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African-American Feminist Thought

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Audre Lorde (1934–1992)

A revered and influential black feminist lesbian writer of the modern era. Her autobiography, Zami: A New Spelling of My Name (1982), describes the Greenwich Village "gay-girl" life in which she was immersed in the 1950s. Though she was to later find a home in the Harlem Writers Guild, she became disillusioned with it because of its homophobia. Her collection of essays, Sister Outsider (1984), includes "Age, Race, Class, and Sex: Women Redefining Difference," which is an eloquent statement of black lesbian feminism and a critique of the intolerance of difference among both white feminist and black communities.

AGE, RACE, CLASS, AND SEX: WOMEN REDEFINING DIFFERENCE

Much of Western European history conditions us to see human differgood/bad, up/down, superior/inferior. In a society where the good is defined in terms of profit rather than in terms of human need, there must always be some group of people who, through systematized oppression, can be made to feel surplus, to occupy the place of the dehumanized inferior. Within this society, that group is made up of black and Third-World people, working-class people, older people, and women.

devising realistic scenarios for altering the present and constructing the drain of energy, which might be better used in redefining ourselves and position and evade responsibility for their own actions. There is a constant expected to educate the heterosexual world. The oppressors maintain their humanity. Women are expected to educate men. Lesbians and gay men are and Third-World people are expected to educate white people as to our of the oppressed to teach the oppressors their mistakes. I am responsible to share our knowledge with them. In other words, it is the responsibility for educating teachers who dismiss my children's culture in school. Black communication arises, those who profit from our oppression call upon us apple pie have always had to be watchers, to become familiar with the for some illusion of protection. Whenever the need for some pretense of language and manners of the oppressor, even sometimes adopting them For in order to survive, those of us for whom oppression is as American as objectified groups who are expected to stretch out and bridge the gap between the actualities of our lives and the consciousness of our oppressor. wrong. Traditionally, in American society, it is the members of oppressed, myself a part of some group defined as other, deviant, inferior, or just plain including one boy, and a member of an interracial couple, I usually find As a forty-nine-year-old black lesbian feminist socialist mother of two,

Institutionalized rejection of difference is an absolute necessity in a profit

economy which needs outsiders as surplus people. As members of such an economy, we have *all* been programmed to respond to the human differences between us with fear and loathing and to handle that difference in one of three ways: ignore it, and if that is not possible, copy it if we think it is dominant, or destroy it if we think it is subordinate. But we have no patterns for relating across our human differences as equals. As a result, those differences have been misnamed and misused in the service of separation and confusion.

Certainly there are very real differences between us of race, age, and sex. But it is not those differences between us that are separating us. It is rather our refusal to recognize those differences, and to examine the distortions that result from our misnaming them and their effects upon human behavior and expectation.

Racism, the belief in the inherent superiority of one race over all others and thereby the right to dominance. Sexism, the belief in the inherent superiority of one sex over the other and thereby the right to dominance. Ageism. Heterosexism. Elitism. Classism.

It is a lifetime pursuit for each one of us to extract these distortions from our living at the same time as we recognize, reclaim, and define those differences upon which they are imposed. For we have all been raised in a society where those distortions were endemic within our living. Too often, we pour the energy needed for recognizing and exploring difference into pretending those differences are insurmountable barriers, or that they do not exist at all. This results in a voluntary isolation, or false and treacherous connections. Either way, we do not develop tools for using human difference as a springboard for creative change within our lives. We speak not of human difference, but of human deviance.

Somewhere, on the edge of consciousness, there is what I call a mythical norm, which each one of us within our hearts knows "that is not me." In America, this norm is usually defined as white, thin, male, young, heterosexwal, Christian, and financially secure. It is with this mythical norm that the trappings of power reside within this society. Those of us who stand outside that power often identify one way in which we are different, and we assume that to be the primary cause of all oppression, forgetting other distortions around difference, some of which we ourselves may be practicing. By and large within the women's movement today, white women focus upon their oppression as women and ignore differences of race, sexual preference, class, and age. There is a pretense to a homogeneity of experience covered by the word sisterhood that does not in fact exist.

Unacknowledged class differences rob women of each others' energy and creative insight. Recently a women's magazine collective made the decision for one issue to print only prose, saying poetry was a less "rigorous" or "serious" art form. Yet even the form our creativity takes is often a class

is the most secret, that requires the least physical labor, the least material, subway, and on scraps of surplus paper. Over the last few years, writing a and the one that can be done between shifts, in the hospital pantry, on the issue. Of all the art forms, poetry is the most economical. It is the one that the material demands between poetry and prose. As we reclaim our literanovel on tight finances, I came to appreciate the enormous differences in whose art is whose. In this day of inflated prices for material, who are our ments to produce the visual arts also help determine, along class lines, are reams of paper, a typewriter, and plenty of time. The actual requirewomen. A room of one's own may be a necessity for writing prose, but so ture, poetry has been the major voice of poor, working-class, and colored sculptors, our painters, our photographers? When we speak of a broadly economic differences on the supplies available for producing art. based women's culture, we need to be aware of the effect of class and

ation gap" is an important social tool for any repressive society. If the ageism is another distortion of relationship that interferes without vision. or suspect or excess, they will never be able to join hands and examine the younger members of a community view the older members as contemptible By ignoring the past, we are encouraged to repeat its mistakes. The "gener-"Why?" This gives rise to a historical amnesia that keeps us working to living memories of the community, nor ask the all important question, invent the wheel every time we have to go to the store for bread. As we move toward creating a society within which we can each flourish,

purgatoried by girdles and high heels and hobble skirts? once again our daughters are allowing their bodies to be hampered and has this all been said before? For another, who would have believed that learned, or because we are unable to listen. For instance, how many times and over that our mothers did because we do not pass on what we have We find ourselves having to repeat and relearn the same old lessons over

those differences presents the most serious threat to the mobilization of Ignoring the differences of race between women and the implications of

woman in terms of their own experience alone, then women of color become women's joint power. of women of color is seldom included in women's literature courses and women of color as a resource for women's studies courses. The literature prehend. An example of this is the signal absence of the experience of "other," the outsider whose experience and tradition is too "alien" to comonly be taught by colored women, or that they are too difficult to underalmost never in other literature courses, nor in women's studies as a whole. stand, or that classes cannot "get into" them because they come out of All too often, the excuse given is that the literatures of women of color can experiences that are "too different." I have heard this argument presented As white women ignore their built-in privilege of whiteness and define

> the vastly different experiences of Shakespeare, Molière, Dostoyevski, and by white women of otherwise quite clear intelligence, women who seem to Aristophanes. Surely there must be some other explanation. have no trouble at all teaching and reviewing work that comes out of

as whole people in our actual complexities—as individuals, as women, as reluctance to see black women as women and different from themselves. women have such difficulty reading black women's work is because of their human-rather than as one of those problematic but familiar stereotypes believe this holds true for the literatures of other women of color who are provided in this society in place of genuine images of black women. And I To examine black women's literature effectively requires that we be seen This is a very complex question, but I believe one of the reasons white

inferior, then the recognition of any difference must be fraught with guilt. ences. For as long as any difference between us means one of us must be and many white women are heavily invested in ignoring the real differfor it threatens the complacency of those women who view oppression only To allow women of color to step out of stereotypes is too guilt-provoking, The literatures of all women of color recreate the textures of our lives,

problems and pitfalls facing us as women. Refusing to recognize difference makes it impossible to see the different

used by the power structure against black men, not because they are men. women are not the same. For example, it is easy for black women to be major prop, the entrapments used to neutralize black women and white are not duplicated in the white community, with the exception of the have developed joint defenses and joint vulnerabilities to each other that still share it, although in different ways. Out of that shared oppression we white women. Black women and men have shared racist oppression and conflicts within our communities. This same problem does not exist for all times to separate the needs of the oppressor from our own legitimate but because they are black. Therefore, for black women, it is necessary at relationship between Jewish women and Jewish men. Thus, in a partriarchal power system where white skin privilege is a

with patriarchal power and its tools. there is a wider range of pretended choices and rewards for identifying sometimes extended to us is not an invitation to join power; our racial does not exist in the same way for women of color. The tokenism that is joining the oppressor under the pretense of sharing power. This possibility "otherness" is a visible reality that makes that quite clear. For white women On the other hand, white women face the pitfall of being seduced into

conservatism, it is easier once again for white women to believe the danger-Today, with the defeat of ERA, the tightening economy, and increased

ous fantasy that if you are good enough, pretty enough, sweet enough, quiet enough, teach the children to behave, hate the right people, and marry the right men, then you will be allowed to coexist with patriarchy in relative peace, at least until a man needs your job or the neighborhood rapist happens along. And true, unless one lives and loves in the trenches it is difficult to remember that the war against dehumanization is ceaseless.

But black women and our children know the fabric of our lives is stitched with violence and with hatred, that there is no rest. We do not deal with it only on the picket lines, or in dark midnight alleys, or in the places where we dare to verbalize our resistance. For us, increasingly, violence weaves through the daily tissues of our living—in the supermarket, in the classroom, in the elevator, in the clinic and the school yard, from the plumber, the baker, the saleswoman, the bus driver, the bank teller, the waitress who does not serve us.

Some problems we share as women, some we do not. You fear your children will grow up to join the patriarchy and testify against you; we fear our children will be dragged from a car and shot down in the street, and you will turn your backs upon the reasons they are dying.

sured. But these woman-hating acts are rarely discussed as crimes against a standard within our communities, one by which manliness can be meaof powerlessness, violence against black women and children often becomes silence will not make it disappear. Exacerbated by racism and the pressures nities as well. It is a disease striking the heart of black nationhood, and only by the white racist society, but implemented within our black commuas women, and that sexual hostility against black women is practiced not continuous battle against racial erasure that black women and black men black women. share, some black women still refuse to recognize that we are also oppressed mistaken for betrayal of our common interests as a people. Because of the is often misnamed as a need for homogeneity, and a black feminist vision difference. Within black communities, where racism is a living reality, struggle does not make us immune to the errors of ignoring and misnaming differences among us often seem dangerous and suspect. The need for unity Those of us who are black must see that the reality of our lives and our The threat of difference has been no less blinding to people of color.

As a group, women of color are the lowest paid wage earners in America. We are the primary targets of abortion and sterilization abuse, here and abroad. In certain parts of Africa, small girls are still being sewed shut between their legs to keep them docile and for men's pleasure. This is known as female circumcision, and it is not a cultural affair as the late Jomo Kenyatta insisted, it is a crime against black women.

Black women's literature is full of the pain of frequent assault, not only by a racist patriarchy, but also by black men. Yet the necessity for and

history of shared battle have made us, black women, particularly vulnerable to the false accusation that anti-sexist is anti-black. Meanwhile, womanhating as a recourse of the powerless is sapping strength from black communities, and our very lives. Rape is on the increase, reported and unreported, and rape is not aggressive sexuality, it is sexualized aggression. As Kalamu ya Salaam, a black male writer points out, "As long as male domination exists, rape will exist. Only women revolting and men made conscious of their responsibility to fight sexism can collectively stop rape."*

Differences between ourselves as black women are also being misnamed and used to separate us from one another. As a black lesbian feminist comfortable with the many different ingredients of my identity, and a woman committed to racial and sexual freedom from oppression, I find I am constantly being encouraged to pluck out some one aspect of myself and present this as the meaningful whole, eclipsing or denying the other parts of self. But this is a destructive and fragmenting way to live. My fullest concentration of energy is available to me only when I integrate all the parts of who I am, openly, allowing power from particular sources of my living to flow back and forth freely through all my different selves, without the restrictions of externally imposed definition. Only then can I bring myself and my energies as a whole to the service of those struggles which I embrace as part of my living.

A fear of lesbians, or of being accused of being a lesbian, has led many black women into testifying against themselves. It has led some of us into destructive alliances, and others into despair and isolation. In the white women's communities, heterosexism is sometimes a result of identifying with the white patriarchy, a rejection of that interdependence between women-identified women that allows the self to be, rather than to be used in the service of men. Sometimes it reflects a die-hard belief in the protective coloration of heterosexual relationships, sometimes a self-hate, which all women have to fight against, taught us from birth.

Although elements of these attitudes exist for all women, there are particular resonances of heterosexism and homophobia among black women. Despite the fact that woman-bonding has a long and honorable history in the African and African American communities, and despite the knowledge and accomplishments of many strong and creative womenidentified black women in the political, social and cultural fields, heterosexual black women often tend to ignore or discount the existence and work of black lesbians. Part of this attitude has come from an understandable terror of black male attack within the close confines of black society, where the punishment for any female self-assertion is still to be accused of being

From "Rape: A Radical Analysis, an African-American Perspective" by Kalamu ya Salaam in Black Books Bulletin, vol. 6, no. 4 (1980).

a lesbian and therefore unworthy of the attention or support of the scarce black male. But part of this need to misname and ignore black lesbians comes from a very real fear that openly women-identified black women who are no longer dependent upon men for their self-definition may well reorder our whole concept of social relationships.

Black women who once insisted that lesbianism was a white woman's problem now insist that black lesbians are a threat to black nationhood, are consorting with the enemy, are basically unblack. These accusations, coming from the very women to whom we look for deep and real understanding, have served to keep many black lesbians in hiding, caught between the racism of white women and the homophobia of their sisters. Often, their work has been ignored, trivialized, or misnamed, as with the work of Angelina Grimké, Alice Dunbar-Nelson, Lorraine Hansberry. Yet womenbonded women have always been some part of the power of black communities, from our unmarried aunts to the amazons of Dahomey.

And it is certainly not black lesbians who are assaulting women and raping children and grandmothers on the streets of our communities.

Across this country, as in Boston during the spring of 1979 following the unsolved murders of twelve black women, black lesbians are spearheading movements against violence against black women.

What are the particular details within each of our lives that can be scrutinized and altered to help bring about change? How do we redefine difference for all women? It is not our differences that separate women, but our reluctance to recognize those differences and to deal effectively with the distortions that have resulted from the ignoring and misnaming of those differences.

As a tool of social control, women have been encouraged to recognize only one area of human difference as legitimate, those differences that exist between women and men. And we have learned to deal across those differences with the urgency of all oppressed subordinates. All of us have had to learn to live or work or coexist with men, from our fathers on. We have recognized and negotiated these differences, even when this recognition only continued the old dominant/subordinate mode of human relationship, where the oppressed must recognize the masters' difference in order to survive.

But our future survival is predicated upon our ability to relate within equality. As women, we must root out internalized patterns of oppression within ourselves if we are to move beyond the most superficial aspects of social change. Now we must recognize differences among women who are our equals, neither inferior nor superior, and devise ways to use each others' difference to enrich our visions and our joint struggles.

The future of our earth may depend upon the ability of all women to identify and develop new definitions of power and new patterns of relating

across difference. The old definitions have not served us, nor the earth that supports us. The old patterns, no matter how cleverly rearranged to imitate progress, still condemn us to cosmetically altered repetitions of the same old exchanges, the same old guilt, hatred, recrimination, lamentation, and suspicion.

For we have, built into all of us, old blueprints of expectation and response, old structures of oppression, and these must be altered at the same time as we alter the living conditions which are a result of those structures. For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house.

As Paulo Freire shows so well in *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, * the true focus of revolutionary change is never merely the oppressive situations that we seek to escape, but that piece of the oppressor that is planted deep within each of us, and that knows only the oppressors' tactics, the oppressors relationships.

Change means growth, and growth can be painful. But we sharpen self-definition by exposing the self in work and struggle together with those whom we define as different from ourselves, although sharing the same goals. For black and white, old and young, lesbian and heterosexual women alike, this can mean new paths to our survival.

Seabury Press, New York, 1970.