

**INVISIBLE NO MORE:
POLICE VIOLENCE AGAINST
BLACK WOMEN AND
WOMEN OF COLOR**



A Study & Discussion Guide

DOWNLOADABLE RESOURCES

Download the following tools to accompany this Study and Discussion Guide at [invisiblenomorebook.com/study-guide:](https://invisiblenomorebook.com/study-guide)


- × Timeline activity
- × Self-care — a Ritual for Reading
- × Map of the Criminal Legal System
- × Printable copies of Key Concepts exercises
- × Exercises for Imagining a World Beyond Police
- × Resource List
- × *Invisible No More* stories with discussion/ reflection questions
- × *Invisible No More* Factsheet
- × More coloring pages!

You will also find short video clips from Advisory Committee members and readers about *Invisible No More* to further guide study and reflection!

Be sure to check out inournamesnetwork.org and invisiblenomorebook.com/take-action regularly for updates on how you can take action to resist police violence against women of color!

Cover artwork: M. Falconer | www.mfalconer.com

Design: And Also Too | www.andalsotoo.net



SISTREN, SIBLINGS, WARRIORS, FAM'LY IN THE FIGHT — AS YOU OPEN THIS MANUAL, AND BEGIN TO MOVE THROUGH THE EXPERIENCES, THOUGHTS, AND STORIES THAT ARE REVEALED, WE ASK THAT YOU HOLD TRUE AND CONNECT DEEPLY TO THE REVERENCE AND UNWAVERING FAITH THAT WE HAVE IN YOU, AS SOMEONE COMMITTED TO UNDOING THE LEGACIES OF VIOLENCE AGAINST BLACK WOMEN, GIRLS AND OUR TRANS AND GENDER NONCONFORMING FAM'LY. WE WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT IN TAKING IN THIS INFORMATION, YOU ARE SAYING YES TO UNDERSTANDING ON A DEEPER LEVEL, AND THEREFORE, UPHOLDING THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CREATING CHANGE IN THE FACE OF UNENDING VIOLENCE.

— Offered by Naimah Johnson,
Advisory Committee member

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HANDS-ON



REFLECTION



READING

Look for these symbols throughout the study guide, signaling hands-on activities, reflection questions, self-care suggestions, visioning exercises and additional reading.



SELF-CARE



VISIONING

DEAR READER,



Thank you for embarking on the journey of reading or listening to *Invisible No More: Police Violence Against Black Women and Women of Color*. Whether you are a survivor of police violence, a family member of a loved one killed by police, an organizer, a policy advocate, an educator, a student or simply someone who is interested in learning more about policing in the United States, this book was written for you.

As you read this book, I hope that you will join me in honoring the stories of women, trans, and gender nonconforming people it tells by committing to action in their memories and on their behalf. Whether as an individual or as part of a group or organization, you have the power to contribute to breaking the silence around Black women and women of color's experiences of policing in mainstream conversations, and to shift and expand the frame of our resistance. You will not be alone — while also often invisible, women and queer and trans people of color have always called attention to and challenged police and state violence against our sisters and siblings. You will find suggestions and resources throughout this guide for ways you can join them through individual and collective action.

I also hope that you will engage in a practice of self and community care on this journey. *Invisible No More* is a hard book to read — as Eb Brown, a member of the Advisory Committee for this study guide, put it: “*Invisible No More* uses story to articulate what is reported in statistics and witnessed on the streets of our neighborhoods. These stories are intense, raw, and gut wrenching. They leave you angry, saddened, numb, enraged, and holding grief. To honor these stories we are invited to practice caring for ourselves and our community so we can retell them, and learn how to activate justice without recreating the harm they reflect.” We tend to think of self care as individualistic, perhaps even indulgent in these troubled times. But caring for ourselves and each other in the face of relentless attacks on our bodies and our communities is essential to building individual and collective resilience and moving decisively toward liberation. You will also find suggestions for individual and collective care throughout this guide.

Invisible No More is a book about many things — racial profiling, policing, police violence, criminalization, mass incarceration, history, racism, violence against women, transphobic and homophobic violence, education, disability justice, domestic violence, sexual assault, and movements for social justice, to name just a few. Ultimately, it is a book that calls us to imagine what may feel impossible — a world in which the safety, security, and self-determination of Black women, Indigenous women, and women of color of all abilities, gender identities, sexualities, faiths, national origins and immigration statuses is guaranteed through our collective commitment to each other and to our shared liberation.

Thank you for being a part of the conversations that will get us there.

— Andrea J. Ritchie

Author, *Invisible No More: Police Violence Against Black Women and Women of Color*



HANDS-ON ACTIVITY TIMELINE

***Invisible No More* sketches the history of state violence against Indigenous, Black, and immigrant women of color in the United States from 1492 to the present. Of course, there is a lot that is missing from the book and much that we will never know.**

Activity:

1. Download and tape together the timeline template from invisiblenomorebook.com/study-guide.
2. Individually or as a group, use markers or post-it notes to fill in events on the timelines of violence, resistance, and of your personal or collective history, using your own experiences, the history of your communities, and what is happening right now. Make sure you include moments of resistance, of commemoration, and of healing.
3. Be sure to place yourself/selves on the timeline — when and how did you enter this conversation? What are significant points in time for your understanding of the issues explored in the book?
4. Once you have added to the timeline, reflect on what is there — what trends do you see over time? What has changed? What remains the same? Where and how did things shift? What kinds of resistance made a difference? Where do we go from here?

ABOUT THIS GUIDE



REFLECTION ACTIVITY

10 THINGS YOU KNOW ABOUT POLICING

Before you start reading the book, write down 10 things you know about policing on the pages at the back of this booklet — your list can include names of people killed by police, things police do, forms of police violence, ways in which policing affects people’s lives, or different ways different communities are policed. Come back to this list at the end of the book, and add what you learned.

THIS STUDY AND DISCUSSION GUIDE IS INTENDED FOR:

- × Individual readers
- × Book clubs and study groups
- × Educators and students
- × Organizers and advocates

THE GOALS OF THIS STUDY AND DISCUSSION GUIDE ARE TO:

- × Draw out and break down key ideas and concepts
- × Encourage and facilitate reflection on central themes
- × Support readers in exercising self care and community care
- × Spark discussion and individual and collective action

You may not read or use the entire study guide — feel free to use sections, activities, and reflection questions that speak to you and to your purpose in reading the book.

This study and discussion guide was created through a collective process bringing together an advisory group made up of survivors of profiling, criminalization and police violence, family members of people killed by police, organizers, educators, activists, healers and facilitators. The advisory group and study guide design was facilitated by And Also Too, a woman of color-led collaborative design studio committed to principles of design justice. To learn more about And Also Too and design justice, please visit andalsotoo.net and designjusticenetwork.org.

MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY GROUP:

Janaé Bonsu	Patreese Johnson
Eb Brown	Monica Jones
Levi Craske	Una Lee
Rachel Herzing	Page May
Naimah Johnson	Isaac Ontiveros

SELF CARE

Invisible No More describes many instances and forms of verbal abuse and physical and sexual violence against women, girls, trans, and gender nonconforming people of color by law enforcement agents. Because some descriptions are graphic, it can be very hard to read. It can also feel overwhelming, and sometimes trigger readers who have had similar experiences.

This section includes some suggestions for exercising self care, and engaging in community care, while

WE ARE STILL HERE.
WE ARE STILL WHO WE ARE —
BEAUTIFUL — AND WE WILL
LIVE THROUGH THIS.

— Incarcerated member of Black and Pink blackandpink.org

reading and discussing the book — including for people reading the book in situations where options for practicing self care may be limited, such as in a prison, group home or shelter.

You can also download "A Ritual for Reading" created by Eb Brown, a member of the Advisory Committee, from invisiblenomorebook.com/study-guide.



ALTAR CREATED BY ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBER JANAÉ BONSU AND INVISIBLE NO MORE RESEARCHER ALEXIS PEGUES



SELF CARE ACTIVITY BREATH AWARENESS

Close your eyes and begin to listen and feel for the sensation of your own breath. Notice where there is rise and fall of your chest, stomach, back, or any other part of your body as you breathe in and out. Begin to focus on making your out breath longer and imagine that you are creating more space within you, as you release each exhale. Trust that with each exhale, you are letting go of a layer, element or sensation of tension, hardship, struggle or hurt. Place a hand gently over your heart, or on any other part of your body that needs love and light. You can also visualize light and warmth around that area, if touch is not available to you. On your inhales, fill up the space beneath your hand (or where you are sending light) with even more love, hope and ease. Repeat this until you feel filled up with that which will offer comfort and light, and feel a release of that which is working against the growth and expansion of your light.

— Offered by Naimah Johnson, Advisory Committee Member

BE AWARE

Start by making a list of things that you find particularly hard to read about on the back pages of this study guide. Ask yourself why you find it hard to read about these things, what might make it easier, and whether you might want to avoid parts of the book that discuss these topics. When you come upon a discussion of one of the topics on your list, stop, breathe, and choose how you want to proceed.

WHERE TO READ

Most of our advisory group members recommend not reading the book in a public space (like on a train, plane or library) if possible,

as difficult emotions might come up while reading. At the same time, you may not want to be alone when you read, but near people you know and trust. Some members recommended creating a small altar near where you read where you can place items that you find comforting and healing, as well as poetry, pamphlets, art, quotes, notes to yourself and others, or names or pictures of people whose stories are told in the book. Others recommended listening to music after you finish reading — check out our playlist on page 51!

HOW TO READ

You don't have to read the whole book, or read it from front to back. Feel free to just read one chapter,

SELF CARE

or parts of each chapter, and to skip over chapters or subjects and come back to them — or not. If you are pregnant or a parent, you may have a hard time with the policing motherhood chapter. If you are a survivor of sexual violence, you may want to skip the chapter on police sexual violence, read it in smaller pieces, flip back and forth between that chapter and another chapter (like the Resistance chapter) or leave it for a time when you are feeling strong and supported. Be aware that there are examples of all kinds of violence against all kinds of people throughout the book — chapter titles just indicate where descriptions of particular types of violence are concentrated.

FORMAT

Try different ways of reading — the book is also available in audio

and e-book formats. Advisory Group member Monica Jones recommended listening to the book on audio as you exercise to release anger and energy. Others might find it harder to hear the words of the book spoken than to read them.

TAKE ACTION

For many of us, coming together with others to confront and challenge state violence is a form of self-care and healing. Visit invisiblenomorebook.com/take-action; inournamesnetwork.org and inciteblog.wordpress.com to learn more about how people are organizing to fight police violence against women, trans and gender nonconforming people of color. Sign a petition! Make a donation! Join an organization! There are lots of ways to tackle the issues raised in the book — we are powerful together!



SELF CARE ACTIVITY ENERGY SHIFTING

Rub the hands together gently for several seconds until heat is generated between them. Once there is a felt sense of warmth and energy that has been generated, place the warm, energy-infused hands over your heart, or a part of your body that needs love and warmth (one hand on top of the other). Let your eyes close for a moment (if that feels okay for you) and breathe deeply, welcoming the energy in. Repeat as many times as needed to return to a grounded state and to feel held along your reading journey.

— Offered by Naimah Johnson, Advisory Committee Member

FOR TEACHERS

Here are some recommendations from educators on how to promote self care for students:

- × **Assign only one or two chapters** at a time, or parts of chapters.
- × **Make space for conversations** about how the students felt while reading the book. Keep in mind that some students may have experienced or witnessed the kinds of abuse described in the book. Others may be learning about these issues for the first time and be in shock.
- × **Be prepared for students to disclose** their own experiences of police violence. Encourage people to be

mindful that you cannot guarantee confidentiality of the conversation and that statements about criminalized conduct may have immigration or other consequences. Offer a supportive space that directly acknowledges the harm done to the person disclosing. Carefully facilitate the conversation to challenge responses that may shame or blame people for what happened to them.

- × **Be sure to have a list of resources on hand, including numbers for crisis support and sexual assault hotlines, local police accountability groups, and, if possible, an attorney who represents survivors of police misconduct.**

FOR PEOPLE ON THE INSIDE

It is particularly hard to exercise self care when reading this book inside a prison or other institution. Here are a few suggestions offered by Advisory Committee Member Patreese Johnson and members of the organization Black and Pink:

- × **Write a letter or poem** about what came up for you while reading the book and send it — without signing your name if that feels safer — to an organization or person on the outside.
- × **Draw a picture or make a collage** using images from magazines that represents your vision of safety or how to fight invisibility and oppression based on

gender and race and advance our full humanity.

- × **Color in the coloring page** in this book or download more coloring pages from invisiblenomorebook.com/study-guide.
- × **If you can, keep pictures** of loved ones or things that give you hope or comfort close by when you are reading the book.
- × **If you can, call or talk to someone** you trust after reading.
- × **Put it down if you need to** take a break! Pick up lighter book or magazine, play a game, or do a puzzle for a while.
- × **Exercise, meditate, do yoga or tai chi, sing, listen to music and dance** — if nothing else, just get up and move around.

FOR SURVIVORS AND FAMILY MEMBERS

This book may be particularly hard to read if you or a loved one have experiences similar to those described. Here are some suggestions offered by Advisory Committee Member Monica Jones.

× **You are going to get mad!** Exercise, find a free yoga class, get into a space where you can meditate, talk about it, write about it. Don't let it sit inside you, you need to release it!



ON SUPPORTING SURVIVORS

Contributed by Advisory Committee Member Monica Jones

In 2013 my court case made national news and sparked discussions about “walking while trans.” Sometimes we get all caught up in the case but not the person who’s fighting the case. I had many supporters across the country and across the world but, on April 11, 2014, I was still found guilty of manifestation of an intention to engage in prostitution. Even though the courtroom was packed and filled with supporters, I never felt so alone. I can remember going outside after the hearing was over, and people wanted to take pictures with me, wanted to let me know to keep a positive attitude, and headed back to their lives. I was broken because at the end of the day, if I did not win my appeal, I would be the one sitting in the jail cell so alone. When I was alone in a bathroom I swallowed a handful of pain pills to escape the pain.

The criminal justice system is designed for individuals to plead guilty, and when you decide to fight back, and say “No! I’m not guilty!” it is designed to break you. I always wondered why CeCe McDonald took a plea deal, but now I know why. Sometimes we can have all the support in the world surrounding our case, but we can still be isolated. Sometimes people cannot see you as a individual separate from your case. We must see the individual and work with the individual on self care, and on supporting their physical and emotional health.

During and following my trial I was just existing, just going through the motions of everyday life. From the outside it looked like I was there, but inside I had checked out. I would just lay in bed in my dark apartment and sleep and watch TV. Housekeeping was not a priority. People would come over and talk about my apartment being dirty, and tell me to get up and clean up. I would look at them like “I’m just trying to survive bitch!” It took me a while to breathe again and start living. So from this I hope that we can see the person fighting police profiling and violence as separate from the case and work with them on meeting their self care needs.

OVERVIEW

Invisible No More is a book about policing, examined through the lens of the experiences of women, girls and gender nonconforming people of color.

Black women and women of color are the fastest growing prison and jail populations. The numbers of women in state and federal prisons have increased by 700% over the past 4 decades, outpacing the growth in men's incarceration by 50%. The population of women in jails has increased twice that much, growing to 14 times the number of women in jails in 1970.

Invisible No More explores the policing patterns and practices driving these increases, as well as the violence women experience from police beyond prison walls. In this way, it complements and fills in critical gaps in the conversations about mass incarceration sparked by Michelle Alexander's *The New Jim Crow* and takes a deeper dive into themes identified in *Say Her Name: Resisting Police Brutality Against Black Women*, co-authored by Andrea J. Ritchie and Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw.

Why is it important to pay attention to women's experiences of policing given that they make up a much smaller percentage of people stopped, arrested, killed and locked up by police?



HANDS-ON ACTIVITY SOCIAL MEDIA

Write something on social media about why and how we **should** incorporate women's experiences into our conversations about policing.

First, because the lives of Black women and girls and women and girls of color matter — and our movements should leave no one behind.

Secondly, because their experiences of profiling and police violence have a lot to teach us about how racism operates, about gender-based violence, and about policing and criminalization. By expanding the frame through which we look at policing, different forms, contexts, and impacts of police violence come into view, giving us a more complete picture of the problem, and pointing us toward more effective and comprehensive responses.

Invisible No More begins with the history of state violence against Indigenous women, Black women, and immigrant women of color through colonization, slavery and establishment and enforcement of the nation's borders. Moving to the present **Policing Paradigms and Criminalizing Webs** describes four areas of policing: the “war on drugs,” “broken windows”

BRIEF OVERVIEW

policing, immigration enforcement, and the “war on terror.” **Policing Girls** explores the impacts of expanding police presence and surveillance in schools and communities. **Policing Disability** emphasizes that police responses to people with disabilities are a driving force and frequent site of police violence. **Police Sexual Violence** summarizes existing research on sexual violence by police officers and documents the absence of systemic responses to this pervasive form of police violence.

Policing Gender Lines and **Policing Sex** dive more deeply into the role of police in explicitly and implicitly enforcing the borders of the gender binary and morality throughout history. **Policing Motherhood** uncovers additional forms of racialized gender policing through violence against

pregnant people, as well as profiling, discriminatory enforcement and violence against mothers of color in the context of child welfare enforcement. **Police Responses to Violence** highlights how many of the patterns of profiling and police violence described in the book also inform police responses to domestic and family violence, sexual assault, and homophobic and transphobic violence, leading to additional violence and criminalization by law enforcement officers.

The final chapter, and the end of each chapter, feature examples of resistance around individual cases of police violence against women of color, as well as campaigns and interventions challenging systemic patterns of police profiling, criminalization and abuse of Black women and women of color.



REFLECTION ACTIVITY

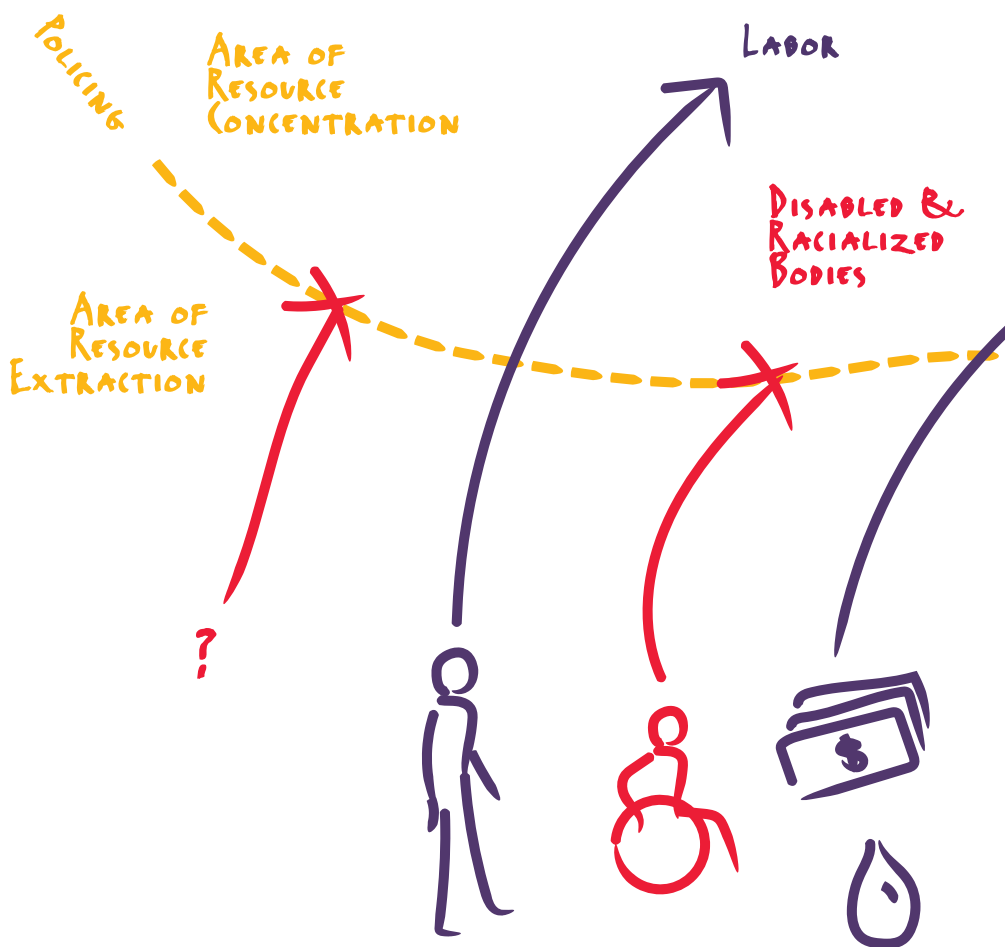
WHY WE DON'T TALK ABOUT WOMEN

Ask yourself, alone or in conversation with another person or group of people, why we often don't incorporate an analysis of women's experiences into conversations about police violence. What comes up for you? The person or people you are speaking to? What barriers are you able to identify for yourself, other people, or social movements?

Write down the reasons you come up with on the pages at the back of this booklet and revisit them as you read — does the book address them? Are the arguments made in the book effective? Can you think of others that are not raised in the book and how to address them?

KEY CONCEPTS

Policing has always regulated movement and access to resources, and enforced boundaries of “belonging” — in a neighborhood, a country, or in a category like “woman.” For instance, as Indigenous land is stolen and colonized — or as a neighborhood is gentrified — the existence and movements of the original inhabitants are eliminated or controlled through policing. As resources — such as raw goods, minerals, or labor — are extracted from one place and concentrated in another, people following the resources are excluded or surveilled and controlled by law enforcement agents.



COLONIALISM, SLAVERY, MIGRATION & GENTRIFICATION

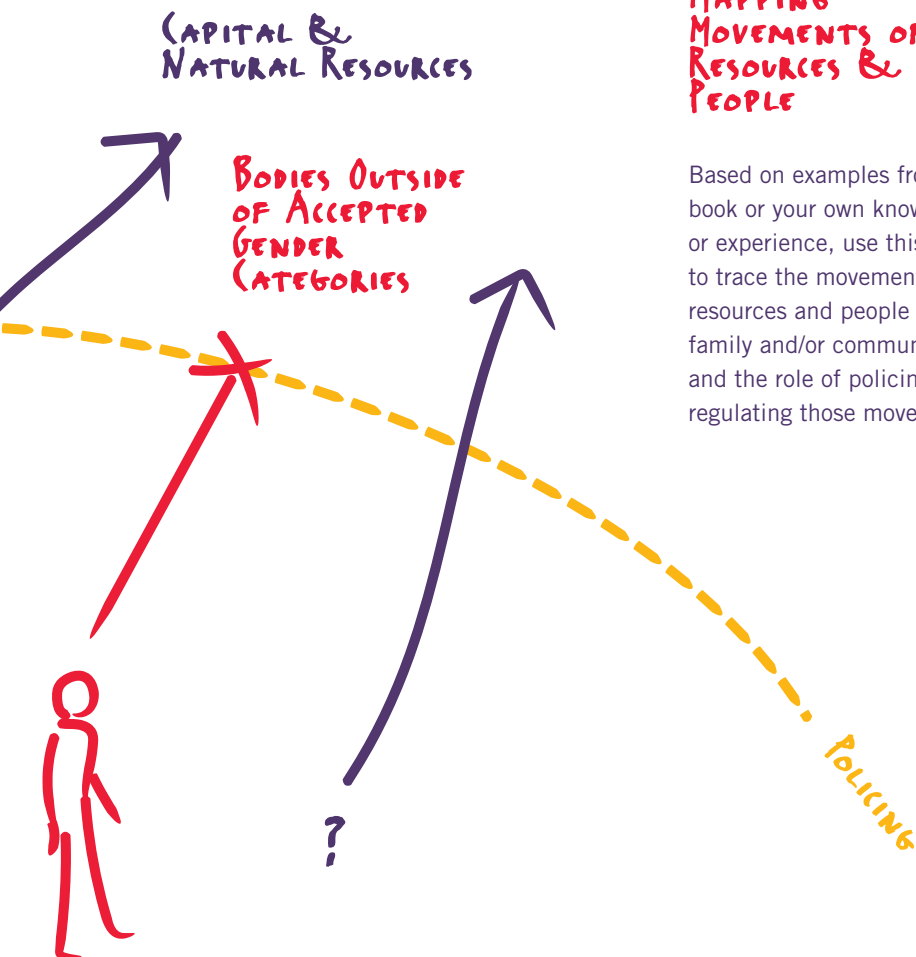
As formerly enslaved — or formerly incarcerated — people enter the labor market, they are heavily policed and often put back into prison, where they will earn little to nothing for their work. As people move between and outside accepted categories of gender and sexuality, their existence and actions are policed and punished.



HANDS-ON ACTIVITY

MAPPING MOVEMENTS OF RESOURCES & PEOPLE

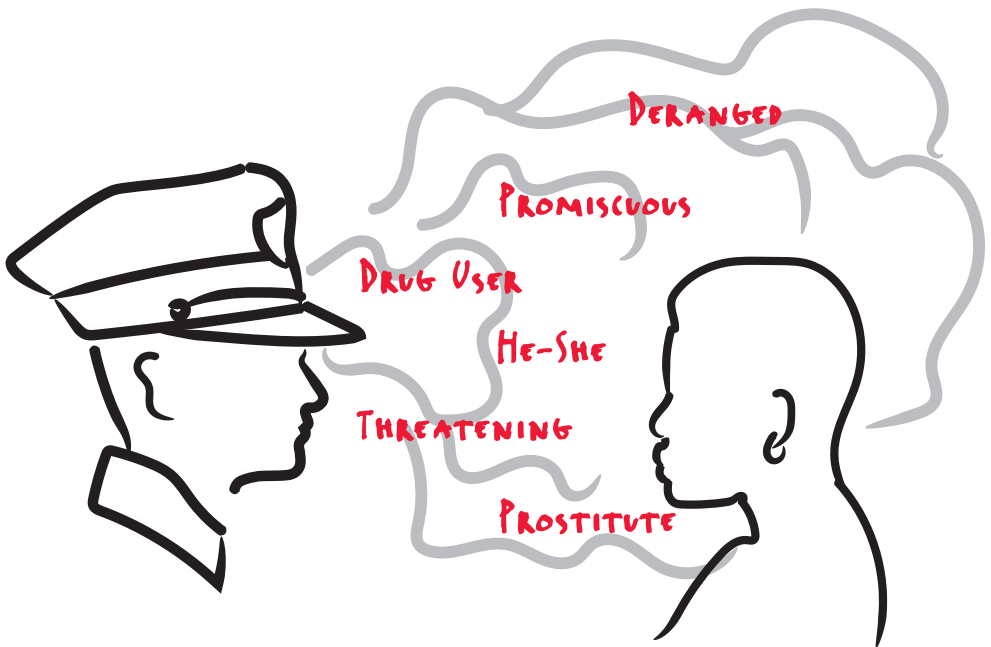
Based on examples from the book or your own knowledge or experience, use this image to trace the movement of resources and people in your family and/or community, and the role of policing in regulating those movements.



CONTROLLING NARRATIVES

Controlling narratives are images and stories about Black women and women of color that shape how we see and react to their actions and experiences. For example, we have been conditioned through popular culture and media to see Black women as highly sexual (“hos” and “thots”), materialistic and deceitful (“welfare queens”), and as drug users (“crack mothers”). We are taught that Indigenous women are “dirty,” “drunk,” and bad mothers. Latinx people are portrayed as “hot blooded,” irrational and highly sexual. East Asian

women have been profiled as both submissive and devious, and as “geisha dolls” likely to be engaged in prostitution. Muslim, Arab and South Asian women are seen as a “terrorist” threat. Trans women are perceived as “freaks,” deceptive, and as sexually deviant. These stories have developed, evolved, transformed and have been repeatedly reinforced over time to justify and maintain colonialism, white supremacy, and the borders of the U.S.



REFLECTION ACTIVITY

CONTROLLING NARRATIVES

How do controlling narratives inform police perceptions and interactions? Using a particular example from the book, how did perceptions about the person shape how police treated them?



HANDS-ON ACTIVITY FILL IN THE BLANKS

Controlling narratives are created, internalized and perpetuated by all of us — police, the press, politicians, and every day people. Use the fill-in the blanks exercise below (you can download additional copies at invisiblenomorebook.com/study-guide) to meditate on how we as individuals internalize controlling narratives.

On your own or with a group, fill in the blanks with words that come to mind.

Do the exercise again after reading the Enduring Legacies chapter.

You can also use this exercise to break down how controlling narratives operated in one of the police interactions in the book.

Once you have done this a few times, ask yourself:

- × How are these controlling narratives reinforced through the media or popular culture?
- × How do controlling narratives support existing relationships of power?
- × List two ways you can begin dismantle controlling narratives in your community.

IMMIGRANT
TRANS DISABLED
INDIGENOUS
BLACK WHITE
QUEER POOR

PROTECT
DEPORT PUNISH
LISTEN TO FEAR
INSTITUTIONALIZE

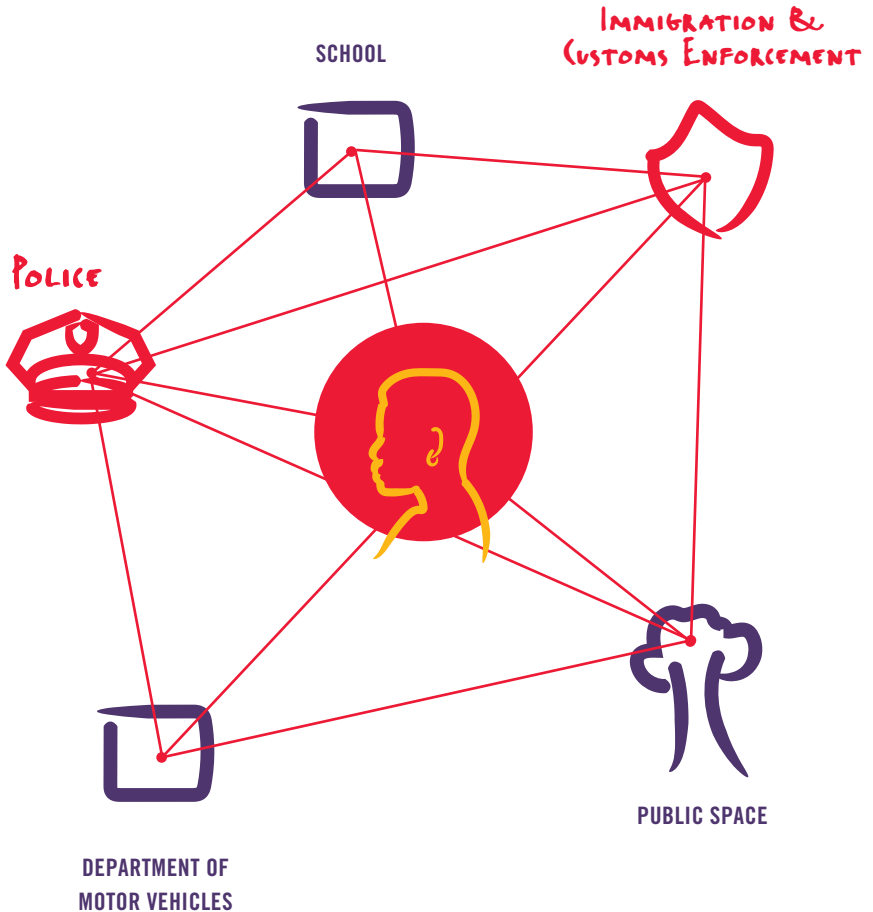
(BLANK) women are (BLANK) so we should (BLANK) them.

BAD MOTHERS
PROMISCUOUS SCARY AGGRESSIVE
UNSTABLE VALUABLE

CRIMINALIZING WEBS

We often think of criminalization as something that happens through a single encounter with a police officer on the street. In fact, a number of institutions, policies and practices weave a web of criminalization for women and girls of color in their schools, homes, communities, health care facilities, and social services.

Below, we have mapped out the story of Karina Acosta (p. 62) who was pulled over, didn't have a drivers' license, and then was arrested in school and held there until immigration was called.

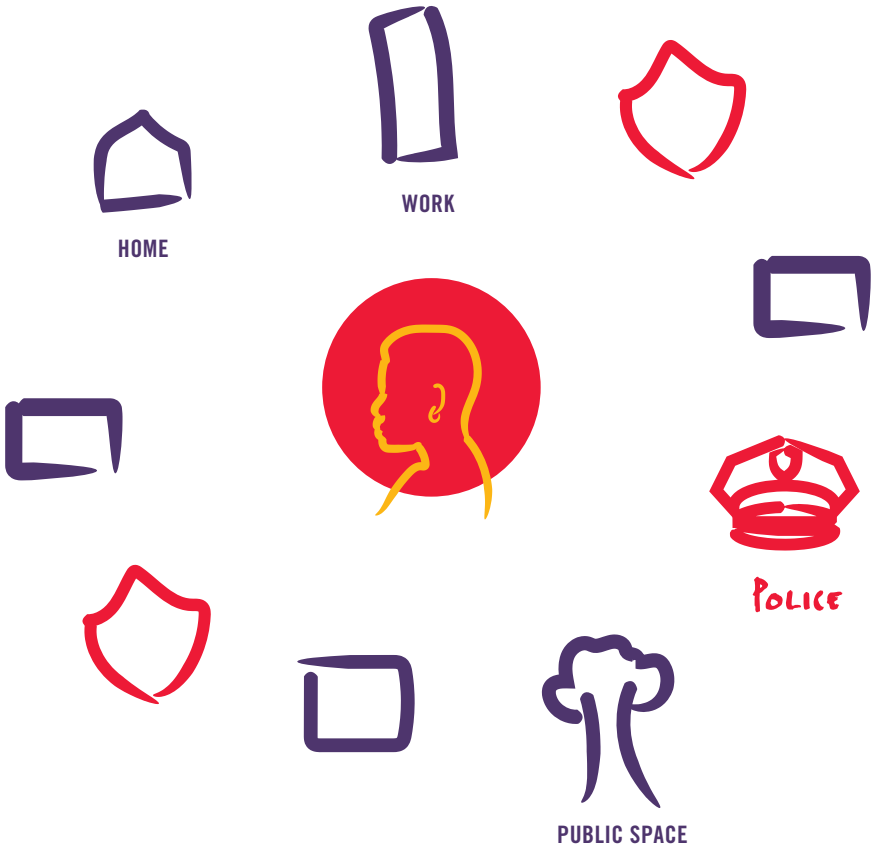




HANDS-ON ACTIVITY
MAP A WEB

Download copies of this image from invisiblenomorebook.com/study-guide. Using a story from the book, your community, or your personal life, use the image to trace the web from initial contact with the system to criminalization.

Now imagine you can go back in time, and identify points in the pathway where things could have gone differently. Choose one point and identify how individuals and communities could have intervened to change the outcome.



INTERSECTIONALITY



Intersectionality is a term used to describe the ways in which systems of power intersect to produce unique experiences of oppression. For instance, the experiences of Black women are simultaneously informed by both racism and sexism, and therefore unique and distinct from those of white women and from those of Black men. Perceptions and experiences of Black women who are queer and/or gender nonconforming are further informed by homophobia and transphobia, and the enforcement of gender binaries and sexual norms. Black women with disabilities are perceived through the lens of racism, sexism and ableism, and all the ways these structures of power intersect.

These experiences are not simply additive, making someone “triple oppressed,” they actually produce different identities, and communities, to which the state and systems of power respond differently. They also produce power in their unique experiences of the world, and in shared identities, experiences, and resistance.

WHAT IS RACIALIZED GENDER POLICING?

You will see this term used in the book to describe how intersectionality plays out in police interactions, as individual officers and policing systems respond to Black women and women of color in ways simultaneously informed by race and gender — in other words, by how an individual’s gender is racially categorized, and how an individual’s race is also gendered.



REFLECTION ACTIVITY

THE CATEGORY OF “WOMAN”

Individually or in a group, list 3 ways in which the controlling narratives about Black women, Indigenous Women and immigrant women include or exclude women of color from the category of “woman.” How does this play out in police interactions? How does it control their access to resources?

BREAKING IT DOWN CHAPTER BY CHAPTER

In this section you will find a brief summary, key facts and figures (“the numbers”), major themes, examples of resistance, and reflection/discussion questions and activities for each chapter.

FOREWORD: ANGELA Y. DAVIS

BEFORE READING

Look up the 1951 *We Charge Genocide Petition** or Ida B. Wells’ *The Red Record*. What purposes did these publications serve? What impacts did they have?

* Note that your research may turn up information about a group called We Charge Genocide, named after the original petition, who returned to the UN in 2014 to highlight police violence against Black youth. Learn about their amazing work too!

SUMMARY

In her foreword to *Invisible No More*, scholar, activist, and freedom fighter Angela Y. Davis compares the book to two historical documents — the Civil Rights Congress’ 1951 petition to the United Nations We Charge Genocide, and Ida B. Wells’ *The Red Record*, which documents lynching, including lynchings of Black women. Davis argues that by documenting and exploring women’s experiences of policing and police violence, we learn more about the shape of white supremacy and state violence as a whole.

* WHO IS ANGELA Y. DAVIS?

Make a note on the back pages of the study guide of where and why the author refers to Angela Y. Davis throughout the book. Reflect on/discuss how the questions, ideas, and arguments outlined in *Invisible No More* are connected to Davis’ thinking and writing over the past five decades.

FOREWORD: MARIAME KABA



BEFORE READING

Read Audre Lorde’s poem *For the Record* in its entirety. What is the poem’s main message? How does it relate to the subject matter of the book?

SUMMARY

Activist Mariame Kaba describes hearing about the case of Eleanor Bumpurs, an elderly woman killed by New York City police, but still understanding the issue of police violence as one experienced by Black men — until she started working with domestic violence survivors. She describes a campaign she organized in support of a survivor of domestic violence who was sexually assaulted by police, and lifts up the work of the Young Women’s Empowerment Project to document police violence experienced by young women.

MAJOR THEMES

- × Focusing on women and girls’ experiences of policing brings into view different locations and forms of police violence.
- × Violence is endemic to the institution of policing and cannot be reformed away. The only way to end police violence is to get rid of the police.



REFLECTION/ DISCUSSION

Explore the following questions on your own or with a group:

- × How do you think working with domestic violence survivors led Mariame Kaba to begin to understand police violence as an issue that affects women too?
- × Why does Mariame stop using the term “police brutality”? How do the words we use to describe an issue shape how we understand it?
- × What do you think about Mariame’s conclusion that getting rid of police is the only way to end police violence? Write down your answer in the back pages of the guide and revisit it after you have finished reading the book.

INTRODUCTION

* BEFORE READING

In the introduction, the author talks about how her own identities and experiences shaped her understanding of the issues. Take a moment to write down the ways in which your identities and experiences have shaped your understanding of policing.

SUMMARY

The author describes her personal journey of discovery around the issues explored in the book, and how she began documenting, researching, and organizing around women's experiences of racial profiling and police violence. Moving to the present, she explores the role played by Sandra Bland's death in raising awareness of Black women's experiences of racial profiling and police violence. She then provides a roadmap to the rest of the book.

MAJOR THEMES

- * When we expand the lens through which we examine policing beyond race and poverty to include gender and sexuality, we see different targets, forms, contexts, and impacts.
- * Policing of gender and sexuality is central to policing, and is part of policing of race and poverty.

RESISTANCE

* **WHAT WOULD YOU DO?**

Refer to the story of a Black woman who was publicly strip-searched (p. 7). What would you say/do? Imagine the officers' response, and the impact on the woman being searched. Does that change what you would say or do? Practice responding to a scenario like this with a friend or a group of people.

The author describes a number of efforts to document and develop resources to resist police violence against women of color she has been involved with, including development of the INCITE! Organizer's Toolkit on Law Enforcement Violence Against Women of Color and Trans People of Color, which can be found by clicking on the "Resources" tab at incite-national.org. For more of the resources discussed in this chapter, download the resource list at invisiblenomorebook.com/study-guide and visit inournamesnetwork.org!

ENDURING LEGACIES

SUMMARY

* RESISTANCE STORIES

List three examples of ways Native, Black, and immigrant women resisted the violence described in this chapter. Do you know of others? If not, try to find some examples on line!

Colonial armies and militias targeted Indigenous women and gender nonconforming people, often using sexual violence, as part of taking Indigenous land and trying to wipe out Indigenous people to establish the United States. Later, control of Native people was transferred to agents of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and local police departments. Slavery was maintained through violence against enslaved African women by slavers, plantation owners, and overseers. “Slave patrols,” the nation’s first police forces, were created to enforce “slave codes” regulating the movements and activities of people of African descent. Sexual violence against African women and denial of Black women’s motherhood were central to the operation of slavery. Even after the end of formal slavery, police used “Black Codes,” theft, vagrancy, and segregation laws, as well as physical and sexual violence, to control and punish Black women. Immigrant women were excluded and criminalized based on stereotypes framing them as immoral, sexually “deviant,” “deranged,” “diseased,” and a drain on public resources. Gender norms were enforced by police through cross-dressing laws.

THE NUMBERS

- × 105 captive Cheyenne and Arapaho women and children were massacred and mutilated by Colorado Volunteers at the Sand Creek military reservation in 1864. 100 Cheyenne women and children were murdered and mutilated on the Washita reservation in 1868 by George Armstrong Custer. 230 surrendering Lakota women and children were slaughtered at Wounded Knee in 1880.
- × In 1893 Atlanta, Black women were 6.4 times more likely to be arrested than white women for offenses like “disorderly conduct” or “occu-

“WOMEN RESISTED AND ADVOCATED CHALLENGES TO SLAVERY AT EVERY TURN,” IN WAYS “OFTEN MORE SUBTLE THAN REVOLTS, ESCAPES, AND SABOTAGE.”

— Angela Y. Davis
(p. 210)

MAJOR THEMES

* WHAT DID YOU KNOW?

How much of the history in his chapter did you know before reading this book? Why do you think this information is not taught in schools or widely discussed? How could we change that?

pying and keeping a house of ill repute.” Black girls were 19 times more likely than white girls to be arrested. In comparison, Black men were 1.5 times and Black boys were 3 times more likely to be arrested than their white counterparts.

- × Colonizers imposed and enforced gender binaries and hierarchies on Native peoples as an essential part of the process of colonization.
- × Following the abolition of slavery, anxiety about “Black crime” was fomented and used to justify re-enslavement through criminal punishment.
- × Immigration laws were explicitly written and enforced to police immigrant women’s sexuality and gender identity.
- × Controlling narratives of Native, Black and immigrant women emerged during the colonial period, evolved throughout history, and continue to inform perceptions of women of color today.
- × As laws evolved in the United States, they targeted “problem bodies” or people whose presence in public spaces was seen as undesirable, including Black and Indigenous people, immigrants, poor people, people in the sex trades, and people with disabilities.
- × Indigenous women and gender nonconforming people resisted colonization on the battlefield, by refusing to send their children to government and church-run residential schools, and preserving and practicing Indigenous culture and traditions.
- × Immigrant women resisted by circumventing immigration laws, and by challenging deportation orders and criminalization.

RESISTANCE

POLICING PARADIGMS AND CRIMINALIZING WEBS

Contributed by Advisory Committee member Janaé Bonsu

SUMMARY

THE PRESENCE AND ACTIONS OF WOMEN AND TRANS PEOPLE OF COLOR, AND PARTICULARLY YOUTH, SEX WORKERS, AND HOMELESS PEOPLE, ARE ALWAYS LIKELY TO BE DEEMED ‘DISORDERLY,’ CAUSING [“BROKEN WINDOWS”] POLICING TO CURB OUR FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND LEGITIMIZE AND EVEN FACILITATE POLICE VIOLENCE TOWARDS US.

– Audre Lorde Project, 2000 (p. 208).

Chapter 2 examines four major mechanisms of criminalization — the “war on drugs,” “broken windows” policing, immigration enforcement, and the “war on terror” — through the lens of women’s experiences.

The **war on drugs** refers to targeted enforcement of drug laws through racial profiling, saturation of low-income communities of color with police officers, and militarized drug raids. Women of color are frequently profiled as drug users and couriers, and subjected to abusive, degrading and sometimes public strip searches and body cavity searches, as well as extortion of sex under the threat of a drug arrest that could lead to many adverse consequences.

Broken windows policing is based on the unproven theory that aggressive enforcement of minor offenses will prevent more serious ones. In reality, policing behaviors labeled as signs of “disorder” like standing or walking (“loitering”), sleeping, drinking, making noise, and approaching strangers, targets certain kinds of people who are hypervisible in public spaces, such as young people of color, homeless people, gender nonconforming people, women of color who are (or perceived to be) engaged in street-based sex work, and street vendors.

For a simple description of broken windows policing, check out this video: bit.ly/brokenwindowsvideo.

Immigration enforcement results in profiling of immigrant women and physical and sexual

CRIMINALIZING WEBS

Using the Criminalizing Webs exercise on page 21, think of one example — from the book or your experience — where a woman of color was affected by two or more patterns of policing described in this chapter. Map out her experience and identify ways the web could have been broken in her case.

violence, by Border Patrol agents and immigration officers. Local law enforcement agents also target immigrant women for detention and deportation through traffic law enforcement and raids at workplaces, homes and schools.

The “**war on terror**” was declared after the attacks of September 11, 2001 and has targeted Arab, Muslim, Middle Eastern, and South Asian women and facilitated discriminatory and abusive policing towards women who wear hijab or otherwise appear to be Muslim. Black people who are not Muslim are also profiled as potential terrorists by police.

Rapidly growing rates of incarceration for women of color in prisons, jails and immigration detention centers are driven by each of these policing paradigms.

THE NUMBERS

- × The population of women incarcerated in prisons increased 700% and the population of women in jails has increased 14 times since 1970.
- × More than 2.2 million women were arrested in 2014, making up a quarter of all arrests.
- × Drug, property, and “public-order” offenses are responsible for 60% of the women in state prisons; the remaining 38% have been convicted of violent offenses, often committed in self-defense.

MAJOR THEMES

- × Policing in each of the areas described in this chapter is driven by narratives rooted in fear and exclusion, and targets women who are perceived to be disrupting or threatening the social “order.”
- × Police officers don’t just enforce existing laws — they make law when deciding what is suspicious and who to target for stops, searches, questioning, harassment, and arrest.

POLICING GIRLS

SUMMARY

Black girls and girls of color are profiled and targeted for police violence and arrest in their homes, schools and communities. School-based arrests and tickets for “disturbing school” and school dress code violations enforce deeply racialized norms of femininity and heteronormativity. The presence of police in schools also places immigrant students at risk. In their communities, girls of color are framed as “disorderly” and their presence in public spaces is heavily policed. In both contexts, girls experience sexual harassment, invasive searches, and physical abuse by police. Young women of color are also disproportionately targeted for “status offenses” such as curfew violations or running away from home.

THE NUMBERS

- × Black girls make up 16% of girls in schools, 37% of girls arrested in school and 43% of girls referred to law enforcement.
- × Nationally, Native students are 3 times more likely to be arrested in school than white students.
- × The rate at which students are charged with lower-level offenses more than doubles when a school has regular contact with a “school resource officer.”

MAJOR THEMES

- × Police are increasingly being placed in public schools to enforce discipline codes and regulate student behavior, driving the “school to prison pipeline.”
- × Through “age compression” Black girls as young as 5 are seen through the same controlling narratives framing adult Black women as “aggressive,” highly sexualized, immune to pain, and underserving of support and protection. As a result, they disproportionately experience school “pushout.”

“I HAVE BEEN STOPPED AND FRISKED ... AT LEAST 6 TIMES. I ORGANIZE WITH AT LEAST 20 OTHER YOUNG WOMEN WHO HAVE BEEN SEXUALLY HARASSED BY THE POLICE ..., PLUS THE ONE WHO WAS BEATEN BY SIX OFFICERS.”

– Shannara, 17, during hearings on “stop and frisk” in NYC (p. 84)

- × In both schools and communities, Black girls and girls of color are targeted for police violence and criminalization.

RESISTANCE

DIGNITY IN SCHOOLS

Check out the resources available from the Dignity in Schools Campaign at dignityinschools.org to promote restorative justice and remove police from schools. Share one of the resources you find there with your local parent-teacher association, local legislator, or an educator you know.

- × After a 15-year-old girl was violently pulled out of her chair and dragged across her classroom floor by a police officer stationed in her Columbia, South Carolina school, a group called #EveryBlackGirl came together to support her and to create conditions where Black girls can thrive in schools. **Learn more at everyblackgirlinc.com**
- × The New York City Council Young Women’s Initiative made recommendations to reduce police violence and criminalization of young women of color based on input from a Young Women’s Advisory Council and community-based advocates. **Read the final report here: bit.ly/shewillbenyc**

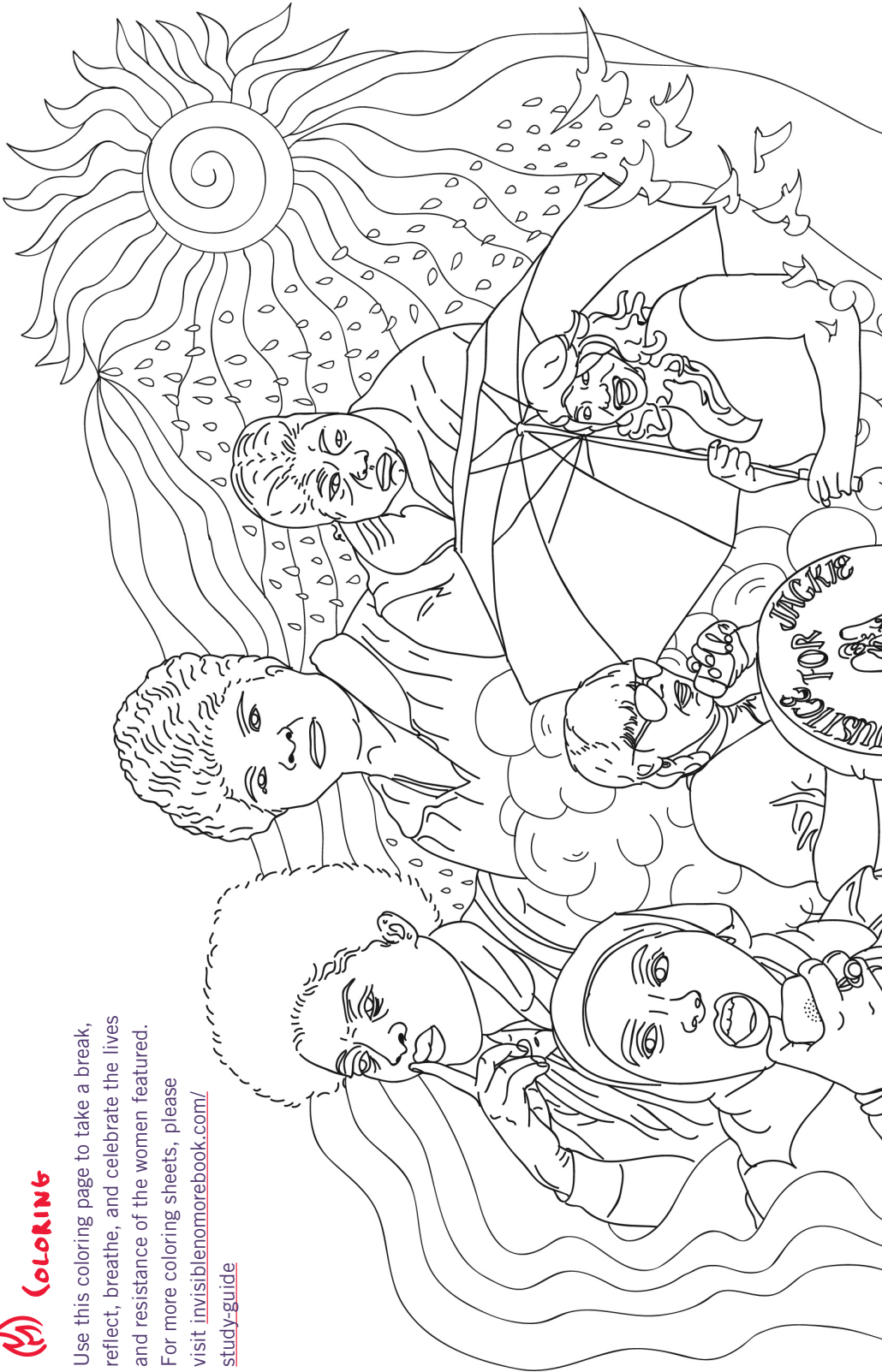
REFLECTION/ DISCUSSION

- × Are there police officers in your school? Your children’s school? In your neighborhood school? What impacts do you see on your education/ your children’s education/the children in your neighborhood?
- × Where do you see police interacting with young people in your community? What impacts do these interactions have on their safety, education, and well-being? How could you or your community intervene to reduce policing of young people?



Use this coloring page to take a break, reflect, breathe, and celebrate the lives and resistance of the women featured.

For more coloring sheets, please visit invisiblemorebook.com/study-guide





POLICING DISABILITY

SUMMARY

“I FEEL NOT ONLY DEGRADED, HUMILIATED; I FEEL LIKE THEY DIDN’T TREAT ME AS A HUMAN BEING... THEY CAME IN ON ME ... YELLING AT ME TO GET UP WHEN THEY KNEW THAT I COULDN’T GET UP.”

– Lisa Hayes, a Black woman who uses a wheelchair (p. 100)

Throughout history people with disabilities have been subject to criminalization by law enforcement, immigration officials, and medical professionals. Scientific racism framed Indigenous and African descended people and immigrants as inherently mentally or physically disabled as a mechanism to justify exclusion, discrimination and institutionalization. In urban areas, the presence of disabled bodies in public spaces was historically policed alongside prostitution and “cross-dressing,” through laws which later evolved into “broken windows” policing. Women and girls of color who are or are perceived as mentally or physically disabled frequently experience physical and fatal violence by police, including in the context of calls for assistance, often away from public view, in homes, schools, clinics, and institutions.

THE NUMBERS

- × $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of people killed by police are disabled.
- × The risk of being killed by police is 16 times greater for individuals with untreated mental illness.
- × Arrest rates among recipients of public mental health services are 4.5 times greater than those in the general population, primarily for “public nuisance” offenses.

MAJOR THEMES

- × Perceptions of disabled people are colored by race, leading to different treatment of people of color with disabilities than white people with disabilities.
- × Controlling narratives framing Black women, Indigenous women, immigrant women and trans and gender nonconforming people as inherently physically or mentally disabled, “daft,” “deranged,” irrational, and prone to violence

* POLICE COMMANDS

Make a list of common police commands. Imagine how those commands might be experienced by someone who is 1) deaf or hearing impaired 2) visually impaired 3) physically impaired 4) experiencing a reality in which they feel threatened. Using an example from the book, map out how police commands and responses by a person with a disability led to harm. Identify how things could have gone differently.

inform police interactions with women of color. As a result, police respond to women of color as if they have a mental disability regardless of whether they do or not. Additionally, they perceive women of color who do have physical or mental disabilities as a threat rather than deserving of compassion or care, and use greater or fatal violence against women of color with disabilities.

RESISTANCE

- × Developing alternate responses to people in mental health crises could reduce police killings by up to 50%. Some jurisdictions, including Eugene, Oregon, have created ways to request a social worker and medical professional to respond to an individual in crisis instead of armed police officers.
- × Resistance to police violence is and should be led by people with disabilities.
- × We must be cautious about medically based alternative responses to people in mental health crises in light of the long history of violence, abuse, and incarceration of people labeled as mentally or physical disabled by medical authorities.

* REFLECTION/ DISCUSSION

Read the letter Deborah Danner wrote about her experience of living with schizophrenia here: bit.ly/dannerletter. What are the main impacts she describes? What are the things she lists as helpful? What does she think needs to change? How could we start making the changes she calls for?

POLICE SEXUAL VIOLENCE

SUMMARY

“IT HAD NEVER OCCURRED TO ME THAT A PERSON WHO HAD EARNED A BADGE WOULD DO THIS TO ME OR ANYBODY ELSE... I LOST MY FAITH IN EVERYTHING, EVERYONE, EVEN IN MYSELF... I’M LIVING PROOF THAT YOU CAN SPEAK OUT AGAINST SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND WIN JUSTICE.”

– Diana Guerrero, sexually assaulted by a police officer during a “ride-along” (p. 114)

Police sexual violence is an often invisible but pervasive form of state violence perpetrated by law enforcement agents throughout U.S. history. This term describes a range of actions including sexual harassment, invasive frisks, strip searches and cavity searches, extortion of sex, and rape by police officers. It often occurs in isolated locations, in the context of traffic stops, the “war on drugs,” “broken windows” policing, border patrol and immigration enforcement, policing of schools, youth engagement programs, supervision of people on probation or parole, police responses to domestic violence and sexual assault, and “welfare checks.” Officers target women they think will not be believed if they come forward, and threaten them with retaliation if they do. Police sexual violence is a structural issue facilitated by the power and discretion wielded by officers, as well as the position of trust they are given, extensive access to women and girls, the lack of effective oversight and accountability within departments, and the code of silence among officers.

THE NUMBERS

- × Sexual misconduct is the second most frequently reported form of police misconduct, after use of excessive force.
- × Between 2005 and 2015 a law enforcement official was caught in an act of sexual misconduct every 5 days. More than 70% of cases involved motorists, crime victims, informants, students and young people in job-shadowing programs.
- × A national study of officer arrests for sexual misconduct between 2005 and 2011 found that 50% of the cases involved on-duty sexual offenses (and that off-duty offenses were greatly facilitated by the power of the badge, and often by the presence of a service weapon), 20% forcible rape, and nearly 25% forcible fondling, and that almost one-half targeted minors.

“WHO ARE THEY GOING TO BELIEVE? IT’S MY WORD AGAINST HIS BECAUSE I’M A WOMAN AND, YOU KNOW, LIKE I SAID, HE’S A POLICE OFFICER.”

– C.J., a Black woman sexually assaulted by former Oklahoma City Police Officer Daniel Holtzclaw.

MAJOR THEMES

- × Sexual violence by police officers is systemic issue, not an issue of “rogue officers” who can and will be held accountable.
- × Police target women of color, who are framed by controlling narratives as inherently rapeable, and women perceived to be violating norms of gender and sexuality, including women in the drug and sex trades, women who drink alcohol, lesbians, and trans women.
- × We need to focus on prevention and detection, as well as accountability for police sexual violence, reducing police contact and power, and creating safety for women targeted for sexual violence by police officers.

REFLECTION/ DISCUSSION

How could we better prevent police sexual violence? Some ideas include:

- × Ensuring that each department has a clear policy on prevention, detection, and accountability;
- × Tracking the gender of motorists and pedestrians stopped by officers to detect patterns of stopping women;
- × Having sexual assault hotline numbers in police cars and precincts;
- × Public education campaigns about the issue.

How effective do you think these would be? Can you think of other strategies?

* SUPPORTING SURVIVORS

How could we better support survivors of police sexual violence?

What could civilian oversight agencies do?

Groups working for police accountability? Anti-violence groups? Write down your ideas and send them to the relevant organizations in your community!

POLICING GENDER

SUMMARY

GENDER REPRESENTS A CENTRAL AXIS AROUND WHICH POLICING TAKES PLACE, AND GENDER POLICING IS EMBEDDED IN, OPERATES IN CONJUNCTION WITH, AND FURTHERS POLICING OF RACE, CLASS, AND NATION.

– p. 127

Police officers play a central role in enforcing racialized gender norms — whether it’s using specific laws such as prostitution laws, or through every day decisions about who to target for “public order” offenses. While “cross-dressing” laws — which were used to criminalize and justify physical violence against gender nonconforming and LGBTQ people for centuries — are no longer on the books, police officers continue to treat people they perceive to be violating gender norms as suspicious, potentially dangerous, and likely to be involved in criminalized activity like prostitution or drug use. Officers also continue to punish people they perceive to be violating gender norms through transphobic and homophobic verbal abuse, physical and sexual violence, and invasive and unlawful searches to assign a gender based on anatomy.

THE NUMBERS

More than half of transgender participants in the 2015 US Transgender Survey who interacted with officers who knew they were transgender reported some form of violence or abuse. Native trans women were most likely to report police violence, followed by Black trans women and multiracial trans women.

MAJOR THEMES

- × Gender is explicitly policed through gender-specific laws and implicitly policed when officers act on assumptions that trans and gender non-conforming people are inherently suspicious, committing fraud, mentally unstable and potentially violent, or otherwise represent “disorder.”
- × “Broken windows” policing facilitates racialized gender policing by giving officers broad discretion to regulate presence and conduct in public spaces through arrest for vague offenses such as “disorderly” or “lewd conduct.”

“THE RACIAL PROFILING, THE TRANSGENDER PROFILING, THE HARASSMENT, THE SOLITARY CONFINEMENT. I KNEW WHY IT WAS HAPPENING, AND I KNEW IT WASN’T RIGHT. ... TO EXPERIENCE SO MANY LEVELS OF DISCRIMINATION MAKES YOU FEEL LIKE LESS OF A PERSON. I WANT TO STAND UP FOR MYSELF AND OTHER BLACK AND TRANSGENDER PEOPLE. AND SO I DID.”

– Meagan Taylor, Black trans woman charged with fraud for using an ID reflecting her gender identity (p. 132-33)

- × Women of color and lesbians are often perceived by police officers as existing outside of racialized gender norms even when they are not trans or gender nonconforming.

RESISTANCE

Learn more about how organizations have fought to reduce the harms of police interactions with trans and gender nonconforming people in the **Get Your Rights Toolkit**: bit.ly/GYRtoolkit and at getyrrights.org!

* REFLECTION/ DISCUSSION

“THEY USED TO ARREST US FOR WEARING WOMEN’S CLOTHING. NOW THEY ARREST US FOR LOITERING WITH INTENT TO SOLICIT.”

– Vivianna Hernandez (p. 132)

- × Individually or in a group, write down ways in which your gender informs your daily interactions with police and other institutions — for example, when an officer asks you for your driver’s license and registration, how does the gender marker on your ID shape that interaction? When you choose which bathroom to use? When you check in to a hotel? How might it lead to police profiling or abuse?
- × How do we as individuals and communities participate in policing gender? What could we do to start to break down rigid rules about gender?
- × Make a list of the ways in which transgender women’s experiences are different to those of non-transgender women. Now make a list of how they are similar. It is important to keep these in mind when talking about the issues raised in the book — and to speak in solidarity with, but not for, groups we are not a part of.

POLICING SEX

SUMMARY

“WHETHER YOU ARE
’HOING OR NOT ’HOING
... IF YOU LOOK LIKE
YOU MIGHT BE TRANS,
YOU ARE GOING TO
JAIL... IT IS A STIGMA
THAT COMES WITH
BEING TRANS. YOU
ARE AUTOMATICALLY
A SEXUAL OBJECT OR A
SEX WORKER.”

— Tiffany Grissom,
plaintiff in a NYC case
challenging loitering for
purposes of prostitution
statute (p. 151).

THE NUMBERS

“A BETTER WAY
TO LEAVE MY
SITUATION WOULD
BE ANYTHING THAT
DIDN’T INVOLVE THE
POLICE.”

— Asian woman
trafficking survivor
(p. 157).

Policing of sexuality — whether through prostitution-related offenses or police responses to lesbian, bisexual and queer women — is a primary site of racial profiling, criminalization, and police violence. Indigenous women, Black women, Asian women and Latinx women have all historically been cast as inherently promiscuous and sexually deviant and as “prostitutes” through controlling narratives which continue to inform police interactions, leading to significant racial disparities in enforcement of prostitution and trafficking laws, as well as widespread profiling of trans women of color. Additionally, policing of prostitution and anti-trafficking raids are frequent sites of police violence against people in the sex trades — including physical violence, extortion of sex, and rape — as well as failure to protect from violence by people in the community.

- × According to the 2015 US Transgender Survey:
 - × 30% of Black trans women, 25% of Latinx trans women, 23% of Native trans women, and 20% of Asian trans women were profiled as sex workers. Black transgender respondents reported higher arrest rates.
 - × 44% of respondents said the police used condoms as evidence of prostitution.
 - × Nearly 90% of respondents involved in the sex trades reported police harassment, assault, or mistreatment. More than 25% were sexually assaulted by police, and an additional 14% reported extortion of sex in order to avoid arrest.
- × 85% of people charged for loitering for purposes of prostitution in New York City between 2012 and 2015 were Black and Latinx.
- × 26-30% of women in street-based sex trades

experienced some form of police violence—including slapping, kicking, choking, stalking, or robbery—in the past year.

MAJOR THEMES

* RACIAL PROFILING

Why are racial profiling and racial disparities in prostitution policing not part of discussions about policing in the same way that “driving while Black” or racial disparities in school arrests are? What kinds of perceptions about people in the sex trades does this invisibility reflect? How can we correct this?

- × Black women and women of color are perceived as sexually degraded threats who must be contained, excluded, and punished by police.
- × “Broken windows” policing targets street-based prostitution, facilitating racially gendered profiling of women of color’s bodies and presence in public spaces.
- × Police officers are primary perpetrators of violence against people in the sex trades, including trafficking survivors.
- × Police continue to commit violence against lesbian, bisexual and queer women of color, to punish failure to conform to heterosexual or gender norms.

People in the sex trades and their allies are working to decriminalize prostitution-related offenses, eliminate “broken windows” policing, and create programs to meet needs and respect self-determination of people in the sex trades. For more about policing of prostitution and resistance, check out this short video featuring Advisory Committee member Monica Jones here: bit.ly/profilingsexworkers, and the work of the Solutions Not Punishment Coalition at snap4freedom.org.

RESISTANCE

* REFLECTION/ DISCUSSION

Alone or in a small group, write down the feelings that come up for you when you think about prostitution. For many people, prostitution evokes strong moral and emotional reactions. Ask yourself why trading sex for something of value is different from working for wages or marrying for money? Why is sex different? What strategies does the book suggest to prevent violence against people in the sex trades? Can you think of others?

POLICING MOTHERHOOD

SUMMARY

* REPRODUCTIVE JUSTICE

Before reading this chapter, make a list of things that come to mind when you think of reproductive rights and justice.

Police violence against — and police responses to — Black mothers and mothers of color are informed by controlling narratives rooted in slavery, widespread stereotypes about drug use among Black women, and modern-day perceptions of Black mothers and mothers of color as reproducing deviance through their children, and of immigrant mothers defrauding immigration systems by producing “anchor babies.” Motherhood is also wielded as a weapon of policing and punishment — subjecting mothers of color to racially discriminatory surveillance, arrest and violence during pregnancy and delivery (“giving birth while Black”), and threats of removing children as a tactic of coercion.

THE NUMBERS

- × A study of more than 400 US arrests of pregnant and parenting women concluded that law enforcement overwhelmingly targets low-income women and women of color, mainly for drug use during pregnancy and mental health issues. In 2/3 of arrests, there was no evidence whatsoever of harm to the fetus or child.
- × Misdemeanor child welfare arrests tripled in New York City in the 1990s under “broken windows” policing.

MAJOR THEMES

- × Police punish Black mothers and mothers of color for any actual or perceived harm to their fetus or child, while simultaneously inflicting harm with impunity on pregnant people, mothers and children through police violence, separation, and incarceration. These patterns penalize Black mothers and mothers of color for having children, and use pregnancy and parenthood as tools of coercion and criminalization.
- × Black mothers and mothers of color are held to white middle class standards of parenting

“AS POLICE OFFICERS, THEY COULD HAVE HURT ME SERIOUSLY. THEY COULD HAVE HURT MY UNBORN FETUS... ALL BECAUSE OF A TRAFFIC TICKET. IS THIS WHAT IT’S COME DOWN TO?”

– Malaika Brooks (p. 166)

RESISTANCE

* CHILD WELFARE ENFORCEMENT

Alone or in a group, brainstorm strategies to address racial profiling and discriminatory policing in child welfare enforcement. Why do you think groups working for racial justice and police accountability aren’t taking up these issues? How might they be convinced to start using some of the strategies you came up with? How can we support mothers of color organizing on their own behalf?

- while being denied the opportunities and supports they need to care for their children. They are simultaneously criminalized for neglect, as well as for any abuse they or their children experience.
- × Police play an often-invisible role in child welfare enforcement, a primary site of police violence against women of color. Child welfare systems and policing operate in both parallel and intersecting ways to criminalize Black mothers and mothers of color.
- × Expanding our understanding of racial profiling and police violence to include “giving birth while Black,” “parenting while Black” and police violence against pregnant people leads to new demands — such as restrictions on use of force against pregnant people, provision of quality medical care to pregnant people in police custody and immigration detention, and meeting basic needs of pregnant people and parents, including treatment, housing, child care and employment. It also points to new sites of struggle — such as the child welfare system.
- × Police violence is a reproductive justice issue. Beyond the right to parent children without fear that they will be harmed or killed by police, police interference with access to reproductive health tools such as condoms, police violence against pregnant people, and policing and criminalization of Black mothers and mothers of color are central to reproductive justice agendas.

* REFLECTION/ DISCUSSION

Revisit the list you made before reading this chapter of things that come to mind when you think of reproductive rights and justice — what would you add after reading this chapter? How could these issues be better addressed by movements focused on these issues? Share your ideas on social media!

POLICE RESPONSES TO VIOLENCE

Contributed by Advisory Committee member Janaé Bonsu

SUMMARY

“THEY BEAT ME UNTIL I WAS BLOODY... THEY LEFT ME THERE DAZED AND WITH A WARNING. THEY TOLD ME IF THEY SAW ME ON THE STREET, THAT THEY WOULD KILL ME... I CALLED THE POLICE TO PREVENT A SERIOUS INCIDENT, AND THEY BRUTALIZED ME.”

— Cherae Williams
(p. 184)

Many forms of profiling and police violence against women of color show up when police officers are responding to domestic, sexual, family, homophobic, and transphobic violence. Police officers engage in verbal, physical, and sexual abuse against survivors of violence, deny them protection, profile survivors as perpetrators of violence, arrest or refer survivors to immigration authorities, and “out” LGBTQ survivors. Police responses to violence also have devastating collateral consequences in terms of immigration status, losing children, access to employment, denial of benefits, being pushed further into criminalized survival economies, and increased vulnerability to violence. These experiences highlight the need to move away from reliance on law enforcement-based responses to violence towards developing and supporting alternative, community-based accountability strategies that prioritize and create real safety for survivors.

THE NUMBERS

- × Almost $\frac{1}{3}$ of respondents to a 2015 survey of domestic violence survivors and service providers said that police use inappropriate force against survivors. More than $\frac{1}{2}$ reported anti-Black, anti-immigrant, anti-Muslim, and anti-LGBTQ attitudes among responding officers.
- × Among survivors of homophobic and transphobic violence who reported to police, 39% said officers were hostile, 33% experienced verbal abuse and 16% experienced physical abuse by police.
- × More than $\frac{1}{2}$ of respondents to the 2015 US Transgender Survey said they would feel uncomfortable asking the police for help if they needed it. Middle Eastern, Black, and multiracial respondents, as well as people with disabilities and low-income people were most

likely to feel uncomfortable seeking assistance from police.

- × Incidents of “misarrest” of LGBTQ people increased 144% from 2008 to 2009. In 2015, misarrests of survivors increased to 31% from the 17% reported in 2014.
- × In Los Angeles and Maryland, the number of women arrested for domestic violence tripled after adoption of mandatory arrest policies. In New York City, 85% of survivors arrested by police had a documented history of prior abuse, and 66% were Black or Latina, and 43% were living below the poverty line.

MAJOR THEMES

“BUT THAT IS HOW THE LAW IS... SHE IS AMERICAN, AND I DID NOT SPEAK ENGLISH, AND I AM AN IMMIGRANT; THINGS WENT BAD FOR ME.”

— Dariela (p. 197)

- × Police violence against women of color often takes place in the context of responses to domestic, sexual, homophobic and transphobic violence — often away from public view, drawing little attention from anti-violence and police accountability organizations.
- × Women of color and LGBTQ survivors of violence are often denied protection by the police and criminalized for violence they experience.
- × Police officers’ responses to violence are informed by controlling narratives of women and gender nonconforming people of color as violent, threatening, incapable of being raped or abused, and complicit in the violence perpetrated against them.
- × The lines around who is seen as a legitimate “victim” of violence are highly racialized. Additionally, any perceived deviation from gender norms — whether in behavior, sexuality, or gender expression — contributes to not being perceived as a “victim” deserving of protection.
- × Reforms intended to improve police responses to violence such as mandatory arrest policies have resulted in increased criminalization of women and LGBTQ survivors.
- × For many women, trans and LGBTQ people of color, calling on law enforcement for protection is not an option.

INTERVIEW

Interview a family member, an elder in your community, or someone from another country, and ask them about their experiences of how harmful behaviors or situations are handled without involving the police.

RESISTANCE

Resistance around the issues described in this chapter can involve:

- × advocacy in support of individual survivors who are criminalized (for more information and a toolkit for individual defense campaigns, see survivedandpunished.org);
- × policy change (like getting rid of mandatory arrest policies); or
- × developing and practicing responses to violence that don't involve the police (see creativeinterventions.org).

* REFLECTION/ DISCUSSION

INCITE! STATEMENT

Alone or in a small group, read the “**INCITE! Critical Resistance Statement on Gender Violence and the Prison Industrial Complex,**” available at: bit.ly/INCITECRstatement.

What speaks to you in the statement? What messages do you take away? What are some concrete actions that you or groups you belong to might take to answer the call to social justice movements at the end of the statement?

- × Using examples from the chapter, your personal experience, or your community, write out the reasons people call the police when they experience domestic, homophobic, or transphobic violence? What are the impacts of police response? What other options exist? List three ways you could help to create or strengthen options to increase safety beyond police.
- × The author describes a situation in which she attempted to raise the issues discussed in this chapter with anti-violence advocates. How did that go? Why do you think anti-violence advocates might be reluctant to address police violence in the context of responses to violence? What could shift that dynamic?

SCENARIOS

Sit with a group of friends, family members, fellow students or organizers, or your reading group and talk through one or more of the following scenarios.*

SCENARIO 1: At a party this weekend, you saw your friend hit their girlfriend/boyfriend/partner, who is also your friend. The partner had been talking and laughing with someone else, and your friend appeared angry and tense. The person who was hit did nothing obvious in response. Then the two left for home. At the party, you were shocked and confused and didn't say anything. Later that night, you sent a text to the friend who was hit to ask how they are and they said they were fine. Neither of you mentioned the violence. You are having lunch the next day with the friend who did the hitting. What are you thinking? What could you say? What would you want the outcome to be?

SCENARIO 2: Your 10-year-old niece tells you that her 15-year-old brother, your nephew, looks at her strangely and asks her to watch secret movies with him. She hasn't watched the movies yet and when you ask her if anything else has happened with him, she says no. You are very close with the whole family. What can you do?

SCENARIO 3: You are out at a party and you see that one of the people there is very drunk and unable to speak clearly or walk unassisted. Another person at the party has been watching the intoxicated person and approaches them, touching them and grabbing their buttocks, and begins to push them toward the parking lot. What can you do?

As you work through these scenarios, think through the following questions:

- × **How do you feel** about the situation and what you think might be going on?
- × **What additional information would you need** in order to understand the situation and react appropriately?
- × **Who could you talk to** in order to get support and clarity about the situation?
- × **Practice what you might say** if you were to confront this situation directly.
- × **How do you think the person you are speaking to might react?**
- × **What are some of the possible positive and negative consequences** of different strategies you might use?
- × **How might different people intervene differently**, but in useful ways, based on their particular personality, skills, and situation? Think about immediate, short term, and long term responses.
- × In addition to thinking about intervening with the individuals in question, **what are some of the ways you might engage the broader community in addressing this situation?** How could neighbors, friends, family members, religious organizations, community organizations, connect to the situation to help build safety? What kinds of conversations would be useful to have with others about this?
- × **What resources can you look for or create** that could help the situation?

*Used with permission from Michelle Van Atta, *Teaching About The Prison Industrial Complex and Criminal Legal System*.

RESISTANCE

SUMMARY

“IT’S TIME THAT WE END THE STIGMA AND THE CRIMINALIZATION OF SEX WORK, THE PROFILING OF TRANS WOMEN OF COLOR, AND THE RACIST POLICING SYSTEM THAT HARMS SO MANY OF US.”

— Monica Jones
(p. 217-218)

“WE’VE DONE PROTESTS IN FRONT OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENT ABOUT THE CONTINUOUS HARASSMENT... . THEY HAVE TO GO TO THE STORE, THEY HAVE TO TAKE A BUS, AND ... THEY GET STOPPED AND HARASSED AND SOMETIMES ARRESTED JUST BECAUSE OF WHERE THEY ARE AND HOW THEY ARE.”

— Bamby Salcedo,
TransLatin@s (p. 149)

MAJOR THEMES

Since 2014, there has been an unprecedented level of national visibility and action around police violence against Black women, girls, trans and gender nonconforming people thanks to campaigns organized by groups like BYP100, Black Lives Matter, Ferguson Action, the African American Policy Forum and others, as well as increased use of social media to share women’s experiences. This work builds on decades of grassroots organizing by women and LGBTQ people of color-led organizations documenting, analyzing, and demanding action around police violence against women and LGBTQ people of color that has also largely been invisible. There is still a long way to go in terms of moving beyond visibility to centering the experiences, voices and leadership of Black women and women of color targeted for racial profiling, police violence and criminalization in our analysis, organizing, demands, and solutions.

Resistance has taken the form of campaigns around individual cases of police violence against women of color as well as systemic challenges to policing practices and policies disproportionately affecting women of color, including sexual violence by Border Patrol agents, policing of prostitution, police sexual harassment and sexual violence, police abuses of trans and gender nonconforming people, and collaboration between local law enforcement and immigration authorities.

- × Resistance to state violence against Indigenous women, Black women and immigrant women has existed from colonial times to the present.
- × Civil rights activists’ resistance to police violence and rape of Black women has largely

VISION FOR BLACK LIVES

Download the Vision for Black Lives from bit.ly/VisionforBlackLives. Alone or in a group, read through the document. How do the introduction and each of the demands address the issues raised by *Invisible No More*? What's missing? What else could be added to reduce police violence and increase safety for Black women? Send your ideas to invisiblenomorebook@gmail.com!

* REFLECTION/ DISCUSSION

“WHEN I CLOSE MY EYES, AND THINK ABOUT WHAT MAKES ME FEEL SAFEST, I THINK OF ALL MY NEEDS BEING MET AND THE PRESENCE OF PEOPLE I LOVE AND RESPECT. I DO NOT THINK OF ONE THOUSAND ADDITIONAL POLICE OFFICERS.”

— Carmen Dixon, Black Lives Matter NYC Chapter (p. 204)

been erased from the history of the civil rights movement.

- x As mainstream anti-violence movements became more invested in law enforcement-based responses to violence, they increasingly failed to respond to police violence against women of color.
- x Women of color have played a central role in resistance movements against state violence as mothers and family members organizing on behalf of their sons, brothers, and fathers, as well as on behalf of their daughters, sisters, and aunts — and are often targeted for police violence in that role.

The author notes that despite longstanding efforts to raise awareness of women’s experiences of police violence, these have met with limited success until now. What has changed? What is needed to move beyond visibility to action?

IMAGINE YOURSELF FREE

Imagine yourself free; what would it look like, taste like, smell like... what would you hear, how would it feel? Begin to see the beauty that you create when you are free, see yourself moving through seasons, Summer to Fall, Fall to Winter, Winter to Spring. Notice how the tastes, smells and sites of freedom move and shift around you as the seasons pass.

— Offered by Advisory Committee Member Naimah Johnson

CONCLUSION

MAJOR THEMES

“OUR GOAL SHOULD NOT BE TO IMPROVE HOW POLICING FUNCTIONS BUT TO REDUCE ITS ROLE IN OUR LIVES.”

— Rachel Herzing
(p. 240)

- × While fewer women are stopped, arrested, and killed by police than men, women of color’s experiences of policing and mass incarceration are important — because their lives matter, and because we learn more about policing and criminalization from their experiences.
- × If we look beyond police killings and excessive force, we see more and different forms of police violence against women of color.
- × Organizing around women of color’s experiences of policing creates possibilities for solidarity among women across sexualities, gender identities, and borders, as well as with men of color.
- × Women’s experiences of policing require us to value all people targeted by police violence, regardless of what they were doing, and pushes us to re-evaluate police as a response to mental health crises, violence, and poverty.
- × We must evaluate potential reforms through the lens of women’s experiences to make our resistance to police violence more effective.
- × Ending police violence against women of color requires us to decrease, rather than increase power and resources to police. Simultaneously, we need to build systems and structures that will ensure the safety of women of color.

* REFLECTION/ DISCUSSION

- × The author concludes by saying that instead of asking how we can reform policing, we should simply ask what women need to be safe. Do you agree with this statement? Why or why not? After reading this book, do you think policing can keep women safe? What kinds of things do you think we need to do keep women of color safe?
- × The author argues that we need to work toward a world without police or prisons, and that we need to get rid of the values that produce policing and punishment. Do you agree with this statement? Why or why not? What values contribute to the patterns of policing and punishment described in the book? What alternative values we can use to build a new vision of safety?

AFTERWORD BY CHARLENE CARRUTHERS

SUMMARY

Activist Charlene Carruthers describes her own journey to the issues discussed in *Invisible No More*, noting that being perceived as “gifted” in school meant little as she moved through the world as a young Black girl growing up in a working class neighborhood on Chicago’s South-Side, and even less to the police. She emphasizes that while the stories described in the book may be invisible to the mainstream, they are not invisible to the people who organize around them, and must fuel our collective resistance to police violence.

* REFLECTION/ DISCUSSION

- × Who is Charlene Carruthers? What is her relationship to the issues discussed in the book?
- × Carruthers describes feeling a generalized anxiety as she was growing up about her own safety, and that of her community. What are the sources of that anxiety? How has she chosen to address them in her life?
- × The afterword is a call to collective action — what are we being called to do?



A PLAYLIST TO FUEL SELF CARE & RESISTANCE

Play these before, after,
while you are reading, and
add your own!

BLACK GIRL SOLDIER

Jamila Wood

FREEDOM

Beyoncé

GOTTA BE

Desrée

WE GOT POWER

Tasha Viets

VanLear

RISE UP

Andra Day

DON'T TOUCH MY HAIR

Solange

YOUNG GIFTED AND BLACK

Nina Simone

DRIVING TO STANDING ROCK

Raye Zaragoza

REMEMBER WE

Fawn Wood,

Randy Wood,

R. Carlos

Nakai

FREEDOM

Lizz Wright

CHICKEN SOUP IN A SONG

India Arie

RESISTANCE AS A RESPONSE TO *INVISIBLE NO MORE*

As we contemplate the future, there are a number of questions we must ask ourselves, particularly as we enter a period of heightened policing, immigration enforcement, surveillance and militarization, in which manifestations of anti-Black racism, the targeting and exclusion of Muslim and Latinx immigrants, and violations of the sovereignty and spirituality of Indigenous peoples are dramatically increasing. How does centering women's experiences of racial profiling and police violence shape, shift, and expand our understanding of the operation of white supremacy? How does it inform our understanding of gender-based violence and its relationship to state violence? How does it fuel our struggles for reproductive justice? What does it mean for the organizing strategies we employ and the systemic changes we pursue? What are the meanings of and requirements for "sanctuary" and safety for Black women, Indigenous women, and women of color? (pp. 17-18)

What do the stories and statistics in these pages tell us about anti-Black racism, colonialism, white supremacy, and the ways they manifest? What do they show us about gender and gender-based violence? What gaps do they expose in our thinking and actions? And, most importantly, what can they teach us about how to disrupt police violence? What do they reveal to us about the world we want to build? (p. 233)



REFLECTION ACTIVITY

SHIFTING CONVERSATIONS

Reflect, by yourself or in a group, on the answers to the questions posed in the passages excerpted above. List five ways you can imagine shifting conversations, media coverage, research, policy reform, and social change to incorporate and address the patterns and experiences described in *Invisible No More*.

Invisible No More is both a call for greater visibility of women's experiences of policing, AND a call to action to address these experiences — particularly in a time where many of the patterns described in the book are intensifying.

The author ends the first and last chapters with a series of questions for readers about how the stories, policing patterns, and systemic practices of criminalization of women of color described in the book must change our conversations and actions around policing. No matter whether you are a researcher, journalist, an activist working for police reform, an organizer working to better meet the needs of your community, a policy maker, or simply a member of your community, there are ways you can contribute to reducing, and ultimately ending, police violence against Black women and women of color.

CHANGE HAPPENS THROUGH A MULTITUDE OF STRATEGIES.

Here are just a few ways you can make a difference.

INDIVIDUAL ACTION

- × Write out things you will say next time you are part of a conversation about policing to disrupt the predominant narrative about the subjects, forms and contexts of profiling and policing.
- × Affirm Black women/women of color in your life — any of them could have experienced something described in the book. Shower them with love, affirm their resilience, ask how you can support their resistance.

SHARING AND DOCUMENTING OUR STORIES

One way to begin to address women of color's experiences of police violence is to create spaces for them to be heard. *Invisible No More* points out that many women of color, in-

cluding women in or leading movements around racial justice and police and interpersonal violence, have experienced, but never talk about, their own stories of police violence.

Find ways to create space for women in your life and organization to talk about their experiences of policing — while being mindful of why they may be hesitant to share their stories, and of the support they might need to do so. Be sure you are prepared for the emotional and psychological impacts of disclosing something traumatic, especially something that has been kept inside or has not been received as it should have been when it was previously disclosed. Have an experienced healer on hand and a list of resources (like a sexual assault or crisis hotline) to provide support.

Sharing our stories is both an act of resistance in and of itself, and something we should do with a purpose beyond reliving harmful moments.



VISIONING ACTIVITY

REDUCING POLICE CONTACT & ARRESTS

Find out what the top 10 arrest charges are for women in your city or state. Brainstorm how organizers and policymakers could reduce police contact and arrests for these offenses. Be creative — even if the charges involve violence or theft, how might these be prevented? What needs do they indicate need to be met?

EXAMPLE The number one cause of arrest in NYC is not paying a subway or bus fare. 92% of people arrested are people of color. If a person is arrested after entering a bus or subway without paying, they can be permanently excluded from public housing. Organizers launched the [#SwipeItForward](#) campaign to address these issues. In addition to organizing community members to assist fellow New Yorkers in paying their subway fares, activists are demanding that the City spend money giving people free MetroCards rather than spending \$50 million arresting people for not being able to pay a \$2.50 fare.

Ask women what they would like to do with their stories, how they want to use them to motivate people to action. Ask if they would like to document and share their experiences in some way — through an anonymous survey, poems, a ‘zine, videos, a report with recommendations, or something else. For more ideas, check out the INCITE! Organizer’s Toolkit available at incite-national.org/Resources! Share what you create with others concerned about these issues by posting it at inournamesnetwork.org!

REDUCING HARM AND INCREASING ACCOUNTABILITY OF POLICE

If you are working on police reform, there are lots of ways demands can be expanded to address the experiences described in the book — for instance, if you are working on policies to reduce excessive force, be sure to

include demands around use of force against pregnant people. If you are working to increase police accountability, make sure accountability mechanisms address police sexual violence — and provide options for survivors to come forward that don’t require reporting to the police and offer real and appropriate support to survivors.

Be sure that the reforms you seek don’t increase the power or budget of the police department, are rooted in the experiences of people directly impacted by policing, and are actually going to be effective.

We often immediately think about better training for police officers as a response to police violence — there are a few problems with this: 1) it is rarely effective unless accompanied by effective policies and accountability for failing to comply with them 2)

even then, training doesn't address the reality of what police are charged with doing — which includes using physical force, conducting strip searches, taking away people's freedom, and punishing them 3) training takes resources away from things people need to avoid criminalization.

For instance, in a neighborhood in Chicago where 50 schools were closed due to budget constraints, the Mayor now wants to build a \$95 million police training academy. Youth in the community are demanding that these funds be reinvested in schools and education rather than in training more police officers. Learn more by following [#NoCopAcademy](#).

STRIKING AT THE SOURCE

As you can see on the map of the criminal legal system available at invisiblenomorebook.com/study-guide, one way to prevent police violence against women of color is to reduce police contact altogether through decriminalization and pre-arrest diversion programs.

One thing the New York City Young Women's Initiative did was get infor-

mation on the top 10 offenses young women were arrested for in New York City — and then work to find ways to decriminalize, deprioritize, or reduce police involvement and create diversion programs for young women charged with these offenses.

Similarly, organizers in Atlanta's Solutions Not Punishment Coalition (SNaPCo) identified over 80 "broken windows" laws used to arrest and criminalize low-income trans people of color, and worked with a city council member to introduce legislation that would eliminate criminal penalties for those offenses and provide much needed services to trans communities.

DREAMING ALTERNATIVES TO THE POLICE

The best way to prevent police violence is to take police out of the equation altogether. What could that look like? **Download the Exercises for Dreaming a World Without Police at invisiblenomorebook.com/study-guide to start brainstorming!**



**POLICE
REFORM**

On your own or in a group, find one police reform campaign described in the book that specifically address women's experiences of policing. Did it effectively address the problem?

Did the police just find another way to accomplish the same result? Did the campaign take power and resources away from policing and put them into the hands of communities? What challenges did the campaign face? Were they overcome? How? What can we learn from the campaign?

TAKE IT TO THE MEETING!

Contributed by Advisory Committee Members Rachel Herzing and Isaac Ontiveros

Criminalization has become the default response to many social issues from poverty, to mental health crises, to interpersonal violence. Policing and surveillance are increasingly reaching into every institution, public space, and aspect of our lives. As a result, whether you work on racial and immigrant justice, civil rights, education, economic justice, gentrification, domestic violence, sexual assault, public health, reproductive justice, ending mass incarceration, or environmental justice, the issues raised in *Invisible No More* are likely to be relevant to your organizing and advocacy.

GROUP INVENTORY/REFLECTION

How does policing and criminalization of Black women and women of color show up in your work? *Tip — if you are having trouble answering this question, try using the Criminalizing Webs exercise or the Map of the Criminal Legal System available at invisiblenomorebook.com/study-guide to see where your organization may be impacted or play a role in the process.*

- × **Are your members and/or people who receive services from you criminalized?** In what ways? Are there ways that Black women and women of color are particularly targeted or impacted? Is it connected to their political work?
- × **Are Black women and women of color** indirectly impacted by the criminalization of other members and/or people who receive services from you? In what ways?
- × **Do you work directly with the criminal legal system** in some way? How do you see criminalization of Black women and women of color emerging within this work?
- × **How does your organization or group assess** how the issues you work on affect women of color who experience police violence? How do you incorporate what you learn about those impacts into your campaign strategies, demands, evaluation?



FACILITATING DECISION-MAKING

In addition to working through many of the exercises in this study guide with your group or organization, you can use this worksheet to help facilitate decision-making in your organization to integrate action around the issues raised in the book in your ongoing service provision, organizing, and advocacy.

CAMPAIGNS AND PROJECTS

In *Invisible No More* you learned about a range of legal, advocacy, and organizing approaches that have been used to highlight the criminalization of Black women and women of color and to seek remedies for women of color who have been harmed or killed by law enforcement.

Which of the approaches used in the examples in the book align best with your group or organization's work (e.g., lawsuits, policy advocacy, media campaigns, mobilizations)?

Are there strategies and tactics your group has used that were **not** highlighted in the book that could be helpful in addressing criminalization or redressing harm?

Are there strategies and tactics highlighted in the book that you think might be advantageous for your organization to explore?

What are some current campaigns, cases, or projects that your group is working on that relate to these issues? In what ways have you been the most successful? Where you have faced the greatest challenges or setbacks?

If you are not running a campaign or project, or don't have a case that is related to the issues covered in the book, consider the following:

- × **Who/what** are the primary targets in your community who would need to act to reduce the criminalization of Black women and women of color?
- × **How** can your group or organization impact these targets (either independently or in coalition)?
- × **What** sort of alliances could you build to take these targets on? Who are some likely allies (for example, people or organizations you've worked with before)? Who are some unlikely allies you might create the opportunity to work with?
- × **What** information, skills, materials, tools, resources would your group need to pull together to begin impacting these targets?

WHAT DO WE WANT INSTEAD?

If we know that we're against policing that promotes criminalization, harm, and death of Black women and women of color, what kinds of environments do we want to build instead? How can your group or organization begin building those environments today?

- × **How do your group/organization's structures and policies** create opportunities for women of color to be in leadership and to participate in decision-making?
- × **What actions does (or could) your group take** to decrease contact between Black women, women of color and law enforcement? To reduce the harm of those contacts?
- × **What actions does (or could) your group or organization take** to use organizational or community resources instead of calling on law enforcement in the face of conflict, harm, or violence?
- × **What actions does (or could) your group take** to build environments that increase people's capacities to de-escalate conflict, prevent violence, and augment collaboration and wellbeing?

What would it take to integrate Black women and women of color's experiences of policing more effectively in your work?

- × Learning more about the issues and how it intersects with your work
- × Expanding framing/messaging
- × Shifting analysis of issues/theory of change
- × Expanding/creating new campaign targets/demands

What are the challenges or blocks to doing so? How might you overcome these?

What are three next steps you can take individually or collectively to make this happen?

Need resources or examples of current organizing efforts? Go to inournamesnetwork.com! Want to share what you learned? Click on the Movement Strategy & Current Issues tab and send us your thoughts and plans!



YOUR IDEAL COMMUNITY

In the space below, draw your ideal community. What does it look like? Who is in it? How does it feel? Smell? How do people get what they need? How do they keep each other safe? How do they respond to harm? You don't have to be an artist — you can represent your ideas with shapes, colors, words, or make a collage from magazines. Notice if there are police in your picture. If so, what are they doing?

GLOSSARY

COLONIZATION: The process of taking land and resources from the original inhabitants by force and imposing a system of governance without consent.

CHATTEL SLAVERY: A social, economic and legal system under which a group of people are designated as property to be bought, sold, and used by those who claim to own them.

CRIMINALIZATION: The process by which society decides which activities to punish — and also by which society deems groups of people to be “criminals” who are undeserving of rights and protections, and who can be abused or excluded with impunity.

GENDER BINARY: The idea that there are only two genders — male and female — which are assigned at birth based on genitalia, each marked by very specific physical characteristics, behaviors and roles, and that individuals cannot change genders or exist between or beyond conventional notions of male or female. Gender nonconformity is when the way a person appears or behaves doesn’t match social expectations around the gender binary.

HETERONORMATIVITY: The expectation that everyone is or should be heterosexual, usually in a relationship with only one other person.

INDIGENOUS PEOPLE: People who are original inhabitants of the land.

PARADIGM: A way of thinking about the world, or theory about something.

PROSTITUTION: A criminal offense penalizing an offer to engage in a sexual act in exchange for something of value.

“PROSTITUTE”: generally experienced as a slur, this term defines a person as inherently sexually deviant, degraded, a sexual threat and nuisance, and unworthy of care or protection. Avoid using this term.

SEX WORK: Any form of labor involving trading something sexual for something of value. The distinction between prostitution and sex work is that prostitution is a legal term describing a criminal offense that penalizes performing sexual acts in exchange for something of value, and sex work describes a broader range of activities, some of which, such as phone sex, exotic dancing, or creating pornography, are legal, and others such as trading sex, which are illegal in most parts of the US.

SEX TRADE: An informal economy in which individuals trade something sexual for something of value. Some aspects of the sex trade — namely agreeing to perform sexual acts for something of value — are criminalized.

STATUS OFFENSES: Behavior that is only criminalized when a person under 18 is involved — such as “running away,” “truancy” (missing school) or “defiance.”

SUMPTUARY LAWS: Laws that dictate how people can dress or behave based on their gender or social status.

TRAFFICKING: Forcing a person to engage in any kind of labor — including domestic or agricultural work — through force, fraud or coercion. Trafficking into the sex trade is not the same as prostitution or sex work — it requires that someone be forced or coerced into engaging in sex work without their consent. By law, involvement in the sex trade by someone under the age of 18 is deemed to be trafficking, regardless of whether there is consent.

NOTES & REFLECTIONS

This booklet is a study and discussion guide intended for individual readers, study groups, book clubs, students, educators, activists and advocates reading *Invisible No More: Police Violence Against Black Women and Women of Color* (Beacon Press 2017).

Invisible No More is a timely examination of issues of racial profiling, police brutality, criminalization, and mass incarceration and deportation through the lens of the experiences of women and girls of color. By placing individual women's stories in broader historical and present-day contexts, it illuminates the systemic nature of police violence against women and girls of color, as well as the ways in which policing of gender and sexuality are central to policing of race and poverty. *Invisible No More* also documents the evolution of resistance to state violence against Black women and women of color through the present moment, and calls for a radical rethinking of our visions of safety — and the means we devote to achieving it. For more information about the book, please visit www.invisiblenomorebook.com.