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What will it take to get beyond our current conflicting standpoints about racism and sexism so that African American and white feminists can work together in effective twenty-first-century transformative coalition? My thoughts about this topic began at a regional philosophy conference involving comments about oppression, racism, and sexism from a white female philosopher. What she meant by oppression is very like the definition given by Arthur Brittan and Mary Maynard in *Sexism, Racism and Oppression.*[1] The oppressed are "those who are . . . coerced by others. Their freedom of action is limited by the superior power of those who are in a position to ensure their compliance."[2] What she meant by racism and sexism is very like the definitions given by Audre Lorde in *Sister Outsider.* Racism is defined as "the belief in the inherent superiority of one race over all others and thereby the right to dominance" and sexism is defined as "the belief in the inherent superiority of one sex over the other and thereby the right to dominance."[3] The white feminist philosopher at the conference rejected the claim that African American women are more oppressed than white women and that racial oppression is greater than sexual oppression. Another white female philosopher, however, expressed the opposite position. Both of them, as well as others, were quite vocal in pointing out personal experiences and in giving arguments in support of one or the other of these two frequently asserted

positions. I thought to myself that we could continue this mode of discussion at length and still not resolve the issue. As an African American female philosopher, I too could share virulent and subtle experiences of racism and sexism and formulate other arguments in support of each position. However, I thought, surely all of us are aware that our individual experiences do not adequately support or undermine cultural analyses.

The problem African American and white feminists need to address involves much more than reciting our various personal experiences and arguments about racism and sexism in support of one or the other of these two positions. Why are we still struggling with each other over partial perspectives? This is déjà vu. The twenty-first century is upon us. Will the blinders about racism and sexism never come off for some African American and white women? How can we get beyond these two opposing and inadequate positions? Is greater political solidarity between African American and white women possible in our struggles against racism and sexism? It is my position that our minimal progress is related, in part, to many African American and white women's differing "standpoints" about racism and sexism. Of greater significance is many African American and white women's denial of each other's standpoints. For many African American women, most white women deny racism as well as important differences between African American and white women that are manifested by racism and sexism. For many white women, most African American women deny the significance of sexism as compared to racism. Examples of each of these standpoints are well documented. In this essay I address several typical examples of African American and white women's standpoints about racism and sexism. Then I consider how we can resolve this impasse by confronting our differing standpoints and widening our perspective on oppression.

African American Women's Standpoints on Racism

When considering African American women's standpoints on racism, we find overwhelming past and present evidence of white women's denial and betrayal at various levels, beginning with the historical struggles of liberation by African Americans and white women. During the 1800s, many white women supported the liberation struggles of African Americans. There was an alliance between the liberation struggles of African Americans and white women

suffragists. However, even amid this alliance there were realities of racism among white women. One notable example was the shunning of Sojourner Truth at the National Women's Right Convention in 1851. Several of the white women suffragists were fearful of being embarrassed by Sojourner Truth's "speech" and leery of a speech from an African American woman. But it was Sojourner Truth's remarkable speech, "Ain't I a Woman?," and the vigor with which she delivered it that made the convention the historical event that it is today. She challenged white men when she, in effect, said, "You say Jesus was a man, but wasn't he born of a man and a woman?" She challenged both white women and men when she asked, "Ain't I a woman?" And, of course, she defined the vision for feminists when she exclaimed, "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! And now they are asking to do it, the men better let them."[4]

With the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution in 1870 granting African American men the right to vote, white women abandoned their alliances with African Americans and formed the National American Women's Suffrage Association (NAWSA) in 1890. Examples of racism by white women became more blatant. The association viewed passage of the Fifteenth Amendment as an insult to white women and openly condoned racism. Their position was stated by Belle Kearney in 1903: "Just as surely as the North will be forced to turn to the South for the nation's salvation, just so surely will the South be compelled to look to its Anglo-saxon women as the medium through which to retain the supremacy of the white race over the African."[5] This was a statement from white women that they valued their whiteness above their sex. After all, as has often been pointed out, sexual exploitation notwithstanding; both the white woman and the white man had the power to discriminate against African Americans.[6] Also implicit in Kearney's remarks was white women's view of African American women as African Americans rather than women—not as a group separate and distinct from African American men and belonging to a larger group of "women" in this society.[7] Moreover, the fact that passage of the Fifteenth Amendment did not empower African American men with the same voting power as white men was not of importance to these white women, nor was the Fifteenth Amendment seen as important as the Nineteenth Amendment for woman suffrage.[8]

Another late 1800s example of racism on the part of white women was the General Federation of Women's Clubs' racial and class shunning of African American women, which necessitated the formation in 1895 of a parallel but separate African American women's club: National Association of Colored Women (NACW). At the organizational meeting for the NACW, African American women adopted specific philosophies that distinguished their association from its white counterpart:

> Our woman's movement is woman's movement in that it is led and directed by women for the good of women and men, for the benefit of *all* humanity, which is more than any one branch or section of it. We want, we ask the active interest of our men, and, too, we are not drawing the color line; we are women, American women, as intensely interested in all that pertains to us such as all other American women; we are not alienating or withdrawing, we are only coming to the front, willing to join any others in the same work and cordially inviting and welcoming any others to join us.[9]

The motto of the National Association of Colored Women was "Lifting As We Climb."

These examples of racism by white women are typical of the 1800s through the early 1900s. In discussing the history of racism within the women's movement and the formation of a separate African American women's organization, Rosalyn Terborg-Penn points out that "discrimination against Afro-American women reformers was the rule rather than the exception within the women's rights movement from the 1830s to 1920."[10] The same observation is made by Angela Davis. In pointing out three distinct waves of the women's movement—the 1840s, the 1960s and the 1980s—she notes that we still have the same concerns as we begin the 1990s: "Black women are still compelled to expose the invisibility to which we have been relegated, in both theory and practice, within larger sectors of the established women's movement."[11] In an article addressing women's liberation and black civil rights, Catherine Stimpson writes:

> I believe that women's liberation would be much stronger, much more *honest* and ultimately more secure if it stopped comparing white women to Blacks so freely. . . . It perpetuates the depressing habit white people have of first defining the Black experience and then making it their own. . . . Perhaps more dangerous, the analogy evades, in the rhetorical haze, the harsh fact of white women's racism.[12]

Much of the recent feminist literature by African American women offers examples of racism in the women's movement. Among the many articles are: bell hooks's "Racism and Feminism: The Issue of Accountability," Pauline Terrelong Stone's "Feminist Consciousness and Black Women," and Elizabeth F. Stone's "Black Women, White Women: Separate Paths to Liberation." We find other examples in books by African American women, such as *Black Women, Feminism and Black Liberation: Which Way?*, by Vivian V. Gordon; *Woman Power*, by Cellestine Ware; and *Women, Race & Class*, by Angela Davis.

In addition to the examples of racism found in the women's movement, similar instances occur in other situations. One example involves school desegregation, wherein too frequently white mothers who support equality among the sexes reject desegregation as tantamount to destroying their "ethnic purity." Another instance of this self-interest, discussed by Audre Lorde, involves white mothers' parenting practices. They teach their children to marry "right"—that is, white—and to hate the right people—that is, nonwhites.[13] Similarly, we find, too often, white women challenging various affirmative action decisions by charging "reverse discrimination." They maintain that their entrance, for example, to law or medical school, has been denied because of focus on ethnic minorities. In such cases, white women make their whiteness primary. In discussing white women's racism in "Feminist Consciousness and Black Women," Pauline Terrelong Stone writes:

> Racism is so ingrained in American culture, and so entrenched among white women, that Black [women] have been reluctant to admit that anything affecting the white [woman] could also affect them. Indeed, many Black women have tended to see all whites regardless of sex, as sharing the same objective interest and clearly the behavior of many white women vis-à-vis Blacks has helped to validate this reaction.[14]

Other notable situations that reveal racism on the part of white women include white feminist literature. In "Racism and Feminism: A Schism in the Sisterhood," Margaret A. Simons examines several major feminist works by white women and concludes: "In reviewing the work of [white] feminist theorists, one is struck by the relative lack of attention given to racism and the oppression of minority women. . . . Minority women remain invisible in most contemporary feminist theory, including most articles in feminist

philosophy."[15] Among the white feminists' works examined by Simons are *The Second Sex*, by Simone de Beauvior; *Sex Equality*, edited by Jane English; *Feminism and Philosophy*, edited by Mary Vetterling-Braggin et al.; *Philosophy of Women*, edited by Mary Mahowald; *Feminist Frameworks*, edited by Alison M. Jaggar and Paula Rothenbery Struhl; *Notes from the Second Year*, edited by Shulamith Firestone; and *Notes from the Third Year*, edited by Anne Koedt. Among the points that Simons makes in her examination of these works are the following: that the ethnocentrism of de Beauvoir's perspective reflects insensitivity toward the experiences of women in other cultures, that the experiences of minority women are not defined as major theoretical questions, and that discussions of minority women, where they occur at all, are related only to concrete problems.[16] Simons qualifies her conclusion, noting that minority women are not always invisible in works by white feminists. She calls our attention to *Woman in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness*, edited by Vivian Gormick and Barbara K. Moran, and *Voices from Women's Liberation*, edited by Leslie Tanner, two anthologies in women's studies which include articles by and about women of color. However, Simons notes further, "[B]ut the insights offered by these authors seldom seem to be accepted by other feminists. And the sense of cultural isolation continues. A profoundly disturbing example of this phenomenon can be seen in the very influential 1970 feminist anthology, *Sisterhood is Powerful*."[17] Accordingly, we continue at a tortoise's pace toward minimizing our concerns about racism.

A further issue of concern related to white feminist literature is the funding of research. It is not unusual for white women to receive grant monies to do research on African American women. However, the same is not true for African American women. Indeed, bell hooks states that she "can find no instance where Black women have received funds to research white women's history. . . ." Moreover, while she acknowledges that some work about African American women by white women is significant, she questions whether, given the pressure to publish in academe, their scholarly motivation always involves sincere interest or rather the taking advantage of an available market.[18]

A related issue of concern involves women's studies programs, which represent, in part, an extension of the women's movement and involve substantial research about women. Although there is an awareness of the need to address racism and other "isms," the

leadership of women's studies continues to be mostly white women. In this respect, women's studies remains white women's studies.[19] Similarly, considering the curriculum and who takes the classes, the center remains white women, while the margins remain African American women. The course topics and specific focuses reflect the standpoints of white, middle-class, heterosexual, Christian women. Responses to theoretical or practical questions about the exclusion of African American women's standpoints are usually the same despite the diversity of the questions. Likewise, the major course texts are frequently about white women and written by white women. Moreover, instances of limited course offerings reflecting the standpoints of African American women are often challenged by the white women enrolled in them. It is not unusual for them to claim knowledge of African American women's standpoints without collaborative dialogue with African American women, including professors. Similarly, texts on African American women are frequently criticized as unclear or as maintaining questionable theses. This concern about exclusion in women's studies programs is clearly outlined in "The Costs of Exclusionary Practices in Women's Studies" by Maxine Baca Zinn, Lynn Weber Cannon, Elizabeth Higginbotham, and Bonnie Thornton Dill. They discuss two examples of the incomplete, incorrect, and self-perpetuating applications of feminist theory resulting from the exclusion of women of color from feminist theory. One involves the idea that emphasis on the shared experiences of women has obscured the important differences among us. The other involves the claim that "failure to explore fully the interplay of race, class, and gender has cost the field the ability to provide a broad and truly complex analysis of women's lives and of social organization."[20]

In examining language for instances of racism on the part of white women, we must focus not on blatant remarks that most of us would consider racial, but rather on the presumption of "whiteness." Seldom do white women refer to themselves in racial terms. When "women" is used, it usually means white women. The same is the case for "feminist." We normally presume that it means white feminist. Bell hooks argues that "such a custom, whether practiced consciously or unconsciously, perpetuates racism in that it denies the existence of non-white women in America."[21] A similar example of this custom is white women's references to themselves and others. For instance, white women speak and write of "women and minorities," "white and African American women." It is the idea

that whiteness is first, whether implicit, as in "women and minorities," or explicit, as in "white and African American women." Some may respond, in all honesty, that this habit is not *intended* to perpetuate racism. However, if we acknowledge the possibility that this habit does perpetuate racism, even if it is not intended, then why the problem with giving up the habit? In some cases, we use alphabetical orderings of persons' names to avoid sexism or to avoid suggestions of ranking. The same is true for our discussion of corporations, various awards, and the like. Why not "African American and white women"? The concern about language in this context is analogous to the concern about gendered language.

Differences for African American Women

When we consider African American women's standpoint about racism and sexism, we find that certain "differences" are indeed evident for African American women, differences which on one hand distinguish them from white women and on the other hand reveal similarities between them. The differences manifested by racism and sexism for African American women do not involve an "additive analysis" of racism and sexism. It is not the idea that sexism represents a further oppression for African American women. Elizabeth Spelman explains, in "Theories of Race and Gender: The Erasure of Black Women," that it is "quite misleading to say simply that black women and white women both are oppressed as women, and that a black woman's oppression as a black is thus inseparable from her oppression as a woman because she shares the latter but not the former, with the white woman."[22] It is a *different* oppression rather than a *further* oppression that the black woman experiences.

More is involved in combining racism with sexism than simply the sum in an additive analysis. Indeed, many critical factors are overlooked in such an analysis. Realities of racism and sexism make it apparent that the differences for African American women are "not merely arithmetic," as Barbara Smith indicates.[23] Germane to these differences for the African American woman is the phenomenon of a "both/or" orientation. Deborah K. King describes this as the "act of being simultaneously a member of a group and yet standing apart from it—a state of belonging and not belonging."[24] This situation of contradictions and "otherness" for the African American woman is described by Bonnie Thornton Dill as the "dialectics of

Black womanhood."[25] Frances Beale refers to it as "double jeopardy,"[26] and Alice Walker calls it "the condition of twin 'affliction.'"[27] As Patricia Hill Collins states: "On certain dimensions Black women may more closely resemble Black men, on others, white women and still others, Black women may stand apart from both groups."[28]

Realities of racism and sexism which reflect differences for the black woman are evident in the African American movement, the women's movement, and daily life in general. In discussing the black movement and the women's movement, Shirley Chisholm points out that black women find themselves at the tail end. Neither the black movement nor the women's movement in this country has addressed the political problems of blacks who are female.[29] Similarly, bell hooks states that "When Black people are talked about, sexism militates against the acknowledgment of the interest of Black women; when women are talked about racism militates against a recognition of Black [women's] interest."[30] It is necessary for African American women to have alliances with both movements if we are concerned about racial equality and women's rights, for neither movement adequately considers both cases of oppression.

This reality of the necessity for African American women's alliances with both the black movement and the women's movement is a rejection of the position that African American women can divorce race from sex, or sex from race. It is also a reality that reveals dimensions of the African American woman's existence that resemble those of the African American man. Among these dimensions is racism, which African American women and men have shared and still share, although sometimes in different ways. Elizabeth F. Hood explains that "Racism . . . affects the psychological structures of Black people without separating them from each other."[31] This dimension of racism shared by African American women and men demands that the African American woman consistently evaluate it in relation to other legitimate conflicts within the African American community. Sexism sometimes represents one such legitimate conflict. "It is easy," Audre Lorde notes, "for Black women to be used by the power structure against Black men, not because they are men, but because they are Black."[32]

African American Women's Standpoints on Sexism

When we consider white women's claims that African American women fail to acknowledge the importance of sexism, we do find

considerable confirmation of this. This widespread denial of sexism by African American women is based on the ideas that sexism is secondary to racism, that sexism cannot be destroyed until racism is destroyed, and that the impact of racism for African American women is far greater than that of sexism. Realities of sexism that support this denial are evident as early as the historical liberation struggles of African Americans in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. African American women readily declared that racism was far more oppressive than sexism. The view was expressed in several ways:

> The idea [was] that Blackness was by far more difficult and energy-draining than femaleness. . . . [B]oth racism and sexism exploit Black women. . . . Racism, however, destroys Black women, Black men and their offsprings. . . . Sexism enslaves, racism destroys. . . . [Racism] destroys [Black] culture and prevents [Blacks] from maintaining economically and socially stable communities.[33]

The same ideas about sexism and racism continued for the African American woman during the civil rights movement of the 1960s. In the aftermath of the movement, many African American women began to reassess the claim that racism is more oppressive than sexism. Questions were asked of African American males. Where was the African American male support for Shirley Chisholm during her campaign for the U. S. presidency? Where was the African American male support for the recognition and honoring of Barbara Jordan, Eleanor Holmes Norton, Alice Walker, Nannie Burroughs? Why was the African American male advocating revolution by day and sleeping with white women at night? Why was the African American male blaming the African American woman for all the problems in the African American community? Why was the African American male ignoring the atrocities suffered by African American women and their contributions to the history they shared? Why was the African American woman two steps behind the African American male, rather than in step with him?[34]

The heightening of African American women's consciousness in the late 1960s and early 1970s has not been substantially sustained. We have examples today that reflect the African American woman's denial of sexism. One such example was discussed by bell hooks during a talk for African American university women in the late 1980s. She related how astonished she was when these women suggested that sexism was not a political issue of concern to Afri-

can American women, that the serious issue was racism.[35] Similarly, we find some African American women who will argue that the brutal sexist domination of the African American woman by the African American man as portrayed in *The Color Purple* by Alice Walker[36] has no basis in reality. While *The Color Purple* is a work of fiction, Nellie McKay[37] and others remind us that literary works by African American women often reflect their lived experience. Moreover, there are autobiographical works that address sexism in the lives of African American women. One historical example is Harriet Wilson's *Our Nig, or Sketches from the Life of a Free Black in a Two Story White House, North Showing that Slavery Shadows Fall Even There*.[38] Shall African American women insist on denying other widespread sexism during the institution of slavery?[39] Only recently, since the Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas hearings, have African American women begun to acknowledge sexism more.[40]

In addition to pointing to African American women's denial of the significance of sexism, some white women make a further claim about sexism that many African American women rightly deny, namely, that sexism is more fundamental than racism. The soundness of this claim, however, has been extensively questioned by Elizabeth V. Spelman. She begins by pointing out the "habit of speaking comparatively about sexism and racism, sexism or racism," which is related to the fact that feminism followed antiracist activities. Such comparisons, Spelman explains, "often culminate in questions about which form of oppression is more fundamental." She continues her analysis of this claim by outlining what it means and examining arguments in support of it. She states that "several different though related things" are meant when saying "sexism is more fundamental than racism," namely:

> It is harder to eradicate sexism than to eradicate racism.
>
> There might be sexism without racism but not racism without sexism. Any social and political changes which eradicate sexism will have eradicated racism, but social and political changes which eradicate racism will not have eradicated sexism.
>
> Sexism is the first form of oppression learned by children.
>
> Sexism is historically prior to racism.
>
> Sexism is the cause of racism.
>
> Sexism is used to justify racism.
>
> Sexism is the model for racism.[41]

The arguments examined by Spelman are those expressed by Richard Wasserstrom, Laurence Thomas, Mary Daly, Kate Millet, Shulamith Firestone, and other leading proponents of the position that sexism is more fundamental than racism. In discussing Wasserstrom's arguments, Spelman points out that "his description of women does not apply to the Black woman, which implies that being Black is a more fundamental fact about her than being a woman." Regarding Thomas's arguments, Spelman says, "Thomas' description of sexism in relations between women and men leaves out the reality of racism in relations between blacks and whites." In the case of Daly's position, Spelman asserts that her "theory relies on an additive analysis [which] fails to describe adequately Black women's experience."[42] Regarding the position of Millet and Firestone, Spelman states that their analysis of "power" in support of their claim ignores the fact that institutionally based power in our society belongs to white males, not black males.[43] Spelman and other white feminist theorists have criticized as a dangerous mistake the claim that sexism is more fundamental than racism. Regarding the tendency to make this claim, Margaret S. Simons notes that, "Analyses by white feminists often de-emphasize the differences in women's situations in an effort to point out the shared experiences of sexism. [Too] often [white] feminist theorists [draw] analogies between the situations of oppressed minorities and white women without sufficient attention to the dissimilarities. . . ."[44] This tendency is related to what Adrienne Rich has termed "white solipsism":

> [T]o think, imagine and speak as if whiteness described the world . . . not the consciously held belief that one race is inherently superior to all others, but a tunnel-vision which simply does not see nonwhite experience or existences as precious or significant, unless in spasmodic, impotent guilt-reflexes, which have little or no long-term continuing momentum or political usefulness.[45]

For white feminists to ignore or distort ways in which African American women's experiences of oppression are different from those of white women is a form of solipsism, according to Spelman. It is a reality that within our society we ascribe differences between African American women and white women on the basis of culture. Likewise, it is a reality that these differences greatly influence the "kinds of life we lead or we have."[46] As Elizabeth F. Hood notes, "[T]here are substantive differences between the treatment accorded Black and white women, regardless of the individual white woman's

feelings about her personal life style. [T]hey are more acceptable to society at large, and therefore, are in positions to influence, if only indirectly, the decisions of those in power."[47]

Confronting Our Realities

African American and white women's denial of each other's standpoints about racism and sexism suppresses our struggles against the intertwined oppressions of racism and sexism. We cannot begin to conceptualize the appropriate transformative responses to racism and sexism if we refuse to confront these realities. When we choose not to confront both racism and sexism, we reveal our unwillingness to work realistically to change these realities. It is a limited scope of vision and a lack of understanding that impede our liberation from racism and sexism. We are reminded by Audre Lorde that "it is not [the] differences between us that are separating us. It is rather our refusal to recognize those differences."[48] If African American and white women are to overcome racism and sexism, we must first of all confront these realities. This involves an ongoing conscious commitment on our part to make this choice.

It is not enough for us to know of racism and sexism, however; we must go beyond knowing to confronting these realities. This means bridging the gap between knowing and acting upon our knowledge. It requires engaging in actions that reflect our honesty about these realities. Our choice to confront both realities—racism and sexism—involves a matter of what Patricia Hill Collins calls an ethics of personal accountability: "[P]eople are expected to be accountable for their knowledge claims. . . . [It is] essential for individuals to have personal positions on issues and assume full responsibility for arguing their validity. . . . [It involves] utilizing emotion, ethics, and reason as interconnected, essential components in assessing knowledge claims."[49] This same position is taken by Margaret A. Simons. She reminds us: "[E]fforts on a theoretical level are not sufficient. We must extend our efforts to a personal and practical level as well. . . . As feminists, we must . . . confront racism. . . , as well as sexism, on both a personal and theoretical level. . . ."[50]

When we are able to confront both racism and sexism, we will begin to understand that oppression is far greater and more com-

our struggles against all systems of oppression. Differences are simply differences, no more or less. As Catharine A. MacKinnon states, differences cut both ways: just as you are different from me, I am different from you.[54] Johnnetta B. Cole's vision of a time "when differences will no longer make a difference"[55] can become a possibility. We can become empowered significantly to impact oppression through our knowledge, consciousness, and politics, if confronting reality is a criterion of our perspective.[56] Herein lie the twenty-first-century challenges for feminists, African American and white together.

Notes

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1. Arthur Brittan and Mary Maynard, *Sexism, Racism and Oppression* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1984).
2. Ibid., 1.
3. Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider* (New York: The Crossing Press, 1984), 115.
4. Sojourner Truth, "And Ain't I a Woman?," Women's Rights/Suffrage Convention, Akron, Ohio, May 29, 1851. Reprinted in *Women's America: Refocusing the Past*, 3rd ed., ed. Linda K. Kerber and Jane Sherron De Hart (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
5. Belle Kearney, quoted by Aileen Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement 1890–1920*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), 202.
6. Elizabeth Hood, "Black Women, White Women: Separate Paths to Liberation," *Black Scholar* (April 1978): 45–56.
7. For other examples of African American women not being recognized *as women*, see Angela Davis's *Women, Race & Class* (New York: Vintage Press, 1981) and bell hooks's *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* (Boston: South End Press, 1981).
8. For a substantial discussion of numerous restrictions attached to the Fifteenth Amendment, white women's racial attack on it, white men's call for a repeal of it, and the significance of it to the Nineteenth Amendment for woman suffrage, see chapters 2, 3, and 4 of Bettina Aptheker's *Woman's Legacy: Essays on Race, Sex, and Class in American History* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982) and Eric Foner's *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988).

9. Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin, "The Beginnings of the National Club Movement," in *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History*, ed. Gerda Lerner (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), 443.

10. Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, "Discrimination Against Afro-American Women in the Women's Movement, 1830–1920," in *The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images*, ed. Rosalyn Terborg-Penn and Sharon Harley (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1987), 17.

11. Angela Y. Davis, *Women, Culture and Politics* (New York: Random House, 1989), 21.

12. Catherine Stimpson, "Thy Neighbor's Wife, Thy Neighbor's Servants: Women's Liberation and Black Civil Rights," in *Women in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness*, ed. Vivian Gormick and Barbara K. Moran (New York: New American Library, 1971), 650.

13. Lorde, *Sister Outsider*, 119.

14. Pauline Terrelong Stone, "Feminist Consciousness and Black Women," in *Women: A Feminist Perspective*, ed. Jo Freeman (Mountain View, Calif.: Mayfield, 1979), 583.

15. Margaret A. Simons, "Racism and Feminism: A Schism in the Sisterhood," *Feminist Studies* 5, no. 2 (1979): 384–401.

16. Ibid., 387–89. This is an excellent analysis in support of her thesis.

17. Ibid., 390.

18. hooks, *Ain't I a Woman*, 10.

19. Maxine Baca Zinn, Lynn Weber Cannon, Elizabeth Higginbotham, and Bonnie Thornton Dill, "The Costs of Exclusionary Practices in Women's Studies," *Signs* 11, no. 2 (1986): 290–303.

20. Ibid.

21. hooks, *Ain't I a Woman*, 8.

22. Elizabeth V. Spelman, "Theories of Race and Gender: The Erasure of Black Women," *Quest* 5, no. 4 (1982): 36–62. For additional discussion of the "additive analysis," see Angela Davis's "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves," *The Black Scholar* 3, no. 4 (December 1971): 2–15.

23. Barbara Smith, "Notes for Yet Another Paper on Black Feminism or Will the Real Enemy Please Stand Up," *Conditions* 5 (1979): 123–27.

24. Deborah K. King, "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology," *Signs* 14, no. 1 (1988): 42–72.

25. Bonnie Thornton Dill, The Dialectics of Black Womanhood," *Signs* 4, no. 3 (1979): 543–55.

26. Frances Beale, "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female," in *The Black Woman: An Anthology*, ed. Toni Cade (New York: New American Library, 1970).

27. Alice Walker, "One Child of One's Own: Meaningful Digression Within the Work(s)—An Excerpt," in *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave*, ed. Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith (New York: Feminist Press, 1982), 40.

28. Patricia Hill Collins, "The Social Construction of Black Feminist Thought," *Signs* 14, no. 4 (1989): 745–73.

29. Shirley Chisholm, *Unbought and Unbossed* (New York: Avon, 1970).
30. hooks, *Ain't I a Woman*, 7.
31. Hood, "Black Women, White Women," 48–49.
32. Lorde, *Sister Outsider*, 118.
33. Hood, "Black Women, White Women," 48–55.
34. Included among the books that address these questions and similar ones are the following: Bettina Aptheker, *Woman's Legacy: Essays on Race, Sex, and Class* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982), Chapter 7; Toni Cade, *The Black Woman: An Anthology* (New York: New American Library, 1970); Septima Poinsetta Clark, *Ready from Within* (New Jersey: Africa World, 1990); Shirley Chisholm, *Unbought and Unbossed* (New York: Avon, 1990); Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work, and the Family from Slavery to Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1985); Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1965); LaFrances Rodgers-Rose, *The Black Woman* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1980); and Michele Wallace, *Black Macho and the Myth of the Myth of the Superwoman* (New York: Dial, 1979).
35. bell hooks, *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black* (Boston: South End Press, 1989), 37–38.
36. Alice Walker, *The Color Purple* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1982).
37. Nellie McKay, "Reflections on Black Women Writers: Revising the Literary Canon," in *Feminism: Anthology of Literary Criticism*, ed. Robyn Warhol and Diane Price Herndl (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1991).
38. Harriet Wilson, *Our Nig, or Sketches From the Life of a Free Black in a Two Story White House, North Showing that Slavery Shadows Fall Even There* (Boston: George C. Rand and Avery, 1859; 2nd edition, New York: Vintage, 1983).
39. For other discussions of sexism and the institution of slavery, see Charles Ball, *Slavery in the United States: A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles Ball, a Black Man* (Lewiston, Pa.: John W. Shugert, 1836); E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939); bell hooks, *Ain't I A Woman: Black Women and Feminism*; and La Frances Rodgers-Rose, *The Black Woman*.
40. See Toni Morrison's "Introduction: Friday on the Potomac" and Paula Giddings's "The Last Taboo" in *Race-ing Justice, En-gendering Power: Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Construction of Social Reality*, ed. Toni Morrison (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992).
41. Spelman, "Theories of Race and Gender," 37–38.
42. Ibid., 39, 41–42. For other examples of the "additive analysis," see Angela Y. Davis's "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves" and Barbara Smith's "Notes For Yet Another Paper on Black Feminism or Will the Real Enemy Please Stand Up."
43. Spelman, "Theories of Race and Gender," 48–51. For additional analysis of the positions of Mary Daly, Kate Millet, and Shulamith Firestone, see

Margaret A. Simons's "Racism and Feminism: A Schism in the Sisterhood," 391–96.

44. Simons, "Racism and Feminism," 387–92.

45. Adrienne Rich, *On Lies, Secrets and Silence* (New York: Norton, 1979), 299.

46. Spelman, "Theories of Race and Gender," 55–56.

47. Hood, "Black Women, White Women," 47.

48. Lorde, *Sister Outsider,* 115.

49. Collins, "Black Feminist Thought," 768–69.

50. Simons, "Racism and Feminism," 397–99.

51. Lorde, *Sister Outsider,* 114.

52. Elsa Barkley Brown, "African-American Women's Quilting: A Framework for Conceptualizing and Teaching African-American Women's History," *Signs* 14, no. 4 (Summer 1989): 921–29.

53. María Lugones and Elizabeth V. Spelman, "Have We Got a Theory for You! Feminist Theory, Cultural Imperialism and the Demand for 'The Woman's Voice,'" *Woman's Studies International Forum* 6 (1983): 573–81.

54. Catharine A. MacKinnon, *Feminism Unmodified: Discourses on Life and Law* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 51.

55. *All American Women: Lines That Divide, Ties That Bind*, ed. Johnnetta B. Cole (New York: Free Press, 1986).

56. For examples of collaborative coalition models that begin to address the twenty-first-century challenges for African American and white feminists, see Judith M. Green and Blanche Radford Curry, "Recognizing Each Other Amidst Diversity: Beyond Essentialism in Collaborative Multi-Cultural Feminist Theory," *Sage: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women* 1. VIII, no. 1 (Summer 1991): 39–49; and Blanche Radford Curry, Judith Mary Green, Suzan Harrison, Carolyn Johnston, and Linda Lucas, "On the Social Construction of a Women's and Gender Studies Major," in *Gender and Academe: Feminist Pedagogy and Politics*, ed. Lagretta T. Lenker and Sara N. Deats (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1994), 3–18.

Margaret A. Simons's "Racism and Feminism: A Schism in the Sisterhood," 391–96.

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