



# Policing Difference, Feminist Oblivions and the (Im-) Possibilities of Intersectional Abolition

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## 1. Introduction

Intensive policing and the expansion of the carceral condition are some of the most flagrant expressions of the current phase of gendered racial capitalism. Through the regulation and illegalization of migration, anti-terror legislation, the punishment of poverty and the war on crime, black and other negatively racialized subjects and groups are particularly vulnerable to state sanctioned forms of premature death across the Global North and South. In many contexts of continental Europe, mobilizations against racist policing (racial profiling) led by human rights and community organizations and initiatives have addressed this condition in recent years. What remains often at the margins, however, are the intersectional modalities and dimensions of racist policing and punishment. Likewise, the issue of racist policing and the expansion of the punitive condition is seldom discussed within European gender studies and broader feminist movements in continental Europe. As the title suggests, this article challenges one-dimensional readings of racist policing and engages with the silences around intersectional modalities of police violence. It further addresses the reproduction of carceral feminisms within gender studies and feminist approaches in continental Europe. Departing from current debates and my scholarly activist work on racial profiling in the context of continental Europe (mainly Germany, Switzerland and France) and by applying a black feminist framework, I interrogate modalities of intersectional structural, slow and silent violence engendered by policing. In a second step, I discuss the implications of carceral feminisms and problematize the broad silences within gender studies and feminist movements around intersectional modalities of police violence. Finally, possibilities and horizons of intersectional abolition are sketched out.

## 2. Policing Race in Continental Europe

In many postcolonial contexts of continental Europe, such as Germany, Switzerland and France, race is hegemonically not considered a category of

structural dehumanization, exclusion, inequality and subordination. However, racism is nevertheless institutionalized and pervasive (El-Tayeb 2011; Goldberg 2006; Lentin 2008; Wekker 2016; Purtschert 2019; Michel 2015; Wa Baile et al. 2019) and impacts practices, legal regulations and norms of policing (Belina 2016; Bruce-Jones 2015, 2016; Cremer 2013; Fassin 2013; Thompson 2018). In the last years, the issue of racist policing has gained more public attention in the above mentioned contexts due to black, migrant and people of color organizing (Belina 2016; Kollaborative Forschungsgruppe Racial Profiling 2019; Keaton 2013; Kampagne für Opfer Rassistischer Polizeigewalt 2016; Thompson 2018; Wa Baile et al. 2019). In all three contexts, the legal discursive framework that defines conditions of police controls can be, despite important historical and socio-political differences, relationally discussed. There are police, federal and state laws that not only allow, but rather foster and re-produce, racial profiling and racist policing through codes of criminal procedure that declare that they combat (a) illegalized migration, (b) terrorism and (c) crime and risk to public order. These codes of criminal procedure such as *verdachts- und ereignisunabhängige Personenkontrollen* in Germany (carried out under § 22 Abs. 1a BPolG and § 23 Abs. 1 Nr. 3 BPolG of the Federal Police Act), *les contrôles au faciès* in France (carried out mainly under Article 78-2 of the Code of Criminal Procedure) and *Personenkontrollen* in Switzerland (carried out under Article 215 StPO and cantonal laws) enable law enforcement to conduct stop and search controls without “evidence” at border areas, in and around train and railway stations, and on international sites such as freeways and airports. The relation between space and policing, in which race is concealed but nevertheless operates through the racialization of the analytics of migration and mobility as well as crime and deviance, is already striking here. It is even more explicit within police laws that enable state police to assign certain districts as “districts of danger”. These districts are thereby declared to be a spatial zone where police can stop and search “anyone” without basing these checks on “suspicious” behavior (Belina 2016, 2017). Often, these are districts where large proportions of racialized poor people work and/or dwell at the intersection of the criminalization of migration/sex work/mental health issues, homelessness and/or informal economies (Belina 2017; Keitzel).

Although the above mentioned legal regulations do not explicitly operate with references to race, institutional racism is perpetuated and fostered through the racialization of migration and mobility (i.e., who is constructed as a stranger/migrant in relation to the citizen), crime (which bodies are constructed as criminal or deviant or pushed into illegalized economies) and space (which places are constructed as safe in relation to the bodies that dwell in and inhabit these spaces) (Belina

2017; Hall et al. 1978; Camp and Heatherton 2016; Thompson 2018; Wa Baile et al. 2019). In countries in which the dominant national narrative, also historicized by its colonial implications, constructs its population as white (Ahmed 2000; Goldberg 2006; El-Tayeb 2011; Keaton et al. 2012; Lentin 2008; Michel 2015; Purtschert 2019; Wekker 2016), non-white people and especially poor black people, Roma and people read as Muslim are severely exposed to racial profiling under these legal regulations (Human Rights Watch 2012).

Racist policing, however, unfolds deeply intersectional with regard to the subjects and bodies it addresses/interpellates, the institutional dimensions and the forms of violence it enacts (Dankwa et al. 2019; Kollaborative Forschungsgruppe Racial Profiling 2019; Ritchie 2017; Thompson 2018). In the following, I delve into the intersectional modalities of violence enacted by racist policing. Based upon the lived experiences and archives of situated knowledges of racialized and multi-marginalized subjects in European contexts, I show that an intersectional critique contributes to a more thorough understanding of racial profiling and its gendered implications. This also challenges discussions on gender equality and within anti-racist as well as feminist struggles.

### **3. Intersectional Modalities of Violence**

Racial profiling entails, but is not limited to, identity checks, pat downs and physical searches, which often have severe psychological and physical consequences (Ahmed 2006; Kampagne für Opfer Rassistischer Polizeigewalt 2016; Kollaborative Forschungsgruppe Racial Profiling 2019; Thompson 2018, Wa Baile et al. 2019). As a multi-dimensional violent institutionalized practice, racial profiling extends the actual control in time, space and embodiment.<sup>1</sup> Beyond the actual control, racialized policing “takes time”, as George Lipsitz writes (Lipsitz 2016, p. 126). Rob Nixon’s thoughts on slow violence (Nixon 2011; Vorbrugg 2019) are useful here as he describes a form of violence that does not speak to spectacular events but rather to mundane articulations. I bring this conception into conversation with an intersectional framework (Crenshaw 1989): as a tool, that does not only allow one (a) to engage with the policing of those multi-marginalized subjects, which often fall through the cracks in discussions on police brutality and violence, and (b) to analyze how racism operates alongside other relevant vectors of criminalization and punishment within racial gendered capitalism such as class, gender, sexuality, migrant status, dis/ability, etc., but further, it allows one (c) to

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<sup>1</sup> I have discussed parts of this argument in Thompson (2018) and El-Tayeb and Thompson (2019).

investigate how racist policing as an institutionalized practice does not only operate within and through the institution of the police (Fassin 2013; Thompson 2018), but rather in juncture with other institutions such as juridical institutions, medical institutions, welfare institutions and the media.

Various NGOs, anti-racist organizations and initiatives have argued that racial profiling causes anxiety and have documented how policed subjects face stress and anxiety from policing. From the physical and psychological violence it enacts, depression, fear of prosecution and panic attacks can develop (Basu 2016; Louw 2016). Thus, everyday policing makes mental vulnerabilities worse. At the same time, mental vulnerabilities are a crucial condition upon which policing draws, as racialized people with mental disabilities are particularly vulnerable to policing (Bruce-Jones 2015; Nelson 2016; Thompson).

Further, the violence of racialized policing is extended on the basis of the lack of independent complaint offices and structures as policed subjects are further isolated instead of receiving psychosocial, public, juridical and financial support. Moreover, and this points to the effects of societal racism through racial profiling, witnesses rarely speak on behalf of the victims of racial profiling or seldomly intervene because racist policing confirms already established popular and everyday racisms (Basu 2016; Thompson 2018). Lawyers are also difficult to find based on their lack of knowledge on racism and the structural discouragement of thematizing racism during court cases (Naguib 2019). Like this, the criminalization of people of color is re-produced beyond the actual policing control and beyond the institution of police, as it works through various intersecting mechanisms, through which racialized folks are constructed as problems instead of victims of structural police violence. Victims of racist policing who manage (and have the resources) to engage in or have access to legal strategies and file complaints are often confronted with contraindications by more than one police officer.

The case of Wilson A. from Switzerland demonstrates this. Wilson A., who was stopped and searched by the police on 10 October 2009 in a tram after he came from a meeting with a friend and asked why the police only checked on him and his friend, explains that he was aggressively pushed out of the tram and then beaten. Wilson A. narrates that he told the police that he just had heart surgery, but the police continued and even insulted him with racist slurs. As stated in the many reports of support groups and his own testimony, Wilson A. could barely breathe.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Breathing refers to physical as well as to social breathing here. I approach these experiences through a Fanonian framework and follow, amongst others, the crucial and material motif of *un-breathing*, a motif

Wilson A. filed charges, the police officers filed charges too (“violence against state officials”) and after nine years, the three police officers were acquitted. The case is in revision.

The psychological, physical and financial constraints that come with such a process are part of the slow violence of and through policing. Black and other racialized subjects are not perceived as victims in the hegemonic economies of perception and recognition, even if they were the ones who called the police. The case of Derege Wevelsiep from Frankfurt am Main, Germany demonstrates this. After a racist ticket control in a metro in October 2012, he called the police for support and explains that he was then beaten by the police he called for in front of his partner and 3-year-old son. Ousman Sey, who died after being held in a police cell in Dortmund on 7 July 2012, first called the ambulance because of stomach cramps, and instead of receiving medical care, he was arrested. I refer to these cases as racist policing, though no control without suspicion took place in a direct sense, as I draw on a broader understanding of racial profiling and racist policing that includes racist representations as well as the institutional criminalization and brutalization of race and blackness, which not only shape policing practices but furthermore court arrangements, media discourses and societal dimensions (El-Tayeb and Thompson 2019).

The slow violence of racial profiling also works through the ways in which family members and friends of police victims are treated by the authorities and institutions. Through the closing of procedures or procedures that extend over years, and through racism during investigations or hearings, as in the case of the terrorist murder series by the so called National Socialist Underground (where the families of the victims killed by the NSU first were accused of being involved in the killings), family members and friends thus experience a continuation of anti-black and racialized violence, especially when they are poor, which not only extends the

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which sticks to the policing of race, especially of blackness, through time and space. Fanon wrote that the colonial condition is characterized by “combat breathing” (Fanon 1965). Combat breathing epitomizes the pant for breath, the gasp of air, the compression of air supply, the panic attack. The continuity of this material motif becomes apparent when thinking of the death of Eric Garner, who died in a police chokehold on 17 July 2014 in New York. His last words were “I can’t breathe”. The condition of un-breathing or of combat breathing travels in a transnational and transtemporal sense (See El-Tayeb and Thompson 2019 and Thompson). Think of the death of Samuel Dolphyne in Finland and of his friend who stated: “He was shouting and calling my name; Ofori, Ofori they are killing me. I can’t breathe” (<http://ghdiaspora.com/update-austrian-based-ghanaian-dies-in-the-hands-of-police-in-finland/>). The black refugee activist Sista Mimi, who was engaged in the refugee protests at the Oranienplatz and the Gerhart-Hauptmann School in Berlin, died on 11 December 2014. During her long term self-organized refugee activism, she argued that the repression by police absorbs her breath.

actual control but also goes beyond the subject towards which it was directed. Assa Traoré, the sister of Adama Traoré, who died in police custody in a suburb of Paris on 19 July 2016, constantly faces charges while she is engaged in the struggle for justice for her brother and other victims of racist policing (Traoré and Lagasnerie 2019). Racial profiling and the policing of blackness and race unfolds alongside the transnational, transtemporal and transsubjective.<sup>3</sup>

What is nevertheless undertheorized and further often marginalized in anti-racist movements and organizing is the intersectional dimension of racist policing, which does not solely draw on race and masculinity but rather on intersectional dimensions of criminalization (Bruce-Jones 2015; Dankwa et al. 2019; Kollaborative Forschungsgruppe Racial Profiling 2019; Ritchie 2017; Thompson 2018, ). Black people and people of color who live at the intersections of oppressions are particularly vulnerable to (murderous) policing: Black women and women of color, queer and especially trans and non-binary black people and people of color, black people and people of color with dis/abilities, black working class and poor people and people of color, black people and people of color rendered refugees and asylum seekers, illegalized sex workers, etc.

In the German context, one can think of Christy Schwundek, who was fatally shot in a job center in Frankfurt am Main on 19 May in 2011 while enquiring about her unemployment benefits. The case of N'deye Mareame Sarr, who was shot by police on 14 July in 2001 in the house of her white ex-partner, is a further crucial manifestation that reveals how racism, gender relations, migrant status, social class and dis/ability intersect in policing (Bruce-Jones 2015). In both cases two or more police or security officers as well as one more person were present, and Christy Schwundek and N'deye Mareame Sarr were the only black women in these respective situations. Both were in a situation of crisis. Christy Schwundek was without money since 1 May as her unemployment benefits had not arrived. N'deye Mareame Sarr wanted to pick up her two-year-old child from her white husband, from which she had separated. The child was supposed to stay there over the weekend. However, he had brought the child to his parents and applied for sole child custody without

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<sup>3</sup> The sudden death of Oury Jalloh's mother, Mariama Djambo Diallo, after she came to Germany a second time during the trial, is part of this form of slow violence. In the US context, one can think of Erica Garner, Eric Garner's daughter, who, after her father was killed, became even more engaged in struggles for black lives. She died at 27 because of a heart attack related to her asthma disease. That Erica Garner couldn't breathe, the condition of un-breathing, was already scripted symbolically before her death as she carried the last words of her father "I can't breathe" into the protest on multiple levels.

letting her know. Both shots were fired shortly after police arrived. Mareame Sarr was one of the persons who was shot by the new PEP (*Polizei-Einsatz-Patrone*) (<https://jungle.world/artikel/2001/36/bei-ankunft-todesschuss>), a special bullet with a mushroom effect and created to gun down very “violent attackers”, a label that sticks with blackness and poverty. In both cases, public prosecutors closed the case on the grounds of self-defense, as Schwundeck and Mareame Sarr were supposed to have threatened police officers with kitchen knives, although there were numerous contradictions and inconsistencies in the witnesses’ testimonies.

Police reports as well as media representations described Schwundeck and Mareame Sarr in highly anti-black terms, as hyper-aggressive and physically dominating. Anti-black representations of the “angry black woman” (Collins 1990)—in the case of Christy Schwundeck, she was also doomed as a “mad” woman (Bruce-Jones 2015, p. 43)—were strongly at play in these descriptions. They foster a gendered animalization and bestialization, which places black women and black non-binary folks outside of the realm of care and protection and constructs them as uncontrollable (alongside the representations of black masculinities).

On an everyday level, black women and women of color, queers and non-binary folks are further exposed to forms of police violence, which often go unnoticed. For the US context, Andrea Ritchie has engaged with the intersecting forms of police violence experienced by multi-marginalized subjects:

While it is in fact the case that fewer women are killed, brutalized by police or incarcerated, a focus on police killings and more egregious uses of physical force elides women’s more frequent experiences of less lethal violations, like sexual harassment and assault, which go undocumented . . . Police contact with women also tends to take place in locations away from public view—and cameras—such as homes, clinics and public hospitals, welfare offices, public housing. The combination of these factors and more makes police interactions with women less visible, not only in the numbers but also in the public eye. (Ritchie 2017, p. 234)

The contexts at stake here indeed differ from the US context. However, the cases of Christy Schwundeck and N’deye Mareame Sarr (as well as others) demonstrate that an intersectional perspective on racist policing is necessary to not only analyze the ways in which policing as a method of gendered racial capitalism draws on intersecting modes of oppression, but further to account for the specific forms of policing (and their spaces) that multi-marginalized gendered subjects and groups are exposed to. First explorative studies as well as the accounts of support groups and initiatives show that black women/women of color, queers and non-binary folks

are criminalized as sex workers and are exposed to identity checks and searches (Belina 2017; El-Tayeb and Thompson 2019; Plümecke and Wilopo 2019). Black women/women of color, queers and non-binary folks who work in the sex industry are particularly vulnerable to racist policing and its gendered implications, as they are controlled more often than their white colleagues and are under suspicion of working as illegalized sex workers (Dankwa et al. 2019). A higher frequency of controls can have severe impacts on their lives, also in terms of, for instance, child custody regulations. More controls and police raids moreover further render vulnerable migrant sex workers who are illegalized (Hydra 2017).

Black and racialized mothers and non-binary parents are often constructed as “bad mothers/parents” and over policed. This is also important with regard to the cases of Christy Schwundek and N’deye Mareame Sarr, as their children were implicitly or explicitly involved in both cases (in the case of Schwundek, she was struggling to get her child out of foster care, which also fed into her depression). A detailed, historicized and contextualized critique of the gendered policing of race and blackness, or gendered racial profiling (Ritchie 2017, p. 145), alongside migrant status, disability and socio-economic deprivation, thus must interrogate the interdependency of systems of policing and punishment, regimes of welfare and social services, foster care and their implicit orders.

Whereas multi-marginalized subjects and groups are particularly vulnerable to policing practices in their various and intersectional forms, *in-action* of police (when black and racialized subjects are in danger and/or go missing) is also a modality which I define as part of racist policing (see also (Melter 2017)). This modality shows that racialized subjects, multi-marginalized subjects in particular, are not only constructed as perpetrators and violent offenders, but furthermore fall through the cracks of perceptions and regimes of security and safety. The active *in-action* by police in the case of the black female asylum seeker Rita Awour Ojunge demonstrates this. Ojunge was missing since 7 April 2019. Her body parts were found in the forest near the Lager of Hohenleipisch in Brandenburg in mid-June 2019 (<https://iwspace.de/2019/07/unsere-freundin-rita-awour-ojunge-wurde-in-brandenburg-tot-aufgefunden/>). It took police more than two months until they found her remains in the nearby forest, though friends and her family continuously pressed that she had been missing since 7 April. She had repeatedly reported sexual harassment in the camp before. In addition, her son had repeatedly told his father and police that someone had violently beaten her before he brought her away from the camp on 7 April. Not only was Rita Awour Ojunge’s son not believed, her reports on sexual harassment were further ignored, which points to



the effects of s/exoticization of black women and queer folks (Santos Pinto 2018) as well as to the intersectional violence within the lager and detention system. She was further implicitly criminalized as a “bad mother” who would leave her children by themselves without letting anyone know.

#### **4. Between Feminist Oblivion and Carceral (Queer-) Feminism**

State violence, prisons and practices of policing, the expansion of the carceral condition (Gilmore 2007; Fassin 2016)—and this includes the lager system—produce intersectional vulnerabilities that are seldomly considered within European gender studies and wider feminist movements. This produces troubling gaps as the feminization of punishment that works alongside the feminization of poverty (Sudbury 2005) is either ignored or actively perpetuated through carceral (queer-) feminist discourses.

The term carceral feminism is instructive here. Coined by Elisabeth Bernstein, it describes feminist movements’ orientation towards the criminal justice system and carceral logics and away from social justice discourses. Bernstein developed the term and concept in the context of her ethnographic study on interventions against women trafficking and sex work in the US as well as debates on trafficking within the UN. She observed a shift away from the strengthening of human and labor rights towards the control and punishment of crime (Bernstein 2010, 2012, 2019). With the concept, she attunes to concepts of black women/women of color, who have long argued that neoliberal state formations further perpetuate racist logics and criminalize or abandon intersectionally vulnerable groups, and interrogates “the significance of feminism’s own widening embrace of the neoliberal carceral state” (Bernstein 2012, p. 241). Carceral feminism is thereby defined as “a cultural and political formation in which previous generations’ justice and liberation struggles are recast in carceral terms” (Bernstein 2019, p. 21).

Against the backdrop of a carceral turn (Fassin 2016), which is enhanced through the withdrawal of the welfare state on the one hand and the expansion of carceral and punitive measures and policies, military compartmentalization and the further criminalization of migration on the other, intersectional critiques of carceral feminisms thus analyze the entanglements of feminist anti-violence campaigns with the criminal justice system. What matters here is thus not only the analysis and critique of racist implications perpetuated by feminist discourses that draw on penal regulations (Hark and Villa 2017) but moreover the interrogation of punitive interpellations by liberal feminist movements and their acceptance of the carceral state and its enactment of intersectional violence.

In the German context, the restriction of asylum laws in the aftermath of the events of gendered and sexual violence in Cologne and other German cities on New Year's eve 2015/2016 and the massive use of racial profiling on New Year's eve 2016/2017 are striking examples of the articulations of carceral feminism. Furthermore, the reforms of the German Criminal Code of Sexual Offenses and the so called German Prostitution Protection Act, which includes obligatory identification and thus drives illegalized sex workers further into vulnerability, drew on carceral feminist discourses (Brazzell 2017; Hydra 2017).

Queer and queer of color theories and analyses have further shown how hate crime discourses not only draw on racist representations and discourses of the "homo- and queerphobic migrant male subject" but render multi-marginalized queer subjects further invisible and disposable (Haritaworn 2015; Fütty Tamas 2019). Tracing hate crime discourses and policies in Germany, Jin Haritaworn shows how homo- and queer nationalist discourses merge with neoliberal and urban securitization and gentrification in the city of Berlin and thereby draw on racialized and post-colonial rationalities. Enhanced by this logic, queers of color are further exposed to state violence as well as to urban displacement (Haritaworn 2015). Tamás Jules Fütty also argues that discourses on "transphobic hate crime" individualize violence and merge with racist and culturalist rationalities as violence against trans and non-binary people is externalized and scripted onto black, brown and especially Muslim bodies. Simultaneously, normative and state violence against trans and non-binary people (ranging from legal and medical regulations, on the job and housing market and regarding health and social services) is further normalized and rendered structurally invisible. Haritaworn and Fütty do not only expose the current entanglements between feminism/queer-feminism and racism as well as the mobilization of gender and sexuality discourses for necropolitical/biopolitical regimes of securitization and exclusion. They further lay bare the queer-feminist complicity in criminal justice discourses.

## **5. Horizons of Intersectional Abolition**

If multi-marginalized subjects are particularly vulnerable to policing and punitive measures, as well as fall through the cracks of state protection and are even brutalized through queer-feminist formations and interpellations of securitization, then it takes alternatives of safety and security which count as method as well as goal to end various forms of violence (Brazzell 2017). With regard to the case of policing, various organizations and initiatives document racist policing, educate parts of society on the implications and forms of violence enacted by policing and encourage

them to intervene, organize campaigns and conduct research. These practices of democratization work alongside a discourse on “watching out for each other” and engaging civil society against state violence (Loick 2016; Thompson 2018).

However, multi-marginalized subjects and groups in particular have developed methods and practices also by going beyond liberal reformism which not only tackle state violence but further call upon community accountability and transformative justice to end intra-personal violence within communities and civil society formations (Brazzell 2017; Critical Resistance 2008; LesMigras 2011). Placed at the intersection of not only policing and forms of state violence (either through active forms of securitization or through forms of abandonment) but further inter-personal and gendered modes of harm and violence, illegalized women and queers of color, as well as trans and non-binary people of color have developed methods and practices that go beyond the struggles against state violence. They thereby have addressed the oblivions of mainstream feminist movements who interpellate state violence through carceral feminisms on the one hand and those of anti-racist movements that concentrate on state and carceral violence, often at the expense of addressing inter-personal harm and violence, on the other. Intersectional violence is thus not only countered by calling upon communities and civil society to intervene in cases of intersectional state violence but also to struggle against inter-personal and gendered harm and violence such as domestic and partner violence. Methods such as community accountability and transformative justice are crucial for this intersectional approach. Community accountability aims at activating community structures (whereby community is understood in a very broad sense; this could mean your neighborhood, your workplace, political networks, marginalized communities, etc.) to provide safety and support for each other, especially for the person who had to experience harm (this includes accepting and centering their self-determination). Community values and strategies are developed to de-individualize inter-personal violence. As harm and violence is not individualized according to these approaches, community structures are also activated to develop sustainable strategies to address community members’ abusive and violent behavior and to engage with them in a process of accountability and possible transformation. Further, community accountability aims at transforming the political conditions that reproduce violence and harm and foster forms of inter-personal violence (see the resource hub [TransformHarm.org](https://transformharm.org)). The focus on structural forms of oppression without leaving behind the inter-personal dimensions, links community accountability to transformative justice, which takes all levels of violence and the necessity for transformation into account. Although the terms of

these methods were coined by black women, femmes and trans folks and women, femmes and trans folks of color in the US, the methods also have a history in various European contexts, as well as in the Global South. One example would be the intersectional organizing of refugee self-organized women against gendered violence within the lager system and against the lager system and border system itself, where they have developed support strategies against gendered violence and enhanced community accountability processes with the support of heterogenous self-organized refugee groups and allies. Another examples is the StoP (*Stadtteile ohne Partnergewalt*, districts without partner violence) project in Hamburg (and further cities), Germany (see Brazzell (2017)). The district work project, which cooperates with an anti-violence program in Boston, is based upon a community activating and awareness raising process, which includes prevention, support structures for subjects who experience partner or domestic violence, as well as methods of accountability for the person with abusive and violent behavior and strategy building for the broader community to transform structural inequality.

## 6. Concluding Note

Engaging in methods that withdraw from state interpellations on the one hand and mobilize community accountability and transformative justice on the other (instead of recreating and reproducing mass and intimate punishments) promises to not only transition to gender equality. These approaches of intersectional abolition moreover promise to transform gender politics which rather draw on criminalization and punishment than on care and intersectional racial justice and societal transformation.

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