18.

Womanist Issues in Black Studies: Towards Integrating Africana Womanism into Africana Studies (1992)[1]

Delores P. Aldridge

Two of the most significant reforms in American higher education over the past two decades have emerged from the Africana (Black Studies) and Women's Studies movements.[1] Black or Africana Studies began as a field of study in the 1960s in the wake of the civil rights movement and in the midst of pervasive campus unrest. From the outset it had both an academic and social mission. Though contemporary Black Studies as an interdisciplinary enterprise is a product of the sixties, it draws much of its academic content from earlier times.

Students of the sixties were confronted with an absence or distortion of the Black Experience in the higher education curriculum and a sense of cultural alienation generated by the predominantly white colleges and universities they entered. First they demanded black recognition in any form, such as black faculty and staff, black programs, more black students, necessary financial aid, and black history courses. But, it quickly became clear that black history was simply a beginning and that a broader demand would and did emerge for a comprehensive interdisciplinary curriculum with history at its center.

Women's Studies sought to introduce the study of women as a means of providing her story and to eradicate many of the myths and distortions surrounding the lives of women. The Women's Liberation movement following on the heels of the civil rights movement served as a catalyst for conscious-raising on women's issues. And, though much controversy has surrounded the movement with the opposition from both men and women, whites and nonwhites, its effects have pervaded the society at all levels, including the university, where women faculty and staff have led attempts to bring equity to gender issues. For the most part, white women benefiting from and modeling after the efforts of the civil rights and Black Studies movements have fostered an explosion of new approaches and content in the academy. Their increasing numbers and continuity have played heavily into their institutionalization in American higher

---

* *A revised version of the earlier work which appeared in* The Afrocentric Scholar, vol. 1, no. 1 (May 1992).

The author appreciates the discussion of the original draft of this work with LaFrances Rodgers-Rose who provided valuable insights.

education. Whereas Africana students, who are transient but in larger numbers than Africana faculty, have been a mainstay in pecking away at institutional barriers to the incorporation and perpetuation of African Studies, Women's Studies has enjoyed the growing critical mass of women faculty and staff with real access to structural change.

While both movements addressed some very real inadequacies such as paucity of faculty, absence and distortion of curriculum content and programmatic resources in the academy, neither has been particularly sensitive to the unique experiences of women of African descent in America, on the continent or through the Diaspora.

Some Africana women intellectuals have viewed the struggles of women of African descent in America as part of a wider struggle for human dignity and empowerment. As early as 1893, Anna Julia Cooper, in a speech to women, provided this perspective:

> We take our stand on the solidarity of humanity, the oneness of life, and the unnaturalness and injustice of all special favoritisms, whether of sex, race, country, or condition.... The colored woman feels that woman's cause is one and universal; and that ... not till race, color, sex, and condition are seen as accidents, and not the substance of life; not till the universal title of humanity to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is conceded to be inalienable to all; not till then is woman's lesson taught and woman's cause won—not the white woman's nor the black woman's, not the red woman's but the cause of every man and of every woman who has writhed silently under a mighty wrong.[2]

This humanist vision led Alice Walker to identify with the term womanist, of which she says "womanist is to feminist as purple is to lavender," addressing the notion of the solidarity of humanity. She defines "womanist" in *In Search of Our Mother's Gardens: Womanist Prose*. For Walker, a "womanist" is one who is "committed to the survival and wholeness of an entire people." Clinora Hudson-Weems (1993) enlarges upon this notion grounding us in Africana Womanism. The term "Africana" refers not only to continental Africans but also to people of African descent worldwide. In *Africana Womanism: Reclaiming Ourselves*, Hudson-Weems explores the dynamics of the conflict between the mainstream feminist, the black feminist, and the Africana womanist. In the book, she names and defines traits that characterize an Africana woman. According to Hudson-Weems, Africana Womanism is neither an outgrowth nor an addendum to mainstream feminism but rather a concept grounded in the culture and focuses on the experiences, needs and desires of Africana women. Africana womanists and feminists have separate agendas. Feminism is female centered; Africana Womanism is family centered. Feminism is concerned primarily with riding society of sexism; Africana Womanism is concerned with ridding society of racism first, then classism and sexism. Many feminists say their number one enemy is the male; Africana womanists welcome and encourage male participation in their struggle. Feminism, Hudson-Weems says, is incompatible with African women, as it was designed to meet the needs of white women. In fact, the history of feminism reveals a blatant, racist background. For example, in reaction to the ratification of the 15th Amendment to the Constitution in 1870, which granted Africana men voting rights, suffragist leader Carrie Chapman Catt asserted that middle-class white men recognize "the usefulness of woman suffrage as a counter-balance to the foreign vote, and as a means of legally preserving white supremacy in the South." And, so it is from the perspective of Africana Womanism that this discourse is developed.

The civil rights movement, which stressed liberation in the late sixties, marked the first time African people engaged in a struggle to resist racism, whereby distinct boundaries were established which separated the role of women and men. African male activists publicly acknowledged expectations that women involved in the movement conform to a subservient role pattern. This sexist expectation was expressed as women were admonished to manage household needs and breed warriors for the revolution. Toni Cade (1970) elaborated on the issue of roles that prevailed in black organizations during the sixties:

> It would seem that every organization you can name has had to struggle at one time or another with seemingly mutinous cadres of women getting salty about having to man the telephones or fix the coffee while the men wrote the position papers and decided on policy. Some groups condescendingly allotted two or three slots in the executive order to women. Others encouraged the sisters to form a separate caucus and work out something that wouldn't split the organization. Others got nasty and forced the women to storm out to organize separate workshops. Over the years, things have sort of been cooled out. But I have yet to hear a coolheaded analysis of just what any particular group's stand is on the question. Invariably, I hear from some dude that Black women must be supportive and patient so that Black men can regain their manhood. The notion of womanhood, they argue—and only if pressed to address themselves to the notion do they think of it or argue—is dependent on his defining his manhood. So the shit goes on.[3]

Though many black women activists did not succumb to the attempts of black men to reduce them to a secondary role in the movement, many did. Bell Hooks writes:

> Black women questioning and/or rejecting a patriarchal black movement found little solace in the contemporary women's movement. For while it drew attention to the victimization of black women by racist and sexist oppression, white feminists tended to romanticize the black female experience rather than discuss the negative impact of oppression. When feminists acknowledge in one breath that black women are victimized and in the same breath emphasize their strength, they imply that though black women are oppressed they manage to circumvent that damaging impact of oppression by being strong and that is simply not the case. Usually when people talk about the "strength" of black women they are referring to the way in which they perceive black women coping with oppression, that endurance is not to be confused with transformation.[4]

Thus, to be an activist in the liberation of black people or women did not necessarily mean there was sensitivity for Africana women.

In *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave*, three Africana women scholars wrote:

> Women's Studies ... focused almost exclusively upon the lives of white women. Black Studies, which was much too often male-dominated, also ignored Black women.... Because of white women's racism and Black men's sexism, there was no room in either area for a serious consideration of the lives of Black women. And even when they have considered black women, white women usually have not had the capacity to analyze racial politics and Black culture, and Black men have remained blind or resistant to the implications of sexual politics in Black women's lives.[5]

The above characterization has seemingly been acknowledged, for within the last several years there has been increasing advocacy for recognition and correction of this failure to deal equitably with African women in scholarship and the academy. Throughout the country, Africana men and women speak to the existence of racism in Women's Studies and sexism in Africana Studies in courses on campuses, in associations, and in scholarly publications. It would seem to follow, then, that there are a number of critical areas for attention: Africana women and scholarship, Africana women and the academy, and Africana women and professional organizations.

Scholarship, Africana Studies Africana Women

The increased number of Africana women scholars in the academy has yielded an increase in scholarly research about them. Prior to their significant presence, Africana men and others had largely written from their own interests and perspectives—excluding, minimizing or distorting the reality of Africana women. This, then, has been a major factor in the absence of African women in Africana Studies curriculum—the lack of a critical mass of Africana women scholars equipped to write about Africana women. Even with a growing number of Africana women scholars, it has been difficult for them to publish. Though it has not been easy to publish the works of Africana women scholars in general, Africana women have seen the doors closed more often on their publishing interests. But in spite of obstacles pertaining to the relevance and seriousness of African women's issues, there has been considerable scholarship over the last two or three decades. The seventies and eighties—which witnessed the rise and institutionalization of both Africana and Women's Studies—have surfaced much previous work and added to the continued productivity. There were various pioneering works in the seventies and eighties that included Toni Cade's *The Black Woman* (1970), the first anthology of its kind on African women in America with the focus on the voices of Africana women themselves who analyzed contemporary issues.

In 1972 Gerda Lerner provided *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* demonstrating the importance of examining the experiences of women of African descent as distinct from those of non-Africana women and African men. Following on the heels of these two works was the first anthology by two Africana historians, Rosalyn Terborg-Penn and Sharon Harley. Their work, *The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images* (1978), is a collection of original essays from a historical perspective. A single-authored historical volume by Deborah Gray White, entitled *Ar'n't I a Woman?* (1985), provided some new insights into the lives of slave women. And, at the beginning of the decade of the eighties, two social science anthologies were developed by LaFrances Rodgers-Rose and Filomina Chioma Steady entitled respectively, *The Black Woman and The Black Woman Crossculturally*. The former work was and remains the first edited, definitive volume of original research by African American women social scientists on African American women. The latter volume was an outstanding accomplishment in arraying a wide range of work focusing on women of color throughout the world.

A single-authored volume of significance in the 1980s was by Lena Wright Myers, entitled *Black Women: Do They Cope Better?* This sociological work provided a new framework for understanding how women of African descent in America viewed them-

selves positively in spite of a racist, sexist, classist society. Another sociological work which has not received the exposure it deserves, *Black Women, Feminism, and Black Liberation: Which Way?* was published by Vivian Gordon (1985). This work places in perspective the critical issues facing Africana women and African Studies if the field of African Studies is to fully realize its potential. A trailblazing work of the nineties was authored by the writer. It attempted for the first time to theoretically conceptualize black male-female relationships in America. Aldridge (1991) in *Focusing: Black Male-Female Relationships* provided a foundation for understanding relationships with strategies for developing healthy ones. Earlier in 1989, she had laid the groundwork with *Black Male-Female Relationships: A Resource Book of Selected Materials* which was an edited volume comprising the most comprehensive collection of scholarly work available written by social scientists. Another work of significance for the nineties was authored by sociologist Patricia Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment.* It encompasses most of the relevant work on Africana women and will probably serve as a point of departure for research for many on the subject in the future, notwithstanding the even more revolutionary work on Africana Womanism by Clinora Hudson-Weems. Hudson's work has no parallel as a new way of understanding Africana women.

Dozens of books and articles in the literary humanist tradition were authored over the last two decades. And, perhaps the most visible work to emerge in the nineties is the huge encyclopedia volumes on black women edited by Darlene Clark Hine. Other earlier works included: Mary Helen Washington's *Black-Eyed Susans: Classic Stories by and about Black Women* (1975) and *Sturdy Black Bridges: Visions of Black Women in Literature* edited by Roseann Bell, Betty Parker, and Beverly Guy-Sheftall (1979). In the decade of the eighties, a number of valuable works were set forth on feminist literary criticism for Africana women. Among these notable works were Barbara Christian's *Black Women Novelists: The Development of a Tradition 1892–1976* (1981) and Gloria Wade-Gayle's *No Crystal Stair, Visions of Race and Sex in Women's Fiction* (1984). A controversial, but valuable, piece for illuminating the complexity of Africana womanhood is the interdisciplinary work of Bell Hooks' *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* (1981).

This growing scholarship is necessary to move toward integrating African women into Africana Studies in the academy. If there continues to be this flowering of scholarly products, the future in encouraging for the institutionalization of Africana women throughout curriculum, programming and academic appointments at all levels.

The Academy, Africana Studies and Africana Women

Presently, entrenchment in the academy in terms of formal courses has been far less observable than the scholarship developed over the last two decades. Significantly, the *Core Curriculum Guide* developed by the National Council for Black Studies (1981) did not address the issue of inclusion of women as a distinct focus for study. And, Colon's particularly crucial work, "Critical Issues in Black Studies: A Selective Analysis," (1984) failed to devote attention to the lack of inclusion of women in curriculum in any signif-

icant way as an area of concern. These omissions were addressed a decade later in the revised *Core Curriculum Guide of the Council for Black Studies* and the subsequent works by visible male Africana Studies scholars as well as female Africana Studies scholars.

A cursory examination of curricula in Africana Studies or Women's Studies units reflects very few, if any, courses that treat Africana women in their own right. And, when they do, most often the courses are in literature and occasionally tied to a family course. There are some exceptions, usually where courses are jointly listed in Africana and Women's Studies with titles such as "The Black Woman in America" or "The Black Woman in History." Notably where proactive Africana Women's scholars are located, there are generally one or two courses in the course listings.

The above tenuous assessment is based on an examination of a limited sample of schools with both Africana and Women's Studies academic units. It should also be noted that institutions that have white women scholars who are sensitive to Africana women's issues and are politically astute enough to recognize the fertile terrain for research are more likely to have courses that give attention to issues of importance for Africana women. But, it is necessary to bear in mind the struggle which exists to control curricula on Africana women as well as to gain and maintain loyalty and commitment to Africana Studies by Africana women on campuses where strong Women's Studies programs exist. In *But Some of Us Are Brave*, there are course descriptions of African American Women's Studies. Some of these courses may prove to be useful as a point of departure for developing courses on Africana women in programs where they are nonexistent.

Beyond the courses on campuses, the campus cultural arena must be examined to determine the extent to which it fosters educational enlightenment on issues of relevance to Africana women. How many lectures by and about Africana women occur during the academic year? What kinds of audiences turn out for these occasions? What accounts appear in campus media on Africana women: Who or what units are the promoters of Africana women on campuses? Data has to be systematically gathered to respond to these kinds of questions to get a handle on the extent to which Africana women are being incorporated into Africana Studies, specifically, and on campus in general. Again, the data from the dozen or so campuses are not very impressive. The list of women as speakers is much more limited than men in numbers as well as in the subfields of Africana Studies.

Very few women emerge as "famous people" to bring to campus outside of the political activists, entertainers or the popular novelists such as Maya Angelou, Alice Walker, Toni Morrison, etc. Virtually no Africana women theoreticians among the social and behavioral science scholars, or, for that matter, humanists such as historians surface immediately for student groups or faculty to bring to campus except when brochures from speakers bureaus are consulted. The point is that we have virtually no highly visible "giants" among Africana women who are committed to and who are doing significant work on Africana women within the field of Africana Studies.

Most of those who are visible view themselves as part of a traditional discipline or as part of a newly emerging discipline of Black Women's Studies and as such are not an integral part of the promotion and development of African Studies as a discipline. They seek to emphasize issues of women while minimizing the experiences of people of African decent as a totality. The overriding issue today is: do we need an African Women's Studies movement separate from the general movement or will African Studies be able to incorporate the experiences of black women?

It must be borne in mind that, until recently, an overwhelming majority of African Studies units were administered by Africana males who controlled curriculum development and cultural programming activities and were guilty, even if unintentionally, of treating Africana women as whites had treated both men and women of African descent in the academy—distorting or dismissing them and their experiences. And, where women were administrators their faculties were usually still heavily male—probably sensitive but unequipped to teach courses. This suggests the dual need for sensitivity and necessary resources. The decade of the nineties is witnessing positive changes in both of the aforementioned.

There are growing numbers of scholars with interest in women's issues as well as an increasing number of Africana administrators, both male and female, who are sensitive to women's issues, realizing the need to incorporate significantly curriculum and experiences of students both male and female. For example, the Emory University African American and African Studies program, under its founding Africana woman director, inaugurated an endowed lecture series in the name of an African American woman and subsequently created a distinguished chair in the name of an Africana woman with an African American woman as the first individual to hold the chair. Both incidents were firsts at a major institution in this country. But significantly there has never been a strong presence of African women in the curriculum in this institution for a variety of reasons, including most importantly the lack of continuity of faculty equipped to teach these courses.

Professional Organizations, Africana Studies and Africana Women

Just as scholarship and the academy have been largely void of a significant Africana women's presence and skill in "directing traffic," such has been the case for Africana Studies professional organizations until the late eighties and nineties. It is in these very organizations that Africana women have begun to have their presence felt—not simply by being the leaders or presidents but through drawing more women into all levels of the organizations.

Organizations must have infrastructures which develop their character and form.

The National Council for Black Studies (NCBS), The African Heritage Studies Association (AHSA), and the African American Life and History Association (ASALH) have contributed to professionalizing the field of African American Studies. They have taken steps to move towards parity among women and men with respect to key positions throughout the organizations; integration of women's issues and experience in the annual conference programs; recognition of women with awards; and special projects devoted to them.

Much of this movement came about due to efforts of women as they have gained in numbers but also because some men have come to see the injustice and the waste of talent in not fully actualizing the wealth of resources which abound when men and women come together in enlightening the world. But, it probably has been easier to integrate women in the professional organizations than in the curriculum because of the nature of political machinery in organizations, as opposed to garnering resources for faculty positions to staff courses on African women. All too often, these courses are seen

as frills rather than staples, not only, and perhaps, not even as much by Africana scholars as by central administrators who control budgets.

Toward Integrating Africana Women into Africana Studies

Integrating Africana women into Africana Studies should not need to be a topic for dialogue. For the incorporation of Africana women should be as natural to the field as breathing is to living. This is particularly true if those in the field share a fundamental womanist perspective as mentioned earlier in this chapter and which more recently has been summarized by Gordon (1985) and Hudson-Weems (1993). In *Black Women, Feminism and Black Liberation: Which Way?* Gordon contends black liberation represents freedom from racism and sexism, and as such black women should not have to compartmentalize themselves into segments of race versus gender. Both black men's and black women's central goal is to be liberated, and it can happen only if both are fairly treated.[6] Hudson-Weems points out specifically what encompasses a liberated people as she details the characteristics of the Africana woman. She lists 18 features: (1) a self-namer, (2) a self-definer, (3) family-centered, (4) genuine in sisterhood, (5) strong, (6) in concert with male in struggle, (7) whole, (8) authentic, (9) a flexible role player, (10) respected, (11) recognized, (12) spiritual, (13) male compatible, (14) respectful of elders, (15) adaptable, (16) ambitious, (17) mothering and (18) nurturing.[7]

Guided by an African Womanist perspective, then, and by way of summary and emphasis, the following points are offered for consideration as challenges or opportunities for integrating Africana women into Africana Studies:

1. Continued development of scholarship by and about Africana women, particularly with increased focus in the social and behavioral sciences, the natural sciences, professions and policy studies.
2. Increased contributions by women to conceptualization of theoretical and empirical issues of the field in general. Women are invisible for the most part in framing central issues of the discipline of Africana Studies. Two notable exceptions are Young (1984) and Aldridge (1988), who guest edited special issues of the *Journal of Negro Education and Phylon: Review of Race and Culture*. Earlier in 1972, Young had edited the significant and widely used *Black Experience: Analysis and Synthesis*. More recently, Marimba Ani (1994) has emerged with what may were be the major theoretical piece for Africana Studies produced by male or female in this century.
3. Continued involvement of Africana women with womanist perspectives in leadership positions in the professional bodies for Africana Studies so that programs and policies reflect their perspectives.
4. Increased attention to developing new and restructuring old curricula to reflect a balance that is inclusive of Africana women.
5. Increased balancing of speakers and cultural activities on campuses that draw upon both men and women not only from the literary tradition but other ori-

entations. Much more effort will have to be exerted to draw upon talent among the less famous but no less substantive than some of the famous.

6. Concentrated efforts to search out and quote the work of both Africana women and men in the field as scholars of other fields do.

While by no means exhaustive, the aforementioned points are offered as challenges or opportunities for integrating Africana women into Africana Studies. Thus, Integration would foreclose on any needs for African Women scholars to abandon the disciplines—a discipline which can only grow stronger and richer with the full treatment of both its men and women.

References

Aldridge, Delores P., ed. "New Perspectives on Black Studies," Special issue, *Phylon: Review of Race and Culture* 49, 1 (Spring 1988).

———. *Black Male-Female Relationships: A Resource Book.* Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall-Hunt, 1989.

———. *Focusing: Institutional and interpersonal Perspectives on Black Male-Female Relations.* Chicago: Third World Press, 1991.

Ani, Marimba. *Yurugu: An African-Centered Critique of European Cultural Thought and Behavior.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1994.

Bell, Roseann P., Bettye J. Parker and Beverly Guy-Sheftall, eds., *Sturdy Black Bridges: Visions of Black Women in Literature.* New York: Anchor Books, 1979.

Boxer, Marilyn J., "For and About Women: The Theory and Practice of Women's Studies in the United States," *Signs* 7 (1981): 660–695.

Cade, Toni, ed. *The Black Woman: An Anthology.* New York. New American Library, 1970.

Christian, Barbara. *Black Women Novelists: The Development of a Tradition 1892–1976.* Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1981.

Collins, Patricia H. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment.* London: Harper Collins Academic, 1990.

Colon, Alan K. "Critical Issues in Black Studies: A Selective Analysis," *The Journal of Negro Education* 53 (1984): 268–277.

Gordon, Vivian V. *Black Women, Feminism, Black Liberation: Which Way?* Chicago: Third World Press, 1991.

Harley, Sharon, and Terborg-Penn, Rosalyn, eds. *The Afro-American Woman: Struggles and Images.* Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1978.

hooks, bell. *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism.* Boston: South End Press, 1981.

Hudson-Weems, Clinora. *Africana Womanism: Reclaiming Ourselves.* Detroit: Dunlap Press, 1993.

Hull, Gloria T., Scott, Patricia Bell, and Smith, Barbara, eds., *All the Women Are White, All the Men Are Black, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women's Studies.* Old Westbury, NY: Feminist Press, 1982.

Ladner, Joyce. *Tomorrow's Tomorrow.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971.

Lerner, Gerda, ed. *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.

Loewenberg, Bert J., and Bogin, Ruth, eds. *Black Women in Nineteenth Century American Life.* University Park. Pennsylvania State Press, 1976.

Myers, Lena Wright. *Black Women: Do They Cope Better?* New York: Prentice-Hall, 1980.

National Council for Black Studies. *Black Studies Core Curriculum.* Bloomington, IN: National Council for Black Studies, 1981.

Rodgers-Rose, LaFrances. *The Black Woman.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1980.

Steady, Filomina, ed. *The Black Woman Cross-Culturally.* Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1981.

Turner, James E., ed. *The Next Decade: Theoretical and Research Issues.* Ithaca, NY: Africana Studies and Research Center, Cornell University, 1984.

Wade-Gayles, Gloria. *No Crystal Stair, Visions of Race and Sex in Women's Fiction.* New York: Pilgrim Press, 1984.

Walker, Alice. *The Color Purple.* New York: Washington Square Press, 1982.

———. *In Search of Our Mother's Gardens: Womanist Prose.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983.

Washington, Mary Helen. *Black-Eyed Susans: Classic Stories by and about Black Woman.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975.

White, Deborah Gray. *Ain't I a Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South.* New York: W.W. Norton, 1985.

Young, Carlene. "An Assessment of Black Studies Programs in American Higher Education," special issue of *The Journal of Negro Education* 53 (1984).

———. *Black Experience: Analysis and Synthesis.* San Rafael, CA: Leswing Press, 1972.

Note

For a comprehensive examination of women's studies generally, see Marilyn J. Boxer, "For and About Women: The Theory and Practice of Women's Studies in the United States," *SIGNS*, 7 (1982): 660–95. For an overview of Africana Studies refer to James E. Turner (ed.), *The Next Decade: Theoretical and Research Issues.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 1984.

Endnotes

1. Bert J. Loewenberg and Ruth Bogin, eds., *Black Women in Nineteenth-Century American Life.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976.

2. Bell Hooks, *Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism.* Boston: South End Press, 1981, p. 6.

3. Toni Cade, ed., *The Black Woman: An Anthology.* New York: New American Library, 1970, pp. 107–108.

4. Bell Hooks, *op cit.*, p. 6.

5. Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, eds., *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave.* Black Women's Studies. Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press, 1981, pp. xx–xxi.

6. Vivian V. Gordon, *Black Women, Feminism, Black Liberation: Which Way?* Chicago: Third World Press, 1985, pp. 68–69.

7. Clinora Hudson-Weems, *Africana Womanism: Reclaiming Ourselves.* Troy, Mich.: Bedford Publishers, 1993, p. 179.