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Inclusiveness Practices in Contemporary Feminist Narratives

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Abstract Feminisms have gained increasing visibility in the last decade, becoming part of public and media discourse in Western societies. The popularisation of gender discourses has been accompanied by the growing production of feminist guides, handbooks and manifestoes produced by journalists, influencers and celebrities to spread feminism among young women. Nevertheless, the actual articulations of feminist narratives are often intertwined with neoliberal postfeminist discourses on individualism that reinforce existing hierarchies of power. These narratives are opposed by others that question individualism and deconstruct existing power hierarchies. This paper explores the problematic outcomes of the feminist entanglement with neoliberalism, which result in the flattening of gender, race and class differences. Then, the neoliberal postfeminist dominant narrative is contrasted by and confronted with a critical analysis of two contemporary feminist manifestoes that, in different ways, oppose individualism and deconstruct existing power structures through intersectional inclusive practices.

Keywords neoliberal feminism; postfeminism; feminist manifestoes; contemporary feminism; inclusive practices.

1. Introduction

Feminisms have gained increasing visibility in the last decade, becoming part of public and media discourse in Western societies. Gender issues have become part of the public and media discourse. This phenomenon emerges not only through the massive media presence of debates on the topic but also through the increasing tendency of public figures to identify as feminists, such as the American singer Beyoncé, the British actress Emma Watson or the Italian influencer Chiara Ferragni. Feminism went from being a "repudiated identity among young women" to "a desirable, stylish and decidedly fashionable one" (Gill 2016: 614) or even a "cool" identity (Valenti 2014). Moreover, the early decades of the 2000s witnessed the spread of social feminist campaigns against

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gender-based violence that had global resonance, such as #YesAllWomen, #MeToo, or the Italian #Quellavoltache. As evidence of its media success, in 2017, the American Merriam-Webster dictionary named 'feminism' the word of the year. Nowadays, social media are one of the primary sources of feminist expression (Keller 2015; Myles 2019; Pruchniewska 2019). Since the history of feminisms has been divided into waves, each characterised by different emancipatory demands and communication means, the centrality of the media has been pointed out as a distinguishing feature of fourth-wave feminism (Pruchinewska 2019; Retallack et al. 2016).

Numerous figures have emerged in this media activism contest to popularise feminisms online: podcasters, YouTubers, journalists and influencers. Frequently, the work of digital activists is transformed into highly successful textbooks. These texts are generally feminist guides, handbooks and manifestoes aimed at young women to bring them closer to feminist thought. The massive presence of feminist discourses in popular culture made feminisms accessible outside the academic context. This happens due to the fact that the language used by digital activists is a simple and accessible one. The content is light and playful references to pop culture and media are frequently made. The entry of feminisms into popular culture helped challenge the stereotypes of "killjoy feminists" (Ahmed 2010) in favour of normalising a non-threatening figure. However, complicity with capitalism and neoliberalism has been noted in pop feminisms. The existing literature highlights the interconnection between pop feminisms and neoliberal rationality (Banet-Weiser 2018; Banet-Weiser et al. 2020; Gill 2016; McRobbie 2004, 2009). This communion entails a focus on individual advancement in society and fails to recognise existing systems of oppression. Feminisms' adherence to neoliberal capitalism does not only imply an instrumentalisation of feminisms for market purposes, such as pink washing or "marketplace feminism" (Zeisler 2016: 12) but also an adherence to the neoliberal rationale, responsible for the accountability of individuals on collective issues. Many of the feminist texts influenced by neoliberal thinking focus on career advancement advice (Gill 2007), teach women how to "lean in", as Sheryl Sandberg's bestseller (2013) states in its title, or how to become successful entrepreneurs (Miller Burke 2014). The central focus is set on individual opportunities while, problematically, existing power hierarchies are ignored. The article focuses on a central theme of neoliberal feminism, namely that of individualism, by highlighting its characteristics of postfeminism and postracialism. The analysis of these concepts is followed by that of two contemporary feminist manifestoes that resist the described

dominant narratives. The British text *The Care Manifesto: The Politics of Interdependence*, produced by The Care Collective (Chatzidakis et al. 2020), is analysed to highlight the proposed collaborative care strategies as opposed to the prevailing competitive individualism of capitalist societies. The Italian feminist manifesto *E poi basta. Manifesto di una donna nera italiana ('Enough, already! Manifesto of a Black Italian woman')*[1] by Espérance Hakuzwimana Ripanti (2020) is used as an example of awareness of the simultaneous presence of different axes of oppression – including gender, race and nationality – and the consequent need for intersectional feminism.

2. Neoliberal feminism and individualism

Neoliberalism as a political and economic thought advocates the depotentiation of government regulation in social and economic spheres in favour of more significant market and individual autonomy (Harvey 2007). The existing literature identifies an association between feminism and neoliberalism, attributed to second-wave feminist struggles (Fraser 2013), while highlighting the pervasiveness of neoliberalism in the social, political and economic spheres (McRobbie 2009). Despite the origins of the adherence of feminism to neoliberalism, it can be noted that some elements of feminist thoughts – first and foremost that of women's participation in public life – are reproduced in an individual logic of market, consumption and self-improvement. An appropriation of feminist political themes has taken place, and they have been redefined within the market logic. As noted by Rosemarie Buikema, "The feminist struggle for paid labor for women, economic independence, and female empowerment, for example, now threatens to serve an increasingly fluid and flexible labor market" (Buikema 2016: 3). Problematically, the demand for social rights has been overshadowed by the discourse on individual emancipation and women are now "encouraged to invest in their own individual liberation and autonomy instead of striving for social justice for all" (Buikema 2016: 4).

Moreover, the adherence to the neoliberal rationale of feminist narratives is accountable for shaping an independent female subject who is responsible for her own personal growth and success (Butler 2013; Fraser 2009; 2013; McRobbie 2009; Prügl 2015). One of the salient features of the union of neoliberal thinking with feminism can be traced to the concept of

[1] The book has not been translated in English yet.

empowerment. Women's political, economic and sexual empowerment has been of interest to feminist thought since the so-called first wave. However, neoliberal feminist discourses emphasise economic empowerment, which is often reduced to consumer power (Taft 2004). This gives rise to a model of the 'entrepreneurial subject' who is invited to invest in herself and make the right choices to achieve some degree of economic success. To better understand how this mechanism operates, it is necessary to introduce the concept of postfeminism. Postfeminism refers to the widespread belief that gender equality has almost entirely been reached (Gill 2007; McRobbie 2009). In a systematic study on postfeminism performed in 2007 by Rosalind Gill, the scholar defines postfeminism as a "sensibility made up of a number of interrelated themes" (2007: 147) which include:

> the notion that femininity is a bodily property; the shift from objectification to subjectification; an emphasis upon self-surveillance, monitoring and self-discipline; a focus on individualism, choice and empowerment; the dominance of the makeover paradigm; a resurgence of ideas about natural sexual difference, a marked sexualisation of culture; and an emphasis upon consumerism and the commodification of difference (Gill 2007: 147).

Although forms of popular feminism acknowledge the existence of social inequalities, the postfeminist sensibility persists, especially in the idea that any woman can – through self-control and self-discipline – reach a state of emancipation regardless of her background. In this context, the main interest is directed towards the focus on choice and individualism. The centrality of choice is based on the assumption that women are free to choose because of the alleged condition of equality.[2] The message conveyed by neoliberal and postfeminist narratives is an optimistic one that encourages and motivates women to take care of themselves in order to achieve their goals. According to this logic, the concept of choice assumes relevance. By enacting a series of behaviours, women can acquire the desired subjectivity. Starting from the "notion that all our practices are freely chosen", it is possible "to present women as autonomous agents no longer bound by any inequality" (Gill 2007:

[2] Some scholars refer to this phenomenon as "choice feminism", theorised in 2005 by Linda Hirshman. Hirshman conducted an analysis on housewives on the factors influencing the choice either of working or staying at home. The results of her investigation proved slight changes in the gender-based division of the private and public spheres. However, women's relegation to the private sphere was not understood as a result of patriarchal norms but rather as women's free will (Hirshman 2005).

153). As Rosalind Gill noted, this choice conception is related to the grammar of individualism that undermines the feminist idea that 'the personal is political', reducing structural and political inequalities to individual experiences (Gill 2007). So, through the right choices, it would be possible for individuals to overcome social inequalities. Therefore, achieving economic and social success becomes possible for those who embody the right attitudes and demonstrate a certain degree of resourcefulness. Indeed, the subjectivities that emerge from neoliberalism are self-governed, and, for this reason, the subject *par excellence* of neoliberal postfeminism is the enterprising self (Gill 2014). Subjects are seen as "projects to be evaluated, advised, disciplined and improved" (Gill 2007: 156). To be empowered, women must make the right choices and make the right (self)investments. The focus on women's potential has also been called "power femininity", with reference to the existing "global discourse of popular postfeminism that incorporates […] popular postfeminist assumptions that feminist struggles have ended, that full equality for all women has been achieved, and that women of today can 'have it all'" (Lazar 2006: 505). The focus on women's individual potential and on their ability to choose and act to determine their own, and possibly their children's, social success fails to address the structural inequalities that disadvantage women (Casalini 2018). The presence of a postfeminist sensibility within contemporary feminist discourse implies a transformation of feminism that no longer places its emphasis on the political agenda but rather on the need to celebrate the achieved equality and exercise agency. The focus on individuals that only examines patterns of success diverts attention from structural inequalities. From a feminist critical perspective, it is necessary to return centrality to the politics of location. Adrienne Rich, in her 1984 seminal work *Notes toward a politics of location*, pointed out how the absence of clear positioning of the represented subjects results in the adoption of a point of view that, proposed as universal, results as raceless and classless being instead ethnocentric and representative of only a privileged minority (Rich [1984] 2003: 33). In particular, the absence of explicit reference to the existence of race as a social construct leads to thinking of an idea of "postraciality", or "racelessness", a typical element of neoliberal thought (Goldberg 2015: 1, 16). Much of popular feminist narratives are invested with this postfeminist sensibility, and a postfeminist component can be traced back to the very origin of feminist guides, which are now flourishing. In her analysis of neoliberal postfeminism, Angela McRobbie (2009) points out that practices of self-discipline and self-monitoring play a key role in achieving personal success. According to the

scholar, the increasingly popular "self-help guides, personal advisors, lifestyle coaches and gurus, and all sorts of self-improvement TV programs" (McRobbie 2009: 260) respond to the need for self-discipline. Several contemporary feminist guides and handbooks can be ascribed to this category. Rather than being handbooks on feminism that take a historical, political or social perspective, these more closely resemble self-help guides, which aim to provide readers with the tools to wage a personal battle with patriarchy. Feminism loses collective relevance in favour of individual practices of liberation from patriarchy, often ignoring existing power structures and the diverse positioning of potential readers. A case in point is the bestseller mentioned above *Lean In*, by Sheryl Sandberg, a U.S. text widely widespread in Europe.[3] The book, intended as a feminist manifesto, focuses on the causes of the absence of women in positions of power. The author declares that achieving social gender equality is her main goal. Although the author acknowledges the existence of gender discrimination, the text focuses on self-determination and the possibility of embarking on a path of individual liberation rather than social and collective justice. To this matter, the author suggests that the most significant impediments to women's success are internal barriers or "internal obstacles", highlighting the importance of individual choices and behaviours (Sandberg 2013: 9). The focus on individual possibility is decoupled from social, political and cultural contexts. A European example of the centrality of individualism is *Women Don't Owe You Pretty* by Florence Given, a British bestseller that aims to provide readers with tools to intervene as individuals in the patriarchal system that influences their lives. Highlighting the focus on individualism is the recurring motif of self-love. In the text, "self-reflection" is referred to as "beneficial to every aspect of our lives" because it leads to becoming "a more refined version of ourselves" (Given 2020: 72). As can be seen, the focus is on self-improvement as a crucial element of well-being. This narrative fails to identify the structural limitations faced by underprivileged subjects. In the case of Given's text, feminism is referred to as an essential tool for achieving well-being. However, rather than being understood as a social movement, feminism is reduced to practices of personal emancipation, often involving a certain lifestyle which is often related to consumption. For example, Given (2020: 44) invites the readers to go on a date with themselves, suggesting them to drink and eat alone, presenting this act as a revolutionary feminist act of self-love. The underlying assumption is that self-care constitutes a radical act because it

[3] For an in-depth critical analysis of this text, cfr. Rottenberg 2018.

opposes the constant construction of needs proposed by capitalism. Moreover, self-love is displayed as feminist because it occurs in a patriarchal society where women are constantly devalued. However, the proposed solution fits perfectly into capitalist society because it involves consumption. In the example given, self-love is reached through the experience of consuming food and drinks. It is also important to note that this very experience is made possible by economic privilege. Indeed, the narrative focuses on the author's personal experience as a white, upper-middle-class woman. Despite the author is aware of her privileges, much of the text is devoted to self-improvement aimed at achieving individual well-being.

The ways in which neoliberal postfeminism permeates the dominant representation of contemporary feminism is imbued with postfeminist and neoliberal sensibilities. However, a minority of feminist manifestoes resist this narrative. The following paragraphs will examine two examples of awareness of and effective response to neoliberal individualism provided by feminist manifestoes. Unlike guidebooks, which have a directive function and indicate a path to follow, feminist manifestoes aim to illustrate a political programme instead. These sections are dedicated to analysing two feminist manifestoes produced in Europe which, although differing in their authorship, content, and structure, firmly oppose the postfeminist and neoliberal sensibility by unveiling and opposing existing power structures and adopting an intersectional feminist perspective. Rather than providing a universal version of feminism, these texts connect the local with the global contexts, aiming to construct global justice practices and analyse the systems of domination that hinder it.

3. Care as a practice of inclusion

The Care Manifesto: The Politics of Interdependence is written by The Care Collective, a London-based group created in 2017 by scholars from different disciplinary fields and geographical origins to research and study the crisis of care. The authors are Andreas Chatzidakis, Jamie Hakim, Jo Littler, Catherine Rottenberg and Lynne Sega. The multi-handwriting of the manifesto reflects the authors' collaborative aim. The manifesto explicitly opposes the ways in which care is expressed in neoliberal individualism and proposes the politics of interdependence as a solution. Following the authors' perspective, which is declared as "feminist, queer, anti-racist and eco-socialist" (Chatzidakis et al. 2020: 23), the text proposes a reflection on the reformulation of the welfare state in favour of a universalist, egalitarian and ecologist state. The book's

central concept is that of care, which is understood in a broad sense concerning the care of people, animals, and the environment.

The book is structured in six chapters, devoted to caring politics, kinships, communities, states economies and the world. After introducing the concept of caring politics, care is defined in different contexts, from the familiar to the global one. The neoliberal increasing privatisation and outsourcing of social services are scrutinised and deconstructed. The manifesto takes a feminist point of view, also highlighting the association between the idea of care, femininity and weakness. This view is contrasted with an inclusive ethic of responsibility and sharing. In particular, interdependence is foregrounded and is indicated as the foundational value on which to build new social practices. Finally, the manifesto proposes the care state as an alternative to the neoliberal state, resisting individualism and the increasing privatisation of care services that are taking place in the United Kingdom and Europe.

To oppose the self-care of neoliberal individualism, various collaborative care strategies are proposed, including "mutual support, public space, shared resources and local democracy" (Chatzidakis et al. 2020: 38). The text is contextualised in the Covid-19 pandemic crisis, which caused the return of care to the centre of public debate, and also refers to systems of care that have been developed during the pandemic, such as solidarity initiatives undertaken at local levels to address the needs of the most fragile people. Even though these forms of spontaneous solidarity exist, according to the authors, structural and political support is needed to address the general carelessness.

The authors trace the delegitimisation of care not to neoliberalism but to its correlation with gender. The stigmatisation of care originates in its association with the feminine sphere; considered to be the prerogative of women, care is regarded as unproductive and is therefore devalued. As the manifesto states, "Care has long been devalued due, in large part, to its association with women, the feminine and what have been seen as the 'unproductive' caring professions. Care work therefore remains consistently subject to less pay and social prestige" (Chatzidakis et al. 2020: 3-4). Thus, the lack of social and economic recognition of care corresponds to its feminisation. The devaluation of care has been exacerbated by neoliberalism, which has constructed an archetypal subject, namely "the entrepreneurial individual whose only relationship to other people is competitive self-enhancement" (Chatzidakis et al. 2020: 4). According to the authors, competition has substituted cooperation and "individualised notions of resilience, wellness, and self-improvement" have been promoted through "a ballooning 'selfcare'

industry", which has commodified and reduced care to a personal issue. Accordingly, the manifesto also opposes the narratives of neoliberal feminism by opposing the construction of the exemplary woman, who embodies the roles of both the entrepreneur and the caregiver. Catherine Rottenberg (2014) highlighted the centrality of the 'work-family balance' narratives, pointing out precisely how, although women are expected to be part of the public sphere of labour, they also remain responsible for domestic and care work. The persistence of biological essentialism marks this idea of work-life balance. Indeed, expectations of women are also associated with their public life but are never disengaged from their private role. Therefore, women are assumed to be the main caregivers, mostly in a heteronormative scheme, in which they must represent good wives and mothers (Riley et al. 2018). The manifesto opposes the construction of this female figure and proposes a variation of the "universal caregiver" model proposed by Nancy Fraser (2013) in place of the "universal breadwinner" model. The latter concept was theorised to acknowledge the contemporary universalisation of work in relation to gender. While the role of breadwinner, associated with that of the householder, was traditionally considered a male function, it has now been universalised and opened to other gender identities as well. In contrast, care work remains a women's prerogative. As a replacement for this model, Fraser suggested that of the "universal caregiver", thus proposing that the caring role is no longer exclusively female but universal. Building on Fraser's theorisation, the manifesto proposes a "universal care" model, outlining the contours of an ideal society in which care takes on a central role. However, as the manifesto authors emphasise, this does not mean giving individual responsibility for care to every person but instead building a social, institutional and political apparatus that responds to the need for care.

As mentioned, *The Care Manifesto* addresses the care issue on several levels, including individual and family, local and institutional. However, individual care relationships are radically transformed from the traditionally known preordained gender roles. It is suggested that individual care relationships practised within family units be enriched by 'alternative kinship' structures, modelled on those experienced in different cultural or temporal contexts. Examples come from the kinship model pioneered by the LGBT communities in the fight against the spread of AIDS or by feminist communities in the seventies who experienced collective living and childcare. These care practices are defined as 'promiscuous' because they take place outside the traditional family model. The Care Collective points out that structural

supports, public spaces, infrastructure and material resources are needed to develop 'care communities.' These would find space in a 'care state', oriented to collective needs, which builds welfare infrastructures guaranteeing equal access to social and environmental resources. Thus, the manifesto again opposes neoliberalism and the capitalist market in favour of building an eco-socialist and inclusive market economy.

4. Intersectionality as a practice of inclusion

It has been seen that focusing on the individual, contemporary feminism fails to take into account the existing multiple axes of oppression. However, placing personal experiences at the centre of the narrative can also be constitutive of an act of resistance. This is the case with the manifesto *E poi basta. Manifesto di una donna nera italiana* by Espérance Hakuzwimana Ripanti, in which the author places her personal experience as a black Italian woman at the centre of the narrative. By adopting her personal point of view, the author provides readers with a view 'from the margin', capable of highlighting the existence of power hierarchies. In the essay *Homeplace (A Site of Resistance)* bell hooks pointed out that the position of marginalised subjects constitutes a privileged vantage point that offers "the possibility of radical perspective from which to see and create to imagine alternatives, new worlds" (hooks 2015 [1990]: 150).

For this reason, the author's point of view offers the tools for deconstructing the reality in which it is embedded. The global and 'universal' perspective that flattens out differences is opposed by a local perspective, which allows the reader to analyse the specificities of the postcolonial Italian context. Thus, the author highlights the problematic nature of the experience of a black Italian woman, racialised, sexualised and not recognised as Italian.

Espérance Hakuzwimana Ripanti is an anti-racist cultural activist - as she describes herself. The text assumes relevance not only as a manifesto but also as part of Italian postcolonial literature (Fabbri 2021).[4] The author is an activist, also operating on social networks, particularly on Facebook and Instagram, where she discusses issues such as sexism, racism and nationality. The author's online activism is notably relevant when read in relation to the cited examples of neoliberal feminism, which seem to dominate the digital feminist landscape. As Giulia Fabbri (2021) notes, with the online activities, Ripanti contributes to constructing a critical debate that opens up the possibility of crossing national

[4] For an analysis of Italian postcolonial literature see also Romeo 2018.

borders and reaching a global audience. The manifesto under consideration is structured in ten thematic sections, each containing elements of several literary genres, including epistolary, nonfiction and autobiography. As mentioned above, the autobiography assumes central meaning because it is precisely through the narration of the author's personal experience that the existing mechanisms of power and their impact on the life of a black Italian woman are revealed and exposed the readers. The author's biography is set in contemporary Italy, a postcolonial context permeated with sexism and racism.

Although the author's individual experience is a central element of the book, it is narrated in relation to the political and social context in which it is embedded. The author acknowledges the absence of representative narratives that engage with the categories of gender, race and nationality. The identity characteristics of the author emerge from the very title of the manifesto in which we read 'woman, black, Italian' (Ripanti 2020), and the text aims to construct a compelling narrative that reflects them. The desire for a representative narrative is described as the *raison d'être* of the text. The very writing of the manifesto constitutes a political act of constructing a narrative capable of reflecting the complexity of a black Italian woman's experiences, which is still lacking.

The intimate and personal dimension of the author's life is related to the collective experience of black women in Italy, expressed using the metaphor of the cage – a barrier of stereotypes and prejudices that affect their lives (Ripanti 2020: 119). Reference is made to the persistence of a colonial, hypersexualised and exoticising imagery to which the author and other black women are subjected. The author reflects and denounces the flattening of the complexity of her own identity, which is reduced to the generic identity of a 'black woman' who has no place outside of stereotypes. For this reason, the author states that her body:

> 'is associated with that of anyone else, as long as she is a woman, as long as she is black. [...] Italy does not give me alternatives: either I am a sportswoman, I sing very well, or I am a prostitute. For most people I am a prostitute' (Ripanti 2020: 125).

Ripanti underlines the persistence of a sexist and racist collective imaginary that relegates her to predefined categories to which all black women are considered to belong.

In conclusion, even though the manifesto does not openly oppose neoliberal individualism and postfeminism, it opposes the latter in terms of

content. Remarkably, the invisibilised experience of black women can be seen in contrast to the over-represented experience of enterprising white women. Indeed, as has been pointed out, the writing of the text responds to the need for representation, which is lacking in existing narratives. Given this aim, the chapter entitled 'I did not choose' (Ripanti 2020: 151) is particularly relevant. Opposing the capacity for choice of neoliberal postfeminism, Ripanti conceives agency as not detached from structure. The dominant rhetoric in contemporary feminist narratives is that of agency as the possibility of choice from a marked voluntarist perspective. But, as Stefania De Petris notes, the will of individuals become interrelated with the 'structural constraints placed by [subject] positioning within multiple axes of differentiation that structure the subjective identity', including gender, race and social class (De Petris 2005: 260-1). Ripanti decisively demonstrates this awareness, by positioning herself as a black Italian woman and by deconstructing the concept of choice.

4. Conclusion

This article provided an overview of the problematic narratives on agency and individualism in contemporary feminism and highlighted the necessity of an intersectional feminist perspective. First, the disruptive power of individualism has been examined in light of its power of obscuring the voices of marginalised and subaltern subjects. From the neoliberal, individualist model emerged a tendency to focus on the individual rather than the collective, with a distinct emphasis on women – the new entrepreneurial subjects. In addition, the analysis revealed a tendency to consider this model universal without taking into account specificities and different social positionings of the represented subjects. This trend reveals an evident absence of intersectionality. At the same time, it has been seen how focusing on the possibilities of individuals and emphasising their ability to choose obscures and reinforces classist, racist and sexist systems of oppression. *The Care Manifesto: The Politics of Interdependence* (Chatzidakis et al. 2020) and *E poi basta. Manifesto di una donna nera italiana* (Ripanti 2020) have been analysed to highlight the way in which they oppose neoliberal individualism, postfeminism and postraciality.

The Care Manifesto: The Politics of Interdependence was analysed in its oppositional function to neoliberal individualism. The manifesto proposes a universal care model in opposition to the prevailing 'carelessness'. The latter is analysed on several levels, from the personal to the political. On the personal level, The Care Collective notes the promotion of competition between

individuals rather than cooperation. The authors also note the persistence of the centrality of the family, particularly women, in care roles. Instead, it proposes systems of "promiscuous care" inspired by the political practices of LGBTQ+, feminist and ecologist movements. On the political level, interlinked with the personal level, the increasing privatisation of care systems is denounced and the need for structural supports, public spaces and infrastructures dedicated to caring is demanded.

E poi basta. Manifesto di una donna nera italiana was analysed in contrast to the dominant narrative of the self-made woman. The text draws from several literary genres, including autobiography and manifesto. The author offers her autobiographical experience as a marginalised woman and claims her right to be represented. Notably, the neoliberal postfeminist model of the independent woman with an infinite capacity for choice is opposed by the limits imposed by political and social constraints to which Esperance Hakuzwimana Ripanti is subjected as a black Italian woman.

Although these two manifestoes do not put at their centre feminism, the positioning of their authors can be described as intersectional feminist. The two texts analysed are different and have been produced in different geopolitical contexts. The British manifesto, on the one hand, highlights the necessity for universal care, starting from a local perspective and extending care practices in multiple structural and socio-economical contexts. On the other hand, the Italian manifesto highlights the need for more inclusive narratives and practices, to which the author herself gives voice. Among the elements that differentiate the two manifestoes, that of authorship is important: a collective of scholars and activists on the one hand and a single activist author on the other. *The Care Manifesto*, written by a group of scholars, brings the need for collaborative care back to the centre of the debate, strongly opposing neoliberal individualism. Furthermore, although the authors are academics, the text is intended for a broad audience outside the academic boundaries. Indeed, *The Care Manifesto* is a popular text intended 'for the people' rather than being 'pop' and inscribed in pop culture. In contrast, the manifesto *E poi basta. Manifesto di una donna nera italiana* is written by a single author and it originates outside academia. Moreover, the author's background can be ascribed to the realm of pop culture in light of Ripanti's intense social media activities as an activist. The author's personal perspective and experience are used as a tool to report and highlight sexism and racism as simultaneous and intersectional axes of oppression, which Ripanti opposes through the writing of the manifesto, which provides a direct representation of racialisation and sexualisation.

However, there are relevant points of contact between the two texts. Both manifestoes focus, in different ways, on the intersection between local and global levels, opposing universalising narratives and proposing specific models of deconstruction. *The Care Manifesto* proposes a universal model of care, starting from observations situated in time (the pandemic present) and space (London) and then advances proposals for universally applicable models of care. Ripanti's manifesto is also situated explicitly in space and time, thus reflecting the contemporaneity of the Italian nation, and highlighting its postcolonial traits. More relevantly, the two manifestoes under review distance themselves from neoliberal utilitarianism to focus on forms of solidarity and to establish local and transnational connections, as well as political ties.

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