

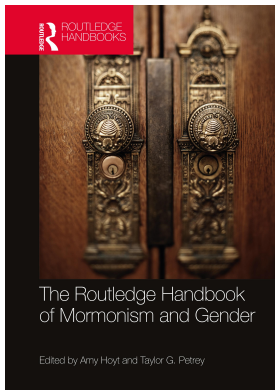
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3

INTERSECTIONALITY

Chiung Hwang Chen and Ethan Yorgason

If “Mormon feminism” and “black Mormon” are rare enough formulations to be regarded by some as oxymorons, Mormon intersectionality must seem doubly strange. Mormonism seldom makes appearances in discussions of intersectionality. Studies of Mormonism likewise do not often incorporate the concept of intersectionality. Our premise is that the two should be brought into closer conversation. Intersectionality points to the compound effects of multiple identity positions as well as the impacts of conjoint axes of social-cultural marginalization. This chapter examines the application, or lack thereof, of intersectionality to Mormonism. It identifies work and activism—both potential and actual—that utilize intersectional approaches or perspectives. Its conclusions are more programmatic than substantive, in part because very little truly intersectional analysis has yet been undertaken on Mormonism, and in part due to the complexity of summarizing the variety of intersections that could and should be studied. Above all, it calls for greater attention to intersectional concerns among those who study Mormonism. We begin by defining and contextualizing the concept of intersectionality. We then suggest two ways in which Mormonism may be considered intersectionally: with Mormonism as one of many (often marginalized) identities and with Mormonism as its own socio-cultural system that produces its own (often intersectional) marginalizations. Within the latter approach to LDS intersectionality, we focus first on responses to Mormonism’s marginalizations, and second on the role of intersectionality within Mormon Studies. Along the way, and especially in the conclusion, we propose directions for future research.

The concept

Intersectionality is a widely popular but somewhat misconstrued analytical framework. In a nutshell, it offers a way to examine interlocking systems of power and oppression. Rooted in black feminism, intersectionality argues that various forms of hierarchized social categories/identities, such as gender, race, class, sexual orientation, and so on, complexly intersect within social systems. These intersections affect how individuals are treated, are assigned social status, and create identity within the system. For those whose intersecting identities produce multiple instances of marginalization within the social hierarchies, the resultant interlocking oppression, according to intersectionality scholars, is significantly more damaging than that of so-called “single axis” oppression (e.g. gender- or race-based discrimination alone; see Crenshaw, 1989).

That is, the more types of marginalization an individual/group faces in society, the more severe the discrimination and disempowerment is likely to be. In other words, people who are marginalized in multiple ways (e.g. lower-class black women) often encounter the negative effects of “double jeopardy” or “multiple jeopardy” (Carastathis, 2014).

The concept of simultaneous interlocking systems of oppression developed in the 1970s through the early 1990s as black feminism took shape and challenged white feminists’ assumption of a universal women’s experience (Beale, 1970; Combahee River Collective, 1977; hooks, 1981; Lorde, 1984; King, 1988; Collins, 1990). The black feminist legal scholar Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw’s notion of intersectionality (1989; 1991) caught on as the term for the collective thinking. In analyzing black women’s difficulties in employment discrimination lawsuit cases, she noted that the American legal system sees gender and race as two totally separate categories. Black women’s identity is often reduced to either one or the other of these classifications and associated with either white women’s or black men’s experiences. As a result, black women’s uniquely disadvantaged position, being both black and female, is rendered invisible. She therefore called for an acknowledgment of “gendered racism” in which black women face an environment more hostile than does someone who is singularly exposed to gender- or race-based discrimination (Crenshaw, 1989; 1991).

The concept’s scope has since expanded beyond the intersection of sexism and racism in understanding systems of discrimination and oppression to also include classism, heteronormativity, ableism, ageism, and the like. According to Leslie McCall, intersectionality emerged as “a major paradigm of research in women’s studies and elsewhere” and is “the most important theoretical contribution that women’s studies, in conjunction with related fields, has made so far” (2005, p. 1771). Valerie Smith sees intersectionality as a reading strategy to unpack ideologies “in which relations of domination and subordination are produced” (1998, p. xxiii; see also Cooper, 2016). Kathy Davis claims that intersectionality may have provided a solution to “the most pressing problem facing contemporary feminism—the long and painful legacy of its exclusions” (2008, p. 70). Intersectionality’s popularity has grown such that it has become a “citational ubiquity” and as a concept has been applied by academics, activists, political theorists and many others (Wiegman, 2012, p. 240). Intersectionality has become a “buzzword” in and out of the academic realm (Davis, 2008); it provides a “handy catchall phrase” to make identity-based power relations visible and explainable (Phoenix, 2006, p. 187).

Despite its importance and popularity, intersectionality is not without critics, especially among feminists themselves. One key issue is that the concept is not well defined. The idea started from the intersection of gender and race. Other social categories and identities, such as class, age, sexuality, disability, religion, and colonized status, have been added to the list. Some scholars worry that the proliferation and claiming of possibly endless new identities seem to have taken priority (Butler, 1990; Yuval-Davis, 2006). Others are less concerned; Kathy Davis argues that it is precisely the concept’s perceived problematic characteristics—being ambiguous and open-ended—that make the theory a success (2008, p. 77).

Sumi Cho, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, and Leslie McCall (2013) prefer a tight definition. They insist that intersectionality’s main concern is structures of inequality, not categories of identity. Those who claim that all identities are intersectional or ask “what about white men?” they argue, are fundamentally confused about the relationship between identity and power. In their minds, intersectionality is “an analytic sensibility,” “a way of thinking,” a “political intervention,” and a type of social activism. Therefore, scholars should emphasize “what intersectionality does rather than what intersectionality is” in order to “illuminate how intersecting axes of power and inequality operate to our collective and individual disadvantage” (2013, p. 795).

Brittney Cooper (2016, p. 392) responds to the debate over intersectionality similarly, with only slightly more of a nod toward discussion of identity:

Intersectionality's most powerful argument is not that the articulation of new identities in and of itself disrupts power arrangements. Rather, the argument is that institutional power arrangements, rooted as they are in relations of domination and subordination, confound and constrict the life possibilities of those who already live at the intersection of certain identity categories.

Diverging from those who focus on structural oppression are intersectionality scholars who prioritize personal identity. Utilizing standpoint theory, some feminists highlight the complexity of individuals' subject positions as they experience the world. Nash's goal, for example, is disrupting "race/gender binaries in the service of theorizing identity in a more complex fashion" (2008, p. 2). Jakeet Singh (2015) further suggests that identity-focused intersectionality allows us to see various types of personal agency, an important feminist objective in and of itself. However, Cooper calls this way of theorizing—applying intersectionality to situations in which no jeopardy or systematic oppression exists—"postintersectional" and "a mistake" (2016, pp. 400, 393; see also Carastathis, 2016; Tomlinson, 2013).

This chapter assesses intersectionality's application for Mormonism through reference to these two perspectives: personal identity and structural oppression. Although including both, we prioritize the structural-oppression approach. Thus we embrace a vision in which intersectionality is more than an apolitical concept, more than a recognition of finer categories of identity. Rather it is also a perspective on oppression and an analytical tool that illuminates how power operates through social hierarchy. Exploring various aspects of Mormonism, we argue that this vision of intersectionality has not been fully realized or utilized in either Mormon scholarship or activism.

Mormonism as a social category/identity

Religion is one of several lines of difference intersectionality may invoke. The anthropologist Saba Mahmood (2005) was a leading voice incorporating religion within feminist projects by analyzing Egyptian Muslim women's agency and authority in Cairo's piety movement. Her ethnography problematizes feminist theory specifically and secular liberal thought generally by showing how religious women advocate for ethical norms that are considered patriarchal or even oppressive to women. Salem (2013) further critiques Western feminists' lack of engagement with women of faith, reasoning that those feminists do not want to deal with the inherently patriarchal nature of many organized religions. Through the case of Islamic feminism, she suggests intersectionality may provide a solution to the exclusion. Weber (2015, p. 23) similarly calls for "intersectional frameworks that recognize the gendered racializations of Islam" in German feminisms. Analyzing hijab bans in Scandinavia and the Netherlands, Halrynjo and Jonker (2016) argue that awareness of the intersection between gender and religion is required to fully understand Western society's discrimination against Muslim women.

Intersectionality of identity

Mormon identity contributes to intersectional subjectivity within the societies in which it finds itself. If one regards intersectionality as primarily about personal identity rather than structural oppression, many examples of Mormonism's intersection with other identities can be identified

or imagined. For example, any study of Mormon women's experiences in the larger society involves the intersection between religion and gender. Examination of women adjusting to new gender role expectations after converting to Mormonism fits this framework. Analysis of American/Utah Mormon gender norms, dating rules and rituals diffusing to other cultural settings can also provide intersectional insight. Another possibility includes profiles of famous Mormons. Stories on athletes (such as Jabari Parker) that emphasize the interaction between ethnic (in Parker's case, black/Tongan) and LDS religious affiliations as they navigate American society incorporate intersectionality (Thompson, 2014). Or similarly, discussions that emphasize how Tyler Glenn (the rock group Neon Trees' lead singer) brings his gay and LDS identities to bear not only on each other, but also on his life more generally, utilize intersectionality (Ganz, 2014). In addition, the "I'm a Mormon" campaign features scores of famous and non-famous Latter-day Saints who discuss how their Mormon faith combines with other identities within their societies.

Intersectionality of structural oppression

However, within intersectionality's structural oppression framework, Mormonism as a social category becomes trickier. Yuval-Davis (2006, p. 203) advises that social divisions should be examined critically because not all categories affect individuals equally. In addition, these categories often affect people differently in different (geographical, temporal, and social) locations. Gender, age, ethnicity, and class, she argues, "tend to shape most people's lives in most social locations, while other social divisions ... affect fewer people globally." A specifically Mormon religious identity might not participate as deeply in structural oppression in some places as other identities do. Yet Mormonism likely qualifies as a marginalized group in most places. Americans have viewed it as a cult since its origin. And according to a recent study, Mormons remain one of the least liked religious people in America, only slightly more favorable than Muslims and atheists (Pew Research Center, 2017). People in almost every other country similarly regard Mormons as a minor and/or distrusted minority. Even in the two nations where Mormons cannot be called a small minority (Samoa and Tonga), accusations of Mormonism's non-Christianity create Mormon "otherness." Thus, Mormons in most parts of the world likely have experience with at least occasional discrimination relating to their religion.

There is more to Yuval-Davis' point, however. She adds that "the ways different social divisions are constructed by, and intermeshed with, each other in specific historical conditions" also vary (2006, p. 202). In other words, Mormonism's role in this type of intersectionality must be demonstrated rather than assumed. In the USA, we would argue, being Mormon and female does not typically produce the same type of double jeopardy that being black (or Latina, etc.) and female have within legal and employment structures. The lack of physical markings associated with Mormon identity allows that identity to be irrelevant in many circumstances. A gay Mormon man may not face challenges that multiply together with each other in everyday American life any more than a non-religious or a mainstream Christian gay man does (though he may encounter more issues within Mormonism specifically). In other words, Mormon identity likely leads more often to additional, but separate oppressions than to simultaneous, con-joint, multiplicative oppressions. We are not sure, for example, that Latter-day Saint identity multiplied every burden that former Utah Congresswoman Mia Love faced because of her gender, national background, and race. (This was not always true. National controversy over polygamy during the late 1800s meant that gender and nationality intersected with religious oppression to place Mormon women and immigrants in multiplied structural jeopardy; Gordon, 2002). We suspect that this lack of strong intersectionality also largely holds in countries where

Mormons constitute smaller minorities. Mormon identity there may be neither visible nor stereotyped enough to produce intersectional consequences. However, there are places where Mormonism more likely participates in intersectionality effects, places where Mormonism's stereotypes or visibility are strong enough to combine with other lines of disadvantage and oppression. Among the most likely, we suspect, are countries where Mormons are a relatively larger percentage of the population than in most countries—Mexico, the Philippines, New Zealand, or Uruguay, for instance—or some European countries where the dominant cultures deeply frown upon non-traditional belief.

But these are empirical matters. Mormon identity in many countries produces strong connotations of white American culture. That association may or may not be a burden, depending on place and time (in some situations it can be a benefit). In any case, the role of Mormonism in intersectional oppression cannot simply be read off of its position as a single-axis minority category. Mormon identity does not always magnify the burden of those who are subject to other types of discrimination, even if it often adds separate oppressions. Consequently, the issue of Mormonism's role in structural-oppression intersectionality deserves further research. Scholars have seldom asked these questions.

Mormonism as a social system

Conceiving of Mormonism as a social system in and of itself gives a second perspective on Mormonism's role in intersectionality. Mormonism is not a complete social system; Mormons always operate within larger social contexts. But Latter-day Saints devote much physical, emotional, spiritual, social, cultural, psychological, and sometimes even economic and political energy toward Mormonism. Mormonism is complex and powerful enough to create its own hegemonic values, structures of power, and senses of centrality and marginality. Thus, in addition to Mormon identity's combining with other social identities, intersectionality exists within Mormonism itself. Social centrality and marginality within Mormonism share similarities with the American culture from which it stems. Whiteness, maleness, Americanness, and married heterosexuality hold particularly privileged positions within its structure of culture and authority. Middle-class values, political and social conservatism, able-bodiedness, and certain age characteristics at times also position individuals more toward the center of Mormon ideology and activity. Latter-day Saints who differ from these characteristics can still achieve great meaning, value, and social solidarity from their church experiences, but the deviations are typically obstacles that must be overcome or barriers preventing full participation within social-cultural and authority structures. Strength of belief itself—or “testimony” in LDS terminology—can also be regarded as an axis of hierarchical centrality, though we do not dwell on it in this chapter.

Intersectionality of identity

Compared to viewing Mormonism as one axis of identity within larger social systems, it is perhaps easier to see how intersectionality operates within Mormonism as a system. Much more scholarly attention has already been given to “intersectional” issues, even if not labeled as such. In relation to personal-identity intersectionality, many possible topics exist. Recent changes in missionary ages and Young Women's involvement in temple baptisms and “Ministering” programs, for example, highlight intersections between gender and age. Similarly, the April 2017 callings to the General Relief Society Presidency of a single woman and a Latina opened intersectional possibilities. Chieko Okazaki was, during the 1990s, the first non-Caucasian woman called to the church's general leadership. Her life and teachings embody intersectionality; they

added space within Mormonism for greater prominence of non-hegemonic gender and national/ethnic identities. Jane Manning James, one of the most celebrated nineteenth-century black Mormons, provides another example. Many black women today regard her as a model who helps them valorize their LDS identity. And of course scholars could easily find intersectional stories in the lives of hundreds of thousands of less famous, ordinary Saints.

Studying this personal identity-based type of intersectionality can be quite illuminating, by offering a clearer vision of types of Mormon experiences that are not yet well known or understood. Nevertheless, we submit, it is the second type of intersectionality—the kind that focuses on structures of oppression—that may be even more important and more in line with the original aims of those advocating for the intersectionality concept. We explore this idea in two ways: first by focusing on intersectional responses to the marginalizations within LDS Church culture, and second by viewing Mormon Studies, as an academic field, through an intersectional lens.

Intersectionality of marginalization: responses to church culture

Individuals and groups attempting to counter aspects of LDS hegemonies have long existed. Their prominence has grown owing partly to the larger impact of identity politics in recent decades and partly to the church's increased stability over time, since relatively stable social systems/institutions are more likely to generate internal movements for reform and not just movements that oppose the whole system. For example, Mormon feminists used polygamy to argue for expanded gender roles during the 1870s and 1880s. Later, after the nominal end of polygamy, they advocated against many fellow church members in favor of continuing female suffrage as part of the Utah statehood convention. The so-called 1936 “Third Convention” of Mexican Mormons is another example. Drawing on racial/national identity, these Saints protested the relative paucity of local leaders in comparison to those sent from Utah (Tullis, 1997). Feminist activism and questioning of LDS structures of gender authority re-emerged especially strongly during the 1970s around the Equal Rights movement. More or less radical, more or less confrontational, and more or less visible movements have since continued to arise around issues of female roles, influence, and authority within Mormonism itself. Movements highlighting power and privilege relating to race emerged since the 1960s. Struggle preceded the 1978 overturning of the ban on temple access for blacks and priesthood authority for black men, in particular. More recently, oppressions within Mormonism toward sexual minorities have gained significant attention. The LGBT+ community along with its allies have made those oppressions visible.

Nevertheless, most of these and other LDS movements relating to centrality and marginalization—Mormonism's privileges and oppressions—focus on single-axis issues. They typically address race independent of gender, for example. They seldom connect sexuality to social class or nationality. In other words, movements addressing power within Mormonism are not often truly intersectional. We recognize that individual Mormons may think and sometimes act intersectionally, as is clear in the Latter-day Saints who have advocated for increased equality relating to gender, race, and sexual orientation. However, the movements themselves typically operate separately, although intersectional possibilities within Mormon movements are rising. We here highlight three groups that typify this not-yet-fully-realized potential: Sistas in Zion, Affirmation, and Mama Dragons.

Sistas in Zion may not be best labeled an activist group. The Sistas are just two people—Zandra Vranes and Tamu Smith. They do not strongly advocate institutional change. Their orientation is perhaps more “faithful” than many activist groups, strongly supporting basic Mormon narratives and truth claims. However, as two African American Mormon women,

they make visible an identity/experiential perspective relatively unfamiliar to most Mormons. Their primary platform is Facebook, with a timeline full of thoughts and wisdom intended to help Mormons see things differently. Nevertheless, the Sistas' intersectionality is perhaps not equally balanced. That is, their focus is much more race than gender. Their commitment toward greater equality and stronger female voices within Mormonism occasionally becomes apparent. But many more of their posts (and most of the reaction from Facebook followers) highlights African American identity. They do not frequently emphasize the dual/simultaneous identity or marginalizations of black women within Mormonism.

Affirmation supports LGBT+ Latter-day Saints. Created in the late 1970s, the group established chapters in just a few American cities at first, but grew larger and more visible over time. It now even includes members from Latin America and Great Britain. These members embody identity intersections of many different kinds between LGBT+ sexuality and Mormonism, including strongly active, disaffected, and former Mormons. Not originally established around ideas of intersectionality (if Mormonism is conceived of as a system of power), it has developed more of an intersectional sensibility as it has grown. It works, for example, toward respect and empowerment based on differently abled status and differing nationalities (Noyce and Stack, 2018) in conjunction with its sexual-identity focus.

Mama Dragons, formed in 2014, also organizes around LGBT+ issues. But rather than mainly LGBT+ individuals themselves, Mama Dragons membership is primarily mothers of LGBT+ persons with some LDS association. It thus explicitly links a gendered identity with concern through direct family connection for people subject to Mormonism's sexual-orientation structural oppressions. Despite intersectionality in its identity, however, similar to both Sistas in Zion and Affirmation it advocates primarily around a single axis (sexuality). Thus like other possible examples within Mormonism, each of these groups have opportunities to operate intersectionally but they have not fully realized a sustained intersectional commitment.

Intersectionality of marginalization: Mormon Studies

Just as with Mormonism generally, we can regard Mormon Studies as a system possessing its own power dynamics, centralities, and marginalities. This system is not particularly independent; it derives especially from the ecosystems of Mormonism and American higher education. In Mormon Studies, certain topics, regions, and perspectives receive much more attention than others, creating a privileged center for the field. Origin stories, institutional church history, and (for post-exodus matters) a Utah/American West focus still soak up much of the attention. When scholars discuss Mormon women the experiences of white American women are typically used as an overall representation of Mormon women's experiences. When the focus turns to Mormonism outside the United States, analysis often utilizes a missiology framework, with its frequent bias toward experiences and viewpoints of people from the "center" of the church. The temple and priesthood ban against black men and women or the Old Testament/Book of Mormon-tinged notion of lineage is usually the backdrop for discussions of race. Additionally, certain types of people (especially white, American men) involve themselves more centrally in Mormon Studies' production and consumption while others are more marginal.

Mormon Studies has doubtless opened toward other issues and perspectives in recent decades. Almost all corners of the field accommodate discussions of discrimination, community, and identity organized along various axes of difference, such as race, gender, class, nationality, and sexuality. Even the *Journal of Mormon History*, a publication that may be expected to hold to the historically traditional center of Mormon Studies, has recently published several articles on various "non-traditionally" conceived topics. Nevertheless, the aggregate focus of Mormon

Studies still does not come close to mirroring the church membership's diversity; nominally about 60 percent reside outside the United States.

To take one example, the recently published *Oxford Handbook of Mormonism*, edited by two of Mormon Studies' pre-eminent scholars (Givens and Barlow, 2015), will likely be a leading introduction to and definition of the field over the next several years. Out of 41 chapters, just four focus primarily on the church outside the United States. A handful of other chapters' sections discuss the international church generally or some aspects of it, but broad generalities rather than specifics about Mormons' experiences there are the rule. Beyond the topics themselves, Mormon Studies in that *Handbook* appears to be the domain of primarily white Americans, overwhelmingly men. As best as we can figure, the forty-five contributors to the volume include one non-American and one non-white scholar. There are even more non-Mormon authors (seven, if our reckoning is correct). Our point is not to criticize the editors' author choices for individual chapters; all make good sense on their own. Rather it is to emphasize that for all the increased attention to diversity within Mormon Studies, clear patterns of centrality and marginality persist.

Thus we agree with Elise Boxer who stated at a recent roundtable on Mormon history: "Mormon studies need to include scholars, including scholars of color, whose perspectives are not only different, but which challenge widely accepted narratives ... that do not fit neatly into a Mormon-American perspective or experience" (Colvin, 2015, pp. 259–60). Even though much of that roundtable's discussion focused on race/ethnicity/nationality, especially by critiquing white American centrality, participants made gestures toward fuller intersectionality. Gina Colvin (2015) did so most directly. She noted that historical research, with its priority on documentary evidence, generally makes black and brown women invisible. She thus argued that scholars should more carefully attend "to the multicultural, biracial, intersectional experience and the way in which these identities are understood in Mormon contexts" (p. 261). In fact, we argue, a true intersectional spirit that is attuned to multiple, simultaneous discriminations and oppressions is difficult to find within Mormon Studies. Where scholars move beyond dominant narratives and types of experiences, attention to single axes of diversity takes priority. Individual readers might bring intersectional insight to their own interpretation of Mormonism through this scholarship, yet the research itself rarely explicitly highlights the intersections.

Hopefully this is beginning to change since some Mormon Studies scholars increasingly articulate intersectional concerns, vocabulary, and perspectives. But producing true intersectional research remains difficult, including for the very mundane reason that norms of scholarship often lead researchers to "narrow their topic" in a way that precludes intersectionality. Nevertheless, we want to point to, among other candidates, three articles that bear an intersectional spirit effectively. Each emphasizes personal stories. Such a focus may especially usefully sustain discussions of LDS intersectionality. Perhaps unsurprisingly, two come from a book co-edited by Gina Colvin (a Maori woman who has long been interested in issues of social power within Mormonism), while a third comes from a *Journal of Mormon History* special issue she co-edited. That edited book, *Decolonizing Mormonism*, more generally lends itself well to discussions of intersectionality (Colvin and Brooks, 2018).

First, Ignacio Garcia (2018) recalls how, as a young bishop several decades ago, he sought to decolonize the minds of members within his largely lower-class, Latino ward in Tucson, Arizona. Many of them, along with some stake and area leaders, felt that due to race and class they were destined to simply follow instructions and models from those with higher status within Mormonism. Their race seemed to confine them to the continually deferred promise that the Lamanites would become more "white and delightful," while their economic status made it hard for them to believe that they could truly lead within the church. Garcia recounts

the slow process by which ward members began to understand that their own value within Mormonism need not be defined by white, middle-class cultural models.

Second, Stacilee Ford (2018) draws on years of participant observation in Hong Kong to analyze the varieties of LDS sisterhood within that very cosmopolitan city. National difference plays a major role; LDS women inhabit local (Cantonese), mainland Chinese, and white American identities and experiences, among others. The presence of some of those others in Hong Kong stems from disadvantaged positions within the global economy. This group, composed especially of Filipinas, is marginalized because of nationality, economic class, and gender. Their presence as transnational workers in Hong Kong complicates roles within a church that prioritizes mothers' duties in their own homes. Like Garcia, Ford attends to how marginalized Saints seek value and unique identity within their Mormonism. Both scholars celebrate the flourishing of LDS faith. However, they both also carefully describe and critique the structural oppression of intersectionally marginalized LDS groups. Even more than Garcia, Ford (2018, p. 223) situates her account through the concept of intersectionality.

The intersectional analysis ... is unfortunately something we do not implement as often as we might within Mormonism for a number of reasons, including that we are keen to celebrate a unified sisterhood and church membership. That is a noble ideal, but in so doing, we may be ignoring economic, historical, political and personal realities that shape us in profoundly different ways and that demand more thoughtful attention and action.

The third article does not prioritize faithfulness as much; the story it conveys might be less of a success story from the perspective of the institutional church. Russell Stevenson (2015) uses historical/archival methods to tell of the 1960s–1970s ascension and then marginalization of local forms of Mormonism in Ghana. Rebecca Mould was widely regarded as a prophetess in a local Mormon branch there. Stevenson highlights her role both before and after the church's introduction of missionaries and central institutional authority subsequent to the 1978 ending of the racial priesthood ban. In spite of the institutional church's hands-off attitude during the late 1960s and most of the 1970s, Mormonism flourished in Ghana. It was one of many indigenized Christian movements offering hope for personal and community success in the confusing socio-economic aftermath of political decolonization. Ghanaians attracted to Mormonism, including Mould, established structures of authority based on their own spiritual experiences. While seeking greater connection with Salt Lake City, they seemed to have little knowledge and/or concern about American Mormonism's racialized and gendered priesthood. Once the ban was removed, the church sent senior missionaries who strongly wished for greater black involvement in the LDS community. Yet those early missionaries quickly set about changing structures and practices in the Ghanaian branches they found foreign. The institutional church did not support Mould's authority over the branch she had led. While calling her as Relief Society president staved off dissent initially, eventually she and nearly 70 percent of the branch dissociated themselves from the institutional church.

Conclusion

Intersectionality concerns the mutual, simultaneous impact of multiple identities or structural axes of power within society. Emerging out of black feminist scholarship and activism, it now refers to many forms of combined minority status. We have argued that both the identity and the structural-oppression conceptions of intersectionality (and their combinations) illuminate

LDS experiences. Whether Mormonism is regarded as an identity within larger societies or a social system itself, it participates in the hierarchical prioritization and marginalization of social groups. Nevertheless, we believe intersectionality is not sufficiently utilized within either Mormon life generally or Mormon Studies particularly. Sistas in Zion, Affirmation, and Mama Dragons point to activism's intersectional potential while Colvin, Garcia, Ford, and Stevenson provide useful examples for scholarship. By helping us see how identities and oppressions are co-constituted (Cooper, 2016), intersectionality may help us begin the process of imagining more productive ways of relating to one another.

Intersectional exploration of Mormonism is still in its infancy. This is in part because proliferation of even single-axis identities within the LDS rubric is itself in its early stages. Mormonism generally prizes unity within its community. It finds both scriptural and cultural-political justifications to discourage identity positions that derive from outside its hierarchical organization. But discouragement of identity positions, many scholars argue, reinforces unacknowledged marginalizations. Garcia, for example, predicts that Latinos will not be de-marginalized within the church through stronger universalistic assertions of the insignificance of race and ethnicity to LDS identity (2018, p. 159). Instead, de-marginalization requires finding a voice to "push back against the racial assumptions that undergird much of Mormon historicity." This voice is lacking, in part because so few scholars of color (Latino or any sort) are currently being read or published. Interpretations by white Mormon scholars or Latino anti-Mormons, he argues, are insufficient to create a Latino Mormon voice. Thus, we submit, in an environment where single-axis identities are weak or discouraged, it is hard to see strong intersectional discourses developing within or about Mormonism.

Above all, we advocate intersectionality as a perspective/outlook/approach. Scholars of intersectionality provide useful advice for those who want to use this perspective to better understand and navigate Mormonism. One suggestion to move from single-category, to multiple-category, eventually to intersectional research (Hancock, 2007) is to ask an additional question. Matsuda relates, "When I see something that looks racist, I ask, 'Where is the patriarchy in this?' When I see something that looks sexist, I ask, 'Where is the heterosexism in this?' When I see something that looks homophobic, I ask, 'Where are the class interests in this?'" (1991, p. 1189). Intersectionality additionally involves, in bell hooks' memorable phrase (1984), a willingness to move "the margin to the center." Perspectives typically seen as marginal within LDS narratives assume new importance within this outlook. The transnational experiences of LDS Filipina domestic workers become central to the contemporary LDS story, not just an interesting side note. An intersectional approach, finally, also prioritizes building coalitions with other (often differently) marginalized groups (Carastathis, 2016; Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall, 2013; Chen and Yorgason, 1999). An intersectional Mormonism means not just pointing to discrimination toward Mormonism that formally resembles oppression of other minority groups, not just allying socially-politically with other religious groups who share similar beliefs, but also creating linkages that prioritize eradicating discrimination and marginalization of many (all?) sorts, both within and outside of LDS society. The LDS Church's recent agreement with the NAACP on anti-poverty initiatives in the USA draws on an intersectional impulse (Walch, 2018). But it will retain that attitude only to the extent that Mormons assume they have as much to learn as to teach within the partnership. We hope this chapter encourages readers to pursue this intersectional spirit.

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