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# #SAYHERNAME BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Atlanta Rydzik, a graduate student in sociology at Stanford University, created this bibliography for graduate students, and Ph.D. scholars conducting literature reviews of police violence against Black women, LGBTQ people, and the #SayHerName campaign. This bibliography presents citations, abstracts, and keywords for scholarship written between 2015 and 2020. It includes articles, books, and essays, on these topics and spans several disciplines. Specifically, this bibliography contains citations from scholars in sociology, political science, law, African American and ethnic studies, education, communication/media studies, criminology, digital technology/internet studies, feminist and gender studies, and history.

Broadly, the literature in this bibliography cover three key points: (1) The unique ways Black women and LGBTQ people experience marginalization through police violence, (2) the causes and consequences of the exclusion of Black women and LGBTQ people from the Movement for Black Lives, and (3) how Black women and LGBTQ people created and use the #SayHerName movement both on and offline to challenge male-oriented narratives about police violence. Due to a lack of focus on Black LGBTQ people in research on police violence, this literature review includes studies that do not focus on Black LGBTQ people solely. Additionally, most of the literature below focuses exclusively on cisgender Black women rather than transgender women, centers on people in the U.S., and only one piece addresses the intersection of Blackness and disability.

Below, the bibliography includes three sections: (1) "Black Women and Police Violence," (2) "LGBTQ People and Police Violence," which provides literature that centers Black women and LGBTQ people's experiences with police violence respectively, and (3) "#SayHerName and Digital Activism," which covers studies on the creation, growth, and function of the #SayHerName movement both on and offline. If you recommend additional sources for the bibliography, please fill out the contact form at <https://www.blackfeminisms.com/about/contact-me/>.

## **Black Women and Police Violence**

**Amuchie, Nnennaya. 2015. "The Forgotten Victims How Racialized Gender Stereotypes Lead to Police Violence against Black Women and Girls: Incorporating an Analysis of Police Violence into Feminist Jurisprudence and Community Activism." *Seattle Journal for Social Justice* 14(3): 617 - 668.**

While this paper does not document every incident of police violence against Black women and girls, I hope this paper sheds light on the different ways Black women experience police violence due to racialized gender stereotypes. Black feminist thought encompasses theoretical interpretations of Black women's realities by those who live it. Thus, Black women have individual experiences and realities, which Black feminist thought recognizes and embraces. Patricia Collins suggests, "Black feminist thought consists of specialized knowledge created by African-American women, which clarifies a standpoint of and for Black women." This paper uses the Black feminist framework to analyze the experiences of individual Black women who have experienced police violence. Through these individual stories, this paper hopes to enrich Black feminist theory and to find commonalities between the stories that help explain the relationship between police violence and Black women.

*Keywords:* police violence; Black women; racialized gender stereotypes; Black feminism

**Aniefuna, Leah Iman, M. Amari Aniefuna, and Jason M. Williams. 2020. "Creating and Undoing Legacies of Resilience: Black Women as Martyrs in the Black Community Under Oppressive Social Control." *Women & Criminal Justice*: 1-18**

This paper contextualizes the struggles and contributions of Black motherhood and reproductive justice under police surveillance in Baltimore, Maryland. We conducted semi-structured interviews with mothers regarding their experiences and perceptions of policing in their community during the aftermath of the police-involved death of Freddie Gray. While the literature disproportionately focuses on Black males, little knowledge is known about the struggles and contributions of Black mothers in matters concerning police brutality and the fight against institutional violence. There still remains the question regarding the role of and impact on Black mothers during matters of institutional violence against Black children. We fill this gap by highlighting narratives and lived knowledges within a Black motherhood perspective.

Primary themes show that Black women are subject to terror from police and system agents, they face reproductive justice issues, as they are criminalized as mothers—and are affected mentally, but they employ various resistance strategies that strengthen their resilience. Results indicate that Black women are the backbone and martyrs of their communities, but this comes at a tremendous cost because they remain largely unprotected and subject to immeasurable institutional violence and judgment against their mothering strategies.

*Keywords:* Black feminism; Black feminist criminology; Black motherhood; policing; race; reproductive justice

**Annamma, Subini A., Yolanda Anyon, Nichole Joseph, Jordan Farrar, Eldridge Greer, Barbara Downing, and John Simmons. 2019. “Black Girls and School Discipline: The Complexities of Being Overrepresented and Understudied.” *Urban Education* 54(2): 211 – 242**

Using Critical Race Theory and Critical Race Feminism as guiding conceptual frameworks, this mixed-methods empirical study examines Black girls’ exclusionary discipline outcomes. First, we examined disciplinary data from a large urban school district to assess racial group differences in office referral reasons and disparities for Black girls in out-of-school suspensions, law enforcement referrals, and expulsions. Next, we used a multivariate analysis to determine whether these patterns held after accounting for other identity markers. Finally, we used Critical Discourse Analysis to consider whether office referrals for Black girls were for subjective or objective behaviors and whether they aligned with dominant narratives.

*Keywords:* Black girls; school discipline; racism; school-to-prison pipeline

**Battle, Nishaun T. 2019. *Black Girlhood, Punishment, and Resistance: Reimagining Justice for Black Girls in Virginia*. New York: Routledge**

*Black Girlhood, Punishment, and Resistance: Reimagining Justice for Black Girls in Virginia* provides a historical comprehensive examination of racialized, classed, and gendered punishment of Black girls in Virginia during the early twentieth century. It looks at the ways in which the court system punished Black girls based upon societal accepted norms of punishment, hinged on a notion that they were to be viewed and treated as adults within the criminal legal system. Further, the book explores the role of Black Club women and girls as agents of

resistance against injustice by shaping a social justice framework and praxis for Black girls and by examining the establishment of the Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls. This school was established by the Virginia State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs and its first President, Janie Porter Barrett.

This book advances contemporary criminological understanding of punishment by locating the historical origins of an environment normalizing unequal justice. It draws from a specific focus on Janie Porter Barrett and the Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls; a groundbreaking court case of the first female to be executed in Virginia; historical newspapers; and Black Women's Club archives to highlight the complexities of Black girls' experiences within the criminal justice system and spaces created to promote social justice for these girls. The historical approach unearths the justice system's role in crafting the pervasive devaluation of Black girlhood through racialized, gendered, and economic-based punishment. Second, it offers insight into the ways in which, historically, Black women have contributed to what the book conceptualizes as "resistance criminology," offering policy implications for transformative social and legal justice for Black girls and girls of color impacted by violence and punishment. Finally, it offers a lens to explore Black girl resistance strategies, through the lens of the Black Girlhood Justice framework.

*Keywords:* intersectionality criminology; Black girls; criminal justice

**Blue, Ethan. 2017. "Seeing Ms. Dhu: Inquest, Conquest, and (In)visibility in Black Women's Deaths in Custody." *Settler Colonial Studies* 7(3): 299 – 320**

This article examines the politics of vision and invisibility in Aboriginal Deaths in Custody and Coronial Inquests into deaths in custody. Ms. Dhu, a 22-year-old Yamatji woman, died in police custody in August 2014, in South Hedland, Western Australia, after being locked up for unpaid fines. Ms. Dhu's final hours were captured by CCTV cameras built into South Hedland's Police Station and Hospital, and that footage played a central role in the inquest into Ms. Dhu's death. The article presents an account of the Coronial Inquest into Ms. Dhu's death – examining both the footage and the manner of its presentation – to argue that the inquest was a contested theatre of power for the imposition of colonial patriarchy and settler sovereignty. But it also suggests that the modes of seeing Ms. Dhu can be transformed from a politics of neglect and carceral control to an ethos of care, community-building, decolonization, and decarceration, with ties stretching across Australia and to the Black Lives Matter, Say Her Name, and Idle No More movements in North America.

*Keywords:* aboriginal deaths in custody; decarceration; carceral studies; decolonization; social movements; visual studies

**Cammett, Ann. 2016. "Welfare Queens Redux: Criminalizing Black Mothers in the Age of Neoliberalism." *Southern California Interdisciplinary Law Journal* 25: 363 – 394**

The recent outcry that has accompanied the killing of black men and boys has had the effect of shedding light on the ways in which black people are vilified in order to justify the fear and loathing of others. Historically, the high proportion of arrests and prosecutions of African American men also has shaped the discourse of crime itself, conflating criminality with blackness in the public imagination and, more specifically, rendering black criminality as male. This phenomenon has been used to justify aggressive policing in black communities. By bringing to the surface implicit biases and stereotypes that allow for routine abuse against black male bodies, activists hope to get some measure of accountability for unjustifiable treatment. This particular narrative—however true and well-intentioned—provides an incomplete understanding of the nature of state subordination that criminalizes low-income communities of color. Such a gendered framework obscures the complex nature of state intervention experienced by black women. This article seeks to broaden the discourse and set forth the following three-part paradigm of how poor African American women are criminalized by the neoliberal state.

*Keywords:* police violence; racial stereotypes; gender discrimination; Black women

**Cigarran, Jane. 2020. "The Case of Cheryl D. James: Institutionalized Racism and Police Violence Against Black Women in Portland, Oregon (1968–1974)." *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 121(1): 40-67.**

In addition to highlighting the abuse faced by Black women within these systems of power, this article demonstrates how a bi-racial coalition of citizens fought back. People from different races and classes in Portland society were motivated to help based on a clear example of injustice unfolding within their community. During a time of great social unrest nationally, a group of individuals came together locally, forming the efficacious Cheryl James Defense Committee, determined to free Cheryl.

*Keywords:* police violence; activism; coalitions; history

**Crenshaw, Kimberle and Andrea J. Ritchie. 2015. “Say Her Name: Resisting Police Brutality Against Black Women (Rep).” *African American Policy Forum*. <https://aapf.org/sayhernamereport/>**

Our goal is not to offer a comprehensive catalog of police violence against Black women—indeed, it would be impossible to do so as there is currently no accurate data collection on police killings nationwide, no readily available database compiling a complete list of Black women’s lives lost at the hands of police, and no data collection on sexual or other forms of gender- and sexuality- based police violence. Moreover, the media’s exclusive focus on police violence against Black men makes finding information about Black women of all gender identities and sexualities much more difficult. Given these limitations, our goal is simply to illustrate the reality that Black women are killed and violated by police with alarming regularity. Equally important, our hope is to call attention to the ways in which this reality is erased from our demonstrations, our discourse, and our demands to broaden our vision of social justice.

*Keywords:* #SayHerName; Black women; police violence; social media; social movements; reports

**Douglass, Patrice D. 2018. “Black Feminist Theory for the Dead and Dying.” *Theory & Event* 21(1): 106 – 123**

This essay employs the 2016 police shooting of Korryn Gaines by Baltimore SWAT to ask critical questions about how various conceptualizations of gender violence occlude critical theorizations of how black people die at the hands of the state. Black death is thus taken up as a Black feminist theoretic to challenge the discursive capacity of gender as a singular category to articulate conclusively the suffering of Black gendered subjects. Thus, by examining the narrative maneuvers of the 2017 Women’s March to articulate police violence as a gender concern, this essay demonstrates how the specificities of Blackness are crowded out by the drive towards a collective politic.

*Keywords:* Black feminism; police violence; social movements

**Gonzalez, Shannon Malone 2019. "Making It Home: An Intersectional Analysis of the Police Talk." *Gender & Society* 33 (3): 363-386**

Black mothers often are responsible for teaching their children how to respond to police violence. Through 30 in-depth interviews with black mothers from diverse social class backgrounds, I investigate how they address the gendered racial vulnerability of their children in the “police talk,” a socialization practice designed to prepare children for police encounters. I identify mothers’ primary discourse as “the making it home” framework, which encapsulates in parent–child socialization their use of double consciousness around the police. This framework marginalizes girls’ experiences in three ways: it conceptualizes boys as the primary targets of police, while constructing girls as collateral targets of police violence; it emphasizes masculine forms of violence; and it is directed almost exclusively at boys. An intersectional analysis is applied to redress the limitations of the police talk and to highlight the need for structural reforms to recognize and combat police violence against black women and girls.

*Keywords:* Black girls; vulnerability; police violence; parenting; double consciousness; gender

**Greene, Christina. 2015. “She Ain’t No Rosa Parks’: The Joan Little Rape-Murder Case and Jim Crow Justice in the Post-Civil Rights South.” *The Journal of African American History* 100(3)**

A broader assessment of Joan Little’s more extensive experience within the criminal justice system reveals a pattern of racially discriminatory policing, judicial, and sentencing practices that was typical of the kind of “justice” low-income African Americans were likely to find in North Carolina and across the country, despite the victories of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement. Moreover, Little’s encounters with law enforcement *prior* to and *apart from* both Richard Nixon’s “law and order” policies and Ronald Reagan’s War on Drugs, suggest that her treatment may well have been fueled by unprecedented federal financing of local crime control, begun in the mid-1960s and reaching \$7 billion by 1979.

*Keywords:* Black history; Black women; criminal justice

**Gross, Kali N., and Cheryl D. Hicks. 2015. "Introduction—Gendering the Carceral State: African American Women, History, and the Criminal Justice System." *Journal of African American History* 100(3): 357-365.**

Along with historical context, this special issue on “Gendering the Carceral State: African American Women, History, and Criminal Justice” reinforces the long-established theme in black women’s history and black women’s studies that gender matters—especially when addressing state violence against black women.

*Keywords:* police violence; Black women; criminal justice

**Gross, Kali N. 2018. “Policing Black Women’s and Black Girl’s Bodies in the Carceral United States.” *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society* 20(1): 1 – 13.**

This article, which serves as an introduction to this special issue, explores the relationship between white supremacy, carceral violence, and black womanhood and it examines the symbiosis of gendered violence enacted against black women by state agents and everyday white men using the 1910 trial of Bessie Banks. It also discusses the articles included in the special issue, calling attention to the authors’ essential contributions as well as briefly spotlighting a few areas in the historiography that would benefit from richer excavation.

*Keywords:* Black girls; Black women; carceral studies; policing; violence

**Gurusami, Susila. 2019. “Motherwork Under the State: The Maternal Labor of Formerly Incarcerated Women.” *Social Problems* 66: 128 – 143**

Although Black mothers are disproportionately represented among formerly incarcerated mothers in the United States, existing research has largely neglected to document the challenges they face in resuming their parenting roles after prison or jail. This study addresses this gap using 18 months of participant observations with formerly incarcerated Black women to examine how state surveillance under post-release supervision and child welfare services shapes and constrains formerly incarcerated Black women’s mothering practices. The study develops a typology of three context-specific strategies these women employ to anticipate, react to, and

cope with state interventions that threaten their mothering: collective motherwork, hypervigilant motherwork, and crisis motherwork. These findings suggest that contrary to popular constructions of formerly incarcerated Black women as negligent mothers, they navigate multiple, overlapping sources of violence to protect their children. Yet, the labor of navigating the state structures that put their children at risk often placed these women in conflict with the state. This paradox suggests the state criminalizes the maternal labor of formerly incarcerated Black women and that these state logics are used to justify state intervention in Black women's post-incarceration parenting.

*Keywords:* mothering; race; gender; incarceration; reentry

**Harris, LaShawn D. 2018. "Women and Girls in Jeopardy by His False Testimony": Charles Dancy, Urban Policing, and Black Women in New York City During the 1920s." *Journal of Urban History* 44(3): 457 – 475.**

Troubling partnerships between the New York City Police Department (NYPD) and criminal informants during the mid-1920s adversely impacted urban African American women's daily lives. Part of multiple hierarchies of municipal corruption, undercover surveillance operations represented one of many apparatuses law enforcers employed to criminalize black women's ordinary behavior, to reinforce Progressive era images of black female criminality and promiscuity, and to deny women of their personhood and civil rights. Black New Yorker and criminal informant Charles Dancy, identified by local black newspapers as a vicious con artist and serial rapist, figured prominently in undercover police operations. Dancy falsely identified black women as sex workers and had them arrested, and in the process sexually assaulted women. New York blacks were outraged by some NYPD members' use of informants as well as black women's erroneous legal confinement. Situating informant work within the context of police brutality, racial inequity, and the denial of American citizenship, New York African American race leaders, newspaper editors, and ordinary folks devised and took part in resistance strategies that contested police surveillance operations and spoke on behalf of those who were subjected to state sanctioned violence.

*Keywords:* New York; urban policing; criminal informant; Black women; community resistance

**Haley, Sarah. 2016. *No Mercy Here: Gender, Punishment, and the Making of Jim Crow Modernity*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press**

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries imprisoned black women faced wrenching forms of gendered racial terror and heinous structures of economic exploitation. Subjugated as convict laborers and forced to serve additional time as domestic workers before they were allowed their freedom, black women faced a pitiless system of violence, terror, and debasement. Drawing upon black feminist criticism and a diverse array of archival materials, Sarah Haley uncovers imprisoned women's brutalization in local, county, and state convict labor systems, while also illuminating the prisoners' acts of resistance and sabotage, challenging ideologies of racial capitalism and patriarchy and offering alternative conceptions of social and political life.

A landmark history of black women's imprisonment in the South, this book recovers stories of the captivity and punishment of black women to demonstrate how the system of incarceration was crucial to organizing the logics of gender and race, and constructing Jim Crow modernity

*Keywords:* gender; Black women; history; gender studies; women's studies

**Hines-Datiri, Dorothy and Dorinda Carter Andrews. 2017. "The Effects of Zero Tolerance Policies on Black Girls: Using Critical Race Feminism and Figured Worlds to Examine School Discipline." *Urban Education*: 1 – 22**

Black girls are more likely to be suspended or expelled through exclusionary discipline than their female counterparts but continue to be overlooked and understudied. This article presents a case for using critical race feminism and figured worlds as theoretical frameworks for examining the effects of zero tolerance policies on Black girls. We use these frameworks to explore how adults' implementation of disciplinary policies not only affects the racial and gender identity development of Black girls, but perpetuates anti-Black discipline and represents behavioral responses to White femininity that may not align with Black girls' femininity and identification with school.

*Keywords:* zero tolerance policies; race; identity; cultural responsiveness; Black females; discipline policies; urban education

**Jackson, Fleda Mask, Sherman A. James, and Tracy Curry Owens. 2017. "Anticipated negative police-youth encounters and depressive symptoms among pregnant African American women: a brief report." *Journal of urban health* 94(2): 259-265.**

The widely publicized violent encounters between police and African American youth have unknown consequences for the emotional and mental health of pregnant African American women. Since studies document the hypervigilance black mothers exert to protect children from violence and racism and findings also reveal the association between racial and gendered stress (which includes parenting stressors) and depressive symptoms during pregnancy, an examination of the effects of stress from anticipated negative experiences between black youth and police on maternal mental health is warranted. Between July and August 2014, 100 mostly low income pregnant African American women who lived in metropolitan Atlanta and were in their first and second trimesters completed the Edinburgh postnatal depression scale, selected items from the Jackson, Hogue, Phillips contextualized stress measure, and a demographic form. Bivariate and logistic regression analyses were conducted in response to questions that asked: (1) is the anticipation of negative encounters between black youth and police associated with antenatal depressive symptoms and (2) how does the presence of prior children, male or female, contribute to the association? For question 1, the results showed that anticipated negative African American youth-police experiences were significantly associated with antenatal depressive symptoms  $\chi^2(2, N = 87) = 12.62, p = .002$ . For question 2, the presence of a preschool-aged male child in the home was significantly associated with antenatal depression ( $p = .009$ , odds ratio = 13.23). The observed associations between antenatal depressive symptoms and anticipated negative police-youth encounters have implications for clinical- and community-based interventions responding to the unique psychosocial risks for pregnant African American women.

*Keywords:* policing; racial and gendered stress; antenatal depression; psychosocial pregnancy risk; culturally sensitive intervention

**Jacobs, Michelle S. 2017. "The Violent State: Black Women's Invisible Struggle Against Police Violence." *William & Mary Journal of Women and the Law* 24(1): 39 – 100**

Black women's interaction with the state, through law enforcement, is marked by violence.

Black women are murdered by the police.<sup>4</sup> They are assaulted and injured by the police.<sup>5</sup> They are arrested unlawfully by the police;<sup>6</sup> and finally they are tried, convicted and incarcerated for defending themselves against nonpolice violence.<sup>7</sup> State violence against Black women is long-standing, pervasive, persistent, and multilayered, yet few legal actors seem to care about it. This Article will bring together the strands of scholarship that exists across several fields on the dilemma of state sponsored violence against Black women, to highlight for legal scholars the depth of the problems Black women experience. The relationship between Black women and the state was birthed in violence, through the establishment of slavery in the colonial world.

*Keywords:* Black women; police violence; gender; social media; social movements

**Jibrin, Rekia. 2017. "Ain't I a feminist?": The Politics of Gender Violence, Anti-Violence, and Education in Oakland, CA." *Gender, Place & Culture* 24(4): 545 – 562**

This article focuses on the ways gender violence politics become reduced to liberal narratives of victimization in contemporary U.S. deployment of feminist identity politics, within academic and activist discourses. Such victimization narratives, I argue, exploit suffering and reproduce social stratification between a growing middle class in the academy and poor black people outside of it. This article draws from moments in California's Bay area when questions of feminism, gender violence, and anti-violence in schools arose. In each case, left feminists had an opportunity to reshape these questions towards new political paradigms and new academic discourses. Instead, amidst the 'safety' of left discourse and practice, each moment confronted contradictory silences that called into question such 'safety' and made generative political movement impossible. I analyze the dynamics of this silencing as constitutive of the co-optation of feminist identity politics within a capitalist university that reproduces an oppressive race and class order. We face a problem of language to adequately explain and disrupt the incapacity for collective social change that victimhood, identity politics, and reformism have produced. Each instance I present function as moments of history making from which we may reflect and strategize forward movement against capitalist oppression and racial dehumanization.

*Keywords:* schooling; violence; restorative justice; class; race; feminism

**Kwate, Naa Oyo A. and Shatema Threadcraft. 2015. "Perceiving the Black Female Body: Race and Gendering Police Constructions of Body Weight." *Race and Social Problems* 7: 213 – 226**

Representations of black women in US popular culture and public discourse frequently depict them stereotypically as fat and in need of policing for moral failures. As well, research has shown that black women are perceived and constructed as non-prototypical for their gender. Taken together, observers within a white-dominant social frame could be said to have difficulty correctly seeing black women's bodies and gender presentations. In this study, we examined how black women are seen in the context of New York City Police Department (NYPD) stops and searches (known as stop and frisk). We examined how officers categorized black women's body weight; investigated whether stops took place in public or private space; and assessed the extent to which body weight brought additional sanctions (i.e., being frisked). We used publicly available datasets from the NYPD's stop and frisk program, in which stops numbering in the hundreds of thousands were recorded in yearly databases from 2003 to 2012. For each stop, officers record a number of attributes about the potential suspect and context, including race, gender, physique, date, and precinct. We conducted logistic regressions to model the odds of being categorized as heavy by race and gender, controlling for age, calculated BMI, location in a black precinct, and season of the year. Results showed that across 10 years of data, black women were more likely than white women to be labeled heavy. Black women were also much more likely than all other subgroups to be stopped inside rather than outside. Body size showed little association with stop locations or frisks. We interpret these findings as a reflection of black women's positioning with regard to racial and gender representations and the disciplinary projects of the state.

*Keywords:* Black women; policing; gender; race

**LeFlouria, Talitha. 2015. "Under the Sting of the Lash': Gendered Violence, Terror, and Resistance in the South's Convict Campus." *The Journal of African American History* 100(3)**

The purpose of this essay is to demonstrate how gendered violence and terror impacted the lives and laboring experiences of black female felons and misdemeanants held in the South's convict camps after the Civil War and to answer all-important questions about the extent and nature of violence against the incarcerated black female body. While historians Catherine Clinton, Hannah Rosen, Crystal Feimster, Kidada Williams, and others have made critical contributions to the historical literature by placing racial violence in a gendered context, and clarifying the unique ways in which southern black women's lives were imperiled by physical and sexual assault and lynching, there is more to the story.<sup>6</sup> Living and laboring off the grid, "everywhere, yet nowhere," tucked away in "flying" railroad camps, brickyards, chain gangs, lumber mills, mines, plantations, washhouses, barns, and "big houses," southern African American women prisoners were *also* terrorized, whipped, raped, and emotionally bruised.

*Keywords:* Black women; Black history; convict camps; gendered violence

**LeFlouria, Talitha. 2015. *Chained in Silence: Black Women and Convict Labor in the New South*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press**

In 1868, the state of Georgia began to make its rapidly growing population of prisoners available for hire. The resulting convict leasing system ensnared not only men but also African American women, who were forced to labor in camps and factories to make profits for private investors. In this vivid work of history, Talitha L. LeFlouria draws from a rich array of primary sources to piece together the stories of these women, recounting what they endured in Georgia's prison system and what their labor accomplished. LeFlouria argues that African American women's presence within the convict lease and chain-gang systems of Georgia helped to modernize the South by creating a new and dynamic set of skills for black women. At the same time, female inmates struggled to resist physical and sexual exploitation and to preserve their human dignity within a hostile climate of terror. This revealing history redefines the social context of black women's lives and labor in the New South and allows their stories to be told for the first time.

*Keywords:* Black women; carceral studies; convict labor; history

**Lindsey, Treva B. 2018. "Ain't nobody got time for that: Anti-Black girl violence in the era of #SayHerName." *Urban Education* 53(2): 162-175.**

In the era of #BlackLivesMatter, anti-Black state violence is a primary focus. From police brutality to the Flint Water Crisis, organizers within the Movement for Black Lives draw important connections between various sites of racial injustice as experienced by people of African descent in the United States. One of the many sites where anti-Black violence and victimization occurs is in our classrooms. This article explores the classroom as a site of racial-gender terror for Black girls. The classroom is far too often an anti Black girl space.

*Keywords:* race; identity; activism; social; Black girls; subjects

**Middlemass, Keesha M. 2019. "Black Women Excluded From Protection and Criminalized for Their Existence" in *Prisoner Reentry in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Critical Perspectives of Returning Home*, edited by Keesha M. Middlemass and Calvin John Smiley. New York: Routledge.**

This chapter examines Black women as social actors using the epistemological framework of intersectionality, specifically examining institutional and structural racism and racialized and gendered norms through a legal and sociohistorical lens. The focus is on how Black women were targeted through the use of select criminal laws that connected race, gender, social positions, and legal statutes with the goal of oppressing them. This oppression, and how it was constituted, is central to understand Black women's position in historic and contemporary society vis-à-vis the role of the state.

*Keywords:* intersectionality; criminal justice; Black women; gender; race

**Mollow, Anna. 2017. "Unvictimizable: Toward a Fat Black Disability Studies." *African American Review* 50(2): 105 – 121**

In this essay, I argue that fatphobia is routinely deployed in ways that exacerbate the problem of state-sanctioned violence against African Americans. As we shall see, antifat prejudice, racism, and ableism intersect to create a double bind in which black people are depicted as unvictimizable for two contradictory reasons: black people—of all sizes, but fat black people in

particular—are figured as innately disabled but also as invulnerable to disability, injury, or suffering. For example, defenders of the officers who killed Garner reproduced stereotypes of black bodies as inherently disabled when they insisted that fatness-induced disabilities—rather than a deadly police chokehold—caused Garner’s death. At the same time, Garner was portrayed as almost superhumanly invulnerable when Congressman King described him as a “350-pound person who was resisting arrest,” the implication being that Garner’s size made him so dangerous that deadly force was necessary to defuse the threat that he presented.<sup>1</sup> In this and other tragic incidents that I discuss in this essay, fatphobia and ableism work in conjunction with racism to construct an ideological double bind that rhetorically positions black bodies as incapable of being victimized. One side of this double bind renders violence against black people inconsequential by suggesting that fatness is the real cause of any injuries inflicted upon them, while its other side depicts violence as a necessary response to the excessive physical power that black people, especially those who are fat, are imagined to embody.

*Keywords:* Black people; disability studies; police violence

**Morris, Monique W. 2016. *Pushout: The Criminalization of Black Girls in Schools*. New York: The New Press**

Fifteen-year-old Diamond stopped going to school the day she was expelled for lashing out at peers who constantly harassed and teased her for something everyone on the staff had missed: she was being trafficked for sex. After months on the run, she was arrested and sent to a detention center for violating a court order to attend school. Black girls represent 16 percent of female students but almost half of all girls with a school-related arrest. The first trade book to tell these untold stories, *Pushout* exposes a world of confined potential and supports the growing movement to address the policies, practices, and cultural illiteracy that push countless students out of school and into unhealthy, unstable, and often unsafe futures. For four years Monique W. Morris, author of *Black Stats*, chronicled the experiences of black girls across the country whose intricate lives are misunderstood, highly judged-by teachers, administrators, and the justice system—and degraded by the very institutions charged with helping them flourish. Morris shows how, despite obstacles, stigmas, stereotypes, and despair, black girls still find ways to breathe remarkable dignity into their lives in classrooms, juvenile facilities, and beyond.

*Keywords:* Black girls; education; discrimination in education; criminal justice

**McMurty-Chubb, Teri A. 2015. “#SayHerName  
#BlackWomensLivesMatter: State Violence in Policing the Black  
Female Body.” *Mercer Law Review* 67: 651 – 705**

The central theme of this article is that Black female bodies are regularly policed and eventually sorted in United States prisons in accordance with their material value to the State and their ability to threaten its foundations. Undergirding this theme is the notion that the State is not a benign benefactor and protector of rights, but rather a malevolent entity that feeds on a material valuation of Black bodies, male and female, ordered as inferior to White bodies to gain both economic strength and political currency. This article traces this phenomenon and its evolution in four parts. The discussion commences at the plantation as a proxy for the State and its actors, and its role in shaping the material and political valuation of Black female bodies. Next, it moves to the transfer of power from the plantation to state governments with the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment," and the implications for policing and sorting Black female bodies. Third, it interrogates the race and gendered dimensions of Jim Crow and its impact on policing Black women in the twenty-first century. The fourth and final section is a series of contemporary examples of how the vestiges of these systemic oppressive regimes persist in policing Black female bodies today. Although the main site of this article is Georgia, it incorporates regional and national trends shaped by forces similar in kind and impact.

*Keywords:* #SayHerName; #BlackLivesMatter; police violence; Black women

**Mustakeem, Sownade. 2015. “Armed with a Knife in Her Bosom’:  
Gender, Violence, and the Carceral Consequences of Rage in the Late  
19<sup>th</sup> Century.” *The Journal of African American History* 100(3)**

This essay delves into the consequences of Amanda’s alleyway actions to trace how a 21-year-old African American woman charged with murder in 1891 navigated Missouri’s legal and penal system. An expanding body of historical scholarship has centered on the lives of women criminalized and forced into carceral spaces.<sup>6</sup> Yet, there is much more to uncover about the treatment of violent female offenders, the traumatic effects of the penal process, as well as the entanglement of gender, race, crime, and the American media. This essay frames the legal and punitive worlds Amanda navigated as part of what I define as a “pyramid of power.” By pyramid I mean the vast, hierarchical, and virtually omnipotent structural power held by the state to legally disrupt and upend lives. Amanda moved through three primary layers within this far-reaching system of incarceration, including the police/county holding, criminal court system and state prison, and the Missouri Supreme Court.

*Keywords:* Black history; Black women; carceral studies

**Pearl, Sharrona. 2020. "Staying Angry: Black Women Resistance to Racialized Forgiveness in U.S. Police Shootings." *Women's Studies in Communication*: 1 – 21**

Requests for forgiveness can effectively silence and delegitimize anger, and requests to publicly perform emotional labor can effectively make that labor both required and undervalued. I focus on interviews and press conferences between 2014 and 2016 with police shooting mourners Esaw Garner, Lesley McSpadden, Samaria Rice, Audrey DuBose, and Valerie Castile. I show how these Black women resist racist calls to deprive them of their anger and right to seek justice, refusing to suture the social crisis of police violence with their emotional labor. On television, the news context obscures the entertainment value of anger and grief that partly motivates these requests. I argue that speakers are well aware of the way supposedly angry, supposedly violent affect gets judged on the Black body in the public sphere. Family members resist the pressure to forgive—a form of resistance that insists on the right to anger in the public sphere—while strategically maintaining a reasonable demeanor.

*Keywords:* anger; Black women's rage; forgiveness; justice; police shootings; public sphere; television news

**Ritchie, Andrea, and Delores Jones-Brown. 2017. "Policing Race, Gender, and Sex: A Review of Law Enforcement Policies." *Women & Criminal Justice* 27(1): 21 – 50.**

Growing attention to the unique ways in which women of color's bodies are racially profiled and policed has prompted questions concerning gender-specific impacts of law enforcement practices. Arrest statistics, patterns of enforcement, and high-profile cases of police violence against Black women and other women of color suggest that gaps in policy and implementation will disproportionately affect women of color. In the current research, the policies of 36 police departments across the country were examined to ascertain the degree to which they address profiling, police sexual misconduct, and other gendered experiences of policing. The findings reveal considerable divergence in attention to regulating police behavior in the context of interactions with women and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people, exposing

important gaps in police policies, and highlight a need for further research and action specifically focused on intersectional factors at play in the context of policing women's bodies.

*Keywords:* racial profiling; police violence; police misconduct; gender; sexuality

**Ritchie, Andrea J. 2017. *Invisible No More: Police Violence Against Black Women and Women of Color*. Boston: Beacon Press**

*Invisible No More* is a timely examination of how Black women, Indigenous women, and women of color experience racial profiling, police brutality, and immigration enforcement. Placing stories of individual women—such as Sandra Bland, Rekia Boyd, Dajerria Becton, Monica Jones, and Mya Hall—in the broader context of the twin epidemics of police violence and mass incarceration, it documents the evolution of movements centering women's experiences of policing and demands a radical rethinking of our visions of safety—and the means we devote to achieving it.

*Keywords:* police brutality; police misconduct; African American women; minority women; police-community relations; feminism; gender; transgender; queer

**Rogers, Arnetta. 2015. "How police brutality harms mothers: Linking police violence to the reproductive justice movement." *Hastings Race & Poverty Law Journal* 12(2)**

The recent and highly publicized killing of Michael Brown, an unarmed 18-year-old African American and the subsequent grand jury decision not to indict Darren Wilson, the Ferguson, Missouri police officer who killed him, evoked mass social protest, and highly emotional and politically charged social commentary on the racialized effects of police brutality. While the crisis of systemic police violence has historically centered on the harm inflicted on victims of police brutality and, more generally, on the communities where they are from, an agitated group of feminist scholars and reproductive justice advocates have offered a more nuanced appraisal of the harm of police brutality, and have called for a reframing of the issue to one of reproductive justice in light of its impact on the choices of mothers and families. This tote will examine the social, historical, sociological, and criminal justice implications of police brutality, and further analyze the efficacy of framing the problem as a Reproductive Justice concern.

*Keywords:* reproductive justice; police brutality; criminal justice

**Sankofa, Jasmine. 2016. "Mapping the Blank: Centering Black Women's Vulnerability to Police Sexual Violence to Upend Mainstream Police Reform." *Howard Law Journal* 59(3): 651 – 703**

Police sexual violence is not a recent phenomenon. Historically, police officers have abused their authority, and with sexual violence in particular, Black women are hypervulnerable due to pejorative stereotypes about our sexuality and disproportionate interactions with the criminal legal system. Yet there is a pervasive silence around sexual violence, which obscures its frequency and gravity. Mainstream advocacy has challenged rape culture in a variety of contexts, especially sexual assault on college campuses. However, these efforts have failed to take up the issue of police sexual violence. Similarly, mainstream efforts to combat racial profiling and police brutality have not centered Black women's experiences with structural violence, including sexual assault, resulting in reforms that legitimize the presence of police in marginalized communities under the guise of public safety and community-police collaboration. Thus, this Article advocates for an intersectional, rights-based antiviolence platform in order to advance comprehensive, survivor-centered solutions and institutional accountability.

*Keywords:* police brutality; police violence; sexual violence; sexual harassment; race; intersectionality; human rights

**Smith, Ashley L. 2016. "#BlackWomenMatter: Neo-Capital Punishment Ideology in the Wake of State Violence." *The Journal of Negro Education* 85(3): 261 – 273.**

Theoretical articulations of governmentality, and discipline and punishment are central to understanding policing and the state's production of disciplined subjects throughout society. However, incidents of state violence result in specific forms of racialized and gendered discipline and punishment practices that target Black women and girls. This article introduces, neo-capital punishment ideology, a theoretical construct, described as indocile acts displayed by Black women and girls which result in neither institutionally sanctioned nor legally justified discipline. Through an analysis of the Black Lives Matter movement, discourse, media, and school discipline policies and practices, this article explores how unjustified punishment against

Black women and girls remains invisible and normalizes their multi-marginalized position in society.

*Keywords:* Black women and girls; state violence; school discipline

**Smith, Christen. 2018. "Lingering Trauma in Brazil: Police Violence Against Black Women." *NACLA Report on the Americas* 50(4): 369 – 376**

Police violence is a phenomenon that gravely affects Black men, but it also disproportionately targets Black women. Black women are also shot, tortured, and killed by the police in addition to facing sexual assault and terror due to both physical threats and the lingering, deadly effects of police terror. Following the work of Andreia Beatriz dos Santos, co-coordinator of the React or Die! Campaign Against the Genocide of Black People and co-founder of the Winnie Mandela School in Salvador, Bahia, I call this process *sequelae*, which draws from the medical definition of the term *sequela*, meaning "a condition that is the consequence of a previous disease," as I have written in recent articles. I use the term to describe the lingering, deadly aftereffects of police terror on the bodies of the living in the aftermath of police killings.

Like Cláudia Ferreira's death four years before, Marielle Franco's death was yet another disturbing reminder of the complex ways that Black women experience police violence in the Americas. But in order to come to grips with the full spectrum of the gendered realities of anti-Black policing in the Americas, we must pay closer attention to the violence Black women experience at the hands of on duty and off duty police officers and complicate and expand our definitions of police violence to include the mundane and the lingering impact of trauma in addition to the spectacular. Examining these recent examples through a gendered perspective provides insight into the multiple ways that Black women experience police violence in Brazil.

*Keywords:* Brazil; police violence; gender violence; Black women

**Spencer, Ayanna De’Vante. 2018. "Say Her Name: Maladjusted Epistemic Saliency in the Fight against Anti-Black Police Brutality." In *The Bloomsbury Companion to Analytic Feminism*, edited by Pieranna Caravaso. New York: Bloomsbury Academic.**

Analyzing the civic engagement responses to the murders of Rekia Boyd and Islan Nettles, I seek to demonstrate a relationship between affectability imbalance and epistemic violence. I argue that if resentment and community-specific civic engagement responses track rifts/breaks in community norms for just treatment, then a raced-gender disparity in the said responses is an indication of an affectability imbalance across communities. This affectability imbalance corresponds with what I posit is maladjusted epistemic saliency (MES). MES refers to breaks in an epistemic community’s saliency-making structure such that knowledge of a subcategory and/or intersection of categories is relegated to the margins as irrelevant. I contend that MES is a form of epistemic oppression when knowledge claims of marginalized communities are inequitably marked as non-salient for knowledge production. In the context of US police brutality, the resulting epistemic oppression means black (cis and trans) women’s experiences, testimonies, and knowledge are relegated to the margins of civic regard.

*Keywords:* maladjusted epistemic saliency; police violence; Black women

**Spencer, Zoe and Olivia N. Perlow. 2018. "Sassy Mouths, Unfettered Spirits, and the Neo-Lynching of Korryn Gaines and Sandra Bland: Conceptualizing Post Traumatic Slave Master Syndrome and the "Policing" of Black Women’s Resistance in Twenty-First Century America." *Meridians* 17(1): 163 – 183.**

This work develops and conceptualizes a new theory, Post Traumatic Slave Master Syndrome, that is utilized to critically correlate historic patterns of lynching Black women to contemporary violent state (actor) responses to Black women’s resistance, specifically relating to the neo-lynching of Korryn Gaines and Sandra Bland. This work deviates from the tradition of analyzing the history and contemporary effects of racism and white supremacy, patriarchy, lynching, policing, and state-sponsored violence from the perspective of the effects upon the victim and instead critiques how white supremacy affects the perpetrator. This chapter contributes to ensuring that Black women resisters continue to #SayHerName.

*Keywords:* Black women; resistance; lynching; Post Traumatic Slave Master Syndrome; white supremacy; police brutality; Black Lives Matter; Say Her Name

**Threadcraft, Shatema. 2017. "North American Necropolitics and Gender: On #BlackLivesMatter and Black Femicide." *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 116(3): 553 – 579.**

In what follows I consider the ways that the Black Lives Matter movement and those sympathetic to its narrative regarding the production of the bodies of the black dead have brought strategies employed in an earlier US necropolitical struggle, the US antilynching campaign, together with technological innovations. They have achieved considerable success in comparison to a fairly recent necropolitical struggle, the struggle against femicide at the Mexico–United States border outlined by Melissa Wright, which preceded the advent of those innovations the Black Lives Matter movement has used to great effect. However, while I recognize and celebrate these successes, I am deeply concerned that the movement may ultimately fail black women. I would therefore like to reflect on how this necropolitical movement, if it is not properly intersectional, may do little to change the problematic ways that state power intersects with the black female body as well as the production of the bodies of black female dead.

*Keywords:* Black women; state violence; #BlackLivesMatter; necropolitics

**Threadcraft, Shatema, and Lisa L. Miller. 2017. "Black women, victimization, and the limitations of the liberal state." *Theoretical Criminology* 21(4): 478-493**

This article challenges contemporary understandings of the US carceral state by confronting the realities of exceptionally high rates of homicide victimization among Black women and considering the implications for equality and understandings of the carceral state. We propose that neither the US state nor the US penal order can be fully understood without taking account of the exceptionally high rates of violence to which Black women are exposed. Conceptions of the carceral state that do not situate criminal justice within the larger context of raced and gendered subject formation depict criminal "justice" as an arena composed almost entirely of adult males. This obscures the realities of how state form contributes not only to criminal justice practices but also to risk of violence. Black women are uniquely situated at the intersection of risk of violence, and risk of experiencing the collateral damage of the carceral state. Without significant attention

to issues of connectivity and care, which are directly affected by the carceral state and by interpersonal violence, we cannot fully understand the concepts of “carceral” or “state”.

*Keywords:* gender; homicide; race; race and gender politics; state

**Willingham, Brea C. 2018. “Black Women and State-Sanctioned Violence: A History of Victimization and Exclusion.” *Canadian Review of American Studies* 48(1): 77 – 94**

Black women and girls continue to battle the intersecting oppressions of race, gender, and justice while living in a society that routinely derogates them and while being victimized by a criminal justice system that was never designed to protect them. This is most evident in their experiences as victims of police violence, including being beaten, raped, or shot to death. This state-sanctioned violence continues decades after the legal end of slavery, and it characterizes the sustained impact race and gender have on black women’s experiences with the criminal justice system. This article examines the violence black women have historically endured as subjects of terror or objects for white men, and how this violence is perpetuated in the same way today through interactions with police. I argue that the contemporary state-sanctioned violence black women and girls experience is a manifestation of their continued victimization, dehumanization, and social exclusion, and is a function of the systemic racism that permeates the American criminal injustice system.

*Keywords:* Black women; police violence; race; gender and criminal justice; state-sanctioned violence

**Wilson, Ida, Tamar MJ Antin, and Geoffrey Hunt. 2020. “‘Some Are Good, Some Are Bad’: Perceptions of the Police from Black and Latina Women Living in the San Francisco Bay Area.” *Women & Criminal Justice*: 1-16.**

In recent years, high profile cases involving the deadly use of force on men and boys of color have raised concerns about police interactions with people of color. In general, these highly publicized cases have consolidated the view that men of color are the primary targets. While this focus is important, it has led, nevertheless, to an overshadowing of women of color’s experiences with police violence and their perceptions of the police. In order to begin to fill this

gap, this paper, using in-depth interviews with 49 women of color residing in the San Francisco Bay Area, explores their perceptions of the police and the factors that influence their views. Analysis of the narrative data revealed that women do not view the police positively and suggests that personal and vicarious experiences with the police through friends, family members and the media operated as influential factors that shaped their perceptions of police.

*Keywords:* perceptions of the police; policing; Black women; Latinas; Media

**Wun, Connie. 2016. "Against Captivity: Black Girls and School Discipline Policies in the Afterlife of Slavery." *Educational Policy* 30(1): 171 – 196.**

Multilayered disciplinary policies including sophisticated surveillance mechanisms and harsh punitive practices increasingly characterize schools in the United States. Researchers contend that these modalities funnel students into prisons and produce "prison-like" conditions and/or militarized spaces. Most studies have examined the effects of these school policies and practices on boys of color, particularly Black boys. Although these frameworks are useful, they obscure the relationship that school discipline policies have to Black girls and violence. Based on a 12-month case study of a high school in northern California, "Against Captivity: Black Girls and School Discipline in the Afterlife of Slavery," finds that through formal discipline policies and informal punitive practices, Black girls' are subject to constant surveillance while their lives are perpetually disavowed. This article contends that school discipline policies position Black girls as "captive objects." The girls are under constant surveillance while they are refused access to agency, autonomy, and self-defense against multiple forms of violence including gratuitous punishment inflicted by school faculty.

*Keywords:* anti-Blackness; race and gender in education; school discipline; feminist theory; Black feminism; intersectional feminism; gender and violence

**Wun, Connie. 2016. "Unaccounted Foundations: Black Girls, Anti-Black Racism, and Punishment in Schools." *Critical Sociology* 42(4): 737 – 750**

For nearly three decades, racial formations theory has influenced ideas, discourses and political projects surrounding race and racism in the United States. The theory holds that although race is

a permanent feature in the US, the formation, order, and set of meanings inscribed onto racialized subjects are contingent upon historical and political contexts. This framework conceals anti-black racism as an enduring social order that affects policies, policy outcomes and organizes the relationship between non-black and black bodies. One exemplary social institution through which this can be seen is the public education system and its culture of discipline and punishment in the US. Current interrogations of school disciplinary landscapes have focused in on disparities in discipline policies as they affect working-class/working-poor boys of color. While it is useful to examine the uneven rates of suspensions, expulsions, and arrests, focusing on these disciplinary discrepancies misses everyday occurrences of punishment that young black girls experience. This qualitative paper examines school discipline policies and informal punitive practices including the implications that these mechanisms have on the physical and emotional worlds of black girls. The study finds that black girls are rendered structurally vulnerable to discipline and punishment at the hands of adults and peers in ways that exceed or contend with the logics espoused through racial formations theory. Placing black girls at the center of analysis compels us to examine the anti-black logic of discipline and punishment in schools and at large.

*Keywords:* anti-Black racism; anti-Blackness; Black girls; education; girls of color; intersectionality; race and gender in education; racial formation; school discipline and punishment

**Wun, Connie. 2018. "Angered: Black and non-Black Girls of Color at the Intersections of Violence and School Discipline in the United States." *Race, Ethnicity, and Education* 21(4): 423 – 437**

While most research examining school discipline policies have focused on the experiences of boys of color, this article explores the relationship between violence and school discipline as they shape the lives of girls of color and their disciplinary records. Using in-depth interviews, this article re-narrates the experiences of Black and non-Black girls of color who have discipline records to explore their experiences. The author found that in addition to being subject to multiple, intersecting forms of violence outside of school, girls of color – particularly Black girls – are also subject to schools as sites of control that elicit their anger and resistance. This author contends that faculty should establish new ways of understanding Black and non-Black girls of color by accounting for the ways that intersectional violence shapes the girls' lives and supports their 'anger', agency and resistance to violence.

***Keywords:*** school discipline; race and gender; girls of color; zero tolerance policies; violence; critical race feminism; Black feminism

## LGBTQ People and Police Violence

**Calhoun, Carolyn. 2017. "Bullseye on Their Back': Police Profiling and Abuse of Trans and Gender Non-Conforming Individuals and Solutions Beyond The Department of Justice Guidelines." *Alabama Civil Rights & Civil Liberties Law Review* 8(1): 127 – 143**

This article will explore the rate of violence, intimidation, profiling, and harassment experienced by trans and nonbinary people at the hands of law enforcement officials. While it is clear that most police officers enforce the law in a just, un-biased way and do not participate in these activities, the problems must be addressed. This article will include a discussion of the general discrimination trans and non-binary people face, the history of policing of "deviant" gender practices, and how this translates into a system that tolerates violence against trans and non-binary people. Finally, this article will analyze the Department of Justice's (DOJ) current guidelines on gender profiling and propose additional solutions to the problem.

*Keywords:* transgender; non-binary; gender non-conforming; policing; discrimination

**Callier, Durell M. 2017. "Still, nobody mean more: Engaging Black Feminist Pedagogies on Questions of the Citizen and Human in Anti-Blackqueer Times." *Curriculum Inquiry* 48(1): 16 – 34.**

Still, Nobody Mean More explores how Black youth constructed as queer subjects by state apparatuses and sociocultural institutions encounter, survive, and resist premature death. Engaging with women and queer of color theories this paper interrogates how the queerness of Blackness works to erase certain subjects from contemporary political campaigns eliding claims to the status option or protection of the citizen and/or human. Specifically, this paper, through the cases of recently slain Baltimoreans, Mya Hall, Korryn Gaines, and Freddie Gray, explores the question embedded in #BlackLivesMatter – do they, and which ones? Illustrating how discourses of difference structure and mediate value, this paper ultimately turns to Black queer feminist pedagogies to imagine otherwise.

*Keywords:* Anti-Blackness; Black feminist theory; Black queer theory; curriculum; performance pedagogy

**Daum, Courtenay W. 2015. “The War on Solicitation and Intersectional Subjection: Quality-of-Life Policing as a Tool to Control Transgender Populations.” *New Political Science* 37(4): 562 – 581**

The selective enforcement of solicitation laws on transgender individuals—often referred to as “walking while trans”—has an especially pernicious effect on transgender people of color, immigrants, and the poor. Intersectional subjection—the interaction between multiple categories of identity and diffuse power and sources of authority within contemporary American society—facilitates processes of governmentality and makes some transgender individuals more vulnerable to forms of social control such as trans-profiling. Using intersectional subjection to analyze the selective enforcement of solicitation laws exposes how trans-profiling (1) works to marginalize and remove transgender people of color and transgender immigrants from public spaces; and (2) enforces raced and classed gender norms and reifies white cis-heteronormative privilege. The concepts of intersectionality, subjection, and governmentality elucidate the mutually constitutive relationships among informal and formal actors and institutions in sanctioning the profiling of individuals for “walking while trans” as a tool for mitigating the threat transgender people of color and trans-immigrants pose to dominant power structures and narratives.

*Keywords:* gender; policing; LGBTQ; intersectionality

**Daum, Courtenay W. 2019. “A Historical Perspective on Violence Against and Policing of LGBTQ Communities.” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics***

Law enforcement has a lengthy history of policing LGBTQ communities. Throughout the 20th century, police utilized laws prohibiting same-sex sexual conduct to criminalize LGBTQ individuals, and to target public gathering places including gay bars. Sodomy prohibitions were supplemented by mental health diagnoses including assumptions about criminal pathologies among LGBTQ individuals and the government’s fear that LGBTQ individuals’ sexual perversions made them a national security risk to subject LGBTQ communities to extensive policing based on their alleged sexual deviance. The successes of the gay rights movement led the American Psychiatric Association to declassify homosexuality as a mental health disorder in the 1970s, and the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision that prohibitions on sodomy run afoul of the Constitution ended the de jure criminalization of LGBTQ individuals based on their sexual conduct.

Today, policing of LGBTQ communities consists of both overpolicing and underenforcement. Law enforcement regularly profiles some facets of LGBTQ communities in order to selectively enforce general criminal prohibitions on public lewdness, solicitation, loitering, and vagrancy—consistent with the goals of “quality of life” policing—on gay men, transwomen, and LGBTQ youth, respectively. The selective enforcement of these laws often targets LGBTQ people of color and other intersectionally identified LGBTQ individuals in order to criminalize their existence based on ongoing stereotypes about sexual deviancy. In addition, police regularly fail to recognize LGBTQ individuals as victims of crimes, with the exception of particularly heinous hate crimes, and do not adequately attend to their needs and/or subject them to secondary victimization. As such, the relationship between many LGBTQ communities and law enforcement continues to be characterized by antagonisms and mistrust.

*Keywords:* LGBTQ; transgender; police; law enforcement; sodomy; sexual deviance; transprofiling; solicitation; hate crimes; quality-of-life policing; LGBT politics

**Dwyer, Angela. 2015. “Teaching Young Queers a Lesson: How Police Teach Lessons About Non-Heteronormativity in Public Spaces.”**  
*Sexuality & Culture* 19: 493 – 512

This paper analyses qualitative data with LGBT young people to explore police-LGBT youth interactions, and the outcomes of these interactions, as pedagogical moments for LGBT young people, police, and public onlookers. Although the data in this paper could be interpreted in line with dominant ways of thinking about LGBT young people and police, as criminalization for instance, the data suggested something more complex. This paper employs a theoretical framework informed by poststructural theories, queer theories, and pedagogical theories, to theorize LGBT youth-police interactions as instruction about managing police relationships in public spaces. The analysis shows how LGBT young people are learning from police encounters about the need to avoid ‘looking queer’ to minimize police harm.

*Keywords:* LGBT youth; police; relationship management; pedagogy, heteronormativity; public space

**Files-Thompson, Nicole and Melina McConatha. 2019. “Mobilizing Allies for Black Transgender Women.” Pp. 239 – 257 in *Queer Intercultural Communication: The Intersectional Politics of Belonging in and Across Differences*, edited by Shinsuke Eguchi and Bernadette Calafell. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers**

Queer Intercultural Communication helps to expand the field of queer studies to consider cultural difference and how it affects everyday communication across the globe. These authoritative essays from established and emerging scholars bring us cases of LGTBQ people in and across race, ethnicity, gender, culture, nation, and bodies.

*Keywords:* Black transgender women; #SayHerName; social movements; activism

**Goldberg, Naomi G., Christy Mallory, Amira Hasenbush, Lara Stemple, and Ian H. Meyer. 2019. “Police and the Criminalization of LGBT People.” Pp. 374 – 391 in *The Cambridge Handbook of Policing in the United States*, edited by Tamara Rice Lave and Eric J. Miller. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press**

Discussion of policing in the context of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people conjures images of the 1969 Stonewall riot, when LGBT people at a bar in New York City rose to resist police harassment, which had been a regular feature of gay bars and nightclubs at the time, along with police bribing to ensure that those clubs remained open. Today, a tension remains between the need for police protection against LGBT-focused hate crimes and the reality of persistent police targeting of marginalized members of the LGBT community. Meanwhile, after the success of the marriage equality movement and against the backdrops of unjustified police killings of people of color, conversations within LGBT communities have shifted. They have turned more urgently to intersecting forms of discrimination, including race and class. Simultaneously, the landscape of LGBT interactions with police since Stonewall has changed due to factors like more openly LGBT officers serving in law enforcement agencies across the country, changes in laws and public attitudes towards LGBT people, and shifts in policing strategies to emphasize LGBT community engagement. This chapter describes the experiences of LGBT people with law enforcement, which include discriminatory targeting, harassment, and violence, as well as potential remedies such as community engagement and the revision of local and federal policies.

*Keywords:* law; criminology; criminal law; sociology; LGBT

**Hanhardt, Christina B. 2016. “Broken Windows at Blue’s: A Queer History of Gentrification and Policing.” Pp. 38 – 52 in *Policing the Planet: Why the Policing Crisis Led to Black Lives Matter*, edited by Jordan T. Camp. New York: Verso**

Since its inception, broken windows policing has regulated space appropriate for capital, targeting the poor, people of color, queers, trans and gender-nonconforming people, immigrants, the homeless, and youth when their existence is not conducive to the accumulation process. In “Broken Windows at Blue’s: A Queer History of Gentrification and Policing,” Christina B. Hanhardt explores how radical queer activists in places like Times Square and Greenwich Village have long resisted Bratton’s use of broken windows policing as a tool of gentrification. Hanhardt concludes that this success, led by organizations such as the Audre Lorde Project and Fabulous Independent Educated Radicals for Community Empowerment (FIERCE), has been premised on grassroots visions of large-scale social and economic transformation, as principle organizers like Joo-Hyun Kang understand well.

*Keywords:* policing; broken windows policing; gentrification; LGBTQ

**Hirschel, David and Phillip D. McCormack. 2020. “Same-Sex Couples and the Police: A 10-Year Study of Arrest and Dual Arrest Rates in Responding to Incidents of Intimate Partner Violence.” *Violence Against Women*: 1 – 31**

Despite concern, little research has been conducted on whether victims in same-sex relationships receive disparate treatment from law enforcement. Utilizing 2000 through 2009 National Incident-Based Reporting System data, the authors examine the police response to incidents involving same-sex and heterosexual couples in 2,625,753 cases across 5,481 jurisdictions in 36 states and Washington, D.C. Results show that incidents with same-sex couples are less likely to result in arrest, but far more likely to result in dual arrests, in most incident configurations. Racial effects were also observed. The policy implications of these findings are discussed with the need for broad-based training highlighted.

*Keywords:* arrest; dual arrest; intimate partner violence; same-sex

**Hodge, Jessica P. and Lori Sexton. 2018. “Examining the Blue Line in the Rainbow: Interactions and Perceptions of Law Enforcement Among Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Communities.” *Police Practice and Research***

Despite the fact that LGBTQ individuals are at greater risk of victimization than the average citizen, the LGBTQ community’s relationship with law enforcement has been a turbulent one. Using a mixed-methods approach, including surveys, semi-structured interviews and observations of town hall meetings, and following the participatory action research framework, this study examines the interactions between the LGBTQ community and law enforcement, and the perceptions of police within the LGBTQ community. The current study demonstrates how members of the LGBTQ community continue to have negative experiences with police that adversely impact their perceptions of law enforcement. Moreover, the findings underline the importance of examining how multiple identities impact an individual’s experiences with and their perceptions of law enforcement. Expanding past research on this topic, this study offers an analysis based upon suggestions of the study’s participants of what steps must be taken in order to improve relations between these two groups.

*Keywords:* LGBTQ community; police; race; gender identity; sexual orientation

**Knight, Charlotte and Kath Wilson. 2016. “Transgendered People in the Criminal Justice System.” Pp. 147 – 178 in *Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Trans People (LGBT) and the Criminal Justice System*, edited by Charlotte Knight and Kath Wilson. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.**

Although issues concerning trans people can be, and generally are, subsumed under the LGBT umbrella and definition, some are very different. Whilst both legislation and policy has been evolving rapidly since the 1960s, research and knowledge, including statistical evidence on trans people and their experiences of the CJS, are still quite limited. This chapter highlights some of the continuing struggles that trans people have in being accepted in a society that maintains a binary gender position as somehow immutable. It examines some of the evolving policy that has developed since the legislation has changed and reflects on how managers, students and practitioners in the CJS should be responsive to trans people as victims, offenders or staff colleagues.

*Keywords:* criminal justice; gender identity; hate crime; gender dysphoria; gender identity disorder

**McCandless, Sean. 2018. "LGBT Homeless Youth and Policing." *Public Integrity* 20(6): 558 – 570.**

LGBT homeless youth are a particularly vulnerable population, accounting for 20-40% of all homeless youth. Literature demonstrates that these youth are disproportionately involved in the criminal justice system. Involvement in the justice system frequently begins with a police contact, about which relatively little is understood. Fear of the police among LGBT homeless youth is likely common, and police may be ill-equipped to interact with and assist these youth, even when programs specific to improving police-LGBT relations are present. The present exploratory study examines how LGBT homeless youth and police interact by presenting findings from 18 interviews with formerly homeless LGBT youths (now adults), LGBT advocates, and police officers. Findings reveal that fear of the police and reports of discriminatory actions by police are common, LGBT youth have difficulty accessing services, and police often report being limited in how they can help this population.

*Keywords:* ethics; LGBT homeless youth; police; social equity

**Robinson, Brandon. 2020. "The Lavender Scare in Homonormative Times: Policing, Hyper-incarceration, and LGBTQ Youth Homelessness." *Gender & Society* 34(2): 210 – 232**

Scholars have identified policing and hyper-incarceration as key mechanisms to reproduce racial inequality and poverty. Existing research, however, often overlooks how policing practices impact gender and sexuality, especially expansive expressions of gender and non-heterosexuality. This lack of attention is critical because lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) people disproportionately experience incarceration, including LGBTQ youth who are disproportionately incarcerated in juvenile detention. In this article, I draw on 18 months of ethnographic fieldwork and 40 in-depth interviews with LGBTQ youth experiencing homelessness to address this gap in the literature by documenting how police and other agents of the state use their discretion to regulate youth's gender expressions, identities, and sex lives. I posit that current policing patterns of discrimination operate primarily not through de jure discrimination against LGBTQ people but as de facto discrimination based on discretionary hyper-incarceration practices that police gender, sexuality, and LGBTQ people. I contend that

policing is not only about maintaining racial inequality and governing poverty but also about controlling and regulating gender and sexuality, especially the gender and sexuality of poor LGBTQ people of color.

*Keywords:* gender; sexuality; policing; homelessness; youth; LGBTQ

**Russell, Emma K. 2018. “Carceral Pride: The Fusion of Police Imagery with LGBTI Rights.” *Feminist Legal Studies* 26: 331 – 350.**

This paper reflects upon the adoption of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) rights discourse and imagery in police public relations and problematizes the construction of police as protectors and defenders of gay liberties and homonormative life. Building from a foundational conceptualization of policing as a racial capitalist project, it analyses the phenomenon of police rainbow branding practiced in nominally public spaces, such as Pride parades, and online through news media and social networking sites. Drawing on critiques of queer liberalism and complicities with state violence, the paper explores the contours of carceral homonationalism, arguing that ‘officially anti-homophobic’ police image work attempts to obscure the role of the carceral state in (re)producing sexual and gender oppression. However, this image work has also given rise to new forms of political action. Counter-movements against police and ‘carceral pride’ are actively reworking the distributions of space and visibility within LGBTI movements.

*Keywords:* homonationalism; homonormativity; pinkwashing; policing; police image work; sexual citizenship

**Russell, Emma K. 2019. *Queer Histories and the Politics of Policing*. London, UK: Routledge**

Despite ongoing challenges to the criminalization and surveillance of queer lives, police leaders are now promoted as allies and defenders of LGBT rights. However, in this book, Emma K. Russell argues that the surface inclusion of select LGBT identities in the protective aspirations of the law is deeply tenuous and conditional, and that police recognition is both premised upon and reproductive of an imaginary of ‘good queer citizens’—those who are respectable, responsible, and ‘just like’ their heterosexual counterparts.

Based on original empirical research, Russell presents a detailed analysis of the political complexities, compromises, and investments that underpin LGBT efforts to achieve sexual rights and protections. With a historical trajectory that spans the so-called 'decriminalization' era to the present day, she shows how LGBT activists have both resisted and embraced police incursions into queer space, and how—with LGBT support—police leaders have re-crafted histories of violence as stories of institutional progress.

*Keywords:* health and social care; politics and international relations; social sciences; law

**Stewart-Winter, Timothy. 2015. "Queer Law and Order: Sex, Criminality, and Policing in the Late Twentieth-Century United States." *Journal of American History* 102(1): 61 – 72.**

While historians have developed an extensive body of work on the gay rights movement and the black freedom struggle, the two are rarely considered in concert. Yet in cities such as Chicago, where gay mobilization was weaker and antigay policing persisted longer than in the vanguard cities of San Francisco and New York, they were two key constituents in a coalition against police harassment. Examining the two together offers a new vantage point for understanding the origins and scope of the carceral state that would arise in the wake of the 1960s. Gay activists succeeded in combating police brutality and in instituting reforms that sharply curtailed the antigay tactics of big-city police departments. The gay rights movement was more successful in ending routine harassment of lesbians and gays in civic spaces, and this would have important consequences for the future of the nation. In short, as the gay rights movement saw victory—as gay bars with predominantly white, middle-class patrons came under less scrutiny and suffered much less harassment—its activists largely withdrew from the fight against the growing police state. The targeted policing of black and Latino communities was made possible by mobilized social conservatives and by the evaporation of organized support from white liberals—including gays—for reining in police.

*Keywords:* American history; police brutality; social movements; LGBTQ

## #SayHerName and Digital Activism

**Battle, Nishaun T. 2016. "From Slavery to Jane Crow to Say Her Name: An Intersectional Examination of Black Women and Punishment." *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism* 15(1): 109 – 136**

"From Slavery to Jane Crow to Say Her Name" examines the ongoing social movement in the United States by Black women activists and intellectuals from as early as the nineteenth century to present day contemporary movements and campaigns such as Say Her Name, which began in 2015, which explores the lives and experiences of Black women who have been victims of State violence. This discussion has been sweeping across the nation in an effort to address the plight of Black women who continue to lack social and legal protection in the criminal legal system (specifically regarding the punishment of Black women). The article highlights both legal and extrajudicial punishment of Black women, from the nineteenth century, directly examining state executions and the lack of legal protection, as evidenced by the courts response to resistance as an act of self-defense, demonstrating how Black enslaved women were punished in a way that illustrated a lack of validation of their womanhood, while concluding with an examination of violence against Black women, with scant attention and understanding of their experiences with police brutality. An examination of a collection of ideas and speeches from nineteenth century Black intellectual activists Anna Julia Cooper, Fannie Barrier Williams, and Victoria Earle Matthews explores the ways in which these women used writing and intellectual activism to galvanize social movements for the Black community and Black women in particular. At the core of this discussion is an intense look at the relationship between Black women's activism against social and legal injustices and the disparaging treatment of Black women within the criminal legal system.

*Keywords:* social movements; #SayHerName; Black women; state violence; gender

**Baylor, Amber. 2016. "#SayHerName Captured: Updates on Use of Video in Challenging Law Enforcement Violence Against Women." Pp. 141 – 146 in *The State of Criminal Justice 2016*, edited by Mark Wojcik and Kyo Suh. American Bar Association.**

Kianga Mwebwa's cellphone camera blurs into darkness broken by flashes of lights surrounding her car. From the audio of her cellphone recording, one can hear Kianga Mwebwa scream as she is pulled out of the car and tased. Mwebwa, arrested as she filmed the police detaining a man on

the street, was charged with attempted assault on an officer. After recovering footage from her phone, her defense attorney produced the video as evidence against the criminal charges. Now the recording is a key piece of evidence in a lawsuit against the department. Mweba's experience, captured by her cellphone camera, rallied activists in Baltimore and across the country in demanding change to policing practices. This recording of police officers violently taking down Mweba was one of many videos released this year showing people of color violently seized by police in cities across the U.S. The footage unveils the hidden story of the violence many women have faced in abusive police encounters.

Recorded encounters between women of color and police officers have been invaluable in bringing the reality of these interactions into the living rooms of otherwise unknowing Americans. The recordings are instrumental pieces of documentation and evidence, with the power to impact verdicts and galvanize the domestic struggle for human rights outside of the courtroom. They also are fraught with ethical issues that must be addressed by attorneys and activists hoping they effect change. Complexities such as implicit biases, editing and sourcing of videos, anonymity for those attacked and bystanders, and vicarious trauma on affected communities complicate use of violent police encounter videos.

*Keywords:* body cam; police brutality; gender and criminal justice; race and criminal justice; visual legal advocacy

**Bey, Marquis. 2016. "The Shape of Angels' Teeth: Toward a Blacktransfeminist Thought Through the Mattering of Black(trans) Lives." *Departures in Critical Qualitative Research* 5(3): 33 – 54.**

This essay argues for a productive alliance between trans feminism, trans studies, and black feminist thought (BFT) to articulate a black feminist mode of activism that takes seriously the epistemologies of black trans women. Ultimately this essay critiques BFT's cisgender normativity and offers a more inclusive imagining of BFT, referred to as blacktransfeminist thought (BTFT). To illustrate the scholarly significance of BTFT, I draw upon the ontological invalidation of black trans lives in the #BlackLivesMatter movement. #BlackLivesMatter is situated as (1) an exemplar of how black transgender women are commonly excluded from activist discourses, and (2) an opportunity to theorize the utility of BTFT as it relates to racialized gender variant lives and deaths.

*Keywords:* Black feminist thought; trans feminism; Blacktransfeminist thought; cisgender privilege; Black Lives Matter

**Blain, Keisha N. 2018. "We will overcome whatever [it] is the system has become today': Black Women's Organizing Against Police Violence in New York City in the 1980s." *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society* 20(1): 110 – 121.**

This article highlights the history of black women's efforts to end state-sanctioned violence in New York during the 1980s. It centers on the political activities of Mary Bumpurs and Veronica Perry, two black women who led a grassroots initiative in New York City to combat police violence in black communities. Foreshadowing the kinds of activities organized by the Mothers of the Movement, Mary and Veronica joined forces to combat police brutality, transforming their grief into political action. These women effectively politicized their roles as mothers and daughters to challenge police violence on local and national levels. Through their writing and speeches—which reflected the political milieu of the Black Power movement of the 1960s and 1970s—Mary and Veronica advanced a political ideology based on a historical contextual understanding of racism. They not only addressed police violence in the 1980s but also drew a link between the activities of the Ku Klux Klan and the New York Police Department to emphasize the historical legacies of racist violence in the United States and the role law enforcement played in maintaining it.

*Keywords:* activism; Black women; history; New York; police violence

**Borda, Jennifer L. and Bailey Marshall. 2020. "Creating a Space to #SayHerName: Rhetorical Stratification in the Networked Sphere." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 106(2): 133 – 155.**

This essay examines #SayHerName as a case study to analyze how circulation of the hashtag both challenged women's erasure from #BlackLivesMatter discourse and motivated activists to center the stories of Black women killed in police interactions. We introduce the term rhetorical stratification to discern why the #SayHerName hashtag came to matter, and how it remained relevant in the national discourse about police brutality. To do so, we analyze how the #SayHerName movement evolved from the discursive to the material through policy briefs, social media circulation, and citizen journalism, which influenced news framing and initiated greater deliberation about this issue in both the networked public sphere and in local communities. We conclude that this hashtag invitation to digital activists engaged more nuanced perspectives about police brutality and policy reform, influenced the way Black women victims

of police violence are covered in the news, and motivated community-based policy proposals addressing necessary changes in local policing.

*Keywords:* rhetorical circulation; rhetorical stratification; hashtag activism; civic rhetoric; deliberation

**Brown, Melissa, Rashawn Ray, Ed Summers, and Neil Fraistat. 2017. “#SayHerName: A Case Study of Intersectional Social Media Activism.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40(11): 1831 – 1846**

Social media activism presents sociologists with the opportunity to develop a deeper understanding of how groups form and sustain collective identities around political issues throughout the course of a social movement. This paper contributes to a growing body of sociological literature on social media by applying an intersectional framework to a content analysis of over 400,000 tweets related to #SayHerName. Our findings demonstrate that Twitter users who identified with #SayHerName engage in intersectional mobilization by highlighting Black women victims of police violence and giving attention to intersections with gender identity. #SayHerName is a dialogue that centres Black cisgender and transgender women victims of state-sanctioned violence. Additionally, #SayHerName is a space for highlighting Black women victims of non-police violence. Therefore, we propose that future research on social media activism should incorporate intersectionality as a basis for understanding the symbols and language of twenty-first century social movements

*Keywords:* #SayHerName; intersectionality; social media; activism; transgender; Black women; social movements

**Butler, Tamara T. 2017. “#Say[ing]HerName as Critical Demand: English Education in the Age of Erasure.” *English Education* 49(2): 153 – 178**

In the wake of racial violence, teacher educators, literacy scholars, and classroom teachers are looking for ways to teach about in/equities and in/justice. In this article, I position #SayHerName as an entry point for educators and scholars to think about how English education and English language arts classrooms can become spaces to address injustice against Black women. In drawing on the work of Black and decolonial feminists, I advocate for educators and scholars to

teach about the lives of Black women using Black women's autobiographies. I position #SayHerName as a critical Black and decolonial feminist demand through which students can (a) begin to learn about the historical and contemporary contributions of Black women, (b) recognize the intricate links between Black women's lived experiences and political activism, and (c) see their lives as grounds for political and social change.

*Keywords:* #SayHerName; Black feminism; education

**Chatillon, Anna and Beth E. Schneider. 2018. "“We Must Summon the Courage”: Black Activist Mothering Against Police Brutality.” *Marginalized Mothers, Mothering from the Margins* 25: 245-258.**

Activist mothering by marginalized women is well specified, but the paths by which women seize agency to move from the margins of motherhood to the center of social movements have been under-theorized. This chapter advances the literature by examining how a Texas-based organization, Mothers Against Police Brutality (MAPB), frames that shift. MAPB was founded by Collette Flanagan, a Black woman, after the police shot and killed her son. The MAPB website data indicate that the organization draws on activist mothering to explain the devaluation of Black and brown children and their mothers via racialized state violence, to frame MAPB as lifting up the value of those children and their mothers, and to present MAPB as striving to ameliorate the effects of race and gender inequalities on family and community life. As illustrated here, following a child's death in police violence, women are mothering from the margins in a new way. In that context, a mother's shift from those margins to a central role in an activist movement is a powerful transition toward a redefined self. The process neither erases the loss of a child nor elides grappling directly with their death; rather, it redefines the mother's engagement with mothering once the traditional referent for that identity and practice, her child, is no longer living. In this way, a unique path by which marginalized mothers “summon the courage” to enter activist mothering is elaborated.

*Keywords:* mothers; policing; activism; racism; othermothering; political resistance

**Chimurenga, Thandisizwe. 2016. "Heeding the Call: Black Women Fighting for Black Lives That Matter." Pp. 197 – 107 in *Who Do You Serve, Who Do You Protect?: Police Violence and Resistance in the United States*, edited by Maya Schenwar, Joe Macare, and Alana Yu-lan Price. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books**

In "Heeding the Call," Thandi Chimurenga describes that not only are Black women some of the primary targets of police violence, they are also at the forefront of the struggle against it. In fact, it was three Black queer women who originated the #BlackLivesMatter hashtag and led its transformation into a movement.

*Keywords:* Black women; social movements; activism

**Gatewood, Britany and Adele Norris. 2019. "Silence Around Prisoner Protests: Criminology, U.S. Black Women and State-Sanctioned Violence." *Decolonization of Criminology and Justice* 1(1): 52 – 77**

Protests and resistance from those locked away in jails, prisons and detention centers occur but receive limited, if any, mainstream attention. In the United States and Canada, 61 instances of prisoner unrest occurred in 2018 alone. In August of the same year, incarcerated people in the United States planned nineteen days of peaceful protest to improve prison conditions. Complex links of institutionalized power, white supremacy and Black resistance is receiving renewed attention; however, state-condoned violence against women in carceral institutions (e.g., physical, sexual and emotional abuse, and medical neglect) is understudied. This qualitative exploratory case-study examines 10 top-tier Criminology journals from 2008-2018 for the presence of prisoner unrest/protest. Findings reveal a paucity of attention devoted to prisoner unrest or state-sanctioned violence. An argument is made that the invisibility of prisoner unrest conceals the breadth and depth of state-inflicted violence against prisoners, especially marginalized peoples. This paper concludes with a discussion of the historical legacy and contemporary invisibility of Black women's resistance against state-inflicted violence. This paper argues that in order to make sense of and tackle state-condoned violence we must turn to incarcerated people, activists, and Black and Indigenous thinkers and grassroots actors.

*Keywords:* Black women; mass imprisonment; prisoner resistance; state-condoned violence

**Harris, LaShawn. 2018. "Beyond the Shooting: Eleanor Gray Bumpurs, Identity Erasure, and Family Activism against Police Violence." *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society* 20(1): 86-109**

This article recovers the life of Bronx resident Eleanor Bumpurs from historical obscurity, moving beyond her tragic death and departing from disability and legal studies that primarily focus on her killing and New York Police Department officer Stephen Sullivan's 1987 bench trial.

*Keywords:* Eleanor Bumpurs; family violence; New York City; police violence; Reagan Era

**Jackson, Sarah J. 2016. "(Re)Imagining Intersectional Democracy from Black Feminism to Hashtag Activism." *Women's Studies in Communication* 39(4): 375 – 379**

To say that Black lives matter has become both a technological and cultural phenomenon in the United States is an understatement. The hashtag and those discursively linked to it have been used more than 100 million times, and the visibility and persistence of Black lives matter activists—from highway shutdowns in America's largest cities to the takeover of presidential candidates' political rallies—have led to widespread social and political debate about what has been dubbed "the new civil rights movement" (Freelon et al.; Jackson and Foucault Welles, "#Ferguson"). Yet there seems to be considerable consternation among academics, journalists, and politicians about how to incorporate the standpoints of a new generation of activists into our national politics. In this essay I discuss how these activists have manifested Black feminist impulses through social media and beyond, and suggest it is the responsibility of those invested in (re)imagining a more democratic process to closely consider the radically intersectional lessons of the current movement.

*Keywords:* hashtag activism; Black Lives Matter; Black women; Black feminism; social movements

**Lawson, Erica. 2018. "Bereaved Black Mothers and Maternal Activism in the Racial State." *Feminist Studies* 44(3): 713 – 735**

This article addresses how some Black mothers whose children have been killed by legal and extralegal violence in a country where racism is integral to both governmentality and social life

take up maternal activism to articulate their own political subjectivity for justice. In this article, I conceptualize political subjectivity and its transformative possibilities in relational terms with respect to dead Black men and Black women's affective and intimate connections to them as mothers. I do so with the knowledge that Black women, especially those related to Black men whose deaths are widely publicized, can be vilified or lauded for their ties to these men depending on how they are represented in the media and popular culture, and that this representation further complicates how women are able to grieve.

*Keywords:* social movements; Black mothers; families; activism

**Lee, Hedwig and Christina Hughes. 2018. "#SayHerName: Why Black Women Matter in Sociology." *The New Black Sociologists: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by Marcus Anthony Hunter. New York: Routledge**

This chapter aims to begin the work of revising the existing chronology of the Black sociological canon by recognizing that there may be intellectuals who have somehow been erased, or at the very least, underestimated, from our understanding of Black Sociology's history. It particularly focuses on Anna Julia Cooper and Zora Neale Hurston as differentially situated, yet intertwined, figures in early 20th century thought as a means to interrogate our intellectual loss from their repeated erasure. The title of this chapter symbolically draws upon the recently popularized hash tag campaign #SayHerName, which specifically refers to the police brutality directed towards Black women. Anna Julia Cooper, who is formally recognized as a sociologist, Zora Neale Hurston is perhaps best known for her works of fiction. The specific line "the dream is the truth" almost too pointedly describes what Collins' so passionately calls for, that is Black feminism's goal of reclaiming the "truth" produced by subjugated knowledges held by Black women.

*Keywords:* #SayHerName; Black women; Black sociology; Black feminism

**Lindsey, Treva B. 2018. "Negro Women May Be Dangerous: Black Women's Insurgent Activism in the Movement for Black Lives." *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society* 19(3): 315 – 327**

This article examines "insurgency" as a tradition within Black women's activism in the United States. Connecting contemporary insurgent acts of Black women activists to their Black feminist foremothers, I explore a distinct genealogy of Black women's radical activism. Anchored in intersectional praxes, committed to combating interlocking oppression, and warring against multiple jeopardy, Black women insurgents of the 21st century build on the work of Black women defiantly and unapologetically fighting against white heteropatriarchal capitalist supremacy. Using recent highly visible acts of Black women freedom fighters, I seek to reclaim "insurgency" as a mode of Black feminist resistance with historical precedence and contemporary relevance. Black women's insurgent activism plays an integral role in the Movement for Black Lives. The depths of Black women's commitment to insurgency is a propelling force in Black freedom dreams.

*Keywords:* African American women's history; Black feminism; Black freedom struggles; Black women; movement for Black lives; radical activism; resistance

**Mbilishaka, Afiya M. 2018. "Black Lives (and stories) Matter: Race Narrative Therapy in Black Hair Spaces." *Community Psychology in Global Perspective* 4(2): 22 – 33**

Black people suffer unjustly from police violence and race-related trauma, but limited research addresses how telling stories may play a critical role in how Black people cope in community-based spaces. This article formulates the collaboration between Black hair care spaces and psychologist to deconstruct racial experiences through Race Narrative Therapy (RNT) techniques. This convenient setting is ideal for community psychology interventions to address mental health disparities and addressing sociopolitical development.

*Keywords:* Black Lives Matter; narrative therapy; racism; barbershop; beauty salon

**Norris, Aaminah and Nalya Rodriguez. 2019. “#SandraBland’s Mystery: A Transmedia Story of Police Brutality.” Pp. 68 – 84 in *#Identity: Hashtagger Race, Gender, Sexuality, and Nation*, edited by Abigail De Kosnik and Keith Feldman. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press**

This essay examines how users of the social media platforms Twitter and Facebook told a transmedia story of Sandra Bland’s death using the hashtags #SayHerName and #SandraBland. A *transmedia story* is one that is told “across multiple platforms, preferably allowing audience participation” (Prattern 2011, 2). This essay evidences how users of two different social media platforms interacted to tell the story of #SandraBland as an exemplar for the #SayHerName campaign. Thus, we examine the affordance of transmedia storytelling for converging activism on and offline.

*Keywords:* social media; African Americans; police brutality; storytelling; feminism; crime victims; written narratives; Black people

**Palacios, Lena. 2016. “Challenging Convictions: Indigenous and Black Race-Radical Feminists Theorizing the Carceral State and Abolitionist Praxis in the United States and Canada.” *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism* 15(1): 137 - 165**

This essay, with accompanying lesson plan, explores how race-radical women of color feminist activists-in particular, Black and Indigenous feminists-identify, conceptualize, theorize, and resist carceral state violence of white settler societies in both Canada and the United States. This critical ethnic studies intervention focuses on the theoretical interventions driven by Indigenous and Black race-radical feminists and how this has placed these activists at the forefront of anti-violence movement-building. Such an intervention specifically upholds the tensions within and refuses to collapse the radical and revolutionary political traditions and approaches of indigenous movements for sovereignty and Black race-radical liberatory traditions. This transnational, comparative focus helps us to not only identify and understand but to create multiple strategies that dismantle the carceral state and the racialized gendered violence that it mobilizes and sustains. This essay asks the following questions which move beyond introspection or interrogation of texts about violence into compelling conversations that highlight the interlocking nature of interpersonal, sexual, and carceral state violence: How have Indigenous and race-radical feminists identified and theorized the legitimized violence of the

carceral state? What questions have those diverse identifications and theoretical understandings led activist scholars currently theorizing the carceral state to ask? And what insights have those critiques generated in the activist scholarship on social movements dedicated to anti-racist feminist anti-violence, Indigenous decolonial, and anti-prison abolitionist praxis? Proceeding from the argument that both prison abolitionist praxis and race-radical feminist praxis are inherently and primarily pedagogical, the accompanying lesson plan attempts to explore the multiple ways Indigenous and race-radical women of color feminists learn, teach, and organize about carceral logics and prison abolition inside and outside the classroom in a manner that teaches against the grain of carceral common sense

*Keywords:* carceral studies; activism; Black feminism; Indigenous feminism

**Richardson, Allissa V. 2019. "Dismantling Respectability: The Rise of New Womanist Communication Models in the Era of Black Lives Matter." *Journal of Communication* 69(2): 193 – 213.**

Legacy media coverage of the Civil Rights Movement often highlighted charismatic male leaders, such as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., while scores of Black women worked quietly in the background. Today's leaders of the modern Black Lives Matter movement have turned this paradigm on its face. This case study explores the revamped communication styles of four Black feminist organizers who led the early Black Lives Matter Movement of 2014: Brittany Ferrell, Alicia Garza, Brittany Packnett, and Marissa Johnson. Additionally, the study includes Ieshia Evans: a high-profile, independent, anti-police brutality activist. In a series of semi-structured interviews, the women shared that their keen textual and visual dismantling of Black respectability politics led to a mediated hyper-visibility that their forebearers never experienced. The women share the advantages and disadvantages of this approach and weigh in on the sustainability of their communication methods for future Black social movements.

*Keywords:* Black Lives Matter; social movements; Black feminism

**Shaw, J. Brendan. 2018. "Sandy Still Speaks: The Digital Afterlives of Sandra Bland." *Prose Studies* 40(1): 40 – 59.**

The story of technology's use in the Black Lives Matter movement is a battle between competing narratives of temporality: white state institutions and storytellers invest in a gaze which

sees Black life as simply headed toward Black death, while Black Lives Matter activists and artists understand Black lives as worthy of care and able to bring social change even after death. This essay examines the visual afterlife of Sandra Bland, a Black woman who died in police custody in 2015. The contrast between the “official” institutional videos of Bland’s last days and her own self-produced “Sandy Speaks” videos demonstrates the push between temporalities narrating Black life and death. The 2018 documentary *Say Her Name: The Life and Death of Sandra Bland* provides a site for analyzing these various digital traces and how in death Bland resists containment by a racist state or even the limited confines of a documentary narrative.

*Keywords:* Black Lives Matter; Sandra Bland; digital rhetoric; Black feminist; visual culture; temporality

**Sinitiere, Phillip Luke. 2018. “The Aesthetic Insurgency of Sandra Bland’s Afterlife.” *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society* 20(1): 122 – 147.**

The death of Sandra Bland on July 13, 2015, coupled with the dashcam footage that documented the verbal and physical violence she experienced as Texas law enforcement officials arrested and detained her, marked a critical historical moment in the Black Lives Matter era. Yet, the “Sandy Speaks” videos she recorded in the months preceding her death left profound digital traces of her words and thoughts. This article combines historical and cultural analysis to observe how theater, poetry, and visual art focused on Sandra Bland, what I term aesthetic insurgency, create platforms to resist police violence against Black women.

*Keywords:* aesthetics; art; Black Lives Matter; Black women; police violence; resistance; Sandra Bland

**Towns, Armond R. 2016. “Geographies of Pain: #SayHerName and the Fear of Black Women’s Mobility.” *Women’s Studies in Communication* 39(2): 122 – 126.**

In 2014, a group of Black female activists started #SayHerName (Crenshaw et al. 2), a Twitter hashtag designed to call attention to the voices and faces of the numerous Black women who have recently been victims of police murder—deaths that were relatively ignored by the public.

As the popular news media situates anti-Black police violence largely within the experience of Black men, #SayHerName critiques this tendency by showing that Black women are strangely absent from this conversation. #SayHerName reveals that anti-Black violence is *not* the domain of cisgendered Black men but a component of the lived experience of Black *people* of all genders, sexualities, and classes.

*Keywords:* #SayHerName; activism; social media; social movements

**Williams, Sherri. 2015. "Digital Defense: Black Feminists Resist Violence with Hashtag Activism." *Feminist Media Studies* 15(2): 341 – 344**

Hashtags, especially on Twitter, have emerged as an effective way to share information and spur action about a demographic that seems to get little support from its nation—black women. Social media hashtags bring attention to black women's issues when traditional mainstream media newspaper articles and television stories ignore black women's concerns as they have for decades. Twitter is an important tool to inform the public of violence against black women because it enables anti-violence advocates to connect with the public and one another in real time without relying on the traditional news cycle or the mainstream media's problematic framing of sexual violence and black women.

*Keywords:* hashtag activism; social media; Black women

**Williams, Sherri. 2016. "#SayHerName: Using Digital Activism to Document Violence Against Black Women." *Feminist Studies* 16(5): 922 – 925**

Mainstream news media has a complicated history when it comes to covering black women, from overlooking them completely to circulating stereotypical images of them in abundance (Patricia Hill Collins 2005). But social media is a space where black women tell stories of violence and survival when mainstream media ignores them (Sherri Williams 2015). The social media hashtag #SayHerName made visible the deaths of black transgender women along with the sexual assaults committed by Holtzclaw. Launched by Kimberlé Crenshaw's African

American Policy Forum in 2015, #SayHerName urged the press and the public to pay attention to the violence black women experience at the hands of police and others (Kimberlé Crenshaw and Andrea J. Ritchie 2015). With #SayHerName, black women aimed not only to bring attention to the women's deaths but also to gain justice for them.

*Keywords:* #SayHerName; social media; transgender; Black women; police violence