
Introduction

Black Feminist Sociology Is the Past, Present and Future of Sociology. Period.

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Black Feminist Sociology: Perspectives and Praxis is a project we needed for ourselves. The initial ideas for this book took shape on a humid August evening in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, during a carpool to the famed South restaurant. Empty warehouses and street murals on storefronts started to dot the street amidst tall brick buildings. Looking across to the stated address, the passengers were skeptical of the GPS's insistence they had arrived to their dinner location. A placard pointed to the entrance around the corner. A tiny one-way street with cars backed up. Jazz music wafting in from side dining room mixed with laughter and the clink of glasses.

At a long table sat 11 Black women of different ages, colors, sizes, hair-styles, backgrounds and sexualities. We had decided to meet for dinner after a year of Facebook conversations. On Facebook, a few sociologists who are included in this volume proposed they could name every Black woman on the US sociology tenure track since there were so few of us . . . and they could. They then created a private Facebook group and arranged to meet in person during the sociological conference season in Philadelphia.¹ One on hand, this gathering was unremarkable since Philadelphia is a large city with many Black women and the restaurant was a popular one. On the other hand, this was a remarkable dinner. All the women had PhDs, were trained in sociology, and were attending the 2018 disciplinary conferences of the Association of Black Sociologists (ABS) and/or the American Sociological Association (ASA) and the Society for the Study of Social Problems. The ABS conference was themed "The New Black Sociologists," and would have Black feminists as two primary plenary speakers. The ASA conference was themed "Feeling Race" and featured sessions on Du Boisian thought, the role of Historically Black Colleges and Universities in developing the discipline of sociology, racism within the study of sexuality, and global formations of Blackness. On Saturday of the conference, in a fabulous mini campaign led by one of the coeditors, hundreds of people wore shirts declaring #CiteBlackWomen (referencing a larger campaign and collective started by anthropologist Christen A. Smith).²

Dinner proved magical. Black women make up less than 3 percent of the US professoriate,³ and according to ASA's own data there are only 544 members across all stages of their careers who identify as Black and women in ASA's 11,500-plus membership.⁴ It was rare—and invigorating—to be surrounded by so many Black women who were early career sociologists; we had to make something more concrete of the conference and convening. And thus, the idea for an edited volume showcasing Black feminist sociology was proposed. We, the prospective editors, exchanged contact information. With support from ABS President Marcus Anthony Hunter and Vice President Zandria Robinson, our plan was in motion. We didn't let up on the plan until a book contract was signed three months later, thanks to the editors of the Sociology Re-Wired series, Jodi O'Brien and Marcus Hunter.

Where We're Coming From—BFS's Historical Roots

This volume proceeds from the foundational understanding that Black feminist theorizing is the present and future of sociology. The foundations for what we're now calling Black feminist sociology (BFS)⁵ were curated by Black feminist scholars and activists long before the academy had a name for it. In a 1989 essay "Black women and Feminist Sociology" in *American Sociologist*, Rose M. Brewer shared her vision for an emerging Black feminist sociology centered in the intersection of race, class, and gender. She concluded, "Without a black, feminist, class perspective that goes further than existing frameworks, sociological theory and praxis is permanently stifled."⁶ A project that challenges the whiteness of sociological theorizing as supposedly "generalizable" must also acknowledge its maleness. Brewer was part of a Black feminist intelligentsia, which included Patricia Hill Collins, who had already analyzed the "outsider within" experience of being a Black woman in sociology, and legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw who articulated the dynamic concept of "intersectionality." In her critical essay, Brewer applies this concept as a corrective to feminist sociology, which omitted race as well as race relations perspectives that overlooked gender. Thirty years later, in her keynote address to the ABS 2018 conference, Patricia Hill Collins reminded the audience that "the terrain of theory sets the agenda."⁷

Where are we now with this project of a Black feminist approach as a foundation for a sociology that more fully speaks to our times? In her 2018 presidential address to the Sociologists for Women in Society, Adia Harvey Wingfield reminded the audience that "reclaiming our time" as Black women is occurring despite overwhelming odds and at great cost to our intellectual productivity and bodies.⁸ Like Harvey Wingfield, we are heartened by sociology's reckoning with its too oft-erased history, for

instance situating Du Boisian sociology and the Atlantic School as central. Yet, as Wingfield writes, the field has yet to acknowledge the persistent and significant contributions of Black women: “black women were also early originators of sociological arguments and knowledge. Yet systemic racism and patriarchal norms limited the extent to which their analyses were widely disseminated and/or taken seriously.”⁹

Despite the inroads in this area, such as the *New Black Sociologists'* (NBS) chapters covering Anna Julia Cooper and Zora Neale Hurston, and Shaonta' E. Allen's chapter in this volume on Ida B. Wells, we need to do more.¹⁰ We must, for instance, also look to activist and theorist Joyce Ladner and her *Tomorrow's Tomorrow: The Black Woman*, a pioneer study about Black women and girls. We must also celebrate the likes of Delores Aldridge, the first Black woman hired at Emory University and the founder of the first African American and African studies program in the US South, who laid out roots by profiling five Black women sociology firsts in her book *Imagine a World: Pioneering Black Women Sociologists*.¹¹ We are glad that the ASA recently created an award named after her to honor her scholarship and activism.¹²

Black feminist sociology is also interdisciplinary and draws from multiple ways of knowing and understanding. Our ranks include historians, Black studies scholars, and anthropologists. Activists have also contributed importantly to our current theorizing. For instance, the Combahee River Collective outlined how building coalitions that support the freedom and well-being of Black women would allow all of us to get free.¹³ Contemporary Black women activists, such as Alicia Garza, Parriske Cullors and Opel Tometi, are emphasizing this unifying rallying call again, through the Black Lives Matter movement.¹⁴

Given the inherent exclusion of rigid canons, knowledge and insight cultivated in fields of oppression takes many forms. Collins has always encouraged us to uphold ordinary Black women, including poets, songstresses, politicians, organizers, and activists. Our theorizing is also informed by those whose names are known only to us, like the midwives who catch us and the women who style our hair, those who raise us and who teach us. A Black feminist sociology recognizes that people as varied as Ida B. Wells (see chapter 2) and Remy Ma have insights to offer the field and the world. For instance, with an average of 2.6 million monthly listeners on Spotify, Remy Ma, who earned an associate's degree in sociology while incarcerated, influences millions. Remy Ma's life path, including her six-year incarceration, is familiar to many Black listeners; thus, even without having read a peer-reviewed article they know Remy Ma beat the odds when she “left the big house to a bigger house.”¹⁵ These figures are all part of a Black feminist sociological legacy.

Our overview is non-comprehensive and intentionally leaves space for you, the reader, to reflect on what you don't know and then to do

the work to learn. But we encourage you to look to Rose M. Brewer's 1989 article on Black feminist sociology, "Black Women and Feminist Sociology: The Emerging Perspective," which laid out organizing principals such as drawing on interpretive paradigms, incorporation of larger structural forces to understanding biographies, and deeper delineations of hierarchical intersections. Her work, along with Patricia Hill Collins's *Black Feminist Thought*, helped lay the theoretical groundwork and guiding orientations of a critical, reflective, feminist sociology and has been foundational for training a new generation of Black feminist sociologists. Collins's text marked a turning point in sociology in offering a framework for considering an ethics of care in research, analyzing controlling images of Black women, identifying the constraints of disciplines, and introducing a field-changing theory of the matrix of domination, all within one volume. According to Collins, "Black feminist thought consists of specialized knowledge created by African-American women which clarifies a standpoint of and for Black women. In other words, Black feminist thought encompasses theoretical interpretations of Black women's reality by those who live it."¹⁶ Centering the knowledge production of those who live it is a hallmark.¹⁷

As Brewer and others in this volume discuss, while there has been progress since those words were published, many of the same problems with sociological thought remain. Countless sociologists still analyze surveys that show, once again, the level of discrimination racial and ethnic minorities experience, or for a more "humane" approach, they "embed" themselves in communities of color for an amount of time, gather data, then leave to write articles and books that reveal the "secrets" of what decades of institutional and social disinvestment produce. Meanwhile, many of us live these oppressions. Irrespective of the bodies producing the research, much of this research draws on classical sociological theory and therefore brings with it white supremacist, masculinist assumptions about the ways that power can be measured, how families "should" look, and what makes work meaningful. This affects the analyses produced and the vision offered of the groups under study.

BFS is not simply everything that White sociology is not—that would be a derivative approach that continues to center whiteness and white logics. When it came to writing about White sociology's engagement with Black subjects, it posed a challenge to us: their work riddled with racist misconceptions, it's painful to read how these scholars thought—and think—of us. Joyce Ladner published *The Death of White Sociology: Essays on Race and Culture* in 1973, reflecting on how Black sociology conceptualizes our communities differently.¹⁸ Echoing Ladner, we have chosen to not spend additional ink on White sociology, focusing instead on framing sociology's new day/way forward as grounded in Black feminist sociology.

Our dedication is to Black feminist epistemologies and praxes. Collins, in writing about Black feminist epistemology, explains that

As a critical social theory, U.S. Black feminist thought reflects the interests and standpoint of its creators. Tracing the origin and diffusion of Black feminist thought or any comparable body of specialized knowledge reveals its affinity to the power of the group that created it.¹⁹

This is the same for general social theories, though they reflect elite white men, meaning, therefore, that “U.S. Black women’s experiences as well as those of women of African descent transnationally have been routinely distorted within or excluded from what counts as knowledge.”²⁰ Not only is this a call to the death of white sociology, then, but it is also a call to unequivocally demand that Black feminist thought is validated knowledge and in fact the present and future of sociology.

With that, we present the mission for the book: To use Black feminist ethics to produce an edited volume that reflects the breadth and magnitude of contemporary Black feminist sociology for the discipline and praxis.

The guiding questions for the BFS project are:

- What is Black feminist sociology? How does it differ from Black critical thought and feminist theory?
- What role did Black feminism have in shaping sociological thought? Who should be included in the Black feminist sociological cannon?
- What role does Black feminism have in shaping sociology in the 21st century?
- In what new directions are Black feminist sociologists taking the field?
- How can we best do Black feminist sociology? What are the guiding principles, theories, methods, and practical applications of Black feminist sociology?
- What are the risks and rewards for practicing Black feminist sociology?

Because the writers of the following chapters use the BFS lens, work here is inherently critical, personal, political, and oriented towards social justice. *Black Feminist Sociology* brings together a diverse set of scholars and activists for a timely, accessible, and intellectually stimulating conversation regarding the foundations and state of Black feminist sociological thought.

We put forth the understanding of Black feminist sociological epistemology as a framing orientation that is inclusive and vast, but finds grounding in its reflexivity, community centeredness and intentional praxis. Black feminist sociology theorizes about the value of everyday life and all that it entails, including imagination, health and well-being, gender expressions,

sexualities, religiosity, political engagement, scholarship, restoration and more. Through this theorizing, BFS questions the multiple and intersectional forces that harm these lived experiences, and, importantly, envisions broad systematic changes to make life better for everyone. It is grounded in living and archived history but remains forward-thinking toward not only equity but also abolition. As we show in this volume, BFS is not only contained in the bodies of Black women. From its earliest iterations, radical Black feminists identified that “we” included different classes, sexualities and genders. No one in the Black community was disposable. This is the spirit a younger generation is insisting on for their Black feminism: a diverse community-based model that does not rely on, in the words of Audre Lorde, the master’s tool. Black feminist sociology is creative, undefined, transformative, humanizing and loving.

Demystifying Processes, Expanding Opportunities

We share the BFS origin story and mission because truth-telling and community have been at the center of this endeavor. In fact, along every step of the way to create this book we have received valuable lessons about what Black feminist sociology really means. The process of knowledge production is not separate from the product, so in the following we explain more of our process. For us, the process of co-creating this volume was a lesson in what Black feminist sociological projects might be, and the impact that they can surely have on us, our communities, and the academy.

At every point of the creation process for this book we reflected on the BFS tradition and our mission and used that to guide our decisions, seeking to trust our truths and the truths laid out before us. Speaking our truths is why we have learned to trust Black women.²¹ Speaking truth to power is telling our truths to those who haven’t wanted to listen to Black women.²² Being transparent about our truths entails both care and clarity; a sort of bringing to the table talk that directly cares for people that includes directly challenging them when needed.²³ Truth and transparency mean listening to and trusting in ourselves, our team, our supporters, and our communities.

A goal of a Black feminist sociological project, then, must be to have a far reach; to spread knowledge and critique as well as spread joy and uplift, and to do so through multilateral pathways. To fight against insularity, we had to reckon with ourselves and ask, often, *Who has a seat at the table?* This impacted our decisions on whether we would have a call for abstracts, how we disseminated that call, and our review process. Early on in our proposal we were explicit in our desire to include established scholars, graduate student scholars, scholars in nonacademic positions, and scholars working outside of the US. Though a quicker way to produce a volume is to draw

from a small network, we knew this also to be a narrower approach, and one that limited full access; one that would not reflect our BFS. Thus, the aim for a far reach informed our decision to amplify an open, transnational call for abstracts.

To start our process as a larger team, all team members (re-)read the same guiding texts. We needed to be sure our foundations were strong, so that as we entered into conversations with authors who were grounded in the BFS tradition we were also in conversation with ourselves. Nonetheless, we often had hard conversations about the submissions and chapters regarding whether a reading unsettled the literature or unsettled ourselves. With a strong foundation, though, we were able to better think through the new thoughts from a place of respect for both. We sought to balance between reverence for the foundations and encouragement for future visioning. We sat with our own comfort, or not, with the arguments before us. Our feedback ranged from congratulating the authors on their profound thoughts, sometimes simply with the comment “*yasss!*” or asking the authors to question what assumptions their writing was making. We trusted the authors to sharpen their voices throughout the process.

The reflexive nature of the scholarship also made us circle back to the question we posed in the first principle, *Who has a seat at the table?* In this principle, however, the focus is not only on the positionality of the author but also on the scholarship produced. We wanted to know what areas were missing in a conversation about Black feminist sociology. We returned this question to our team, and in conversation realized, for instance, that we didn’t have work related to critical disability studies. This shaped our decision to invite additional authors into the conversation. We expect that later editions of this book will include other areas we missed here, and are excited to hear about the conversations that questions might elicit in this phase.

The more we worked on this project, the more clarity we gained about what we came to see as guiding principles of Black feminist sociology. We write these sentences mindful of the words of Nikki Jones, one of our senior advisors: “Black feminist epistemologies value various forms of knowledge production; therefore, avoid claims about reaching consensus or definitive ideas on the ‘right’ way to do Black feminist sociology.”²⁴ These are not epistemological tenets or concepts, though varying perspectives of epistemologies are uncovered throughout this text, but rather guiding ethics for how we might frame BFS projects. We share these in this introduction and provide examples of how they emerged throughout the book’s evolution.

Ethics of truth and transparency fill the pages of this book. The scholarship produced is coming from a place of personal reflection and honesty as well as deep engagement with literatures and debates. In line with Collins’s conceptualization of the “outsider within,”²⁵ *BFS* seeks to divulge not

only what is behind the veil, but reveals what personhoods, motivations, challenges, and triumphs lie underneath the surface of standard, positivist approaches to sociology and beyond academic walls and ivory towers. We often pushed the authors to situate their piece with their own positionality so that readers could see how one's lived experience informs the knowledge they produce. The truths reflected come from a breadth of sources—love letters, Twitter feeds, community conversations, in-depth interviews, and more—revealing that both questions and answers come from those places we engage with, expected or not. Black feminist sociology trusts Black women and is unapologetic in doing so.

Creating and Connecting Community

Community and collaboration is at the core of BFS. Contrary to the individualist practices and expectations that define White academe, Black scholars have long understood that knowledge is a collective process. In one submission, an author wrote about sociology “opening the doors” to Black women. Luna disagreed, noting in a comment,

I don't know many Black feminist scholars of my generation or older who think the academy “opened its doors.” The door[s] were pried open with a crowbar and blood, sweat and lives—and some of those people and white allies have been able to [open] it a little wider but the forces on the other side trying to close it are stronger than ever. [U]sing our ideas and bodies is not the same as being open.

The history of notably show rates of Black women gaining access, advancement, and voice in academe, despite comparatively high rates of pursuing PhDs; the way institutions leave Black women and gender nonconforming academics to fend for themselves when publicly attacked for our scholarship (or existence); and many more examples are reminders of why we have to cultivate community.

Expanding opportunities and cultivating mentorship—up, down, sideways, and around—must be at the core of any BFS project. As Carolette Norwood notes in this volume,

The spaces that we construct and that construct us (terrains of transgression and resistance) shape who we are and determine if and how we access resources and what knowledge is available to us. Sociologists need to follow the lead of Black feminists in recognizing the intersectional nature of spatiality.

Cultivating mentorship includes learning from ourselves, our peers, our students, our ancestors, our collaborators, our senior scholars, and so on.

Critically, building all around recognizes that community-building goes together with our knowledge creation projects.

We started this project as two assistant professors with an idea and a passion but knew right away we needed a team to help us through. We thought we needed a senior scholar to lead the project and usher us in and reached out to a few people with the plea. Though every senior scholar told us no, they also told us they believed in our project and in us to complete it and offered to help in other ways. Our series editor, Jodi O'Brien, agreed. It took hearing this a few times and checking in with one another to accept that we would co-edit alone. Yet, we weren't alone. We had an advisory board of trusted scholars whom we could check in with when needed—thank you, Joyce Bell and Nikki Jones.²⁶ We also had people on the “dream team” who, in responding to some query, would write something that probably seemed unremarkable to them but buoyed us.

We also wanted to bring in students whom we could train along the way, and help our team grow. What could we honestly offer them? What could we ask of them? What would set up the project expectations and relationships? We put out a call at our universities and brought on two Black women graduate students in the social sciences, Jasmine Kelekay and Tashelle Wright. We created a resource guide to onboard the team, all reading essential works, like those by Brewer and Collins, to share perspectives on how they could ground our work, and we talked explicitly about collaborative experiences, including what had worked well or challenged us on prior projects. We were sure to begin every meeting with personal check-ins, which for us is part of the work. As the book process continued, our meetings shifted from merely being at different campuses to being in different countries. We included visibility practices to acknowledge the graduate students' work, like including their names on the *BFS* email signature line or showing screenshots of team meetings when presenting at large conference panels. And, on the suggestion of our editor, we placed the reflection we asked them to write for a subsection of our introduction as a standalone in the book's front matter.

In discussing the tremendous response to the call for papers (over 80 abstracts, with even more coming in after the deadline) with our series editor and Routledge editor, multiple ideas emerged. Our editors suggested an additional project—a handbook that would serve as a reference book at libraries, similar to others, that would cover key areas regarding methods and subfields in sociology (and related fields). Though we did not have the capacity to take the lead on a project of this size, we curated an interest list for those who might take it on to support them in the major endeavor of collective knowledge creation. Our discussions with the press also led to consideration of the digital presence this book could have. It is one thing to know how to tweet; it is another to “think digital,” as became clear after our first meeting with Melissa Brown, then a PhD student and founder of BlackFeminisms.

com, who had responded to our inquiry about anyone wanting to help create a linked *BFS* website and thus became our digital editor. As our digital editor, she asked questions that before the call we had thought we knew the answers to, and we later laughed at our limited understanding of online spaces. It is both humbling and inspiring to be able to engage with a range of generations throughout this process and learn from all.

Once we narrowed the list of contributors to the volume, we considered how to build community. We first attempted to do this through taking advantage of conference time to share space with each other. We orchestrated this by sending calls prior to the conference, encouraging folks to show up at one another's sessions, and planning meetups when possible. At ASA in 2019 we hosted a breakfast for those who could attend (see Appendix A). We encouraged cross-citing throughout the volume by sharing the authors' titles with one another and adding editorial comments about connections between pieces when we saw them. The digital space has also been a place of connection—for example, one contributor hosts online yoga for people of color, which opened other contributors to different embodied possibilities even before the pandemic.

Along the way we've also been supported by a few "savvy tricksters," the white allies who understand their place as gatekeepers in white-dominated academe and who actively use their institutional authority to disrupt the entrenched practices of the dominant group.²⁷ We hope to have made a community within this volume that continues to grow and shape spaces beyond the pages of the book.

We are also reflective about who we are and the privileges we carry that helped make this book a reality. What does it mean that both *NBS* and *BFS* are edited by faculty who graduated from doctoral programs at well-resourced R1/Carnegie "very high research productivity" institutions? How did that allow us to engage with the discipline in ways that led to the accumulation of resources, including visibility? How does our current location in California shape our experience and view of race, Blackness, and knowledge? How does us both embodying some levels of advantage—lighter skin, "good hair," cisgender, straight(ish) and many others—position us to be able to pursue a volume like this? At the same time, how does the fact that those advantages did not keep some of our colleagues from engaging in myriad unprofessional behaviors directed at us perfectly position us to pursue this project? Whose stories have we missed, and how will we make sure we leave the door open for them? Questions and tensions continue throughout our work and are reflected in this volume.

Layout of the Volume

There were many ways for us to organize this volume. We encourage deep engagement with the volume, though each part and essay can be enjoyed

on its own. In creating the structure, we emphasized what Black feminist sociology does for us as individuals, scholars, and interpretive communities.

In Part 1 we revisit legacies of Black feminist sociology and explore *how they ground us*. In Part 2 we delve into Black feminist sociological communities and share *how they speak to us*. Part 3 covers Black feminist sociology epistemologies and uncovers *what they reveal to us*. Part 4 then moves to Black feminist sociological methodologies and describes *what they teach us*. Finally, Part 5 encourages us to imagine Black feminist sociological futures and envision *what they create for us*.

Love, Joy and Fun

In a Black feminist sociological project, we conceive of love consistent with the ethos of agape—a way of doing that seeks to minimize the load we carry and escalate kindness, grace, support, uplift, reflection, and care. To do so means you have to be open to extending love and embracing love. A BFS love moves beyond words into actionable items, but it also includes joy and flat-out fun.

We loved doing this work, but it was not always easy. We had to set boundaries and revisit them if they weren't upheld. We sometimes got things wrong—whether it be a missed deadline, canceled meeting or oversharing of information—and when we recognized it, we apologized and did our best to avoid it in the future. We extended grace to ourselves and those involved in this project; we rejected perfectionism. We did not bite our tongues, but even in those moments of correction we centered our words on love. We focused on listening until we understood. Reading these abstracts, extended abstracts, and chapters was a joy even if the topic wasn't something that interested us personally. It was just exciting to see all this work in one place. The idea of a creating a Spotify playlist comprising songs that each author identified with their chapter emerged.

We mostly celebrated; we found joy in other's joy. This means we were purposeful in rejoicing. We toasted virtually when we signed our contract, and in person when we received good news. We pushed each other to take breaks, or to meet a deadline, or to find time to run three miles during a busy conference. We sent memes that would make one another laugh out loud, international postcards, and a celebratory "Tenured AF" mug. We built friendships that are hard to find in the academy and that will be cherished for years to come. We put love into every step of this project and we hope others fall in love with the project too. *we love to see it*

Moving Forward When the World Is Too Much

Amid finalizing this volume, we are contending with a deadly pandemic, a racial uprising in response to more publicized police murders and the

historic election of US Vice President Kamala Harris for the Democratic Party during a time when so much is at stake with our political offices. This time represents new realities shaped by long-standing problems. A time when again people have to contend with differences between representation and dismantling systems of oppression.²⁸

Initially in the pandemic there were flurries of activity and moments of reflection at educational institutions and calls to be mindful of the mental health of students given the context. Then . . . back to business as usual, the business of the academy, or at least the “new normal.” A new normal of signing liability forms and designating another faculty member to take over your course in case you get sick (or die). A new normal where sheltering in place means you might be safe from the pandemic but not wildfires (and definitely not police). A time when male-identified academics are sending out more articles than ever, whereas women and mothers are suffering.²⁹ A time when White people, including some sociologists, “discovered” that racism exists, and suddenly became qualified to do research on it and garner grants, even as they have spent years ignoring the racism perpetuated in their own departmental hallways.³⁰ When inequity is identified, but un-interrogated. As activist Sonya Renee Taylor said of the attempts to return to “normal”:

We will not go back to normal. Normal never was. Our pre-corona existence was never normal other than we normalized greed, inequity, exhaustion, depletion, extraction, disconnection, confusion, rage, hoarding, hate and lack. We should not long to return, My friends. We are being given the opportunity to stitch a new garment. One that fits all of humanity and nature.³¹

This time tells us, unequivocally, that we must recognize the present and future of our discipline is a Black feminist sociology. We are the way forward.

Notes

1. The name draws on bell hooks. 1993. *Sisters of the Yam: Black Women and Self-Recovery*. Boston, MA: South End Press.
2. See Cite Black Women. www.citeblackwomencollective.org/. Accessed August 20, 2020.
3. US Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. 2017. *The Condition of Education 2017* (NCES 2017–144), Characteristics of Postsecondary Faculty. Washington, DC. Author.
4. Email correspondence with Teresa Ciabattari, director of academic and professional affairs, American Sociological Association. September 11, 2018.
5. *Black Feminist Sociology* is capitalized as the title of the volume, whereas Black feminist sociology (BFS) represents a larger framework as explained in this introduction.
6. Rose M. Brewer. 1989. “Black Women and Feminist Sociology: The Emerging Perspective.” *The American Sociologist* 20(1): 57–70, 68. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF02697787>.

7. Patricia Hills Collins's 2018 remarks can be found on the Association of Black Sociologists' Facebook page: www.facebook.com/61066513769/videos/10156575934383770.
8. US Representative Maxine Waters (D-California) used the phrase "Reclaiming my time" in a July 2017 Finance hearing when the Secretary of the Treasury began to answer a direct question from Waters with appreciation for her service. Waters repeated the phrase and insisted on an answer to her question. "Reclaiming my time" is the official phrase for use in hearings but Waters's use of it was memefied and became the subject of many opinion pieces and internet songs. Vanessa Williams. 2017. "Maxine Waters Inspires a New Anthem: 'Reclaiming My Time.'" *Washington Post* (blog). www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2017/08/01/maxine-waters-inspires-a-new-anthem-reclaiming-my-time/. Accessed September 6, 2018.
9. Adia Harvey Wingfield. 2019. "Does Sociology Silence Black Women?" *Gender & Society* (blog). June 4, 2019. <https://gendersociety.wordpress.com/2019/06/04/does-sociology-silence-black-women/>.
10. Part One of *The New Black Sociologists* uncovers "hidden figures." See Hedwig Less and Christina Hughes. "#SayHerName: Why Black Women Matter in Sociology." In *The New Black Sociologists*, edited by Marcus Anthony Hunter, 3–17. New York: Routledge; Ashanté Reese. 2018. "Zora Neale Hurston and Ethnography of Black Life." In *The New Black Sociologists*, edited by Marcus Anthony Hunter, 62–68. New York: Routledge; Tennille Nicole Allen. "Poking and Prying with a Purpose: Zora Neal Hurston and Black Feminist Sociology." In *The New Black Sociologists*, edited by Marcus Anthony Hunter, 69–86. New York: Routledge, as well as Shaonta' E. Allen's chapter in this volume, "Black Feminist Scholar-Activism & the Crusade for Justice: Lessons from Ida B. Wells-Barnett."
11. For more names see, Amber Joy Powell and Caity Curry, <https://thesocietypages.org/trot/2019/02/28/unearthing-black-womens-early-contributions-to-sociology/>.
12. <https://www.asanet.org/about/awards/cox-johnson-frazier-award>
13. See Cite Black Women.
14. As Crystal Fleming reminded the audience during the Cite Black Women panel at ASA 2019, rigid canons are inherently exclusionary. She named a plethora of Black scholars as well as our mothers and ancestors as canonical to our knowledge, the recorded panel is on the Cite Black Women podcast: <https://soundcloud.com/user-211649525/s1e9-centering-and-celebrating>.
15. Fat Joe and Remy Ma. 2016. "All the Way Up." *Plata O Plomo*. RNG and Empire. Retrieved from <https://open.spotify.com/album/7vzvohRzBtrnr3miUJrpAk?highlight=spotify:track:61QSuw5VIC0LTS8WMO356g>
16. Patricia Hill Collins. 1990. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, 22. Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman.
17. Collin's providing a guide for others, like Mignon Moore to write about their experiences within the matrix in the academy. See "Women of Color in the Academy: Navigating Multiple Intersections and Multiple Hierarchies." 2017. *Social Problems*. <https://academic.oup.com/socpro/article/64/2/200/3231961>
18. Joyce A. Ladner. 1973. *The Death of White Sociology White Sociology*. New York: Random House.
19. Collins 1990, 251.
20. *Ibid*.
21. SisterSong Women of Color Reproductive Justice Collective started the Trust Black Women campaign in mobilizing against anti-abortion billboards placed in predominantly Black neighborhoods: <https://trustblackwomen.org/our-roots/>.
22. For example, sociologist Crystal Fleming overviews the long-understood yet slim practice of listening to Black women in her book. Crystal Fleming. 2018. "Listen to Black Women." In *How to Be Less Stupid About Race*, 49–75. New York: Beacon Press.

23. See Tami Navarro, Bianca Williams, and Attiya Ahmad. 2013. "Sitting at the Kitchen Table: Fieldnotes from Women of Color in Anthropology." *Cultural Anthropology* 28(3): 443–463. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cuan.12013>; Lynn Bolles. 2013. "Telling the Story Straight: Black Feminist Intellectual Thought in Anthropology." *Transforming Anthropology* 21(1): 57–71. <https://doi.org/10.1111/traa.12000>.
24. Email correspondence.
25. Patricia Hill Collins. 1986. "Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought." *Social Problems* 33(6): S14–S32. <https://doi.org/10.2307/800672>. According to the journal's website, this article remains its most read.
26. Bell and Jones are so esteemed that when, after making our selections, we informed the final authors they had assisted us in selection, one author gave thanks we had not told her their role beforehand because she would have been too intimidated to submit.
27. Jodi O'Brien. 2020. "Can I Charge My Therapy to the University?" In *Presumed Incompetent II: Race, Class, Power, and Resistance of Women in Academia*, edited by Y. F. Niemann, G. G. Muhs, and C. G. González, 95–105. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
28. For instance, where in the same election, Kamala Harris and Stacey Abrams represent two different approaches to politics and getting free.
29. As editor Elizabeth Crooks pointed out to us, there is a lot of complexity here. It is not only that women-identified academics are sending out fewer articles, but that many women and mothers have been pushed out of a plethora of jobs and/or roles because they had no alternative for their presumed caretaking responsibilities. See this piece that Pirtle is quoted in about how the pandemic impacted women academics; Caroline Kitchener. 2020. "Women Academics Seem to be Submitting Fewer Papers During Coronavirus. 'Never Seen Anything Like it,' Says One Editor." *The Lily*. April 24, 2020. www.thelily.com/women-academics-seem-to-be-submitting-fewer-papers-during-coronavirus-never-seen-anything-like-it-says-one-editor/.
30. Courtney Cogburn. 2020. "Who Produces Science During Crisis?" *Items* (blog). September 17, 2020. <https://items.ssrc.org/covid-19-and-the-social-sciences/society-after-pandemic/who-produces-science-during-crisis/>.
31. Sonya Renee Taylor. 2020. "Sonya Renee Taylor on Instagram: 'We Will Not Go Back to Normal. Normal Never Was. Our Pre-Corona Existence Was Never Normal Other than We Normalized Greed, Inequity, . . .'" *Instagram*. April 2, 2020. www.instagram.com/p/B-fc3ejAlvd/.

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