"Introduction to Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies **delivers on the promise of interdisciplinarity and intersectionality.** It consistently introduces challenging and marginalized perspectives—and it is not collecting those perspectives in 'silos.' They are integrated seamlessly throughout the text. The **coverage is truly comprehensive and packaged in a way that holds student interest. This is the best text out there for introductory women's, gender, and sexuality courses. It is the smartest and most socially relevant text available."**

—Tammy Birk, ***Otterbein University***

"This book is hands-down the best. It offers the best of both worlds in one textbook: excellent historical introductions to the readings and an impressive variety of articles by feminist and gender and sexuality scholars."

—Danielle Roth-Johnson, ***University of Nevada, Las Vegas***

"Introduction to Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies is both intersectional and interdisciplinary, which is exactly what I need. **Virtually every article incorporates an intersectional analysis, emphasizing the impossibility of separating gender from sexuality from race.** And I've seen results in my students' work—they genuinely understand the main point about the nature of oppression, which we have not seen prior to using this text. This reader is fantastic."

—Lisa King, ***Edgewood College***

NEW TO THIS EDITION

- Previously unpublished works reflect new contributions to the field
- New essays included to address environmental issues and climate change through intersectional and transnational lenses
- Critical readings selected to provide context and intersectional framing for recent historical developments
- New and updated pieces address the evolving fields of science and digital technology

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Introduction to Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies

Second Edition

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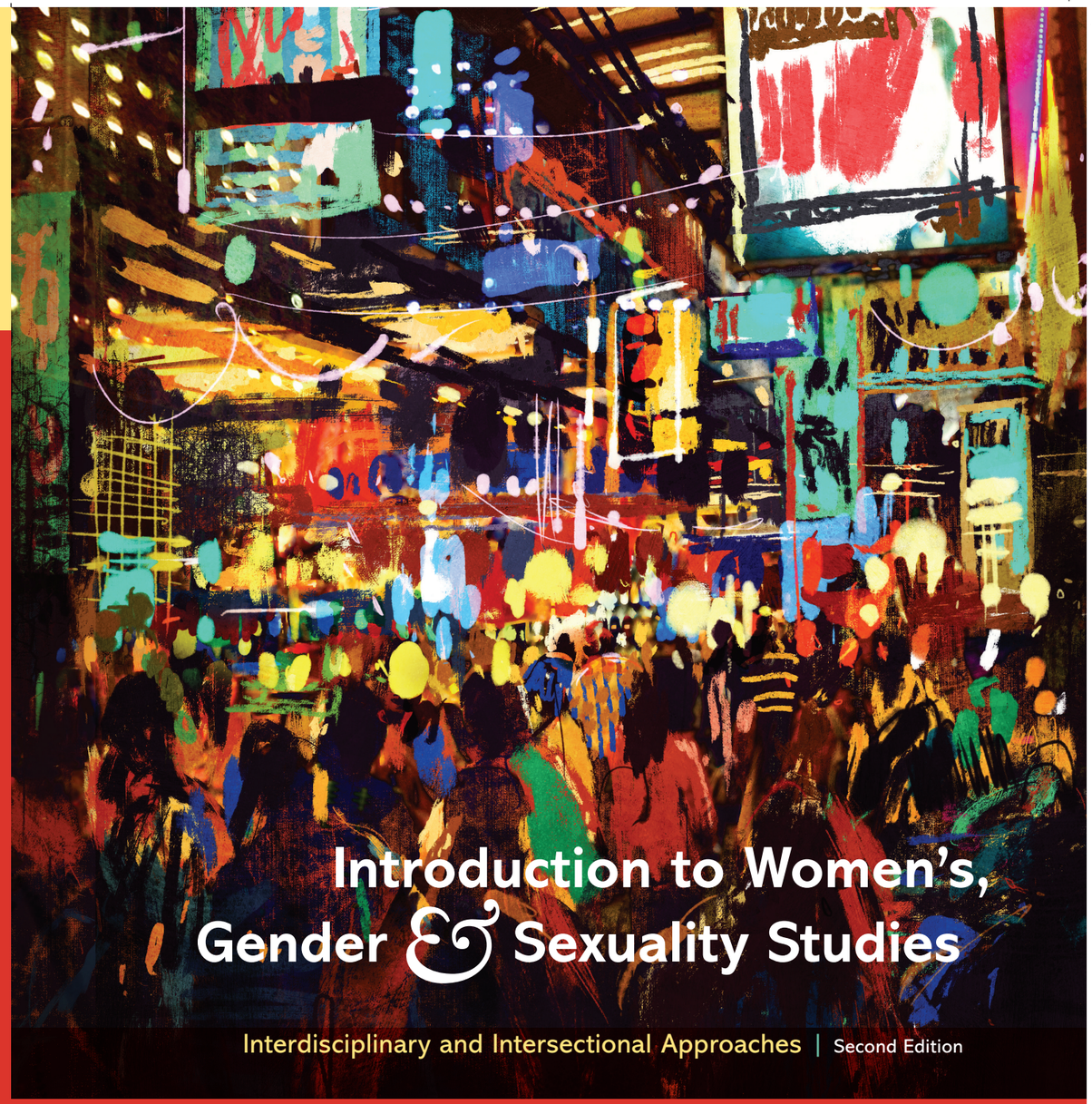

Introduction to Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies

Interdisciplinary and Intersectional Approaches | Second Edition

L. Ayu Saraswati | Barbara L. Shaw | Heather Rellihan

OXFORD
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Introduction to Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies

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Interdisciplinary and Intersectional Approaches

SECOND EDITION

Edited by
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Allegheny College

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Contents

Preface

Women's studies departments and programs are undergoing rapid transformation at all levels of higher education, transitioning from women's studies and feminist studies to women's and gender studies, and most recently to women's, gender, and sexuality studies. With this transformation came the need for a comprehensive and accessible introductory textbook that addresses the current state of the field. *Introduction to Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies: Interdisciplinary and Intersectional Approaches* was the first text to reflect these exciting changes; this second edition updates section introductions and some readings to reflect some of the most pressing contemporary issues in our rapidly changing world.

Introduction to Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies continues to be designed to appeal to a full range of programs and departments. Our core mission as teachers and scholars in creating this text is to be accessible and represent the rigor in the field. We present complex interdisciplinary feminist and queer concepts and theories that are approachable for first- and second-year students entering a women's, gender, and sexuality studies classroom, and supply pedagogical scaffolding to engage a new generation of learners. Innovative in the field, the second edition of *Introduction to Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies* continues to be a comprehensive mix of anthology and textbook that provides thorough overviews that begin each section; robust and engaging pedagogy that encourages students to think critically and self-reflexively as well as take action; and supplemental online resources for instructors (see Online Resources in this section for further information).

Introduction to Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies offers students a strong foundation that teaches them to think in and across disciplines. We include key primary historical sources that represent broad social movements that helped shape the field; an introduction to contemporary issues that elucidates the connections and tensions between individuals and social institutions; and recent work in science, technology, and digital cultures to emphasize the importance of interdisciplinary approaches to women's, gender, and sexuality studies. In the sections that follow, we integrate new work from established scholars and emerging voices alongside key foundational creative and critical

readings to introduce learners to multiple perspectives. Finally, we provide a range of genres (including poetry, short stories, interviews, op-eds, and feminist magazine articles) to complement the scholarly selections and acknowledge the roots of creative and personal expression in the field.

Introduction to Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies emphasizes interdisciplinarity and intersectionality. This edited collection represents women's, men's, intersex, nonbinary and/or genderqueer, transgender, asexual, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and pansexual identities and experiences through scholarship in traditional disciplines and those that emerge from interdisciplinary fields. We proceed from the recognition that all identities are multifaceted social categories that require deep and contextual examinations in order to understand power dynamics that create sociocultural inequalities, hierarchies, oppressions, and privileges that shape our lives. Intersectionality is critical because it recognizes that universal and stabilized understandings of "women," "gender," and "queer" marginalize or exclude the voices, experiences, interests, and struggles of those who live their lives within material contexts of race, class, nationalities, abilities, religions, and age.

For example, we include readings that allow learners to comprehend "gay men" or "Asian women" through the prism of skin color, religion, and/or body image. Other articles emphasizing the history of race, class, and ability call into question how "reproductive rights" have been exclusively positioned as empowering white, middle-class women in order to underscore how people in Indigenous, Black, gay, lesbian, and/or disabled communities struggle for the right to have children. Intersectionality requires framing any experience/issue from standpoints based on complex identity formations and within relations of power. *Introduction to Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies* takes this theoretical cornerstone as its conceptual framework and brings it to life with accessible and rigorous perspectives.

Please note that some of the readings may evoke certain (uncomfortable) feelings in the readers. Yet, as Saraswati argues in her book *Seeing Beauty Sensing Race in Transnational Indonesia*, "sensing is … an epistemic apparatus" (3). Hence, it is important to be mindful of whatever feelings that may arise because they will, if addressed critically and mindfully, provide us with a mode of knowing and understanding the issue and the world better, which is the foundation for transformation.

A NOTE ABOUT TERMINOLOGY

This reader purposefully uses a variety of racial/ethnic terminologies (e.g., Native American/American Indian/Indigenous; Black/African American; Latino/Latina/Latinx and Chicano/a; and Asian/Asian diaspora/Pacific Islander) depending on the context, and as a way to honor certain individuals' and groups' preferences. For example, whereas "African American" may be used to refer to people of African descent who are living in the United States, "Black" may be deployed as a political

and cultural term in reference to "Black Lives Matter." It is important that students are exposed to these various terms and understand the different ways in which they are used to allow them to grapple with the complexity of race and ethnicity rather than providing privileged terms that affix and stabilize their meaning in a fluid world.

ORGANIZATION

Introduction to Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies is divided into six sections. Each section begins with an introductory essay that frames the fields of study, contextualizing the selected readings and concluding with discussion questions that reinforce comprehension of key concepts while prompting critical thinking and self-reflection.

- Section One, "Mapping the Field: An Introduction to Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies," engages concepts that serve as cornerstones of the field: social constructions that move beyond the dualities of sex and gender; the complexity of patriarchy as well as the categories of "women," "gender," and "queer" through intersectional approaches; the interlocking systems of oppression and privilege; how interdisciplinary approaches are critical to addressing complex contemporary sociopolitical issues; and the centrality of praxis and self-reflexivity in writing, oral communication, and activism.
- Section Two, "Historical Perspectives in Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies," traces the development of identity politics and social movements in the field. Beginning with nineteenth and early twentieth-century organizing around abolition, suffrage, lynching, and working conditions and moving through to the present day, this section follows the evolving questions over how to define "women's issues" or "queer issues" and how intersectional identities complicate notions of what counts as women's and queer activism. This section allows students to engage with primary sources that both contextualize and complicate the critical and creative texts in other sections.
- Section Three, "Sociopolitical Issues in Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies," sets up some of the key contemporary issues in the field and challenges students to understand the power relations embedded in everyday experiences of family, work, reproduction, violence, and popular culture and media representations from multiple perspectives.
- Section Four, "Epistemologies of Bodies: Ways of Knowing and Experiencing the World," examines the production of knowledge surrounding bodies and the cultural politics and social stratifications of embodiment, representation, and identity construction. The essays in this section critically analyze how labels (such as feminine, masculine, fat, queer, trans, disabled, racialized, reproductive, and sexual) are attached to and provide meanings for how bodies *can* and *should* be experienced.
- Section Five, "Science, Technology, and the Digital World," includes essays that map out the changes afforded by sciences and technologies, and the

challenges of living as gendered, sexualized, racialized, and classed people in a digital age.
- Section Six, "Activist Frontiers: Agency and Resistance," emphasizes the roots of the field: activism. The readings in this section provide models of feminist and queer activism and avenues for understanding the interplay of agency and social change.

KEY FEATURES

Dynamic Approach *Introduction to Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies* combines the best features of both traditional textbooks and anthologies. The standard single-voice textbook approach is useful because it succinctly summarizes key events or issues, provides context, and presents information in accessible language. However, part of the ethos of women's, gender, and sexuality studies as a field is to engage multiple and contested ideas, accomplished most effectively through an anthology of diverse readings. *Introduction to Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies* provides the best of both worlds by featuring in-depth introductory narratives for each section *and* a range of readings from canonical to emerging voices.

The section introductions provide the social and historical context for the selected readings that follow. Depending on the section, this may include an overview of important developments in the field, a historiography of pivotal issues, biographical information about influential thinkers, definitions of key vocabulary terms, and other background information necessary for understanding how the readings that follow are in conversation with one another. The selected pieces include both primary and secondary sources. The primary texts encourage critical thinking skills by providing the opportunity to engage with archival materials and subjective narratives; secondary texts ask learners to interpret, evaluate, and synthesize while modeling scholarly writing. Many selections are included in their entirety; we also feature robust excerpts from longer sources. This allows for a balance between depth and breadth.

Interdisciplinary and Intersectional *Introduction to Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies* encourages interdisciplinary analysis of United States–based and transnational cultural identities through critical and creative works. Each section includes multiple perspectives and genres, encouraging students to develop broad-based and multifaceted understandings of the complex issues surrounding "women," "gender," and "sexuality." A unique section emphasizing science, technology, and digital cultures adds to our understanding of women's, gender, and sexuality studies as an interdisciplinary field.

New Works While the majority of selections included in this anthology are foundational texts—either frequently published or cited materials—*Introduction to Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies* also includes new scholarship (critical essays as well as creative work) to expand current debates with new voices.

Rather than relying only on where the field has been, *Introduction to Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies* points to future directions that actualize the emerging field of women's, gender, and sexuality studies.

PEDAGOGY

Introduction to Women's, Gender & Sexuality Studies includes pedagogical tools designed to facilitate learning and develop critical and creative thinking skills. Each section introduction includes one of each of the following boxed features:

- **Intersectional Analysis** Students will be presented with a case study that is related to the theme of each section. This case study is followed by a series of questions that specifically prompt students to critically think about the issue from an intersectional perspective. By doing this exercise, students will have an opportunity to apply the concept of intersectionality to a thoughtfully chosen topic, giving them a better understanding of both "intersectionality" as a mode of analysis and the rich content of the section's topic. These case studies will illustrate to students how intersectional analysis is about complex relations of power and why it is necessary for better understanding the world around them.
- **Engaged Learning** This pedagogical tool features an engaging activity that allows students to further explore the topic of each section. It encourages students to make connections between the concepts presented in each section and their everyday lives. This exercise guides students through a "hands-on" activity with focused questions designed to further their understanding of the materials through application, analysis, and self-reflection.
- **Activism and Civic Engagement** Students will be presented with a brief description of either an activist, activist group, or activist method followed by reflection, or a suggestion for a civic engagement activity designed to encourage students to take an active role in making changes in their communities and to illustrate the connection between the theories they learn in class and activism.
- **Transnational Connections** By analyzing a case study or doing an activity, students will learn the transnational aspect of the topic discussed in each section. These case studies and activities will emphasize the interconnectedness of our world and how decisions we make in our lives not only affect people in other parts of the world and vice versa, but also are shaped by transnational sociopolitical, economic, and affective conditions.

Additional pedagogical resources to enhance student learning and engagement include:

- **Learning Objectives** In light of the current focus on learning outcomes and assessment, each section introduction begins with specific learning objectives to guide students toward an understanding of key topics and overarching themes.

- **Marginal Glosses** This feature in the section introductions provides quick definitions for key terms and concepts as soon as students first encounter them in the text. These key terms are collected again in an alphabetized list at the end of each section introduction (to allow for quick review).
- **Headnotes** Introducing each reading selection, these narratives provide brief biographies of the authors, information about the historical context, and/or information about the original publishing context.
- **Critical Thinking Questions** Listed at the end of each section, these questions provide an opportunity to assess understanding and encourage self-reflection in developing arguments and perspectives.
- **Online Resources** In addition to the printed text, a website will be maintained that provides supplementary learning materials. Links will be provided for further readings including both primary and secondary sources that may be used for understanding the context surrounding any given topic, inspire debate around a particular issue, or allow for the application of a theoretical premise to a real-life example. The site will also contain suggested activities that can be developed either in the traditional face-to-face classroom or in an online learning environment. The site will collate and organize links to multimedia content that could be incorporated into a lecture, used as a prompt for classroom discussion or online discussion forums, or provided to students as supplementary classroom preparation. The site will also include selected texts originally included in the first edition but not in the second edition.

NEW THIS EDITION

- **Unpublished Works** reflect new contributions to the field. These readings are indicated by (new) in the Table of Contents.
  - Kimberly Williams and Red Washburn, "Trans-forming Bodies and Bodies of Knowledge: A Case Study of Utopia, Intersectionality, Transdisciplinarity, and Collaborative Pedagogy"
  - V. Efua Prince, "June"
  - Courtney Bailey, "A Queer #MeToo Story: Sexual Violence, Consent, and Interdependence"
  - Ari Agha, "Singing in the Cracks"
  - Kristina Gupta, "Feminist Approaches to Asexuality"
  - Lailatul Fitriyah, "Can We Stop Talking About the 'Hijab'?: Islamic Feminism, Intersectionality, and the Indonesian Muslim Female Migrant Workers"
  - Joanna Gordon, "Sketches"
  - Christina Lux, "10,000 Blows"
  - Glenda M. Flores, "Latina/x *Doctoras* [Doctors]: Brown Women Negotiating Knowledge Production in Science"

Liam Lair, "Navigating Transness in the United States: Understanding the Legacies of Eugenics"

Clare C. Jen, "Oppositional Scientific Praxis: The 'Do' and 'Doing' of #CRISPRbabies and DIY Hormone Biohacking"

Naciza Masikini and Bipasha Baruah, "Gender Equity in the 'Sharing' Economy: Possibilities and Limitations"

Christina E. Bejarano, "The Latina Advantage in US Politics: Recent Example with Representative Ocasio-Cortez"

Heather Rellihan, "An Interview with Tarana Burke"

- **New Readings** The second edition includes 38 new readings (not included in the first edition) from a diverse range of contemporary voices. These readings are indicated by a * in the Table of Contents.
- **Environmental Issues** Key works have been included that address this topic because thinking critically about environmental issues and climate change is increasingly imperative in today's world and women's, gender, and sexuality studies offers tools to understand how it impacts people's daily lives.
- **Moments and Movements in History** Several readings have been included to provide context and intersectional framing for recent historical developments like the Women's March and the MeToo movement.
- **Updated Essays** Previous contributors were invited to update their essays or include newer works to address the evolving fields of science and digital technology.

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The editors would like to thank Claire Moses for her insightful feedback as we developed the reader during the early stages. We would also like to thank Lynn Bolles, who has been an important guide for each of us in our understandings of interdisciplinarity and intersectionality. Our fantastic OUP editors Sherith Pankratz and Meg Botteon have truly been amazing to work with. We are so lucky to have their guidance and help. Our project manager Patricia Berube and copyeditor Wendy Walker have gone above and beyond in making sure that our book is the best that it can be. Grace Li has also been tremendously helpful throughout the process. We thank our OUP family immensely.

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Mary Ruth Warner, University of Delaware
Lauren Weis, American University
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SECTION ONE

Mapping the Field: An Introduction to Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

By the end of this section, you will have a better understanding of:

1. The connection between social movements and the field of women's, gender, and sexuality studies.
2. How layered meanings of feminist and queer are central to the academic field of women's, gender, and sexuality studies.
3. Key terms and concepts in women's, gender, and sexuality studies emphasizing oppression, privilege, resistance, resilience, and unlearning either/or thinking.
4. Intersectionality and how it is foundational to understanding the complexity of women, men, nonbinary, genderqueer, and transgender people and structures of power in U.S. society.
5. Interdisciplinarity and its centrality to understanding the field.

Women's, gender, and sexuality studies is an interdisciplinary field of study and emerges as part of a long history of feminist, queer, antiracist, anticapitalist, and anticolonial movements. As an academic field it is concerned with issues of gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, class, nationality, abilities, age, body size, and religion. It also provides lenses or ways of seeing how sociocultural dynamics of power craft our understanding of gender, transgender, and queer and its effect on our daily life. Scholars, artists, and activists in women's, gender, and sexuality studies (1) question what we know and how we know it, (2) craft theories and practices that work to end oppression, inequality, and inequities and pursue social justice and transformational change, (3) empower individuals and groups marginalized by sociopolitical systems, and (4) generally agree that there is no single or "correct" feminist or queer way of being, doing, and living. In the remainder of this introduction, you will learn key concepts (such as feminism, queer, gender, transgender, oppression, privilege, intersectionality, and interdisciplinarity) that provide the foundation for understanding women's, gender, and sexuality studies.

WHAT DOES FEMINISM AND QUEER HAVE TO DO WITH IT?

In our changing and precarious global political landscape that includes health and environmental crises alongside Black Lives Matter and antiracist movements, historical and contemporary critiques, insights, and re-imaginings that emerge from women's, gender, and sexuality studies are vital for helping make sense of a changing world and contributing to actions toward social transformation. As students will explore throughout this book, women, people of color, and LGBTQPAI+ communities have made some political, social, and economic progress over the decades. Feminist and queer thought and activism have provided foundations for these changes and will continue to provide frameworks for how to pursue justice and freedom. Yet, in popular discourse, feminism can be met with suspicion and sometimes hostility. In the English language, using the "f-word" is considered obscene; it shows anger, contempt, and disrespect to whoever (or whatever) is on the receiving end. Feminism seems to have similar cultural meanings. By now many of us have heard the stereotypes of feminists: angry, unshaven, dykes, bitchy, man-hating, and aggressive. bell hooks in her piece "Feminist Politics" (included in this section) makes the simple statement that feminism is "a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression" and uses this definition because it "implies that all sexist

thinking and action is the problem," regardless of who is doing it (p. 23). When asked, most individuals may readily agree that people should not be exploited or oppressed. How is it then that when feminists come together to fight against individual, institutional, and systematic sexism for protections, rights, social justice, and freedom, feminism becomes suspect? How or why might this sentiment have taken hold? bell hooks suggests that all of us learn antifeminism through U.S. patriarchal mass media because it seeks to undermine gender justice, which for her moves beyond equality and "the freedom to have abortions, to be lesbians, to challenge rape and domestic violence" (p. 23).

Feminism has a long and contentious history in which its strongest advocates did not always agree with one another on the goals of the movement or the strategies for social change. As you will learn in more detail in Section Two, women (and some men) were inspired by women's personal narratives and public speeches as well as abolition movements in the mid-nineteenth century to begin advocating for women's equality with men while others sought liberation from subjugation. Demanding everything from the right to vote to sexual autonomy, early feminists challenged the cultural belief that white, middle-class, and wealthy men innately deserved respect and dignity that was materially accompanied by access to education, work, and citizenship, while white, middle-class, and wealthy women were expected to be pious, pure, submissive, and domestic, thus best suited to be mothers and wives (Welter 1966, 152). Women's, gender, and sexuality studies also traces its roots to movements such as the turn-of-the-twentieth-century antilynching movement led in part by African American journalist, newspaper owner, and grassroots activist Ida B. Wells; the labor movement organized by working-class, Jewish immigrant women in the early twentieth century; and mid-twentieth-century women's groups such as Radicalesbian, WITCH (Women's International Conspiracy from Hell), and the Red Stockings who made it clear that eradicating patriarchal culture and crafting a women-centered one was the only means to liberation. The crucial questions that beget grassroots movements for change form the backbone of feminist and queer inquiry in women's, gender, and sexuality studies. As Marilyn Boxer notes in *When Women Ask the Questions*, "From the beginning, the goal of women's studies was not merely to study women's position in the world but to change it" (Boxer 1988, 13). Given the expansiveness of feminist politics today, it is critical to understand how the last century and a half of movements for civil rights and social justice fundamentally shaped the field and that **patriarchy** remains a central feature that reinforces racism, classism, homophobia, transphobia, nationalism, ageism, and ableism in our daily lives.

Patriarchy: Cultural system in which men hold power and are the central figures in the family, community, government, and larger society.

Some people often assume that patriarchy is the idea that all men dominate and control all women. As Allan Johnson explains in "Patriarchy, the System: An It, Not a He, a Them, or an Us" (included in this section), this oversimplified approach emphasizes individual actions and reactions rather than seeing patriarchy as a system in which we all—men, women, nonbinary, genderqueer, and transgender people—participate. Patriarchy is cultural—knit into the fabric of U.S. society—and upheld by individuals *and* **social institutions**

Social institutions: Rule-governed social arrangements that have survived across time and appear natural and normal but in fact represent one way of being in the world (e.g., the nuclear family, a well-armed military, and a capitalist economy).

through the law, media, family, education, and religion. Johnson provides an example that makes this very clear: if we think about patriarchy as the actions of individuals, "we might ask why a particular man raped, harassed, or beat a woman. We wouldn't ask however what kind of society would promote persistent patterns of such behavior" (p. 27). If one in four women experience rape on college campuses, social change will depend on getting to the roots that produce, maintain, and reproduce violence; this means looking closely at cultural myths about sexualities, genders, races, and socioeconomic status and how these narratives become embedded in social institutions that protect violence through silence. As Johnson argues, if society is oppressive, then people who grow up and live in it will accept, identify with, and participate in it as "normal." Feminist and queer inquiry intervenes in systems of subjugation and injustice, and, while there is significant overlap between feminist and queer studies, they are not synonymous.

In her essay "Queer," Jennifer Purvis posits that women's, gender, and sexuality studies "is always already queer," which she defines as "twisting" and "making strange" (Purvis 2012, 190). In this context, feminism is intended to be inclusive of **queer**. Once a derogatory term hurled at lesbians and gay men, "queer" has been reclaimed by **LGBTQPAI+** communities as a term of self-identification as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, questioning, pansexual, polyamorous, asexual, and intersexual. "Queer" is an umbrella term used to bring together people (1) who have been marginalized in U.S. society because of their sexualities and gender identities and expressions and (2) whose descriptions and feelings do not fit easily within and may resist categories of lesbian, gay, bisexual, or **transgender**. In the latter case, it becomes an inclusive term for those who self-identify as **genderqueer**. Queer can also be its own sexual identity (in some acronyms it can be the "Q"), and it can signify someone's politics. For scholars, practitioners, artists, and activists who fight for the political and legal protections, rights, and freedoms of all queer people, the phrase "queer nation" can represent the need for a continued national political voice. It is also important to note that when "queer" is deployed in the struggle for social justice, it assumes solidarity, which does not always exist between the various groups of people under its purview. For example, the queer community won a significant victory when the Supreme Court ruled in July 2015 that states must allow same-sex marriage. It is also true that this milestone is limited to those who want to participate in marriage—a historically **heteronormative** institution. As such, gay marriage unites and divides the queer community.

Purvis's statement that women's, gender, and sexuality studies "is always already queer" is a bold one, particularly for some feminists. It *still* matters that lesbians, bisexual/pansexual, transgender, and asexual people who identify as women and femme do not have the same unearned privileges, opportunities, and rights as gay, bisexual, pansexual, asexual, and polyamorous men because of sexism *and* have a history of exclusion in feminism. This was true in the late 1960s when the cofounder of the National Organization for Women, Betty Friedan, named lesbians as the "lavender menace" and is happening today as

Queer: Once a pejorative term, it has been reclaimed to describe sexual identities and political issues in lesbian, gay, bisexual, pansexual, polyamorous, transgender, questioning, asexual, and intersexed communities; used to push back against oversimplified and assumed definitions of lesbian and gay identity.

LGBTQPAI+: An acronym used to identify and politically unite lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, questioning and queer, pansexual and polyamory, asexual and ally, and intersexed communities. The plus indicates that the acronym is fluid; as more queer identities are named, they can be added. The plus can also signify that people identify with more than one of these categories.

Transgender: Term used to represent a diverse group of people whose gender identity and/or gender expression differs from the gender assigned at birth. Trans may include but is not limited to transwomen, transmen, nonbinary, gender nonconforming, genderfluid, genderqueer, genderless, agender, third gender, and two-spirited.

Genderqueer: Individuals who self-identify outside of the woman/man gender binary.

some trans women fight for acceptance and inclusion in the women's movement, colleges, and other groups and social institutions (both of these examples will be examined closely in Section Two). When feminism excludes queer and transgender people, it replicates the power relations of patriarchy, racism, classism, ableism, and nationalism. Therefore, if feminism is to be queer it will mean that scholars, practitioners, artists, and activists will need to continue challenging the social norms that define the social categories of "women" and "men"—indeed, the binary of gender itself. And if queer communities are feminist, it will require consistent and public challenges to sexism, patriarchy, racism, classism, and ableism. This matters so that all minoritized people's voices and experiences are valued and included in movements, laws, social institutions, creative communities, and scholarship.

Heteronormative: A worldview or ideology that assumes and promotes heterosexuality as a preferred sexual orientation and expression.

LEARNING AND UNLEARNING GENDER AND SEXUALITY

Learning gender begins before any of us can even process it. In the United States, the relatively recent social media phenomenon of the "gender-reveal party" is a case in point. Also, when the baby is born, many doctors still announce, "It's a healthy baby girl!" or "It's a healthy baby boy!" This simple act of looking at the baby's genitals and announcing their sex begins the process of assigning children a **gender status**. If it is a girl, friends may purchase gifts of pink or pastel clothing, exclaim how beautiful she is going to be when she grows up, and comment that she is such a good, quiet baby. If it is boy, he may receive blue or brightly colored clothing and told that he is smart or active or will be the next star athlete or scientist. Knowing the sex of the baby sets the stage for how the child will be socialized into their **gender identity** and treated as a person.

Gender status: The gender assigned to children and used to socialize them into boy/man and girl/woman; may also be referred to as gender assignment.

Gender identity: An individual's gendered sense of self.

As this scenario demonstrates, there is an easy and unconscious slippage between sex and gender. We readily accept that female and male represent the biological differences between men and women and that two sexes exist. In "The Five Sexes, Revisited" (included in this section), Anne Fausto-Sterling, a biologist and gender studies scholar, provides evidence that there is wide variation of sexes in the natural world—including among humans. While the language she uses in this piece reflects its publication date, this foundational piece made clear that a binary system of sex and gender is a powerful **social construction** and has been institutionalized as a scientific fact through medicine, education, family, and religion. If, as Fausto-Sterling estimates, 1.7 percent of all births are people with varying degrees of intersexed development and sex exists on a spectrum, then it is important to consider the implications for gender (Fausto-Sterling 2000, 51). As Sharyn Graham Davies suggests in her research, Western cultures have much that they can learn from more global—and more open-minded—cultures, like the Bugis in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, who recognize five genders.

Social constructionism: Theory that our knowledge of gender, race, class, sexuality, ethnicity, body size, ability, religion, and nationality is tied to social processes that have their basis in relations of power and is therefore constantly being created and recreated by human beings within specific cultural contexts.

While gender may *appear* to be a natural and simple outgrowth of sex, it is a social process "constantly created and re-created out of human interaction,

out of social life, and is the texture and order of that social life" (Lorber 1994, 99–100). We enact and express gender every day, and it is one of the central ways we organize our lives. From deciding what to wear to how we sit, talk, and generally take up public space to what kinds of labor we perform, gender arrangements shape our lives. They are not built on individual efforts, hard work, or abilities but on hierarchies of power that socialize men/boys to be dominant and women/girls to be subordinate. This structure finds its legitimization through the social constructions of family, religion, law, media, education, work, and language. In her very personal piece "Because You're a Girl," Ijeoma A. recounts her experiences of being raised in a family that embraced traditional customs characteristic of villages in eastern Nigeria. She spent her childhood in Lagos living under her family's Four Commandments that taught her how to become a good woman prepared for marriage: (1) her "office" is the kitchen, (2) she is responsible for all the chores in the home, (3) she is accountable for the children and their actions, and (4) of course, she must pledge complete and total allegiance to the man in charge first, before herself (p. 41). Angered by the patriarchal constrictions, Ijeoma finds pathways through education to rethink what it means to "be a girl" and how to navigate living in-between U.S. American and Nigerian cultures.

Binary gender formations makes sense because they are systematized, reflected, and reinforced in our everyday lives: toy stores are clearly divided; it is still significant to name female astronauts, engineers, and scientists and male nurses, schoolteachers, and social workers. The use of language in the previous sentence represents the power of gendered assumptions. "Gender is such a familiar part of daily life, it usually takes a deliberate disruption of our expectations of how women and men are supposed to act to pay attention to how it is produced" (Lorber 1994, 100). While individuals and communities of people actively disrupt social patterns, gender also continues to exist as a system based on hierarchies of power that is recognizable. For example, how are men perceived if they want to stay home and raise a family or if young women decide to remain single throughout their lifespan? Are they the same if reversed? If the answer is no, systems of gender and power continue to shape our lives. Can transgender people move freely through larger political, economic, and social worlds without being misgendered, diagnosed, and/or discriminated against? If the answer is no, gender continues to matter.

In "Making Masculinity" (included in this section), C. J. Pascoe begins by narrating a scene that may sound familiar: at an annual high school assembly, the most popular boy will be crowned "Mr. Cougar" to the loud cheers of his classmates. In this particular case, when the two highest vote-getting candidates run onto the floor, they are dressed like "nerds" and proceed to perform a skit in which they save their girlfriends from "gangstas" (young Black men who volunteered to be run off the stage) and are transformed into handsome, rugged, all-American guys. This scene illustrates that "[t]his masculinizing process happens through a transformation of bodies, the assertion of racial privilege, and a shoring up of heterosexuality and is a stark reminder of how limiting masculinity is

ACTIVISM AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Log on to Twitter, Instagram, or Snapchat and access #growinguptrans. If the hashtag is not active, search social media for a similar community talking about what it means to grow up trans, nonbinary, or genderqueer. If you cannot find this hashtag or one similar, start one as a class. Participants use #growinguptrans to raise awareness; it represents resilience and creates a self-determined community of how people walk through the world. Posts can range from detailing street harassment (when, where, and what took place), to what it means to be silenced, to supporting people. Read the entries and make two lists. In the first, detail how people experience daily life; in the second, write down how they use the hashtag to practice self-care and empower themselves. Reflect on your own experiences of what it was like to grow up in your town/city and think about the similarities to and differences from #growinguptrans. Think carefully about family life, your experiences in school, what you learned through the media, how religion shaped your worldview, and how romance and attraction mattered as you grew up.

QUESTIONS

1. Examine your two lists carefully. Do you see any patterns that indicate what trans, nonbinary, and genderqueer people generally face in their daily life? What dominates each list? Why do you think these two things are at the top of the list? What role does sexism, patriarchy, racism, and classism play in people's lives?
2. Do the issues cut across cultural differences, or do you see additional patterns based on race, class, sexuality, ability, and religious beliefs?
4. Name one small change all of us could make that might alter how we discuss transgender, nonbinary, and genderqueer issues. Share it with your class.
5. As a class, translate your suggestion into a community action. Whether real or hypothetical, what would you include and why?

for boys and men" (p. 47). If adolescent boys are perceived as tough, in control, focused on sports and girls, white, and not to care about others, they will be rewarded for their gender performances (see Gardiner 2002; Halberstam 1998; hooks 1981; Messner 1997; Segal, 1990; Wiegman 2002). If a young man steps outside these narrow bounds, his peers will police and control his behavior by publicly ridiculing him as a "fag," which, as Pascoe learned during her field research, remains an insult for adolescents. She argues in this piece "how heteronormative and homophobic discourses, practices, and interactions (among students, teachers, and administrators) . . . produce masculine identities" (p. 48).

If gender is a form of social control and a social construction that can be changed, in "The Mountain" (in this section) Eli Clare asks us to think about this in relation to disabilities, particularly physical disabilities. In explaining how dominant narratives of disability circulate around us—often as mediated stories of inspiration, medicalized as "disordered," and sometimes as a reason for bullying, discrimination, and violence—Clare draws on the mountain as a metaphor to argue that a "supercrip" narrative (disabled people completing grand challenges) exists so that ableism can persist uninterrupted and the violence of the "supercrip" is made invisible. This is particularly significant since people, for example, in wheelchairs or with cerebral palsy, blindness, deafness, and/or

Down syndrome have material conditions that circumscribe their lives and can result in "lack of access, lack of employment, lack of education, lack of personal attendant services" (p. 56). Clare suggests that it is our bodies that become the places people can call home and where they can find refuge: "I will never find home on the mountain. This I know. Rather home starts here in my body, in all that lies imbedded beneath my skin" and that the body can become home "only if it is understood that the stolen body can be reclaimed" (p. 60, 61). Reclamation here becomes a process for understanding and resisting how a harmful, normalizing culture names and steals what it means to be disabled. Since disability and gender narratives are socially constructed and performed by us every day, we collectively can and do change the ways stereotypes circulate to uphold inequities. Students enter women's, gender, and sexuality studies courses telling personal narratives of how they refuse bullying by finding community, practice self-care, refuse controlling gender expressions, join boys' soccer teams as the only girl, and resist and persist through stereotypes. Feminist and queer inquiry also remains interested in clarifying the underlying material and social circumstances that constrain and can control people's everyday lives. Until relations of power are addressed consistently across social institutions (from families, religion, and the law to media and language), fundamental and sustained sociopolitical change will remain elusive.

BEYOND THE GENDER BINARY

In 1990, gender studies scholar Judith Butler argued in *Gender Trouble* that our understandings of gender are too closely mapped to how we understand the body (for more on the body see Section Four). Rather than think of the body as constituting sex and gender, she and others suggest that it is more productive to understand gender performances as a fluid, social process based on repetition and reinforcement (see Halberstam 1998; Muñoz 2009). Gender flexibility disrupts the static assumption that to be born male equals being a man/masculine/attracted to women and that to be born female means being a woman/feminine/attracted to men. It also challenges the concept that "masculine" and "feminine" have universal meanings. This shift away from the certainty of the social construction of gender is both embraced and challenged by feminists and queer scholars. It is liberating for those who understand gender binaries as too limiting yet of great concern for those who see structural inequalities still tied to the bodies of women, lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, pansexuals, transgender, intersex, and asexual people. It is also important to note that Butler articulates how gender fluidity and flexibility may come at a personal cost ranging from possible teasing and being outcast, to bullying and being disowned, to discrimination and physical violence; this again suggests to us that the personal is indeed political and it will take all of us working together to make social change.

In *Transgender History*, Susan Stryker uses the term transgender "to refer to people who move away from the gender they were assigned at birth, people

who cross over (*trans-*) the boundaries constructed by their culture to define and contain that gender" (Stryker 2008, 1). The term describes the full spectrum of someone's gender identity and expression, not their sexuality, and may include people who seek medical interventions to transition from one gender to another. The term **cisgender** is used to describe an individual whose gender assignment, gender identity, and gender expression align with the gender assigned at birth. Its use as an adjective before "woman" or "man" is necessary "to resist the way that 'woman' or 'man' can mean 'nontransgendered woman' or 'nontransgendered man' by default, unless the person's transgender status is explicitly named" (Stryker 2008, 22). And while these terms and their attending politics have received media attention, activists such as Sylvia Rivera and Marsha P. Johnson were pioneers of liberation movements in the mid-1960s, demanding rights, protections, and justice through political, legal, and sociocultural change; they will be honored for their work in New York City with a new monument. Books, journals, courses, academic programs, blogs, and activist platforms are dedicated to the history and complexity of reimagining what transgender means and the struggle for freedom. Learning the importance of pronouns to avoid misgendering people as well as the general meaning of terms that describe people's everyday lives is a starting place to create community and to take part in feminist and queer solidarity activism and knowledge building.

Cisgender: A term that describes when an individual's gender assigned at birth aligns with their gender identity and gender expression.

The following glossary from the Southern Policy Law Center's "Teaching Tolerance" project provides an overview of key terms:

Affirmed gender (*noun*)	The gender by which one wishes to be known. This term is often used to replace terms like "new gender" or "chosen gender," which imply that a person's gender was chosen rather than simply innate.
Agender (*adj.*)	Describes a person who does not identify with any gender identity.
Ally (*noun*)	A person who does not identify as LGBTQ, but stands with and advocates for LGBTQ people.
Androgynous (*adj.*), Androgyne (*noun*)	Used to describe someone who identifies or presents as neither distinguishably masculine or feminine.
Aromantic (*adj.*)	A romantic orientation generally characterized by not feeling romantic attraction or a desire for romance.
Asexual (*adj.*)	Used to describe people who do not experience sexual attraction or do not have a desire for sex. Many experience romantic or emotional attractions across the entire spectrum of sexual orientations. Asexuality differs from celibacy, which refers to abstaining from sex. Also *ace*, or *ace community*.
Assigned sex (*noun*)	The sex that is assigned to an infant at birth based on the child's visible sex organs, including genitalia and other physical characteristics. Often corresponds with a child's *assigned gender* and *assumed gender*.
Binary system (*noun*)	Something that contains two opposing parts; binary systems are often assumed despite the existence of a spectrum of possibilities. Gender (man/woman) and sex (male/female) are examples of binary systems often perpetuated by our culture.

Continued

Biological sex (*noun*)	A medical classification that refers to anatomical, physiological, genetic or physical attributes that determine if a person is assigned male, female or intersex identity at birth. Biological sex is often confused or interchanged with the term "gender," which encompasses personal identity and social factors, and is not necessarily determined by biological sex. See *gender*.
Bisexual, Bi (*adj.*)	A person emotionally, romantically or sexually attracted to more than one sex, gender or gender identity though not necessarily simultaneously, in the same way or to the same degree.
Cisgender (*adj.*)	Describes a person whose gender identity (*defined below*) aligns with the sex assigned to them at birth.
Cissexism (*noun*)	A system of discrimination and exclusion that oppresses people whose gender and/or gender expression falls outside of normative social constructs. This system is founded on the belief that there are, and should be, only two genders—usually tied to assigned sex.
Coming out (*verb*)	A lifelong process of self-acceptance and revealing one's queer identity to others. This may involve something as private as telling a single confidant or something as public as posting to social media.
Demisexual (*adj.*)	Used to describe someone who feels sexual attraction only to people with whom they have an emotional bond—often considered to be on the asexual spectrum.
Gay (*adj.*)	Used to describe people (often, but not exclusively, men) whose enduring physical, romantic and/or emotional attractions are to people of the same sex or gender identity.
Gender (*noun*)	A set of social, physical, psychological and emotional traits, often influenced by societal expectations, that classify an individual as feminine, masculine, androgynous or other. Words and qualities ascribed to these traits vary across cultures.
Gender dysphoria (*noun*)	Clinically significant distress caused when a person's assigned birth gender is not the same as the one with which they identify.
Gender expression (*noun*)	External appearance of one's gender identity, usually expressed through behavior, clothing, haircut or voice, and which may or may not conform to socially defined behaviors and characteristics typically associated with being masculine or feminine.
Gender-fluid (*adj.*)	A person who does not identify with a single fixed gender and whose identification and presentation may shift, whether within or outside of the male/female binary.
Gender identity (*noun*)	One's innermost feeling of maleness, femaleness, a blend of both or neither. One's gender identity can be the same or different from their sex assigned at birth.
Gender neutral (*adj.*)	Not gendered, usually operating outside the male/female binary. Can refer to language (e.g., pronouns), spaces (e.g., bathrooms) or identities.
Gender nonconforming (*adj.*)	A broad term referring to people who do not behave in a way that conforms to the traditional expectations of their gender or whose gender expression does not fit neatly into a category. Also, *gender expansive*.
Genderqueer (*adj.*)	Describes a person who rejects static categories of gender (i.e. the gender binary of male/female) and whose gender expression or identity falls outside of the dominant social norms of their assigned sex. They may identify as having aspects of both male and female identities, or neither.
Gender roles (*noun*)	The social behaviors and expression that a culture expects from people based on their assigned sex (e.g., girls wear pink; boys don't cry; women care for home and child; men are more violent), despite a spectrum of various other possibilities.

Heteronormativity (*noun*)	Coined by social critic Michael Warner, the term refers to a societal assumption of certain norms: 1) that there are two distinct sexes; 2) that male and female functions and characteristics are distinctly different; and 3) that traits such as attraction and sexual behavior correspond to anatomy. Those who do not fit these norms—be it through same-sex attraction, a nonbinary gender identity, or nontraditional gender expression—are therefore seen as *abnormal*, and often marginalized or pressured to conform to norms as a result.
Heterosexism (*noun*)	The assumption that sexuality between people of different sexes is normal, standard, superior or universal while other sexual orientations are substandard, inferior, abnormal, marginal or invalid.
Heterosexual (*adj.*)	Used to describe people whose enduring physical, romantic and/or emotional attraction is to people of the opposite sex. Also *straight*.
Heterosexual/cisgender privilege (*noun*)	Refers to societal advantages that heterosexual people and cisgender people have solely because of their dominant identities. This can include things as simple as safely holding hands with a romantic partner in public or having safe access to public bathrooms. This can also include systemic privileges such as the right to legally donate blood, to adopt children without facing possible rejection because of your sexual orientation, or to play organized sports with others of the same gender identity.
Homophobia* (*noun*)	A fear or hostility toward lesbian, gay and/or bisexual people, often expressed as discrimination, harassment and violence.
Intersex (*adj.*)	An umbrella term describing people born with reproductive or sexual anatomy and/or a chromosome pattern that can't be classified as typically male or female.
Latinx (*adj.*)	A gender-expansive term for people of Latin American descent used to be more inclusive of all genders than the binary terms *Latino* or *Latina*.
Lesbian (*adj.*)	Used to describe a woman whose enduring physical, romantic and/or emotional attraction is to other women.
LGBTQ (*noun*)	An acronym for "lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer." Less often, the Q stands for "questioning." Acronyms like LGBTQIA also include the intersex and asexual communities, while acronyms like LGBTQ attempt to envelop an entire community of people who hold identities that are not cisgender or heterosexual.
Misgender (*verb*)	To refer to someone in a way that does not correctly reflect the gender with which they identify, such as refusing to use a person's pronouns or name.
Nonbinary (*adj.*)	An umbrella term that refers to individuals who identify as neither man or woman, or as a combination of man or woman. Instead, nonbinary people exhibit a boundless range of identities that can exist beyond a spectrum between male and female.
Outing (*verb*)	The inappropriate act of publicly declaring (sometimes based on rumor and/or speculation) or revealing another person's sexual orientation or gender identity without that person's consent.
Pansexual (*adj.*)	Used to describe people who have the potential for emotional, romantic or sexual attraction to people of any gender identity, though not necessarily simultaneously, in the same way or to the same degree. The term *panromantic* may refer to a person who feels these emotional and romantic attractions, but identifies as asexual.
Preferred pronouns (*adj.*)	The pronoun or set of pronouns that an individual personally uses and would like others to use when talking to or about that individual. Can include variations of he/him/his, she/her/hers, they/their/theirs, among others. This term is being used less and less in LGBTQ circles, as it suggests one's gender identity is a "preference" rather than innate. *Recommended replacement: "Your pronouns, my pronouns, their pronouns, etc."*

Continued

Queer (*adj.*)	Once a pejorative term, a term reclaimed and used by some within academic circles and the LGBTQ community to describe sexual orientations and gender identities that are not exclusively heterosexual or cisgender.
Questioning (*adj.*)	A term used to describe people who are in the process of exploring their sexual orientation or gender identity.
Same-gender loving (*adj.*)	A term coined in the early 1990s by activist Cleo Manago, this term was and is used by some members of the Black community who feel that terms like gay, lesbian and bisexual (and sometimes the communities therein) are Eurocentric and fail to affirm Black culture, history and identity.
Sexual orientation (*noun*)	An inherent or immutable emotional, romantic or sexual attraction to other people; oftentimes used to signify the gender identity (or identities) to which a person is most attracted.
Third gender (*noun*)	A gender identity that is neither male nor female, existing outside the idea that gender represents a linear spectrum between the two. Sometimes a catchall term or category in societies, states or countries that legally recognize genders other than male and female.
Transgender (*adj.*)	An umbrella term for people whose gender identity differs from the sex they were assigned at birth. Not all trans people undergo transition. Being transgender does not imply any specific sexual orientation. Therefore, transgender people may identify as straight, gay, lesbian, bisexual or something else. Also, *trans*.
Transitioning (*verb*)	A process during which some people strive to more closely align their gender identity with their gender expression. This includes *socially transitioning*, during which a person may change their pronouns, the name they ask to be called or the way they dress to be socially recognized as another gender. This includes *legal transitioning*, which may involve an official name change and modified IDs and birth certificates. And this includes *physically transitioning*, during which a person may undergo medical interventions to more closely align their body to their gender identity. Transgender and nonbinary people transition in various ways to various degrees; self-identification alone is enough to validate gender identity.
Transphobia* (*noun*)	The fear and hatred of, or discomfort with, transgender people. This may manifest into transphobic actions, such as violence, harassment, misrepresentation or exclusion.
Transsexual (*adj.*)	A less frequently used term (considered by some to be outdated or offensive) which refers to people who use medical interventions such as hormone therapy, gender-affirming surgery (GAS) or sex reassignment surgery (SRS) as part of the process of expressing their gender. Some people who identify as transsexual do not identify as transgender and vice versa. *Only use this term if someone who specifically identifies as such asks you to.*
Two Spirit (*adj.*)	An umbrella term in Native culture to describe people who have both a male and female spirit within them. This encompasses many tribe-specific names, roles and traditions, such as the *winkte* of the Lakota and *nadleeh* of the Navajo people. This term often describes Native people who performed roles and gender expression associated with both men and women. This term should be used only in the context of Native culture.

**University of California, Davis's LGBTQIA Resource Center offers this note on words like this: We've been intentionally moving away from using words like "transphobic," "homophobic," and "biphobic" because (1) they inaccurately describe systems of oppression as irrational fears and (2) for some people, phobias are a very distressing part of their lived experience and co-opting this language is disrespectful to their experiences and perpetuates ableism.*

Knowing that sex and gender exist beyond binaries and that disabilities are understood through harmful normalizing assumptions helps us to unlearn limiting and harmful stereotypes. This is not just a matter of philosophical or political debate but has material consequences for the freedom, safety, well-being, equity, and social justice people seek.

OPPRESSION, PRIVILEGE, AND INTERSECTIONALITY

Oppression is the primary force that keeps marginalized people from achieving full equality, social justice, and freedom. It is best understood as a system of barriers that operate socially and institutionally to disempower groups of people based on their gender, race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, ability, religion, body size, and/or nationality and can be internalized. "Oppression" can also refer to how individual people can suppress and control one another psychologically. In Marilyn Frye's classic essay "Oppression," she argues that in patriarchal cultures *all* women are oppressed and men are not because "networks of forces and barriers . . . expose one to penalty, loss, or contempt whether one works outside the home or not, is on welfare or not, bears children or not, marries or not, stays married or not, is heterosexual, lesbian, both or neither" (Frye 1983, 3–4). Frye makes clear that women universally are affected by the **double binds** that oppression creates.

Oppression: A social system of barriers that operate institutionally and interpersonally to disempower people because of their gender, race, class, sexuality, ethnicity, religion, body size, ability, and/or nationality.

Double bind: When a person faces two problematic choices as the only ones socially available (e.g., a woman can be labeled as a "slut" if sexually active and a "tease" or "prude" if not).

While it is true that women face similar oppressions—such as the stigma tied to menstruation or being told never to walk alone at night or wear revealing clothing to "prevent" rape (rather than insisting that boys/men not rape)—**women of color** (and people of color) may experience oppression differently than white women (and white men) and in multiple ways. In Deborah King's "Multiple Jeopardy and Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology," she points out that Black women recognize that "the interactive oppressions that circumscribe our lives provide a distinctive context for black womanhood" (King 1988, 42). While white people may experience oppression based on class, sexuality, body size, age, religion, and abilities, whiteness is not marked as a racial category in the United States. Therefore, white people experience unearned cultural privileges *because* they are not Black, Latinx, Native American, and/or Asian American. More broadly speaking, **privilege** is deeply connected to oppression and defined as a set of unearned advantages enjoyed by those who are empowered by U.S. social hierarchies (e.g., male, Christian, heterosexual, able-bodied, and/or young adults). It can be differentiated from sexism, racism, homophobia, classism, ableism, ageism, and prejudice because people with privilege may be unconscious of it and not acting overtly to subordinate others. Peggy McIntosh's essay "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack" examines this social process and provides a compelling list of individual examples that detail the white privilege she personally experiences and the male privilege she does not. Robin DiAngelo's reading in this section,

Women of color: A sociopolitical term used in the United States to describe African American/Black, Asian American, Latina/x, and Native American/Indigenous women.

Privilege: Cultural benefits and power granted to people through social and institutional inequalities.

INTERSECTIONAL ANALYSIS

Gina Metallic, coming out as two-spirit native womyn. Growing up in a small Indigenous community in Canada that she describes as both homophobic and transphobic because of colonization and Christianity, Metallic now identifies as a cisgender, feminist, two-spirit Mi'kmaq womyn deeply connected to her family and community. She told her story to the *Montreal Gazette* in August 2015 so that others might know that it is possible to be both queer and native and that there is support.
source: Justin Tang/The Gazette

A Case Study: Gina Metallic grew up in Listuguj, a small Mi'Kmaq community on the Gaspé Peninsula in Quebec, Canada. In her own words in the online version of the *Montreal Gazette*, she identifies as "a granddaughter, daughter, sister, aunt and a soon-to-be-wife. I also identify as a cisgender two-spirit Mi'kmaq womyn—a biological female inhabited at once by spirits of both male and female gender. I'm also a feminist who chooses to identify as 'womyn' rather than 'woman.'" In 1990 at the Third Annual First Nations Conference in Winnipeg, Canada, the term "two-spirited" was defined as "an Aboriginal who identifies with both male and female gender roles." When asked what identifying as two-spirited means to her, she discusses it historically and in her own life. According to her community elders and family members, two-spirited people hold respected positions in Indigenous communities: marriage counselors, medicine people, and visionaries. When Europeans arrived in the Americas, they enforced Christianity, and two-spirited people were either exiled or killed. Today, Metallic openly embraces her identity and has found support through the maternal side of her family but still experiences rejection from her father's side, which she attributes to the lasting effects of colonialism. Through ongoing work with a traditional healer, Metallic better understands her own history and has found a community of two-spirited womyn. In coming out, she writes, "I have realized that 'gay pride' and 'native pride' can co-exist. Being two-spirit empowers me to take agency over my body, sexuality, my gender and my culture."

QUESTIONS

1. Do some further investigations into what "two-spirited" means, take notes, and in a paragraph describe it in your own words, making clear how it is similar to and different from identifying as gender fluid.
2. Why is it important to know the Indigenous history of two-spirited people?
3. Is it possible for someone who does not identify as Indigenous to be two-spirited? Why or why not?
4. How does Gina Metallic's story of identifying as Indigenous, cisgender, womyn, feminist, and two-spirited add to your understanding of queer? How does it help you think through how people live in the world as they embody and inhabit many communities? Why is personal narrative a crucial tool for understanding how people identify?

"Nothing to Add: A Challenge to White Silence in Racial Discussions," draws on and pushes McIntosh's ideas to argue that whiteness itself is a framework for understanding why discussions about race and racism are met with silence. She argues that "if silence is not strategically enacted from an antiracist framework, it functions to maintain white power and privilege and must be challenged."

In other words, explaining race and confronting racism cannot be done on the backs of people of color so that they are the bridge to social change. DiAngelo's work investigates how white people might practice speaking up—even if it is for the first time—so that social transformation is possible. Whether it is within families, through education, in the media, and/or through other social institutions, acknowledging individual privileges does not go far enough in changing the material and social conditions of racism.

Intersectionality references the two-fold idea that people's identities are complex, often not fitting easily into named social categories of gender, race, class, and sexuality, *and* that sexism, racism, classism, homophobia, ableism, religious persecution, and nationalism are interlocking systems of power that shape our lives and social institutions (Collins and Bilge 2016). People are members of various identity groups *simultaneously*, and their position in each of these groups may bring them more or less power based on U.S. social hierarchies. While we can trace Black women's activism through collective archives to the early days of the republic in the United States, the collective work of The Combahee River Collective (included in Section Two) lay the theoretical groundwork for a contemporary understanding of intersectionality. Emphasizing the centrality of race/gender/class/sexuality as interlocking structures of power, many contemporary feminists honor the work of those who came before them in such foundational texts as Angela Davis's *Women, Race, & Class* (1981); bell hooks's *Ain't I a Woman?* (1981); Hazel Carby's "White Woman Listen!" (1982); Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa's edited volume *This Bridge Called My Back* (1983); Barbara Smith's edited collection *Home Girls* (1983); Alice Walker's *In Search of Our Mother's Gardens* (1983); Audre Lorde's *Sister Outsider* (1984); Barbara Christian's *Black Feminist Criticism* (1985); and Patricia Hill Collins' *Black Feminist Thought* (1990). Scholarly and creative writers responded to white, middle-class feminist assumptions that all women experience oppressions similarly. Women marginalized by sociopolitical systems in the United States—Black women, women of color, lesbians of color, working poor women, and **third world women**—argued that feminism and queer communities must grapple with how normalized cultural differences shape people's everyday lives if they are to work together in solidarity for social change.

Intersectionality: Theoretical term used to discuss the interlocking systems of oppression of gender, race, class, sexuality, age, ability, religion, and nationality that shape people's experience and access to power.

Third world women: Women who inhabit or whose (familial) origins reflect Asian, African, and Latin American geographies; used as a political term to reflect the colonial power relations between the first world (the West or Global North) and the third world (or Global South).

In a 1988 article, Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term "intersectionality" as a way for scholars and practitioners to describe these intricacies as well as make clear the impossible "choice" women, lesbians of color, and poor women face in being asked to fight for their rights as women *or* as Black, Chicana/Latina/x, Asian American, Native American, third world *or* queer *or* poor (Allen 1986; Anzaldúa 1990; Asian Women United of California 1989; García 1989; Mohanty, Russo, and Torres 1991; Moraga 1983). Turning particularly to how the law demands that Black women must "choose" their legal pathway based on race or gender to pursue workplace discrimination cases, Crenshaw theorized the need to see how interlocking oppressions created hierarchies of power. Audre Lorde poignantly and personally elucidates this point in her essay "There Is No Hierarchy of Oppressions" (included in this section) with this statement: "I simply do not believe that one aspect of myself can possibly

profit from the oppression of any other part of my identity" (p. 75). She goes on to point out that, in the lesbian community, she is both Black and a lesbian, and in the Black community, she is both Black and a lesbian. How then can she fight against racism and not homophobia and sexism? This question and the insights based on the lived experiences of U.S. women of color now form the intersectional approaches that are foundational in understanding women's, gender, and sexuality studies.

Engaged Learning

In Peggy McIntosh's "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack" (available online) she notes that many of the privileges she experiences as a white woman and a professor are based on not being racially profiled by the police. Imagine how significant this is when we consider the brutality that people of color disproportionately experience in the United States. If you are not familiar with the recent history of the police murdering black men, do a quick internet search for George Floyd, Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Philando Castile, Allen Locke, Freddi Gray, Paul Castaway, and Samuel DuBose (among too many other names). Do the same search through the archives of *Al Jazeera* and/or the online magazine *The Root* or *Colorlines*. Two of the men named here identified as Indigenous. According to the Lakota People's Law Project, Native Americans are most likely to be killed by law enforcement (Agorist 2015). Expand the search to see what other names of people emerge and what communities they represent.

In one month alone (July 2015), five Black women died in police custody. Did your search tell you about the lives of Breonna Taylor Sandra Bland, Alexia Christian, Meagan Hockaday, Kayla Moore, Shelly Frey, Tanisha Anderson, Alberta Spruil, Miriam Carey, and Michelle Cusseaux, and other people whose names we do not know? What about the nearly thirty trans women of color killed in 2019, including Dana Martin, Ellie Marie Washtock, Jazzaline Ware, Ashanti Carmon, Claire Legato, Muhlaysia Booker, Michelle "Tamika" Washington, Paris Cameron, Chynal Lindsay, Denali Berris Stuckey, Tracy Single, Bubba Walker, Kiki Fantroy, Pebbles LeDime "Dime" Doe, Bailey Reeves, Bee Love Slater, Jamagio Jamar Berryman, Itali Marlowe, Brianna BB Hill, Nikki Kuhnhausen, and Yahira Nesdby? For more information on the underreported violence against African American women and women of color follow #SayHerName and consult the work of the African American Policy Forum. To learn more about violence against trans women of color, follow #StopTransMurders, #ProtectTransWomen, and #SayHerName and consult the TransWomen of Color Collective, Sylvia Rivera Law Project (SRLP), the Trevor Project, the Human Rights Campaign (HRC), and Somos Familia Valle, to name a few.

QUESTIONS

1. Choose two news stories about either police brutality or the far-reaching violence against women of color and look carefully at what words and images frame the story. Whose voices are the experts in telling the story? Can you detect anything that may be left out of it?
2. What does this exercise reveal about objectivity in reporting and the silences regarding violence?
3. When framed through an intersectional lens, how does this exercise ask us to think through violence beyond individual incidences?
4. Find stories of resilience and representations of race that depict joy, reparations, thriving, and the beauty in life. Where did you find them and what did you learn from them?

Intersectionality also matters in a global context. Ashley Currier and Thérèse Migraine-George's article "Queer/African Identities: Questions, Limits, Challenges" (included in this section), examines antigay violence that specific African states perpetuate against the people in their respective countries. In asking us to think carefully about what constitutes a nation and its people and how this intersects with queer identity, they argue that violent backlashes most certainly negatively affect gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people *and* violence and discrimination does not "predetermine the content and contours of queer African identities" (p. 77). While the U.S. popular media only presents specific African nations as showing open hostility toward queer communities, the authors interview activists in Liberia, Malawi, and South Africa and draw on queer African literature and films to provide more "complicated dimensions of generating, representing, and nurturing queer identities" (p. 77). Rather than showing African queer communities only as victims of the stigma and violence in their homelands (which by itself only serves to reinforce oversimplified and sensational media constructions), Currier's and Migraine-George's research honors the complexity of queer life—the resilience of LGBTQPAI+ people, the continued stigma attached to bisexuality, and the joy and beauty of being queer in Africa—by amplifying the voices of activists who are working to make a difference.

Pride in Global Spaces. LGBTQPAI+ pride rallies take place all over the world and help us to understand that the movement to end discrimination and marginalization of queer-identified people is transnational. Participants here hold posters in support of the LGBTQPAI+ community in Manila during the twenty-first Pride Parade on June 27, 2015. The press reported that thousands marched through main streets to celebrate the queer community.
Source: J Gerard Seguia/Pacific Press/Alamy Live News

In her poem "Before Intersectionality" (included in this section), M. Soledad Caballero reminds us that while "intersectionality" is a relatively new term in academia, immigrant women, men, trans, nonbinary, and genderqueer people from Spanish-speaking countries have always lived at the crossroads of gender, race, class, sexuality, and nationality, yet can be rendered invisible by the culturally-produced Black/white racial binary in the United States. Her poem names the violence Latinx immigrants face; gives voice to the pain, isolation, and invisibility of young people living in between English- and Spanish-speaking cultures; and reaches out to anyone who may feel like they do not belong. It also speaks to the dimensions of what needs to be considered in order for us to care about, empathize with, and work toward social change across cultural borders.

To fully understand intersectionality, it is important to acknowledge that whiteness *is* a racial category—but one that has unearned privileges (including the privilege of remaining silent) and therefore can remain unmarked. Just as

TRANSNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

Zanele Muholi, photographer and self-identified visual activist, was born in 1972 in South Africa. She has dedicated her life's work to telling the stories of lesbians and transgender and intersexed people in South Africa through images. In her 2014 series *Faces and Phases, 2006–2014*, Muholi creates portraits of more than two hundred individuals in the lesbian community, which as an archive makes a political statement on how South African lesbians exist and thrive in the midst of stigma and violence. The "Isibonelo/Evidence" exhibition at the Elizabeth A. Sackler Center for Feminist Art at the Brooklyn Museum (2015) featured eighty-seven of Muholi's works from *Faces and Phases*, *Weddings*, and the video *Being Scene* that incorporates firsthand accounts of what it is like to live in places where LGBTQPAI+ rights are constitutionally protected but often not defended. Her thought-provoking and sensitive photography also makes a point of focusing on love, intimacy, and daily life in close-knit lesbian and transgender communities. In Muholi's own words, she does this work because "it heals me to know that I am paving the way for others who, in wanting to come out, are able to look at the photographs, read the biographies, and understand that they are not alone" (qtd. in Schwiegershausen 2015). Do an internet search on "Zanele Muholi" and choose a comprehensive website that provides her biography and images of her work. At the time of publication, we can recommend https://www.artsy.net/artist/zanele-muholi.

QUESTIONS

1. Muholi uses the term "visual activist" (instead of "visual artist") to describe her work. What does this mean to you as you read her biography and look at her photography?
2. The people in Muholi's photographs look back at the people who are looking at them. This is a central feature of portraiture. Why is it important that many of her photographs of the South African LGBTQPAI+ community are done in this style?
3. Both Muholi and Currier and Migraine-George discuss love and empowerment in African queer communities. How does this focus help you rethink what it means to be queer and transgender in Africa? Why is this important?
4. Zanele Muholi's work is affirming and empowering of queer and transgender people. How might you use this approach to think through LGBTQPAI+ issues in your home town/city?

oppression must be understood in relation to privilege, social constructions of Blackness and Brownness are deeply connected to whiteness, and we cannot understand the empowerment of one without the disempowerment of the other. Second, while no one person is *responsible* for this way of thinking, guilt as a response to sexism, racism, classism, homophobia, and transphobia does very little to contribute to efforts toward social change as it recenters whiteness. Audre Lorde writes powerfully in *Sister Outsider*, "Guilt is not a response to anger; it is a response to one's own actions or lack of action. If it leads to change, then it can be useful, since it is then no longer guilt but the beginning of knowledge" (Lorde 130). It is only through **self-reflexivity**, careful listening, and understanding identity, cultural power, and social structures through intersectional and transnational lenses that we can understand, protest, address, and begin to transform systematic inequalities more fully and accurately.

Self-reflexivity: The deliberate examination of how and why people come to their beliefs, ideas, and knowledge in the context of broader (gender, race, class, sexuality, abilities, age, religion, and nationalities) power relations; a necessary step in pursuing feminist and queer scholarship, activism, and institutional practices.

INTERDISCIPLINARITY

Given the expansive landscape of the field, students and anyone picking up this text may be wondering, "What does *not* count as women's, gender, and sexuality studies?" Indeed, the field encompasses the study of all people and the social dynamics that shape their lives. To tell the stories of people's complex lives, especially of individuals and groups that are marginalized and made to seem invisible and/or hypervisible in the dominant culture, researchers must be self-reflexive about the kinds of questions they ask as well as how they go about collecting information. The same can be said for educators and how they go about sharing knowledge, engaging with one another, and working closely with students. As the final reading in this section, Kimberly Williams Brown and Red Washburn model collaborative, self-reflexive approaches to creating more equitable classrooms. Instructors and students might ask ourselves, as we enter women's, gender, and sexuality studies classes, how we collectively might translate what Brown and Washburn are doing into practice with one another—in the classroom and beyond. Their essay shows us the possibilities of doing feminist-queer solidarity work. It suggests that this is how we can reimagine a future based on connection and reaching across disciplinary and cultural boundaries in the name of transdisciplinarity and in search of utopias.

In addition to entering interdisciplinary work self-reflexively, women's, gender, and sexuality studies values **praxis** and draws on a range of primary and secondary sources to make knowledge claims and frame political issues. Primary sources may include personal narratives, historical archives (official collections and those that are more intimate, such as diaries), quantitative research, ethnographies, art, literature, television and film, newspapers and online sources, scientific experiments, and critical legal analysis. Secondary sources, or those written by other scholars in the field, provide historical and cultural context for framing arguments. Both are necessary for analyzing subject matter.

Praxis: The integration of learning theoretical concepts with social justice actions so that one's own behaviors in the world reflect the liberatory philosophies of feminism and queer approaches.

Naming women's, gender, and sexuality studies as an interdisciplinary field of study and praxis means that there is no one framework, no one method, and no one theory that explains feminist and queer cultures, issues, and politics. Rather, it requires multiple modes of knowing and doing to produce the most accurate and politically engaged work possible. The reading selections included in this book draw from across traditional disciplines (such as English, political science, and sociology) as well as the humanistic interdisciplinary fields that also emerged from twentieth-century social movements (such as Africana studies, ethnic studies, Latino/a/x studies, Asian American studies, Native American studies, Puerto Rican studies, transgender studies, and disability studies) to show the exciting and engaging possibilities for doing interdisciplinary work.

Critical Thinking Questions

1. Understanding oppression means that those caught in a network of social, political, economic, and cultural forces can face double binds. In this introductory section, an example of a double bind is when young women who choose to be sexually active are labeled whores and young women who choose not to be sexually active are called teases or prudes. What other double binds do you see and/or experience across gender identities/expressions and sexualities? Think critically about your answers through an intersectional approach.
2. How does Robin DiAngelo's work on white silence and fragility contribute to understanding the social construction of race and racism? How might we acknowledge individual unearned privilege and begin working collectively toward dismantling oppression? What are some of the first steps to take given the perspectives conveyed through the readings in this first section?
3. Reflect on your experiences learning about sexuality—whether it was through a sex education class, from your parents, with your friends, YouTube, or from reading on your own. What did you learn? How was it gendered? Was it intersectional? What do you think it should include for the next generation?
4. Given what you have learned about intersectionality, including disability, what do you think it means for you as a student to be self-reflexive when talking about feminist and queer issues, cultural identities, and power?

GLOSSARY

Cisgender 9
Double bind 13
Gender identity 5
Genderqueer 4
Gender status 5
Heteronormative 4
Intersectionality 15
LGBTQPAI+ 4
Oppression 13

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1. • *bell hooks*

FEMINIST POLITICS:
Where We Stand (2000)

Born Gloria Jean Watkins, award-winning feminist scholar and cultural critic bell hooks is the author of over three dozen books and has contributed original work to seven collections and numerous periodicals. Her writing explores the intersections of race, class, gender, sexuality, spirituality, teaching, and the media and spans several genres, including nonfiction, poetry, memoir, and children's literature. She has been an acclaimed and outspoken social justice activist throughout her career and the bell hooks Institute in Berea, Kentucky, is dedicated to documenting her life and work. The Institute's mission is to end exploitation and oppression through critical thinking, teaching, and dialogue. "Feminist Politics: Where We Stand" is a chapter in her text *Feminism Is for Everybody*, an accessible and lively introduction to feminism designed for students and the general public.

Simply put, feminism is a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression. This was a definition of feminism I offered in *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* more than 10 years ago. It was my hope at the time that it would become a common definition everyone would use. I liked this definition because it did not imply that men were the enemy. By naming sexism as the problem it went directly to the heart of the matter. Practically, it is a definition which implies that all sexist thinking and action is the problem, whether those who perpetuate it are female or male, child or adult. It is also broad enough to include an understanding of systemic institutionalized sexism. As a definition it is open-ended. To understand feminism it implies one has to necessarily understand sexism.

As all advocates of feminist politics know, most people do not understand sexism, or if they do, they think it is not a problem. Masses of people think that feminism is always and only about women seeking to be equal to men. And a huge majority of these folks think feminism is anti-male. Their misunderstanding of feminist politics reflects the reality that most folks learn about feminism from patriarchal mass media. The feminism they hear about the most is portrayed by women who are primarily committed to gender equality—equal pay for equal work, and sometimes women and men sharing household chores and parenting. They see that these women are usually white and materially privileged. They know from mass media that women's liberation focuses on the freedom to have abortions, to be lesbians, to challenge rape and domestic violence. Among these issues, masses of people agree with the idea of gender equity in the workplace—equal pay for equal work.

Since our society continues to be primarily a "Christian" culture, masses of people continue to believe that god has ordained that women be

hooks, bell. "Feminist Politics: Where We Stand." Feminism is for Everybody. Boston: South End Press, 2000. Pluto Press, pp. 1–6

subordinate to men in the domestic household. Even though masses of women have entered the workforce, even though many families are headed by women who are the sole breadwinners, the vision of domestic life which continues to dominate the nation's imagination is one in which the logic of male domination is intact, whether men are present in the home or not. The wrongminded notion of feminist movement which implied it was anti-male carried with it the wrongminded assumption that all: female space would necessarily be an environment where patriarchy and sexist thinking would be absent. Many women, even those involved in feminist politics, chose to believe this as well.

There was indeed a great deal of anti-male sentiment among early feminist activists who were responding to male domination with anger. It was that anger at injustice that was the impetus for creating a women's liberation movement. Early on most feminist activists (a majority of whom were white) had their consciousness raised about the nature of male domination when they were working in anti-classist and anti-racist settings with men who were telling the world about the importance of freedom while subordinating the women in their ranks. Whether it was white women working on behalf of socialism, black women working on behalf of civil rights and black liberation, or Native American women working for indigenous rights, it was clear that men wanted to lead, and they wanted women to follow. Participating in these radical freedom struggles awakened the spirit of rebellion and resistance in progressive females and led them towards contemporary women's liberation.

As contemporary feminism progressed, as women realized that males were not the only group in our society who supported sexist thinking and behavior—that females could be sexist as well—anti-male sentiment no longer shaped the movement's consciousness. The focus shifted to an all-out effort to create gender justice. But women could not band together to further feminism without confronting our sexist thinking. Sisterhood could not be powerful as long as women were competitively at war with one another. Utopian visions of sisterhood based solely on the awareness of the reality that all women were in some way victimized by male domination were disrupted by discussions of class and race. Discussions of class differences occurred early on in contemporary feminism, preceding discussions of race. Diana Press published revolutionary insights about class divisions between women as early as the mid-'70s in their collection of essays *Class and Feminism.* These discussions did not trivialize the feminist insistence that "sisterhood is powerful"; they simply emphasized that we could only become sisters in struggle by confronting the ways women—through sex, class, and race—dominated and exploited other women, and created a political platform that would address these differences.

Even though individual black women were active in contemporary feminist movement from its inception, they were not the individuals who became the "stars" of the movement, who attracted the attention of mass media. Often individual black women active in feminist movement were revolutionary feminists (like many white lesbians). They were already at odds with reformist feminists who resolutely wanted to project a vision of the movement as being solely about women gaining equality with men in the existing system. Even before race became a talked-about issue in feminist circles it was clear to black women (and to their revolutionary allies in struggle) that they were never going to have equality within the existing white supremacist capitalist patriarchy.

From its earliest inception feminist movement was polarized. Reformist thinkers chose to emphasize gender equality. Revolutionary thinkers did not want simply to alter the existing system so that women would have more rights. We wanted to transform that system, to bring an end to patriarchy and sexism. Since patriarchal mass media was not interested in the more revolutionary vision, it never received attention in mainstream press. The vision of "women's liberation" which captured and still holds the public imagination was the one representing women as wanting what men had. And this was the vision that was easier to realize. Changes in our nation's economy, economic depression, the loss of jobs, etc., made the climate ripe for our nation's

citizens to accept the notion of gender equality in the workforce.

Given the reality of racism, it made sense that white men were more willing to consider women's rights when the granting of those rights could serve the interests of maintaining white supremacy. We can never forget that white women began to assert their need for freedom after civil rights just at the point when racial discrimination was ending and black people, especially black males, might have attained equality in the workforce with white men. Reformist feminist thinking focusing primarily on equality with men in the workforce overshadowed the original radical foundations of contemporary feminism which called for reform as well as overall restructuring of society so that our nation would be fundamentally anti-sexist.

Most women, especially privileged white women, ceased even to consider revolutionary feminist visions, once they began to gain economic power within the existing social structure. Ironically, revolutionary feminist thinking was most accepted and embraced in academic circles. In those circles the production of revolutionary feminist theory progressed, but more often than not that theory was not made available to the public. It became and remains a privileged discourse available to those among us who are highly literate, well-educated, and usually materially privileged. Works like *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* that offer a liberatory vision of feminist transformation never receive mainstream attention. Masses of people have not heard of this book. They have not rejected its message; they do not know what the message is.

While it was in the interest of mainstream white supremacist capitalist patriarchy to suppress visionary feminist thinking which was not anti-male or concerned with getting women the right to be like men, reformist feminists were also eager to silence these forces. Reformist feminism became their route to class mobility. They could break free of male domination in the workforce and be more self-determining in their lifestyles. While sexism did not end, they could maximize their freedom within the existing system. And they could count on there being a lower class of exploited subordinated women to do the dirty work they were refusing to do. By accepting and indeed colluding with the subordination of working-class and poor women, they not only ally themselves with the existing patriarchy and its concomitant sexism; they give themselves the right to lead a double life, one where they are the equals of men in the workforce and at home when they want to be. If they choose lesbianism they have the privilege of being equals with men in the workforce while using class power to create domestic lifestyles where they can choose to have little or no contact with men.

Lifestyle feminism ushered in the notion that there could be as many versions of feminism as there were women. Suddenly the politics was being slowly removed from feminism. And the assumption prevailed that no matter what a woman's politics, be she conservative or liberal, she too could fit feminism into her existing lifestyle. Obviously this way of thinking has made feminism more acceptable because its underlying assumption is that women can be feminists without fundamentally challenging and changing themselves or the culture. For example, let's take the issue of abortion. If feminism is a movement to end sexist oppression, and depriving females of reproductive rights is a form of sexist oppression, then one cannot be anti-choice and be feminist. A woman can insist she would never choose to have an abortion while affirming her support of the right of women to choose and still be an advocate of feminist politics. She cannot be anti-abortion and an advocate of feminism. Concurrently there can be no such thing as "power feminism" if the vision of power evoked is power gained through the exploitation and oppression of others.

Feminist politics is losing momentum because the feminist movement has lost clear definitions. We have those definitions. Let's reclaim them. Let's share them. Let's start over. Let's have T-shirts and bumper stickers and postcards and hip-hop music, television and radio commercials, ads everywhere and billboards, and all manner of printed material that tells the world about feminism. We can share the simple yet powerful message that feminism is a movement to end sexist oppression. Let's start there. Let the movement begin again.

2. • *Allan Johnson*

PATRIARCHY, THE SYSTEM:
An It, Not a He, a Them, or an Us (2014)

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"When you say patriarchy," a man complained from the rear of the audience, "I know what you *really* mean—me!" A lot of people hear "men" whenever someone says "patriarchy," so that criticism of male privilege and the oppression of women is taken to mean that all men—each and every one of them—are oppressive people.

Some of the time, men feel defensive because they identify with patriarchy and its values and do not want to face the consequences these produce or the prospect of giving up male privilege. But defensiveness can also reflect a common confusion about the difference between patriarchy as a kind of society and the people who participate in it. If we are ever going to work toward real change, it is a confusion we will have to clear up.

To do this, we have to begin by realizing that we are stuck in a model of social life that views everything as beginning and ending with individuals, Looking at things in this way, the tendency is to think that if bad things happen in the world and if the bad thing is something big, it is only because there are bad people who have entered into some kind of conspiracy. Racism exists, then, because white people are racist bigots who hate members of racial and ethnic minorities and want to do them harm. The oppression of women happens because men want and like to dominate women and act out hostility toward them. There is poverty and class oppression because people in the upper classes are greedy, heartless, and cruel.

The flip side of this individualistic model of guilt and blame is that race, gender, and class oppression are actually not oppression at all but merely the sum of individual failings on the part of people of color, women, and people living in poverty, who lack the right stuff to compete successfully with whites, men, and others who know how to make something of themselves.

What this kind of thinking ignores is that we are all participating in something larger than ourselves or any collection of us. On some level, most people are familiar with the idea that social life involves us in something larger than ourselves, but few seem to know what to do with that idea. Blaming everything on "the system" strikes a deep chord in many people,[1]

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but it also touches on a basic misunderstanding of social life, because blaming the system (presumably society) for our problems doesn't take the next step to understanding what that might mean. What exactly is a system and how could it run our lives? Do we have anything to do with shaping *it*, and if so, how? How do we participate in patriarchy, and how does that link us to the consequences? How is what we think of as normal life related to male privilege, women's oppression, and the hierarchical, control-obsessed world in which everyone's lives are embedded?

Without asking such questions, not only can we not understand gender fully, but we also avoid taking responsibility either for ourselves or for patriarchy. Instead, "the system" serves as a vague, unarticulated catch-all, a dumping ground for social problems, a scapegoat that can never be held to account and that, for all the power we think it has, cannot talk back or actually *do* anything.

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If we see patriarchy as nothing more than men's and women's individual personalities, motivations, and behavior, then it won't occur to us to ask about larger contexts—such as institutions like the family, religion, and the economy—and how people's lives are shaped in relation to them. From an individualistic perspective, for example, we might ask why a particular man raped, harassed, or beat a particular woman. We would not ask, however, what kind of society would promote persistent *patterns* of such behavior in everyday life, from wife-beating jokes to the routine inclusion of sexual coercion and violence in mainstream movies. We would be quick to explain rape and battery as the acts of sick or angry men, but without taking seriously the question of what kind of society would produce so much male anger and pathology or direct it toward sexual violence rather than something else. We would be unlikely to ask how gender violence might serve other more normalized ends such as masculine control and domination and the proving of manhood. . . .

In short, the tendency in this patriarchal society is to ignore and take for granted what we can least afford to overlook in trying to understand and change the world. Rather than ask how social systems produce social problems such as men's violence against women, we obsess over legal debates and titillating but irrelevant case histories soon to become made-for-television movies. If the goal is to change the world, this will not help. We need to see and deal with the social roots that generate and nurture the *social* problems that are reflected in and manifested through the behavior of individuals. We cannot do this without realizing that we all participate in something larger than ourselves, something we did not create but that we now have the power to affect through the choices we make about *how* to participate.

Some readers have objected to describing women as "participating" in patriarchy. The objection is based on the idea that participation, by definition, is something voluntary, freely chosen, entered into as equals, and that it therefore makes no sense that women might participate in their own oppression. But that is not my meaning here, and it is not a necessary interpretation of the word. To participate is to have a *part* in what goes on, to do something (or not) and to have that choice affect the consequences, regardless of whether it is conscious or unconscious, coerced or not. Of course, the *terms* of women's participation differ dramatically from those that shape men's, but it is participation, nonetheless.

This is similar to the participation of workers in the system of capitalism. They do not participate as equals to the capitalists who employ them or on terms they would choose if they could. Nevertheless, without workers, capitalism cannot function as a system that oppresses them.

The importance of participation can be seen in the many ways that women and working-class people respond to oppression—all the forms that fighting back or giving in can take. To argue that women or workers do not participate is to render them powerless and irrelevant to patriarchy's and capitalism's past, present, and future, for it is only as participants that people can affect anything. Otherwise, women and workers would be like pieces of wood

floating down a river, which, as history makes clear, has never been the case.

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Even more so, we cannot understand the world and our lives in it without looking at the dynamic relationship between individual people and social systems. Nor can we understand the countless details—from sexual violence to patterns of conversation to unequal distributions of power—that make up the reality of male privilege and the oppression of women.

As Figure 2 shows, this relationship has two parts. The arrow on the right side represents the idea that as we participate in social systems, we are shaped as individuals. Through the process of socialization, we learn how to participate in social life—from families, schools, religion, and the mass media, through the examples set by parents, peers, coaches, teachers, and public figures—a continuing stream of ideas and images of people and the world and who we are in relation to them.

Through all of this, we develop a sense of personal identity—including gender—and how this positions us in relation to other people, especially in terms of inequalities of power. As I grew up watching movies and television, for example, the message was clear that men are the most important people because they are the ones who do the most important things, as defined by patriarchal culture. They are the strong ones who build; the heroes and superheroes who fight the good fight; the geniuses, writers, and artists; the bold leaders; and even the evil—but always interesting—villains.

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Invariably, some of what we learn through socialization turns out not to be true and then we may have to deal with that. I say "may" because powerful forces encourage us to keep ourselves in a state of denial, to rationalize what we have been taught. It is a way to keep it safe from scrutiny, if only to protect our sense of who we are and ensure our being accepted by other people, including family and friends. In the end, the default is to adopt the dominant version of reality and act as though it's the only one there is.

In addition to socialization, participation in social systems shapes our behavior through paths of least resistance, a concept that refers to a feature of social systems that guides the conscious and unconscious choices we make from one moment to the next. When a young male college student at a party, for example, observes another man taking sexual advantage of a young woman who is clearly so drunk that she has little idea of what is happening, there are many things he could do. The options vary, however, in how much social resistance they are likely to provoke. They range from asking to join in or standing by to watch as if it were some kind of entertainment to walking away and pretending he doesn't know what is happening or stepping in to intervene before it goes any further. And, of course, as a human being he could do plenty of other things—sing, dance, go to sleep, scratch his nose, and so on. Most of these possibilities won't even occur to him, which is one of the ways that social systems limit our options. But of those that do occur to him, usually one will risk provoking less social resistance than all the rest. The path of least resistance in such a situation is to go along and not make any trouble, to not get in the way of

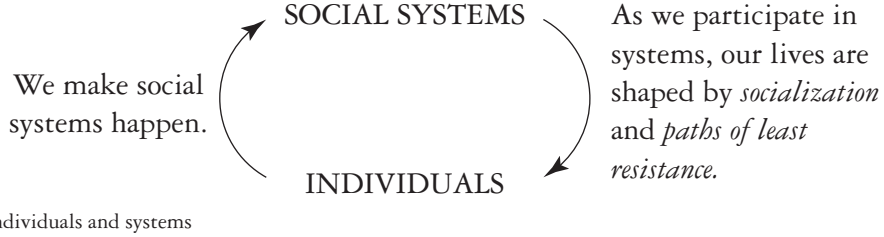

Figure 2 Individuals and systems

another man making use of a woman, to not risk being accused of siding with a woman against a man and thereby appearing to be less of a man himself, and unless he is willing to deal with the greater resistance that would follow, that is the choice he is most likely to make.

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This brings us to the arrow on the left side of the figure, which represents the fact that human beings are the ones who make social systems happen. A classroom, for example, does not happen as a social system unless and until students and teachers come together and, through their choices from moment to moment, *make* it happen in one way or another. Because people make systems happen, then people can also make systems happen differently. And when systems happen differently, the consequences are different as well. In other words, when people step off paths of least resistance, they have the potential not simply to change other people but to alter the way the system itself happens.

Given that systems shape people's behavior, this kind of change can be powerful. When a man objects to a sexist joke, for example, it can shake other men's perception of what is socially acceptable and what is not so that the next time they are in this kind of situation, their perception of the social environment itself—not just of other people as individuals, whom they may or may not know personally—may shift in a new direction that makes old paths (such as telling sexist jokes) more difficult to choose because of the increased risk of social resistance.

The dynamic relationship between people and social systems represents a basic sociological view of the world at every level of human experience, from the global capitalist economy to casual friendships to the patriarchal system in which women and men participate. Thus, patriarchy is more than a collection of women and men and cannot be understood by understanding *them. We* are not patriarchy, no more than people who believe in Allah *are* Islam or Canadians *are* Canada. Patriarchy is a kind of society organized around certain kinds of social relationships and ideas that shape paths of least resistance. As individuals, we participate in it as we live our lives. Paradoxically, our participation both shapes our lives and gives us the opportunity to be part of changing or perpetuating it. But *we are not it*, which means patriarchy can exist without men having oppressive personalities or actively conspiring with one another to defend male privilege.

THE SYSTEM

In general, a system is any collection of interrelated parts or elements that we can think of as a whole. A car engine, for example, is a collection of parts that fit together in certain ways to produce a whole that is culturally identified as serving a particular purpose. A language is a collection of parts—letters of the alphabet, words, punctuation marks, and rules of grammar and syntax—that fit together in certain ways to form something we identify as a whole. In the same way, a family or a society qualify as systems that differ in what they include and how those elements are organized.

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In spite of all the good reasons not to use individual models to explain social life, doing so constitutes a path of least resistance because personal experience and motivation are what we know best. As a result, we tend to see something like patriarchy as the result of poor socialization through which men learn to act dominant and masculine and women learn to act subordinate and feminine. While there is certainly some truth to this, it fails to explain patterns of privilege and oppression. It is no better than trying to explain war as simply the result of training men to be warlike, without looking at economic systems that equip armies at huge profits and political systems that organize and hurl armies at each other. . . . Socialization is merely a process, a mechanism for training people to participate in social systems. Although it tells us how people learn to participate, it does not illuminate the

systems themselves. Accordingly, it can tell us something about the *how* of a system like patriarchy but very little of the *what* and the *why*.

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Patriarchy is a way of organizing social life through which such wounding, failure, and mistreatment are bound to occur. If fathers neglect their sons, it is because fathers move in a world that makes pursuit of goals other than deeply committed fatherhood a path of least resistance.[2] If heterosexual intimacy is prone to fail, it is because patriarchy is organized in ways that set women and men fundamentally at odds with one another in spite of all the good reasons they otherwise have to get along together and thrive. And men's use of coercion and violence against women is a pervasive pattern only because force and violence are supported in patriarchal society, because women are designated as desirable and legitimate objects of male control, and because in a society organized around control, force and violence *work.*

We cannot find a way out of patriarchy or imagine something different without a clear sense of what patriarchy is and what it's got to do with us. Thus far, the alternative has been to reduce our understanding of gender to an intellectual gumbo of personal problems, tendencies, and motivations. Presumably, these will be solved through education, better communication skills, consciousness raising, heroic journeys and other forms of individual transformation, and the mere passage of time. Since this is not how social systems actually change, the result is widespread frustration and cycles of blame and denial, which is precisely where most people in this society seem to have been for many years.

We need to see more clearly what patriarchy is about as a system. This includes cultural ideas about men and women, the web of relationships that structure social life, and the unequal distribution of power, rewards, and resources that underlies privilege and oppression. We need to see new ways to participate by forging alternative paths of least resistance, for the system does not simply run us like hapless puppets. It may be larger than us, it may not be us, but it does not happen except *through* us. And that is where we have the power to do something about it and about ourselves in relation to it.

PATRIARCHY

The key to understanding any system is to identify its various aspects and how they are arranged to form a whole. To understand a language, for example, we have to learn its alphabet, vocabulary, and rules for combining words into meaningful phrases and sentences. A system like patriarchy is more complicated because there are many different aspects, and it can be difficult to see how they are connected.

Patriarchy's defining elements are its male-dominated, male-identified, male-centered, and control-obsessed character, but this is just the beginning. At its core, patriarchy is based on a set of symbols and ideas that make up a culture embodied by everything from the content of everyday conversation to the practice of war. Patriarchal culture includes ideas about the nature of things, including women, men, and humanity, with manhood and masculinity most closely associated with being human and womanhood and femininity relegated to the marginal position of other. It is about how social life is and what it is supposed to be, about what is expected of people and about how they feel. It is about standards of feminine beauty and masculine toughness, images of feminine vulnerability and masculine protectiveness, of older men coupled with younger women, of elderly women alone. It is about defining women and men as opposites, about the "naturalness" of male aggression, competition, and dominance on the one hand and of female caring, cooperation, and subordination on the other. It is about the valuing of masculinity and manhood and the devaluing of femininity and womanhood. It is about the primary importance of a husband's career and the secondary status of a wife's, about child care as a priority in women's lives and its secondary importance in men's. It is about the social acceptability of anger, rage, and toughness in men but not in women, and of caring, tenderness, and vulnerability in women but not in men.

Above all, patriarchal culture is about the core value of control and domination in almost every area of human existence. From the expression of emotion to economics to the natural environment, gaining and exercising control is a continuing goal. Because of this, the concept of power takes on a narrow definition in terms of "power over"—the ability to control others, events, resources, or oneself in spite of resistance—rather than alternatives such as the ability to cooperate, to give freely of oneself, or to feel and act in harmony with nature.[3] To have power over and to be prepared to use it are culturally defined as good and desirable (and characteristically masculine), and to lack such power or to be reluctant to use it is seen as weak if not contemptible (and characteristically feminine).

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The main use of any culture is to provide symbols and ideas out of which to construct a sense of what is real. Thus, language mirrors social reality in sometimes startling ways. In contemporary usage, for example, the words "crone," "bitch," and "virgin" describe women as threatening or heterosexually inexperienced and thus incomplete. In their original meanings, however, these words evoked far different images.[4] The crone was the old woman whose life experience gave her insight, wisdom, respect, and the power to enrich people's lives. The bitch was Artemis-Diana, goddess of the hunt, most often associated with the dogs who accompanied her. And the virgin was merely a woman who was unattached, unclaimed, and unowned by any man and therefore independent and autonomous. Notice how each word has been transformed from a positive cultural image of female power, independence, and dignity to an insult or a shadow of its former self, leaving few words to identify women in ways both positive and powerful.

Going deeper into patriarchal culture, we find a complex web of ideas that define reality and what is considered good and desirable. To see the world through patriarchal eyes is to believe that women and men are profoundly different in their basic natures, that hierarchy is the only alternative to chaos, and that men were made in the image of a masculine God with whom they enjoy a special relationship. It is to take as obvious the ideas that there are two and only two distinct sexes and genders; that patriarchal heterosexuality is natural and same-sex attraction is not; that because men neither bear nor breastfeed children, they cannot feel a compelling bodily connection to them; that on some level every woman, whether heterosexual, lesbian, or bisexual, wants a "real man" who knows how to take charge of things, including her; and that females cannot be trusted, especially when they're menstruating or accusing men of abuse.

In spite of all the media hype to the contrary, to embrace patriarchy still is to believe that mothers should stay home and that fathers should work outside the home, regardless of men's and women's actual abilities or needs.[5] It is to buy into the notion that women are weak and men are strong and that women and children need men to support and protect them, despite the fact that in many ways men are not the physically stronger sex, that women perform a huge share of hard physical labor in many societies (often larger than men's), that women's physical endurance tends to be greater than men's over the long haul, and that women tend to be more capable of enduring pain and emotional stress.[6]

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To live in a patriarchal culture is to learn what is expected of men and women—to learn the rules that regulate punishment and reward based on how individuals behave and appear. These rules range from laws that require men to fight in wars not of their own choosing to the expectation that mothers will provide child care. Or that when a woman shows sexual interest in a man or merely smiles or acts friendly, she gives up her right to say no and to control her own body from that point on. And to live under patriarchy is to take into ourselves ways of feeling—the hostile contempt for women that forms the core of misogyny and presumptions of male superiority, the ridicule that men direct at other men who show signs of vulnerability or weakness, or the fear and insecurity that every woman

must deal with when she exercises the right to move freely in the world, especially at night and by herself in public places.

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The prominent place of misogyny in patriarchal culture, for example, doesn't mean that every man and woman consciously hates all things that are culturally associated with being female. But it does mean that to the extent that we do not feel such hatred, it is *in spite of* prevailing paths of least resistance. Complete freedom from such feelings and judgments is all but impossible. It is certainly possible for heterosexual men to love women without mentally fragmenting them into breasts, buttocks, genitals, and other variously desirable parts. It is possible for women to feel good about their bodies, to not judge themselves as being too big, to not abuse themselves to one degree or another in pursuit of impossible male-identified standards of beauty and sexual attractiveness.

All of this is possible, but to live in patriarchy is to breathe in misogynist images of women as objectified sexual property valued primarily for their usefulness to men. This finds its way into everyone who grows up breathing and swimming in it, and once inside us it remains, however unaware of it we may be. When we hear or express sexist jokes and other forms of misogyny, we may not recognize it, and even if we do, we may say nothing rather than risk other people thinking we're too sensitive or, especially in the case of men, not one of the guys. In either ease, we are involved, if only by our silence.

The symbols and ideas that make up patriarchal culture are important to understand because they have such powerful effects on the structure of social life. By "structure," I mean the ways privilege and oppression are organized through social relationships and unequal distributions of power, rewards, opportunities, and resources. This appears in countless patterns of everyday life in family and work, religion and politics, community and education. It is found in family divisions of labor that exempt fathers from most domestic work even when both parents work outside the home, and in the concentration of women in lower-level pink-collar jobs and male predominance almost everywhere else. It is in the unequal distribution of income and all that goes with it, from access to health care to the availability of leisure time. It is in patterns of male violence and harassment that can turn a simple walk in the park or a typical day at work or a lovers' quarrel into a life-threatening nightmare. More than anything, the structure of patriarchy is found in the unequal distribution of power that makes male privilege possible, in patterns of male dominance in every facet of human life, from everyday conversation to global politics. By its nature, patriarchy puts issues of power, dominance, and control at the center of human existence, not only in relationships between men and women but among men as they compete and struggle to gain status, maintain control, and protect themselves from what other men might do to them.

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THE SYSTEM IN US IN THE SYSTEM

One way to see how people connect with systems is to think of us as occupying social positions that locate us in relation to people in other positions. We connect, for example, to families through positions such as mother, daughter, and cousin; to economic systems through positions such as vice president, secretary, or unemployed; to political systems through positions such as citizen, registered voter, and mayor; and to religious systems through positions such as believer and clergy.

How we perceive the people who occupy such positions and what we expect of them depend on cultural ideas—such as the belief that mothers are naturally better than fathers at child care. Such ideas are powerful because we use them to construct a sense of who we and other people are. When a woman marries a man, for example, how people (including her) perceive and think about her will change as cultural ideas about what it means to be a wife come into play—ideas about how wives feel about their husbands, what is most important to

wives, what is expected of them, and what they may expect of others.

From this perspective, *who* we and other people think we are has a lot to do with *where* we are in relation to social systems and all the positions we occupy in them. We would not exist as social beings without our participation in one social system or another. It is hard to imagine just who we would be and what our existence would consist of if we took away all of our connections to the symbols, ideas, and relationships that make up social systems. Take away language and all that it allows us to imagine and think, starting with our names. Take away all the positions that we occupy and the roles that go with them–from daughter and son to occupation and nationality—and with these all the complex ways our lives are connected to other people. Not much would be left over that we would recognize as ourselves.[7]

We can think of a society as a network of interconnected systems within systems, each made up of social positions and their relations to one another. To say, then, that I am white, male, college educated, non-disabled, and a nonfiction author, novelist, sociologist, U.S. citizen, heterosexual, husband, father, grandfather, brother, and son identifies me in relation to positions which are themselves related to positions in various systems, from the entire world to the family of my birth.

In another sense, the day-to-day reality of a society exists only through what people actually do as they participate in it. Patriarchal culture, for example, places a high value on control and manhood. By themselves, these are just abstractions. But when men and women actually talk and men interrupt women more than women interrupt men, or men ignore topics introduced by women in favor of their own or in other ways control conversation,[8] or when men use their authority to harass women in the workplace, then the reality of patriarchy as a kind of society and people's sense of themselves as gendered beings within it actually happen in a concrete way.

In this sense, like all social systems, patriarchy exists only through people's lives. Through this dynamic relationship, patriarchy's various aspects are there for us to see over and over again. This has two important implications for how we understand the system. First, to some extent people will experience patriarchy as external to them. This does not mean the system is a distinct and separate thing, like a house in which we live. Instead, by participating in patriarchy we are *of* patriarchy and it is *of* us. Both exist *through* the other, and neither exists without the other.

Second, patriarchy is not static. It is an ongoing *process* that is continually shaped and reshaped. Since the thing we are participating in is patriarchal, we tend to behave in ways that create a patriarchal world from one moment to the next. But we have some freedom to break the rules and construct everyday life in different ways, which means the paths we choose to follow can do as much to change patriarchy as they can to perpetuate it.

We are involved in patriarchy and its consequences because we occupy social positions in it, which is all it takes. Because patriarchy is, by definition, a system of inequality organized around culturally created gender categories, we cannot avoid being involved in it. *All* men and *all* women are therefore involved in this oppressive system, and none of us can control *whether* we participate, only *how*. As Harry Brod argues, this is especially important in relation to men and male privilege:

> We need to be clear that there is no such thing as giving up one's privilege to be "outside" the system. One is always *in* the system. The only question is whether one is part of the system in a way which challenges or strengthens the status quo. Privilege is not something I *take* and which I therefore have the option of *not* taking. It is something that society *gives* me, and unless I change the institutions which give it to me, they will continue to give it, and I will continue to *have* it, however noble and egalitarian my intentions.[9]

Because privilege is conferred by social systems, people do not have to *feel* privileged to *be* privileged. When I do presentations, for example, I usually come away feeling good about how it went and, therefore, about myself and my work. If anyone were to ask me to explain why things went so well, I

would probably mention my ability, my years of experience in public speaking, the quality of my ideas, and the interest and contributions of the audience. The last thing that would occur to me, however, would be that my success was aided by my gender, that if I had performed in exactly the same way but was perceived to be a woman, research shows quite clearly that I would have been taken less seriously, evaluated less positively along many dimensions, and have less of my success attributed to my own efforts and ability.

The difference between the two outcomes is a measure of male privilege, and there is little I can do to get rid of it, because its authority rests not in me but in society itself, especially in cultural images of gender. The audience does not know it is conferring male privilege on me, and I may not be aware that I'm receiving it. But the privilege is there nonetheless. That all of this may feel natural and non-privileged only deepens the system's hold on all who participate in it.

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NOTES

1. Sam Keen, *Fire in the Belly: On Being a Man* (New York: Bantam Books, 1991), 207.
2. For a history of American fatherhood, see Robert L. Griswold, *Fatherhood in America: A History* (New York: Basic Books, 1993).
3. For a thorough discussion of this distinction, see Marilyn French, *Beyond Power: On Men, Women, and Morals* (New York: Summit Books, 1985).
4. For discussions of language and gender, see Jane Caputi, *Gossips, Gorgons, and Crones* (Santa Fe, NM: Bear, 1993); Mary Daly, *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978); Margaret Gibbon, *Feminist Perspectives on Language* (New York: Longman, 1999); Dale Spender, *Man Made Language* (London: Pandora, 1980); Robin Lakoff, *Language and Woman's Place*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 2004); Barbara G. Walker, *The Women's Encyclopedia of Myths and Secrets* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1983); and Barbara G. Walker, *The Woman's Dictionary of Symbols and Sacred Objects* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1988). For a very different slant on gender and language, see Mary Daly (in cahoots with Jane Caputi), *Webster's First New Intergalactic Wickedary of the English Language* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1987).
5. See Arlie Hochschild, *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home*, rev. ed. (New York: Viking/Penguin, 2012).
6. See, for example, Rosalyn Baxandall, Linda Gordon, and Susan Reverby, eds., *America's Working Women: A Documentary History—1600 to the Present*, rev. ed. (New York: Norton, 1995); Ashley Montagu, *The Natural Superiority of Women* (New York: Collier, 1974); Robin Morgan, ed., *Sisterhood Is Global* (New York: Feminist Press, 1996); and Marilyn Waring, *If Women Counted: A New Feminist Economics* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1990).
7. Some would no doubt argue, with good reason, that our social selves mask more essential selves, but that's another argument for another place.
8. There is a substantial research literature documenting such genderized patterns of conversation. See, for example, Laurie P. Arliss, *Women and Men Communicating: Challenges and Changes*, 2nd ed. (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 2000); N. Henley, M. Hamilton, and B. Thorne, "Womanspeak and Manspeak: Sex Differences and Sexism in Communication," in *Beyond Sex Roles*, edited by A. G. Sargent (New York; West, 1985), 168–85; P. Kollock, P. Blumstein, and P. Schwartz, "Sex and Power in Interaction, *American Sociological Review* 50, no. 1 (1985): 34–46; L. Smith-Lovin and C. Brody, "Interruptions in Group Discussions: The Effect of Gender and Group Composition," *American Sociological Review* 51, no. 3 (1989): 424–35; and Mary M. Talbot, *Language and Gender. An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2010).
9. Harry Brod, "Work Clothes and Leisure Suits: The Class Basis and Bias of the Men's Movement," in *Men's Lives*, edited by Michael S. Kimmel and Michael A. Messner (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 280.