Notes

INTRODUCTION

1 Black feminism has been essential to the development of this book. But I do not intend to fetishise Black feminists as the ‘saviours’ of feminism, as they are often now imagined to be – Jennifer Nash’s book Black Feminism Reimagined: After Intersectionality (Durham, NC: Duke University Press) is an excellent discussion of this dynamic.

2 Throughout the book, I use the terms Black, brown and women of colour at different times. This is because at times it makes sense to refer to all women of colour as a group (for instance, when racism treats them that way), and at times it is necessary to describe specific experiences and forms of politics. The category of Black (which I use to refer to people of African and African-Caribbean descent) is particularly important to distinguish, due to the specific history of enslavement and the existence of anti-Black racism in other communities of colour. I follow the convention of capitalising the ‘B’ in Black to denote that Black people are a people: Black is a cultural and political identity (I also capitalise the ‘I’ in Indigenous for similar reasons). ‘Political Blackness’ has been used to describe the unification of all non-white people under the term ‘Black’; this is largely a British concept (and not uncontested), and has influenced some Black British feminism.

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4 I have referenced a number of key academic sources for those who wish to follow up with further reading. I have also referenced some of my background evidence, particularly where I make specific claims or refer to incidents that have not been widely reported or are not common knowledge.


13 Silvia Federici, Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body, and Primitive Accumulation [New York: Autonomedia, 2004].

14 Amanda Kaladelfos, ‘The politics of punishment: rape and
Notes


Chapter 1

1 An earlier version of this chapter appeared as Alison Phipps, ‘The fight against sexual violence’, Soundings 71 (2019), 62–74.


8 For more in-depth discussion of neoliberalism, see the following texts: Lisa Duggan, The Twilight of Equality: Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy [Boston: Beacon Press, 2003]; David Harvey, A Brief History of Neoliberalism [Oxford: Oxford University
Notes


13 Fraser, ‘Crisis of care?’, p. 45.


17 Survival International, ‘What Brazil’s president, Jair Bolsonaro, has said about Brazil’s Indigenous Peoples’,


For more background, see Stephen J. Baele, ‘From “incel” to “saint”: analyzing the violent worldview behind the 2018 Toronto attack’, Terrorism and Political Violence DOI: 10.1080/09546553.2019.1638256 [accessed 15 October 2019].


Notes


29 J. R. Thorpe, ‘This is how many people have posted “Me Too” since October, according to new data’, Bustle, 1 December 2017, https://www.bustle.com/p/this-is-how-many-people-have-posted-me-too-since-october-according-to-new-data-6753697 (accessed 1 November 2019).


Chapter 2

Notes


3 For an excellent discussion of the dynamics of ‘speaking out’ in feminism, see Tanya Serisier, Speaking Out: Feminism, Rape and Narrative Politics (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).


10 Aimee Allison, ‘Women of color will hold Joe Biden

11 For an excellent discussion of the history of white women and racism, see Vron Ware, Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism and History (London: Verso, 1992).


13 In 2011 there was an outcry after a photo was circulated of a white woman at the New York City Slutwalk, holding a sign which read ‘Woman is the N*gger of the World’ (the title of a 1972 song by John Lennon and Yoko Ono praised for its ‘positive image of women’ by the US National Organization for Women). Black women have roundly critiqued the comparison of patriarchy to slavery. The equation between gender and race erases Black women’s simultaneous struggles with the two categories, and co-opted painful Black histories and slurs to advance the rights of white women (who have been, and are, complicit in racist oppression).


Notes

24 For a full discussion of gender and class dynamics in European colonialism, see Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995). I use ‘working-class white’ rather than ‘white working-class’ because Western working classes have always had a high proportion of people of colour. I also do not want to play into the idea of a victimised ‘white working class’ which is central to contemporary right-wing movements.
34 Crenshaw, ‘Mapping the margins’.
35 Amii Larkin Barnard, ‘The application of Critical Race
Notes


38 In the UK, the idea and practice of political Blackness meant that Black feminism often included feminists of South Asian descent and other feminists of colour. The famous text Black British Feminism, edited by Heidi Safia Mirza (London: Routledge, 1997), included Sara Ahmed, Gargi Bhattacharyya and Pragna Patel.

39 For a thorough discussion of these issues, see Sarah Deer, The Beginning and End of Rape: Confronting Sexual Violence in Native America [Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2015].


41 Bhattacharyya, Rethinking Racial Capitalism, p. x.


44 #MeToo has also been taken up by minoritised groups in the Global South, for instance by Dalit feminists in India.

Chapter 3


2 Kelly Hayes and Mariame Kaba, ‘The sentencing of Larry
Notes


5 Banet-Weiser, Empowered, p. 3


11 Hazel Carby, ‘White woman listen! Black feminism and the boundaries of sisterhood’, in Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, The Empire Strikes Back: Race and
Notes


22 After his murder, Emmett Till became an icon of the Civil Rights movement, largely due to the actions of his mother,
Notes

Mamie Till-Mobley, who insisted on an open coffin at his funeral. Till’s killers were acquitted by an all-white jury, but admitted their guilt in a magazine interview in 1956 (and were protected from further criminal charges because of double jeopardy).


24 Hartman, Scenes of Subjection, p. 80.

25 Rebecca Epstein, Jamila J. Blake and Thalia González, Girlhood Interrupted: The Erasure of Black Girls’ Childhood (Georgetown Law Center on Poverty and Inequality, 2017).


Notes


Chapter 4

1 Banet-Weiser, *Empowered*, p. 4.
7 Dean, ‘Communicative capitalism’, p. 63.
Notes


17 Banet-Weiser, Empowered, p. 69.

18 Tiffany Page, Anna Bull and Emma Chapman, ‘Making power visible: “slow activism” to address staff sexual misconduct in higher education’, Violence Against Women 25:11 (2019), 1309–1330 (p. 1321). They cite the case of Sara Ahmed, whose high-profile resignation from Goldsmiths University in 2016 over sexual harassment of students brought much-needed institutional attention to the issue, and raised awareness throughout the UK (p. 1320).


20 For a fuller discussion of these dynamics, see Alison Phipps, ‘Reckoning up: sexual harassment and violence in..."
Notes

the neoliberal university’, Gender and Education, DOI: 10.1080/09540253.2018.1482413 [accessed 15 October 2019].

I do not have a definitive answer on how institutions should deal with people who perpetrate abuse, and I appreciate that this might be frustrating for readers (although I also think demands for immediate answers can be a way of shutting down critique). I would like feminists working in/on/with institutions to think and talk collectively about alternatives, so that we can learn and grow together.


22 A very early version of this section appeared as Alison Phipps, ‘Whose personal is more political? Experience in contemporary feminist politics’, Feminist Theory 17:3 (2016), 303–321.


25 Mac and Smith, Revolting Prostitutes, p. 36.


27 Although Black Lives Matter was started by three Black women – Alicia Garza, Patrisse Cullors and Opal Tometi – many of its supporters have been primarily focused on the deaths of young Black men at the hands of the police.


29 Cecilia Dhejine, Paul Lichtenstein, Marcus Boman, Anna L. V. Johansson, Niklas Långström and Mikael Landén, ‘Long-term follow-up of transsexual persons undergoing sex


**Chapter 5**


Notes


5 Ahmed, Living a Feminist Life, pp. 210–211.


9 Lorde, Sister Outsider, p. 127.


11 Ahmed, Willful Subjects, pp. 15, 165.


13 Hartman, Scenes of Subjection, pp. 34, 144.

14 Anderson, and Samudzi, As Black as Resistance, p. 78.


18 Anna North, ‘The Women’s March changed the American
Notes


23 Cooper, Eloquent Rage, p. 178.

24 Jessie Daniels, ‘White women who enable Trump do not deserve the benefit of your doubt’, Huffington Post, 7 February 2018, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/daniels-opinion-white-women-trump_n_5a79f67de4b0d5e3c09fbf0 (accessed 1 November 2019).

25 Cooper, Eloquent Rage, p. 182.

26 For a full discussion of the idea of white innocence, see Gloria Wekker, White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race [Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016].


Notes

naacp.org/criminal-justice-fact-sheet/ [accessed 15 October 2019].


32 Sarkar’s action was condemned by a group of Indian feminist academics and activists for ‘ignoring due process’ – this is not the argument I am making.

33 Davis, Freedom is a Constant Struggle, p. 142.


37 Mbembe, ‘Necropolitics’, p. 36.


40 Cooper, Eloquent Rage, p. 198.

41 Arruzza, Bhattacharya and Fraser, Feminism for the 99%, p. 4.

Chapter 6

1 Ahmed, Living a Feminist Life, p. 174.


4 Hatewatch Staff, ‘The Daily Caller exposed for publishing
Notes


7 Brynn Tannehill, “‘Feminists’ who exclude transwomen aren’t feminists at all’, Huffington Post, 10 July 2018, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/opinion-tannehill-terfs-right-wing_n_5b4eeea4b0c523e2637b878 (accessed 1 November 2019).

8 TERF stands for trans-exclusionary radical feminist.


12 Tim Fitzsimons, ‘Conservative group hosts anti-transgender panel of feminists “from the left”’, NBC News, 29 January
Notes

19 In the UK, a small number of anti-fascist groups have recently endorsed trans-exclusionary views.


18 Data provided by Ugly Mugs Ireland.

19 Mac and Smith, Revolting Prostitutes, p. 149.


24 See Arjee Javellana Restar, ‘Methodological critique of Littman’s (2018) parental-respondents accounts of “rapid-onset gender dysphoria”’, Archives of Sexual Behaviour,
Notes

DOI: 10.1007/s10508-019-1453-2 [accessed 15 October 2019].


29 Tweet posted at 9:49 a.m. on 4 February 2019.


31 See, for example, Brian Donovan, White Slave Crusades: Race, Gender and Anti-vice Activism 1887–1917 [Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006].

32 Mac and Smith, Revolting Prostitutes, pp. 59–60, 75–76.

33 In contrast to their privileged sisters, working-class suffragettes in the UK tended to have a more anti-colonial outlook, and Sylvia Pankhurst was a vocal anti-fascist and anti-colonial activist.


36 Martin Pugh, Hurrah for the Blackshirts: Fascists and Fascism in Britain between the Wars [London: Jonathan Cape, 2005], p. 142.


39 Martin Belam, ‘Toby Young quotes on breasts, eugenics, and working class people’, Guardian, 3 January 2018, https://www.theguardian.com/media/2018/jan/03/toby-
Notes


Hatewatch Staff, 2017.

This dispute was widely reported as ‘Muslims versus gays’, despite the existence of anti-LGBT prejudice across all social groups and the large numbers of LGBT people and allies from the Muslim community who intervened. There was also an open letter signed by a number of LGBT individuals and organisations, highlighting how the dispute had been weaponised by the government’s counter-extremism strategy in ways that betrayed colonial attitudes that defined all Muslims as ‘backward’ and homophobic.

Conclusion

2 Lorde, Sister Outsider, p. 139.
6 Lorde, Sister Outsider, p. 111.
7 Lewis, Full Surrogacy Now.
Notes


9 Gilmore, ‘Prisons and class warfare’.
10 Ahmed, ‘Declarations of whiteness’.
12 Lorde, Sister Outsider, p. 133.