

The Politics of Intersectionality: Race, Class and Gender

MPhil Politics and International Studies
Department of Politics and International Studies (POLIS)
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The course explores the rapidly rising interest, both academically and politically, in ideas of intersectionality. Introduced through a famous essay by Black feminist legal scholar Kimberle Crenshaw in 1989, the concept of intersectionality has since significantly impacted the humanities and social sciences, and is gaining increasing traction in politics and international relations. Most scholars agree that intersectionality seeks to overcome unidimensional analyses that prioritise one single social fault line by urging us to investigate interlocking systems of power, particularly along the lines of race, class and gender. However, the stellar career of the concept has been critically assessed by key proponents and critics alike, arguing, for instance, that in many instances it has become the kind of very hollow universalist assumption it was set out to critique in the first place.

The course explores how intersectional theorists such as bell hooks, Angela Davis, Audre Lorde, Patricia Hill Collins, and their interlocutors, draw on feminist, postcolonial and Marxist theories and why intersectional analysis has developed into a key concept for politics and international studies today. By doing that, we will critically analyse how a contemporary, “sanitised” version of intersectionality ignores its more radical roots in Black feminist thought. We will also explore how scholars from various disciplines have sought to expand the scope of intersectionality to include questions of religion, nationality, ecology, among others, and discuss current debates between advocates, activists and critics of the concept. In this way, we will address the question, what are the concrete analytical benefits that an intersectional lens can provide? To what extent is intersectionality an academic lens, a political programme or both? What are the limits of intersectionality and what are the pitfalls in the way the term has been applied to various context by different scholars, particularly beyond its origin in Black feminism in the United States?

The seminars will be held online on Fridays, 12-2pm, the invitation links will be provided closer to the date. Students are expected to read the core readings for each session, and are invited to read the complementary readings they are interested in.

Overview of the seminar sessions

Week 1 (22 Jan)	Intersectionality: From Black feminism to mainstream politics?
Week 2 (29 Jan)	Early feminists of colour: Audre Lorde, Angela Davis, bell hooks
Week 3 (5 Feb)	Intersectionality, Marxism and state power (Guest speaker: Vanessa Wills)
Week 4 (12 Feb)	Gender, racism, nation and Islam: Muslim women
Week 5 (19 Feb)	Hum/Animal/Environmental racism (Guest speaker: Skeena Rathor)
Week 6 (26 Feb)	Masculinity and white supremacy
Week 7 (5 March)	Social movements and solidarity across difference

Introductory readings

(these are not mandatory but will provide a helpful background)

Overviews

- Collins, Patricia H., and Sirma Bilge (2020) *Intersectionality*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, UK: Polity.
- Berger, Michele T. & Guidroz, Kathleen (Eds.) (2009) *The Intersectional Approach. Transforming the Academia Through Race, Class, and Gender*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.
- May, Vivia (2015) *Pursuing Intersectionality, Unsettling Dominant Imaginaries*. New York: Routledge.
- Lutz, Helma, Maria Theresa Herrera Vivar, and Linda Supik (eds) (2011) *Framing Intersectionality: Debates on a Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*, Farnham, UK: Ashgate.

Popular introductory readings

- Eddo-Lodge, R. (2017) *Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People About Race*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Saad, L. F. (2020) *Me and white supremacy: how to recognise your privilege, combat racism and change the world*. London: Quercus.
- DiAngelo, Robin J. (2018) *White fragility: why it's so hard for White people to talk about racism*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Perry, Grayson (2016) *The Descent of Man*. London: Allen Lane.
- Ngozi Adichie, Chimamanda (2013) *Americanah*. London: Fourth Estate.
- Walker, Alice (1982) *The Color Purple*. London: Women's Press.
- Okorafor, Nnedi (2014) *Lagoon*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

A Litany For Survival

For those of us who live at the shoreline
standing upon the constant edges of
decision
crucial and alone
for those of us who cannot indulge
the passing dreams of choice
who love in doorways coming and going
in the hours between dawns
looking inward and outward
at once before and after
seeking a now that can breed
futures
like bread in our children's mouths
so their dreams will not reflect
the death of ours;

For those of us
who were imprinted with fear
like a faint line in the centre of our
foreheads
learning to be afraid with our mother's milk
for by this weapon
this illusion of some safety to be found
the heavy-footed hoped to silence us
For all of us

this instant and this triumph
We were never meant to survive.

And when the sun rises we are afraid
it might not remain
when the sun sets we are afraid
it might not rise in the morning
when our stomachs are full we are afraid
of indigestion
when our stomachs are empty we are afraid
we may never eat again
when we are loved we are afraid
love will vanish
when we are alone we are afraid
love will never return
and when we speak we are afraid
our words will not be heard
nor welcomed
but when we are silent
we are still afraid

So it is better to speak
remembering
we were never meant to survive.

– Audre Lorde.

Week 1: Intersectionality: From Black feminism to mainstream politics?

We realize that the liberation of all oppressed peoples necessitates the destruction of the political-economic systems of capitalism and imperialism as well as patriarchy.

– Combahee River Collective

How did the concept of intersectionality emerge and what does it help us to understand about contemporary politics? In most academic and popular references to intersectionality, Kimberle Crenshaw's 1989 and 1991 essays are the central reference points. However, contemporary references frequently overlook or consciously go beyond the term's roots in Black feminist thought and in radical politics, and the long history of analysing intersecting discriminations and forms of violence that Crenshaw and others build on. The Combahee River Collective (CRC) was a radical group of Black feminists that based their politics not only in feminist anti-capitalism and anti-racism, but also included heteropatriarchy and homophobia in their critical investigations. Authors who have taken up the concept more frequently, however, locate the precursors and origin of intersectionality in queer and disability studies, arguing that questions of class and race are but two among a variety of categories that intersectional analysis should focus on. This raises the question, what do the different genealogies of the concept tell us about its popularity and the different politics that are associated with it? In this session, we will explore two foundational texts of intersectionality scholarship and discuss how these have been taken up, side-lined and developed in the last decades, in which it has become a remarkably versatile "buzzword" in public and academic discourse.

Core readings

- Crenshaw, Kimberle (1989). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. *The University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 139–168. (reprinted in Lutz et al. *Framing Intersectionality*, 2011)
- Combahee River Collective (1979) A Black Feminist Statement. In *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism*, edited by Zillah Eisenstein, 362–72. New York and London: Monthly Review Press.
- Carastathis, Anna (2016) *Intersectionality: Origins, Contestations, Horizons*, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. Chapter 1.
- Hancock, Ange-Marie (2016) *Intersectionality: An Intellectual History*. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapter 1 and 2.
- Davis, Kathy (2008) Intersectionality as buzzword. A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful. *Feminist Theory* 9(1), 67-85.

Complementary readings

- Crenshaw, Kimberlé (1991) "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color." *Stanford Law Review* 43(6): 1241–99.
- Crenshaw, Kimberle (2011) "Postscript.", In Helma Lutz, Maria Theresa Herrera Vivar, and Linda Supik (eds) *Framing Intersectionality: Debates on a Multi-Faceted Concept in Gender Studies*, Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 221–34.
- Crenshaw, Kimberlé; Gotanda, Neil; Peller, Gary & Thomas, Kendall eds. (1995) *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*. New York: The New Press.
- Yuval-Davis, N. (2006) Intersectionality and Feminist Politics, *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13(3): 193–210.

- Ahmed, Sara (2006). *Queer Phenomenology. Orientations, Objects, Others*. Duke: Duke University Press. Especially hapter 3.
- Ahmed, Sara (2017). *Living a feminist life. Living a feminist life*. Durham: Duke University Press. Especially chapter 9.
- Collins, Patricia H. (1993). Toward a new vision: Race, class, and gender as categories of analysis and connection. *Race, Sex & Class*, 1(1), 25–45.
- Collins, Patricia Hill, and Sirma Bilge. *Intersectionality*. 2nd edition. Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity, 2020.
- Collins, Patricia Hill (1990). *Black Feminist Thought*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Collins, Patricia Hill (2005) *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism*. New York: Routledge.
- Matsuda, M. J. (1991). Beside My Sister, Facing the Enemy: Legal Theory out of Coalition. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1183–1192.
- McCall, Leslie (2005). The Complexity of Intersectionality. *Signs*, 30(3), 1771–1800.
- Hancock, A.-M. (2006). W.E.B. Du Bois: Intellectual Forefather of Intersectionality? *Souls*, 7(3–4), 74–84.
- Lutz, H. (2014). Intersectionality’s (brilliant) career - how to understand the attraction of the concept? *Working Paper Series “Gender, Diversity, Migration” 1*. Frankfurt am Main: Goethe Universität.
- Hancock, Ange-Marie (2007) “When Multiplication Doesn’t Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm.” *Perspectives on Politics* 5(1): 63–79.
- Haraway, Donna (1988) “Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective.” *Feminist Studies*, 14: 575–99.
- Lykke, Nina (2010) *Feminist Studies: A Guide to Intersectional Theory, Methodology, and Writing*. New York: Routledge.

Week 2: Early feminists of colour: Audre Lorde, Angela Davis, bell hooks

You cannot, you cannot use someone else’s fire. You can only use your own. And in order to do that, you must first be willing to believe that you have it.

– Audre Lorde

Identifying interlocking systems of power through centring the experiences particularly of frequently marginalised women of colour is at the heart of intersectional scholarship. This is why the experiences of women of colour form the principal empirical basis for a lot of intersectional scholarship, frequently involving the political struggles in which the theorists were involved themselves, as was prominently the case with Angela Davis and her prison-related activism following her own incarceration. Intersectional scholars frequently try to avoid the canonisation of specific thinkers or “great books” which dominates much Western political and social theory. However, the writings of a series of US American Black feminist activist-scholars have decisively shaped conversations around race, class and gender in the second half of the 20th century. The recent surge in popularity of the concept of intersectionality seems to have invigorated a closer engagement with these thinkers. However, many contemporary readings of key authors such as Audre Lorde, Angela Davis and bell hooks are reduced to the level of inspirational quotes. This fails to acknowledge the historical situatedness of their work and the very real political contestations that are of vital importance for understanding their thinking. In this session, we will read some of the key texts of Lorde, Davis and hooks in order to map the similarities and differences in the vocabulary, references and political projects they are engaged in. This will

provide us with a solid foundation based on which we can understand the limitations and criticisms of their approaches discussed in later sessions.

Audre Lorde (1934-1992)

Core Readings

- Lorde, Audre (2017) *Your Silence Will Not Protect You*. London: Silver Press.
Especially *The Transformation of Silence into Language and Action; Poetry Is Not a Luxury; The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House; Age, Race, Class and Sex: Women Redefining Difference; The Uses of Anger: Women Responding To Racism*.
Most of these texts can also be found in Lorde, Audre (2007). *Sister outsider: essays and speeches*. Berkeley: Crossing Press.
- Lorde, Audre (2009) *I Am Your Sister: Collected and Unpublished Writings of Audre Lorde*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Especially *Apartheid U.S.A.; My Words Will Be There; Poet as Teacher—Human as Poet—Teacher as Human; Difference and Survival: An Address at Hunter College; There is No Hierarchy in Oppression*.

Complementary readings

- Lorde, Audre (1984). *Zami: a new spelling of my name*. London: Sheba.
- Lorde, Audre (1980) *The Cancer Journals*. Argyle, NY: Aunt Lute Books.
- De Veaux, Alexis (2004) *Warrior Poet: A Biography of Audre Lorde*. New York; London: W. W. Norton.

Angela Davis (*1944)

Core Readings

- Davis, A. (1981) *Women, Race and Class*. London: The Women's Press. Chapters 5, 6, 11.

Complementary readings

- Davis, Angela (1971) *If they come in the morning: voices of resistance*. New York: Third Press.
- Davis, Angela (2003) *Are prisons obsolete?* New York: Seven Stories Press.
- Davis, Angela Y., and Robin D. G. Kelley (2012) *The Meaning of Freedom: And Other Difficult Dialogues*. San Francisco: City Lights Publishers.
- Davis, Angela, and Cornel West (2016) *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement*. Edited by Frank Barat. Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2016.

bell hooks (*1952)

Core readings

- hooks, bell (2000). *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* (2nd ed.). London: Pluto. Chapters 1-5.

Complementary readings

- hooks, bell (1987). *Ain't I a Woman. Black Women and Feminism*. London: Pluto Press.
- hooks, bell (1990). *Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics*. Boston: South End Press.
- hooks, bell (1995) Challenging Capitalism & Patriarchy: An Interview By Third World Viewpoint, *Z Magazine*. (various versions available on the web).
- hooks, bell. (2009). *Teaching critical thinking: practical wisdom*. New York; Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Week 3: Intersectionality, Marxism and state power

Marxism and feminism are one and that one is Marxism.

– Heide Hartmann and Amy Bridges, quoted in MacKinnon (1989)

Since the emergence of socialism in the 19th century, and later articulations by thinkers such as Rosa Luxemburg, Marxism has represented a major analytical framework through which to understand the oppression of women. This perspective has been taken up by some parts of the feminist movement through the rise of radical and socialist feminism in the 1960s and 1970s. At the same time, the question over which system of oppression—capitalism or patriarchy—is ultimately responsible for and the root cause of gendered exploitation and domination has been a consistent disagreement among feminists and Marxists. As the anti-capitalist politics of the Combahee River Collective, Angela Davis, bell hooks demonstrate, class analysis has been a key element of intersectional theorising. At the same time, in line with radical feminists such as Katherine MacKinnon, they argue that the lens of capitalism alone is insufficient to account for the pervasive systems of domination along the lines of class and race. In this session we will have a closer look at the tension between intersectional theory and Marxism, in particular around the question of how to analyse the state, to what extent the state is a helpful object of intersectional analysis in the first place, and how intersectionality can help us to make sense of the stratifying effects of nation states today. This allows us to understand why many leftist political groups and parties are very critical of intersectionality, discussing the argument that intersectionality tends to fail to acknowledge the centrality of capital and class in the exercise of social and political power.

Guest speaker: Prof. Vanessa Wills (George Washington University)

Core readings

- Federici, Silvia (2004) *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation*. New York; London: Autonomedia. Introduction, chapters 1 and 2.
- Bohrer, Ashley J. (2019) *Marxism and Intersectionality: Race, Gender, Class and Sexuality under Contemporary Capitalism*. Bielefeld: Transcript. Chapters 2 and 3.
- Morgan, Kimberley, J., & Orloff, Ann S. (2017) Introduction: The Many Hands of the State, In: Kimberley J. Morgan and Ann S. Orloff (eds) *The Many Hands of the State. Theorizing Political Authority and Social Control*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-32.

Complementary readings

- Davis, Angel (2003) *Are Prisons Obsolete?* New York: Seven Stories Press. Chapter 4.
- Hancock, Ange-Marie (2004) *The Politics of Disgust: The Public Identity of the Welfare Queen*. New York: New York University Press. Especially chapter 2.
- Eisenstein, Zillah (2007) *Sexual Decoys: Gender, Race and War in Imperial Democracy*. London, New York: Zed Books.
- Fraser, N. (2013). *Fortunes of feminism: from state-managed capitalism to neoliberal crisis*. London: Verso Books.
- MacKinnon, C. A. (1982). Feminism, Marxism, Method, and the State: An Agenda for Theory. *Signs*, 7(3), 515–544
- MacKinnon, Catherine (1989) *Toward a feminist theory of the state*. Cambridge, MA, London, England: Harvard University Press. Especially Chapter 11.
- Brown, Wendy (2015) *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution*. New York: Zone Books. Especially chapter 3.
- Kantola, Johanna. 2006. *Feminists Theorize the State*. Houndmills: Palgrave.

- Collins, P. H. (1998). It's All In the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation. *Hypatia*, 13(3), 62–82.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo (2006) *Racism Without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States*, Second ed., Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Haney-Lopez, Ian (2014) *Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Wrecked the Middle Class*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Davies, Carole Boyce (2008) *Left of Karl Marx: The Political Life of Black Communist Claudia Jones*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Week 4: Gender, racism, nation and Islam: Muslim women

The relation between the Middle East and the West is really defined as sexual.

– Edward Said

Intersectionality is commonly understood to investigate the “matrix of domination” (Patricia Hill Collins) along the lines of race, class, gender, sexuality, and frequently disability, age, nationality, and what Judith Butler calls an embarrassing “etc.”. Religion, however, sits in an awkward and frequently uncomfortable place within intersectional analysis. While religion is a protected characteristic, for instance under the 2010 Equality Act in the UK, various (post)secular arrangements also prohibit many forms of direct state support to religious groups. Not only in Marx’s analysis, but also in critical scholarship from liberal and feminist perspectives, religion has been acknowledged as one of the most pervasive social forces that reproduces and upholds patriarchal norms, particularly with regards to the nuclear family, reproductive rights, same-sex marriage and the role of women more broadly. While there exists a tendency, to single out Islam as a particularly oppressive socio-religious system, others have argued that this exceptionalisation of Islam is just another iteration of an exoticising, racializing and colonising Orientalist gaze seeking to control women’s bodies. We will discuss to what extent secular assumptions that underlie some feminist scholarship might reproduce some of the patronising and marginalising discourses it sets out to criticise. In this session we will discuss the contested position of religion within intersectional analysis, asking how to make sense of the tension between religion as both a frequently patriarchal power and as a marker of discrimination.

Core readings

- Fernando, Mayanthi (2014). *The Republic Unsettled. Muslim French and the Contradictions of Secularism*. Durham: Duke University Press. Field Notes III and chapter five.
- Bilge, Sirma (2010). Beyond Subordination vs. Resistance: An Intersectional Approach to the Agency of Veiled Muslim Women. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 31(1), 9–28.
- Puar, Jasbir (2007). *Terrorist Assemblages. Homonationalism in Queer Times*. Durham: Duke University Press. Introduction and chapter 1.
- Singh, Jakeet (2015). Religious Agency and the Limits of Intersectionality. *Hypatia*, 30(4), 657–674.

Complementary readings

- Smiet, Katrine (2015). Post/secular truths: Sojourner Truth and the intersections of gender, race, and religion. *The European Journal of Women’s Studies*, 22(1), 7–21.
- Göle, Nilüfer (2015) *Islam and Secularity: The Future of Europe’s Public Sphere*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Dhawan, N. (2013). The Empire Prays Back: Religion, Secularity, and Queer Critique. *Boundary 2*, 1(40), 191–222.

- Mahmood, Saba (2005). *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject*. Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press. Especially chapters 1 and 5.
- Said, Edward (1978) *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books.
- Topolski, A. (2018). The Race-Religion Constellation: A European Contribution to the Critical Philosophy of Race. *Critical Philosophy of Race*, 6(1), 58–81.
- Scott, Joan W. (2019) *Sex and Secularism*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Puar, Jasbir (2012) “I would Rather Be a Cyborg Than a Goddess”: Becoming Intersectional in Assemblage Theory. *Philosophia* 2(1), 49-66.
- Connolly, William E. (1999). *Why I Am Not a Secularist*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Dokumaci, Pinar (2020) Toward a Relational Approach? Common Models of Pious Women’s Agency and Pious Feminist Autonomy in Turkey, *Hypatia*, online first.
- Müller, Tobias (2020) Secularisation Theory and its Discontents: Recapturing Decolonial and Gendered Narratives. *Social Compass*, 67(2), 315-322.
- Amir-Moazami, Schirin (2011) Dialogue as governmental technique. Managing gendered Islam in Europe. *Feminist Review*, 98, 9-27.
- Abu-Lughod, Lila (2013) *Do Muslim Women Need Saving?* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Asad, Talal Wendy Brown, Judith Butler and Saba Mahmood (200) *Is Critique Secular? Blasphemy, Injury, and Free Speech* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Week 5: Hum/Animal/Environmental racism

The white utopia was black inferno.

– Sylvia Winter (quoted in Yusoff 2018)

1402, 1492, or 1610 are frequently mentioned as alternative dates that should mark the beginning of the epoch now commonly referred to as the Anthropocene. Against conventional narratives that identify the steam engine in the 1800s or the nuclear age after 1945 as the beginning, locating the multiple genocides of indigenous populations in the Americas and the imprisonment, shipping and killing of more than 12 million Black people from West Africa across the Atlantic as the origin of the Anthropocene allows us to bring into focus the entangled histories of colonialism, racism and the climate breakdown. Resistance against capitalism and colonialism pushing the frontiers of exploitation along the lines of race and gender forms an archive based on which feminist scholars are weaving together the critique of male exploitation of matter and bodies, human and non-human. In this session, we will explore the gendered histories and contemporary politics of (post)colonialism and capitalism in the conceptualisation of “nature” and its continuous destruction.

Guest speaker: Cllr Skeena Rathor, Co-Founder of Extinction Rebellion

Core readings

- Equinox, in Lorde, Audre (2017) *Your Silence Will Not Protect You*. London: Silver Press, pp. 173-174.
- Haraway, Donna (2015) ‘Anthropocene, Capitalocene, Plantationocene, Chthulucene - Making Kin’, *Environmental Humanities*, 6, 159-165
- Shiva, Vandana (1988) *Staying Alive. Women, Ecology and Survival in India*. New Delhi: Kalif for Women; London: Zed Books. Chapters 1 and 2.

- Yusoff, Kathryn (2018) *A Billion Black Anthropocenes, or None*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press. Chapters 4 and 5, “Insurgent Geology” and “Writing a Geology for the Storm Next Time”.
- Kaijser, A., and Kronsell, A. (2014) Climate change through the lens of intersectionality. *Environmental Politics*, 23(3), 417–433.
- Nixon, Rob (2011) *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Chapter 4.

Complementary readings

- Wynter, Sylvia (2003) Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Toward the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation – An Argument, *The New Centennial Review* 3(3), 257-337.
- Ghosh, Amitav (2016) *The Great Derangement. Climate Change and the Unthinkable*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Especially chapter 2.
- Haraway, Donna (2015) *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Haraway, Donna (2003) *The Companion Species Manifesto*, Chicago: Prickly Paradigm.
- Federici, Silvia (2018) *Re-enchanting the World: Feminism and the Politics of the Commons*. Oakland: PM Press.
- Moore, Jason W. (2015) *Capitalism in the Web of Life: Ecology and the Accumulation of Capital*. London: Verso.
- Alkon, Alison Hope and Agyeman, Julian (2011) *Cultivating Food Justice: Race, Class, and Sustainability*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- De la Cadena, Marisol (2015) *Earth Beings. Ecologies of Practice Across Andean Worlds*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Goff, P. A., Eberhardt, J. L., Williams, M. J., & Jackson, M. C. (2008). Not Yet Human: Implicit Knowledge, Historical Dehumanization, and Contemporary Consequences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 94(2), 292–306.
- Kelly, Duncan (2019) *Politics and the Anthropocene*. Cambridge: Polity. Especially chapter 4.
- Lykke, Nina (2009) Non-innocent intersections of feminism and environmentalism. *Women, Gender and Research*, 18(3–4), 36–44.

Week 6: Masculinity and white supremacy

The truth will set you free. But first it will piss you off.
– Gloria Steinem

In the previous sessions we have discussed how the experiences particularly of frequently marginalised women of colour is at the heart of intersectional theorising. In this session, we shift the perspective towards masculinity and white supremacy in order to understand how these systems of oppression distribute power and privilege, but also exercise pressure and violence on men and white people. We discuss the question, what role do men and white people play in different strands of intersectional scholarship? How does intersectionality help us to understand the various social stratifications and fault lines among men and white people? What are the possibilities and limits of political allyship? The men’s consciousness movement in the 1960s and 1970s called for the abandonment of the notion of masculinity altogether, as it is necessarily steeped in oppression of non-conforming men, women and non-binary people. On the other hand, bell hooks argues that it is patriarchal masculinity, rather than masculinity as such, that should be

the object of feminist movements, since lumping black men into the oppressor class would not do justice to the realities and struggles of men and families in Black communities. We will investigate the relationship between (heteropatriarchal) masculinity and white supremacy, how they mutually constitute each other, and where their, at times conflicting, logics produce further mechanisms of oppression and exclusion.

Core readings

- Smith, Andrea (2016). *Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy*, in INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence (ed), *Color of Violence: The INCITE! Anthology*. Durham: Duke University Press, 70-76. Also available at: <https://cpt.org/sites/default/files/2019-04/Undoing%20Oppressions%20-%20Three%20Pillars%20-%20Smith.pdf>.
- hooks, bell. (2004). *The Will to Change: Men, Masculinity and Love*. New York: Washington Square Press. Especially chapters 1-4, 7.
- Connell, Raewyn (1995) *Masculinities*. Cambridge: Polity. Chapter 3.
- Dee Mucina, Devi (2019) *Ubuntu Relational Love: Decolonizing Black Masculinities*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press. Introduction and chapter 3.
- Film recommendation: Katz, Jackson (dir.), (2020) *The Man Card. A Film About White Male Identity Politics from Trump to Nixon*. Free to watch online <https://themancardmovie.com/>.

Complementary readings:

- Stoltenberg, John (2000) *Refusing to be a man. Essays on sex and Justice*. Revised edition. Abingdon: Routledge.
- hooks, bell (1990). *Yearning: Race, gender and cultural politics*. Boston: South End Press. Chapter 17, “Representing Whiteness: Seeing Wings of Desir”e.
- Gaard, Greta (2015) Toward New EcoMasculinities, EcoGenders, and EcoSexualities, In Carol J. Adams and Lori Gruen (eds) *Ecofeminism: Feminist Intersections with Other Animals and the Earth*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic, 225-40
- Buchbinder, David (2013) *Studying Men and Masculinities*. London: Routledge. Especially chapter 4.
- MacInnes, John (1998) *The End of Masculinity*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (2001) *Masculine Domination*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Connell, Raewyn W., & Messerschmidt, James W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity. Rethinking the concept. *Gender & Society*, 19(6), 829-859.
- Coston, Bethany M., & Kimmel, Michael (2012). Seeing privilege where it isn't: Marginalized masculinities and the intersectionality of privilege. *Journal of Social Issues*, 68(1), 97- 111.
- Wilkins, Amy. 2012. ‘Not Out to Start a Revolution’: Race, Gender, and Emotional Restraint among Black University Men. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 41(1):34-65.
- Stokes, Mason (2001) *The Color Sex: Whiteness, Heterosexuality and the Fictions of White Supremacy*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Gorski, Philip (2020) *American Babylon: Christianity and Democracy Before and After Trump*. London: Routledge. Especially chapter 5.
- Halberstam, Judith (1998) *Female Masculinity*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Lopez, Ian Haney (2005) *White By Law* (2nd edition). New York: NYU Press.

Week 7: Social movements and solidarity across difference

Before we can create a new world we must first unearth and destroy the myths and realities, the lies and propaganda which have been used to oppress, enslave, incinerate, gas, torture and starve the human beings of this planet. Facing the lies of history is a basic human responsibility. It is unpleasant to do, but liberating to accomplish. It liberates all of us.

– Ben Okri

It has been argued that intersectionality might provide an umbrella framework that can forge powerful links between feminist movements, anti-capitalist struggles, anti-racist movements and other forms of resistance against oppression. However, critics have argued that “identity politics”, rather than providing a common, unifying basis, might split up political alliances into small pockets defined by their particular experiences of oppression. This raises the question, how is solidarity across difference possible? Can social movements be “global” without falling into the trap of reproducing the very colonialist mindsets they seek to overcome? What role does shared history and experience play in the mobilisation for certain political goals and in the possibilities and limits of forging new alliances? In this final seminar we will investigate how different groups have tried to “translate” intersectionality into practice and under what circumstances different forms of community and resistance can emerge.

Core readings

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- Moghadam, Valentine M. (2018) Feminism and the Future of Revolutions, *Socialism and Democracy*, 32:1, 31-53.

Complementary readings

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- Davis, Angela Y. (2016) *Freedom is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement*. Chicago: Haymarket Books. Chapter 2.
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- Chow, Pok Yin S. (2016) Has Intersectionality Reached its Limits?: Intersectionality in the UN Human Rights Treaty Body Practice and the Issue of Ambivalence, *Human Rights Law Review*, 15: 453-481

- Abu-Laban, Yasmeen, Marian Sawyer and Mathieu St-Lauren (2018) *IPSA Gender and Diversity Monitoring Report 2017*, Montreal: IPSA (International Political Science Association), 5-25.