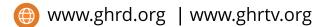
Black women march for equal rights in New Haven in 1969. Source: © David Fenton/Getty Images.



# **Understanding Intersectional Feminism:**

Origins, Modern Activism, and Critiques



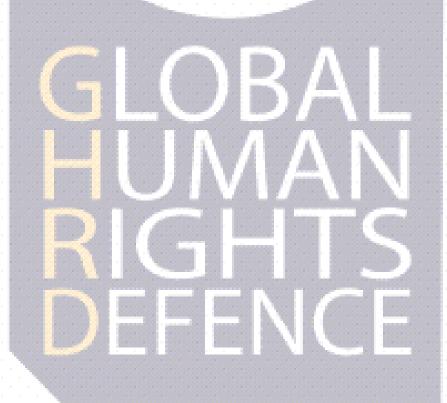




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# INTRODUCTION

Intersectionality is a crucial concept used in contemporary feminist discourse to examine the complex relationships between various forms of oppression, identity, and power dynamics. Intersectional feminism is the theory used to describe the disproportionate way in which systems of oppression affect individuals, influenced by interlocking, simultaneous identity factors such as race, gender, class, sexuality, disability, nationality, or other social categories. It emerged as a theoretical framework in the late 1980s due to the catalyst essays of Kimberlé Crenshaw, but the concept evolved over several decades of thinking and struggle by black and indigenous feminists as well as other women of colour (Runyan, 2018, p. 11).

The purpose of this article is to provide an overview of the multifaceted landscape of intersectionality, by exploring its definition, historical origins, main theorists, and application in contemporary society. Furthermore, by examining the debates surrounding this concept, the article aims to foster a deeper understanding of its significance, limitations, and ongoing contribution to the field of women's studies.

This paper analyses these ideas in four chapters. Chapter 1 delves into a conceptual analysis of intersectionality and its relation to feminism, including the different interpretations proposed by scholars in academic literature. Furthermore, it examines Kimberlé Crenshaw's groundbreaking contribution to intersectional feminism and, in particular, how her analysis of case law in light of an innovative definition of intersectionality laid the foundation for the wider contribution of the term in the field of feminist theory and literature. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the origins of intersectional feminism. It looks beyond its incorporation into the white feminist movement by reviewing the work of early intersectional feminists such as Sojourner Truth, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, and Ida B. Wells. Chapter 3 explores modern intersectional feminist activism, with a focus on two contributors that further enriched the understanding of intersectionality's scope and potential impact by including other dimensions of identity such as sexuality and class. These include the Combahee River Collective (a black feminist lesbian socialist organisation) and bell hooks, the literary pseudonym of Gloria Jean Watkins. The chapter also explores how the intersectional nature of discrimination was acknowledged and incorporated into policy frameworks during the 2001 World Conference against Racism in Durban. Lastly, Chapter 4 analyses intersectionality from a critical perspective, examining concerns about its vagueness, normative goals, and relationship with identity politics.



# UNDERSTANDING INTERSECTIONALITY

Although there is no single, universally accepted definition of intersectionality, it can be best described as the exploration of how identities intersect and relate to wider interlocking systems of power. In other words, the basic premise behind intersectionality is the recognition of how systems of oppression impact people differently based on their race, class, ability, sexuality, and other characteristics (Soken-Huberty, n.d.).

In academic literature, scholars have defined intersectionality differently. For example, Vivian May (2015) defined it as a way of conceptualising power that recognises privilege and oppression as concurrent and relational, while also acknowledging and addressing differences and inequities within social groups. She emphasised the importance of recognising the historical context of intersectionality, since it originally was a reaction of Black feminists and women of colour to the American social movements of the 1960s and 1970s (Nash, 2017). Alternatively, Patricia Hill Collins and Sirma Bilge recognise and embrace the complexity and difficulty of defining the concept in their book, "Intersectionality" (2016). They stress that despite considerable debate surrounding the meaning and usage of intersectionality, the term has endured and can be defined as "[the] power relations of race, class, [...] gender, sexuality, nation, ability, ethnicity and age - among others - [...] [which] are not discrete and mutually exclusive entities, but rather build on each other and work together" (Collins & Bilge, 2020, p. 10). Unlike May or Collins and Bilge, Anna Carastathis (2016) refused the idea of continuities between intersectionality and earlier terms used by feminist women of colour. Her definition was largely influenced by Kimberlé Crenshaw's work, who was the first person to use the term "intersectionality" in 1989. Carastathis raised awareness of Crenshaw's idea of provisionality (i.e. intersectionality is a provisional attempt to map structural inequality), which rescues intersectionality from critique by highlighting its ongoing development and evolution. Thus, Carastathis argues that intersectionality is "a profoundly destabilising, productively disorienting, provisional concept", which encapsulates a desire to continuously strive towards a more equitable and just social world (Nash, 2017).

Due to the complexity of the concept, misconceptions still surround it, and as a result, the term "intersectionality" is being increasingly used as a buzzword in women's studies (Nash, 2017). It is therefore important to clarify some common misunderstandings regarding it. Intersectionality is not about counting the various identities that a person possesses, assuming that possessing a higher number of minority identifiers (for instance, such as being a black, immigrant, homosexual, woman) equates to a "more intersectional" individual. Intersectionality is not concerned with individual identity, but rather with the social constructionist view of identity. This entails cultural ideas which inform one's understanding of being a man, woman, non-binary, straight, homosexual, white, or black, etc. It is not

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intended as a competition where the "winner" of the "Oppression Olympics" is the most disadvantaged person, but an examination of the relationship between societal understandings of identities and how they contribute to an intertwined power system (Liu, 2020).

### THE ORIGINS OF INTERSECTIONAL FEMINISM

Beyond White Feminism

Intersectional feminism is a subset of feminism focused on the systems of oppression that affect individuals differently, according to characteristics such as race, gender, class, ethnicity, ability, and other attributes. Unlike "mainstream feminism," which concentrates solely on gender or sex, intersectional feminism acknowledges that oppression operates as an interconnected system (Soken-Huberty, n.d.). In contrast to intersectional feminism, the term "white feminism" is used today as a criticism of feminist movements that ignore intersectionality, and fail to recognise the unique experiences and challenges faced by women of colour. Since feminist theory originated in a predominantly white society, it tends to overlook the fact that white women and black women may experience, for example, misogyny, rape, or patriarchal attitudes to different intensities. Moreover, white feminism can be used to describe the advocacy for gender equality while at the same time inadvertently perpetuating racial injustice by focusing on a narrative founded on white power and privilege. In contrast, intersectional feminism goes beyond white feminism by advancing its core belief that "none of us are free until all of us are free" (Crenshaw, 1989; Liu, 2020).

### Kimberlé Crenshaw's Concept of Intersectional Feminism

Crenshaw's conceptualisation of intersectional feminism represents a pioneering framework that addresses the limitations of traditional feminist and antiracist theories by highlighting the complex and interconnected nature of oppression faced by individuals with multiple marginalised identities. In 1989, during her tenure as a professor at the University of California, Los Angeles Law School, Crenshaw published a groundbreaking article entitled "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Analysis of Anti-discrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics". Her work criticised the single-axis framework present in anti-discrimination law, feminist theory, and antiracist politics, which focuses on the experiences of the most privileged group members within each category. She supported her argument by critically analysing the *DeGraffenreid v. General Motors* case (U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri, 1976), which involved a lawsuit initiated by five Black women, alleging that General Motors had discriminated against them based on their identity as Black women. Nevertheless, the Court ruled against their ability to consolidate their claims (the case did not pass the procedural standards because they were suing on grounds of two types of discrimination), instructing the women to choose either a racial discrimination or a sex discrimination



lawsuit. In her critique of the Court's ruling, Crenshaw used the term "intersectionality" to explain how the legal system fell short in acknowledging the intersection of gender and racial discrimination that disadvantages Black women in the United States (Crenshaw, 1989; Liu, 2020; Soken-Huberty, n.d).

In the rest of her article, Crenshaw developed her analysis by discussing two more cases of US jurisprudence, *Moore v. Hughes Helicopters, Inc.* (United States Court of Appeals, Ninth Circuit, 1983) and *Payne v. Travenol* (United States Court of Appeals, Fifth Circuit, 1982), where the concerned Courts again failed to embrace intersectionality and recognise the distinct experiences of Black women in discrimination-related cases. At this time, the law surrounding sex and racial discrimination was defined by white women's and Black men's experiences respectively. In these cases, therefore, the Courts either evaluated their claims through the limited precedent established by the experience of white women, or they excluded Black women from representing larger groups due to conflicting interests between Black men and Black women. Crenshaw concludes her essay by reiterating that this single-axis anti-discrimination framework not only leads to the exclusion of Black women from feminist theory and anti-racist policy discourse, but also hinders progress in ending racism and patriarchy (Crenshaw, 1989).

In 1991, by incorporating dimensions of class and immigrant status, Crenshaw followed on her first article through another impactful work titled "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color". This work involved visiting shelters for women who had suffered abuse within communities of colour in Los Angeles. It was there that she saw the cumulative consequences of gender, racial, and class inequality amongst women of colour, which had trapped them in cycles of unemployment and impoverishment. This added another dimension to her work, whereby Crenshaw further illuminated the numerous forms of oppression endured by underprivileged women of colour in the United States (Liu, 2020).

In the same article, Crenshaw further expands her previous definition of intersectionality by making it threefold: structural, political, and representational. Structural intersectionality underscores how women of colour's position at the intersection of race and gender shapes their actual encounters with domestic violence, sexual violence, and reform efforts in qualitatively different ways compared to white women. Political intersectionality characterises the belief that feminist and antiracist movements in the US have jointly contributed to sidelining the concerns of Black women by overlooking their experiences, necessities, or political aspirations. Women of colour are, thereby, faced with the dilemma of choosing between two inadequate analyses (feminist and antiracist movements), which both constitute a denial of a fundamental dimension of their subordination. Lastly, representational intersectionality addresses the ways in which women of colour are depicted in sexist and racist narratives. It explores how these representations reinforce harmful stereotypes, marginalise, and objectify women of colour, and contributes to a cycle of exploitation and ignorance of their challenges (Carastathis, 2014).



Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality questions the inadequacies of anti-discrimination laws in the US by acknowledging and addressing the distinctive and individualised issues faced by Black women. However, her theory did not achieve wide recognition until the 2010s. Since then, intersectionality has gradually gained more traction, both within academic circles and in broader contexts, with its widespread influence being recognised with its addition to the English dictionary in April 2017. Nevertheless, Crenshaw had never suggested that she was the first person to recognise the *idea* that gender, race, and class oppressions intersect. Her 1989 paper acknowledged the influence of pioneering Black women scholars and activists on her theoretical framework (Liu, 2020). Moreover, she reaffirmed in her 1991 article that her theory is not an all-encompassing concept of identity, but merely a "provisional" attempt to map structural inequality:

[...] I hope to suggest a methodology that will ultimately disrupt the tendencies to see race and gender as exclusive or separable. While the primary intersections that I explore here are between race and gender, the concept can and should be expanded by factoring in issues such class, sexual orientation, age, and colour (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1244).



# EARLY INTERSECTIONAL FEMINISTS: HISTORY OF WOMEN OF COLOUR FEMINIST THOUGHT

While the term "intersectional feminism" might be relatively recent, the concept itself predates Crenshaw's work, its origins tracing back to the 1850s and 1860s. Women like Sojourner Truth, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, and Ida B. Wells can be considered the early intersectional feminists as they personally experienced the complexities of navigating overlapping identities, and gave voice to their experiences in political and academic circles. This chapter will now discuss the contributions of each of these women to the field of intersectional feminism.

#### 2.1. SOJOURNER TRUTH

Sojourner Truth was an abolitionist and women's rights activist who escaped slavery in 1826. In 1851, she delivered a renowned speech at the Ohio Women's Rights Convention. Her speech, usually referred to as "Ain't I A Woman?", underscored the importance of equal rights, emphasising in particular the rights of Black women (Soken-Huberty, n.d.).

[...] That man over there says that women need to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over mud-puddles, or gives me any best place! And ain't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man - when I could get it - and bear the lash as well! And ain't I a woman? I have borne thirteen children, and seen most all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And ain't I a woman? (Internet Modern History Sourcebook, 1996)

In her speech, Truth confronted the sexist visualisations employed by male critics to justify the marginalisation of women. In doing so, she revealed the inconsistency between idealised notions of femininity and the harsh realities endured by Black women during the era of slavery. According to Crenshaw's interpretation, Truth's speech not only challenged patriarchy, but also urged white feminists to disentangle themselves from their attachment to whiteness. Truth called on them to recognise and reject the idea that Black women are anything less than real women, and that their experiences have no bearing on true womanhood (Crenshaw, 1989, pp. 153-154). Truth's speech serves as a cornerstone of intersectional feminism, urging solidarity amongst women of all races, and emphasising the importance of amplifying the voices and experiences of marginalised women in the pursuit of true equality.

#### FRANCIS HARPER

Francis Harper is recognised as the leading Black poet of the 1950s and 60s. She was born in Baltimore, Maryland, to free African American parents, and thus encountered racism when advocating for women's rights. During the 1866 National Women's Rights Convention, Harper delivered her famous speech



entitled, "We Are All Bound Up Together", in which she encouraged her fellow participants to include African American women in their fight for suffrage. She underscored the concurrent challenges of racism and sexism that Black women were contending with, emphasising that the pursuit of women's suffrage needed to recognise the plight of all women (Alexander, 2020). While prominent figures in the white suffrage movement heard Harper's speech, they fuelled strong racist feelings towards Black men and they withheld the endorsement for the 15th Amendment<sup>1</sup>, granting voting rights to Black men. They were unsettled by the notion that Black men would gain the voting privilege ahead of white women. This discriminatory stance prompted Harper to break away and establish the American Woman Suffrage Association. The mainstream US women's rights movement prioritised educated white women, ignoring activists like Harper who had dedicated themselves to securing rights for all women, regardless of race (Soken-Huberty, n.d.). Frances Harper's contribution to intersectionality is evident in her advocacy for the inclusion of African American women in the fight for suffrage during the 1866 National Women's Rights Convention. Her decision to break away from the mainstream women's rights movement in the US and establish the American Woman Suffrage Association, which recognises and addresses the interconnected nature of various forms of oppression based on race, gender, and class, exemplifies her commitment to intersectional feminism.

#### IDA B. WELLS

Another significant advocate for early intersectional feminism was Ida B. Wells, a suffragist, civil rights activist and anti-lynching journalist, who played a pivotal role in catalysing the anti-lynching movement in the United States. She believed that voting rights would serve as a shield, safeguarding Black individuals from the horrors of oppression, lynching, and racial terror. She travelled internationally and openly confronted white women in the suffrage movement who disregarded the issue of lynching. Due to her unwavering position, she frequently faced ridicule and exclusion from women's suffrage groups in the United States. Nonetheless, she attended the 1913 Washington suffrage parade, which was organised by suffragists Alice Paul and Lucy Burns from the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA)<sup>2</sup>. Ida Wells refused to march separately, segregated from white feminists. Instead, she fearlessly took the front of the march. Later she wrote, "I am not taking this stand because I personally wish for recognition, I am doing it for the future benefit of my whole race" (Brown, 2020; Soken-Huberty, n.d.).

The 15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, passed by Congress on February 26, 1869, and ratified on February 3, 1870, granted African American men the right to vote (The U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, <a href="https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/15th-amendment">https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/15th-amendment</a>).

Established in 1890, the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) emerged from the amalgamation of two opposing groups: the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, and the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), spearheaded by Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, and Julia Ward Howe. Under the leadership of Carrie Chapman Catt, the NAWSA orchestrated successful state campaigns, leading to the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. With their primary goal achieved, NAWSA evolved into the League of Women Voters (Library of Congress, <a href="https://www.loc.gov/collections/national-american-woman-suffrage-association/articles-and-essays/the-national-american-woman-suffrage-association/">https://www.loc.gov/collections/national-american-woman-suffrage-association/</a>



# MODERN INTERSECTIONAL FEMINIST ACTIVISM

#### 3.1. THE COMBAHEE RIVER COLLECTIVE

Modern intersectional feminist activism can be traced back to the 1970s, when the Combahee River Collective was founded in Boston, Massachusetts, by a group of Black, feminist, and lesbian socialists, in response to the lack of empowerment of Black women. Both the American feminist movement in the 1970s, which was primarily coordinated by white women, and the Civil Rights movement, failed to take into account Black women's needs and experiences. In 1977, they released a powerful manifesto, titled "A Black Feminist Statement", in which they advanced the intersectional vision of oppression:

[...] We are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking. The synthesis of these oppressions creates the conditions of our lives. As black women we see black feminism as the logical political movement to combat the manifold and simultaneous oppressions that all women of colour face. [...] We are of course particularly committed to working on those struggles in which race, sex, and class are simultaneous factors in oppression (Eisenstein, 1978).

The significance of the Combahee River Collective is twofold. Firstly, the use of the term intersectionality by other writers is likely to be attributed to the Combahee River Collective's use of the idea of "interlocking systems of oppression". This concept, defined in the manifesto, laid the foundations for comprehending the experience of simultaneous oppression, forming the focus of a unified political endeavour. Secondly, while the collective dissolved in 1980, it has had a huge influence on intersectional, inclusive community organising (Carastathis, 2014; Soken-Huberty, n.d). This enduring influence underscores the ongoing relevance of their work in shaping contemporary social justice movements.

#### **BELL HOOKS**

Bell hooks is the pseudonym of Gloria Jean Watkins, who was born in 1952 in Kentucky State. She became a well-known American scholar and activist for her work on recognising intersectionality in feminist and anti-discrimination discourses. She published more than 40 books under the name "Bell Hooks", paying tribute to her grandmother's name. She spelled her name in lowercase to shift attention away from her individual identity, and towards the substance of her writings. Her literary contributions, primarily during the 1990s and 2000s, tackled topics that were yet to receive widespread recognition during that era, such as societal injustices and the dynamics of power across race, gender, class, and sexuality. Her work significantly contributed to later works on intersectional feminism (Tikkanen, 2023; Doppalapudi, 2022).



In her book "Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center" (1984), hooks discusses that, historically, feminism in America was focused on the concerns of white, heterosexual, cisgender women, and consequently lacked intersectionality by failing to recognise the distinct nature of the challenges faced by Black women. She highlighted that even in contemporary times, the latest wave of feminism occasionally overlooks the adversities encountered by LGBT+ women and women of colour. Therefore, she encouraged women who feel excluded from the "white, bourgeois, dominant" narrative prevalent in the modern feminist movement to cultivate their individual perspectives, and contribute to its development instead of criticising, discarding, or disregarding feminism (Doppalapudi, 2022).

The impact of hooks' legacy on feminist theory has been profound. As a queer Black woman, she championed the incorporation of all individuals affected by patriarchy into quintessential feminism. She articulated feminism as "the endeavour to eliminate sexist oppression", and clarified that intersectional feminism is ultimately about recognising the interlocking systems of oppression. She highlighted that intersectional feminism is not solely advantageous to a specific group of women, a particular race, or a certain class of women, nor does it favour women over men. Instead, she noted its potential to genuinely transform everyone's life in a significant manner (Doppalapudi, 2022; Soken-Huberty, n.d.).

#### WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST RACISM IN DURBAN

The World Conference against Racism (WCAR) was held from August 30th to September 8th, 2001, in Durban, South Africa, with the main objective of defining how to combat contemporary forms of racism and racial discrimination. Crenshaw was invited to present her work on intersectionality in the preparatory session and the Non Governmental Organisations' (NGO) Forum in WCAR. At the Forum, the main topic on the agenda was the international community's inability to expand the definition of discrimination to include contemporary forms of racial discrimination, which frequently intersect with additional dimensions such as gender (Yuval-Davis, 2006; Sundberg, 2002).

The Drafting Committee of the conference was divided into two working groups, one dealing with the Political Declaration (WPD), and the other with the Programme of Action (WPA). In Article 2 of WPA, the committee enshrined the grounds of discrimination which include race, colour, descent, national or ethnic origin. Additionally, they highlighted that anyone might experience compounded or heightened instances of discrimination, founded solely on the attributes outlined in Article 2 of the UDHR (Universal Declaration of Human Rights), such as sex, language, religion, political or personal beliefs, social heritage, property, birth, or other social standing. Moreover, Article 69 of the WPD and Articles 18, 31, and 50-55 of the WPA establish the grounds for gender discrimination and emphasise the significance of integrating a gender-oriented outlook when drafting policies, strategies, programmes, administrative protocols, and legal measures (Sundberg, 2002).

During the conference, the methodological approach to intersectional policy was discussed, and the



parties agreed on the aim to integrate intersectional analysis into human rights discourse as part of gender mainstreaming. The participants hoped that this would ensure that the complete spectrum of women's experiences is taken into account, thereby strengthening women empowerment on an international level through policy. Consequently, the paper on intersectionality produced by the Working Group on Women and Human Rights of the Center for Women's Global Leadership<sup>3</sup> suggested a methodology to identify and combat intersectional forms of discrimination. The suggested methodology has four distinct components: data collection, contextual analysis, intersectional review of policy initiatives and systems of implementation, and finally, the implementation of intersectional policy initiatives (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

The most significant outcome of the WCAR was the adoption of the Resolution on the Human Rights of Women by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) during its 58th session in April 2002, which highlighted the importance of examining intersectionality in discrimination-related cases by "[Recognizing]the importance of examining the intersection of multiple forms of discrimination, including their root causes, from a gender perspective, and their impact on the advancement of women and the enjoyment by women of their human rights" (Res. E/CN.4/2002/L.59).

The Center for Women's Global Leadership (CWGL), established in 1989 at Rutgers University, promotes women's leadership for human rights and social justice globally. It focuses on issues such as violence against women, sexual and reproductive health, and socio-economic well-being from a human rights perspective. CWGL supports global leadership organisations, mobilisation campaigns, UN monitoring, education efforts, and maintains a resource centre to foster women's leadership in human rights since 1990 (Women Human Rights Defenders International Coalition: <a href="https://www.defendingwomen-defendingrights.org/about/mem-bers/center-for-womens-global-leadership/">https://www.defendingwomen-defendingrights.org/about/mem-bers/center-for-womens-global-leadership/</a>).



# CRITIQUES OF INTERSECTIONALITY

Although intersectional feminism is a pivotal framework within feminist discourse, it faces a range of critiques that demonstrate its complexities and potential limitations. One of the main critics who highlighted the vagueness of the concept of intersectionality, which paradoxically might contribute to its popularity, is Alice Ludvig. Ludvig raises the question of who determines which differences are recognised and which are not, leading to uncertainty about which categories are salient in a given context (Ludvig, 2006).

Sherene Razack also criticises the word intersectionality by deeming it inaccurate and instead proposes using the term "interlocking" to describe the connections between systems of oppression. According to Razack, "intersecting" continues to signify a term that characterises distinct systems whose trajectories intersect. Furthermore, Yuval-Davis criticises the approach of comparing different social groups (intercategorical approach) in intersectionality. Instead, she favours focusing on differences within social groups (intra-categorical approaches). She argues that the inter-categorical approach to intersectionality can be interpreted as an additive rather than a reciprocally shaping approach to the interaction among social categories (Carastathis, 2014).

Critics further question intersectionality's normative goals. There are concerns that by focusing on multiple oppressed groups, it might inadvertently foster divisive identity politics and act against inclusivity. For instance, Naomi Zack raises concerns about the fragmentation of oppressed groups, suggesting that focusing on historical oppression could hinder the formation of common goals among women. (Carastathis, 2014, p. 311).

Nash explains the controversial nature of intersectionality by the fact that its histories, origins, methodologies, efficacy, politics, relationship to identity and identity politics, central metaphor, juridical orientations, and connection to "black woman" and black feminism are all subjects of dispute.



# **CONCLUSION**

This article has delved into the different interpretations of intersectionality and its significance in feminist discourse. It has analysed the roots of intersectionality as a concept, underscoring its evolution through decades of struggle endured by black, indigenous feminists, women of colour, and other marginalised groups. It was catalysed by Kimberlé Crenshaw's pioneering work, which challenged traditional feminist and antiracist theories. Despite the fact that modern-day activism of intersectional feminism is abundant, this article has used the beginning of modern intersectional feminist activism as its central focus, highlighting the most important grassroot organisations and activists. The last section serves as a reminder that intersectionality is not without its critiques. However, by embracing Carastathis' ideas, it is a dynamic tool that adapts to new insights, challenges, and contexts. It is a lens through which one can interpret the complexities of human experiences, and foster a deeper understanding of interconnected systems of oppression. In this way, intersectionality remains a vital force in the pursuit of social justice, continually pushing us to strive for a more inclusive, diverse, and just society.



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