault and stalking; and
- strengthening the federal response to such violent crimes.

The Government-to-Government Violence Against Women Tribal Consultation Report is posted on line after each meeting. As with most government documentation these reports are open to public

examination. However, more importantly it is an opportunity for Tribal testimonies to be recognized publicly and gives all the Native nations the opportunity to engage with the reports, as not everyone is invited to attend the conference. While all Native nations are recognized to have sovereignty, in most cases, this sovereignty is compromised by federal legislation, social systems and governmental interference. The consultation gives Tribal nations a voice and holds the Department of Justice and the United States Government accountable.

“MAN CAMPS” - A MALE DYSTOPIA?

A new threat in the fight against violence of Native women is the development of “man camps” and the oil pipelines that are being constructed in border towns near reservations. Many tribes in various states do not have the money or the resources to support the dilemma as described in the following stories.

Extreme energy extraction and pipeline construction not only bring devastation of the earth but increased violence against women. In order to build and extract on a large scale there is a need for large amounts of manpower. Thousands of people are needed in order to extract oil from the Bakken oil fields in “North Dakota” and to build pipelines such as the Keystone XL. Men come from all over the country to sites of construction and extraction for these projects and stay for months to years. In order to house these numbers, “man camps” are constructed, resembling army barracks or large mobile home complexes (Buckley).

Fort Berthold reservation is only an hour drive from the “man camps” and reports have shown there is an increase in sexual assaults, domestic violence and sex trafficking (Buckley) Former Sioux Tribal Police Chief Grace Her Many Horses, says, “when paydays come around the predators venture in caravans with large amounts of cash stuffed into their pockets, giving them the power to buy anything they want-prostitution and hardcore drugs” (Buckley). It is not uncommon for law enforcement to hear from non-Natives that they can away with anything here (Murdoch). In this vein, Sierra Crane Murdoch notes in her article, *On Indian Land, Criminals Can Get Away with Almost Anything*, that the Fort Berthold reservation in North Dakota population has doubled with an influx of non-Native oil workers – over whom the tribes has little legal control. In Williston, North Dakota, “man camps” are a real threat to Native women where rape and assaults have multiplied in frequency at an alarming rate and Williston has begun to resemble more like a 19th century Wild West town than a modern twenty-first century city. With a rate of over one hundred rapes per 100,000, Williston now has a rape rate that is nearly four times the national average, and a Native woman is four times more likely to report being forcibly raped than a woman living in Los Angeles and over seven times more likely than a women residing in New York City (Darling-Brekhus).

Furthermore, many tribal officers have implied that crimes committed on Fort Berthold are often a low priority for deputies and sheriffs, who are already overworked by the boom outside reservation borders. Criminal investigator, Angela Cummings from New Town, North Dakota (near Fort Berthold) says each county that overlaps Fort Berthold has only one or two deputies stationed, a very few deputies given that at least 4,000 non-Natives live on the reservation. As a result of this situation, in the event of an incident it would take hours for a deputy to arrive. And time is crucial to an investigation, it can mean finding the perpetrator or having no evidence at all (Murdoch).

North Dakota is not the only state to be inundated with “man camps,” lack of law enforcement, and sex trafficking issues. South Dakota and Montana are also dealing with similar issues. According to Keith Darling-Berkus, a sociologist who specializes in observing and analyzing the FBI and other law enforcement agencies and writer for the Tulsa based FBI Examiner, the economic energy boom has created a culture of misogyny in which sexual violence-including rape, sex trafficking, and domestic assault-are normalized. It has been described as “a male-dominated dystopian

nightmare," (Pember) especially for Native women. South Dakota's U.S. Attorney, Brenda V. Johnson's Annual reports in 2012 states, "We have seen a 30-percent increase in human trafficking cases filed over the last three years" (Graef).

In August 2014, Montana's Senator Jon Tester held a town meeting at Fort Peck Community College in Poplar, Montana, in an effort to respond to the escalating crime figures in the areas around the Bakken Oil Project. Tester stated at the meeting that the "Tribal police departments lack the resource to investigate and detain human trafficking offenders because of lack of resources to be able to expose trafficking rings that can span reservation, state and national boundaries. In addition, tribes lack tribal jurisdiction to be able to prosecute and appropriately punish offenders" (Graef). The entangled jurisdictional web between state, federal and tribes that was created by the United States government continues to perpetuate the violence against Native women.

THE EXTREME EXTRACTION AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN EVENT

"We are in a time of extreme extraction, as we grasp desperately for the last remaining deposits of fossil fuels to satisfy our addiction. This means extreme violence against Mother Earth, this violence impacts Indigenous communities the most, especially women. Violence against the land has always been violence against women." La Duke--

On February 17th, 2015, a concerned group of Native and non-Native women representing the literary world, women's rights and environmental activism met in Minneapolis to raise money to fight the violence against Native women and to bring public awareness of sex trafficking in Minnesota, South and North Dakota (La Duke; Indian Country Today).

Winona LaDuke, Louise Erdrich, Eve Ensler and Patina Park all spoke on their involvement in the fight against violence of Native women. Winona LaDuke, from the White Earth Indian Reservation (Anishinaabe), is an author, economist, activist and a lecturer who usually speaks on the environment and climate change, however, for the first time spoke on the violence against Native women and shared a story about her sister who experienced domestic abuse. Louise Erdrich, from the Turtle Mount Band of Chippewa Indians, is an author of novels, poetry and children's books. Her latest novel is *The Round House*, a story about rape on a fictional reservation in North Dakota. Patina Park from the Cheyenne River Sioux is Executive Director of the Minnesota Indian Women's Resource Center in Minneapolis; her organization offers a safe place and healing for victims of sexual and domestic violence and community resources.

It was Eve Ensler's first time to specifically address the violence against Native women. Ensler, the Executive Director of One Billion Rising and author of the well-known play, *Vagina Monologues*, shared her experience when she and LaDuke visited one of the "man camps." In an emotionally delivered speech, Ensler spoke about how she had never witnessed a place like this before - a space where she she witnessed, for example, women in cages. LaDuke added to testimony by calling attention to the historical ways marginalization has been advanced through colonization of Native women and the ways in which poverty functions to keep women oppressed. She noted, "Native women have been the "booty" for soldiers at Fort Snelling, Minnesota since it was first established in 1820 and this attitude has continued to the present" (La Duke).

Also, to speak was Park, the Executive Director of the Minnesota Indian Women's Resource Center in Minneapolis, who stated that since most sexual assault cases go unreported, it is very difficult to have accurate statistics. However, she noted that the numbers are higher than what is reported or discussed in public forums. Indeed, many Native children -- male and female -- often have their first violent sexual encounter by the time they are in the sixth grade. "It is like a "rite of passage" in Native families, she said, and for many families they are numb to the violence" (La Duke). Park

also argued forcefully that sex trafficking is a business in which many people profit financially and they are not interested in getting out of the business.

As an outgrowth of this event, on April 21st, 2015, a coalition of Native women and women's organizations filed a submission to the United Nations on the rights of Indigenous Peoples, requesting U.N. intervention in the crisis of sexual violence brought on by extreme fossil fuel extraction in the Great Lakes and Great Plains region. The submission documents the connection between extreme extraction and sexual violence against Native women in the Bakken oil fields of western North Dakota and eastern Montana, and the Tar Sands region of Alberta, Canada, where vast "man camps" of temporary labor have become lawless hubs of violence and human trafficking. It also contextualizes this crisis within the history of colonization, genocide, and systematic violence against Indigenous peoples, which has disproportionately affected women and girls. The submission was made by Dr. Dawn Memee Harvard (Wikwemikong First Nation) of the Native Women's Association of Canada, on behalf of Honor the Earth, Brave Heart Society, Minnesota Indian Women's Resource Center, One Billion Rising, Indigenous Women's Network, and individuals including Tanaya Winder and Prairie Rose Seminole (LaDuke).

In response to the United Nations submission, Park stated in an interview for Honor the Earth, "Violence against our earth and water is perpetrated on a daily basis; against those things absolutely vital to our very existence. We can't be surprised that people who would rape our land are also raping our people. We must do something to stop this from continuing" (LaDuke). In addition, Enslar, commented, "I have been to the Bakken oil fields and witnessed firsthand the extreme extraction being perpetrated against our earth. I have heard the horrific stories of women who are being trafficked and violated simultaneously. I know our fight is here. We must stand with our Indigenous sisters who are on the front lines of this abuse and demand the end of rape of women's bodies and our earth" (LaDuke).

Winona LaDuke speaks out not only for Native women who are victims of violence from extreme extraction but also for the violence against our planet and foreseeable consequences due to extreme extraction. She writes,

"In our Anishinaabe prophecies this is called the time of the Seventh Fire. This is a time when our people will have two roads ahead of us- one miikina or path which well worn, but scorched and another path which is green. It will be our choice upon which path to embark. That is where we are. We have seen the rise of a highly inefficient American industrial society on our lands. The society, which has been created, is highly extractive and highly inefficient, where today material resources and water become wasted and toxic. This highly destructive economy has reached material limits, and is now resorting to Extreme Extraction. Whether the removal of 500 mountain tops in Appalachia (largely for foreign coal contracts), extreme mining proposals in the Great Lakes region, to fracking and tar sands extraction, we clearly on a scorched path" (LaDuke).

There are many environmental injustices against the Native nations that intersect with the violence against Native women, as they have no control over the laws that mandate policies on and where corporations can continue to rape the land and make a profit at the expense of those being victimized. As Smith notes,

"Native people have become marked as inherently violable through a process of sexual colonization. By extension, their lands and territories have become marked as violable as well. Many feminist theorists have argued that there is a connection between patriarchy's disregard for nature, women and indigenous peoples. The colonial/patriarchal mind that seeks to control the sexuality of women and indigenous peoples also seeks to control nature" (Smith, 116-132).

TRAFFICKING VICTIMS PROTECTION REAUTHORIZATION ACT OF 2013(TVPRA)

In an effort to support law enforcement and survivors of sexual trafficking the *Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act of 2013 (TVPRA)* was passed as an amendment to the VAWA (1994). Through the TVPRA, the United States government is able to fund law enforcement as well as services for survivors. The TVPRA combats both national and international trafficking in persons. Furthermore, the TVPRA defines the penalties for trafficking and promotes interagency cooperation. By reauthorizing this legislation, Congress has renewed its commitment to identifying human trafficking, punishing those perpetrating the crimes, and helping the survivors move beyond their victimization (Not for Sale Campaign).

In spite of Congress' renewed commitments, tribal members discussed their frustration with the Department of Justice and the Office on Violence Against Women when they met in Rapid City, South Dakota, October 15th, 2014 for the Tribal consultation. Tribal members Leroy Elliott (California Manzanita Band of the Kumeyaay Nation) and Bryan Brewer (Oglala Sioux Tribe, Pine Ridge, South Dakota) expressed their concerns over the increase of sex trafficking in the Native community and the lack of support by the federal and state agencies to be active participants in ensuring grant funds are distributed to tribal communities. Often tribes are denied grant funding and not provided with any reasons why (Department of Justice/OVW). Without the funds the tribes are not able to provide adequate services for Native women, such as, shelters, law enforcement, and medical services.

Chairwoman Roxanne Sazue (Crow Creek Sioux) also voiced her concern for her people because they are a small tribe and are listed in the U.S. Census as one of the top 10 poorest counties in the nation. The relenting poverty makes the lack of resources for services one of their biggest concerns and when the grant funding is delayed or denied their services programs are halted:

We anticipate the Keystone XL pipeline will impact our reservation. With the coming of construction workers and "man camps," we need to have programs up and running due to the increase of sex trafficking and drugs, however, we were denied CTAS grant funds to help with various resources to help our people with this issue (Department of Justice/OVW).

Although the Department of Justice cannot always meet the demands and needs of the Native people; Native women and men are showing their resilience and strength by taking action and demanding accountability. Native women and men are supporting each other by establishing organizations, events and media to bring awareness of the violence against Native women throughout the United States.

NATIVE ORGANIZATIONS ~ SAFE HAVENS

As these testimonies indicate, Native American communities addressing violence against women depend in many ways upon local organizations. There are a number of organizations across the nation that began offering assistance and resources, as early as the 1970's, such as, Indian Law Resource Center, the Minnesota Indian Women's Resource Center in Minneapolis, MN, the Native American Youth and Family Center in Portland, OR and Mending the Sacred Hoop in Duluth, MN. With federal budget cuts looming, it remains vitally important that these organizations and many like them around the country are available to Native women. However, all face uncertainty, as much of their funding is provided through grant programs with state and federal initiatives, including the Violence Against Women Act.

Indian Law Resource Center (Founded in 1978)

The Indian Law Resource Center provides legal assistance to Indigenous peoples of the Americas to combat racism and oppression, to protect their lands and environment, to protect their cultures and ways of life, to achieve sustainable economic development and genuine self-government, and to realize other human rights. Additionally, the Center seeks to overcome the grave problems that threaten Native peoples by advancing the rule of law, by establishing national and international legal standards that preserve their human rights and dignity, and by challenging the governments of the world to accord justice and equality before the law to all Indigenous peoples of the Americas.

“The Indian Law Resource Center is a non-profit law and advocacy organization established and directed by American Indians. We provide legal assistance to Indian and Alaska Native nations who are working to protect their lands, resources, human rights, environment and cultural heritage. Our principal goal is the preservation and well-being of Indian and other Native nations and tribes.”

The Indian Law Resource Center was one of the first organizations that were concerned with bringing the crisis of violence against Native women to the attention of the United States and the world. In 2011, the Indian Law Resource Center, along with several Native women’s organizations, successfully petitioned the United Nations, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights to hold the first thematic hearing on violence against Native women in the United States. The hearing focused international attention to the United States’ international human rights obligation to respond to the epidemic of violence against Native women. Because of the landmark hearing, Native women in the United States have accomplished some victories, including the passing of the *Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act of 2013*. This legislation was the accumulation of over three decades of grassroots, domestic, and international advocacy that many hope will close some of the jurisdictional loopholes in United States law that restrict protections for Native women (Indian Law Resource Center). Organizations like the Indian Law Resource Center brought awareness of this issue globally, including the United States through their initiatives at the United Nations; however, other women’s organizations are bringing awareness as well (Indian Law Resource Center).

The Minnesota Indian Women’s Resource Center (Founded in 1982)

The Minnesota Indian Women’s Resource Center of Minneapolis is an organization that is supporting Native women and their children. The goal of the center is to empower American Indian women and families to exercise their cultural values and integrity, and to achieve sustainable life ways, while advocating for justice and equity. The program was built on the idea that the path to recovery is within all women and that each woman carries within herself two medicines for healing: the ability to laugh and the ability to share. The MIWRC’s center includes a library, training rooms, childcare, outpatient treatment, family services and housing for 14 families. The center offers many programs, such as, chemical dependency and mental health, sexual violence and trafficking, and housing and family stabilization. They also include programs for the elderly and two-spirit (The Minnesota Indian Women’s Resource Center).

Native American Youth and Family Center (Founded in 1974)

The Native American Youth and Family Center (NAYA) serves self-identified American Indian youth and their families in Portland, Oregon. NAYA provides a continuum of year-round services for children, youth, and young adults, including middle and high school educational case management and after-school tutoring, employment services, financial wellness and housing education, foster care, cultural arts classes, and sports and recreation programs. NAYA also provides domestic violence case management, crisis intervention services, parenting classes, and emergency food supplies. NAYA's mission is to enhance the diverse strengths of their youth and families in partnership with the community through cultural identity and education. NAYA believes that traditional cultural values are integral to regaining sovereignty and building self-esteem. In addition, they promote healthy living through positive alternatives to high-risk behaviors, and promote the values of sobriety, family stability, culture, active lifestyles, and education. NAYA is committed to eliminating poverty, hunger, family violence, and homelessness (Native American Youth and Family Center).

Mending the Sacred Hoop (Founded in the 1980's)

Mending the Sacred Hoop works from a social change perspective to end violence against Native women, and children while restoring the safety, sovereignty, and sacredness of Native women. They are committed to strengthening the voice and vision of Native peoples through grassroots organizing, restoring the leadership of Native women in addressing and ending domestic and sexual violence nationally. One of their many grassroots projects is *S.T.O.P. Violence Against Indian Women Technical Assistance Project*. Their mission is to assist Native sovereign nations to improve their response to Indian women who are victimized by domestic violence and sexual assault and restore safety and integrity to them. To achieve this mission they have identified training, technical assistance and resource development as their main areas of focus. Mending the Sacred Hoop also provides support for Native men as well in their *Returning Men to Honor*, which provides a guidebook for developing intervention and education programs for men who batter in Native communities. This guide is intended as a resource tool for Native communities wanting to design a program built upon tribal values, perspective and life ways that helps Native Men understand and address their use of violence against an intimate partner (mshoop.org).

There are many more organizations that offer assistance and grass root initiatives to support Native women and their families from the violence. However, organizations are not the only ones who are offering support (Mending the Sacred Hoop).

The 1941's

Public events and performances dealing with these issues are becoming more visible on the Internet as well. For example, the 1491s are a group of Native Americans who formed a comedy troupe to create videos for sites such as YouTube.com. The videos, which range from biting cultural satire and serious political statements to just plain goofiness, went viral in Indian country and gained an instant following. The group's name is a reference to the year 1491, the last year before the arrival of Christopher Columbus and widespread European colonization of the Americas began.

Their comedy sketches depict contemporary Native American life in the United States, using humor and satire to explore issues such as stereotypes and racism (internal and external), tribal politics, and the conflict between tradition and modernity. A Los Angeles Times reporter described the group's output as "dozens of videos, some crass, some cryptic, some laugh-out-loud hilarious" (Yardley). Group member Dallas Goldtooth has cited British comedy legends Monty Python's Flying Circus as an influence.

However, the 1491's are not all about comedy and have made videos for social and legislative issues such as full inclusion of Indigenous women in the Violence Against Women Act. In recognizing that domestic violence and sexual assault is not just a women's issue the Indian Law Resource Center and Ryan Red Corn (Osage) a member of the Indigenous comedy troupe the 1491s, created a powerful video called, To the Indigenous Woman in order to raise awareness of the violence against Native women. In this video, Red Corn asks Native men to be part of the solution by taking responsibility and accountability for their actions in ending the violence (1491's; Indian Law Resource Center). Written in the form of a poem, the message reminds the viewer that the effects of domestic and sexual violence are not problems faced by women in isolation, but a shared experience important to all members of a tribal community (Yazzie).

To the Indigenous Woman by the 1491's:

I'm sorry we have not fought harder for you;
I am the dysfunctional man.
I will borrow your forgiveness like I always have,
and you will be there for me like you always are.
Ask her, and she will tell you I stole her tongue.
Replaced it with guilt,
saddled it with blame and rode off on it like a horse...("to the Indigenous Woman").

This poem, a potent form of social criticism, resonated with Native American and mainstream audiences. Perhaps this was because it provides not simply a poetic but an emotional response to the issue of violence against Native women. He argues that there needs to be accountability and responsibility toward the problem. No change can occur, if Native men do not take it upon themselves to end the violence against Native women.

In addition, in an effort to advocate for Native women, Ryan Red Corn testified to the United States Senate's' Committee of Indian Affairs for the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People, on June 9th, 2011 and discussed his personal feelings about the violence against Native women:

Drugs are not the only problems running rampant in my community, and the countless other reservation communities like it, because of the lack of true sovereignty, 1 in 3 Native American women will be raped or sexually assaulted in her lifetime. As appalling as that statistic is, the women in my life, real women, stats, have relayed their words to me. This breaks my heart and is not acceptable. These are my relatives. My cousins. My friends. My people. I have a daughter who just turned 1-year old. I would very much like to see this power to protect her shifted to tribes in her lifetime. In the hope that not one more Native woman, not one more daughter, auntie, or sister, has to grow up under these circumstances. This institution has that power to transfer the protection of our women to us. The Declaration and the Executive branch recognize that when tribes have this power, that we thrive instead of falter. There is a 40-year track record of the benefits of this power shift towards tribal sovereignty and self-determination to back that claim up. (United States Senate Committee on Indian Affairs).

The historical relationship between Native nations and the federal government illustrates the legal context in which Native Americans currently find themselves. Tribal sovereignty has been severely diminished by U. S. courts, the Congress, and the Executive office—branches of governments that have been unwilling to acknowledge tribal sovereignty as worthy. Native women are suffering

violence because of the dominant ethnocentric perceptions of sovereignty, which continue to shape the legal and jurisdictional realities in Indian Country (Hart and Lowther, 225).

Native women maybe suffering violence in part because of the dominant patriarchal perceptions, however, as Ryan Red Corn's testimony shows, Native people are advocating ending the violence against Native women. Education and public awareness are part of the work that needs to be done to bring about change and offer hope. However, unless the federal government allows for absolute tribal sovereignty, the progress to end violence against Native women will be impeded. Reinforcing and creating tribally based judicial remedies to combat domestic violence will not only help Native American women find safety from their abusers, it will help strengthen safety from their identities as Native women (Smith, 116-118).

CONCLUSION and FUTURE RESEARCH

When I began my educational journey at Portland State University and was accepted into the McNair Scholars program I had no idea where my new knowledge about violence against Native women would lead me. However, the more I learned about the violence, the more committed I became in joining this conversation and sharing my research. It always came as a surprise to me when lecturing on the subject as to how many people, (including educators) knew very little about the violence against Native women. While I do not pretend to fully understand Native American women's experiences of violence, I am vested in supporting the fight against this continuing and pressing issue.

Many Native women live in fear of being sexual assaulted almost every day, especially on their reservations because they do not always have the protections and resources to fight their perpetrators. Many Native women do not report their assaults because they feel their experiences will not be seriously addressed or that resources do not exist to help make a better future. They feel invisible to the system and their voices remain unheard.

In this journal article, I argue that Native women still experience marginalization, oppression, discrimination and victimization, due to the ongoing Eurocentric and patriarchal attitudes of the United States government, which is exemplified through its legislation and policies that perpetuates the cycles of violence against Native women. When the United States government passed the Violence Against Women Reauthorization in 2013 it had an opportunity to allow full sovereign powers to the 567 federally recognized tribes, so they could prosecute Native and non-native perpetrators within their own jurisdictions. Instead, tribes are still under the watchful eye of the United States government. As stated in the testimonies from the Department of Justice's Tribal, government-to-government consultation reports, Native nations continue to feel as though the U.S. government does not hear their legitimate concerns, refuses to acknowledge how severe this issue remains, and does not grant the money necessary to implement the resources needed to support Native women. Many communities still lack proper resources, such as law enforcement, medical services, counseling services and safe spaces for women to escape from their abusers. Put in stark terms, Native American leaders argue that the United States government needs to release its white supremacy-guardianship control over Native nations if there is going to be real change occurring with the cycles of violence against Native women. It needs to take responsibility and accountability for the ways that it has created this on-going situation. To be sure, it may be difficult to change the entrenched modes of white-patriarchal thinking. But we must try. Certainly, this is not just a Native issue but also an issue that all women should be aware of because being sexually victimized can happen to all women.

To address this issue, I have argued that one of the best solutions is to work through grassroots efforts and activism. We need to support efforts that allow Native voices to be heard and not forgotten, until there is positive change and not simply political rhetoric.

As I discussed, activists Winona LaDuke and Eve Ensler have spoken on the threat of violence against Native women and devastation to the earth when they visited the Bakken Oil fields of North Dakota. We know that Native Nations consider their "Earth Mother" sacred, as is evident from their storytelling of creation myths and their testimonies in institutional settings. Though through genocide and ethnocide during colonization, sacred lands were stolen from them, Native nations are now reclaiming their lost languages, stories, culture and traditions. They are fighting back for their ceded- lands and protecting their homes and peoples. To further illustrate this point, I would like to share a personal story that made a great impact on me as a new feminist and Native Studies student. I had the honor to meet Winona LaDuke several times while as a student at Portland State University. The first time I met Winona was at The Tribal Green Summit (2013). Winona was having a conversation with her friend about the Crow Nation and a new coal mine, she was very concerned about this issue, as the Crow were thinking about signing a contract with Cloud Peak Energy (LaDuke). I knew very little about what she was talking about, however, I shared with her my research paper on the Northwest Coal Debate, which I was writing for my Philosophy of Environmental Ethics class. She asked me if she could have a copy of my research paper, so she could learn more about it. I was thrilled of course. However, what impressed me the most about Winona was her commitment to all Native people and to the environment. She talked about how she wanted to meet with the Crow tribal members and discuss this issue with them. She stated: "this is not something I want to do; it's something I HAVE to do." I was able to see Winona and hear her talk several times over the next couple of years while at Portland State University and her commitment and devotion to her all Native people and to the environment has never wavered.

In sum, Euro-centric, anthropocentric, patriarchal and capitalistic attitudes all intersect with violence against Native women and the earth. Consequently, I am currently continuing my research on this topic at the University of Arizona's Doctoral Native Studies program for fall 2017. There are several Native communities and organizations in the Tucson area, which I plan to become involved with their domestic violence groups. I also want to participate in fieldwork in the Native community and learn firsthand how the Reauthorization Act and Tribal Consultation initiatives have engaged with issues of violence against Native women. I would also like to participate in an internship on a reservation, in order to learn more about Native culture and everyday ways of life on a reservation. I feel the experience would broaden my perspective as a researcher and provide me with a better understanding of the issues that have been discussed regarding the Tribal Consultation testimonies, VAWA and grant funding. The DOJ's Tribal consultation's reports are one-sided testimonies. I also would like to further investigate the DOJ's responses to the tribes' concerns. This may mean traveling to Washington D.C. and meeting with people at the capital and the Department of Justice. I am excited for these new research possibilities. As Winona LaDuke stated, "it's something I feel have to do."

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