

**DECOLONIAL
STRATEGIES,
A.Y. 2021-2022**

Prof. MAURO FARNESI CAMELLONE



INTERSECTIONALITY

RACE - GENDER - CLASS



INTERSECTIONALITY

RACE - GENDER - CLASS

LESSON PLAN

1) **25.11.2021, 08:30-10:30**

Maria Lugones - Race, gender, and class

2) **29.11.2021, 12:30-14:30**

Kimberlé Crenshaw - Gender, race, and class

3) **30.11.2021, 12:30-14:30**

Sandro Mezzadra - Class, gender, and race

MATERIALS

- Bibliography
- Crenshaw, K., "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex" (1989)
- Crenshaw, K., "Mapping the Margins - Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women" (1991)
- Lugones, M., "The Coloniality of Gender", in W. d. Mignolo, A. Escobar (eds. by) *Globalization and the Decolonial Option*, 2010.
- Lugones, M., Price, J., "The Inseparability of Race, Class, and Gender in Latino Studies" (2003)
- Mezzadra, S., "Intersectionality, Identity, Class" (2021)



CLARA MOGNO

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(she/her/hers)

RACE, GENDER, AND CLASS

MARÌA LUGONES

25.11.2021

FEMINISM

FIRST/SECOND/THIRD WAVE FEMINISM

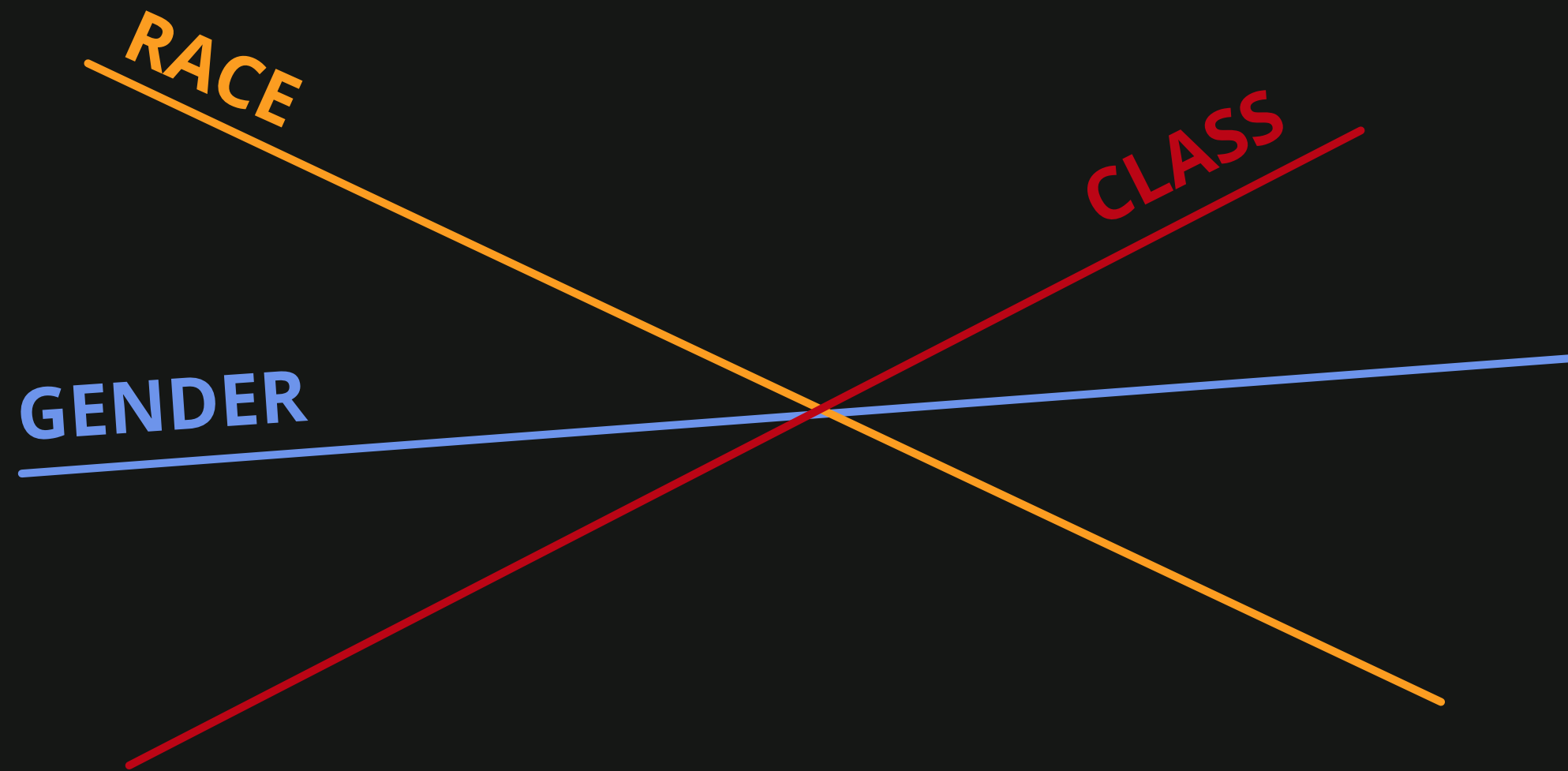
BLACK FEMINISM



INTERSECTIONALITY



INTERSECTIONALITY

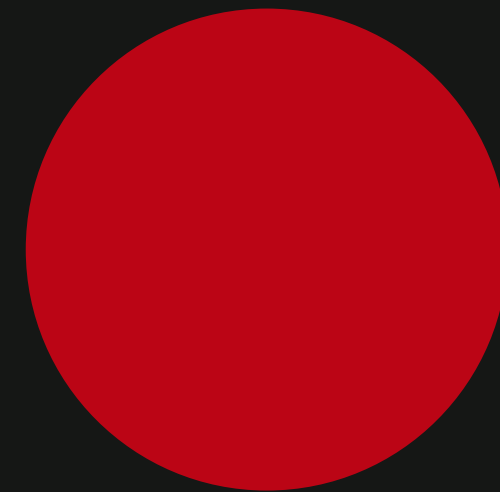
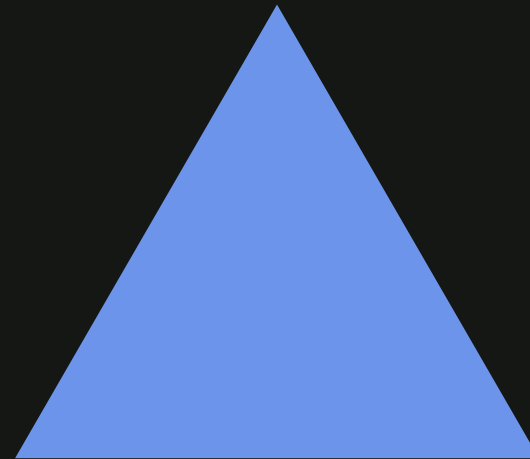




RACE

GENDER

CLASS



RACISM

SEXISM

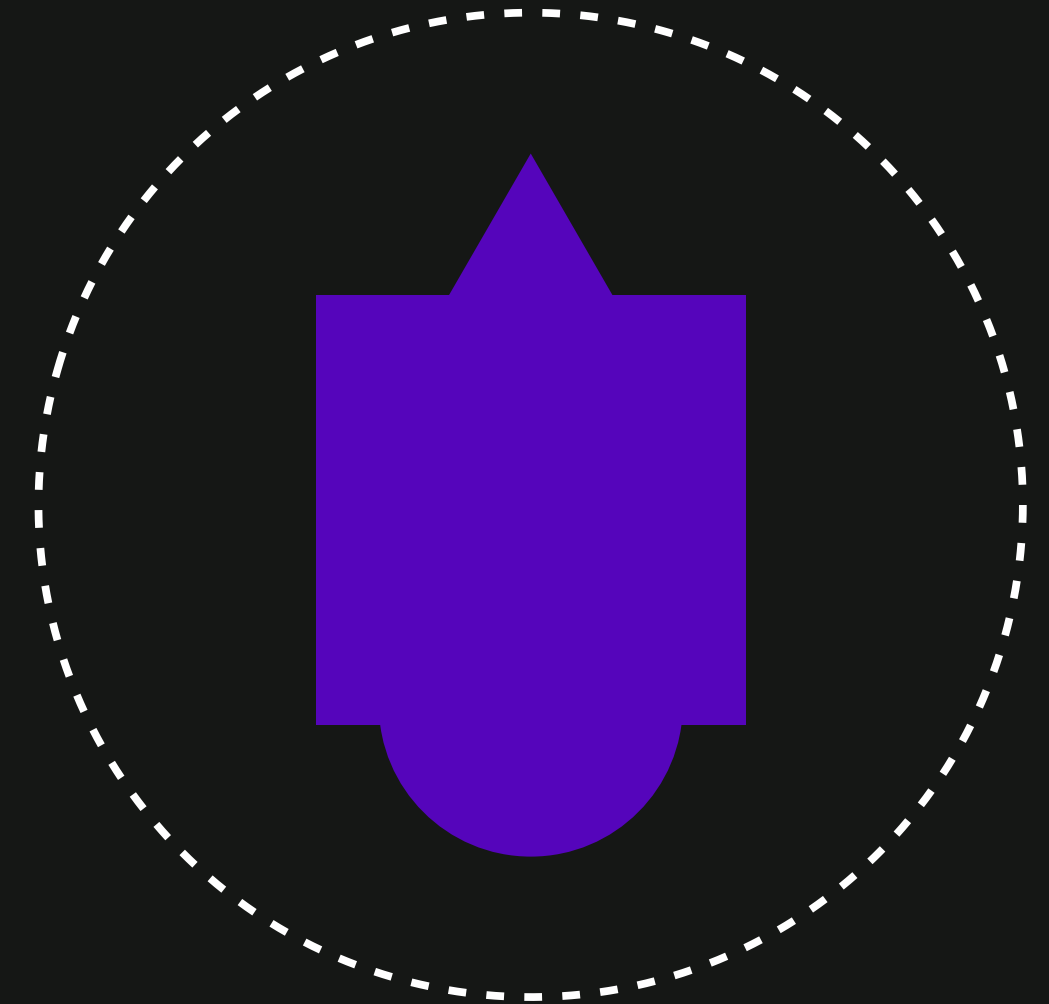
CLASSISM

Sexual orientation

Religion

Age

Ability/disability



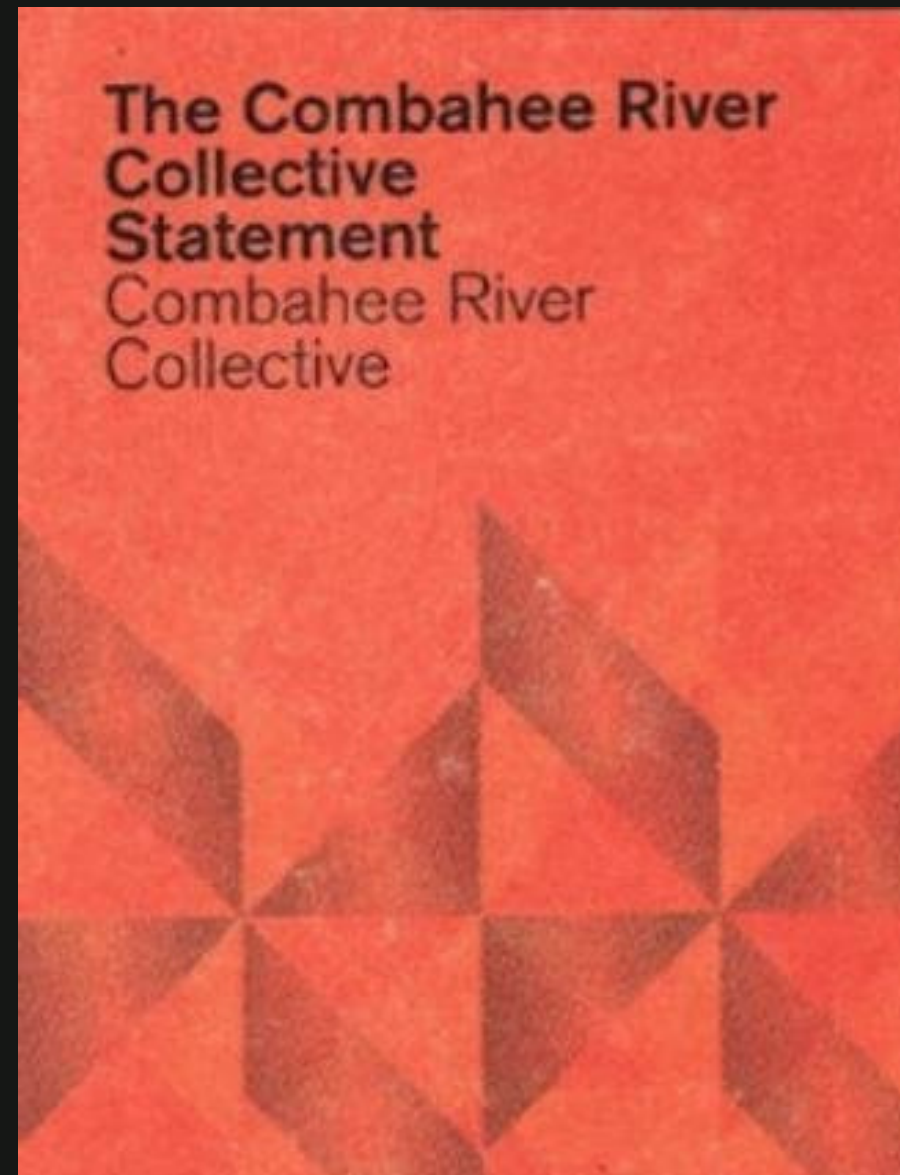
**NOT AN ADDITION, BUT DIFFERENT FORMS OF OPPRESSION
or STRUGGLES WE FACE (AND TACKLE)**

GENDER

RACE

CLASS

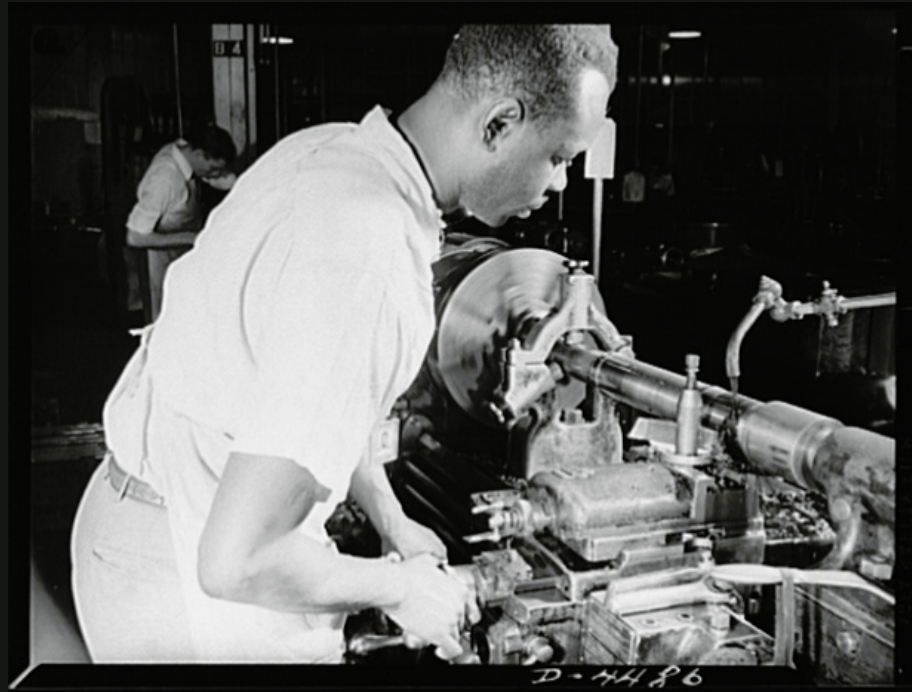




The Combahee River Collective Statement (1977)
by Combahee River Collective



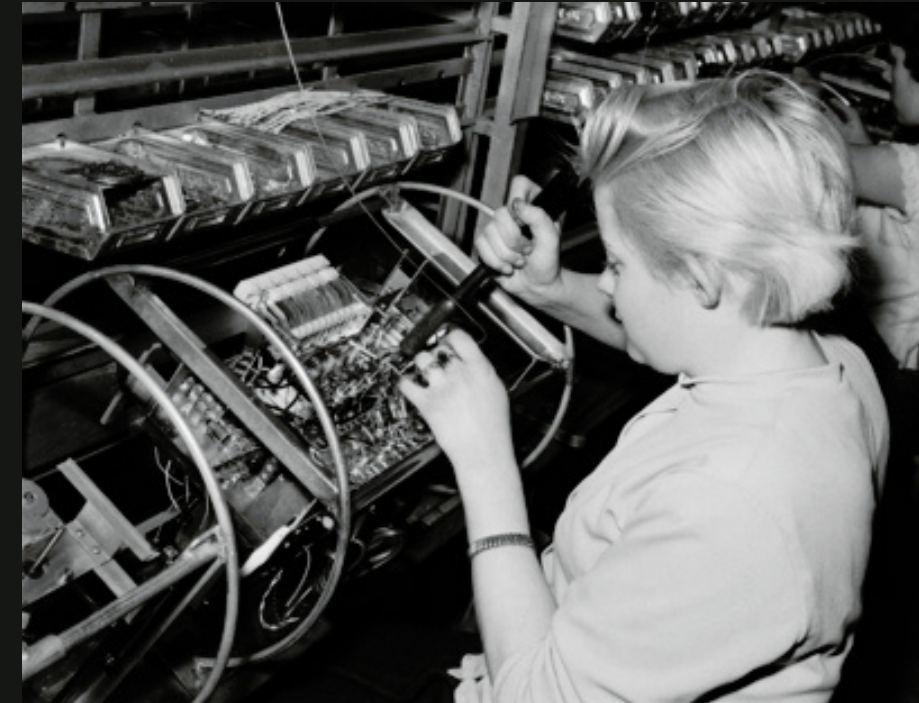
Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of
Race and Sex" (1989)



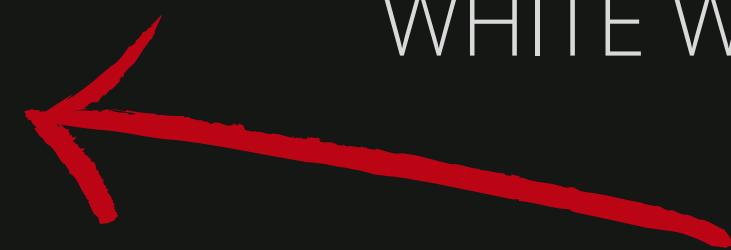
RACISM
BLACK MEN



**BLACK
WOMEN**



SEXISM
WHITE WOMEN





“**Intersectionality** is a **lens** through which you can see **where power comes and collides**, where it **interlocks and intersects**. It’s not simply that there’s a race problem here, a gender problem here, and a class or LGBTQ problem there. Many times that framework erases what happens to people who are subject to all of these things.”

Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw

"Kimberlé Crenshaw on Intersectionality, More than Two Decades Later"

<https://www.law.columbia.edu/news/archive/kimberle-crenshaw-intersectionality-more-two-decades-later>

IDENTITY

IDENTITY POLITICS

PRIVILEGE

ALLY

IDENTITY

How a person is defined and "read" by others and defines and "reads" themselves through social-constructed categories.

IDENTITY POLITICS

"Identity politics, also commonly referred to as the politics of identity or identity-based politics, is a phrase that is widely used in the social sciences and humanities to describe the deployment of the category of identity as a tool to frame political claims, promote political ideologies, or stimulate and orientate social and political action, usually in a larger context of inequality or injustice and with the aim of asserting group distinctiveness and belonging and gaining power and recognition." (Oxford bibliography, online)

PRIVILEGE

An advantage that a person experiences compared to someone from a marginalized group (<https://www.kawaiiriot.org/glossary>).

ALLY

A person who takes action to eliminate discrimination and oppression of marginalized communities, while also examining their own privilege. (<https://www.kawaiiriot.org/glossary>)

MARIA LUGONES (1944 - 2020)



(Buenos Aires, 1944 - 2020). María Lugones was an Argentine feminist philosopher, activist, and Professor of Comparative Literature and of women's studies at Carleton College in Northfield (Minnesota) and at Binghamton University in New York State.

Lugones, M., "The Coloniality of Gender", in W. d. Mignolo, A. Escobar (eds. by) *Globalization and the Decolonial Option*, London-New York, Routledge, 2010.

CHAPTER 16

Lugones, M., Price, J., "The Inseparability of Race, Class, and Gender in Latino Studies" (2003)

"THE COLONIALITY OF GENDER" (2008)

p. 369: I am interested in the intersection of **race**, **class**, **gender** and **sexuality** in a way that enables me to understand the **indifference** that men, but, more importantly to our struggles, **men who have been racialized as inferior**, exhibit to the **systematic violences** inflicted upon **women of color**. I want to understand the construction of this indifference so as to make it unavoidably recognizable by those claiming to be involved in **liberatory struggles**.

p. 369: Women of Color feminists have made clear what is revealed in terms of violent domination and exploitation once the **epistemological perspective** focuses on the **intersection of these categories**. But that has not seemed sufficient to arouse in those **men** who have themselves been **targets of violent domination and exploitation, any recognition of their complicity or collaboration** with the violent domination of **women of color**. In particular, theorizing global domination continues to proceed as if no betrayals or collaborations of this sort need to be acknowledged and resisted.

p. 370: The intent of this writing is to make visible the instrumentality of the **colonial/modern gender system** in subjecting us — **both women and men of color** — in all domains of existence. But it is also the project's intent to make visible **the crucial disruption of bonds of practical solidarity**. My intent is to provide a way of understanding, of reading, **of perceiving our allegiance to this gender system**. We need to place ourselves in a **position** to call each other **to reject this gender system as we perform a transformation of communal relations**.



"THE COLONIALITY OF GENDER" (2008)

INTERSECTIONALITY + ANIBAL QUIJANO FRAMEWORK

Anibal Quijano (1930 – 2018) was a Peruvian sociologist and he is known for having developed the concept of "**coloniality of power**". See the bibliographical references at the end of Lugones' article.

P. 370: Quijano understands that all power is structured in relations of domination, exploitation and conflict as social actors fight over control of "the four basic areas of human existence: **sex, labor, collective authority and subjectivity/intersubjectivity, their resources and products**".

p. 370: This is too narrow an understanding of the oppressive modern/colonial constructions of the scope of gender. Quijano's lenses also **assume patriarchal and heterosexual understandings of the disputes over control of sex, its resources, and products**. Quijano accepts the global, Eurocentered, capitalist understanding of what gender is about. These features of the framework serve to veil the ways in which non-"white" colonized women were subjected and disempowered.

p. 371: Gender does not need to organize social arrangements, including social sexual arrangements. But gender arrangements need not be either heterosexual or patriarchal. **They need not be, that is, as a matter of history**. Understanding these features of the organization of gender in the modern/colonial gender system—the biological dimorphism, the patriarchal and heterosexual organizations of relations—is crucial to an understanding of the differential gender arrangements along "racial" lines.



"THE COLONIALITY OF GENDER" (2008)



p. 371: Quijano **seems not to be aware of his accepting this hegemonic meaning of gender**. In making these claims I aim to expand and complicate Quijano's approach, preserving his understanding of the coloniality of power, which is at the center of what I am calling the "modern/colonial gender system."

p. 371: The coloniality of power introduces the basic and universal social classification of the population of the planet in terms of the idea of "race." (Quijano, 2001-2, p.1) The **invention of "race"** is a pivotal turn as it replaces the relations of superiority and inferiority established through domination. It re-conceives humanity and human relations **fictionally**, in **biological terms**.

pp. 372-373: The cognitive needs of capitalism and the **naturalizing** of the identities and relations of coloniality and of the geocultural distribution of world capitalist power have guided the production of this way of knowing. The cognitive needs of capitalism include **"measurement, quantification, externalization (or objectification)** of what is **knowable** with respect to the knower so as to **control the relations among people and nature and among them with respect to it**, in particular the **property in means of production**." This way of knowing was imposed on the whole of the capitalist world as the only **valid rationality and as emblematic of modernity**.

"THE COLONIALITY OF GENDER" (2008)

p. 373: Intersectionality reveals what is not seen when categories such as **gender** and **race** are conceptualized as separate from each other. The move to intersect the categories has been motivated by the difficulties in making visible those who are dominated and victimized in terms of both categories. Though everyone in capitalist Eurocentered modernity is both raced and gendered, not everyone is dominated or victimized in terms of them. Crenshaw and other women of color feminists have argued that the categories have been understood as homogenous and as picking out **the dominant in the group as the norm**, thus "women" picks out **white bourgeois women**, "men" picks out **white bourgeois men**, "black" picks out **black heterosexual men**, and so on. It becomes logically clear then that the logic of **categorical separation distorts what exists at the intersection**, such as violence against **women** of **color**.

p. 375: Though I have not found a characterization of gender in what I have read of his work, Quijano seems to me to **imply that gender difference is constituted in the disputes over control of sex, its resources, and products**. Differences are shaped through the manner in which this control is organized. Sex, he understands, as biological attributes that become elaborated as social categories. He contrasts the biological quality of sex with phenotype, which does not include differential biological attributes. "The color of one's skin, the shape of one's eyes and hair "do not have any relation to the biological structure." (Quijano, 2000b, 373) **Sex, on the other hand seems unproblematically biological to Quijano.**



"THE COLONIALITY OF GENDER" (2008)

p. 375: Quijano appears to take it for granted that **the disputes over control of sex is a dispute among men**, about men's control of resources who are thought to be female. Men do not seem understood as the "resources" in sexual encounters. **Women are not thought to be disputing for control over sexual access.** The differences are thought of in terms of how society reads **reproductive biology.**



SEX



"THE COLONIALITY OF GENDER" (2008)

SEX

≠



GENDER IDENTITY



GENDER EXPRESSION



SEXUAL ORIENTATION

"THE COLONIALITY OF GENDER" (2008)



SEX

CHROMOSOMES

GONADS (production of GAMETES and SEX HORMONES)

LEVELS OF SEX-SPECIFIC HORMONES

SECONDARY SEXUAL CHARACTERISTICS (voice, beard...)

DIFFERENT INTERNAL REPRODUCTIVE STRUCTURES

DIFFERENT SEX-SPECIFIC EXTERNAL GENITALS

Sex assignment at birth usually aligns with a child's anatomical sex and phenotype.

Anne Fausto-Sterling's in her *Sexing the Body* (2000) addresses the birth of children who are **intersex**. The standard model is seen as incorrect with regard to its notion that there are only two sexes, male and female. This is because "complete maleness and complete femaleness represent the extreme ends of a spectrum of possible body types."

SEX IS A CONTINUUM

"THE COLONIALITY OF GENDER" (2008)



INTERSEXUALITY

p. 376: **The assignments reveal that what is understood to be biological sex, is socially constructed.** During the late nineteenth century until WWI, reproductive function was considered a woman's essential characteristic. The presence or absence of ovaries was the ultimate criterion of sex. (113) But there are a large number of factors that can enter in "establishing someone's 'official' sex:" chromosomes, gonads, external morphology, internal morphology, hormonal patterns, phenotype, assigned sex, self-identified sex. (112) At present, chromosomes and genitalia enter into the assignment, but in a manner that reveals **biology is thoroughly interpreted and itself surgically constructed.**

p. 377: It is important to see that **not all different traditions correct and normalize inter-sexed people.** So, as with other assumption characteristics it is important to ask how sexual dimorphism served and serves Eurocentered global capitalist domination/exploitation.

"THE COLONIALITY OF GENDER" (2008)



p. 378: Oyewumi understands gender as introduced by the West as a tool of domination that designates two binarily opposed and hierarchical social categories. Women (the gender term) is not defined through biology, though it is assigned to anafemales. Women are defined in relation to men, the norm. Women are those who do not have a penis; those who do not have power; those who cannot participate in the public arena. (34) None of this was true of Yoruba anafemales prior to colonization. See *The Invention of Women* (1997) by Oyéronké Oyewùmí..

p. 384: In the development of twentieth century feminisms, the connection between **gender**, **class**, **heterosexuality** as **racialized** was not made explicit. That feminism centered its struggle and its ways of knowing and theorizing against a characterization of women as fragile, weak in both body and mind, secluded in the private, and sexually passive. But it did not bring to consciousness that those characteristics only constructed **white bourgeois womanhood**. Indeed, beginning from that characterization, **white bourgeois** feminists theorized white womanhood as if all **women** were **white**.

WITH JOSHUA PIERCE, "THE INSEPARABILITY OF RACE, CLASS, AND GENDER IN LATINO STUDIES" (2003)



p. 330: In our estimation, Latino Studies has contributed strongly to this reenchantment in ways not recognized by Darder and Torres. Their main critique of Latino Studies is what they see as an absence of class analysis. Instead, we would argue that a significant vein of Latino Studies understands **colonialism and capitalism as tightly tied historically and conceptually. Capitalism as the system of production of Western modernity was born out of the conquest and colonization of the Americas.**

p. 331: In these analyses, **we cannot think of class as conceptually separable from race and gender given the history of labor control.** Much of contemporary Latino/a Studies has thought of oppressions as intermeshed in such a way that one can not ask which oppression is more fundamental. Darder and Torres acknowledge the interconnection of class, race, and gender. However, **they tend to think of class as conceptually separable from race and gender and as more fundamental.** While discussing racialized inequality, their text suggests that the racializing processes are epiphenomenal to the economic inequality originated by capital.

p. 331: It is here that work in Latino/a Studies has made its most important contribution by accessing alternative cultural/conceptual systems to those of European modernity. Although there is much left to be done indeed in our re-conceiving of the house of knowledge, **this re-conception should not go back to an analysis that centers class as more fundamental and separable from gender, race, or the organization of sexuality.**