

# FPLI051

HORACE MANN'S FEMINIST PUBLICATION Volume XXII• Issue 1•Winter 2021

# LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

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## Dear Readers,

We're so excited to have the opportunity to revive Folio 51, Horace Mann's feminist publication, this year! For the first issue of Volume XXII, we decided to explore the theme of intersectional feminism. The term was first coined by Professor Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 who defined it as, "a prism for seeing the way in which various forms of inequality often operate together and exacerbate each other." Intersectional feminism stands for the rights and empowerment of all women, while acknowledging the importance of converging aspects of identity such as race, sexuality, socioeconomic status, nationality, religion, language, ability, and more.

The articles in this issue discuss a broad range of topics surrounding intersectionality, ranging from the historical limitations of the feminist movement to the role of social media and technology in present-day activism. We believe that intersectional feminism is incredibly important, as it promotes the fact that different pieces of one's identity will inevitably overlap and interact, serving as a vehicle to validate and support our experiences as nuanced individuals. Thus, the beauty of intersectional feminism is that it reaches all of us and unites our divergent perspectives of the world.

We would like to profoundly thank all of the writers and artists who contributed to this issue for their hard work and dedication, and to Dr. Groppi and Ms. Little for their support. We hope that you enjoy this issue, and that the topics discussed spark meaningful and sincere dialogue!

Sincerely,

Ericka Familia



Editors-in-Chief, Volume XXII

Alexis Fry



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# **INTERSECTIONAL FEMINISM 101:**

## Alexandra Yao

hen the 15th Amendment, which granted Black men the right to vote, was first passed each other, people who fall into multiple categories slip through the cracks. In the 19th century, when Susan B. in 1870, many notable white feminists, including Susan B. Anthony, vehemently opposed it, angry that "lower orders those of Black people, she disregarded the experiences of of men" could vote when "educated, refined women" could Black women like Sojourner Truth who advocated for not. These racist views, expressed by many other white equality of both the sexes and the races. Today, some feminists, led to a divide in the women's rights movement.

feminism," believing that elite, white women took precedence over women of color or women of lower social classes. Rather than celebrating the 15th Amendment and its contributions to greater equality, these feminists saw the accomplishments of Black people, another minority group in America, as a threat to women. Instead of joining forces with other marginalized groups who faced societal oppression, these white feminists chose to turn against other minority groups, believing their own cause to be advocating for the rights of all women, especially those more noble than any others.

This mindset, that a certain specific subset of women deserve rights while others do not, does nothing to promote equality as a whole. Instead, it addresses one source of discrimination, based solely on gender, viewing people's genders in an isolated bubble instead of coexisting with their race, sexuality, ethnicity, and more. When all of these other factors are taken into account, however, each "bubble" no longer exists in isolation. Rather, they begin to overlap, revealing individuals as nuanced people rather than reducing them to one aspect of their identity.

This overlapping, considering feminism within the context of other forms of oppression, is known as "intersectional feminism," an expression first coined by Columbia law professor Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989. The notion of intersectionality expands the definition of feminism to address other parts of a woman's identity. Rich, white, straight, cis-gendered women have long been included and centralized in the feminist movement, but while sexism in society does negatively affect these women, they also experience immense privilege stemming from their race, sexuality, and other aspects of who they are that they are not penalized for. On the other hand, women of color, for example, not only experience sexism for being a woman but also experience racism for the color of their skin. Both of these forms of discrimination affect them simultaneously and consistently, and their experience is thus even more difficult than that of a white woman.

By pitting oppressed groups or minority groups against

Anthony declared that women's voices mattered more than mainstream feminists also exclude trans-women from Many, such as Anthony herself, practiced "white their notion of feminism. As Professor Crenshaw wrote in a Washington Post article, "people of color within LGBTQ movements; girls of color in the fight against the school-to-prison pipeline; women within immigration movements; trans women within feminist movements; and people with disabilities fighting police abuse" are some of the many categories of people now included in the notion of intersectional feminism.

> Since intersectional feminism is supporting and who face various other forms of discrimination, being an intersectional feminist requires re-examining all of your internal biases, not just those regarding gender.

"Intersectional feminism is really about equality—equality that can never be achieved unless people are allowed to express every aspect of who they are, to be validated as a complex person instead of any one label."



It requires expanding your view of who a feminist is or With the introduction of intersectionality, feminism is no what a feminist looks like. It requires breaking stereotypes longer limited to one feature; rather than only looking at ingrained in mainstream feminism or "white feminism." a person's gender, it sees the person in a holistic manner. In the type of feminism that was practiced by white Because nobody can be boiled down to one label, and women throughout most of our history, the only equality can never be reached if only one side of a person requirement is believing in the equality of men and is validated, and thus only one form of discrimination is women. Feminists could be blatantly discriminatory in dismantled.

other ways, even to fellow women for other aspects of So at the end of the day, intersectional feminism is their identity, but that was deemed acceptable because really about equality—equality that can never be achieved all forms of oppression were viewed as separate. This unless people are allowed to express every aspect of who mindset served to divide people into different categories, they are, to be validated as a complex person instead of pushing them even further apart and forcing them to any one label. And to be an intersectional feminist, all compete against each other. you have to do is fight for the rights of people as people, Intersectional feminism differs in that instead of each one with a unique identity, each one facing their dividing, it aims to unify. If you are racist, you are not own unique struggles. Accepting people for who they an intersectional feminist. If you are homophobic, you are, and realizing that addressing one form of injustice are not an intersectional feminist. If you are transphobic, means addressing them all, which can simultaneously classist, or ableist...you are not an intersectional feminist. be the simplest and most difficult task in the world. But If you view someone as less than or inferior because of regardless of the challenges in the way, intersectional something out of their control, something fundamental to feminism must be exercised if we truly aim to create a who they are, then you are not an intersectional feminist. more equitable and just world.

# HOW TO BE AN INTERSECTIONAL FEMINIST

# Intersectional Feminism and Our Present Avani Khorana

Intersectionality provides a new lens through which social justice movements, such as feminism, can be explored. An intersectional approach allows one to see how the varying forms of inequality present in our world overlap with one another. Women face adversity due to aspects of their identity apart from gender, and the concept of intersectionality takes into account how these forms of inequality work with and add to the already

difficult nature of gender inequality. Aside from a woman's gender, her race, sexual orientation, disability, and other identifiers will collaboratively affect her experiences. For example, data shows that in 2020 white women in the United States earn 81 cents for every dollar that a white man earns. However, American Indian, Alaska Native, African American, and Hispanic women earn 75 cents for every white man's dollar. Additionally, white women are projected to achieve gender parity with men in the US in 2059; however, this date is 2130 for Black women and 2224 for Hispanic women.

"Aside from a woman's gender, her race, sexual orientation, disability, and other identifiers will collaboratively affect her experiences."

Outside of economics, UK research shows that while 31% of white women experience sexual harassment in the workplace, 54% of lesbian, bisexual, and trans women of color reported "unwanted touching." LGBTQ+ women

with disabilities also reported much higher levels of sexual harassment than both abled men and women and disabled men. All of these women have faced and continue to face injustices not solely because they are women. Their gender plays a role in the discrimination they face but evidently, other aspects of a woman's identity put her at a higher risk of maltreatment, underscoring the importance of intersectionality

To discuss intersectional feminism without mentioning lawyer and civil rights activist Kimberlé Crenshaw, however, would be inconsequential. In 1989, Crenshaw coined the term "intersectionality" and explained how understanding the concept and challenging injustices through an intersectional feminist lens would help us to build back a more equitable society.

Crenshaw introduced her theory of intersectionality in a paper published in the University of Chicago Legal Forum entitled "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex." In the paper, she discussed three legal cases centered around both racial and gender discrimination. In one of those cases, called DeGraffenreid v. General Motors (1976), five Black women sued General Motors, arguing that since General Motors did not hire Black women until 1964, the seniority-based lavoffs of the recession in the early 1970s left all the Black women hired after 1964 unemployed. The company's seniority policy did not target just Black people, or just women, but rather Black women. The court decided that trying to bring together an argument of both racial and gender discrimination would not be feasible. Crenshaw argued that treating Black women as only women or only Black ignores the challenges that Black women face due to their intersecting identities.

Thirty years ago, when intersectionality was an obscure concept in both social and political landscapes, Crenshaw began to spread her intersectional feminist views beginning with her own law students at Columbia University. She held a panel discussion entitled "Mythbusting Intersectionality" which addressed the debate among academics over what intersectionality actually meant. This debate is not one that has remained within academia, however.

In present politics, intersectionality has become yet another dividing line between conservatives and progressives. On the right, intersectionality is seen as a system that gives minorities special treatment, and many conservatives see Crenshaw's work as an intent to replace the current racial and cultural hierarchy with a new one in which nonwhite, non-heterosexual people are on top. In actuality, however, what Crenshaw has sought to do is get rid of racial hierarchies altogether.

It wasn't until 2017 that Crenshaw's theory went viral.While the term "intersectionality" was officially published in the Oxford English Dictionary in 2015, it was during the 2017 Women's March that the concept of intersectional feminism garnered widespread attention. The organizers of the event emphasized how most women are impacted by numerous social injustices, or in other words, have intersecting identities.

Since intersectionality began to gain greater recognition, conservatives have modified their responses to the concept. Most do not object to the term but rather to its application in society. Conservatives agree that a man and a woman will experience the world differently, that a Black person and a white person will experience identify inequality. It's about giving everyone an equal the world differently, and that a Black woman will opportunity by taking into consideration their personal experience the world differently than a white woman. background and the unique challenges they face on However, in the eyes of many right wing conservatives, account of their intersectional identities. To successfully intersectional feminists are trying to invert the current achieve an equitable society, every intersecting aspect hierarchy of oppression and essentially oppress the of one's identity must be taken into account; how being white cisgendered man. a person of color or LGBTQ+ or disabled may further

white cisgendered man.a person of color or LGBTQ+ or disabled may furtherWhat intersectional feminists want is equity. Equityaffect the experiences of a woman because of the systemicinjustices of the society we live in.injustices of the society we live in.



"What intersectional feminists want is equity. Equity means providing access to custom tools that address and identify inequality."

# Literary Analysis: "Who Said It Was Simple" Mekhala Mantravadi

## Who Said It Was Simple by Audre Lorde

There are so many roots to the tree of anger that sometimes the branches shatter before they bear.

Sitting in Nedicks the women rally before they march discussing the problematic girls they hire to make them free. An almost white counterman passes a waiting brother to serve them first and the ladies neither notice nor reject the slighter pleasures of their slavery. But I who am bound by my mirror as well as my bed see causes in colour as well as sex

> and sit here wondering which me will survive all these liberations.

udre Lorde's "Who Said It Was Simple" is a poem that uncovers the hypocrisy of liberation movements. Lorde, La prolific poet, writer, essayist and teacher, studied and wrote about race, gender, sexuality and identity. She published "Who Said It Was Simple" in her 1973 book From a Land Where Other People Live, which was a 1974 finalist for the National Book Award in poetry. The poem was published amidst the second wave feminist movement whom Lorde was a staunch critic of. She felt that it was led (rather, dominated) by white, heterosexual, middle-class women who excluded women of minority groups. Thus, Lorde, in this poem, feels that gaining liberation is not so simple because it is often won at the expense of others and even parts of one's own identity. The speaker of the poem is left to wonder which parts of them will "survive" because the tree of anger has so many roots that "sometimes the branches shatter before they bear." These roots or liberation groups compete to supply this tree (a cause) with nutrients to have their voices heard, but this struggle for their own interests kills the tree and fruit never bears. The women at the counter of Nedicks are examples of this one sided fight. They are about to rally but we find them talking about the "problematic girls they hire to make them free."

Lorde makes a distinction between "the problematic girls" and "the women" who are both groups of females in her attempt to show the hypocrisy of exclusionary feminism.

The women have the power to hire the girls but those same girls are employed to free the women of oppressive domestic duties and labeled as problematic. The usage of girls reduces the people employed to lesser than, immature, and less developed than the women who can rally. These women do not even notice when they are served before "the waiting brother," failing to recognize that the fact that they are white women, or the "slighter pleasures of their slavery," is what awards them this special treatment. This "slavery" of being treated differently on account of sex is what the women at the counter are rallying against, however they don't even notice that their sex and especially their color inherently benefits them - "ladies first," chivalry, and an eagerness to please on part of the counterman. The speaker feels, however, that

they personally are bound by their mirror and their bed which are references to the color of the speaker's skin and their sexuality. The speaker's complexion is an added layer of complexity and something they feel that they are bound to, when it should not be. The speaker sees "causes" or how the world treats them through the color of their skin as well as their sex which the white women do not seem to care to see. Lorde argues that sexuality and race is inseparable from gender; these facets of identity are not mutually exclusive but rather intertwined.

So, it isn't simple - within liberation groups there is struggle to hold onto identity while fighting for a seemingly common cause. For the speaker and people who have many facets

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Sarah Sun

"So, it isn't simplewithin liberation groups there is struggle to hold onto identity while fighting for a seemingly common cause."

> to their identity there is a double struggle against general society and a movement in addition to acceptance within a movement. Identity is complicated, and the speaker should not have to choose which parts of their identity are applicable or will survive. Lorde identified and would introduce herself as black, lesbian, mother, feminist and teacher. Her precise string of identifiers shows that she was an individual of many facets and that no one element of her identity was more important than the others. In this poem, Lorde cautions that identities should not have to be compromised or even categorized but accepted in their entirety. There is a struggle within liberation groups or communities for belonging; the tree or cause will die out before it comes into fruition if this lethal competition continues.

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# THE EXCLUSIONARY HISTORY **BEHIND FEMINISM:**

# by Alexa Turteltaub

F eminism is the advocacy of womens' rights on the basis of the equality of the sexes, and at first glance, "women" should include women of all races, sexualities, religions, backgrounds and identity. But the question must be asked, "which women?" A closer look at the history of feminism presents patterns of exclusion and a movement that has historically functioned for white women primarily. This exclusion can be traced back to the roots of American feminism: the suffrage movement. Although this first wave is culturally accepted as a movement for equality, in reality it excluded and disregarded the basic rights of Black women. Susan B. Anthony is one of the most recognizable and iconic feminist figures from the era, and she herself said "I will cut off this right arm of mine before I will ever work or demand the ballot for the Negro and not the woman." Elizabeth Cady Stanton, another prominent and widely known suffragette, grew up in a household that owned slaves. Given the racist and segregated system that American feminism is rooted in, it is ignorant and false to assume that a movement for womens' rights truly included the rights of all women. When you solidify racist and discriminatory figures into the origins of a movement, the movement itself is automatically grounded in racist and discriminatory ideals. As the feminism movement moved past suffrage and into fighting for equal participation and pay in the workplace, the feminist icon that came to represent this stage of feminism during World War II was Rosie the Riveter. While one white figure does not alone signal exclusivity, it is one example of a consistent trend of representation throughout the history of feminism. White women were at the forefront and other women and men of color who were equal champions of feminism were not recognized or represented as widely.

The same pattern resurfaced during the second wave of feminism. White women like Gloria Steinem, Betty Friedan and Bella Abzug are said to have sparked the second wave of feminism with Friedan's publication of The Feminine Mystique, which essentially turned the feminism into a movement of women's liberation

"A closer look at the history of feminism presents patterns of exclusion and a movement that has historically functioned tor primariny. for white women

# Acknowledging and Reckoning with Its Dark Past

women and led them to receive less recognition and credit for their progressive beliefs and accomplishments. The feminist movement also has a blatant history of excluding LGBTQ+ women and men. During the second wave of feminism particularly, many feminists feared that the inclusion of lesbian women would hinder their cause. Betty Friedan, one of the faces of second wave feminism, was a homophobe who resisted affiliation with lesbian organizations and overtly excluded lesbian It is crucial to note that there were Black women women for many years. This incensed powerful women like Michela Griffo and Rita Mae Brown to rebrand the feminist movement as one that was inclusive and open to members of the LGBTQ+ community.

by arguing that women were still culturally relegated to the domestic sphere. Although the second wave held triumphs for the feminist movement, such as the verdict of Roe v. Wade, there is a strong belief that this wave of feminism still almost exclusively benefitted white, college educated women. This lack of intersectionality and inclusivity within the history of the feminist movement cannot be undone, but it can be fixed moving forward. who fought for their own rights and white women who supported them by also pushing anti-racist rhetoric. Among the Black women and men were Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglas, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Toni Morrison As we progress from history to modern day feminism, and countless others. However, the privilege of white it is vital to cultivate and fight for an intersectional and feminists, the biased telling of history, and the systemic inclusive feminist movement. When future generations racism in the United States have excluded many of these look back on our current feminist movement, they



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should not have to ask the question of "which women?" It must be implied and shown that all women were included in the feminist movement, and that each and every feminist, regardless of race, religion, background and identity, fought for the equality of all women.

"When future generations look back on our current feminist movement, they should not have to ask the question of 'which WOInc.

# The Role of Social Media in Opening Doors for Intersectional Feminism Naomi Gelfer

ntersectional feminism, as a concept, allows us to view inequalities through various lenses to better our understanding of different levels of oppression. First used by American law professor Kimberlé Crenshaw, the goal of intersectional feminism is to put a spotlight upon people who experience overlapping forms of injustice and are most marginalized.

This age of constantly evolving technology has brought with it an influx of social media platforms, opening doors and laying the foundation for a completely new wave of feminism. As written by Pippa Haughton of Has#tag Activism (a blog that raises awareness about intersectional feminist issues), the first and second waves of feminism were primarily rooted in the oppression of specifically White women, focusing on "equality for some, rather than equality for all." Though, as both Black and White women fought for rights and freedoms, their issues became polarised because their statuses in society induce inherent differences in access to education, pay, and work.

"As intersectionality plays a major role in the third and fourth waves of feminism, social media has destroyed barriers that posed obstacles in the first and second waves, particularly culture and national borders, allowing women to connect and interact in ways that hadn't ever been possible."

As intersectionality plays a major role in the third and fourth waves of feminism, social media has destroyed barriers that posed obstacles in the first and second waves, particularly culture and national borders, allowing women to connect and interact in ways that hadn't ever been possible. Art, information, news, and personal stories are becoming increasingly more accessible to the public, allowing social media to magnify the voices of those originally silenced and blend various forms of feminism together. During this fourth wave, a new sense of solidarity has manifested itself between women who engage with online feminist platforms, on which millions find safety in sharing their respective experiences with inequity.

Intersectional feminism also generally takes into account things such as race, social status, gender, ethnicity, and historical background. These specifics as employed in social media are especially critical for women living in smaller, less populated cities because they are often rooted in societies that are absolutely patriarchal, as noted by Vertika Mani Tripathi who is a writer for Feminism in India. These women are immersed in norms of everyday misogyny and are often hesitant to erase these ideals from their minds. However, social media and networking have allowed online feminist groups to bring together women from these separate small towns who may embody similar misogynistic and outdated ideologies. In these "safe spaces," women begin to feel more and more comfortable discussing and supporting one another in matters of issues faced in their homes and workplaces and learning from others' experiences. In effect, they create large communities of originally isolated women who are now strong enough to rise up against instances of misogyny.

In addition, networking has spurred feminist activism both on a global level as in the largely known #MeToo movement, for example, and on the micro-level in smaller feminist initiatives. Here, the women subject to abuse and harassment who felt originally unable to share their stories, are joined in solidarity with those who share similar sentiments. Consequently, not only is feminism becoming increasingly mainstream and even dominating hashtags, but more and more victims are empowered to speak out and fight to bring justice upon their oppressors, supported by those who connect online.

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feminism because people are able to create their own Other instances of mainstream feminism include specific internet "bubbles" by simply clicking "not interested" on publishing establishments that cover a surplus of sections based in aspects of life that build upon feminist agendas, anything they don't agree with. In some cases, this allows such as the BLF press, Alice James books, Ash tree for more discrimination and hate, further discouraging publishing, and Aunt Lute Press. Posts and collections on people from questioning their values and stepping out of their comfort zones. Also, especially in this era, we are sites such as Facebook, Tumblr, Twitter, and Instagram (as well as numerous others) are amassing followers as used to things occurring quickly. But the "unlearning," as Tripathi writes, of patriarchal ideals upon large scales they shed light upon different peoples' experiences and normalize a general consciousness of intersectionality in must take time. With just a click of a button, we can post society. For example, the "feminist" account on Instagram whatever comes to mind; however, what will truly propel currently has 6.4 million followers, and posts a constant intersectional feminism forward and make it "stick" stream of LGBTQ+, racial, socioeconomical, and body is concentrating our efforts on empathy and allyship, positive images and articles, especially relating to topics educating ourselves and each other in the long term. in the current mainstream media. The comment sections Another integral deficiency is the fact that there are still of these posts provide safe places for all followers and women, specifically those at the very bottom of social viewers to discuss the issues the posts are addressing, hierarchies, who do not have access to the internet. and ask further questions to raise more awareness and For example, the Advai and Dalit women (women of an understanding of a wide range of feminist topics. the lowest castes in India, marginalized, oppressed, Nonetheless, with all the power harbored through and suppressed), whose representation online has been networking, more work can always be done and scarce.

weaknesses must be recognized, for technology is As intersectional feminists, we must use our privilege not going away. "Echo chambers," for instance, can and access to the internet to empower such women and be detrimental in making feminism on social media shed a spotlight on their stories, as social media truly more inclusive. As Haughton put it, the way algorithms has been monumental in defining a key turning point work, and as they continue to be revised for accuracy, for the fourth wave. Through diversifying the feminist individuals' streams and intake of information will narrative, social media, in turn, unites women over conform to their beliefs and practices, since those are boundaries, allowing us to fight injustice more directly what they tend to post and read about most often. In and in stronger solidarity than ever before. other words, this is actually a step back for intersectional

# Kamala Harris's Significance Through Intersectionality in Politics

n January 20, Vice President-elect Kamala Harris will take the oath of office and make history. She will be the first female, first Black, and first Asian American vice president. Beyond marking many firsts and serving as a victory for all women, her election could make major progress for the intersectional feminist movement, which emphasizes how different overlapping components of women's identity affect how they experience opression. The different components of Harris's identity make her voice incredibly important in representing the needs of women of color, needs that stem from their unique experiences at the intersection of their race and gender. Not only will her focus on women of color in policymaking directly further the aims of the intersectional feminist movement, but it could also give rise to a larger acceptance of intersectionality within our national political framework. Along with promoting intersectional feminism through bestowing importance upon the concerns of women of color, who are too often overlooked, Harris's vice-presidency could push the notion of intersectionality into national politics, where it does not currently reach.

Law professor Kimberlé Crenshaw introduced the idea of intersectionality in 1989, describing it as the intersection of different stigmatized identities and how this intersection results in a single person having one greatly stigmatized identity. This idea recognizes the fact that not all inequalities are created equal, as individuals face oppression to varying degrees based on their set of identifiers. Crenshaw used intersectionality to explain and examine the oppression of African-American women. She argued that feminist and anti-racist movements erased the experiences of Black women, as the movements failed to recognize the intersecting forms of oppression they faced based on both their race and gender. After Crenshaw introduced the idea of intersectionality as a legal framework, many individuals went on to study the theory and used their research for activist causes like fighting for women's rights. Crenshaw later published another article in which she broadened her focus from Black women to all women of color. Recently, intersectionality has become a very well-known concept used in justice movements such as the Women's March and the Movement for Black Lives; however, it remains excluded from many other realms.

Although intersectionality has become widely recognized in academia, activism, and to an extent local politics, it has not been adopted in national U.S. politics. Black women have rarely played major roles in American government, even during the presidency of Barack Obama. Intersectionality

essentially goes unrecognized and politics policymaking, despite the role it plays in issues like incarceration mass health care, and both of which disproportionately affect Black women. President Donald Trump has voiced his unwillingness

acknowledge intersectionality. On September 5, Trump ordered the removal of Critical Race Theory training training, from federal agencies that utilizes the notion of intersectionality to aid individuals in understanding how historic racism affects modern life. After this removal, Trump called critical race theory "a sickness that cannot be allowed to continue." Considering the fact that intersectionality is not only missing

from national politics, but purposefully dismissed, the election of Kamala Harris as vice president could mark a major turning point for intersectionality in our national government.



representation is

important because

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view themselves

and how society

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Kamala Harris considers her intersectional identity to be for intersectional policies in the past; she has directly very important. At the Democratic National Convention helped women of color who are disproportionately affected in August 2020, Harris spoke about her mother, saying by economic and health issues. Recently, she has supported "She raised us to be proud, strong Black women. And she direct cash payments to unemployed individuals during the raised us to know and be proud of our Indian heritage" coronavirus pandemic that has resulted in incredibly high Her election is unemployment rates among women of color in particular. incredibly Additionally, Harris has continually attempted to tackle important for the the issue of disproportionate Black maternal mortality representation of rates through her introduction, and then reintroduction, women of color, of the Maternal CARE Act in Congress and her recent who are often left co-sponsorship of a bill that addressed the issue. Kamala unnoticed. Apart Harris's vice presidency will further the intersectional feminist movement through her pledged support for from serving as women of color, and it will hopefully signify the beginning a tool of support of the adoption of a strong intersectional lens through for intersectional feminism, this which U.S. national politics is conducted. heightened

Rachel Zh

of those who have been silenced by oppression due to both gender and race. While this is only the beginning of Harris's journey as vice president, she has proved herself to be a supporter of intersectional feminism through her support

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# by Sophie Dauer =

"Along with promoting intersectional feminism through bestowing importance upon the concerns of women of color, who are too often overlooked, Harris's vicepresidency could push the notion of intersectionality into national politics, where it does not currently reach."

# Abolitionist Feminism and Angela Davis Louise Kim

"Prisons do not disappear social problems, they disappear human beings. Homelessness, unemployment, drug addiction, mental illness, and illiteracy are only a few of the problems that disappear from public view when the human beings contending with them are relegated to cages."

-Angela Davis

uring an interview at the Marin County Jail in which activist and author Angela Y. Davis was being held on charges of murder, a reporter asked her why she advocated for violence. Instead of defending the prison movement as a non-violent one, she called attention to the violence of a white supremacist society. "When someone asks me about violence, I just find it incredible, because what it means is that the person who is asking that question has absolutely no idea what Black people have gone through, what Black people have experienced in this country since the time the first Black person was kidnapped from the shores of Africa."

This was not the first time Davis had experienced such violence. When Davis was in college, her close friend had been murdered by the Ku Klux Klan in the 1963 Birmingham church bombing. She had been stripped of her assistant professor role due to her outspokenness on the corruption of the police and violence against protestors. Davis, who was put into prison by FBI agents after they suspected that she owned a gun used in an armed takeover of a courtroom, was eventually acquitted and released from prison after sixteen months. This series of events were some of the transformative experiences that led Davis to pursue prison abolition after her release.

An intersection of her abolitionist work and feminist activism, Davis eventually focused on promoting "abolitionist feminism," a movement that strives to highlight the goals of developing stronger communities and achieving, gender, race, and economic justice through the abolition of the prison industrial complex and police system.

Abolitionist feminism is rooted in intersectional feminism; just as the intersection of a person's identity cannot be independently separated into multiple parts without examination of the whole, multiple systems of oppression cannot be separated. The hierarchical structure of the value of human life is formed under sexism, as well as other forms of oppression. The driving forces of classism, ableism, homophobia, transphobia, and racism that fuel the prison industrial complex explicitly highlight fighting prison injustice as a feminist issue. Including abolitionist feminism in our overarching understanding of feminism is affirming what it means to be a feminist and activist, working to shift the very foundations of the harmful cultural norms and institutions that actively target marginalized people.

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In 2002, Davis and fellow abolitionists wrote a statement calling on social movements to address both state and interpersonal violence and apply the framework of abolitionist feminism. "We seek to build movements that not only end violence, but that create a society based on radical freedom, mutual accountability, and passionate reciprocity. In this society, safety and security will not be premised on violence or the threat of violence; it will be based on a collective commitment to guaranteeing the survival and care of all peoples."

Abolitionist feminism approaches problems from a social justice rather than a punitive justice perspective; systemically rather than individually. In the status quo, most approaches against violence focus attention and energy towards finding solutions within the criminal justice system. Abolitionist feminism believes that this system is a violent and inadequate response to crime that merely perpetuates the harm it claims to end. It considers the violence and trauma caused by the state, especially against already over-criminalized marginalized communities, and seeks alternative strategies for addressing these harms.

Prisons do not only harm those who are incarcerated Lastly, healthcare and reproductive justice are two but impact the wider community. When the community feminist issues that are inadequate and inaccessible in wholly relies on prisons as responses to social issues, we the prison system. Recent studies report substandard abandon our most vulnerable and challenged people reproductive care in prison, including delays in accessing who struggle to belong and who are excluded from gynecological care and denial of access to contraception and menstruation supplies. People are routinely shackled society. However, the prison industrial complex does not solve an essential problem: we cannot solve problems of during pregnancy and childbirth despite laws forbidding connection by isolating people behind walls when we the practice. Queer and transgender people are often could be building stronger, closer communities, healing denied necessary medical care. the harms caused by imprisonment, and addressing the What is significant is that women in prisons come from issues that led to it in the first place. In Davis' book, Are communities characterized by economic and political Prisons Obsolete?, she states: "[Prison] relieves us of the neglect. They are disproportionately Black women and responsibility of seriously engaging with the problems women of color arrested for non-violent offenses from of our society, especially those produced by racism and, low-income neighborhoods who have not had access to increasingly, global capitalism." Neither is prison the origin education or steady employment, where healthcare and of the neglect and harm its prisoners face. Many of them mental health facilities are inadequate, and where social experienced this abandonment throughout their lives -services (if any), provide little assistance. One woman by their families, by their schools, by the mental health spoke about the living conditions that led her to sell drugs. system, and by the state.

"If I would've had a car I could have made two years [of Further, abolitionist feminism is directly intertwined community college]. I know. But catching the bus, taking with key issues feminism aims to solve. Firstly, fighting [my son] to the daycare, catching the bus to school. From prison injustice is a matter of fighting for justice at the nursery to school then from school to work... That's when intersection of gender, race, and class. Since 1985, the I started [to sell] drugs [again], to get me a car so my baby number of incarcerated women has increased at nearly don't have to ride the bus in the rain, in the cold." Another double the rate of men. Black women -- the fastest growing incarcerated woman talked about how her oldest son, prison population -- are three times more likely than white who was two at the time, was sick and needed emergency women to be incarcerated, and Latina women are 70% healthcare, but she didn't have medical insurance or qualify more likely. One in five transgender women, and 47% of for Medicaid. Black transgender people, have been incarcerated at some Prison abolitionist Ruth Wilson Gilmore writes that point in their lives. Poor women are overly criminalized the key tenet of prison abolition is about "abolishing the for poverty-related issues and for many survival tactics conditions under which prison became the solution to that low-income people rely on to survive.

Next, while the common response to intimate partner violence is police intervention and incarceration, these "solutions" are simply not solutions for many survivors. Because people living at the intersections of oppression are disproportionately targeted by the prison industrial complex, they face the greatest risk while seeking state intervention. Many Black women and members of the LGBTQ community are harassed and arrested by the police of incarcerated women were domestic abuse survivors.

Angela Davis and other abolitionist feminists teach and for self-defense. In a 1999 New York State study, 75% us to radically center our communities in the fight for social justice by creating spaces to collectively Additionally, contrary to popular belief, reporting heal, redefining how we think about harm and the sexual violence is not one of the best ways to prevent environments in which we address it, and supporting rape; obstacles including hostility from law enforcement, people recovering from the physical, mental, and lack of support, and victim-blaming often trivialize the emotional violence inflicted by existing carceral abuse, cause further trauma, and even lead to victims institutions. By learning from and building upon being imprisoned. Sexual assault becomes an even more her lifelong work of fighting for the liberation of all acute problem within the prison industrial complex. One marginalized people, we are able to move towards in ten incarcerated people are victims of sexual assaultcreating a more humane and compassionate system of frequently by prison staff and police—and queer and trans people are even more likely to experience sexual assault in support and justice in the United States. custody.

problems." Rather than blame the wrongdoing on the individual, abolitionist feminism argues that social causes of crime require social solutions, beginning with an improvement of conditions of life for all: making housing, education, and healthcare more affordable and accessible, and investing in community self-governance.

# FEMINIST ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE Alexis Fry

## Artificial Intelligence: The Past and Present

In the first half of the 20th century, the world became familiar with the idea that would eventually evolve into artificial intelligence (AI) through the "heartless" Tinman from the Wizard of Oz to a humanoid robot that impersonated Maria in Metropolis. By the 1950s arose a generation of scientists, mathematicians, and philosophers that began to realize the viability and application of AI in the real world. One of the most prominent of that group was a young British polymath named Alan Turing. His question "Can machines think?," conceptualized in his 1950 paper Computing Machinery and Intelligence, laid the groundwork for the field of AI. Five years later, the idea of AI was initialized through Allen Newell, Cliff Shaw, and Herbert Simon's presentation of Logic Theorist, a program designed to mimic the problem-solving skills of a human, at a conference called Dartmouth Summer Research Project on Artificial Intelligence. While the conference failed to agree on standard methods of the field, top researchers from various STEM fields in attendance did manage to coin the term "artificial intelligence" and agree that AI was achievable.

Now, artificial intelligence is defined as a branch of computer science that endeavors to create machines that can replicate or simulate human intelligence.

## Artificial Intelligence: The Problem

The most pressing problem with artificial intelligence in our present is its continued negative impact in being discriminatory on the basis of race and gender, most prominently, but also ethnicity and sexuality. While the giants of AI - such as Google, Facebook, and IBM try to simultaneously balance commercial interest with ethics, efforts to balance the two have undoubtedly failed institutionally and in practice. We need a new field of AI solely constructed to not just combat discriminatory systems but that will reimagine the application of AI. Artificial intelligence isn't just a product to consumer software; it has a further potential to be used as a tool to fight for racial and gender equity.

## Feminist AI: Theory

As technology begins to embed itself further into humanity, gender relations can be thought of as materialized in technology, and masculinity and femininity, in turn, acquire their meaning and character through the

enrollment and embeddedness in working machines. The repetitiveness of current AI systems mirrors Butler's work on gender performativity, which theorizes how gender is constituted in a temporal repetition; it is an action that requires a repeated performance, and "this repetition is at once a re-enactment and re-experiencing of meanings already socially established." Alan Turing's 1950 paper, Computing Machinery and Intelligence mentioned above as the founding intellectual work for AI, argues that a computer works according to the principles of imitation but is also able to learn new things. Similarly, gender is also learned, imitative behavior that can be processed so well that it comes to look natural. With these parallels in place, certain AI technologies act to control identity, more specifically gender within a binary framework.



"If we could produce robots that did not perpetuate feminine and masculine "characteristics," this technology could validate the experience and existence of non-binary individuals as we look towards the future, otherwise, this lack of representation is exclusionary."

## Feminist AI: Practice

Currently, there are three notable AI systems, or aspects of systems, that this new field could address.

## Facial Recognition Technology

Automated facial recognition is prob/ably the most pressing of the three as it purports to identify someone's gender by analyzing photographs of them. This technology runs off of a gender and race recognition algorithm. Through its reliance on fixed notions of gender and race as common systems, this technology is inevitably discriminatory. Further, computer scientists Timnit Gebru and Joy Buolamwini demonstrate embedded discrimination within these systems with Gender Shades. They find that darker-skinned females were the most misclassified group with an error rate of up to 34.7%. In contrast, lighter-skinned males had a maximum error rate of 0.8%. Additionally, most facial recognition software explicitly dismisses the existence of non-binary genders by only classifying people as either "man" or "woman." While this technology relies on racial and gender stereotypes to function, it is the future. First, we need to make automated facial recognition tech accurate for all human beings, and second, we could use create new facial recognition technology to equalize non-binary representation by widening the spectrum of recognizable genders. This would not only impact those who identify as non-binary but would also push the destruction of the harmful gender binary into our future.

## Humanoid Robotics

The body is a site that can be inscribed with physiological gender norms and stereotypes. Butler's work advocates that on the surface of the body, "acts and gestures, articulated and enacted desires create the illusion of an interior and organizing gender core." In other words, the body is normalized to be consistent with the meaning of what it is to be "male" or "female." Humanoid robots abide by these structures as they tend to produce and reinforce gendered bodies and behaviors. Further, voices, appearances, and mannerisms, movements, and demeanors that robots employ imitate gender stereotypes present in society. Consider Sophia, the humanoid robot developed by Hanson Robotics, also holds an incredibly lifelike resemblance to a stereotypical woman. Gendered bodies in robotics, particularly those of women, maintain and reproduce stereotypical appearances. However, I believe that humanoid robots have the potential to change the way in which humans think about and perceive gender. What if we purposely created a humanoid robot that didn't follow binary gender expectations? If we could produce robots that did not perpetuate feminine and masculine "characteristics," this technology could validate the experience and existence of non-binary individuals as we look towards the future, otherwise, this lack of representation is exclusionary.

Virtual Personal Assistants (VPAs)

Virtual personal assistants actively facilitate gender stereotypes through the power of language and naming. VPAs reproduce the concept of the female figure as the faithful aid. Without the ability to attain self-determined subjectivity on its own, the VPA is in existence to only support and assist. The feminine voice of the VPA is associated with servitude and power disparity, and this gendering becomes an inadvertent enforcer of power disparities between the genders. In other words, the feminine voice of VPAs, such as Alexa or Siri, promotes "digital domesticity." Rather than just viewing this as a problem, why don't we recreate VPAs that are ungendered.



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# "The better we understand how identities and power work together from one context to another, the less likely our movements for change are to fracture." - Kimberlé Crenshaw

