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Oppression of African-American Women in Maya Angelou's "Our Grandmothers": An Intersectional Feminist Study

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Abstract

This paper examines Maya Angelou's poem "Our Grandmothers" to expose the oppression of African-American women through the lens of intersectional feminism. It scrutinizes their complex experience by revealing the interconnectivity of class, race and gender in Angelou's poem. The study reveals the complex aspects of the oppression that African-American women have undergone. The chosen theoretical framework for this study is intersectional feminism, which recognizes that different types of oppression simultaneously affect each other. As a result, the oppressed obtain unique experiences at the intersections of multiple identities. In this case, the study focuses on how African-American women's experiences of oppression are influenced by their class, race, and gender. In "Our Grandmothers," Angelou's literary voice becomes a powerful conduit, amplifying the profound struggles African-American women endured in American society. The research uncovers the intricate ways these women have navigated and resisted systemic oppression by closely analyzing the poem. The poem serves as both a reflection of historical realities and a testament to the resilience of African-American women. This paper is significant because it provides a better and deeper understanding of the oppression that African-American women have historically suffered. It does not present their history of oppression but demonstrates the application of intersectionality to

examine a poem by Angelou instead. By focusing on how class, race, and gender intersect within the poem, the study reveals the complexity of these themes and their expression in literature.

Keywords: African-American Women, Class, Gender, Intersectional Feminism, Maya Angelou, Oppression, Race.

ليَكوَلْينەوەيەكى فيمنستى يەكتربرلە چەوسانەوەى ئافرەتە رەشپيّستە ئەمريكىيەكان لە ھۆنراوەى "داپيرەكانمان"ى مايا ئەنجليۆدا

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^۱بەشى ئىنگلىزى، كۆلىرى پەروەردەى بنەرەت، زانكۆى راپەرىن، رانىيە، ھەرىمى كوردستان، عيّراق. ^٢بەشى ئىنگلىزى، كۆلىرى زمان، زانكۆى سلىمانى، سلىمانى، ھەرىمى كوردستان، عيّراق. يوختەي تونرينەوە

ئافرەتە رەشپێستەكانى ئەمرىكا بەھۆى ھەبونى ناسنامەيەكى يەكترىر، بە درێژايى مێژو روبەروى چەندىن ئالەنگارى ئالۆز بونەتەوە. ئەم توێژنەوەيە لەرێگاى شىكردنەوەيەكى وردى ھۆنراوەيەكى مەيا ئەنجليۆو بەناوى "Our Grandmothers" ەوە تيشك دەخاتە سەر چەوسانەوەى ئافرەتە رەشپيستەكانى ئەمرىكا. توێژىنەوەكە رێبازى فێمينزى يەكترىر بەكاردەھێنێت بۆ دەرخستنى ئەو چەوسانەوە ئالۆزەى كە لە ئەنجانى يەكترىرىنى ھەر يەكتك لە چىنى گۆمەلگا و رەگەز و جێىدەرەوە لە ھۆنراوەكانى ئەنجێلۆدا زالە.

ئەم تونژینەوەيە ھەولٽيكە بۆ خستنەروى ھەمەلايەنى ئەو چەوسانەوەى كە ئافرەتانى رەشپيّستى ئەمرىكى لە ميردا روبەروى بونەتەوە. مەيا ئەنجليۆو لە ھۆنراوەى "Our Grandmothers،" دا دەبيتە دەنگىكى ئازا و بوير بۆ نيشاندانى ناخۆشى و ئاستەنگەكانى ژيانى ئافرەتانى رەشپيستى ئەمرىكى لە تەواوى كايەكانى ژيان لە كۆمەلگاى ئەمرىكى دا.

گرنگى ئەو توٽژينەوە لەفەراھەمكردنى تێگەيشتنێكى قوڵتر و ھەمەلايەنترى ئەو چەوساندنەوە نامرۆڤانەى ئافرەتە رەشپێستەكانى ئەمريكا دايە بە بەرزكردنەوەى ئاستى رۆشنبيرى خوٽنەر سەبارەت بە ئەزمونى ژيانيان. خوٽنەر بە تێگەيشن لەو چەوسانەوەى كولتورىيەى كە ئەم ژنانە ئەزمونيان كردوە بير لە بەپەلەيى چارەسەركردنى نادادپەروەرىيە رۆكخراوەكان و لە ھەنگاوە كردارىيەكان بكەنەوە بەرەو پەروەردەكردنى ژيانىكى دادپەروەرانەتر و بەزەييدارتر بۆ ژنانى ئەفرىقايى-ئەمرىكى.

كليله وشەكان: مەيا ئەنجٽلۆو، ئافرەتانى رەشپٽستى ئەمرىكى، چەوسانەوەي كولتوريى، فٽمينزمى يەكتربړ، چينى گۆمەللگا، رەگەز، جٽندەر.

INTRODUCTION

"Our Grandmothers" by Maya Angelou is a powerful exploration of the intricate aspects of African-American women's oppression. The poem adeptly weaves together themes of class, race, and gender, presenting a unique perspective on the experiences of African-American women. Employing an intersectional feminist approach in analyzing 'Our Grandmothers,' Angelou portrays the layered oppressions that African-American women navigate. This approach is foundational to the research methodology, unveiling the poem's profound themes by acknowledging the interconnected nature of various forms of discrimination. Renowned as a poet and activist, Angelou emphasizes recognizing these interwoven power dynamics.

Despite the limited intersectional studies on Angelou's poetry, "Our Grandmothers" emerges as an ideal subject for such examination. The poem delves into themes of heritage, resilience, and womanhood, offering a gateway to explore the intricate complexities of intersectionality—where racial, gender, and social class dimensions intersect. Through analyzing the poem, the paper aims to enrich the broader discourse surrounding Angelou's literary contributions and their alignment with the principles of feminist intersectionality. The paper claims that adopting an intersectional feminist approach to investigate class, race, and gender oppressive discriminations in the study of Angelou's poetry can yield a more profound understanding of the suffering of women in general and African-American women in particular.

The intersectional feminist approach drives the research methodology. It utilizes ideas and concepts related to various types of oppression practiced against women as the basis for the conceptual framework within which selected extracts from Angelou's poetry are investigated. Approaching her poetry from a different perspective by using feminist intersectionality provides a more comprehensive understanding of her standpoint. Feminist intersectionality is a fairly new concept in feminism, race, and sexuality disciplines in European countries, America, and the broader sociological disciplines. This approach provides a theoretical framework and a perceptual sensitivity to the intertwined nature of social dominance dynamics. It endeavors to recognize the interrelationships between many dimensions of oppression, such as racial discrimination, class intolerance, patriarchy, and sexism. Angelou recognizes the intersectionality of identities and the multiple layers of oppression experienced by African-American women. She portrays how gender, race, and socioeconomic factors intersected, creating a particularly oppressive experience for African-American women. By highlighting the compounded effects of these intersecting oppressions, she aims to expose the complexities of the African-American woman's societal position.

Nevertheless, many interconnecting strands often characterize exclusion, oppression, discrimination, and privileges. Intersectionality examines how distinct dimensions of oppression generate and continuously express one another. It also demonstrates that the associated structures vary from one place to another, from one time to another, and from

one culture to another. The paper is divided into three sections about class, race, and gender oppression. The first section is about oppression based on gender, tracing the systematic subjugation of African-American women based on the social construction of gender roles. It sheds light on the power imbalances between genders regarding unequal opportunities and the internal and external factors that shape the African-American female experience in Angelou's poem "Our Grandmothers." The second section highlights how African-American women have been subjected to racial oppression and marginalization in "Our Grandmothers." It examines the themes of racism and African-American women's unique experiences and struggles. The third section focuses on the class oppression of African-American women in the mentioned poem. It examines the power dynamics for disenfranchisement, otherness, responsible marginalization, and unequal opportunities embedded into American culture that subsequently oppress African-American women. It investigates the limitations perpetuated on African-American women by various institutions and systems of power.

INTERSECTIONAL FEMINISM

Intersectionality does not merely encompass racism and sexism but is a complex interweaving of various forms of oppression. Kimberle Crenshaw's framework positions intersectionality as a fundamental tool for comprehending how different dimensions of discrimination, such as race and gender, interact to give rise to systems of oppression, exclusion, and marginalization (1240). By bridging the insights of intersectionality and theories of power relations, we can further elucidate the experiences of African American women subjected to domestic violence and rape within the scope of political identity. This approach highlights the nuanced dynamics that overarching categories may obscure.

However, exploring intersectionality also reveals a gap in acknowledging the intricate identities of women of color. While Crenshaw avoids treating intersectionality as an exhaustive identity explanation, she positions it as a lens to assess the multifaceted aspects of identity. In delving into African-American women's experiences, Crenshaw scrutinizes the dimensions of class, race, and gender to unravel the cultural underpinnings of discrimination. These categories' intricate and ever-evolving nature parallels the analytical and phenomenological approaches to understanding life experiences (Crenshaw 1244).

In presenting intersectionality as a dynamic and exploratory concept, Crenshaw avoids homogenizing identities and showcases them as fragments of a more complex whole (Crenshaw 1240). The categories of class, race, and gender intersect with intricate simultaneity, forming foundational and comprehensive elements that shape the experiential dynamics of cultural oppression. In this vein, intersectionality disrupts conventional paradigms of understanding and labelling identity politics categories. In "Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others," Sara Ahmed further contends that applying intersectionality in practice engenders fragmentation in African-American women's lived experiences. She entails recognizing many forms of discrimination and navigating a feeling of perplexity stemming from their position within the societal framework of class, race, and gender (Ahmed 5).

CLASS OPPRESSION

A class is composed of people who share similar social standing. The three primary elements that define class status within a given economic system are access to resources, living conditions, and personal contentment or dissatisfaction (Max Weber 424). A person's various chances concerning goods, production techniques, wages, profits, resources, and happiness shape the class distinction and the individual's standing. It is much easier to identify a person's race and gender than to determine their class identity. Moreover, class is not a singular economic standing because one person can be a part of two different classes simultaneously if they receive money from two different social categories; for example, a person who is paid a salary can acquire revenue from rent and thus be members of both the working class and the landlords at the same time (Marx and Engels 885). In African-American communities, social class is highly questioned and full of pitfalls. When discussing racism, racial issues always precede any worries regarding class distinctions (John Jackson 59). Due to the African American community being historically treated as an oppressed group, class, and race have been intertwined in forming racial identity in America. African Americans have long advocated for a separate social system that contains "a large lower class, a small but growing middle class, and a minuscule upper class" (Gatewood 3). The relationship between whites and African-Americans has significantly impacted the evolution of the economic and political systems over time, from the enslavement of African-Americans to the civil rights movement of the 1970s. William

Wilson has divided the history of oppression into three stages: the plantation economy and racial-caste system in the pre-Civil War and post-Civil War periods; the industrialization period with class and racial discrimination between the late 1800s and the New Deal era; and the contemporary industrial age since the 1960s. The modern industrial era saw a shift from racial to economic disparities among African-Americans, leading to a weak version of the white American experience due to African-Americans' decreased earning potential and capability (Wilson xxi).

Socioeconomic and structural inequalities can play a significant role in limiting job opportunities among marginalized people. The intersections of racism, sexism, and classism can create additional barriers that impede their opportunity to lead a life characterized by the same opportunities and privileges as other women in America. In "Our Grandmothers," Angelou depicts that despite the widespread belief that slavery is ended and only practiced in the past, it persists today, underscoring the ongoing prevalence of involuntary servitude, human trafficking, and exploitation in America. Despite existing laws and international agreements that make slavery illegal, it remains an ongoing issue:

She stands before the abortion clinic, confounded by the lack of choices. In the Welfare line, reduced to the pity of handouts. Ordained in the pulpit, shielded by the mysteries. In the operating room, husbanding life. In the choir loft, holding God in her throat. On lonely street corners, hawking her body. (Angelou 256) Angelou illustrates different roles

Angelou illustrates different roles and experiences that African American women have faced throughout history. She indicates the societal limitations and lack of financial and reproductive options that black women have historically encountered. She points to the economic burdens that African-American women still experience since slavery. The line "confounded by the lack of choices" implies that she may be grappling with the absence of support systems, resources, or societal structures that would enable her to make a decision that aligns with her needs and desires. Then the poetic speaker suggests that women are seen as objects of pity or charity "reduced to the pity of handouts." She highlights the dehumanizing effect of relying on handouts, implying a loss of agency and self-sufficiency. The line conveys the struggle and the indignity that African-American women often face when they require social support. It reflects how society often stigmatizes those in need, particularly women, by making them feel inferior or dependent when receiving government aid.

The speaker portrays women ordained or appointed as religious leaders, specifically in the pulpit; "shielded by the mysteries" indicates that these women are protected or defended by their faith's spiritual aspects and sacred traditions. It implies that they find strength and refuge in their role as religious leaders, and their position affords them some respect and protection. It stresses the complexity of African-American women's experiences, even in positions traditionally associated with power and respect. Shaziya Fathima maintains that African-American women have been used in prostitution as chattel since slavery; they "were represented in a limited number of roles, including those of housemaids, field workers, and breeders" (Fathima 64).

Angelou similarly describes a woman standing on street corners, engaging in sex work to survive, "hawking her body," implying that she is selling her physical intimacy for money. The woman is forced to commodify her body, reducing herself to an object of exchange to meet her basic needs. Her words evoke a sense of isolation and desperation, illustrating the difficult circumstances that may lead a woman to engage in sex work. The mention of "lonely street corners" suggests a lonely and marginalized existence, emphasizing these women's lack of support and options. Andrea Nicholas argues that African-American women are still among the most oppressed groups. Due to the inequalities, most of them are forced sex trafficking in America recently: "African American women and girls compose 40% of sex trafficking victims in federally prosecuted cases while composing only 13% of the population, and African Americans compose 55% of juvenile prostitution arrests, which is a form of sex trafficking, according to the U.S. TVPA" (Nicholas 29).

RACIAL OPPRESSION

The concept of race is based on physical characteristics and genetics, which shape how an individual is seen as belonging to a particular racial group. African-Americans have experienced hatred, mockery, and apprehension; they have been depicted as perpetrators of crime, fools, naive individuals, animals, sexual predators, and prostitutes (Craig 12). In the 16th century, the term 'race' was introduced to English and other European languages to denote the lineage of a noble family across multiple generations. Since the 18th century, the concept of race has become more and more associated with prejudicial values. In the 19th century, it was used as a scientific term to define biological fundamentalism (Rattansi 27). The concept of racism was used in 1930 when the Nazis were attempting to make Germany free of Jews. James Comer explains the distinction between race and racism in his definition: "Racism is a type of protection and adaptation strategy that groups use to address their mental and social uncertainties, much like how individuals use mental defenses and adaptation techniques to cope with stress" (Comer 802). Racism is generally perceived as a product of the fear and insecurity that individuals and groups experience when confronted with people of different racial backgrounds. Consequently, race is a traditional way to categorize physical distinctions, and racism is a reaction to it.

In the United States, ancestry and complexion are two defining features that distinguish racial identity. Various racial labels, such as "Negro," "Colored," "Anglo-African," "Afro-American," "Africo-American," "Aframerican," "Hamite," "Tan American," and "Ethiopian," are applied to individuals of African ancestry (Collier-Thomas and Turner 5). In the 20th century, "black" became a signifier of social class and racial superiority; thus, it has been used as a broad term to describe all skin tones. The African-American community knows that race and class are intertwined regarding social and political standing.

The ideal of beauty was constructed around the features of a fair-skinned, blond-haired, blue-eyed girl. Implementing the white concept of beauty devastated African-American girls and women, causing them to attribute their hardships to their physical appearance. Angelou's uncle had once told her, "Ritie, don't worry 'cause you ain't pretty. You smart. I swear to God, I rather you have a good mind than a cute behind" (Angelou, I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings 67). Despite her hardships, she maintained her self-respect and did not attribute her distress to her physical appearance. Schoolchildren often teased one another using various derogatory terms; this activity was merely for the amusement of the

students in class. In San Francisco, where she moved during her teenage years, she was exposed to the racism of children, something she had never encountered before in a mixed-race school. Angelou expresses deep concern for African-American women, who are subject to racism.

Throughout history, American white-dominated society has attempted to overlook the contributions of African-American women while attaching stereotypes to them to justify their subordination. These stereotypes have been damaging and oppressive, leaving them feeling ostracized and powerless. Angelou portrays the unjust and prejudicial treatment of African-American women by demonstrating the clash between two cultures. Both African American men and women have experienced the consequences of racial stereotyping. Angelou reflects on the unfair, derogatory labels assigned to African American women in her poem "Our Grandmothers," Angelou pens:

She heard the names, swirling ribbons in the wind of history: nigger, nigger bitch, heifer, mammy, property, creature, ape, baboon, whore, hot tail, thing, it. She said, But my description cannot fit your tongue, for I have a certain way of being in this world, and I shall not, I shall not be moved. (Angelou 254)

The speaker protests against the oppressive language used to describe her, like "Nigger, nigger bitch, heifer/mammy, property, creature, ape, baboon," such names are associated with being unclean, inadequate, and undesirable to her identity and ultimately reinforcing her status as an outsider. The derogatory term 'mammy' describes African American women caring for white children, implying that the woman was an object to be owned and managed like any other possession because she was not respected or paid as she deserved. The poem establishes a powerful demonstration of self-expression and self-identity in the face of oppression through the assertive use of the speaker's voice. The speaker asserts the oppressor's fruitless action, for she did not fall into the categories he listed. She will

remain undeterred. She proudly displays her black heritage and refuses to accept the stereotypes associated with it.

Kimberly Benston states that "Nigger" is a tool of control that simplifies human experience into a single symbol while highlighting the capacity of whites to recognize it. He posits that those who are part of the privileged majority and lighter-skinned people use the term "nigger" to assert power over those of African origin. The Africans have been subjected to control by implying a demeaning "nigger-like" quality to their character, disregarding the unique nature of their experiences. Benston's observation that the ideological motivation behind the Eurocentric labeling of Africans highlights the racial divide between whites and blacks (Benston 6).

GENDER OPPRESSION

African-American women denied any associations with the Women's Liberation Movement of the 1960s and 1970s, which gave rise to Second Wave Feminism. They strongly disputed the essentialist concept that natural gender distinctions would create a universal bond among women (qtd. in Gamble 27). Michelle Wallace outlines the reasons behind black women's rejection of white sisterhood and observes how African-American women have been subjugated to racist and sexist power structures. African-American women did not accept feminism, which they called "whitey's thing," due to their hostility towards white women (Hull et al. 10). The Black liberation movements of Civil Rights, Black Nationalism, and the Black Panthers offered an outlet for Black feminist politics, yet these campaigns were ultimately fruitless as they could not tackle gender inequality. It was essential to comprehend that identity politics reflect African-American women's subjugation due to mainstream feminism only considering the interests of white middleclass women (Roth 76).

The emergence of black feminism as a counter to the white feminist politics of exclusion has caused gender and women's studies to become linked to intersectionality as a critical part of black feminist studies since intersectionality highlights the inadequacy of antiracist theories not considering gender as an element of oppression. Nira Yuval-Davis indicates that according to black feminists' idea of "triple oppression," African-American women's oppression is divided into three categories: being a working-class person, being black, and being a woman. This notion disregards the fact that each division is based on its independent existence and cannot be reduced to the others (Yuval-Davis 200). Gender oppression against African-American women is a pervasive issue that has been explored in literature and academic research. Literature has been essential for African-American women to empower themselves. Their writings have been an important area of study that seeks to understand the experiences and perspectives of marginalized women. Most women think their household burdens go unnoticed or undervalued because they are considered part of their expected duties.

Historically, enslaved people were treated inhumanely, and their rights and demands were ignored. "Our Grandmothers" particularly portrays the devastating impact that slavery has had on African-American women. They have been removed from their family and made to exist as the possession of white people. Angelou mentions:

She gathered her babies,

their tears slick as oil in black faces,

their young eyes canvassing mornings of madness.

Momma, is master going to sell you

from us tomorrow? (Angelou 253)

According to Angelou, the exploitation of African American women continues the oppression resulting from slavery. Just as slavery treated human labor as a commodity, the twentieth-century stereotypes of African American women deprived the African American subject of their identity, turning them into an object of oppression. Claudia Jones critiques white people who talk of racial equality but are unwilling to see African-Americans outside of specific roles or stereotypes. She argues that white women liberals, and socialists specifically, should discard their imperialist views toward African-American women and deliberately oppose all expressions of white supremacy (qtd. in Jerilyn et al. 59).

The poem makes it difficult for a mother to be separated from her children. The African-American woman suffered physical abuse by the white woman and was subjected to unwanted sexual advances by the white man. As an enslaved person, she has experienced more torment than her male counterpart. Despite being denied the chance to witness her children stay with her, the mother is concerned about how they are raised. The above lines paint a sorrowful portrait of an African-American woman as a mother. The speaker illustrates the effort of mothers and grandmothers to defeat their subjugation and maltreatment. She is a slave mother desperately fleeing with her children to evade being auctioned off as a commodity. Her kids sob and beg her to stay and not abandon them the next day.

They sprouted like young weeds,

But she could not shield their growth.

From the grinding blade of ignorance. (Angelou 255)

The speaker can withstand the oppressive acts of the whites. Her heart aches as she watches her children face their destiny while devoting herself to raising the children of white people. It is almost an injustice to a woman's self-esteem as a mother when such oppression is present. The speaker is extremely upset about the suffering that slavery has brought about for her. Despite her lack of understanding of humanity, she is banned from watching her children grow, yet her ingenuity will remain for future generations to remember.

CONCLUSION

The poem "Our Grandmothers" by Maya Angelou effectively conveyed the intricate dynamics of oppression rooted in class, race, and gender within the framework of intersectional feminism. Through a meticulous exploration of historical and societal dimensions, the poem illuminated the nuanced manifestations of class-based subjugation, encompassing disparities in resource allocation, living conditions, and overall well-being. The evolution of racial nomenclature was scrutinized, unveiling the manifold injustices endured by the African-American community. Moreover, the poem exemplified the propagation of racial stereotypes, perpetuating degrading treatment and the systemic marginalization of African-American women. Concurrently, the work encapsulated genderbased oppression, exposing the rejection of prevailing white feminist paradigms due to their inadequate acknowledgment of the distinct adversities faced by African-American women. By depicting the plight of enslaved women, the poem underscored the enduring repercussions of historical enslavement, elucidating their multifaceted oppression as maternal figures, laborers, and targets of unwarranted advances. Angelou's eloquent

verses bare African-American women's intricate identities and experiences, thus underscoring the profound and enduring impacts of interconnected class, race, and gender-based subjugation throughout historical epochs. The poem convincingly conveys that a solitary facet of female identity fails to provide a comprehensive and equitable comprehension of the manifold oppressions African-American women face in the American context. This argument was particularly compelling as it underscored the interwoven continuum between past and present iterations of oppression. While shared experiences of subjugation existed among African-American women, Angelou's work accentuated the distinctive essence of intersectionality, highlighting the idiosyncratic nature of their oppression, impervious to additive interpretation.

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