

**Syllabus "Feminism & The State:
Carceral Feminisms and Transformative Alternatives"
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Summer Semester 2016**

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Course: Thursdays, 10 – 12
Room: 2.102 Dorotheenstraße 24
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After the public reactions to the sexual violence in Köln on New Years, we have to ask ourselves a few hard questions: How can 'good ideas' like protecting survivors of violence go so very wrong by supporting racist policing and security regimes? What happens when feminism goes 'mainstream' and works together with the State? How do feminist politics come to collaborate in State violence against people of color, particularly trans and cis women? This course will look at the question of feminism's relationship to the State through current discussions in the U.S. about feminist and anti-violence collaboration in the prison industrial complex, with comparisons to the German context. We'll use sociological, philosophical, and activist approaches to explore this 'carceral feminism', as well as what might lie beyond it, answers we will seek in the prison abolition, community accountability, & transformative justice movements. A number of Berlin-based activist-thinkers have been invited to present their perspectives and explore potential connections between the U.S. and our own context.

Block 1: Understanding Violence

April 21/ 1. Introduction

Recommended Reading:

- Trần, Ngọc Loan. "Calling IN: A Less Disposable Way of Holding Each Other Accountable." *Black Girl Dangerous*. Dec. 18, 2013.
- Adams, M., Bell, L.A. and P. Griffin (eds). "Common Themes of Response in Social Justice Education." *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice. Second Edition*. New York: Routledge, 2007. 106-113.
- hooks, bell. "Love as the Practice of Freedom." *Outlaw Culture: Resisting representations*. New York: Routledge, 2006. 243-250.

Connecting Sexual & Gender-based Violence with State Violence

Recommended Reading:

- Schmollack, Simone. "Gewalt gegen weibliche Geflüchtete: Flucht im Schatten." *TAZ* Sept. 9, 2015.
- Gilfus, Mary E. "Women's Experiences of Abuse as a Risk Factor for Incarceration." *Applied Research Forum: National Online Resource Center on Violence Against Women* (2002).
- Smith, Andrea. "Ch. 1 Sexual Violence as a Tool of Genocide." *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005.

April 28* / 2. The Prison Industrial Complex

Guest: Nadija Samour (Jurist of color, Beratungsstelle für Migrantinnen & Migranten, Palästina Netzwerk Berlin)

Reading:

- Samour, Nadija. "Der Intensivtäterdiskurs Aus Juristischer Sicht - Dethematisierung von Rassismus." *Rassismus Und Justiz*. Ed. Angelina Weinbender, Iris Rajanayagam, and Mahdis Azarmandi. Berlin, Germany: Migrationsrat Berlin-Brandenburg e.V. 35–42.
- Friedrich, Sebastian. "Gemein, Gefährlich, Gesetzlos - Berlin-Neukölln Im Spiegel Der Medien." *Rassismus Und Justiz*. Ed. Angelina Weinbender, Iris Rajanayagam, and Mahdis Azarmandi. Berlin, Germany: Migrationsrat Berlin-Brandenburg e.V. 26–34.

In-class Materials:

"Picturing the Prison Industrial Complex Exercise." *Captive Genders: Trans Embodiment*

and the Prison Industrial Complex. Ed. Eric A Stanley and Nat Smith. Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2011. 345-8.

Extra Reading:

Davis, Angela Y. "Introduction – Prison Reform or Prison Abolition?" *Are Prisons Obsolete?* New York: Seven Stories Press, 2003. 9-21.

May 5th – no class due to holidays

May 12th / 3. Prison Abolition & Queer Women of Color Resistance

Guest Speaker(s): Member(s) of Kiralina & ARAP (*Against Repression Against Prisons*)

Reading:

Bassichis, Morgan, Alexander Lee, and Dean Spade. "Building an Abolitionist Trans & Queer Movement with Everything We've Got." *Captive Genders: Trans Embodiment and the Prison Industrial Complex*. Ed. Eric A Stanley and Nat Smith. Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2011. 15-40.

In-class Materials:

"No One Is Disposable: Everyday Practices of Prison Abolition." Barnard Center for Research on Women & Sylvia Rivera Law Project, 2014. Online videos.

"Critical Resistance's Introduction to PIC Abolition Exercise." *Captive Genders: Trans Embodiment and the Prison Industrial Complex*. Ed. Eric A Stanley and Nat Smith. Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2011. 349-54.

Extra Reading:

INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence & Critical Resistance. "The Critical Resistance INCITE! Statement on Gender Violence and the Prison Industrial Complex." *Abolition Now!: Ten Years of Strategy and Struggle Against the Prison Industrial Complex*. Ed. The CR10 Publications Collective. Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2008. 15-29.

Mackinger, Christof. "Ein starker Aufschwung der Organisierung." *ak - analyse & kritik – Zeitung für linke Debatte und Praxis* 612 (2016).

Block 2: Feminism and the State

May 19th / 4. De_Colonial Feminisms

Reading:

Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses." *Boundary 2* (1984): 333-358.

Extra Reading:

"The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House." Lorde, Audre, and Cheryl Clarke. *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*. Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press, 2007. 110-113.

May 26th / 5. Victimhood & State Protection

Reading:

Brown, Wendy. "Ch. 3: Wounded Attachments" in *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995. 166-196.

Extra Reading:

Brown, Wendy. "Ch. 7: Finding the Man in the State" in *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995. 166-196.

June 2nd / 6. Feminisms & the Security State

Reading:

Young, Iris Marion. "The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State." *Global Challenges: War, Self-Determination, and Responsibility for Justice*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2007. 117-39.

Extra Reading:

Abu-Lughod, Lila. "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others." *American Anthropologist* 104.3 (2002): 783–790.

Block 3: Carceral Feminism

June 9th / 7. What is 'Carceral Feminism'?

Guest: Lisa Monz (Berlin Transformative Justice Collective)

Reading:

Law, Victoria. "Against Carceral Feminism." *Jacobin Magazine* 17 Oct. 2014.

In-class Materials:

Excerpt. INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence Statement: "Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex." incite-national.org/page/beyond-non-profit-industrial-complex.

Extra Reading:

Gottschalk, Marie. Chapters 5 & 6 of *The Prison and the Gallows: The Politics of Mass Incarceration in America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

June 16th / 8. Carceral Feminism Group Presentations

Guest: Jennifer Petzen (Lesbenberatung Berlin)

Group 1: Sexual & Intimate Partner Violence

Recommended:

Koyama, Emi. "Disloyal to Feminism: Abuse of Survivors within the Domestic Violence Shelter System." *Color of Violence: The INCITE! Anthology*. Ed. INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence. Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2006. 208–222.

Pickert, Kate. "What's Wrong with the Violence Against Women Act?" *Time Magazine* 27 Feb. 2013.

Grieger, K., Clemm, C., Eckhardt, A. and Hartmann, A. "'WAS IHNEN WIDERFAHREN IST, IST IN DEUTSCHLAND NICHT STRAFBAR': Fallanalyse zu bestehenden Schutzlücken in der Anwendung des deutschen Sexualstrafrechts bezüglich erwachsener Betroffener." Bundesverband Frauenberatungsstellen und Frauennotrufe (bff) / Frauen gegen Gewalt e.V., 2014.

Group 2: Hate Crimes

Recommended:

Bronski, Michael, Ann Pellegrini, and Michael Amico. "Hate Crime Laws Don't Prevent Violence Against LGBT People." *The Nation* 2 Oct. 2013.

"Open Letter of Non-Support for The Gender Employment Non-Discrimination Act" from Sylvia Rivera Law Project, FIERCE, Queers for Economic Justice, Peter Cicchino Youth Project, Audre Lorde Project. April 6, 2009. <http://srlp.org/genda/>.

"Gemeinsame Stellungnahme der ostdeutschen Beratungsstellen für Betroffene rechter und rassistischer Gewalt zum Gesetzesentwurf 'Hasskriminalität'." June 6, 2012. opferperspektive.de/aktuelles/gemeinsame-stellungnahme-zum-gesetzesentwurf-hasskriminalitaet.

June 23rd / 9. Carceral Feminism Group Presentations continued

Guest: Hydra e.V. (angefragt)

Group 3: Safe Space & Gay Gentrification

Recommended:

Haritaworn, Jin. "Introduction: Queer Regenerations." *Queer Lovers and Hateful Others: Regenerating Violent Times and Places*. London: Pluto Press, 2015.

Hanhardt, Christina B. "Introduction." *Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of*

Violence. Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 2014.
Poitras, Laura, and Laura Goode Bryant. *Flag Wars*. Zeitgeist Films, 2003. Documentary Film.

Group 4: Sex Work, Anti-Trafficking, & Migration

Recommended:

Maynard, Robyn. "Migration, Sex Work and Anti-Trafficking." *No One Is Illegal Radio*. Feb. 2010. Online Radio. radio4all.net/index.php/program/38865.
Young Women's Empowerment Project. "Girls Do What They Have To Do To Survive: Illuminating Methods Used by Girls in the Sex Trade and Street Economy to Fight Back and Heal. A Participatory Action Research Study of Resilience and Resistance." Young Women's Empowerment Project, 2009.
Hydra e.V. "Stellungnahme zum Referentenentwurf des Bundesministeriums für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend eines Gesetzes zur Regulierung des Prostitutionsgewerbes sowie zum Schutz von in der Prostitution tätigen Personen (ProstSchG-RefE)." Sept. 10, 2015. Hydra-berlin.de/fileadmin/users/main/pdf/Protest_ProstSchG/Stellungnahme_Gesetzese ntwurf_HYDRA.pdf.

Block 4: Community Accountability & Transformative Justice Alternatives

June 30^a / 10. Introduction to Community Accountability & Transformative Justice

Guest: *Jaya Chakravarti (active in the Berlin queer POC community)*

Reading:

Communities Against Rape and Abuse (CARA) et al. "Taking Risks: Implementing Grassroots Community Accountability Strategies." *The Revolution Starts at Home: Confronting Partner Abuse in Activist Communities*. Ed. C. Chen, J. Dulani, and L. L. Piepzna-Samarasinha. Self-published, 2008. 64-79.

In-class Materials:

INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence. "Community Accountability Fact Sheet." *Law Enforcement Violence Against Women of Color and Trans People of Color: A Critical Intersection of Gender Violence and State Violence. An Organizer's Resource and Toolkit*. Redmond, WA: INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, 2008. 69-70.

July 7^a / 11. From the State to the Community

Guest: *members of LesMigraS - Antidiskriminierungs- und Antigewaltbereich der Lesbenberatung Berlin e.V.*

Reading

LesMigras. "Unterstützung Geben: Handlungsmöglichkeiten Im Umgang Mit Gewalt Und Diskriminierung." Berlin: LesMigras - Antigewalt- und Anti-diskriminierungsbereich der Lesbenberatung Berlin e.V.

Extra Materials:

Interviews from the Story Telling & Organizing Project (STOP), Oakland, CA.

July 14^a / 12. Survivors: Safety Beyond Security

Reading:

Bassichis, Morgan. "Reclaiming Queer and Trans Safety." *The Revolution Starts at Home: Confronting Intimate Partner Violence within Activist Communities*. Ed. C. Chen, J. Dulani, and L.L. Piepzna-Samarasinha. Brooklyn, NY: South End, 2011. 5-24.
generative somatics. "What is Somatics?" *generative somatics Website*. generativesomatics.org.

In-class Materials:

Safety building exercises from Generative Somatics

Extra Reading:

Perez-Darby, Shannon. "The Secret Joy of Accountability: Self-Accountability as a Building Block for Change." *The Revolution Starts at Home: Confronting Intimate Violence within Activist Communities*. Ed. Ching-In Chen, Jai Dulani, and Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha. Brooklyn, NY: South End Press, 2011. 101–114.

July 21* / 13. Perpetrators: Accountability Beyond Punishment

Reading:

Creative Interventions. *Creative Interventions Toolkit: A Practical Guide to Stop Interpersonal Violence (pre-Release Version)*. Creative Interventions, 2012. 4F:1 – 4F:93.

Kelly, Esteban Lance, Jenna Peters-Golden, and Philly Stands Up! "Philly Stands Up Portrait of Praxis: An Anatomy of Accountability."

Extra Reading:

Tyson, Sarah. "Experiments in Responsibility: Pocket Parks, Radical Anti-Violence Work, and the Social Ontology of Safety." *Radical Philosophy Review* 17.2 (2014): 421–434.

Date TBD / 14. Final Class: Case Study Violence in Köln

After the events in Köln from Silvester/New Year's of 2015, what could a transformative response look like?

Reading:

"Gegen sexualisierte Gewalt und Rassismus. Immer. Überall. #ausnahmslos." ausnahmslos.org/.

Shehadeh, Nadia. "Möglichkeiten und Grenzen aktivistischer, emanzipatorischer Arbeit – Fragen zu #ausnahmslos." *Mädchen Mannschaft Blog*. Jan. 12, 2016. maedchenmannschaft.net/moeglichkeiten-und-grenzen-aktivistischer-emanzipatorischer-arbeit-fragen-zu-ausnahmslos/.



Participation:

1. All seminar participants should participate in one of the group projects and presentations in sessions 8 or 9.
2. All seminar participants should choose a session where they will:
 - give a short summary of the text assigned (5 minutes) via various media (visual, written, multimedia)
 - raise several questions
 - facilitate class discussion (15 minutes).

Statement on Language Access and Justice:

Presentations and discussions can occur in English or in German, according to the desires of the participants. No participant will be penalized for their choice of language, and particular consideration and support will be given to students who choose to speak in a language that is not one of their first languages. This means concretely: maintaining a tempo in class that facilitates everyone's participation regardless of language access, organizing translation when necessary, and being vigilant for language miscommunications or translation needs.

Discussion Agreements for a Safe & Productive Learning Space

1. What is said here, stays here
What is learned here, leaves here
2. Space of co-creation & caring, shared responsibility
 - Self-care: take responsibility for your own needs
 - Safe space vs. learning space
 - Discomfort & learning edges
3. Solidarity in listening and speaking
 - Avoid interrupting
 - Generative listening - "Is that what you mean? Did I understand you? Can you say more?"
 - "Step up, step back"
4. Respect and openness as basis for disagreement
 - "Oops, ouch" principle
 - Practice accountability
 - Effect vs. intention
 - Call in vs. call out
5. Be open to what you don't know
 - Avoid judgment & generalizations
 - Speak from the 'I'
6. Consent
 - Ask rather than assume (for example, gender pronouns)
7. Accessibility
 - Language & materials