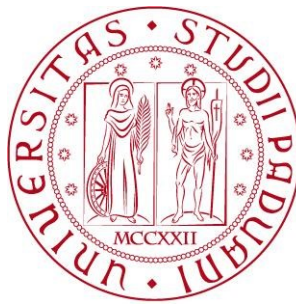


**UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI PADOVA**

**DIPARTIMENTO DI SCIENZE POLITICHE, GIURIDICHE E  
STUDI INTERNAZIONALI**

**Corso di Laurea Triennale in Scienze Politiche,  
Relazioni Internazionali, Diritti Umani.**



**BLACK FEMINISM: HOW A FEMINIST MOVEMENT SHIFTED  
THE PERSPECTIVE AND SHAPED AMERICA'S HISTORY.**

*Relatrice:* Prof.ssa Lorenza Perini

*Laureanda:* Caterina Favaro

Matricola N. 2017012

Anno accademico 2022/2023



## **ABSTRACT**

Con la seguente tesi di laurea si è voluto approfondire la storia e l'impatto sociale di un movimento femminista nato negli Stati Uniti: il femminismo nero. Il femminismo nero è una corrente del movimento femminista che si concentra sulle discriminazioni subite dalle donne di colore in America.

Questa tesi si sviluppa in tre parti.

Nella prima parte viene approfondita l'origine del movimento dagli orrori della schiavitù e la lotta per la libertà, alla conquista del voto per le donne americane.

Nella seconda parte si analizza principalmente il periodo tra gli anni 60 e 70, anni caratterizzati dal movimento per i diritti civili degli afroamericani. Si analizza in particolare come il movimento del femminismo nero si è affermato sulla scena politica e sociale americana e come le nuove teorie legate all'esperienza delle donne afroamericane hanno cambiato il modo di concepire le discriminazioni e altre esperienze sociali. Si fa riferimento alla teoria dell'intersezionalità, con cui si tenta di spiegare come varie caratteristiche che compongono l'identità di una persona (sesso, razza e classe sociale) possano intersecarsi e comportare esperienze diverse per ciascuno, a seconda delle combinazioni tra questi fattori sociali.

Nella terza parte si analizza la situazione corrente, concentrandosi sui movimenti nati come conseguenza del pensiero politico del femminismo nero e gli effetti di questo movimento sulla società odierna.



## INDICE

Introduzione.....	3
1. THE ORIGINS OF BLACK FEMINISM.....	7
1.1. Slavery and Abolitionism.....	7
1.2. Freedom: the Civil War and the end of slavery.....	12
1.3. Women’s suffrage in the USA.....	15
2. THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION OF THE 20 <sup>TH</sup> CENTURY.....	21
2.1. The Civil Rights Movement and its consequences: Black Power and Women’s Liberation Movement.....	23
2.2. Second (and third) wave feminism through Black feminist lenses.....	30
2.3. Black feminist scholars and the theory of Intersectionality: the theory that changed the feminist movement.....	38
3. TODAY’S FEMINIST MOVEMENT AND ACTIVISM BY BLACK FEMINISTS.....	45
3.1. Black feminism and intersectionality in the 21 <sup>st</sup> century.....	45
3.2. #MeToo movement.....	49
3.3. #BlackLivesMatter.....	53
Bibliografia e sitografia.....	59



## **INTRODUZIONE**

The aim of this dissertation is exploring a social movement that originated in the United States called “Black Feminism. The Black feminist movement was born as a way for Black women to fight against the multiple oppressions they face daily, which are racism, sexism and classism and the effects that their intersection has on society. This dissertation focuses on the history of the movement and how it developed while shaping the history of the US.

My objective with this thesis is analyzing the history of the Black feminist movement and its effects on the American society. Black women have been subjected to discrimination for hundreds of years, first because of slavery, then because of the repercussions and inheritance of slavery. The focus of this paper is how this movement shaped America’s history from within and unveil the scope of its effects on the society, even though its efforts went mostly unseen.

This dissertation is articulated in three chapters.

The first chapter starts at the known origins of the movement, that is during slavery and the first mobilizations for its abolition. Black women have been for centuries unseen players in society and this movement was born out of the necessity to be heard. Black women rebelled against their slave-owners just as passionately as the men, but their efforts went unnoticed for a long time. After the Civil War was won by the Republican States, slavery was at last abolished with the approval of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> amendment. What followed was a period called “Restoration”, which saw the implementation of the Jim Crow laws, that targeted African-American people and reiterated an oppression similar to slavery. Black women fought alongside Black men and white women to achieve the abolition of slavery by participating in the abolitionist movement.

The experience of activism for the abolitionist movement gave women the courage to fight for their own rights. The most pressing one was the suffrage. After Black men were granted the suffrage, white women especially claimed their right to vote. The newly formed women’s suffrage movement suffered from an influx of racism because

Black men had been granted the vote before white women, who considered themselves more deserving.

American women were given the right to vote in 1920. However shortly after Black women were blocked from exercising their right soon after, as they were targeted by violence and discrimination. This situation continued until the 1960s when the Civil Rights Movement was born.

The second chapter analyzes the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in America. It was a period of social revolution and the movements born in those decades changed America's society forever. First was the Civil Rights Movement, born in the 1960s as a manifestation of the fight of Black people to be fully integrated in society and not be considered second-class citizens. The women part of the movement however felt excluded from the spotlight, so they founded a parallel movement, more focused on their needs: the Women's Liberation Movement. This movement had a lot of points in common with the Civil Rights movement and the more radical Black Power, but applied to women's rights. Despite its inspiration, the movement still excluded Black women from its ranks. With this new movement, feminist rhetoric saw a rise in political activism and so was born the Second wave of feminism. This wave is characterized by a fight for reproductive rights and sexual liberation. The methods and arguments used by the primarily white organization often landed on racist ideals, further excluding Black women from the social revolution. However, Black women were determined to make their impact despite the setbacks and supported both the Civil Rights movement and the feminist movement in their own way.

In the last section of the second chapter, I explore the theory and scholars behind the Black feminist movement, in particular the theory that most impacted the movement and the vision of discrimination as a whole. This is the theory of "Intersectionality", coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in the late 1980s.

The third chapter focuses on the expressions of Black feminism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and its impact on other social movements. First, the end of the third feminist wave and



the beginning of the current wave, the fourth. The movements' activities in the 21st century are quite different from the predecessors, since they are characterized by the rising of social media. In this dissertation I focus on two of the movements that had the most impact on the last two decades: the #MeToo movement and the #BlackLivesMatter movement. The #MeToo movement focused on exposing sexual misconduct in the workplace, while #BlackLivesMatter focused on eradicating the practice of police brutality against people of color, especially Black people.

In this thesis I delved into the role of Black women in fundamental moments in US history and how they were able to obtain their rightful place in society.

There are a couple clarifications I would like to denote.

First is that in this dissertation I make use of the term “wave”, to indicate a certain period of resurgence of feminist theory and activism. This term is, by some, considered controversial, and in the text I will endeavor to explain the issue. However, it is still a commonly used expression to refer to the feminist movement.

Furthermore, in this dissertation I have cited sources that use outdated and offensive language, which I do not condone. However, at the time, that was considered appropriate terminology, therefore many sources refer to Black people with derogatory terms. It is important and necessary, in essays that deal with racism, to show the reality of the oppression endured by Black people.



# 1. THE ORIGINS OF BLACK FEMINISM

## 1.1 Slavery and Abolitionism

Black feminism originates from the depths of the American planes, from the plantations that dominated the “deep south”. During the centuries of slavery, Black men and women alike were subjected to some of the worst treatment imaginable. They weren’t considered people, instead they were seen as cattle and beasts, meant to work and reproduce to give their owners more workers.

Though there were some differences between the types of slaves (e.g., plantation slaves and household slaves), the slave-owners made no distinction in their horrifying treatment towards slaves who were men or slaves who were women. As said by Angela Davis «If *Black women bore the terrible burden of equality in oppression, if they enjoyed equality with their men in their domestic environment, then they also asserted their equality aggressively in challenging the inhuman institution of slavery.*»<sup>1</sup> This sense of equality under the oppression gave the slaves a bigger sense of community, of shared responsibility to help the other in need.<sup>2</sup> Thanks to this, Black women didn’t have the same experiences with sexism as their white counterparts. Where white women were forced into marriages and forced to work to maintain the house, black women shared their workload for their house with the men, who did not see housework as demeaning or degrading: «(...) *domestic life took on an exaggerated importance in the social lives of the slaves, for it did indeed provide them with the only space where they could truly experience themselves as human beings.*»<sup>3</sup> However, this dynamic between Black men and women was twisted into something demeaning by the white slave- owners and their society. The supportive dynamic was described as a “matriarchy”, where women were superior to men and

---

<sup>1</sup> Davis, A. Y. (1983). *Women, Race & Class.*, S.L., Penguin Books, p.14 .

<sup>2</sup> Gutman, H. G. (1976). *Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925.* Cambridge University Press.

<sup>3</sup> Davis, A. Y. (1983). *Women, Race & Class.*, S.L., Penguin Books, p. 13

men therefore had to feel emasculated.<sup>4</sup> Eugene Genovese in his book *Roll, Jordan, Roll* gives a different perspective to the Black family dynamic: «*What has usually been viewed as a debilitating female supremacy was in fact a closer approximation to a healthy sexual equality than was possible for whites and perhaps even postbellum blacks...*»<sup>5</sup>

Slaves were rarely given the opportunity to create families of their choosing, with slave-owners forcing slaves to reproduce, couples being forced to separate, and children being branded and sold at the will of the master. «*The family as a functional entity was outlawed and permitted to exist only when it benefited the slave-master. Maintenance of the slave family as a family unit benefited the slave owners only when, and to the extent that such unions created new slaves who could be exploited.*»<sup>6</sup>

For this reason, scholars describe this denomination of the slave community as a “matriarchy” as a cruelty that «*ignores the profound traumas the black woman must have experienced when she had to surrender her childbearing to alien and predatory economic interests.*»<sup>7</sup>

Even in motherhood, as Angela Davis points out in her *Reflections*, occasion for others of adoration, the Black woman was treated with not greater compassion or less severity than her man. There are many testimonies of women either pregnant or with children being beaten and flogged in the fields. «*She is compelled to lie down over a hole made to receive her corpulency, and is flogged with the whip, or beat with the whip, or beat with a paddle, which has holes in it; at every stroke comes a blister.*»<sup>8</sup>

The bestial reality of daily life sharpened the black woman's awareness of the injustice endured by her people. Since she was denied her status as a woman in the

---

<sup>4</sup> Davis, A. Y. (1983). *Women, Race & Class.*, S.L., Penguin Books, p. 14

<sup>5</sup> Genovese, E. D. (1976). *Roll, Jordan, roll: The world the slaves made.* Part II, p.500, Vintage Books.

<sup>6</sup> Clarke, J. H. (1971) "The Black Woman: A Figure in World History," Part III, *Essence*, New York:

<sup>7</sup>Davis, A. (1971a). Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves. *The Black Scholar*, 3(4), 2–15. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00064246.1971.11431201>

<sup>8</sup> Grandy, M. (1843). *Narrative of the life of Moses Grandy: Late a slave in the United States of America.* Gilpin, p. 18

eyes of society and was treated as the Black male slave, she had become equally as resistant to the daily horrors as her male counterpart. There aren't many recorded testimonies of the lives of slave women, but it has been observed that in numerous instances they have helped create and foment moments of rebellion and insurrections against their masters, for example by poisoning their master's food or committing arson. Unfortunately, these actions of unrest brought to the slave woman even harsher punishments than the men insurrectionists. Often the form that the punishment took was sexual assault. «*Rape was a weapon of domination, a weapon of repression, whose covert goal was to extinguish slave women's will to resist, and in the process, to demoralize their men*»<sup>9</sup>. The rape of the women was not only an attack on the single person, but it became indirectly an attack on the whole slave community and on their men. Being unable to protect the women from the brutality, the men would become frustrated, and they would start to question their ability to resist at all the system of slavery. This didn't happen, as the will to resist the system only grew with every punishment received.

These sentiments of resistance brought to the creation of the first female anti-slavery society by Black women in 1832, in Salem, Massachusetts.<sup>10</sup> Though Black people were the ones directly affected by the system of slavery, the anti-slavery sentiment spread to white society, and was especially felt by white women. Many white women came together to form a committed group of radical abolitionists. The first groups were formed in Boston and in Philadelphia.<sup>11</sup>

Scholars that have studied this time of civil unrest have formulated different reasons for white women's passionate involvement with the abolitionist movement. Professor S. Pascale Dewey attributes white women's anti-slavery activism to the

---

<sup>9</sup> Davis, A. Y. (1983). *Women, race & class*, S.L., Penguin Books, pp.19-20,.

<sup>10</sup>Yee, S. (2009, October 16). *Female Anti-Slavery Society, Salem, Massachusetts (1832-1866)* • [www.blackpast.org](http://www.blackpast.org). [https://www.blackpast.org/african-american\\_history/female-anti-slavery-society-salem-massachusetts-1832-1866/](https://www.blackpast.org/african-american_history/female-anti-slavery-society-salem-massachusetts-1832-1866/)

<sup>11</sup> Venet, W. H. (1991). *Neither ballots nor bullets: Women abolitionists and the Civil War*. University Press of Virginia.

consciousness that slavery was an affront to womanhood, as well as to humanity<sup>12</sup>. Historian David Brion Davis instead attributes their involvement to classical and biblical traditions and to immoral practices of human debasement in systems of slavery. Another perspective of this fight is articulated by Angela Davis. She states that the abolitionist movement offered a new objective to white women, whose lives were slowly being radically changed. The change was due to the industrial revolution that had almost eradicated the need for women's traditional economic tasks. As this happened, women became less valued in their role of homemakers and so their social status began to decline.

«*White women in the North (...) frequently invoked the metaphor of slavery as they sought to articulate their respective oppressions.*»<sup>13</sup> Though the comparison is mostly an exaggeration, it is important to say that this gave white women a new awareness regarding the oppression that not only slave suffered but also to their own subjugation. They saw the opportunity to challenge the status quo.

Two of the most important figures of women's abolitionist movement were the Grimke sisters, Sarah and Angelina. Born in a family of slaveholders, they dedicated themselves to the anti-slavery campaign early in their lives, attempting to do their part by rehabilitating and freeing slaves owned by their family. They also joined numerous organizations and societies to spread the ideas of freedom and equality for the slaves. As the middle-class white women rallied for the abolitionist cause, the Grimke sisters encouraged their "colored sisters" to join the discussions to add their prospective on the prejudice they faced.<sup>14</sup>

*We are aware of the prejudice you suffer daily, but entreat you to bear with us in our folly. You must be willing to mingle with us whilst we have the*

---

<sup>12</sup> Dewey, S. Pascale.(2012) "Aspects of Sisterhood and Slavery: Transatlantic Anti-Slavery Activism and Women's Rights." *Counterpoints*, vol. 406, pp. 130–50. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42981625>.

<sup>13</sup> Davis, A. Y. (1983). *Women, race & class*, S.L., Penguin Books p. 28,.

<sup>14</sup> Lerner, G. (1963). The Grimké Sisters and the Struggle Against Race Prejudice. *The Journal of Negro History*, 48(4), 277–291. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2716330>

*prejudice, because it is only by associating with you that we shall be able to overcome it. You must not avoid our society whilst we are in this transition state . . . We entreat your aid to help us overcome it.*<sup>15</sup>

However, for the Grimke sisters came another revelation. What had initially started as a battle against slavery had slowly awakened a deeper understanding of the human nature and of their condition in society as women. They had realized that unless they defended themselves as women, they could never fully and freely campaign for the freedom of the slaves.<sup>16</sup>

*«We cannot push Abolitionism forward with all our might untill we take up the stumbling block out of the road (...) It is not: we must meet it and meet it now (...) Why, my dear brothers, can you not see the deep laid scheme of the clergy against us (women) as lecturers? (...) If we surrender the right to speak in public this year, we must surrender the right to petition next year and the right to write the year after, and so on. What then can a woman do for the slave, when she herself is under the feet of man and shamed into silence?»*<sup>17</sup>

Through their abolitionist struggle they attempted to raise the feminist consciousness of all American women. The women's effort in the abolitionist movement helped tremendously in recruiting people to the cause, which gained traction in the congressional movement toward the passage of the constitutional amendment to end slavery.<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Anti-slavery convention of American women (1st 1837 New York). (1838). *An appeal to the women of the nominally free states*, E. Grimke, pp. 62-3(2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). I. Knapp.

<sup>16</sup> Davis, A. Y. (1983). *Women, race & class*, S.L., Penguin Books

<sup>17</sup> Flexner, E. (1959). *Century of struggle: The woman's rights movement in the United States*, p. 48 Harvard University Press.

<sup>18</sup> Venet, W. H. (1991). *Neither ballots nor bullets: Women abolitionists and the Civil War*. p.18 University Press of Virginia.

## 1.2 Freedom: the civil war and the end of slavery

Along with the Grimke sisters, many other women started to feel the need to create a movement dedicated to the fight for their rights as women. They started expressing their ideas during anti-slavery conventions, and because of this, some men opposed the growing influence of the women in the abolitionist movement. This topic resurfaced ever so often, but it created a movement of its own in the 1840s.<sup>19</sup> When the idea was officially introduced by Elizabeth Cady Stanton during the first Women's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, it became an extremely controversial topic and it gained barely enough votes to pass. On her side, Stanton could however count on an avid supporter, Frederick Douglass, a paramount figure in the abolitionist movement, who became a prominent figure in the fight for women's rights as well. The Grimke sisters, when participating in the Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments, had also brought up their ideas of female independence, education and legal problems.

The experience gained by women involved in the abolitionist movement prepared them for the fight for women's rights. These two organizations continued to be closely connected until the Civil War. Then, when the Civil war started, priorities for the American people had to change drastically. If before the Civil War many women activist had concentrated their efforts on the issue of women's rights, with the war they brought their efforts to the abolitionist cause to eradicate slavery.<sup>20</sup>

Two years after the famous Seneca Falls Convention, among the many conventions that took place that year, one in particular stood out: the 1851 Women's Rights Convention held in Akron, Ohio. On this occasion, one woman gave an impassionate speech, that became the symbolic origins of the movement of Black Feminism. That woman was Sojourner Truth, that in 1851 gave her famous speech "Ain't I a woman". She was the only Black woman in attendance at the National Convention on

---

<sup>19</sup> Venet, W. H. (1991). Op.cit. p.15

<sup>20</sup> Venet, W. H. (1991). Op.cit. p 33



Women's Rights, but she implicitly represented Black women's solidarity towards the new cause, the suffrage<sup>21</sup>. In her speech, Truth dismantled the men's argument that women were the "weaker sex", by showing her powerful muscles, strengthened by working in the fields. She disproved the argument that male supremacy was a Christian principle, by saying that since Christ was a man: «*Where did Christ come from? (...) Where did your Christ come from? From God and a woman! Man had nothing to do with him*». And she also addressed the original sin, the sin of Eve: «*If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn the world upside down all alone, these women together ought to be able to get it right side up again*»<sup>22</sup>

Sojourner Truth had left the people in the room speechless; men were quiet and women were beaming with pride and with shed tears, as described by Frances Dana Gage, the presiding officer of the Akron convention.<sup>23</sup> But as Truth addressed the sexism and bias of the men in the room, she also targeted the implicit racism that many women of the movement manifested. Davis states that in repeating the question "Ain't I a Woman", Sojourner Truth exposed the class-bias and the racism of the new women's movement, because she reminded them that not all women were white nor were they middle-class or part of the bourgeoisie. But that didn't make them any less women.<sup>24</sup>

During the Civil war, women were occupied with war efforts, like helping and nursing wounded soldiers, petitioning for the amendment of the Constitution, or fund-raising. Women often risked their safety to participate in the propaganda for the anti-slavery movement. Two women who particularly stood out were Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan Anthony. They were deeply involved in the anti-slavery movement and they organized many meetings and lectures, promoting their ideas of freedom and equality. These meetings and riots became campaigns that went around

---

<sup>21</sup> Davis, A. Y. (1983). *Women, race & class*, S.L., Penguin Books, p.52

<sup>22</sup> Truth, S. (s.d.). "Speech at the Woman's Rights Convention, Akron, Ohio" (1851). In *Available Means* (pp. 144–146). University of Pittsburgh Press. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt5hqj.28>

<sup>23</sup> Stanton, E. C. (1881). *History of woman suffrage*. Fowler & Wells.

<sup>24</sup> Davis, A. Y. (1983). *Women, race & class*, S.L., Penguin Books, p.55-56

the states members of the Union. The campaigns gathered many supporters, but just as many opponents. As a matter of fact, the conventions were often met with mobs of anti-abolitionists, who tried to disrupt the meetings and even harm the lecturers and attendees.

With the end of the war, the Lincoln government was able to amend the slavery law and was able to abolish the practice. The years following the war were a critical period of readjustment. This period is commonly called “Reconstruction” and it lasted circa 15 years after the Civil war. Even if legally owning slaves was prohibited, that didn’t mean that the practice went immediately obsolete. The thoughts and feelings that had fueled the slave-masters were still embedded in the social fabric and in the institutions that governed the country.<sup>25</sup> Many of the former slaves still worked in the same positions as when they were enslaved. After the abolishment of slavery many were compelled to sign “contracts” with their former owners, who wanted to maintain the same conditions as before the war. The contracts had technically an expiration date, which was more often than not a mere formality. Another way to force Black people into forced labor was the prison system. Black people, men and women alike, were often arrested with little to no motivation, just to give the authorities the opportunity to lease them out as convicted laborers.<sup>26</sup> Ellen DuBois on the matter states: «*Since 1876 (...) Negroes have been arrested at the slightest provocation and given long sentences or fines which they were compelled to work out*»<sup>27</sup>. This oppression impacted Black women more severely: since white men still

---

<sup>25</sup> Equal Justice Initiative. (2018). THE POST-SLAVERY EXPERIENCE. In SLAVERY IN AMERICA: THE MONTGOMERY SLAVE TRADE (pp. 50–66). Equal Justice Initiative. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep30693.6>

<sup>26</sup> Davis, A. Y. (1983). *Women, race & class*, S.L., Penguin Books.p.77

<sup>27</sup> Choudhary, Monisha (27 Sept. 2022). “Angela Davis: The Legacy of Crime and Punishment.” *TheCollector*, , [www.thecollector.com/angela-davis-legacy-of-crime-and-punishment/](http://www.thecollector.com/angela-davis-legacy-of-crime-and-punishment/). Citation from Dubois, E. “Black Reconstruction.”

felt at liberty to assault Black women and if Black women tried resisting, they would often be arrested instead of the man.<sup>28</sup>

After the war, despite the new amendments, slavery simply took other forms. At the time, to keep Black people in an inferior position in society's hierarchy, legislators established segregation laws. These laws worked in forcing Black people into slavery-like positions, but they also worked against other discriminated and marginalized communities. One notable example that Angela Davis cites, is the wages for domestics: they were fixed for both Black women and white women by the racist criteria used to calculate the wages of Black women servants. Immigrant women earned little more than their Black counterparts.

*Every morning, rain or shine, groups of women with brown paper bags or cheap suitcases stand on streetcorners in the Bronx and Brooklyn waiting for a chance to get some work (...) Once hired on the 'slave' market, the women often find after a day's back-breaking toil, that they worked longer than was arranged, got less than was promised, were forced to accept clothing instead of cash and were exploited beyond human endurance. Only the urgent need for money makes them submit to this routine daily.<sup>29</sup>*

Black women's desperate economic and work situation did not show signs of changing until the outbreak of World War 2.

### **1.3 Women's suffrage in the USA**

The abolition of slavery had a deep impact on the American society and changed many of the dynamics that had been stable for centuries. Women had fought at length for the rights of the slaves, but now that the slaves had been given some human and political rights, many women felt scorned by the system and demanded political

---

<sup>28</sup> W E B Du Bois (1935). *Black Reconstruction : An Essay towards a History of the Part Which Black Folk Played in the Attempt to Reconstruct Democracy in America, 1860-1880*. Philadelphia, A. Saifer.,

<sup>29</sup> Lerner, G. (1972). *Black women in white America: A documentary history*, pp. 230 Pantheon Books. Louise Mitchell, 'Slave markets Typify Exploitation of Domestics', *The Daily Worker*, May 5, 1940

rights for themselves. The first movements for women's rights began in the 1830s, alongside abolitionism, but it became a prevalent issue after the war.

At the first annual meeting of the Equal Rights Association, the debate focused on the issue of the vote for the Black man. The pressing question was whether women activists were willing to support the enfranchisement of Black men before the suffrage for women. The problem was that many believed that the vote would render the Black man superior to white women, because they believed that the emancipation of the slaves had rendered them equal to white people in society.<sup>30</sup> One of the most convinced supporters of this theory was Elizabeth Cady Stanton. She had distinguished herself in the activism space of the anti-slavery movement and had gained a substantial following. In the years following the Civil war she became one of the most prominent figures in the American feminist movement. Even if she had been an outspoken member of the abolitionist movement, that didn't exclude her from expressing unfortunately racist ideas and reasonings to support her new cause: women's suffrage. In an infamous letter to the editor of the *New York Standard* from December 1865, she writes:

*(...) the black man is still, in a political point of view, far above the educated white women of the country. The representative women of the nation have done their uttermost for the last thirty years to secure freedom for the negro; and as long as he was the lowest in the scale of being, we were willing to press his claims; but now (...) it becomes a serious question whether we had better stand aside and see 'Sambo' walk into the kingdom first. As self-preservation is the first law of nature, would it not be wiser to keep our lamps trimmed and burning, and when the constitutional door is open, avail ourselves of the strong arm and blue uniform of the black soldier to in by his side, and thus make the gap so wide that no privileged class could ever again close it against the humblest citizen of the republic? 'This is the negro hour.(...) In fact, it is better to be the slave of an educated white man, than of a degraded, ignorant black one.'*<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> Venet, W. H. (1991). *Op. cit.* p. 152

<sup>31</sup> Stanton, E. C. (1881). *History of woman suffrage*, Vol. 1, p. 62. *Fowler & Wells*.

The situation angered greatly the white women of the new feminist movement. Two activists, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan Anthony tried petitioning for a law that would have prohibited the States from disfranchising any of their citizens on the ground of sex. However, they collected less than 40 times the signatures collected for the abolitionist petitions. For Stanton, the moral found in white women's efforts during the Civil war was that women should never «*labor to second man's endeavors and exalt his sex above her own.*»<sup>32</sup>

The debate over women's rights and Reconstruction politics caused deep divisions in the feminist movement. The tension exploded when the Equal Rights Association decided to support the 15<sup>th</sup> amendment. Eleanor Flexner, another prominent activist, writes about Stanton and Anthony's loud disagreement with the decision thus:

*(Stanton's) indignation and that of Miss Anthony knew no bounds, the latter made a pledge that 'I will cut off this right arm of mine before I will ever work for or on demand the ballot for the Negro and not the woman.' Mrs. Stanton made derogatory references to 'Sambo', and the enfranchisement of 'Africans, Chinese, and all the ignorant foreigners the moment they touch our shores.' She warned that the Republicans' advocacy of manhood suffrage 'creates an antagonism between black men and all women that will culminate in fearful outrages on womanhood, especially in the Southern states.'*<sup>33</sup>

In their opinion, Stanton and Anthony believed that the abolition of the slave system had given Black people real emancipation and had rendered them equal to the position of the white woman in society. Though as Frederick Douglass pointed out: «*Without the elective franchise the Negro will still be practically a slave. Individual ownership has been abolished; but if we restore the Southern States without this*

---

<sup>32</sup> Gage, M. J., Stanton, E. C., & Anthony, S. B. (1974). *History of woman suffrage*, Vol.2, p. 241 Susan B. Anthony.

<sup>33</sup> Flexner, E. (1959). *Century of struggle: The woman's rights movement in the United States*. Harvard University Press.p.144

*measure (i.e. the ballot), we shall establish an ownership of the blacks by the community among which they live.»*<sup>34</sup>

To sabotage the adoption of the 15<sup>th</sup> amendment, the two women decided to appeal their cause to the Democratic party to persuade the government to give them the suffrage. The Democrats were at the time representing the interest of the Southern slave-owners and, because of this, they hindered the enfranchisement of the Black man in the South. This isn't to say that the Republican party had only the well-being of Black people in mind when campaigning for the Black man suffrage. They saw the suffrage as an opportunity to gain votes in the Southern States and they didn't want to jeopardize this occasion by extending the vote to women. As Miriam Gurko notes: «(...) *the Republicans wanted nothing to interfere with winning two million black votes for their party.»*<sup>35</sup>

This alliance didn't bring Stanton and Anthony the desired results; to react to their disappointment towards the government's decision, they resorted to racist rhetoric in their arguments. Even if half of the Equal Rights Association condemned these racist ideologies, the other half followed Stanton in her tirade against Black male suffrage. She created a new society, the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA).

Despite this drastic change of the movement towards racist objectives, a few Black women decided to continue in their support for the cause, choosing to ignore the problematic side and support the fight for political and economic equality. Sojourner Truth continued to support the cause and was on their side in opposing the Fourteenth Amendment, because it denied the franchise to Black women: «*This is a great stir about colored men getting their rights, but not a word about the colored women; and if the colored men get their rights, and not the colored women theirs, you see the colored men will get their masters over the women, and it will be just as bad as it was*

---

<sup>34</sup> Baringer, W. E., & Foner, P. S. (1955). *The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass. Volume IV, Reconstruction and After. The Journal of Southern History*, p. 17. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2955073>

<sup>35</sup> Gurko, M. (1974). *The ladies of Seneca Falls: The birth of the woman's rights movement*, p. 105 Macmillan.

before.»<sup>36</sup> However, by 1869, year of the last Equal Rights Association meeting, Truth had realized the danger of the racism underlying the feminist's opposition of Black male suffrage.

The end of the Equal Rights Association divided the women's rights movement. The schism resulted in two factions: Stanton-Anthony and Blackwell-Stone. The group reunited only in 1890, when the NWSA and the American Woman Suffrage Associations merged, with Elizabeth Stanton as the president of the new association.<sup>37</sup> When Susan Anthony succeeded Stanton, she continued in her steps. She embraced the racist arguments made by Blackwell for a literacy qualification to the right to vote (idea meant to give women the suffrage), and expanded upon it, even if it meant that many Black and immigrant women would be excluded from the suffrage as well as the Black and immigrant men.

*(...)without expressing any opinion on the proper qualifications for voting, we call attention to the significant facts that in every State there are more women who can read and write than the whole number of illiterate male voters; more white women who can read and write than all negro voters; more American women who can read and write than all foreign voters; so that the enfranchisement of such women would settle the vexed question of rule of illiteracy, whether of home-grown or foreign-born production.»<sup>38</sup>*

Anthony was as much praised as she was criticized for her choices. One of her most avid critics was Ida B. Wells. Anthony adamantly refused to support the efforts of many Black women who wanted to form a branch of the suffrage association, because she did not want to raise anti-Black sentiments in the white Southern members of the organization.<sup>39</sup> Ida B. Wells went on to establish the first Black women's suffrage club. The exclusionary policies of Anthony and the National American Women's Suffrage Association (NAWSA) did not stop Black women from demanding the vote

---

<sup>36</sup> Eaton I. (1967) *Special Report on Negro Domestic Service*, in W.E.B. Dubois, *The Philadelphia Negro*, New York: Schocken Books, , p.427

<sup>37</sup> Venet, W. H. (1991). *Op. cit.* p.158

<sup>38</sup> Stanton,E.C., et al. (1886)*History of Woman Suffrage.*, p. 216.

<sup>39</sup> Davis, A. Y. (1983). *Women, race & class*, S.L., Penguin Books,

for themselves. «(c)olored women, quite as much as colored men, realize that if there is ever to be equal justice and fair play in the protection in the courts everywhere for all the races, then there must be an equal chance for women as well as men to express their preference through their votes.»<sup>40</sup>

Anthony in her career in the feminist movement chose time and time again to ignore the struggles of Black women, and in doing so, she symbolically abandoned the entire Black population in a period of intense struggle. In 1900 Anthony ceded her place as president to Carrie Chapman Catt, whose main argument was that women had been corrupted in the past by ‘man’s appetites and passions’, now it was time to fulfill their purpose of becoming the saviors of the Race. «*It is though woman (that) the race is to be redeemed. For this reason I ask for her immediate and unconditional emancipation from all political, industrial and religious subjection.*»<sup>41</sup> This signed the official exclusion of Black people and especially women from the movement’s ranks. Black women had offered their contributions to the women’s suffrage cause numerous times, efforts to create a multiracial movement, but they were betrayed, excluded and rejected many times over. This didn’t stop them from continuing the fight on their own, with the creation of many associations such as the National Association of Colored Women’s Clubs (NACWC) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> Lerner, G. (1972). *Black women in white America: A documentary history*. Pantheon Books. P.446

<sup>41</sup> Husted Harper, I., *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol.5, p.5

<sup>42</sup> Taylor, Ula (1998). "The Historical Evolution of Black Feminist Theory and Praxis". *Journal of Black Studies*. 29 (2): 234–253



## 2. THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION OF THE 20TH CENTURY

The efforts of the first feminist movement weren't rewarded until the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, the victory was short-lived for Black women. Many States in the South passed legislation to prohibit Black women from exercising their right. «...colored women... were turned down or their ballots refused to be taken by the election manager». And in some instances they were injured or killed by the mobs or racist clans.<sup>43</sup>

Black women during the trying times of the fight against slavery and for the suffrage had been pulled in two directions: on one side Black men wanted their support to fight against the racial discrimination, on the other white women wanted their support to change the position of women in America's society. Few Black reformers understood the unique condition of Black women, who were affected by both issues at once. «To overcome this not belonging, this political invisibility, this noncitizen status, African American women persisted in a multivalent struggle that crested with the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965»<sup>44</sup>

The Black women activists of the time tried employing "respectable" politics. They created new public places such as clubs, community centers and beauty shops, while they organized networks of Black women's communities.<sup>45</sup> Ida B. Wells and Madame C. J. Walker were two of the most prominent figures of this social change. Wells in particular is well known for her activism against the practice of lynching, a practice that oppressed Black people since the end of slavery.

During the Great Depression and World War II more militant political and economic activism emerged in Black communities. Both men and women had taken part in the rise of labor unions, fought and demonstrated for civil rights, and embraced an

---

<sup>43</sup> The Crisis, X, 1915. Quoted in Aptheker, A *Documentary history*, Vol.1, p.56

<sup>44</sup> Clark Hine, D. (2007). African American Women and Their Communities in the Twentieth Century: The Foundation and Future of Black Women's Studies. *Black Women, Gender + Families*, 1(1), p. 3. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/blacwomegendfami.1.1.0001>

<sup>45</sup> Clark Hine, D. (2007).op.cit p.10.

ideology and practice of economic nationalism after World War I. The disaster of the Great Depression motivated them further to organize in their own interests. In 1930, Fannie B. Peck, the wife of a church minister, called a group of women to a meeting in her home. In this occasion emerged the Housewives' League of Detroit. Many other women afterwards started organizing similar societies all around the USA.<sup>46</sup> Historian Megan Taylor Shockley wrote that, through these early struggles, Black women complicated the definitions of citizenship for themselves and their communities and thus positioned themselves at the forefront of the civil rights movement for better work and living conditions and for equal opportunity to employment.<sup>47</sup> Black women created and sustained a culture of social reform struggle, often acting as bridges between communities and their diverse constituencies to create networks of civic and social institutions in order to ensure personal and communal survival and achieve significant social reforms.<sup>48</sup>

*While black female resistance and agency assumed many forms and tactics, black women clearly desired full citizenship and recognition and worked consistently toward these aims. Indeed, black women's history (...) might be seen as a long eventful march toward the recognition of their humanity and dignity and the value of their contributions to the making of America. The early twentieth century generation of black women recognized the value of stockpiling one brick at a time for strategic deployment when the confluence of events made the time ripe to strike a fatal blow at the edifice of Jim Crow legal segregation and discrimination.»<sup>49</sup>*

---

<sup>46</sup> Clark Hine, D. (2007). African American Women and Their Communities in the Twentieth Century: The Foundation and Future of Black Women's Studies. *Black Women, Gender + Families*, 1(1), p.11.

<sup>47</sup> Shockley, M.T. *We, Too, Are Americans : African American Women in Detroit and Richmond, 1940-54*. Urbana, University Of Illinois Press, 2004, pp. 7, 17, 25–26.

<sup>48</sup> Robnett, B. *How Long? How Long?* Oxford University Press, 13 Jan. 2000. Cited in Darlene Clark Hine. (2007). Op. cit., p. 16

<sup>49</sup> Clark Hine, D. (2007). Op.cit.p.16.

## 2.1 The Civil Rights Movement and its consequences: the Black Power Movement and Women's Liberation Movement

As the dust settled after the Second World War, Black people were still mostly stuck in the same position they had been assigned after the promulgation of the 15<sup>th</sup> amendment. This meant that they were still under the effects of Jim Crow laws, they suffered discrimination and most importantly lived segregated from the rest of society. It was the norm to walk around most cities in the United States and seeing schools for “colored children”, signs that distinguished public things meant to be used by white or by “colored people”. Despite the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> amendment the implementation of many laws, called the “Jim Crow” laws (after a depreciative term for African American people) effectively took away many civil rights of Black people and created the segregation that inspired the creation of the Civil Rights movement. In his book “Jim Crow laws and racism in American history”, David Fremon states:

*Life in the South had become a caste system. Anyone who was born black, no matter how high the person's education or abilities, had fewer rights than the poorest white. ... Whites kept blacks from voting, oppressed them through the legal system, and abused them in many different ways. ... A set of written and unwritten rules governed relations between whites and blacks in the South. These were intended to keep a black person in his or her place – a social position below that of a white person.<sup>50</sup>*

The first instance of the fall of the system of the Jim Crow segregation came with the civil case *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) brought before the Supreme Court: an eight-year-old African American girl who simply wanted to go to the nearby public school. This however sparked a bigger question: Would Black students be allowed to go to school with white students? The discussion verted on the precedent of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), that had established a “*separate but equal*” rule concerning facilities meant only for white people and others meant for only Black people.<sup>51</sup> The

---

<sup>50</sup> Fremon, D.K. (2000). *The Jim Crow Laws and Racism in American History*. Berkeley Heights, Nj, Enslow Publishers, p. 29.

<sup>51</sup> Fremon, David K op.cit, pp. 7–12.

attorney of the little girl argued that separate educational facilities are «*inherently unequal*»<sup>52</sup>, and they generate «*a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.*»<sup>53</sup> The ruling was met with great opposition, especially from the South. Nevertheless, this ruling started a chain reaction of great change for the Black population, since by many it is considered the birth of the Civil Rights Movement.

However, the most famous act of civil disobedience that is often credited as the beginning of the movement is Rosa Park's refusal to give up her seat to a white person on the bus. Even though this was not the first time this scene had taken place, Rosa Park's action was taken as the catalyst of the Civil Rights Movement. Park understood that being a law-abiding citizen until her arrest for the bus incident, put her in a privileged position to become the reference figure for the protests: «*I had no police record, I'd worked all my life, I wasn't pregnant with an illegitimate child. The white people couldn't point to me and say there was anything I had done to deserve such treatment except to be born black.*»<sup>54</sup> Being a law-abiding citizen didn't however mean that Park wasn't involved in the activist scene of the NAACP before her most famous act of defiance. In fact, in her biography of Rosa Park's life, Theoharis debunked this myth of the spontaneous bus boycott and the portrayal of Park as nothing more than a tired woman, since it erases her long history of activism prior to that instance.<sup>55</sup>

Fundamental is the figure of Martin Luther King Jr, leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC, organization that had mostly replaced the NAACP), who was able to mobilize thousands of participants to protest the racial segregation and discrimination. He is recognized as the face of the movement, but there were

---

<sup>52</sup> Halberstam, David. *The Fifties*. Easton, Ct., Easton Press, 1996, p. 424.

<sup>53</sup> Schwartz, Bernard. *A History of the Supreme Court*. Oxford University Press, 23 Feb. 1995.

<sup>54</sup> Franklin, V P, and Bettye Collier-Thomas. *Sisters in the Struggle : African American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement*. New York ; London, New York University Press, 2001, p. 65.

<sup>55</sup> Theoharis, Jeanne, and Brandy Colbert. *The Rebellious Life of Mrs. Rosa Parks*. Boston, Beacon Press, 2020.

many just as important figures that worked behind the scenes but aren't as famous. Many of these unheard voices are the Black women involved in the movement.

For example, an important role was played by Ella Baker, a woman most known for her position as national director of the SCLC and as founder of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), an organization that was on the front lines of the protests. Ella Baker was an activist that fought on the front lines of the Black Power Movement for more than fifty years.

Another example comes from activist Dorothy Height, who expressed her disappointment for the events of the 1963 March on Washington. Height wrote that a lot of the men involved in the planning of the march had tried excluding Black women from the discourse, saying that they were digressing and pulling the discussion off the main track. Women strived to give the movement more representation by having women and students speak at the rallies alongside men; however, these attempts were mostly ignored.<sup>56</sup> Height cited also another important activist, Pauli Murray, that too was disappointed with how the 1963 March had excluded women from participating:

*The civil rights revolt, (...) has released powerful pent-up emotions, cross currents, rivalries, and hostilities. In emerging from an essentially middle-class movement and taking on a mass character, it has become a vehicle to power and prestige, and contains many elements of in-fighting that have characterized labor's emergence, or the pre-independence African societies. (...) What emerges most clearly (...) is the tendency to assign women to a secondary, ornamental, or "honoree" role instead of the partnership role in the civil rights movement which they have earned by their courage, intelligence and dedication. It was bitterly humiliating for Negro Women on August 28, to see themselves accorded little more than token recognition in the historic March on Washington. Not a single woman was invited to make one of the major speeches or to be part of the*

---

<sup>56</sup> Franklin, V P, and Bettye Collier-Thomas.(2001) *Sisters in the Struggle : African American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement*. New York ; London, New York University Press, , pp. 83–92.

*delegation of leaders who went to the White House. The omission was deliberate.*<sup>57</sup>

The 1963 March is an historical event, not only for the Civil Rights Movement, but for America's history, as it is in this occasion that Martin Luther King Jr gave his most remembered speech: "*I have a dream*". However, as Height pointed out, for many Black women that were involved in the movement, the overtly inconsiderate treatment towards them was a new awakening. They realized that they were the backbone of the Black communities but in supporting the men in their quest for equality they had been pushed to the side, pushed into playing a submissive role for so long that people had become accustomed to it.<sup>58</sup> Nonetheless, all the effort was repaid, because in 1964 President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act, which banned discrimination in employment practices and public accommodations, especially if based on race, color, sex, religion or national origin. Shortly after, in 1965, Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act, which prohibits racial discrimination in voting, including prohibiting subjective voter registration tests, like a literacy test.

Finally, in 1968, after the assassination of King Jr., President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1968, which prohibited discrimination for sale, rental or financing of housing based on race, religion and national origin.

The Civil Rights Movement soon gave way to the rise of a new movement, much more prone to action rather than legislation: the Black Power Movement. This name came from a slogan embraced by some organizations within the Civil Rights Movement, like the SNCC. They described "black power" as trends towards militance and self-reliance to defend their rights. When Carmichael first coined the phrase, "Black Power" in his book *Black Power*, he stated, «*Blacks must redefine*

---

<sup>57</sup> Pauli Murray, "The Negro Woman in the Quest for Equality", speech delivered at the National Council of Negro Women's Leadership Conference, held at Statler Hilton Hotel, November 14, 1963, National Council of Negro Women Papers, Bethune Council House, National Historical Site, Washington, DC.

<sup>58</sup> Franklin, V P, and Bettye Collier-Thomas.(2001) *Sisters in the Struggle : African American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement*. New York ; London, New York University Press, , pp. 83–92.

*themselves-only they can do that. Throughout this country, vast segments of the Black community are beginning to recognize the need to assert their own definitions to reclaim their own sense of community and togetherness.»*<sup>59</sup>

The new movement started following the teachings of Malcom X, an activist that preached the method of using a “by any means necessary” to stop racial inequality. Malcom X states that Black people all have a common enemy, an oppressor, that bases their discrimination solely on race. So, he encouraged Black people to realize that all of them, despite their differences in other aspects, were united in suffering because of racial discrimination and were therefore a homogeneous group.<sup>60</sup> This rhetoric was criticized by some, who believed that it would bring more separation for Black people, instead of gaining integration. To cite Linda La Rue:

*«While the rhetoric of black power and the advocates of cultural nationalism laud black people for their ability to struggle under oppressive odds, they simultaneously seek to strip away or incapacitate the phenomenon of role integration - the very means by which blacks were able to survive! They seek to replace it with a weak, intractable role separation which would completely sap the strength of the black movement because it would inhibit the mobilization of both women and men.»*<sup>61</sup>

Ella Baker too responded to the new movement, affirming that what she had envisioned was a call for "intensified struggle, increased confrontation, and even sharper, more revolutionary rhetoric", but that she remained steadfast against nationalist agendas that embraced separatism and patriarchal privilege.<sup>62</sup>

In the transition from the Civil Rights Movement to the Black Power Movement, many Black women tried once again taking on new roles and new attitudes as more

---

<sup>59</sup> Littleton, Arthur C, and Mary W Burger. (1971)*Black Viewpoints*. New York, New American Library, , p. 172.

<sup>60</sup> Malcom X. *Message to the Grass Roots*. And Malcom X. *Ballot or the Bullet*.

<sup>61</sup> LA RUE, L. (1970). THE BLACK MOVEMENT AND WOMEN’S LIBERATION. *The Black Scholar*, 1(7), p.40 . <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41163460>

<sup>62</sup> Ransby, Barbara (2005). *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement : A Radical Democratic Vision*. Chapel Hill, University Of North Carolina Press, , p. 351.

active and visible participants: «*Rather than working behind the scenes as ‘bridge leaders’, as was the case in various civil rights campaigns, African American women in the Black Power movement were highly visible, more outspoken, and often militant in the pursuit of black equality..*»<sup>63</sup> Still, despite their willingness, women were underappreciated and their skills unutilized.

As Black Power matured, the statements and behaviors of various male activists exposed their preoccupation with needing to strengthen Black manhood. Because of the myth of the “black matriarchy”, Black male leaders of the movement felt it necessary to subordinate women to demonstrate their superiority.<sup>64</sup> Mary Ann Weathers writes on the matter: «*It is really disgusting to hear Black women talk about giving Black men their manhood — or allowing them to get it. This is degrading to other Black women and thoroughly insulting to Black men (or at least it should be). How can someone “give” one something as personal as one’s adulthood?*»<sup>65</sup>

La Rue, in 1970, claims that this subordination is an influence adopted from the white patriarchy as the “paradigm of the good family”. She believes that Black women must be freed from this unsatisfactory male-female role relationship, because it does not align with the goal of black liberation. This is a failure for the Black movements, that in assimilating white ideologies, have, in particular, failed Black women in many instances. La Rue cites for one the myth of the Black matriarchy, that has made Black women ashamed of their strength and has convinced them of the superiority and dominance of the male. In turn, this affirmed the belief that women should adhere to

---

<sup>63</sup> Franklin, V P, and Bettye Collier-Thomas.(2001) *Sisters in the Struggle : African American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement*. New York ; London, New York University Press p. 171.

<sup>64</sup> Williams, R. Y. (2008). Black Women and Black Power. *OAH Magazine of History*, 22(3), 22–26. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25162182>

<sup>65</sup> Weathers, Mary Ann. “An Argument for Black Women’s Liberation as a Revolutionary Force.” *No More Fun and Games: A Journal of Female Liberation*, vol. 1, no. 2, Feb. 1969, [caringlabor.wordpress.com/2010/07/29/mary-ann-weathers-an-argument-for-black-womens-liberation-as-a-revolutionary-force/](http://caringlabor.wordpress.com/2010/07/29/mary-ann-weathers-an-argument-for-black-womens-liberation-as-a-revolutionary-force/).



the traditional roles, such as housekeeping and children, which can become useful to further the cause.<sup>66</sup>

Despite the faults of the movement towards women, it is impossible to deny its impact on the American society and on the other movements born around that time. The most notable is the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM), that was inspired by the models of anticolonial revolutions and by Black Power.<sup>67</sup> Many scholars believe that the WLM emulated quite explicitly the messages of the Black movements to express their own struggle and to fight against their oppression.<sup>68</sup>

Examining the Black Power movement and the WLM, it is simple to find the similarities and parallels. As Smith writes in his book "*Rhetoric of Black Revolution*", the two movements share, like many others, the same three general issues: justice, dignity and equality. There are rarely new concerns, what differs is usually the manners in which these are articulated.<sup>69</sup> Their first similarity can be found in their respective definition for oppression and oppressor. Both see as their oppressor the system as a whole, not as a singular person, that systematically excludes Black people and women from the decision-making process, utilizing them only where absolutely necessary and advantageous to further his dominant role. To fight against this oppression, women too resorted to a rhetoric of sisterhood, in order to create a sentiment of communality, of group. Another similarity comes from the dismantling of the belief that, in this case, women are inferior, and the dismantling of the sexist myths and terms that perpetrated the oppression against them.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> LA RUE, L. (1970). THE BLACK MOVEMENT AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION. *The Black Scholar*, 1(7), 36–42. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41163460>

<sup>67</sup> Evans, S. M. (2015) "Women's Liberation: Seeing the Revolution Clearly." *Feminist Studies*, vol. 41, no. 1, , pp. 138–49. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.15767/feministstudies.41.1.138>.

<sup>68</sup> Weber, S. N. (1981). Black Power in the 1960s: A Study of Its Impact on Women's Liberation. *Journal of Black Studies*, 11(4), 483–497. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2784076>

<sup>69</sup> Smith, Arthur L. *Rhetoric of Black Revolution*. Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971.

<sup>70</sup> Weber, S. N. (1981). Op.cit.

Some scholars criticized the strategy used by the WLM of exploiting the momentum generated by the Civil Rights Movement and Black Power Movement:

*It is entirely possible that women's liberation has developed a sudden attachment to the black liberation movement as a ploy to share the attention that it has taken blacks 400 years to generate. In short, it can be argued that women's liberation not only attached itself to the black movement but did so with only marginal concern for black women and black liberation, and functional concern for the rights of white women.<sup>71</sup>*

Unlike La Rue, who deems the WLM as a primarily white organization, Sara Evans insists that it was instead multiracial from the beginning, and that race was often at the center of its discourse, even if it took place in a context of racial polarization. Not only that, but according to Evans it also became an international movement.<sup>72</sup>

*The radicalism of the women's liberation movement was its cultural challenge not to unjust laws but to the very definitions of female and male and the roles assigned to them by society. Women's liberation linked structural inequalities to lived personal experience; 'the personal is political' erased boundaries between public and private. The writings of the women's liberation movement, frequently cited and anthologized, were clearly foundational to everything that came later.<sup>73</sup>*

## **2.2 Second (and third) wave feminism through Black feminist lenses**

The feminist movement is usually analyzed by scholars utilizing the metaphor of the “wave”. This indicates the resurgence every now and then of feminist activism throughout contemporary U.S. history. The metaphor has been, however, criticized and dismissed by many other scholars. Kimberly Springer on the matter writes:

---

<sup>71</sup> LA RUE, L. (1970). THE BLACK MOVEMENT AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION. *The Black Scholar*, 1(7), 36–42. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41163460>

<sup>72</sup> Evans, S. M. (2015). Women's Liberation: Seeing the Revolution Clearly. *Feminist Studies*, 41(1), 138–149. <https://doi.org/10.15767/feministstudies.41.1.138>

<sup>73</sup> Evans, S. M. (2015). Op. cit.

*This model obscures the historical role of race in feminist organizing. If we consider the first wave as that moment of organizing encompassing woman suffrage and the second wave as the women's liberation/women's rights activism of the late 1960s, we effectively disregard the race-based movements before them that served as precursors, or windows of political opportunity, for gender activism.*<sup>74</sup>

Historically, the feminist movement has been divided in either three or four “waves”. The first wave coincides with the abolitionist movement and the fight for women’s suffrage. The second wave finds its beginning in 1963, with the publication of Betty Friedan’s “*The Feminine Mystique*”, or with the founding of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966.<sup>75</sup>

The 1970s in the USA were a politically charged period, with many different movements demanding changes for the discrimination they had endured for centuries, like the afore-mentioned Civil Rights Movement. The feminist movement was no different. The second wave is characterized by a specific focus towards public and private injustices, such as rape, violence, harassment and reproductive rights. One author, Danielle McGuire, in revisiting the forgotten leaders (Black women) of the Civil Rights Movement, emphasizes that the activism against rape and violence is to be considered a fundamental component of the basis of the movements.<sup>76</sup>

These feminists active during the 70s and 80s understood that to achieve social equality, sexual and reproductive rights were an essential step towards the goal:

*It was not a coincidence that women's consciousness of their reproductive rights was born within the organized movement for women's political equality. Indeed, if women remained forever burdened by incessant childbirths and frequent miscarriages, they would hardly be able to exercise*

---

<sup>74</sup> Springer, K.. (2002) “Third Wave Black Feminism?” *Signs*, vol. 27, no. 4, , pp. 1061. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.1086/339636>.

<sup>75</sup> Thompson, B.(2002) “Multiracial Feminism: Recasting the Chronology of Second Wave Feminism.” *Feminist Studies*, vol. 28, no. 2, , pp. 337–60. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3178747>.

<sup>76</sup> McGuire, D. L. (2010). *At the Dark End of the Street : Black Women, Rape, and Resistance- a New History of the Civil Rights Movement from Rosa Parks to the Rise of Black Power*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf,.

*the political rights they might win. Moreover, women's new dreams of pursuing careers and other paths of self-development outside marriage and motherhood could only be realized if they could limit and plan their pregnancies.*<sup>77</sup>

The second wave activism was successful in many aspects: even if the Equal Rights Amendment took a little longer to be passed, in the meantime women gained the approval for the right to hold credit cards and apply for mortgages. They were able to outlaw marital rape and raise awareness around domestic violence.<sup>78</sup>

These demands however came mostly from (white) women from the middle- and upper-class. The working-class women were usually more concerned about the fight for economic survival. Black women were either too preoccupied with the fight against racism to participate or they had not yet understood the importance of sexism in their lives.<sup>79</sup> Reproductive rights, but most of all, abortion, was, for many Black women and women of color, at the time, a difficult topic to face, given their collective past. What many Black activists saw in the rising movement was the often racist premises of many arguments used by advocates of the movement to gain the desired rights.

As a way to control the “proliferation of the lower classes”, abortion activists have also promoted birth control<sup>80</sup>, or, as Elizabeth Hood confirms, they promoted “voluntary sterilization”, encouraging Black and poor people especially, in order to be able to “plan their families”.<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>77</sup> Davis, A. Y. (1983). *Women, race & class*. Vintage Books. P. 187

<sup>78</sup> GALE. (2023)“Second Wave Feminism Primary Sources & History | Gale.” [www.gale.com/primary-sources/womens-studies/collections/second-wave-feminism#:~:text=The%20second%20wave%20feminism%20movement](http://www.gale.com/primary-sources/womens-studies/collections/second-wave-feminism#:~:text=The%20second%20wave%20feminism%20movement).

<sup>79</sup> Davis, A. Y. *Women, Race & Class*. S.L., Penguin Books, 1981.

<sup>80</sup> Davis, A. Y. *Women, Race & Class*. S.L., Penguin Books, 1981.

<sup>81</sup> Hood, Elizabeth F. (1978) “BLACK WOMEN, WHITE WOMEN: SEPARATE PATHS TO LIBERATION.” *The Black Scholar*, vol. 9, no. 7, , pp. 45–56. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41066484>.

«What was demanded as a 'right' for the privileged came to be interpreted as a 'duty' for the poor.»<sup>82</sup>

Seeing the lack of active participation by the majority of the Black population to second wave feminism, the movement was seen by scholars as predominantly white. These scholars focused almost exclusively on academy, so the activism of the movement was neglected during the analysis. The theorist therefore arrived at the conclusion that 1970s Second Wave feminists were not only white, but also “middle-class, self-interested and anti-sex”. In omitting large part of the work done by nonwhite feminists, theorists ignored the large impact and contribution made by the Black Power movement.<sup>83</sup>

This interpretation became widely spread and overshadowed the activism of the women's liberation movement, relegating the radicals to the side. By mid 1970s the idea of Women's Liberation had been replaced by terminology like “radical feminist”, “socialist feminist” or “womanist”.<sup>84</sup>

Black women were in a particular situation since they understood the plight of both the Black and the feminist movement and were torn between the two sides, that often collided. Shirley Chisholm provides the explanation that while Black women were planning strategies for power and liberation, they were excluded by both the Black man and the white woman. Chisholm is an emblematic figure in this fight, since in her run for the presidency of the USA she received little support from<sup>8586</sup>

---

<sup>82</sup> Davis, A.Y. (1981) *Women, Race & Class*. S.L., Penguin Books.,p.189

<sup>83</sup> Thompson, B. (2002). “Multiracial Feminism: Recasting the Chronology of Second Wave Feminism.” *Feminist Studies*, vol. 28, no. 2, , pp. 337–60. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3178747>.

<sup>84</sup> Evans, S. M. (2015). Women's Liberation: Seeing the Revolution Clearly. *Feminist Studies*, 41(1), 138–149. <https://doi.org/10.15767/feministstudies.41.1.138>

<sup>85</sup> Thompson, B., op. cit. .

<sup>86</sup> Taylor, Ula Y. (1998) “MAKING WAVES: THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF BLACK FEMINISM.” *The Black Scholar*, vol. 28, no. 2, , pp. 18–28. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41069774>.

Caught in the middle, Black women felt the urgency to create their own national political organization. In 1973 was founded the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO). This necessity came not only because of the sexism in the Black movement or the racism in the feminist movement, but also because, as a white feminist wrote for an article in *Off Our Backs: A Women's News Journal*, that black women were under «enormous pressure not to join the women's liberation movement.»<sup>87</sup> Nonetheless, the NBFO helped to inspire the founding of the Combahee River Collective, which came in 1974. Though the organization only existed for six years, the Collective and its statement were crucial to the anti-racist activism in Boston.<sup>88</sup> and were critical to the growth of black feminist theory and to the reshaping of the feminist discourse in the USA.<sup>89</sup>

*We are a collective of black feminists who have been meeting together since 1974. During that time we have been involved in the process of defining and clarifying our politics, while at the same time doing political work within our own group and in coalition with other progressive organizations and movements. The most general statement of our politics at the present time would be that we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking. The synthesis of these oppressions creates the conditions of our lives. As black women we see black feminism as the logical political movement to combat the manifold and simultaneous oppressions that all women of color face.*<sup>90</sup>

Black feminism was a movement born because of the exclusion of Black women from mainstream sections of Second Wave feminism. Despite its beginning, the

---

<sup>87</sup> Mecca Reliance, et al. (1973). "Off Our Backs." *Off Our Backs*, vol. 3, no. 10, Sept.. *JSTOR*, <https://jstor.org/stable/community.28041801>

<sup>88</sup> Thompson, B., op. cit.

<sup>89</sup> Code, L.( 2000) *Encyclopedia of Feminist Theories*. London ; New York, Routledge,.

<sup>90</sup> The Combahee River Statement appeared as a movement document in April 1977. The final, definitive version was published in Eisenstein, Zillah R. (1979) *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism*. New York, Monthly Review Press, , pp. 362–72, [monthlyreview.org/2019/01/01/a-black-feminist-statement/#enl](http://monthlyreview.org/2019/01/01/a-black-feminist-statement/#enl) backlink.

movement evolved quite differently from its source. Though Black women were not heavily associated with the second wave and opted to not be called “feminists”, this did not mean that they weren’t doing gender activism on their own terms.<sup>91</sup> Stephen Ward describes Black feminism as «*a component of the Black Power Movement’s ideological legacy*» and writes that «*Black feminists were not simply challenging expressions of male chauvinism, but were also advancing arguments for deeper revolutionary purpose, theory, and commitment (...) in effect, applying and expanding Black Power thought.*»<sup>92</sup>

Kimberly Springer, a black feminist activist, states: «*Despite limited organizational contact, black feminists added ideals of gender equality and antisexism to the social milieu of the Black Power era.*»<sup>93</sup> During the Second wave, black feminists committed themselves to working on the struggles where race, sex and class are simultaneous factors in oppression.

Black activists focused on issues primarily in the legal or in the healthcare networks, for example fighting against discriminatory laws and civil causes, or for the physical and mental well-being of Black women (fighting against rape, violence, harassment and forced sterilization).<sup>94</sup>

Angela Davis, in addressing the conference of the North Carolina Black Women’s Health Project, proclaimed that «*the pursuit of health in body, mind and spirit weaves in and out of every major struggle women have ever waged in our quest for social, economic and political emancipation*» and that under capitalism «*health has been*

---

<sup>91</sup> Thompson, B. *op.cit.*, p

<sup>92</sup> Joseph, Peniel E. (21 Aug. 2013) *The Black Power Movement*. Routledge, , pp. 119–144. Chapter: “The Third World Women’s Alliance: Black Feminist Radicalism and Black Power Politics.” Cited in Williams, R. Y. (2008) “Black Women and Black Power.” *OAH Magazine of History*, vol. 22, no. 3, , pp. 22–26. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25162182>

<sup>93</sup> Joseph, Peniel E. *op.cit.*

<sup>94</sup> Taylor, Ula Y. (1998) “MAKING WAVES: THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF BLACK FEMINISM.” *The Black Scholar*, vol. 28, no. 2, , pp. 18–28. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41069774>.

*callously transformed into a commodity - a commodity that those with means are able to afford, but that is too often entirely beyond the reach of others.»*<sup>95</sup>

This interest in legal and health issues for Black women was an evolution of the first premises of the Second Wave Feminism. For this reason, many scholars consider the shift as another “wave” in the history of feminism, the third. Some theorists attribute the beginning of the new wave to the “*riot grrrl*” feminist punk subculture or Anita Hill’s sexual harassment testimony in 1991. Others believe the movement began with the founding of the Third Wave Foundation in 1992 by Rebecca Walker, who is credited by all as also the creator of the term “third wave”.<sup>96</sup>

The third wave is seen as a «*dynamic critique to the previous feminist political trends*»<sup>97</sup>, but for the most part, scholars denote the desire of the feminists of the time to embrace diversity and individualism in women, and in turn redefine what it means to be a feminist. The goals of this feminist wave included the access to reproductive right, ending violence against women and reclaiming derogatory terminology.

For Black women, the new wave again did not bring a full acceptance into the mainstream feminist movement. Instead, in response to the exclusion they had experienced, they started to reject the term “feminism” in every form, even associated with the Black feminist movement, because many felt that the word couldn’t be separated from its racist and elitist history. As they discarded feminism, they adopted “womanism”.

Womanism is a term coined by Alice Walker, introduced in her book “*In search of our mother’s garden*”, for which she gives four interpretations. The first definition is «*a Black feminist or a feminist of color*»; the second is someone who «*appreciates*

---

<sup>95</sup> Davis, Angela Y. (1990) *Women, Culture & Politics*. New York, Vintage Books,. “Sick and Tired of Being Sick and Tired: The Politics of Black Women’s Health,.”, p. 54

<sup>96</sup> Springer, Kimberly.(2002) “Third Wave Black Feminism?” *Signs*, vol. 27, no. 4, , pp. 1059–82. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.1086/339636>.

<sup>97</sup> Mohajan, Haradhan Kumar. (Sept. 2022) “Four Waves of Feminism: A Blessing for Global Humanity.” *Studies in Social Science & Humanities*, vol. 1, no. 2, , pp. 1–8, <https://doi.org/10.56397/sssh.2022.09.01>.



*and prefers women's culture»; third is «love of culture and self»; fourth is «womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender.»<sup>98</sup>*

According to Elsa Barkley Brown, the womanist theory unites «*race, sex, and class oppression as forming one struggle. Womanism flows from a both/and worldview, a consciousness that allows for the resolution of seeming contradictions not through an either/or negation but through the interaction and wholeness.*»<sup>99</sup>

Even if the term womanism was preferred at the time, there is virtually little difference between that and black feminism. The same Barley Brown considers the two concepts practically interchangeable. Patricia Hill Collins however senses a fundamental difference that the Crenshaw had implied: feminist is for white women, womanist is just for Black women. Barley Brown states that Black women's history helps them foster a womanist worldview, that is inaccessible to anybody else. This implies that Black women are superior to white women because of this tradition. Though, since many Black women at the time considered the term "black feminism" problematic, this analysis did not impact their preference of the new term "womanism".<sup>100</sup> For example, one womanist states: «*one of the most disturbing aspects of current black feminist criticism (is) its separatism - its tendency to see not only a distinct black female culture but to see that culture as a separate cultural form having more in common with white female experience than with the facticity of Afro-American life*»<sup>101</sup>

Another proclaimed difference between the two movements is that womanism allows Black women a "femininity" that they felt was denied under the umbrella of

---

<sup>98</sup> Walker, Alice. (1983) *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens : Womanist Prose*. 1983. Betascript Publishing, Cited in Patricia Hill Collins. (2000) *Black Feminist Thought*. Routledge, , p. 46.

<sup>99</sup> Brown, Elsa Barkley. (1989) "Womanist Consciousness: Maggie Lena Walker and the Independent Order of Saint Luke." *Signs*, vol. 14, no. 3, , pp. 610–33. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3174404>.

<sup>100</sup> Collins, P. H. (1996) "WHAT'S IN A NAME? Womanism, Black Feminism, and Beyond." *The Black Scholar*, vol. 26, no. 1, , pp. 9–17. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41068619>.

<sup>101</sup> Henry Louis Gates (30 Oct. 1990). *Reading Black, Reading Feminist*. Plume, , pp. 68–75. Williams, Sherley Ann "Some Implications of Womanist Theory."

“feminism”. This denial had been historically linked to the exploitation of their labor power and their womanhood.

Criticisms can be found for both sides of the argument, but it is impossible to deny that both movements strived to create a better condition for Black women in the American society. Both understood the importance of basing their activism on their cultural heritage. They both encouraged Black women to value and love themselves and they recognized Black women’s commitment to creating a new community without dominance.<sup>102</sup>

### **2.3 Black feminist scholars and the theory of Intersectionality: the theory that changed the feminist movement**

As seen while recounting the history of the movement, the theory and practice of Black feminism goes back to the “first wave” of feminist thought, when some Black activists fought against both racism and sexism. However, the true beginning of the new Black feminist scholarship came with the Civil Rights movement and the second wave feminist movement.

Black feminist theories place Black women in the center of their analyses. They focus on their cultural experiences, that they consider crucial to their way of «*knowing and being in the world*».<sup>103</sup> A challenge to these analyses is understanding and explaining the connection between agency and social structure. Their base and main assumption is the principle of the “simultaneity of oppression”, for which race, gender and class operate simultaneously as forces of oppression. Black feminist thinkers focus their research on historicizing and contextualizing the social components afore mentioned.

---

<sup>102</sup> Taylor, Ula Y. (1998) “MAKING WAVES: THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF BLACK FEMINISM.” *The Black Scholar*, vol. 28, no. 2, , pp. 18–28. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41069774>.

<sup>103</sup> Brewer, R M.(1999) “Theorizing Race, Class and Gender: The New Scholarship of Black Feminist Intellectuals and Black Women’s Labor.” *Race, Gender & Class*, vol. 6, no. 2, , pp. 29–47. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41674884>.

One of these thinkers, Higgingbotham, describes the embeddedness of gender within race thus:

*In societies where racial demarcation is endemic to their sociocultural fabric and heritage – to their laws and economy, to their institutionalized structures and discourses, and to their epistemologies and everyday costumes – gender identity is inextricably linked to and even determined by racial identity. We are talking about the racialization of gender and class.*<sup>104</sup>

Black feminists affirm that feminism must understand and reflect in its social analyses the inequality of the society they are studying, in order to respond in opposition to these oppressions, by being anti-sexist, anti-classist, anti-racist and anti-homophobic.<sup>105</sup>

These theorists have long been excluded from the traditional academia, since it was an historically white and male dominated field. Collins for example, affirms: «(*Black women*) found themselves in outsider-within positions in many academic endeavors (...) as long as black women's subordination within intersecting oppressions of race, class, gender, sexuality, and nation persists, black feminism as an activist response to that oppression will remain needed.»<sup>106</sup> . Another professor, Hazel Cardy, states:

*In the late 1990s the work of black women intellectuals is still considered peripheral by the black male establishment. It is true that, superficially, the situation appears to have improved. The words 'women and gender' are frequently added after the word 'race' and the appropriate commas, and increasingly the word 'sexuality' completes the litany (...) the intellectual work of black women and gay men is not thought to be of enough*

---

<sup>104</sup> Higginbotham, E. B. (1992) “African-American Women’s History and the Metalanguage of Race.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 17, no. 2, , pp. 254, <https://doi.org/10.1086/494730>.

<sup>105</sup> Brewer, Rose M. (1999) “Theorizing Race, Class and Gender: The New Scholarship of Black Feminist Intellectuals and Black Women’s Labor.” *Race, Gender & Class*, vol. 6, no. 2, , pp. 29–47. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41674884>.

<sup>106</sup> Quote by Patricia Hill Collins. in Schiller, N. , (2000),. “A Short History of Black Feminist Scholars.” *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, no. 29, pp. 121. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2678863>.

*significance to be engaged with, argued with, agreed or disagreed with. Thus, terms like women, gender, and sexuality have a decorative function only.*<sup>107</sup>

Despite the problems encountered in the academic field, the contribution of Black women scholars, and by association, of Black feminist scholars, have been revolutionary. Barbara Smith asserts that the concept of “simultaneity of oppression” is a significant ideological contribution to the understanding of political reality.<sup>108</sup> To the importance of Black feminist theory, Professor Giddings adds that «*The best scholars know that you can't look at any history without looking at gender. Black women are at the intersection of race, gender, and class.*»<sup>109</sup>

At the time, most scholars were on the same page as Smith and Giddings, in trying to articulate an argument that explained the complexity of oppression, especially for Black women. However, the concept that stood out the most and stood the test of time was the theory of “Intersectionality”

This theory is the work of Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, and it can be described as an analytical framework apt to help understand how an individual’s socio-political identities result in a unique combination of both privilege and discrimination.<sup>110</sup> Bell Hooks says about intersectionality: «*Intersectionality broadens the scope of the first and second waves of feminism, which largely focused on the experiences of women who were white, middle-class and cisgender, to include the different experiences of women of color, poor women, immigrant women and other groups.*»<sup>111</sup>

Intersectionality’s premise can be traced to the critical race studies and endeavors to demonstrate the complex relations between race, gender and other systems that together create oppression. Crenshaw focuses her analysis on Black women, whom

---

<sup>107</sup> Quote by Professor Hazel Carby. in Schiller, N.. (2000) op. cit., p. 120.

<sup>108</sup> Barbara Smith, Quoted in Schiller, N. (2000) “op. cit., p 124.

<sup>109</sup> Quote by Professor Paula Giddings. Quoted in Schiller, Naomi. (2000) “op. cit., p. 122.

<sup>110</sup> Runyan, A. S., (2016). “What Is Intersectionality and Why Is It Important? | AAUP.” *Aaup.org*, , [www.aaup.org/article/what-intersectionality-and-why-it-important](http://www.aaup.org/article/what-intersectionality-and-why-it-important).

<sup>111</sup> Hooks Bell.(2015).*Ain't I a Woman : Black Women and Feminism*. [Second edition] ed. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group

she felt were «*excluded from feminist theory and antiracist policy discourse because both are predicated on a discrete set of experiences that often does not accurately reflect the interaction of race and gender.*»<sup>112</sup> The problem she describes is not one solved by simply including Black women in the already established structure, because the intersectional experience of oppression is different from the experiences of racism and sexism. As Crenshaw explains:

*(...) Black women can experience discrimination in ways that are both similar to and different from those experienced by white women and Black men. Black women sometimes experience discrimination in ways similar to white women's experiences; sometimes they share very similar experiences with Black men. Yet often they experience double-discrimination-the combined effects of practices which discriminate on the basis of race, and on the basis of sex. And sometimes, they experience discrimination as Black women-not the sum of race and sex discrimination, but as Black women.*<sup>113</sup>

Crenshaw's study starts with a civil case, *DeGraffenreid vs General Motors*, in which many Black women had been fired unjustly from their job after a massive company lay-off. The accusation was that they had been fired because of discrimination, a combination of both racism and sexism. The court, however, refused to allow the plaintiffs to combine the two discriminations.<sup>114</sup> This decision spurred Crenshaw's theory, as a response to the injustice:

*The problem is that they (Black women) can receive protection only to the extent that their experiences are recognizably similar to those whose experiences tend to be reflected in antidiscrimination doctrine. If Black women cannot conclusively say that "but for" their race or "but for" their gender they would be treated differently, they are not invited to climb*

---

<sup>112</sup> Crenshaw, K. W., (1989). *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics*, U. CHI. LEGAL F. 139 p. 140

<sup>113</sup> Crenshaw, K. W., (1989).*op. cit.*, p. 149

<sup>114</sup> Smith, S. (1 Sept 2021) "Black Feminism and Intersectionality | International Socialist Review." *Isreview.org.*, [isreview.org/issue/91/black-feminism-and-intersectionality/](https://isreview.org/issue/91/black-feminism-and-intersectionality/).

*through the hatch but told to wait in the unprotected margin until they can be absorbed into the broader, protected categories of race and sex.*<sup>115</sup>

She goes on criticizing the way that both the anti-racist and the feminist movement have largely ignored the plight of Black women and have underestimated the uniqueness of their situation. To have a real impact and achieve a tangible change, she insists that both movements must include in their analysis intersectional experiences. Most famous is her analogy of the traffic in an intersection, helpful in explaining the intersectional theory:

*Consider an analogy to traffic in an intersection, coming and going in all four directions. Discrimination, like traffic through an intersection, may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happens in an intersection, it can be caused by cars traveling from any number of directions and, sometimes, from all of them. Similarly, if a Black woman is harmed because she is in an intersection, her injury could result from sex discrimination or race discrimination (...) But it is not always easy to reconstruct an accident: Sometimes the skid marks and the injuries simply indicate that they occurred simultaneously, frustrating efforts to determine which driver caused the harm.*<sup>116</sup>

In a later study, Crenshaw focuses on the problem of violence perpetrated against Black women in particular. She examines the context of rape and how the theory of intersectionality can be helpful to understand the ways in which both racism and a patriarchal society have formed the contextualization of rape. This conceptualization has historically seen the Black person as the offender and the white person as the victim; notion that has perpetrated legal and extralegal violence against Black men, as they have been condemned as a group to being a «*potential threat to the sanctity of white womanhood*»<sup>117</sup>.

---

<sup>115</sup> Crenshaw, K.W. (1989). *Op. cit.*, p. 152

<sup>116</sup> Crenshaw, K.W. (1989) *op. cit.*, p. 149

<sup>117</sup> Crenshaw, K. W. (1991), "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 43, no. 6, pp. 1241–99. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>.

Rape has been historically used to oppress and control Black people and their communities. So, while Black men were vilified by casting them as uncontrollable beasts, Black women have been deemed “unable to be raped”. The discreditation of Black women’s rape is due to a complex intersection of a gendered sexual system. Society’s norm for women’s sexuality distinguished good (“madonnas”) from bad women (“whores”); since Black women are also defined in society by their race, they are all consequently classified as “bad women”. This in turn makes Black women’s rape less believable and less important and men accused to rape Black women go unpunished or receive lesser sentences..<sup>118</sup>

Crenshaw’s analysis of rape and violence against women of color is part of her identification of three aspects within the intersectional theory. The first aspect, where she analyzes the system of violence, is defined as the “structural intersectionality”, since it deals with the structural aspect of oppression. Secondly, she describes the political aspect of the theory, as she examines how laws and policies intended to reduce discrimination have actually increased the invisibility of Black women for the system. Lastly, with the representational aspect she delves into pop-culture portrayals of Black women.<sup>119</sup>

*(...) Intersectionality provides a base for reconceptualizing race as a coalition between men and women. For example, in the area of rape, intersectionality provides a way of explaining why women of color have to abandon the general argument that the interests of the community require the suppression of any confrontation around intraracial rape. Intersectionality may provide the means for dealing with other marginalizations as well.*<sup>120</sup>

---

<sup>118</sup> Crenshaw, K. (1991) “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color.” *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 43, no. 6,

<sup>119</sup> Crenshaw, K. (1991) “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color.” *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 43, no. 6,

<sup>120</sup> Crenshaw, K. (1991), “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color.” *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 43, no. 6, pp. 1299.

This theory encountered naturally criticism from other academics, who made various claims, such as that the theory was only about Black women, that it's a framework focused only on identity and is a static theory unable to evolve. Despite the critics stating that the theory was finished and there was nothing else to be learnt from it, other scholars have tackled the theory of intersectionality and have added their own interpretation and their own method and their own approach.<sup>121</sup>

An important contribution was made by Patricia Collins, a sociologist, that furthered the works of Crenshaw by creating frameworks in which to place intersectionality in order to understand it better. She identified three independent concerns suitable for studies regarding intersectionality. The first focuses on «*Examining the content and themes that characterize the field*»; the second «*examines intersectionality as an analytical strategy*», so it «*uses intersectional frameworks to investigate social phenomena*»; and the third «*emphasizes intersectionality as a form of critical praxis, especially its connections with social justice*».<sup>122</sup>

Collins describes the practice of intersectional theorizing as such:

*Intersectional theorizing requires critical self-reflexivity concerning these connections among experience, community, and social action. Rather than viewing Black feminist thought as a static set of ideas that sprang from the minds of a few African American women intellectual-activists, situating Black feminist thought within the social context of intersecting power relations better captures the meaning of experience and community for social action.*<sup>123</sup>

---

<sup>121</sup> McCall, L. (2005) "The Complexity of Intersectionality." *Signs*, vol. 30, no. 3 , pp. 1771–1800. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.1086/426800>.

<sup>122</sup> Collins, P. H. (2015) "Intersectionality's Definitional Dilemmas." *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 41, pp. 5-6, *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24807587>.

<sup>123</sup> Collins, P. H. (2019). *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*. Durham, Duke University Press,. Ch. 5.



### 3. TODAY'S FEMINIST MOVEMENT AND ACTIVISM BY BLACK FEMINISTS

#### 3.1 Black feminism and intersectionality in the 21<sup>st</sup> century

The beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century saw the end of the third feminist wave, which had begun in the 1990s. The Black feminist movement had been mostly concerned with the HIV/AIDS crisis, the rising poverty and the lack of accessible healthcare, the unjust incarceration of Black men, and political alienation.<sup>124</sup> Black feminism as a collective had started to shift its focus from a "Black women only" perspective to a more open view, that included queer and trans Black women, girls and non-binary people.<sup>125</sup> Not just Black feminism, but feminism as a whole, moved away from women as its central object of study.<sup>126</sup>

As the third wave died, another came, the so-called "fourth wave". Even if they are considered two separate movements, they happened in a short period of time from one another, so their objectives and incidents at times overlap. The new wave is not officially recognized as a feminist movement by scholars<sup>127</sup>, because, since it is internet-dependent, it is too susceptible to changes caused by media and globalization.<sup>128</sup> The feminists active during this period are by some scholars referred to as the "post-feminist" generation. This definition was born in the 1980s to describe

---

<sup>124</sup> Clark Hine, D. (2007) "African American Women and Their Communities in the Twentieth Century: The Foundation and Future of Black Women's Studies." *Black Women, Gender + Families*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1–23. *JSTOR*, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/blacwomegendfami.1.1.0001>.

<sup>125</sup> Brenner, M., et al: (1 July 2006) Feminism Movements Philosophy Political Economy Stagnation. "Monthly Review | Women and Class: What Has Happened in Forty Years?" *Monthly Review*, , [monthlyreview.org/2006/07/01/women-and-class-what-has-happened-in-forty-years/](http://monthlyreview.org/2006/07/01/women-and-class-what-has-happened-in-forty-years/).

<sup>126</sup> Aronson, Pamela. (2003) "Feminists or 'Postfeminists'?: Young Women's Attitudes toward Feminism and Gender Relations." *Gender and Society*, vol. 17, no. 6, , pp. 903–22. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3594676>.

<sup>127</sup> Baumgardner, J. (2011), "IS THERE a FOURTH WAVE? DOES IT MATTER? BY JENNIFER BAUMGARDNER." *Feminist.com*, [www.feminist.com/resources/artsspeech/genwom/baumgardner2011.html](http://www.feminist.com/resources/artsspeech/genwom/baumgardner2011.html).

<sup>128</sup> Mohajan, H. K. (Sept. 2022), "Four Waves of Feminism: A Blessing for Global Humanity." *Studies in Social Science & Humanities*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 1–8, <https://doi.org/10.56397/sssh.2022.09.01>.

the younger generation of women, who were still too young to participate in the third wave, but were old enough to gain consciousness of society and its problems. The term is considered controversial, since the use of "post" seems to imply the death of feminism.

The fourth wave starts in 2012, with the objective of creating more gender equality and empowering women through the use of Internet. In fact, the fourth wave centers around the use of social media (Facebook, Instagram, Youtube, etc.) where women share their experiences about violence and harassment around the world.<sup>129</sup> Social media has thus become a catalyst to fight against discrimination and violence. The aim of the Fourth Wave, according to Chamberlain, is precisely justice for women and for sexual harassment and violence against women by men.<sup>130</sup>

Since the Fourth wave of feminism is an ongoing phenomenon, there is still little research on the principles and main objectives of this movement. One thing that seems to unite scholars is the fundamental role of social media, or media in general.

In one article that predates social media as they are known today, Nancy Gruver analyses the role of media in controlling «*our collective ideas about people, politics, and public policy.*»<sup>131</sup> For this reason, she considers the control of the media the most important issue of the feminist movement. Journalism is crucial in influencing society: by determining who gets to speak, about which issues and how these issues are framed to the public. The media have the power to create a social movement by moving the public's opinion on social issues. Unfortunately, women's right advocates and activists have been mistreated, news coverage over feminist problems is reduced to treating women solely as victims and perpetrating the practice of victim-blaming. Gruver goes on stating that the «*mainstream media hide connection between gender*

---

<sup>129</sup> Munro, E. (2013). Feminism: A Fourth Wave? Political Insight, 4(2), 22-25. <https://doi.org/10.1111/2041-9066.12021>

<sup>130</sup> Chamberlain, P. (2017) *The Feminist Fourth Wave : Affective Temporality*. Cham, Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>131</sup> Essay by Nancy Gruver, in Dicker, R. C. and Piepmeier, A. (2003). *Catching a Wave : Reclaiming Feminism for the 21st Century*. Boston, Northeastern University Press, Ch. 2

*oppression and the subordinate status of all disenfranchised groups, and help fragment coalitional movement for social justice.»*<sup>132</sup>

Gruver believes that the inclusivity portrayed on television does not indicate a serious care for social issues. Instead, the ambivalent portrayal of women and other injustices seems to serve only as a way to perpetrate conventional values.<sup>133</sup>

This need for controlling the media in order to favor social movements still holds true with the rising of new social media, though activists need a different approach to reach people on the other side, since algorithms can censor certain topics.

The topic of social media and its effects on various matters has in the years been extensively analyzed, especially in the socio-political field. Sofia Caldeira says about the study and analysis of the social media Instagram: «*Studying Instagram and its gender representation politics should be a tentative endeavour: on the one hand, it can be seen as a tool for reinforcing women's agency and extending the practices of gendered representation beyond their current norms; on the other hand, it can also be a tool for reinforcing and reproducing existing social norms. Empowerment and disempowerment can co-exist.*»<sup>134</sup>

An important problem encountered by feminists of this wave is the rejection by many young women of the feminist identity. Differently from the current of womanism, nowadays young women of all ethnicities and sexualities feel uncomfortable with the racist and exclusionist history of the movement,<sup>135</sup> and prefer to identify with the

---

<sup>132</sup> Essay by Nancy Gruver, found in Dicker, R.C. and Piepmeier, A. (2003). *Catching a Wave : Reclaiming Feminism for the 21st Century*. Boston, Northeastern University Press,

<sup>133</sup> Essay by Nancy Gruver, found in Dicker, R.C. and Piepmeier, A. (2003). *Catching a Wave : Reclaiming Feminism for the 21st Century*. Boston, Northeastern University Press,

<sup>134</sup> Sofia P. Caldeira, et al. (2018) "Exploring the Politics of Gender Representation on Instagram: Self-Representations of Femininity." *DiGeSt. Journal of Diversity and Gender Studies*, vol. 5, no. 1, , p. 25. JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.11116/digest.5.1.2>.

<sup>135</sup> Collins, P. H. (2000) *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. 2nd ed., New York, Routledge, , p. 7.

movement for gender equality.<sup>136</sup> According to Hunter and Sellers, this reluctance to identify as a feminist for Black women can be attributed to the fact that they consider more politicized their racial identity rather than their gender. Nonetheless, even if they don't declare themselves as feminists, studies suggest that Black women are more likely to support feminist positions and engage in activism for feminist causes.<sup>137</sup>

For some activists, the single term “feminism” is not enough to describe and encompass the movement's objective of equality. In an interview, Mecca Jamilah Sullivan, when asked how she defines herself politically, states her affiliation to “black queer feminism”, which she feels is a «*intersectional feminism with an explicit emphasis on antinormativity, difference, and the erotic.*»<sup>138</sup> The perspective given by this submovement is, according to Sullivan, helpful because it expands the focus from the norm and include other issues, such as classism, xenophobia, transphobia, religious oppression, fatphobia, ableism and mental health.<sup>139</sup>

These new ways of envisioning feminist theory «*require that we expand our notion of interdisciplinarity to imagine how feminist studies can intermingle with other fields that may or may not be grounded in analyses of gender.*»<sup>140</sup>

---

<sup>136</sup> Fitzpatrick, F. (7 Jan. 2021) “Why Do Some Young Women Reject Feminism and the Label “Feminist”?” *A News Education*, [www.anewseducation.com/post/why-do-women-reject-feminism](http://www.anewseducation.com/post/why-do-women-reject-feminism).

<sup>137</sup> HUNTER, A.G., and SELLERS, S.L. (Feb. 1998) “FEMINIST ATTITUDES among AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN and MEN.” *Gender & Society*, vol. 12, no. 1, , pp. 81–99, <https://doi.org/10.1177/089124398012001005>.

<sup>138</sup> “Race, Gender, and Generations: A Roundtable Disussion.” (2017) *The Women's Review of Books*, vol. 34, no. 2, p. 5,. *JSTOR*, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26433407>.

<sup>139</sup> “Race, Gender, and Generations: A Roundtable Disussion.” *The Women's Review of Books*, vol. 34, no. 2, 2017, pp. 3–10. *JSTOR*, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26433407>.

<sup>140</sup> Aronson, P. (2003) “Feminists or ‘Postfeminists’?: Young Women's Attitudes toward Feminism and Gender Relations.” *Gender and Society*, vol. 17, no. 6, p. 15 *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3594676>.

### 3.2 #MeToo movement

The phrase “Me too” was first introduced in 2006 by activist Tarana Burke, who had been a victim of a sexual assault, and wanted to raise awareness specifically for marginalized survivors.<sup>141</sup>

The term was popularized in October 2017, when actress Alyssa Milano wrote on the social media Twitter a message, encouraging people who had been sexually harassed or assaulted to respond with “me too”. This tweet was written after the release of a *New York Times* report on the sexual crimes of director Harvey Weinstein. Shortly after, the hashtag #MeToo became popular through the Internet and all around the world.<sup>142</sup> «If you’ve been sexually harassed or assaulted write ‘me too’ as a reply to this tweet . . . we might give people a sense of the magnitude of the problem.»<sup>143</sup>

The new movement that was born out of this tweet was rightly named the “#MeToo Movement” and it consisted in thousands of women sharing their experiences with violence and rape. The movement, for many women, provided a platform where they could break their silence on the abuse they had survived.<sup>144</sup>

Milano’s objective for the new movement was primarily to change the laws surrounding sexual violence, for example instituting protocols that would allow

---

<sup>141</sup> Ohlheiser, A. (19 Oct. 2017) “The Woman behind “Me Too” Knew the Power of the Phrase When She Created It — 10 Years Ago.” *The Washington Post*, , [www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-intersect/wp/2017/10/19/the-woman-behind-me-too-knew-the-power-of-the-phrase-when-she-created-it-10-years-ago/](http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-intersect/wp/2017/10/19/the-woman-behind-me-too-knew-the-power-of-the-phrase-when-she-created-it-10-years-ago/).

<sup>142</sup> Williams, J.B., et al. (2019) “#MeToo as Catalyst: A Glimpse into 21st Century Activism,” University of Chicago Legal Forum: Vol. 2019 , Article 22: <https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol2019/iss1/22>

<sup>143</sup> Alyssa Milano (@Alyssa\_Milano), TWITTER (Oct. 15, 2017, 1:21 PM), [https://twitter.com/alyssa\\_milano/status/919659438700670976?lang=en](https://twitter.com/alyssa_milano/status/919659438700670976?lang=en) [<https://perma.cc/72N3-TJ6W>].

<sup>144</sup> Pipyrou, Stavroula. (Dec. 2018) “#MeToo Is Little More than Mob Rule // vs // #MeToo Is a Legitimate Form of Social Justice.” *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, vol. 8, no. 3, , pp. 415–419, <https://doi.org/10.1086/701007>.

victims to file complaints for violence in the workplace without retaliation.<sup>145</sup> For this reason, some gender analysts believe it necessary to consider the hashtag as a labor issue, since reporting sexual violence is extremely hard if there is underlying power imbalances in the workplace.<sup>146</sup>

Following the emergence of the #MeToo Movement, women in the entertainment industry cooperated to create a sub-movement, #TimesUp, to raise money for a legal defense fund.<sup>147</sup> This new type of collective action that takes place primarily through social media has not yet eclipsed the traditional activism, but instead it can be considered as a catalyst and tool for communications to coordinate action offline. The sole social media activism is not enough to result in actual change, so it is fundamental that institutions and organizations like #TimesUp continue to push for reform.<sup>148</sup>

The extreme force of the hashtag was a surprise: just in the first twenty-four hours it had been shared more than fifty-thousand times. This phenomenon expanded overseas rapidly and people all around the world joined in. Even if the movement seems born “out of nowhere”, its roots are traceable to the 2016 election. The winner was businessman Donald Trump who had been accused multiple times of sexual misconduct and still hadn’t received punishment . Many other problematic powerful

---

<sup>145</sup> Milano, A. (4 Jan. 2018) “Alyssa Milano on Joining Time’s Up: “Women Are Scared; Women Are Angry.”” *Rolling Stone*, , [www.rollingstone.com/culture/culture-news/alyssa-milano-on-joining-times-up-women-are-scared-women-are-angry-204035/](http://www.rollingstone.com/culture/culture-news/alyssa-milano-on-joining-times-up-women-are-scared-women-are-angry-204035/).

<sup>146</sup> North, A. (27 Dec. 2017) “What I’ve Learned Covering Sexual Misconduct This Year.”” *Vox*, [www.vox.com/identities/2017/12/27/16803610/sexual-misconduct-harassment-reckoning-metoo](http://www.vox.com/identities/2017/12/27/16803610/sexual-misconduct-harassment-reckoning-metoo).

<sup>147</sup> Buckley, C. (1 Jan. 2018) “Powerful Hollywood Women Unveil Anti-Harassment Action Plan (Published 2018).” *The New York Times*, , [www.nytimes.com/2018/01/01/movies/times-up-hollywood-women-sexual-harassment.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/01/movies/times-up-hollywood-women-sexual-harassment.html).

<sup>148</sup> Williams, J.B., et al. (2019) “#MeToo as Catalyst: A Glimpse into 21st Century Activism,” *University of Chicago Legal Forum*: Vol. 2019 , Article 22: <https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol2019/iss1/22>

men didn't go unscathed from the tirade, since most of the men accused under the hashtag were forced to resign<sup>149</sup>

There is some criticism around this approach toward the punishment of the men guilty of violence. According to some, this is not judicial justice, as much as it is a "trial by media" which becomes a public shaming. Some believe that this method also shifts the focus from the act of violence to the "character assassination" of the offender and brings publicity rather than justice to the case.<sup>150</sup> Another criticism raised was the belief that this movement had not been beneficial in creating a safe space for victims to feel supported, but had instead created a "world of victims".<sup>151</sup>

It is nonetheless undeniable the effect of this movement on the fall of the taboos surrounding the issues. It gave victims a platform to share their stories and be supported in finally sharing their truth, which is an extremely empowering situation.<sup>152</sup>

There is however an important issue of the #MeToo Movement that often goes unnoticed: its tendency to center only around white women's issues. Milano's good intentions in sharing a tweet encouraging women to speak up about violence, brought up a long-standing problem in the feminist movement: the exclusion of women of color.

"Me too" was a phrase coined by an African American woman, Tarana Burke. The "me" had a profound meaning that connected the concept to the long history of institutionalized sexual and racial dehumanization suffered by the Black community. Unfortunately, when a white actress used the phrase in a disconnected situation from

---

<sup>149</sup> Ashwini T. (2018) "Reckoning with the Silences of #MeToo." *Feminist Studies*, vol. 44, no. 1, , pp. 197–203. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.15767/feministstudies.44.1.0197>.

<sup>150</sup> Pipyrou, S. (Dec. 2018) "#MeToo Is Little More than Mob Rule // vs // #MeToo Is a Legitimate Form of Social Justice." *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, vol. 8, no. 3, , pp. 415–419, <https://doi.org/10.1086/701007>.

<sup>151</sup> Helmore, E. (4 Jan. 2020) "Terry Gilliam Faces Backlash after Labeling #MeToo a "Witch-Hunt."" *The Guardian*, , [www.theguardian.com/film/2020/jan/04/terry-gilliam-metoo-witch-hunt-backlash](http://www.theguardian.com/film/2020/jan/04/terry-gilliam-metoo-witch-hunt-backlash).

<sup>152</sup> Pipyrou, S., op. cit.

the original idea, it lost its original intersectional and community-based message. Even though she was later credited by Milano, Burke still felt that her work had been erased and taken from her. Milano's use of "me too" resulted in a statement targeted towards white women that failed to acknowledge the systematic nature of violence.<sup>153</sup>

*Milano took the 'me too' statement from Burke's campaign without fully engaging the histories of struggle, epistemic resistance, and organizing in Black community that informs the power of its use. As a result, her eventual crediting of the 'me too' campaign to Burke remained nominal rather than transformative. While she did bring Burke with her into the public spotlight, Milano and other powerful cis women of privilege did not commit to centering Burke's Black feminist politics in their use of her 'me too' campaign.*<sup>154</sup>

Within the media coverage of the movement emerged two frames of possible interpretation. The first highlights Milano's call for action for "all the women": which implies the exclusion of men, transmen and non-binary people from the conversation. The second frame that appeared was the idea that sexual assault doesn't discriminate"and that victims and we should stand together. This at first impact seems an inclusive description; however, it implicitly silenced those who criticized the movement. «*The experiences of violence by women at the intersects of marginalisation (whether it is trans or nonbinary folk, Women of Color, or women with disabilities) continue to be ignored except when their experiences can be employed to gain the support of white cisfolk for initiatives and resources to assist white cis-communities*»<sup>155</sup>

The phrase "me too" became quite decontextualized, and this disengaged it from its roots of Black feminist and Intersectional theory. Crenshaw's Intersectionality is the

---

<sup>153</sup> Ashwini T. "Reckoning with the Silences of #MeToo." *Feminist Studies*, vol. 44, no. 1, 2018, pp. 197–203. JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.15767/feministstudies.44.1.0197>.

<sup>154</sup> Roshanravan, S. (2021) "On the Limits of Globalizing Black Feminist Commitments: 'Me Too' and Its White Detours." *Feminist Formations*, vol. 33, no. 3, p 240, <https://doi.org/10.1353/ff.2021.0047>.

<sup>155</sup> Trott, V. (2021) "Networked Feminism: Counterpublics and the Intersectional Issues of #MeToo." *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 21, no. 7, pp. 1125–42, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2020.1718176>.



key political framework from which to understand Burke’s intended campaign. The phrase “me too” is meant to validate, understand and embrace the other Black woman’s struggle in a society where Black women are still considered “unrapable”. «Burke’s “me too” is spoken to underscore connection with others and the possibilities for justice these connections can offer in lieu of state institutions that can and will not.»<sup>156</sup>

In a Facebook post in 2017, days after the explosion of the #MeToo movement, Dalit feminist activist Thenmozhi Soundararajan wrote:

*The power of #Metoo is that it is a call for a movement not a moment. More than a hashtag, it is an urgent platform (...) for black and women of color survivors to talk with each other, support each other, and grow strong together so that we might create a platform to end the epidemic of gender based violence. At its core it is about centering black girls and black women, and all marginalized voices who face violence under patriarchy. To say that its DNA is intersectional is stating the obvious.*<sup>157</sup>

According to Lugones, in order for intersectional feminists to bring the #MeToo movement back to its origins, they need to declare what is truly vital and commit to learning the legacies of resistance against colonialism.<sup>158</sup>

### **3.3 #BlackLivesMatter**

Many movements born in the 21<sup>st</sup> century rely heavily on the power of social media as a mean of communication. Just as the #MeToo movement became “popular” thanks to a post on social media, so did many other social movements. One of the most important of this decade is the #BlackLivesMatter Movement.

---

<sup>156</sup> Roshanravan, Shireen. Op. cit. p. 242

<sup>157</sup> Facebook post cited in Roshanravan, Shireen. “On the Limits of Globalizing Black Feminist Commitments: ‘Me Too’ and Its White Detours.” *Feminist Formations*, vol. 33, no. 3, 2021, pp. 247, <https://doi.org/10.1353/ff.2021.0047>.

<sup>158</sup> Roshanravan, Shireen. “On the Limits of Globalizing Black Feminist Commitments: ‘Me Too’ and Its White Detours.” *Feminist Formations*, vol. 33, no. 3, 2021, pp. 239–55, <https://doi.org/10.1353/ff.2021.0047>.

The movement was initially founded in 2013 by three African-American women, Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors and Opal Tometi, following the tragic death of a 17-year-old Black teenager at the hands of a neighborhood vigilante. The failure of the justice system was the catalyst for the creation of the movement.<sup>159</sup> Alicia Garza described that decision so: «*I created #BlackLivesMatter with Patrisse Cullors and Opal Tometi, two of my sisters, as a call to action for Black people after 17-year-old Trayvon Martin was posthumously placed on trial for his own murder and the killer, George Zimmerman, was not held accountable for the crime he committed. It was a response to the anti-Black racism that permeates our society and also, unfortunately, our movements*»<sup>160</sup> Since then, the official aim of the movement has been «*eradicate white supremacy and build local power to intervene in violence inflicted on Black communities by the state and vigilantes*».<sup>161</sup>

The activism however started a few months later, following the death of yet another Black teenager by a police officer in August 2014, Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri.<sup>162</sup> A memorial was first set on the site of the shooting, but it was destroyed by a police car. This sparked many protests and vigils, where Black people marched and refused to disperse when asked by the police. From these protests emerged other important local groups, such as the “Hands Up United” and the “Millennial Activists United (MAU)”.<sup>163</sup>

---

<sup>159</sup> Lebron, Christopher J. *The Making of Black Lives Matter: A Brief History of an Idea*. New York, N.Y., United States Of America, Oxford University Press, 2017, p. 14.

<sup>160</sup> Alicia Garza. “A Herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement by Alicia Garza – the Feminist Wire.” *Thefeministwire.com*, 7 Oct. 2014, [thefeministwire.com/2014/10/blacklivesmatter-2/](http://thefeministwire.com/2014/10/blacklivesmatter-2/).

<sup>161</sup> Black Lives Matter. “About Black Lives Matter.” *Black Lives Matter*, 2023, [blacklivesmatter.com/about/](http://blacklivesmatter.com/about/).

<sup>162</sup> Day, Elizabeth. “#BlackLivesMatter: The Birth of a New Civil Rights Movement.” *The Guardian*, The Guardian, 18 Oct. 2018, [www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/19/blacklivesmatter-birth-civil-rights-movement](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/19/blacklivesmatter-birth-civil-rights-movement).

<sup>163</sup> Ransby, Barbara. *Making All Black Lives Matter: Reimagining Freedom in the Twenty-First Century*. 1st ed., vol. 6, University of California Press, 2018. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvq4c011>.

It was important for the people involved in the protests to state the true injustice of this murder. Often, the level of disdain felt by the public opinion following the death of a Black person was directly correlated to the notion of how “good” this person was. But the organizers of this protest insisted on dismantling this belief. The 18-year-old was not a saint, but this did not diminish the tragedy of his death. «*Brown* (the victim) *did not have to be a church-going, law-abiding, proper-speaking embodiment of respectability in order for his life to matter.*»<sup>164</sup> Unfortunately, a few months later, another death of a Black men while in police custody sparked other protests and demonstrations.<sup>165</sup> Then there was another wave of protests caused by the 2016 elections.<sup>166</sup>

The movement however became a global phenomenon in 2020. On May 27<sup>th</sup> George Floyd was murdered by a police officer who knelt on his neck for over 9 minutes. Despite being in a global pandemic, millions of people mobilized all around the world to protest the injustice. The terrible death had been filmed and circulated on the Internet, so for the first time people were made aware of the reality of police brutality in real time. The use of social media has therefore become fundamental for the movement.<sup>167</sup>

*What had changed was the ability of modern communication’s technology to place in the hands of ordinary people small, portable machines that may be used to capture the images and sounds of a Black man’s neck being crushed by an ample knee belonging to a Minneapolis police officer, then*

---

<sup>164</sup> Ransby, B. (2018) *Making All Black Lives Matter: Reimagining Freedom in the Twenty-First Century*. 1st ed., vol. 6, Ch. 2 University of California Press,. JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvq4c011>.

<sup>165</sup> Day, Eh. (18 Oct. 2018) “#BlackLivesMatter: The Birth of a New Civil Rights Movement.” *The Guardian*, The Guardian, , [www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/19/blacklivesmatter-birth-civil-rights-movement](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/19/blacklivesmatter-birth-civil-rights-movement).

<sup>166</sup> Eligon, J. (2015). “One Slogan, Many Methods: Black Lives Matter Enters Politics.” *New York Times* (Online),

<sup>167</sup> Strickland, C. (2022) “The Fight for Equality Continues: A New Social Movement Analysis of The Black Lives Matter Movement and the 1960’s Civil Rights Movement.” *Phylon (1960-)*, vol. 59, no. 1, pp. 71–90. JSTOR, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27150915>.

*send those images around the world to similar machines in a fraction of a second.*<sup>168</sup>

The protests achieved their goal in raising awareness and in reducing the rates of police brutality in the areas that housed protests. Additionally, state measures were implemented to increase accountability and transparency of police action.<sup>169</sup> President Joe Biden also announced a funding of \$20 billion grant program to incentivize criminal justice policy to prioritize violence prevention.<sup>170</sup>

The BLM movement, also known as the Movement for Black Lives (M4BL) is considered the latest iteration of the Civil Rights Movement. The M4BL uses a lot of the same tactics as the early activists (direct confrontation, boycotts and demonstrations, etc.); however, the new movement makes use of the social and mass media to communicate their mission on a larger scale. The media have also been used to challenge the traditions rooted in white normativity to expose the white bias that operates in society.<sup>171</sup>

This new generation of civil rights activists has been profoundly influenced by the teachings of Black feminist scholars from the 1970s. Black feminist politics, language and insight are noticeable throughout the activist circles: some activists were feminists before becoming active in the M4BL movements.<sup>172</sup> Black feminism is one of the pillars of the new movement. Not only was it founded by three Black

---

<sup>168</sup> Johansen, B. E., and Adebowale Akande (2022). *Get Your Knee off Our Necks : From Slavery to Black Lives Matter*. Cham, Springer,., p. VIII

<sup>169</sup> Campbell, Travis, Black Lives Matter's Effect on Police Lethal Use of Force (July 2, 2023). Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=3767097> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3767097>

<sup>170</sup> Strickland, C. (2022) "The Fight for Equality Continues: A New Social Movement Analysis of The Black Lives Matter Movement and the 1960's Civil Rights Movement." *Phylon (1960-)*, vol. 59, no. 1, , pp. 71–90. *JSTOR*, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27150915>.

<sup>171</sup> Kinloch, V, et al. (29 Oct. 2020) "Black Lives Matter: Storying, Identities, and Counternarratives." *Journal of Literacy Research*, vol. 52, no. 4, pp. 382–405, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1086296x20966372>.

<sup>172</sup> Ransby, B. *Making All Black Lives Matter: Reimagining Freedom in the Twenty-First Century*. 1st ed., vol. 6, University of California Press, 2018. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvq4c011>.

women, but Black women have also been at the fore center of the movement as leaders and spokespeople.<sup>173</sup>

*I think many of the young leaders in the Black Lives Matter movement recognize that the male charismatic leader, or the singular charismatic leader, is not the form of leadership that they adhere to or they are going to put forth. (...) many of these new organizations are led by young black women who identify as queer and who promote the idea, (...) this movement (...) is a leaderful movement with cis and trans women taking positions of power. So the organizations that are part of a network of (...)the Black Lives Matter movement look different and structure their leadership differently than organizations significant to the civil rights movement in part because of feminist teaching, feminist scholarship, especially black feminist teaching and scholarship, and the fact that many of these young activists have been in the classroom learning about these alternative forms of organizing and leadership.<sup>174</sup>*

The M4BL is the first time an American social movement has defined the frame for an intersectional struggle led by Black people that did not focus only on women.<sup>175</sup>

The Black feminists that became part of this movement realized that the most publicized victims of police brutality were men. Therefore, they endeavored to focus on cases regarding women while supporting from the sidelines the high-profile cases. In 2015, Kimberlè Crenshaw published a report named "Say Her Name: Resisting Police Brutality against Black Women", that listed hundreds of cases against Black women that had not been considered by the media.<sup>176</sup> From this report was born the

---

<sup>173</sup> Ransby, B. (2018) op. cit.

<sup>174</sup> Cohen, Cathy J., and Sarah J. Jackson. "Ask a Feminist: A Conversation with Cathy J. Cohen on Black Lives Matter, Feminism, and Contemporary Activism." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 41, no. 4, June 2016, p. 777, <https://doi.org/10.1086/685115>.

<sup>175</sup> Ransby, B. (2018) op. cit.

<sup>176</sup> Crenshaw, K.W., et al. *Say Her Name: Resisting Police Brutality against Black Women*. 2015.

initiative #SayHerName, which helped create a community of support for the mothers of the victims.<sup>177</sup>

As demonstrated by Crenshaw, the BLM movement carries on the solidarity and intersectionality that were core beliefs of Black women's work. Yet, it also aims to deepen both ideals by incorporating queer Black people and others who face discrimination within or outside Black communities.<sup>178</sup> The movement has included in their fight against violence also the violence perpetrated against transgender or gender non-conforming Black people, confronting the homophobia and the transphobia present in the movement.<sup>179</sup> Cathy J. Cohen on the matter states:

*I think that it's important for any movement concerned with the liberation in particular of black people to be thinking about those individuals who are most marginalized nationally and in our own communities. And those are often poor people, trans and cis women, as well as LGB folks. So while we have made some progress (...) we still have much work to do to explain and challenge how heterosexism and heteronormativity work to limit the lives of black people. Similarly, I think there's still a lot of work to be done in support of trans members of our community. (...) It's important for those of us who profess to be concerned with the liberation of black people (...) to include and make central to our work those most marginal in our communities because improving their lives should help move us all down the road toward liberation.<sup>180</sup>*

---

<sup>177</sup> Columbia Law School. "Kimberlé Crenshaw on Intersectionality, More than Two Decades Later." [www.law.columbia.edu](http://www.law.columbia.edu), Columbia Law School, 2017, [www.law.columbia.edu/news/archive/kimberle-crenshaw-intersectionality-more-two-decades-later](http://www.law.columbia.edu/news/archive/kimberle-crenshaw-intersectionality-more-two-decades-later).

<sup>178</sup> Collins, P. H., (2019). *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*. Durham, Duke University Press,

<sup>179</sup> Ransby, B. (2018). *Making All Black Lives Matter: Reimagining Freedom in the Twenty-First Century*. 1st ed., vol. 6, University of California Press., *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvq4c011>.

<sup>180</sup> Cohen, Cathy J., and Sarah J. Jackson. "Ask a Feminist: A Conversation with Cathy J. Cohen on Black Lives Matter, Feminism, and Contemporary Activism." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 41, no. 4, June 2016, p.785, <https://doi.org/10.1086/685115>

## CONCLUSION

This work has tried to outline the historical process of an important social movement born in the USA, that has expanded to the rest of the world.

This movement moved its first steps during the centuries in which Black people endured the atrocities of slavery. Black women suffered alongside their men, and to survive they created a tight-knit community of support and occasionally fight against the slave-masters. As Angela Davis states: Black women were equal in the oppression they suffered; they were their men's equals within the slave community; and they resisted slavery with a passion equal to their mens." So, when it came time to rebel against the system and sight for their freedom, Black men and women fought united to achieve freedom. The abolitionist movement saw also the participation of many white women, who were distraught at the treatment of the slaves in the Southern Plantations.

While fighting for the rights of Black people, many women realized that in order to fight properly for abolition they had to be able to defend themselves as women. This thought brought to the creation of the women's suffrage movement. Black women were torn between supporting the abolitionist movement and the women's suffrage: on one side they were discriminated against because they were women, on the other because they were Black. Despite this setback, Black women fought ardently to support both causes and expose the discrimination in the movements. One of the most important activists that condemned this discrimination publicly was Sojourner Truth. In 1851 at the Women's Suffrage Convention, she gave her most important speech, "Ain't I a Woman", in which she debunked the myth of the "weaker sex" and she scolded the white women present for their implicit racism.

Once the Civil war exploded, all conventions for women's rights were interrupted, in favor of helping in the war. However, once the war was won by the Republican states and Black people were granted freedom, a new discussion began in the ranks of the social movements of the time. Black men were about to be granted the suffrage in order to solidify their new status in society, but white women were upset at this

decision of the government, since they felt more deserving of the suffrage for their help during the war. This caused a major rift in the women's suffrage movement and gave way to more racism and discriminatory beliefs between members. The movement continued to ignore the plights of Black women, who were still oppressed under a system reminiscent of slavery. Because of this, Black women decided to their own associations, such as the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs (NACWC) or the National Association for the advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Women were granted the right to vote in 1920 in the United States, but Black women were blocked from exercising their right, either through discriminatory state legislation or violence. Black people's situation didn't change much after the 15<sup>th</sup> amendment, since there were the "Jim Crow" laws that kept in place the system of oppression. This changed only after the Second World War, when the Civil Rights movement was born.

The first sign of change of change was the civil case of Brown vs. Board of Education that granted Black children the right to study in the same facilities as their white peers. However the most famous act of defiance against the system is Rosa Park's refusal to give up her seat on the bus. The Civil Rights movement succeeded thanks to the help of many Black women that worked on the sidelines, rarely being praised for their support and activism.

After the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the assassination of the leader of the movement, Martin Luther King Jr., new movements surfaced on the social scene, like Black Power, a more radical iteration of the Civil Rights movement, and the Women's Liberation movement, that focused on the sexism faced by women in society.

Black women initially were on the frontlines of both movements, trying to dismantle first the myth of the "Black matriarchy" and later fighting against the patriarchy that



had relegated women to being second-class citizens. However later, many scholars believe that they were pushed aside

Then, in the early 1960s began the second wave of feminism. It was a movement focused on the public and private injustices like rape, violence and reproductive rights. This was a monumental moment for women's rights, however the movement was still pervaded by racist ideals, that discouraged once again the participation of Black women. Despite this, Black women continued to fight the sexism of the patriarchy by creating a parallel movement that focused primarily on the issues of Black women. Memorable is the Combahee River Statement, that is considered the guideline for the Black feminist movement of the 1970s. Second wave Black activists were in the legal and healthcare fields and they focused on spreading their message to other women and young people. Soon after the Second wave, came the third feminist wave, that is described as a "dynamic critique to the previous feminist political trends". Black women's movement morphed and evolved into another movement: the "womanism". This new movement sought to unite race, sex and class oppression as forming one struggle. Womanism tries to take a more holistic approach to the systemic oppression suffered by Black women; however, scholars recognize that the differences between Black feminism and womanism are minimal.

Just a few years after the new theory behind womanism, came the theory that changed the feminist movement forever: the theory of "Intersectionality". This theory proposed a new analytical framework helpful in understanding how socio-political identities result in a unique combination of privilege and discrimination. The idea was not a complete novelty in the feminist panorama, but it became a concrete theory only thanks to Kimberlè Crenshaw. Another important aspect in Crenshaw's studies was the analysis of rape and violence against Black women and how it has been used to further oppress Black communities.

After the third wave of feminism, with the new millennium came the unofficial fourth wave, that focuses on creating more gender equality and empowering women through the use of Internet. This wave is still in progress, so there aren't as many analysis as

the previous ones. Though women and Black people's conditions had marginally improved thanks to the social uprisings of the previous century, many issues still dominate the American society, and activists of today fight to dismantle oppression.

Two important moments of the 21<sup>st</sup> century for social movements were the #MeToo movement and the #BlackLivesMatter movement. The #MeToo movement was created by a Black woman to give victims of abuse a community of support and empathy. However, the phrase was appropriated by a white actress, who, although involuntarily, changed permanently the meaning of the original movement. In 2017 the #MeToo became a way for people to share their stories of abuse or harassment, especially in the workplace. So, once again, Black women found themselves excluded from a movement they had created and promoted.

The #BlackLivesMatter movement was founded by three African-American women to fight against the police brutality that disproportionately affects Black people. Despite its beginning in 2013, the biggest moment for the movement came in 2020, after the murder of George Floyd by a police officer. This sparked the thousands of demonstrations and protests all around the world. The movement pushed toward the media primarily male victims, so Black women united once again to give justice to the women that were victims of police brutality. Kimberlé Crenshaw joined this group and published an extensive list of victims,.

As demonstrated by Crenshaw, the BLM movement carries on the legacy of solidarity and intersectionality of the Black feminist movement, bringing it a step forward by including in the conversation queer Black people.

As seen in this dissertation, Black women's impact on America's history and society is vast and often unrecognized. It is important to shed light on movements and movements that have shaped not only the USA, but as a result the whole world. The Black feminist movement has empowered women of color around the world and has been fundamental in developing an intersectional conscience in many fields, not only socio-political.

To truly be able to eradicate oppression and discrimination it is important to learn the lessons that our predecessors have left us, because trying to ignore the past can damage our future.



## BIBLIOGRAFIA E SITOGRAFIA

Abrams, R. “McDonald’s Workers across the U.S. Stage #MeToo Protests.” *The New York Times*, 19 Sept. 2018, [www.nytimes.com/2018/09/18/business/mcdonalds-strike-metoo.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/18/business/mcdonalds-strike-metoo.html).

Ali, S. *The Blackman’s Guide to Understanding the Blackwoman*. 1989.

Aptheker, H. *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States: From Colonial Times through the Civil War*. Vol. 1, Citadel Press, 1990, p. 56.

Aronson, P. (2003) “Feminists or ‘Postfeminists’?: Young Women’s Attitudes toward Feminism and Gender Relations.” *Gender and Society*, vol. 17, no. 6, , pp. 903–22. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3594676>.

Ashwini T. (2018) “Reckoning with the Silences of #MeToo.” *Feminist Studies*, vol. 44, no. 1, , pp. 197–203. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.15767/feministstudies.44.1.0197>.

Baringer, W. E., and Foner P.S. “The Life and Writings of Frederick Douglass. Volume IV, Reconstruction and After.” *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 21, no. 4, Nov. 1955, p. 554, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2955073>.

Baumgardner, J. *F ‘Em! : Goo Goo, Gaga, and Some Thoughts on Balls*. New York, Seal Press, 2011.

Baumgardner, J. “IS THERE a FOURTH WAVE? DOES IT MATTER? BY JENNIFER BAUMGARDNER.” *Feminist.com*, 2011, [www.feminist.com/resources/artsspeech/genwom/baumgardner2011.html](http://www.feminist.com/resources/artsspeech/genwom/baumgardner2011.html).

Black Lives Matter. “About Black Lives Matter.” *Black Lives Matter*, 2023, [blacklivesmatter.com/about/](http://blacklivesmatter.com/about/).

Bolotin, S. “VOICES from the POST-FEMINIST GENERATION.” *The New York Times*, 17 Oct. 1982, [www.nytimes.com/1982/10/17/magazine/voices-from-the-post-feminist-generation.html](http://www.nytimes.com/1982/10/17/magazine/voices-from-the-post-feminist-generation.html).

Bowman, J., et al. *#MeToo as Catalyst: A Glimpse into 21st Century Activism* *#MeToo as Catalyst: A Glimpse into 21st Century Activism* *#MeToo as Catalyst: A Glimpse into 21 St Century Activism*. 2019.

Brenner, M., and Stephanie Luce Topics: Feminism Movements Philosophy Political Economy Stagnation. “Monthly Review | Women and Class: What Has Happened in

Forty Years?” *Monthly Review*, 1 July 2006, [monthlyreview.org/2006/07/01/women-and-class-what-has-happened-in-forty-years/](http://monthlyreview.org/2006/07/01/women-and-class-what-has-happened-in-forty-years/).

Brewer, R M.(1999) “Theorizing Race, Class and Gender: The New Scholarship of Black Feminist Intellectuals and Black Women’s Labor.” *Race, Gender & Class*, vol. 6, no. 2, , pp. 29–47. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41674884>.

Brown, E.S. “Womanist Consciousness: Maggie Lena Walker and the Independent Order of Saint Luke.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 14, no. 3, Apr. 1989, pp. 610–633, <https://doi.org/10.1086/494526>. Accessed 24 Aug. 2020.

Buckley, C. “Powerful Hollywood Women Unveil Anti-Harassment Action Plan (Published 2018).” *The New York Times*, 1 Jan. 2018, [www.nytimes.com/2018/01/01/movies/times-up-hollywood-women-sexual-harassment.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/01/movies/times-up-hollywood-women-sexual-harassment.html).

Caldeira, S. P., et al. “Exploring the Politics of Gender Representation on Instagram: Self-Representations of Femininity.” *DiGeSt. Journal of Diversity and Gender Studies*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2018, p. 23, <https://doi.org/10.11116/digest.5.1.2>.

Campbell, T. “Black Lives Matter’s Effect on Police Lethal Use-of-Force.” *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3767097>. Accessed 14 Feb. 2021.

Carbado, D. W. “Colorblind Intersectionality.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 38, no. 4, June 2013, pp. 811–845, <https://doi.org/10.1086/669666>.

Chamberlain, P. *The Feminist Fourth Wave : Affective Temporality*. Cham, Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

Choudhary, M. (27 Sept. 2022) “Angela Davis: The Legacy of Crime and Punishment.” *TheCollector*, , [www.thecollector.com/angela-davis-legacy-of-crime-and-punishment/](http://www.thecollector.com/angela-davis-legacy-of-crime-and-punishment/).

Clarke, J.H. “The Black Woman: A Figure in World History. Part III.” *Essence*, July 1971.

Clark Hine, D. (2007). African American Women and Their Communities in the Twentieth Century: The Foundation and Future of Black Women’s Studies. *Black Women, Gender + Families*, 1(1), p. 3. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/blacwomegendfami.1.1.0001>

Code, L. *Encyclopedia of Feminist Theories*. London ; New York, Routledge, 2000.

Coffey, J., et al. *Learning Bodies the Body in Youth and Childhood Studies*. Singapore Springer Singapore, Imprint: Springer, 2016.

Cohen, C. J., and Jackson S. J. “Ask a Feminist: A Conversation with Cathy J. Cohen on Black Lives Matter, Feminism, and Contemporary Activism.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 41, no. 4, June 2016, pp. 775–792, <https://doi.org/10.1086/685115>.

Collier-Thomas, Bettye, and V P Franklin. *Sisters in the Struggle : African American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement*. New York, New York University Press, 2001, pp. 42–44.

Collier-Thomas, Bettye, and V P Franklin. *Sisters in the Struggle : African American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement*. New York, New York University Press, 2001, p. 171.

Collins, P. H. (1996) “WHAT’S IN A NAME? Womanism, Black Feminism, and Beyond.” *The Black Scholar*, vol. 26, no. 1, , pp. 9–17. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41068619>.

Collins, P. H. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. 2nd ed., New York, Routledge, 2000, p. 18.

Collins, P. H. *Intersectionality as Critical Social Theory*. Durham, Duke University Press, 23 Aug. 2019.

Collins, P. H. “Intersectionality’s Definitional Dilemmas.” *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 41, no. 1, 14 Aug. 2015, pp. 1–20, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-073014-112142>.

Columbia Law School. “Kimberlé Crenshaw on Intersectionality, More than Two Decades Later.” *Www.law.columbia.edu*, Columbia Law School, 2017, [www.law.columbia.edu/news/archive/kimberle-crenshaw-intersectionality-more-two-decades-later](http://www.law.columbia.edu/news/archive/kimberle-crenshaw-intersectionality-more-two-decades-later).

Crenshaw, K. “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics.” *Chicago Unbound*, 1989, [chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8/](http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8/). University of Chicago Legal Forum: Vol. 1989, Article 8.

Crenshaw, K. "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 43, no. 6, July 1991, pp. 1241–1299, [www.jstor.org/stable/1229039](http://www.jstor.org/stable/1229039), <https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>.

Crenshaw, K., et al. *Say Her Name: Resisting Police Brutality against Black Women*. 2015.

Davis, D.B. "Declaring Equality: Sisterhood and Slavery." *Yale University Press EBooks*, 22 May 2007, pp. 3–18, <https://doi.org/10.12987/yale/9780300115932.003.0002>. Accessed 3 Nov. 2023.

Davis, A. "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves." *The Black Scholar*, vol. 12, no. 6, Nov. 1981, pp. 2–15, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00064246.1981.11414214>.

Davis, A. *Women, Culture & Politics*. New York, Vintage Books, 1990. "Sick and Tired of Being Sick and Tired: The Politics of Black Women's Health."

Davis, A. *Women, Race & Class*. S.L., Penguin Books, 1981.

Day, E. "#BlackLivesMatter: The Birth of a New Civil Rights Movement." *The Guardian*, The Guardian, 18 Oct. 2018, [www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/19/blacklivesmatter-birth-civil-rights-movement](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jul/19/blacklivesmatter-birth-civil-rights-movement).

Dewey, S. Pascale.(2012) "Aspects of Sisterhood and Slavery: Transatlantic Anti-Slavery Activism and Women's Rights." *Counterpoints*, vol. 406, pp. 130–50. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42981625>.

Du Bois, W.E.B. and Eaton, I. *The Philadelphia Negro*. 1899. New York, Ny, Cosimo, 2007, [nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:409529](http://nrs.lib.harvard.edu/urn-3:fhcl:409529).

Echols, A. *Daring to Be Bad : Radical Feminism in America : 1967-75*. Minneapolis, University Of Minnesota Press, 1989.

Eisenstein, Z. R. *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism*. New York, Monthly Review Press, 1979, pp. 362–72, [monthlyreview.org/2019/01/01/a-black-feminist-statement/#en1backlink](http://monthlyreview.org/2019/01/01/a-black-feminist-statement/#en1backlink). The statement appeared as a movement document in April 1977. The final, definitive version was published in.



Eligon, J. “One Slogan, Many Methods: Black Lives Matter Enters Politics.” *The New York Times*, 19 Nov. 2015, [www.nytimes.com/2015/11/19/us/one-slogan-many-methods-black-lives-matter-enters-politics.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/19/us/one-slogan-many-methods-black-lives-matter-enters-politics.html).

Equal Justice Initiative. (2018). THE POST-SLAVERY EXPERIENCE. In SLAVERY IN AMERICA: THE MONTGOMERY SLAVE TRADE (pp. 50–66). Equal Justice Initiative. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep30693.6>

Evans, E. *The Politics of Third Wave Feminisms : Neoliberalism, Intersectionality and the State in Britain and the US*. Basingstoke, Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Evans, S. “Women’s Liberation: Seeing the Revolution Clearly.” *Feminist Studies*, vol. 41, no. 1, 2015, p. 138, <https://doi.org/10.15767/feministstudies.41.1.138>.

Fitzpatrick, F. “Why Do Some Young Women Reject Feminism and the Label “Feminist”?” *A News Education*, 7 Jan. 2021, [www.anewseducation.com/post/why-do-women-reject-feminism](http://www.anewseducation.com/post/why-do-women-reject-feminism).

Flexner, E. *Century of Struggle : The Woman’s Rights Movement in the United States*. New York, Atheneum, ©, Printing, 1972.

Franklin, V P, and Bettye Collier-Thomas. *Sisters in the Struggle : African American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement*. New York ; London, New York University Press, 2001.

Fremon, D. K. *The Jim Crow Laws and Racism in American History*. Berkeley Heights, Nj, Enslow Publishers, 2000, p. 29.

Fremon, D. K. *The Jim Crow Laws and Racism in United States History*. Berkeley Heights, Nj, Enslow Publishers, Inc, 2015.

GALE. “Second Wave Feminism Primary Sources & History | Gale.” *Www.gale.com*, 2023, [www.gale.com/primary-sources/womens-studies/collections/second-wave-feminism#:~:text=The%20second%20wave%20feminism%20movement](http://www.gale.com/primary-sources/womens-studies/collections/second-wave-feminism#:~:text=The%20second%20wave%20feminism%20movement).

Garza, A. “A Herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement by Alicia Garza – the Feminist Wire.” *Thefeministwire.com*, 7 Oct. 2014, [thefeministwire.com/2014/10/blacklivesmatter-2/](http://thefeministwire.com/2014/10/blacklivesmatter-2/).

Genovese, E. D. *Roll, Jordan, Roll : The World the Slaves Made*. Paw Prints, 2008, p. 500.

Grandy, M. *Narrative of the Life of Moses Grandy, Late a Slave in the United States of America*. Univ of North Carolina Press, 1 Sept. 2011.

Gurko, M. *The Ladies of Seneca Falls : The Birth of the Women's Rights Movement*. Norwalk, Ct, Easton Press, 1990.

Halberstam, D. *The Fifties*. Easton, Ct., Easton Press, 1996, p. 424.

Helmore, E. "Terry Gilliam Faces Backlash after Labeling #MeToo a "Witch-Hunt."" *The Guardian*, 4 Jan. 2020, [www.theguardian.com/film/2020/jan/04/terry-gilliam-metoo-witch-hunt-backlash](http://www.theguardian.com/film/2020/jan/04/terry-gilliam-metoo-witch-hunt-backlash).

Gates, H. J.. *Reading Black, Reading Feminist*. Plume, 30 Oct. 1990, pp. 68–75.  
Williams, Sherley Ann "Some Implications of Womanist Theory." .

Gutman, H. G. *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925*. New York, N.Y. Vintage Books, 1993.

Higginbotham, E. B. "African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 17, no. 2, Jan. 1992, pp. 251–274, <https://doi.org/10.1086/494730>.

Hood, Elizabeth F. (1978) "BLACK WOMEN, WHITE WOMEN: SEPARATE PATHS TO LIBERATION." *The Black Scholar*, vol. 9, no. 7, , pp. 45–56. *JSTOR*, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41066484>.

Hooks, B. "Theory as Liberatory Practice." *Semantic Scholar*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1991, [www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Theory-as-Liberatory-Practice-Hooks/835e541bba6dfde513c350a0d519458561dd95b0](http://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Theory-as-Liberatory-Practice-Hooks/835e541bba6dfde513c350a0d519458561dd95b0), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203700280-11>. Accessed 11 Oct. 2022.

Hooks, B. *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism*. New York, Routledge, 1981.

HUNTER, A.G., and SELLERS S.L. "FEMINIST ATTITUDES among AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN and MEN." *Gender & Society*, vol. 12, no. 1, Feb. 1998, pp. 81–99, <https://doi.org/10.1177/089124398012001005>.

Johansen, B. E., and Adebawale Akande. *Get Your Knee off Our Necks : From Slavery to Black Lives Matter*. Cham, Springer, 2022.

Joseph, P. E. *The Black Power Movement*. Routledge, 21 Aug. 2013, pp. 108–118. Chapter: “Black Feminist Respond to Black Power Masculinism.”

Kantor, J., and Twohey, M. “Harvey Weinstein Paid off Sexual Harassment Accusers for Decades.” *The New York Times*, 5 Oct. 2017, [www.nytimes.com/2017/10/05/us/harvey-weinstein-harassment-allegations.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/05/us/harvey-weinstein-harassment-allegations.html).

Kim. “The Original Activists: Black Feminism and the Black Feminist Movement | National Organization for Women.” *Now.org*, 9 Apr. 2021, [now.org/blog/the-original-activists-black-feminism-and-the-black-feminist-movement/](http://now.org/blog/the-original-activists-black-feminism-and-the-black-feminist-movement/).

King, D.K. “Unraveling Fabric, Missing the Beat: Class and Gender in Afro-American Social Issues.” *The Black Scholar*, vol. 22, no. 3, June 1992, pp. 36–44, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00064246.1992.11413043>. Accessed 1 July 2021.

Kinloch, V., et al. “Black Lives Matter: Storying, Identities, and Counternarratives.” *Journal of Literacy Research*, vol. 52, no. 4, 29 Oct. 2020, pp. 382–405, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1086296x20966372>.

La Rue, L. (1970). The Black Movement And Women’s Liberation. *The Black Scholar*, 1(7), p.40 . <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41163460>

Lebron, C. J. *The Making of Black Lives Matter: A Brief History of an Idea*. New York, N.Y., United States Of America, Oxford University Press, 2017, p. 14.

Lee, S. “Female Anti-Slavery Society, Salem, Massachusetts (1832-1866) •.” *Blackpast.org*, 16 Oct. 2009, [www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/female-anti-slavery-society-salem-massachusetts-1832-1866/](http://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/female-anti-slavery-society-salem-massachusetts-1832-1866/).

Lerner, G. *Black Women in White America*. Pantheon Books, 1 Jan. 1972, pp. 229–231.

Lerner, G. “The Grimké Sisters and the Struggle against Race Prejudice.” *The Journal of Negro History*, vol. 48, no. 4, Oct. 1963, pp. 277–291, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2716330>.

Littleton, A. C., and Mary W Burger. *Black Viewpoints*. New York, New American Library, 1971, p. 172.

Lugones, M. “Toward a Decolonial Feminism.” *Hypatia*, vol. 25, no. 4, 27 Sept. 2010, pp. 742–759.

Malcom X. *Message to the Grass Roots*.

McCall, L. “The Complexity of Intersectionality.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 30, no. 3, Mar. 2005, pp. 1771–1800.

Mcguire, D. L. *At the Dark End of the Street : Black Women, Rape, and Resistance- a New History of the Civil Rights Movement from Rosa Parks to the Rise of Black Power*. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 2010.

Mecca Reliance, et al. (1973). “Off Our Backs.” *Off Our Backs*, vol. 3, no. 10, Sept.. JSTOR, <https://jstor.org/stable/community.28041801>

Milano, A. “Alyssa Milano on Joining Time’s Up: “Women Are Scared; Women Are Angry.”” *Rolling Stone*, 4 Jan. 2018, [www.rollingstone.com/culture/culture-news/alyssa-milano-on-joining-times-up-women-are-scared-women-are-angry-204035/](http://www.rollingstone.com/culture/culture-news/alyssa-milano-on-joining-times-up-women-are-scared-women-are-angry-204035/).

Mohajan, H. K. “Four Waves of Feminism: A Blessing for Global Humanity.” *Studies in Social Science & Humanities*, vol. 1, no. 2, Sept. 2022, pp. 1–8, <https://doi.org/10.56397/sssh.2022.09.01>.

Munro, E. “Feminism: A Fourth Wave?” *Political Insight*, vol. 4, no. 2, 23 Aug. 2013, pp. 22–25, [journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1111/2041-9066.12021](http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1111/2041-9066.12021), <https://doi.org/10.1111/2041-9066.12021>.

Murray, P. *The Negro Woman in the Quest for Equality*. National Council of Negro Women’s Leadership Conference. National Council of Negro Women Papers, Bethune Council House, National Historical Site, Washington, DC.

North, A. ““What I’ve Learned Covering Sexual Misconduct This Year.”” *Vox*, 27 Dec. 2017, [www.vox.com/identities/2017/12/27/16803610/sexual-misconduct-harassment-reckoning-metoo](http://www.vox.com/identities/2017/12/27/16803610/sexual-misconduct-harassment-reckoning-metoo).

Ohlheiser, A. “The Woman behind “Me Too” Knew the Power of the Phrase When She Created It — 10 Years Ago.” *The Washington Post*, 19 Oct. 2017, [www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-intersect/wp/2017/10/19/the-woman-behind-me-too-knew-the-power-of-the-phrase-when-she-created-it-10-years-ago/](http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-intersect/wp/2017/10/19/the-woman-behind-me-too-knew-the-power-of-the-phrase-when-she-created-it-10-years-ago/).

Pipyrou, S. “#MeToo Is Little More than Mob Rule // vs // #MeToo Is a Legitimate Form of Social Justice.” *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, vol. 8, no. 3, Dec. 2018, pp. 415–419, <https://doi.org/10.1086/701007>.

- Race, Gender, and Generations: A Roundtable Discussion.” (2017) *The Women’s Review of Books*, vol. 34, no. 2, p. 5., *JSTOR*, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26433407>.
- Ransby, B. *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement : A Radical Democratic Vision*. Chapel Hill, University Of North Carolina Press, 2005, p. 351.
- Robnett, B. *How Long? How Long?* Oxford University Press, 13 Jan. 2000.
- Robnett, B. *How Long? How Long? : African-American Women and the Struggle for Civil Rights*. New York, N.Y. ; Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Cooke Dicker, R. and Alison Piepmeier. *Catching a Wave : Reclaiming Feminism for the 21st Century*. Boston, Northeastern University Press, 2003.
- Roshanravan, S. “On the Limits of Globalizing Black Feminist Commitments: “Me Too” and Its White Detours.” *Feminist Formations*, vol. 33, no. 3, 2021, pp. 239–255, <https://doi.org/10.1353/ff.2021.0047>. Accessed 4 Feb. 2022.
- Runyan, A. S. “What Is Intersectionality and Why Is It Important? | AAUP.” *Aaup.org*, 2016, [www.aaup.org/article/what-intersectionality-and-why-it-important](http://www.aaup.org/article/what-intersectionality-and-why-it-important).
- Runyan, A. S. “What Is Intersectionality and Why Is It Important?” *AAUP*, 1 Nov. 2018, [www.aaup.org/article/what-intersectionality-and-why-it-important#:~:text=As%20a%20structural%20and%20relational](http://www.aaup.org/article/what-intersectionality-and-why-it-important#:~:text=As%20a%20structural%20and%20relational).
- Salem, D. *To Better Our World*. Carlson Publishing Inc, 1990.
- Schwartz, B. *A History of the Supreme Court*. Oxford University Press, 23 Feb. 1995.
- Schiller, N. , (2000),. “A Short History of Black Feminist Scholars.” *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education*, no. 29, pp. 121. *JSTOR*, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2678863>.
- Shockley, M. T. *We, Too, Are Americans : African American Women in Detroit and Richmond, 1940-54*. Urbana, University Of Illinois Press, 2004, pp. 7, 17, 25–26.
- Smith, A. L. *Rhetoric of Black Revolution*. Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971.
- Smith, S. “Black Feminism and Intersectionality | International Socialist Review.” *Isreview.org*, 1 Sept. 2021, [isreview.org/issue/91/black-feminism-and-intersectionality/](http://isreview.org/issue/91/black-feminism-and-intersectionality/).

Springer, K. “Third Wave Black Feminism?” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 27, no. 4, June 2002, pp. 1059–1082, <https://doi.org/10.1086/339636>.

Stanton, E. C., et al. *History of Woman Suffrage. 4*. New York, Arno Press, 1969.

States, The Combahee River Collective. Topics: Class Feminism Inequality Marxism Race Places: Americas United. “Monthly Review | a Black Feminist Statement.” *Monthly Review*, 1 Jan. 2019, [monthlyreview.org/2019/01/01/a-black-feminist-statement/#en1backlink](https://monthlyreview.org/2019/01/01/a-black-feminist-statement/#en1backlink). Accessed 4 Nov. 2023.

Strickland, C. (2022) “The Fight for Equality Continues: A New Social Movement Analysis of The Black Lives Matter Movement and the 1960’s Civil Rights Movement.” *Phylon (1960-)*, vol. 59, no. 1, pp. 71–90. *JSTOR*, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27150915>

Tambe, A. “Reckoning with the Silences of #MeToo.” *Feminist Studies*, vol. 44, no. 1, 2018, p. 197, <https://doi.org/10.15767/feministstudies.44.1.0197>.

Taylor, U. “The Historical Evolution of Black Feminist Theory and Praxis.” *Journal of Black Studies*, vol. 29, no. 2, Nov. 1998, pp. 234–253, <https://doi.org/10.1177/002193479802900206>.

Theoharis, J., and Colbert, B. *The Rebellious Life of Mrs. Rosa Parks*. Boston, Beacon Press, 2020.

Thompson, B. “Multiracial Feminism: Recasting the Chronology of Second Wave Feminism.” *Feminist Studies*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2002, pp. 336–360, [www.jstor.org/stable/3178747](https://www.jstor.org/stable/3178747), <https://doi.org/10.2307/3178747>.

Trott, V. “Networked Feminism: Counterpublics and the Intersectional Issues of #MeToo.” *Feminist Media Studies*, vol. 21, no. 7, 18 Apr. 2020, pp. 1125–1142, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2020.1718176>.

Truth.S. ““Speech at the Woman’s Rights Convention, Akron, Ohio” (1851).” *University of Pittsburgh Press EBooks*, 7 Sept. 2017, pp. 144–146, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt5hjcnj.28>.

Venet, W. H. *Neither Ballots nor Bullets : Women Abolitionists and Emancipation during the Civil War*. University Press Of Virginia, 1991.

Walker, A. *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens : Womanist Prose*. 1983. Betascript Publishing, 1983.

Weathers, M. A. "An Argument for Black Women's Liberation as a Revolutionary Force." *No More Fun and Games: A Journal of Female Liberation*, vol. 1, no. 2, Feb. 1969, [caringlabor.wordpress.com/2010/07/29/mary-ann-weathers-an-argument-for-black-womens-liberation-as-a-revolutionary-force/](http://caringlabor.wordpress.com/2010/07/29/mary-ann-weathers-an-argument-for-black-womens-liberation-as-a-revolutionary-force/).

Weber, S. N. (1981). Black Power in the 1960s: A Study of Its Impact on Women's Liberation. *Journal of Black Studies*, 11(4), 483–497. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2784076>

White, E. C. *Chain Chain Change : For Black Women in Abusive Relationships*. Seattle, Wash., Seal Press ; [Emeryville, Calif, 1995, p. 14.

Williams, J., et al. "#MeToo as Catalyst: A Glimpse into 21st Century Activism." *Georgetown Law Faculty Publications and Other Works*, vol. 2019, 1 Jan. 2019, [scholarship.law.georgetown.edu/facpub/2217](http://scholarship.law.georgetown.edu/facpub/2217).

Williams, R. Y. (2008). Black Women and Black Power. *OAH Magazine of History*, 22(3), 22–26. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25162182>