# "But Aren't Some Groups Actually More Oppressed than Others?"

## How and Why Intersectionality Matters

**Cherise A. Harris[1] and
Stephanie M. McClure[2]**
*[1]Connecticut College; [2]Georgia College*

Everyday conversations around inequalities in the United States often ask the wrong questions. For example, we ask whether it's harder to be Black or harder to be Latinx. We ask whether it's harder to be part of a BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, People of Color) group or harder to be gay or to be a woman (see Martinez, 2013). What we miss when asking these questions are (1) how very broad and overly simplistic all of these categories are, (2) the fact that one can be both BIPOC *and* a woman, for instance, and (3) the multiple systems of oppression that may connect our experiences in the social world. We tend to minimize these complexities and instead revert to one-dimensional and dominant group or ruling class (i.e., *hegemonic*) understandings of these categories.

Consider, for instance, the recent report of COVID-19's negative impact on women. During the pandemic, we have been bombarded with catch-phrases like "we're all in this together." Yet, a 2021 report issued by the National Women's Law Center entitled, "All of the Jobs Lost in December [2020] Were Women's Jobs" (Ewing-Nelson, 2021) underscored the impact of the pandemic on women, who have been forced to leave the workforce in droves, largely due to childcare or eldercare issues, or because they worked in areas (e.g., the leisure and hospitality sector, government jobs, etc.) that were hard hit by pandemic restrictions and closings. Minimized or ignored completely in the discussions of "women" losing ground in the workplace, was that Black and Latinx women had been disproportionately affected. While there had been some gains in the workplace overall during December 2020, among women ages 20 and over, more than 1 in 12 Black women (8.4%) and roughly 1 in 11 Latinx women (9.1%) remained unemployed, as compared to 6.3% of all women. Notably, the unemployment rate for White men ages 20 and over was 5.8% (Ewing-Nelson, 2021). Given these statistics, it was clear that the raced, classed, and gendered impacts of COVID-19 were being erased in lieu of a narrative that emphasized "sameness."
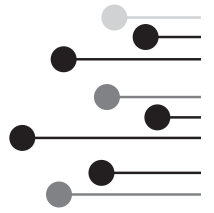
The myopia that we employ around questions of inequality even informs social movements where, for many years, the mainstream feminist movement remained mostly White, heterosexual, cisgender, and middle-class, as if this was the only definition of a "woman." That hegemonically defined concept of "woman" is still with us and controls how we view all women, but most particularly those who *don't* fit this definition—e.g., trans women, BIPOC women, poor women, and women who belong to the LGBTQIA community, among others. A closer examination of a recent movement—the #MeToo movement—reveals how our lack of knowledge about the intersecting nature of race, class, and gender, in particular, both hide and exacerbate inequalities in real life.

## #MeToo: The Centering of White Women and the Marginalizing of BIPOC Women

In 2006, a Black woman named Tarana Burke used the hashtag #MeToo on her MySpace account to share her experience of sexual harassment in the workplace. The posting was designed to encourage Black and Latinx girls and women in her local community to come forward with their own experiences of sexual misconduct in a supportive space (see Gibson et al., 2019). However, the hashtag didn't go viral until 2017 when Alyssa Milano, a White actor, tweeted the hashtag, asking about others' experiences of sexual misconduct. Thousands of women on social media began to discuss their own experiences—some that they had reported, but many that had gone unreported. The hashtag turned into a movement—and one that often forgot Burke's name—particularly as the movement reached Hollywood, in part due to Milano's use of the hashtag. It was in that sphere that media mogul Harvey Weinstein began to be repeatedly named as a sexual predator.

For decades, stories of sexual misconduct followed Weinstein, founder and former chair of the Miramax studio. As the #MeToo movement gained steam online, stories came out from actors like Mira Sorvino, Ashley Judd, Annabella Sciorra, and multitudes of other mostly White and hegemonically beautiful women who claimed their careers had been adversely impacted by refusing Weinstein's advances. By 2018, Weinstein found himself indicted on charges of rape and sexual assault and ousted from Hollywood. Another social media hashtag soon developed, #TimesUp, to serve notice to sexual predators both inside and outside Hollywood that their time victimizing women without consequence was coming to an end.

As both hashtags increased in popularity, many Black Americans wondered why time wasn't also up for a powerful Black celebrity who had allegedly been victimizing young Black women for decades: R. Kelly. Robert Kelly rose to fame in the 1990s and was hailed as a musical genius who collaborated on songs with Michael Jackson, Britney Spears, Kanye West, Justin Bieber, Jay-Z, and Lady Gaga among others (Smalls & Tall, 2019). He received numerous Grammy awards for writing, producing, and performing. Yet, Kelly was continuously dogged by allegations of sexual impropriety. The whispers began around 1994 when Kelly was 27 years old, and it was rumored that he was in a relationship with his protégé, R&B singer Aaliyah,

who was reportedly only 15 years old when they allegedly married (Savage, 2020) and had sex (Bellis & Finnie, 2019). In 1994, Kelly produced Aaliyah's first album, unfortunately entitled, *Age Ain't Nothing But a Number*. Aaliyah tragically died in a plane crash in 2001, and her family has been mostly silent about her time with Kelly. Nevertheless, Kelly has faced numerous allegations and court cases (Bellis & Finnie, 2019), including a 2002–2004 case where he was charged with "21 counts of making child pornography, involving intercourse, oral sex, urination, and other sexual acts" (Savage, 2020). Those charges were ultimately dropped when a judge sided with Kelly's defense team who argued that police found these items during an unjustified search (Savage, 2020).

Given that Kelly had always been able to escape punishment, many wondered if he'd ever be held accountable. However, in 2019, a six-part documentary series called *Surviving R. Kelly* (Bellis & Finnie, 2019) aired on the Lifetime network. By far, the most damning parts of the documentary were those featuring the personal testimonies of over a dozen BIPOC women who claimed that they were underage when they met Kelly and had been sexually, physically, and/or emotionally abused by him. Much like the allegations toward Weinstein, the accusations against Kelly detailed in the documentary reached across decades. Indeed, as indicated in a recent BBC article (Savage, 2020), from 1996 to the present, Kelly has been named in a slew of court cases from multiple states, accusing him of sex with minors, personal injury, emotional distress, child pornography, and running a sex cult. By 2018, the #muteRKelly hashtag and campaign was born, urging concert promoters, ticket sellers, and streaming services to stop doing business with Kelly. It took the 2019 documentary spearheaded by a Black woman, dream hampton, to finally reach a turning point; two weeks after it aired, Kelly's concerts in the United States were cancelled, and he was soon charged with 10 counts of aggravated criminal sexual abuse, 11 counts of sexual assault, abuse against a minor between ages 13 and 16, and sex trafficking (Savage, 2020). Kelly was indicted on charges of aggravated criminal sexual abuse and at the time of this writing, he is currently in jail awaiting four trials in federal court and courts in three different states for various sex crime charges (Puente, 2020). Most recently, in September 2021, he was convicted of nine charges that included federal racketeering and sex trafficking (Closson, 2021).

All too frequently, women aren't believed when they report instances of sexual violence, but this has been particularly true for Black women, who as far back as enslavement have been saddled with the controlling image of the *Jezebel*—or the inherently hypersexual Black woman. This image has been historically and contemporarily used to construct a narrative of Black women as incapable of being raped (as commonly happened during slavery) because they are actually temptresses with insatiable sexual appetites (Collins, 2000; see also Strings in this volume). Similar controlling images have been used for Indigenous women (Merskin, 2010), Latinx women (Molina-Guzman, 2010), and Asian women (Sheridan, 2006). Thus, when young, mostly Black women came forward and said they had been sexually and emotionally abused by R. Kelly, the allegations went nowhere for many years. This was also interesting in light of the fact that while men, in general, have historically been

able to escape scrutiny and punishment for violence enacted upon women, Black men have rarely escaped this scrutiny. The gory history of lynching in the United States where numerous Black men were routinely tortured, castrated, and hung by the neck just for having looked at a White woman or accidentally brushed by her are examples of this (see Turner, Serrano, and Blume Ouer in this volume for further discussion).

So, why was so much attention paid to Weinstein's victims and not R. Kelly's? Coined in 1991 by legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw, the term "intersectionality" was originally used to refer to "the various ways race and gender interact to shape the multiple dimensions of black women's employment experiences," as well as their marginalization in both feminist and antiracist projects (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1244). As Crenshaw pointed out, Black women are disenfranchised by both race *and* gender, which means that they are oppressed by both racism and sexism, *simultaneously*. What Crenshaw—and other Black women thinkers before and after her (see Collins, 2015)—knew was that in order to fully understand the sociological implications of an individual's life, we must consider all the social categories they represent and how those categories overlap and interact with each other. Crenshaw (1991) focused mainly on what it means to be both Black and a woman. However, more recently, intersectional analyses have been extended to embrace other categories of difference beyond race and gender like class, sexuality, and citizenship (see Carbado, 2013; see also Gopaldas, 2013). They have also begun to include both the experiences of White folks and men as well, where Black feminist scholar Audre Lorde ([1984], 2007) suggests that we don't want to just examine the "multiplicatively oppressed" like Black, disabled, and/or lesbian women, but also the "multiplicatively privileged" like "[the] white, thin, male, young, heterosexual, Christian, and financially secure" (Lorde [1984] 2007, p. 116, cited in Gopaldas, 2013).

Thus, if we were to apply an intersectional lens to the cases of Harvey Weinstein and R. Kelly, we begin to see how intersectionality works in real life. Importantly, while Weinstein is White and Kelly is Black, both are wealthy cisgender men. Thus, it took decades for their crimes to come to light in some part because of the power they held as wealthy men in a capitalist society that values money and excuses or minimizes the deviant activities of those who have it. In Weinstein's case, audio tapes of him intimidating accusers and threatening their careers and the careers of whistleblowers came to light (Barbato & Bailey, 2021). In Kelly's case, three of his associates were charged in August 2020 with "attempting to intimidate, harass, or pay off alleged victims in the racketeering case" against him (Savage, 2020), thereby indicating his level of wealth and ability to silence accusers. In a patriarchal society, women are perceived as lesser beings than men and their bodies as the property of men. As a result, when allegations of sexual harassment and assault are levied, we tend not to believe the women involved, and patriarchal and capitalist forces work to silence them with financial incentives (e.g., promises of work and stardom) and disincentives (e.g., denied career access).

The Weinstein and Kelly cases also reveal the importance of race in intersectional analyses. Many of Weinstein's alleged victims are White women who are considered stereotypically beautiful, have some degree of wealth, and some celebrity. In other words, they made for very sympathetic victims once

enough cases were brought to light. However, Kelly's alleged victims were young Black girls. As social worker and writer Feminista Jones (2019) notes, even though Kelly's crimes had been discussed for years, "black girls [didn't] matter enough to enough people to make him disappear." In addition, several of the victims appeared to be of a lower socioeconomic status (see Bellis & Finnie, 2019; Hopper, 2013) which made it easier for Kelly to (1) lure them with trips, gifts, and promises of money and career success (Bellis & Finnie, 2019); (2) force them to remain silent due to fear of violating Kelly's alleged nondisclosure agreements; and (3) be ignored by social institutions like law enforcement and the justice system. Thus, the intersections of his victims being young, poorer Black girls made them easy targets, played a key role in their silencing, and contributed to them being seen as disposable in the eyes of the general public and the law. Indeed, the perception of R. Kelly's victims becomes clear in the Lifetime documentary when during Kelly's 2008 trial for child pornography charges for which he was ultimately acquitted, an older White male juror in the case who was interviewed said of the women who accused Kelly of having an underage relationship with them: "I didn't believe them, the women … The way they dressed, the way they acted—I didn't like them … I disregarded all what they said" (Simmons, Hampton, Daniels, et al., 2019). This juror's perception again reflects the Jezebel image of Black women in the public imagination and also reflects research that finds that Black girls are seen as older and in less need of protection as White girls of the same age (Epstein, Black, & Gonzalez, 2017). Thus, a more complete analysis of the public responses to Weinstein and Kelly requires an intersectional lens in order to think through how race and gender intersect with ideas about class and sexuality.

These very public cases (and many that aren't so public) indicate that intersectionality is an integral tool for examining social inequalities. As such, questions like, "What is the Black experience in the United States?" are problematic because they assume that all Black people have the same experience. While Black people may share similar experiences of oppression based on race, the degree and gradation of that experience might change depending on whether they are coded as male, female, trans, or nonbinary; whether they are upper-, middle-, or working-class; whether they are Caribbean immigrants, African immigrants, or descendants of enslaved Africans in the United States; where they identify on the sexuality spectrum; and whether they are abled or have a physical or cognitive disability. Yet too often, we think we can answer that question solely on the basis of race. As discussed above, the same is true of gender and our limited notions of "women." In this volume, gender and women's studies scholar Andrea Baldwin notes this as well as the ways that social movements like the feminist movement have largely excluded women who aren't White, wealthy, straight, and able-bodied. Of course, the same is true of social class, where conventional wisdom suggests that to be Black is to be poor and to live in an inner city, high poverty neighborhood—a myth deconstructed in Thomas, Overmyer, and McClure's essay. What we hope to demonstrate through the essays in this text is that using an intersectional lens helps us (1) better address some of our most confusing and vexing social problems and (2) understand how particular social phenomena impact the lives of everyday people in meaningful ways.

# A Deeper Dive Into Intersectionality

Intersectionality requires us to resist an "either/or" analysis and embrace the complexities of a "both/and" analysis. We may be able to identify moments where one particular category or system is operating more powerfully to influence certain outcomes, but we shouldn't imagine that no other systems are also at work. For example, when discussing former President Donald Trump's rise to power, the media brought us articles on "economic anxiety" as if to suggest that his popularity was solely based on White people's concerns about class mobility. Frequently minimized in the coverage was his White supremacist platform, his hypermasculine rhetoric, and the integral role that both played in his ascendance, not only among White men but also among White women (see Strolovitch, Wong, & Proctor in this volume; see also Riley & Peterson, 2019; Schaffner, Williams, & Nteta, 2018). In these ways, both racism and sexism played a key role in his popularity among White voters.

Moreover, from an intersectional perspective, we could look at the role Trump's rhetoric and policies played in exacerbating inequality for already marginalized groups like poor people, BIPOC folks, undocumented immigrants, LGBTQIA folks, people with disabilities and impairments, Muslims, and those who embody several of these categories simultaneously. Members of his base cheered during rallies when he openly mocked disabled people, when he ranted about building a wall between Mexico and the United States, or when he denigrated women journalists who asked him "tough questions." This allowed many White, cisgender, abled men with citizenship to feel superior to these groups and support Trump's exclusionary agendas. That support would continue during Trump's handling of the COVID-19 pandemic. When it became clear that BIPOC communities were disproportionately suffering from the effects of COVID-19 (The Covid Tracking Project, 2020), his administration ignored the disparities, politicized the wearing of masks, and in doing so, contributed to the deaths of over 700,000 people in the United States at the time of this writing—deaths that were disproportionately among BIPOC people. And so, if we want to better understand Trump's popularity, an intersectional lens elucidates how various destructive systems worked together to create and solidify his support, while also further marginalizing oppressed groups.

When we talk about intersectionality in this book, we are specifically examining the following categories and how they intersect or interlock and thus determine social identities and lived experiences: gender, race, ethnicity, class, citizenship, sexual orientation, and ability. These categories aren't discrete, but instead they overlap, build on each other, and work in tandem with one another (Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 4—more on this below). For example, it is nearly impossible to analyze sexuality without also looking at our conceptualizations of gender. Likewise, it is almost impossible to talk about class without also talking about race. And, because inequality in the United States is largely about the system of capitalism and how it operates, then "[c]apital is intersectional [because it] always intersects with the bodies that produce the labor" (see Eisenstein, 2014, cited in Collins & Bilge, 2016).

We ground our text in the core ideas of intersectional frameworks put forth by Collins and Bilge (2016) and influenced by BIPOC women thinkers like Anna Julia Cooper and Ida B. Wells-Barnett (Lemert & Bahn, 1998),

Audre Lorde (2007/1984), Gloria Anzaldua (2012), and Angela Davis (Davis, 2003; James, 1998). These core ideas are:

1. **Social inequality**—Social inequality mainly refers to unequal outcomes. Current definitions of intersectionality tend to emphasize social inequality and there is a large body of literature aimed at using intersectionality for this goal. This text is no different, in that respect. However, there are essays where we use intersectionality to better understand the micro level of social interactions in physical spaces and cyberspaces, which we discuss further below.

2. **Power**—As suggested above, social inequality is largely about power, who has it, who doesn't, and why. We are also mainly referring to three different types of power: social, political, and economic. Power relations tend to crystallize in social structures like organizations and institutions (see Ray, 2019), while the ideologies behind these power relations are disseminated widely and repeatedly through vehicles like the mass media, including social media. Both formal and informal social rewards and punishments reinforce these power relationships, as is discussed in essays like Turner et al.'s on the treatment of Black boys' in schools, Davis and Parris' essay on inequalities in charter and magnet schools, and Rudolph's essay on disability from an intersectional perspective.

3. **Relationality**—As we indicated above, according to Collins and Bilge (2016), "relational thinking rejects *either/or* binary thinking... The focus of relationality shifts from analyzing what distinguishes entities, for example, the differences between race and gender, to examining their interconnections" (p. 27). All of the essays in this volume contain some form of relational thinking among and between categories of difference.

4. **Contextualization**—In order to use intersectionality as a lens, we must be able to contextualize an argument, meaning ground it in historical, intellectual, and political contexts because these influence what we think and how we behave (Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 28). According to Gopaldas (2013, pp. 92–93): "Intersectional research aims to uncover the historical and structural mechanisms of domination: What cultural, economic, legal, and political forces created the current manifestations of oppression? What structural mechanisms reproduce and sustain the status quo?" In this book, you will see scholars debunk common social myths and analyze particular social phenomena using this kind of contextualization. Without it, a sociological analysis is often ill-informed and results in partial or distorted information (Harding, 1992), which can also lead to ineffective policymaking. Importantly, contrary to overly simplistic views of science and objectivity, people and groups positioned differently in these systems of power have varying views on social inequality, based on their experiences and their perceptions of others' experiences in social contexts.

5. **Complexity**—The concept of intersectionality is inherently complex in large part because the social world is complex. This can be frustrating for students first learning how to see the world through an intersectional lens that includes so many different social categories. Even the essays in this volume illustrate the complexity of exploring a topic from so many multiple angles. Because "intersectional research stresses the inclusion of all voices. . . the most difficult aspect of intersectional research is delineating the scope of a study—[or] which identity structures to include in the analysis and why" (Gopaldas, 2013, p. 91). As such, you may find that authors don't cover every single possible intersection, but instead focus on the ones that perhaps are most salient when considering one's life experiences and one's life chances.

6. **Social justice**—As Collins and Bilge (2016) note, "fairness is elusive in unequal societies where the rules may seem fair, yet differentially enforced through discriminatory practices" (p. 29). In addition, "whereas traditional diversity research is typically positioned as providing value-neutral contributions to social science, intersectional research is typically positioned as 'critical' or 'transformative.' In other words, intersectional research [sometimes] makes value-laden proposals and plans for social change" (Gopaldas, 2013, p. 93). In this text, you will see authors present ideas for social change and coalition building; this is also a focus of the last essay by McClure, Harris, and Baldwin. However, Collins and Bilge (2016) contend that "[w]orking for social justice is not a requirement for intersectionality" (p. 30). Therefore, there are some essays in this book that aren't solely focused on social justice from a macrolevel perspective, but discuss microlevel aspects like love, desire, sexuality, and identity across the intersections. You will see this in Karen Wu's essay discussing perceptions of Asian men and women, Afshan Jafar's essay analyzing perceptions of Muslim women with head coverings, and Kylan DeVries and Carrie Jean Sojka's essay on trans people's presentation of self. Of note, however, is that these kinds of social phenomena can create large-scale inequalities. For example, if we consider Karen Wu's essay, the feminizing of Asian men as "failed," unattractive men, who exist outside the bounds of hegemonic masculinity may exclude them from wealth- and status-generating opportunities in a White, patriarchal, capitalist society, all while continuing to devalue characteristics typically associated with women, by extension.

As alluded to earlier, you may notice the questions we pose above extend past the experiences of Black women, the group to which this framework was originally applied. However, we are not suggesting that there isn't more to be explored regarding Black women—a concern addressed by Crenshaw and colleagues (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013). There are plenty of questions and social phenomena that uniquely affect Black women in the United States. In this volume, for instance, we discuss several of those including perceptions of Black women's bodies (see Strings' essay), policies that largely affect Black women and their families like the foster care system (see Harris' essay), and

perceptions toward welfare assistance (see Hayden Foster's essay). However, we echo renowned Black feminist scholar, Patricia Hill Collins' (2000) belief that, "In a context of intersecting oppressions, Black feminism requires searching for justice not only for US Black women, but for everyone" (p. 43). Thus, you will see a variety of groups discussed in this volume like Black men, but also Latinx women, Asian men, Muslim women, and LGBTQIA folks of various races. What we aim to do with this variety of pieces is: (1) debunk myths about particular social phenomena, (2) underscore the systems of oppression that affect so many of us, and (3) search for ways to build coalitions across categories of difference based on recognition of our shared experiences with systems of oppression that function in similar ways and toward the same goal of excluding groups from participating in a capitalist and democratic system. Regarding the third aim, "[c]onceptualizing identity as inherently coalitional creates space for coalitional possibilities among individuals, as well as new directions for understanding groups" (Collins & Bilge, 2016, pp. 133–134).

Finally, as also alluded to earlier, we take the unusual step of including Whiteness and its intersecting categories. Legal scholar Devon W. Carbado (2013) argues that, "Framing intersectionality as only about women of color gives masculinity, whiteness, and maleness an intersectional pass. That, in turn, leaves colorblind intersectionality and gender-blind intersectionality unnamed and uninterrogated, further naturalizing white male heterosexuality as the normative baseline against which the rest of us are intersectionally differentiated" (p. 841). Carbado describes "colorblind intersectionality" as "instances in which whiteness helps to produce and is part of a cognizable social category but is invisible or unarticulated as an intersectional subject position" (p. 817). The same is true of gender where White male heterosexuality remains unexamined, thus leading to a "gender-blind intersectionality" (Carbado, 2013, p. 818). The necessity of including Whiteness as an analytical category was recently referenced by Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Mark Milley in his testimony before the House Committee on Armed Services in 2021, when he explained the importance of including Carol Anderson's *White Rage: The Unspoken Truth of Our Racial Divide* (2016) in the curriculum at US military academies. Milley said, "The United States Military Academy is a university. And it is important that we train and we understand. I want to understand white rage, and I'm white. And I want to understand it." Referring specifically to the Capitol insurrection on January 6, 2021, Milley stated, "So, what is it that caused thousands of people to assault this building and try to overturn the Constitution of the United States of America? What caused that? I want to find that out, and I want to maintain an open mind here, and I want to analyze it" (Knutson, 2021).

We agree with that necessity. Our aim in including pieces on White heterosexual men is to make these categories visible and therefore analyzable, while also thinking about how these intersections frequently lead to unequal outcomes for BIPOC folks across the intersections. The empirical research presented by Levi Gahman on gun ownership among White men and Jennifer Carlson's research on White police officers, for instance, tells us a great deal about how White men perform race, gender, class, and sexuality in ways that may be deadly for BIPOC folks as indicated in the extrajudicial killings of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and Ahmaud Arbery, among many others. Moreover, investigating the attitudes of these White men and imagining a

change in the racial variable—i.e., What would happen if Black people regularly and visibly carried guns like these White men do? How might the perspectives and experiences of Black or Latinx police officers differ from White officers?—helps us think through how intersections work in real life for marginalized groups. In order to facilitate that kind of thinking, we offer the GRECCSOA acronym and chart as a way of identifying categories of difference and exploring how they interact with one another.

## The GRECCSOA Chart: A Tool for Students

We use the GRECCSOA acronym and chart in our classes simply as a way to remember some of the major categories involved in an intersectional approach: **G**ender, **R**ace and **E**thnicity, **C**lass, **C**itizenship, **S**exual **O**rientation, and **A**bility (GRECCSOA). As you go through the readings, it might help you to think about inequality along all of these axes. Better analyses of social phenomena require that we resist oversimplification and instead reach for complexity. Intersectionality prompts us to avoid overgeneralization of categories of people and always keep in the forefront of our mind that social groups (i.e., BIPOC people, women, LGBTQ folks, etc.) are more heterogeneous than popular media and everyday discussions would have us believe.

Within these GRECCSOA categories are groups who have power and those who have (far) less power. In Nancy Jay's 1981 piece "Gender and Dichotomy," later expanded upon by renowned gender scholar Judith Lorber in *Paradoxes of Gender* (1994), she talks about the existence of A/Not-A categories. As Jay says, "That which is defined, separated out, isolated from all else is A and pure. Not-A is necessarily impure, a random catchall, to which nothing is external except A and the principle of order that separates it from Not-A" (p. 45). The "A" group is the group that is largely empowered in the existing social system and "Not-A" is the group or groups that are largely disempowered in the existing social system (Lorber, 1994). Lorber (1994) would go on to expand the A/Not-A metaphor to include categories like class and race, where for instance White is "A" and Black is "Not-A." We have extrapolated from Jay's and Lorber's pieces in the chart below in order to cover several important categories of difference:

| | Gender | Race and Ethnicity | Class | Citizenship | Sexual Orientation | Ability |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | Cis-Men | White (WASP) | Middle/Upper Class | Citizen | Straight | Abled |
| Not-A | Cis-Women, Transgender, Gender Nonbinary, Intersex | Black, Indigenous, and other People of Color (BIPOC) | Working-Class/Poor | Noncitizen | Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, "Queer" | Disabled |
| System (oppressive behaviors) | Patriarchy (Sexism, Cisnormativity, Cis-Sexism) | White Supremacy (Racism/ Ethnocentrism/ White normativity) | Capitalism (Classism) | Nativism (Ethnocentrism) | Heterosexism/ Heteronormativity (Homophobia) | Ableism (Ableism) |

You might notice some things by looking at the chart. First, if we consider how many people have all of the A statuses (i.e., cisgender, White men, who are middle/upper class, citizens, and also heterosexual and able bodied), we might imagine this to be a fairly small group of people, but one that wields an enormous amount of power in the United States. You might also notice from looking at the collectivity of Not-A groups that these are often referred to as "minority groups" not necessarily because of their size but because these groups have far less social, economic, and political power. In addition, it is clear just from looking at nearby columns and boxes that people in these categories don't just have a race or ethnicity, for instance; they may also identify as a particular gender, sexual orientation, or social class, while also possessing varying classifications of ability and citizenship status. To be clear, when we are talking about *ability*, we mean the difference between being abled and having one or more disabilities. Nirmala Erevelles' book *Disability and Difference in Global Contexts: Enabling a Transformative Body Politics* (2011), focuses on "the actual social and economic conditions that impact (disabled) people's lives, and that are currently mediated by the politics of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and nation" (p. 26, cited in Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 214). To this end, our authors will talk about disability as another major category of difference that requires our consideration. Interdisciplinary scholar Jennifer Domino Rudolph provides such an analysis in her piece, "'When I Think of Disability, I Think of a White Guy in a Wheelchair': The Social Construction of Disability and its Intersections with Race, Class, Gender, and Sexuality." Here, Rudolph looks at how visible disabilities (e.g., having cerebral palsy) and invisible disabilities (e.g., having Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder or trauma) intersect with issues like ethnicity (e.g., being Latinx) or being a cisgender woman. Thus, when we look at the collectivity of these statuses, we can see the different ways an individual's life is affected if they are a cis or trans woman, poor, disabled, and/or not a citizen, due to the multiplicity of institutional structures that oppress them and that arise from our ideas about who matters and who doesn't in a social world that measures people based on their perceived contributions to the economy.

Intersectionality clarifies the ways that these systems interlock and are mutually reinforcing. Let's take for example, sexual orientation. Much of the discrimination that LGBTQ+ people face is based on rigid notions of gender. Under patriarchy, men are in the power group ("A"), but they must be fully recognized as "men" for that to happen. In other words, they must adhere to the dictates of *hegemonic masculinity* (see Connell, 2005) which tells them they must be strong, emotionless, violent, and heterosexual (among other characteristics) and must dominate women (see Gahman's piece in this volume for further discussion). If a man "falls short" of any of these social dictates, he is a "failed man." Men who are attracted to men thus violate hegemonic masculinity, which may bring consequences in their everyday interactions, but also in the workplace. The discrimination they may face in the workplace, could impede their class mobility under capitalism—a system that's also built on "men" being in charge. However, it's not just "men" in charge: by and large, it is *White* cisgender men. Frequently under researched in the intersections are power groups like these. To this end, critical studies like Masculinity Studies and Whiteness Studies have emerged in recent years in order to shine a light on how powerful groups function and how they oppress.

Because we all embody/live in multiple categories, when we combine categories and boxes on the GRECCSOA chart, we can begin to see the intersections of systems that define our lives and the lives of others. For example, if one is a poor, Black, cis woman, it becomes easier to see how Black single moms are simultaneously disadvantaged by systems that manifest in racism, sexism, and classism, thereby making it difficult to say only one of these is the cause of their oppression. Historically, as political scientist Carly Hayden Foster points out in her essay, the intersection of these categories has led to a rhetoric toward these women that casts them and that their families as inherently "broken"—an assumption with dangerous consequences as Harris points out in her essay on the foster care system. In both cases, it is the children in these families who often pay the ultimate price. In these ways, by combining various boxes on the GRECCSOA chart, and investigating the relationships between them, we can better understand how systems of inequality work together to impact people's lives in adverse ways.

It bears repeating that the relationships between these categories are undergirded by the economic system of capitalism. When we construct people in Not-A categories as deviant, undeserving, and/or incapable of performing, it becomes that much easier to justify keeping them away from the centers of power that lead to social, economic, and political mobility. It means that some in the United States get to compete, while others are systematically sidelined. And because this country is based on a system of capitalism that frequently functions as a zero-sum game, it seemingly makes sense to keep as many people from competing as possible.

When we understand the importance of looking at how social categories intersect and the patterns underlying these categories, we can also avoid playing the "Oppression Olympics" (Martinez, 2013). Instead, intersectionality suggests that groups should (1) work together whenever possible, (2) support one another's causes, and (3) recognize common stakeholders. Gopaldas (2013, citing Icard, 1985) gives the example of how "the National Association or the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) for LGBT rights could (1) jointly develop affirmative action policies for American high schools; (2) come out in support of each other's causes, as the NAACP recently did in favor of same-sex marriages; and (3) create a social media campaign that addresses the needs of young black gay men who experience sexual discrimination in their own black but homophobic families as well as racial discrimination in the predominantly white gay communities in the United States" (p. 93). These are the types of coalition-building to which intersectionality aspires.

## Limitations of the GRECCSOA Chart

One of the limitations of the GRECCSOA chart is how overly broad and simplistic it is in some respects. For example, as a student, consider some other categories of difference that could be added to the chart. In our own classes, students think about adding religion and age (which would make the acronym "GRECCSOAR" or "GRECCSOAA" with an extra "A", respectively). In terms of religion, the United States adheres to a Christonormative lens; Christianity is interwoven in things like the Pledge of Allegiance and federal

holidays like Easter and Christmas where many workers are automatically given the day off. Yet, Muslims celebrating Ramadan or Eid rarely get days off or even any public acknowledgement of these holidays. Similarly, Jewish holidays are barely acknowledged where some school districts give students the day off and others don't. Christocentric social expectations thus often exclude other religious groups and may even lead to religious discrimination like anti-Semitism and Islamophobia (see Jafar in this volume).

In terms of age, the A-group might be difficult to pinpoint. However, in a capitalist society, the 18–34 demographic is certainly sought after in the mass media due to their purchasing power. As such, could make the argument that they are the A-group. Others might make the argument that middle-aged people (ages 35–54) who may own homes or financial investments have the most purchasing power and that they, therefore, are the A-group. Common to both of these arguments is that they exclude the very young, i.e., those under age 18, and those who are older, i.e., age 55 and up. The needs of both children and the elderly are routinely ignored. Regarding children in particular, Collins and Bilge (2016) tell us that, "Race, class, gender, and citizenship categories disadvantage many groups under neoliberal policies, yet, because age straddles all of these categories, young people's experiences of social problems are more intensified" (p. 117). As the essays from several authors in this text indicate, children embodying Not-A categories and thus sitting at the intersections or multiple inequalities are subject to things like early incarceration, ICE (i.e., US Immigration and Customs Enforcement) camps, under-resourced schools, or the broken foster care system. Likewise, the elderly also fall victim to ageism where families in the US struggle with finding the proper financial and medical resources for elder care. The COVID-19 epidemic laid bare the inequalities of age, where parents found themselves without childcare and having to home-school as schools shut down; some simultaneously having to do the eldercare of grocery shopping and fetching medications for parents and relatives in the high-risk group. And as mentioned in the opening of this essay, this led to many women having to leave the workplace in order to take care of these vulnerable members of their families (Ewing-Nelson, 2021). Given the inequalities women face in the workplace in general (and BIPOC women, in particular), having to take leave only further complicates their opportunities for advancement and equal pay. In these ways, age could easily be added to the GRECCSOA chart as yet another category of difference that affects the lives of everyday people and intersects with other categories to perpetuate further inequalities.

Despite the above limitations, the GRECCSOA chart can be useful in thinking about the major socially constructed categories that impact our everyday lives in either positive or negative ways. As you consider the inequalities mentioned in this book, thinking through these categories in the chart may help to lead to more intersectional thinking and a greater under-standing of the macro- and micro-level manifestations of these inequalities, which can then be used to build coalitions and promote social change.

## Frequently Used Terminology in this Book

Given the complexity of a true intersectional analysis, students might find it necessary to acquire some additional vocabulary. In the essays that follow, in

addition to engaging the concept of intersectionality itself, several additional terms are used by various authors.

As stated earlier, **BIPOC** refers to "Black, Indigenous, [and] people of color." The collective phrase "people of color" or "POC" has a relatively long history, but the addition of the words *Black* and *Indigenous* to form BIPOC emerged more recently. According to Google Trends, the use of this acronym increased significantly in May 2020, coinciding with the murders of Floyd, Taylor, and Arbery (Clarke, 2020). Generally speaking, the term is used to avoid the erasure of Black and Indigenous people who are included under the term "people of color," but who face unique inequalities in the context of global anti-Blackness and invisibilized indigeneity. "People of color" assumes a homogeneity of experience inconsistent with the differential racialization experienced by different groups over time and place (Omi & Winant, 2012; see also Grady, 2020). BIPOC attempts to address the empirical realities of both groups and recognizes the limits of the phrase "people of color" to encompass all who have historically experienced classification as "non-White." It is used by some authors throughout the volume as a reminder of the specific challenges Black and Indigenous peoples face. For example, consider how hard the COVID-19 pandemic has hit the Navajo Nation, specifically (Marples, 2020). It is perhaps because of the devastating losses in this community that the Navajo Nation played a key role in flipping states like Arizona in favor of President Joe Biden in hopes of ushering leadership that will provide some relief from the deadly virus (Saxena, 2020). In this volume, our authors have incorporated the issues facing Indigenous people in the realms of colonization, reproductive injustice, environmental racism, and gender identity, in hopes of acknowledging and making clear some of the unique issues in these communities. To be sure, we are aware that the term "BIPOC" has the potential of also amalgamating and homogenizing racial/ethnic groups (see Clarke, 2020; Grady, 2020) just like the term "people of color." However, in a volume aiming to unearth the nuances of categories of difference, we (and some of our authors) prefer the use of "BIPOC."

**Latinx** is also a term that has emerged relatively recently (de Onís, 2017). We can trace the evolution of the term Latino to Latino/a to Latin@ and finally to Latinx. In each case, the modification was an attempt to provide a group-based label that was more inclusive than the one before. Many people find these evolutions challenging or frustrating and it can sometimes feel that you do not quite know what to say. But, as de Onís points out, "language serves as an indispensable resource for imagining and enacting more just, livable communities" (de Onís, 2017, p. 90). As such, throughout the volume, we do the best we can to use the most inclusive and updated terms to refer to different groups.

**Neoliberalism** is a concept with a history dating back to the early to mid-twentieth century. As it is used by authors in this text, it is most associated with the work of the Chicago School and is a political economic philosophy which assumes that "free markets are inherently more efficient in organizing the economy." The term is also associated with "reducing taxes and shrinking government size, deregulating and privatizing economic sectors, and increasing free trade, all of which are assumed to release the dynamism of the private sector" (Hyde, Vachon, & Wallace, 2018, p. 193).

This is connected with what has been called the "new governance model," which has, among other things, increased racial market segregation in the public sector which had previously been on the decline (Wilson, Roscigno, & Huffman, 2015). Under neoliberalism an, "ethos of competitiveness is seen as permeating culture, education, personal relations and orientation to the self, in ways that render inequality a fundamental indicator of ethical worth or desire" (Davies, 2014). Seen as a response to the threat of socialism, "[d]istinctive neoliberal policies are those which encourage individuals, communities, students and regions to exert themselves competi-tively, and produce 'scores' of who is winning and losing" (Davies, 2014). It's easy to see how a social system organized in this way could be implicated in the maintenance and perpetuation of preexisting, structural, group-based inequality.

This is why neoliberalism is often cited in connection with the global history of **colonialism** and **imperialism**. The era of European colonization began in the fifteenth century and is associated with the political domination and rule of colonies around the world from a European base. While colonization refers primarily to state control, imperialism emphasizes economic and political domination, which may include forms of indirect rule (Manley, 1987). This period is generally seen as ending with the independence movements of the mid-twentieth century, however most analysts agree that persisting social and economic dominance of former colonial rulers is still a reality for many places today (Blauner, 2001; Manley, 1987). **Imperialism** refers to the empire-building that may result from diplomacy, but in the context of colonization, is the product of violence and/or military force.

**Essentialism** (specifically gender and sex but also race) is the assumption that categorical differences are "innate," "natural," "ordained by God," fixed at some deeper level and therefore immutable (Charles & Grusky, 2011). Evidence of significant change over time (e.g., racial categories over time and place, changes in gendered colors like pink and blue) provides a serious challenge to essentialist viewpoints and yet they persist. Phrases like, "that's just not right!" or "that's not natural," or "we didn't have all these different genders when I was growing up," are evidence of an essentialist viewpoint which does not stand up to scrutiny when considered historically, scientifically, or sociologically.

Essentialism is connected to **hegemony**, a term used by Antonio Gramsci to call attention to the ways power operates in culture, particularly mass media and popular culture but also through other social institutions, to define what is and is not "common sense." This "truth-making" process defines some things as taken-for-granted truth while making other things unthinkable, invisible, and/or forbidden. This prompts people to sometimes react with violence, harm, or stigma toward attitudes or behaviors that demonstrate the falseness of these assertions. Gramsci believes that, "[w]hat people need to be made self-consciously and critically aware of is the incoherence and inadequacy of the taken-for-granted, common sense assumptions which they have simply absorbed uncritically and, as it were, mechanically, from the 'social and cultural environments' within which they have grown up" (Crehan, 2002, p. 114).

Finally, while this is not vocabulary, per se, we want to address the capitalizations of **Black** and **White**. As it relates to language usage and practices, there is an ongoing discussion on whether or not to capitalize words that refer to particular racial or ethnic groups (Nguyễn & Pendleton, 2020). In our volume, we are capitalizing "White/Whiteness" and "Black/Blackness" in order to (1) emphasize these as racial categories with material realities and (2) to recognize Whites and Whiteness as a racial group and ideology as important for critical study. This is a departure from the recent decision made by the Associated Press (2020) to not capitalize "White," although we do understand the logic behind that decision. We agree with Nguyễn and Pendleton (2020) at the Center for the Study of Social Policy when they argue that, "[I]t is important to call attention to White as a race as a way to understand and give voice to how Whiteness functions in our social and political institutions and our communities. Moreover, the detachment of 'White' as a proper noun allows White people to sit out of conversations about race and removes accountability from White people's and White institutions' involvement in racism."

We hope that the brief definitions offered above are helpful as you navigate this text.

## Our Job and Your Job

We cannot see what we don't know about and we cannot solve problems that are invisible to us (Bowleg, 2017). As editors and authors, we have personal experience in this area. For example, regarding disability, both of us would say that we were aware of issues of inequality related to questions of access, but that we did not fully see the structures that create these issues until a specific situation brought it to our attention. For one of us, it was becoming the parent of a child with disabilities. For the other, it was thinking about how issues of automation and mass joblessness would be dealt with in a culture where work is what makes you valuable and then suddenly seeing, for the first time, that this was an issue many disabled people already face every day. In these ways, both personal experiences and education can be transformative.

While we both feel confident in the necessity of an intersectional perspective, neither of us believe that we are finished learning about these issues ourselves. That is in part because there is always so much to learn and also because knowledge is always developing and changing what we thought we knew. We can both recall the time when our students taught us about the meaning and use of the term, **cisgender** (i.e., a person whose gender identity is consistent with their birth sex). Neither of us were familiar with it at the time, and at first, we were confused and we both felt a little frustrated. Then we read, we studied, we thought, we talked, and we incorporated our new knowledge into our existing understanding.

This process can be difficult in the contemporary environment, where so many conversations about issues of inequality are discussed in social media environments (on Facebook or Twitter, via YouTube comments, on Reddit, etc.) that can be harsh, overly simplified, and often unforgiving.

Famed writer Roxane Gay said, in regards to social media, "there's just no space for being a flawed individual" (Adegoke, 2019). It is not possible to avoid these conversations and it is certainly not possible to avoid making mistakes. In fact, it is probably good if we do engage these conversations in virtual environments, as they have a very important impact on overall understanding and discourse. But we would also suggest that engaging in conversations about complicated issues of inequality in face-to-face environments is often a better place for "flawed individuals," which is all of us. We hope that this can occur for students and instructors using this text for in-class discussions.

We as editors don't imagine that we have all the right answers, but we do believe that we can all benefit from more opportunities to critically and thoughtfully engage with complex issues. This requires a willingness to admit what we don't know and seek additional information. We both learned a lot from the authors of the essays collected here; we hope the same is true for you as our readers.

## SUGGESTED ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

Crenshaw, K. (2016, October). *The urgency of intersectionality*. TEDWomen. Retrieved from https://www.ted.com/talks/kimberle_crenshaw_the_urgency_of_intersectionality?language=en

de Onís, C. M. (2017). What's in an "x"?: An exchange about the politics of "Latinx". *Chiricù Journal: Latina/o Literature, Art, and Culture*, 1(2), 78–91.

Gopaldas, A. (2013). Intersectionality 101. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 32, 90–94.

## QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION

1. What general definition of intersectionality could you give to someone not in this class, if you were to try to summarize what you learned in this essay?

2. Can you think of other examples, beyond those provided by the authors, of issues that you believe can be better understood with the application of an intersectional perspective?

## INTERSECTIONS IRL

1. Go to each group on the chart and attempt to make a hierarchy based on the relative power particular groups may have in that category. For example, go to the category on race and instead of just grouping BIPOC people in the Not-A group, attempt to create a ranking of the power various BIPOC groups have. In other words, could you argue that Latinx people have more social, political, and economic power than Black people? Where would Indigenous people fit in this hierarchy? Identify existing sources of data that illustrate your ranking. What are the challenges to creating this kind of hierarchy?

2. As you go through the essays in this volume, consider the GRECCSOA acronym. Which elements of the GRECCSOA chart seem prominent in some essays and which categories are less included. How do you think this would change the analysis of the authors?

## REFERENCES

Adegoke, Y. (2019). Roxane gay: I'm not an opinion vending machine. *Medium*. Retrieved from https://medium.com/@yomiadegoke/roxane-gay-im-not-an-opinion-vending-machine-7a3724b3d8b3

Anzaldua, G. (2012). *Borderlands/La Frontera: The new mestiza* (4th ed.). San Francisco, CA: Aunt Lute Books.

Associated Press. (2020, July). Explaining AP style on Black and white. Retrieved from https://apnews.com/article/9105661462

Barbato, R., & Bailey, F. (2021). *Catch and kill: The podcast tapes*.

Bellis, N., & Finnie, A. (2019). *Surviving R. Kelly [Film]*. Kreativ Inc. and Bunim-Murray Productions.

Blauner, B. (2001). *Still the big news: Racial oppression in America*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Bowleg, L. (2017). Intersectionality: An underutilized but essential theoretical framework for social

psychology. In B. Gough (Ed.), *The Palgrave handbook of critical social psychology* (pp. 507–529). London: Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1057/978-1-137-51018-1_25

Carbado, D. W. (2013). Colorblind intersectionality. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 38(4), 811–845.

Carbado, D.W., Crenshaw, K. W., Mays, V. M., & Tomlinson, B. (2013). Intersectionality: mapping the movements of a theory. *DuBois Review*, 10(2), 303–312.

Charles, M., & Grusky, C. (2011). Egalitarianism and gender inequality. In C. Grusky (Ed.), *The inequality reader: Contemporary and foundational readings in race, class, and gender*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Cho, S., Crenshaw, K. W., & McCall, L. (2013). Toward a field of intersectionality studies: Theory, applications, and praxis. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 38(4), 785–810.

Clarke, C. (2020, July 2). BIPOC: What does it mean and where did it come from? *CBS News*. Retrieved from https://www.cbsnews.com/news/bipoc-meaning-where-does-it-come-from-2020-04-02

Closson, T. (2021, September 27). R. Kelly is going to prison. Why did it take so long? *New York Times*. Retrieved from www.nytimes.com/live/2021/09/27/nyregion/r-kelly-trial-news

Collins, P. H. (2000, 1990). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness and the politics of empowerment*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Collins, P. H. (2015). Intersectionality's definitional dilemmas. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 41, 1–20. doi: 10.1146/annurev-soc-073014-112142

Collins, P. H., & Bilge, S. (2016). *Intersectionality: Key concepts*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Connell, R. W. 2005. *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Crehan, K. (2002). *Gramsci, culture, and anthropology*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

Crenshaw, K. W. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43, 1241–1299.

Davies, W. (2014, March). Neoliberalism: A bibliographic review. *Theory, Culture, & Society*. Retrieved from https://www.theoryculturesociety.org/william-davies-a-bibliographic-review-of-neoliberalism/

Davis, A. Y. (2003). *Are prisons obsolete?* Retrieved from https://www.theoryculturesociety.org/william-davies-a-bibliographic-review-of-neoliberalism/

Eisenstein, Z. (2014, May 26). An alert: Capital is intersectional; radicalizing Piketty's inequality. *Feminist Wire*. Retrieved from https://thefeministwire.com/2014/05/alert-capital-intersectional-radicalizing-pikettys-inequality/

Epstein, R., Blake, J. J., & Gonzalez, T. (2017). Girlhood interrupted: The erasure of black girls' childhood. *Center on Poverty and Inequality, Georgetown Law*. Retrieved from https://www.law.georgetown.edu/poverty-inequality-center/wp-content/uploads/sites/14/2017/08/girlhood-interrupted.pdf

Ewing-Nelson, C. (2021). All of the jobs lost in December [2020] were women's jobs. *National women's Law Center*. Retrieved from https://nwlc.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/December-Jobs-Day.pdf

Gibson, C., Davenport, S., Fowler, T., Harris, C. B., Prudhomme, M., Whiting, S., & Simmons, S. (2019). Understanding the 2017 "Me Too" movement's timing. *Humanity & Society*, 43(2), 217–224.

Gopaldas, A. (2013). Intersectionality 101. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 32, 90–94.

Grady, C. (2020, June 30). Why the term "BIPOC" is so complicated, explained by linguists. *VOX Media*. Retrieved from https://www.vox.com/2020/6/30/21300294/bipoc-what-does-it-mean-critical-race-linguistics-jonathan-rosa-deandra-miles-hercules

Harding, S. (1992). Rethinking standpoint epistemology: What is "strong objectivity"? *The Centennial Review*, 36(3), 437–470.

Hopper, J. (2013). Read the "stomach-churning" sexual assault accusations against R. Kelly in full. *The Village Voice*. Retrieved from https://www.villagevoice.com/2013/12/16/read-the-stomach-churning-sexual-assault-accusations-against-r-kelly-in-full/

Hyde, A., Vachon, T., & Wallace, M. (2018). Financialization, income inequality, and redistribution in 18 affluent democracies, 1981–2011. *Social Currents*, 5(2), 193–211. doi:10.1177/2329496517704874

Icard, L. (1985). Black gay men and conflicting social identities: Sexual orientation versus racial identity. *Journal of Social Work and Human Sexuality*, 4(1), 83–93.

James, J. (1998). *The Angela Y. Davis reader*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Jay, N. (1981). Gender and dichotomy. *Feminist Studies*, 7, 38–56.

Jones, F. (2019, January 9). Black women have been calling out R. Kelly for years. Nobody listened. *Vox*. Retrieved from https://www.vox.com/first-person/2017/7/21/16008230/r-kelly-surviving-sex-cult-abuse-john-legend-chance-the-rapper

Knutson, J. (2021, June 23). Gen. Milley on critical race theory: Military needs to be "widely read." *Axios – Policy & Politics*. Retrieved from https://www.axios.com/gen-milley-military-critical-race-theory-eca309ae-a47e-4e58-8754-436be4e8038e.html

Lemert, C., & Bahn, E. (Eds.). (1998). The voice of Anna Julia Cooper: Including *A Voice from the South* and other important essays, papers, and letters. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Lorber, J. (1994). *Paradoxes of gender*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Lorde, A. (2007 [1984]). *Sister outsider: Essays and speeches*. New York, NY: Ten Speed Press.

Manley, M. (1987). *Up the down escalator: Development and the international economy – A Jamaican Case Study*. London: André Deutsch Limited.

Marples, M. (2020, November 24). Navajo Nation faces devastating loss from Covid-19 pandemic. *CNN*. Retrieved from https://www.cnn.com/2020/11/24/health/navajo-nation-coronavirus-losses-wellness/index.html

Martinez, E. (2013). Seeing more than Black and White. In M. L. Andersen, & P. H. Collins (Eds.), *Race, class, and gender: An anthology* (3rd ed., pp. 85–90). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage.

Merskin, D. (2010). The s-word: Discourse, stereotypes, and the American Indian Woman. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 21, 345–366.

Molina-Guzman, I. (2010). *Dangerous curves: Latina bodies in the media*. New York, NY: New York University Press.

Nguyễn, A. T., & Pendleton, M. (2020, March). Recognizing race in language: Why we capitalize "Black" and "White." Center for the Study of Social Policy. Retrieved from https://cssp.org/2020/03/recognizing-race-in-language-why-we-capitalize-black-and-white/

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (2012). Racial formation rules: Continuity, instability, and change. In D. M. HoSang, O. LaBennett, & L. Pulido (Eds.), *Racial formation in the twenty-first century* (pp. 302–331). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

de Onís, C. M. (2017). What's in an "x"?: An exchange about the politics of "Latinx". *Chiricú Journal: Latina/o Literature, Art, and Culture*, 1(2), 78–91.

Puente, M. (2020, September 8). R. Kelly remains locked up despite jail attack; judge to mull whether to release him on bond later. *USA Today*. Retrieved from https://www.usatoday.com/story/entertainment/celebrities/2020/09/08/r-kelly-loses-latest-bid-exit-jail-new-hearing-cite-attack/5750126002/

Ray, V. (2019). A theory of racialized organizations. *American Sociological Review*, 84(1), 26–53.

Riley, E. Y., & Peterson, C. (2019). Economic anxiety or racial predispositions? Explaining White support for Donald Trump in the 2016 presidential election. *Journal of Race & Policy*, 14(1), 5–24.

Savage, M. (2020, August 28). R. Kelly: The history of allegations against him. *BBC News*. Retrieved from https://www.bbc.com/news/entertainment-arts-40635526

Saxena, K. (2020, November 13). How the Navajo Nation helped flip Arizona for Democrats. *National Public Radio (NPR)*. Retrieved from https://www.npr.org/sections/live-updates-2020-election-results/2020/11/13/934591289/how-the-navajo-nation-helped-flip-arizona-for-democrats

Schaffner, B. F., MacWilliams, M., & Nteta, T. (2018). Understanding White polarization in the 2016 vote for President: The sobering role of racism and sexism. *Political Science Quarterly*, 133(1), 9–34.

Sheridan, P. (2006). *The Asian mystique: Dragon ladies, geisha girls, & our fantasies of the exotic orient*. New York, NY: Public Affairs.

Simmons, T., Hampton, D., Daniels, J., Karsberg, J., Everleth, J., Pepin, M. (Producers) & Bellis, N., Finnie, A. (Directors). (2019). Surviving R. Kelly. Retrieved from https://www.netflix.com/title/81069393

Smalls, K., & Tall, S. (2019, January 12). Here are 53 songs written or sung by R. Kelly that are now tainted. *Buzzfeed News*. Retrieved from https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/kaylasmalls/songs-written-produced-by-r-kelly-are-canceled-too

The COVID Tracking Project. (2020). The COVID racial data tracker. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from https://covidtracking.com/race

Wilson, G., Roscigno, V. J., & Huffman, M. (2015). Racial income inequality and public sector privatization. *Social Problems*, 62(2), 163–185. doi:10.1093/socpro/spv001