

- hooks, b. (1981). *Ain't I a woman?: Black women and feminism*. Boston: South End Press.
- Johnson, V. (1996). *Voices of the dream, African American women speak*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books.
- Jordan, J. (2002). Life after Lebanon. In *Some of us did not die*. New York: Basic/Civitas Books.

## WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

The women's movement has strongly influenced ideas about leadership throughout its history. The women's movement spans from approximately the early 1800s to the present time. The first wave of the women's movement began in the 1800s and tapered off during the 1940s as industrialized countries granted women the vote, which was one of the early goals of the movement. A revival of the women's movement termed the "second wave" began during the mid to late 1960s, focusing on the status of women in society. As this struggle continued and positive changes occurred, a younger generation of women emerged during the 1990s with a different perspective and their generation is considered the "third wave" of the women's movement. This wave coexists with the organizations and goals of second-wave feminists. During the first wave, the fact that women took leadership roles to fight for women's suffrage and other rights was significant, because it meant that women became leaders in the public sphere. While this continued to be true to some extent during the second wave, it is also true that during the second wave women challenged traditional notions of leadership. Currently, in the third wave, some organizations within the women's movement are offering feminist leadership training.

### THE FIRST WAVE: WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

Women first became leaders in the women's movement during the battle for women's suffrage. New Zealand was the first country to grant women suffrage, doing so in 1893. Kate Sheppard (1847–1934) of New Zealand's Women's Christian Temperance Union was instrumental in the fight for suffrage, as were Harriet Morison (c. 1862–1925), Marion Hatton (1835–1905), and Helen Nicol (1854–1932),

who organized the first Women's Franchise League. Meri Te Tai Mangakahia (1868–1920) successfully fought for the inclusion of Maori women. (The Maori are New Zealand's indigenous population.) New Zealand women's early victory in gaining the vote inspired leaders of the women's suffrage movement all over the world.

The fight for suffrage and other women's rights was international. The International Council of Women (ICW) was founded in 1887, with Ishbel Aberdeen (1857–1939), from the United Kingdom, as its first president. The International Women's Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) was formed in 1904, with Carrie Chapman Catt (1859–1947), from the United States, as its president. Many women were influential in their own countries as well as in the international struggle for suffrage. In Japan, Ichikawa Fusae (1893–1981) was one of the founders of Fusen Kakutoku Domei (Women's Suffrage League). She led the women's suffrage movement in Japan, which granted suffrage for women, the right to be a candidate and to attend political meetings in 1945. Subsequent to these victories, Fusae was elected to Parliament five separate times between the years of 1953 and 1980. Huda Shaarawi (1879–1947) founded the Egyptian Feminist Union in 1923 and was its president for twenty-four years. The EFU fought for women's suffrage, advances in education, and legal reforms for women. Shaarawi was the Vice President of the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship in 1935.

### *Connections with Other Movements*

The women's movement in the first wave not only was international but also addressed issues of race and class oppression. Feminist leaders were strengthened by their ties to other movements, even when controversy and disagreement arose between leaders of these movements. Many U.S. women had been brought to an understanding of women's position in society during their fight for the abolition of slavery. In the United States, Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902) met Lucretia Mott (1793–1880) at an antislavery convention in 1840. As a result of this meeting, they organized the Women's Rights

Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906) met Elizabeth Cady Stanton at an abolitionist meeting in 1851 and they began a partnership of shared leadership. Together they formed the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) in 1869. Sojourner Truth (1797–1883), a former slave, became a leader in both the antislavery movement and the feminist movement and is best known for her speech “Ain’t I a Woman,” given at the Women’s Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio, in 1851. Many women were involved in the struggle for women’s rights and the right of labor to organize and were leaders in both of these areas. Kate Mullany (1845–1906) is an example of a woman who was both a feminist and a labor leader. She worked with Susan B. Anthony and others suffragists on the needs of women workers, and in 1864 formed the Collar Laundry Union, the first female union in the United States.

### *Leadership Differences*

Splits in leadership during the first wave of feminism occurred over whether to embrace a liberal, single-issue agenda or a more far-reaching, multi-issue agenda. In the United States this split is evident in the fact that there were two suffrage organizations, the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), fighting for a wide range of women’s rights, and the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), founded the same year as the NWSA, 1869, by Lucy Stone (1818–1893), who felt that suffrage for women should be the only priority. In 1890 these two organizations resolved their differences and merged to become the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).

Leadership styles differed not only over philosophical ideas but also over whether to use moderate or militant tactics. For instance, although not all women and men in the suffrage movement in Britain embraced militancy, British suffragists were known for their militant leadership. While the president of Britain’s National Union of Women’s Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), Millicent Garrett Fawcett (1847–1929), favored a means of change through legal reform within the existing political system.

Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst (1858–1928; 1880–1958), mother and daughter suffragists who were prominent leaders of the more militant branch of suffragists, favored direct action by way of lawful and unlawful protests. Their organization, the Women’s Social and Political Union (WSPU), began utilizing destruction of property as a more militant tactic beginning in 1908, including breaking windows of government buildings and forcing entrance into the House of Commons. Once arrested for these tactics, the women initiated hunger strikes in further protest. Some members left the WSPU when leaders decided on arson as a tactic; more arrests ensued after some buildings were destroyed. The same split between moderates and militants emerged in the U.S. women’s suffrage movement as well, when Alice Paul (1885–1977), a young radical American woman influenced by the British suffragists, left the NWSA and founded the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage in 1914. The latter utilized such direct action tactics as strikes, demonstrations, and parades. Paul later founded the National Woman’s Party in 1916 and is credited with helping pass the Nineteenth Amendment (granting women the vote) to the U.S. Constitution in 1920. She subsequently turned her leadership skills toward passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, which was introduced to Congress in 1923.

## THE SECOND WAVE

As in the first wave of the women’s movement, the second wave was divided between those with a reform orientation and those favoring more radical approaches. Reform organizations tended to be more bureaucratically structured, with designated leaders holding appointed offices. The goals of these organizations were usually various political reforms. The leaders were generally expected to be spokespersons and to oversee the direction of the organization. The more radical branches of the movement utilized collective leadership, rotated leadership, or rejected the idea of leadership altogether. The goals of the radical branches included the creation of an alternative women’s culture through the development of independent women’s presses, recording companies,

bookstores, music festivals, and coffeehouses. Women involved in forming a viable alternative women's culture tended to use terms such as *organizer* or *cultural worker* rather than *leader*. Many of the organizations, both moderate and radical, created during the second wave still exist, and some aspects of the women's alternative culture have even been adopted by the mainstream culture.

### *Nonhierarchical Leadership*

One distinct form of leadership that emerged from the second wave of the women's movement was nonhierarchical leadership, which was embraced to varying extents by both moderate and radical groups. At least ideologically, this leadership style existed in the leftist organizations of the 1960s, in which many women had been involved before becoming involved in the women's movement. Nonhierarchical leadership runs counter to many common ideas and theories concerning leaders: The usual definition is that a nonhierarchical leader persuades others to become followers based on the leader's personal characteristics, such as a charismatic personality. The followers agree to give the leader authority and adopt the leader's vision.

The women's movement redefined leadership because of the feminist conception of power. For women fighting male domination, the concept of having power over another person was unacceptable. Therefore, rather than seeking power over others, the leaders of the women's movement wanted to empower one another to share leadership. Consciousness-raising (CR) groups of the 1960s and 1970s fostered this type of collective sharing of leadership. Because the purpose of CR groups was to share personal feelings, no woman was felt to be able to speak for another woman. The CR groups became a model of shared leadership. The absence of formal leadership was not without its detractors, however, who argued that the lack of structure made it possible for women who were more outgoing or more opinionated to dominate, despite the ideal of power sharing.

The nonhierarchical, shared leadership style of the women's movement has influenced other organ-

izations, including those in the business world, which have begun to move away from the idea of a single, charismatic leader who issues top-down directives and toward a less hierarchical model, as exemplified by concepts such as team leadership.

### *Media Representation of the Second Wave*

Few women would claim to be leaders of a group within the women's movement, let alone the entire women's movement. But this lack of a single leader have been hard for those outside the women's movement to accept. The mainstream media in particular have pressured organizations within the movement to produce a leader; when they don't, the media will designate someone as leader. In the United States, several women have been dubbed the leaders of the women's movement by the media, and the media has relied on them to speak for the movement. This was useful for furthering the movement's causes, but it also distorted the idea of leadership in the movement.

Gloria Steinem (b. 1934) is one the most prominent media spokespersons for the women's movement in the United States. She is the cofounder and first editor of *Ms.*, a national feminist magazine that began publication in 1972. Throughout the 1970s, Steinem joined the lawyer Florynce (Flo) Kennedy (1916–2000) on the lecture circuit. Flo Kennedy was a feminist and civil rights activist known for her outspoken style and coalition building. In 1971, she founded the Feminist Party, which nominated the first African-American congresswoman, Shirley Chisholm (b. 1924), for president. In 1973, Kennedy cofounded the National Black Feminist Organization. Other visible spokespersons for the women's movement include Betty Friedan (b. 1921), who wrote *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), a book that described the dilemma of the middle-class housewife. Friedan was one of the founders and the first president of the National Organization for Women (NOW), an organization of feminist activists founded in 1966. Bella Abzug (1920–1998) was a feminist congresswoman who cofounded the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) in 1990. Eleanor Smeal (b. 1939) became president of NOW during the second-wave

fight for the slightly reworded Equal Rights Amendment of 1923; Smeal remains a spokesperson and lobbyist for NOW and cofounded the Feminist Majority Foundation in 1987.

### *Divisions and Challenges in Leadership of the Women's Movement in the United States*

The development of “media stars” created a rift in viewpoints about feminist leadership. Prominent feminists were highly criticized by others in the movement for taking on such leadership roles, which were seen as self-serving “power trips.” That strong criticism led some women to withhold their skills and abilities and to downplay any charismatic tendencies so as not to appear to be taking on leadership roles. It also resulted in a counter critique, as some designated leaders felt that “trashing”—the slang term used for criticizing women for taking leadership roles—was creating weakness within the movement.

The fact that most of the well-known feminists in the United States were white and middle-class led to a sometimes divisive and misinformed view of the leadership, goals, and demography of the women's movement. Actual racism and classism encountered within the women's movement was also problematic. However, women of color such as Gloria Anzaldúa (b. 1942) and Cherríe Moraga (b. 1952), both Chicana feminists, and Barbara Smith (b. 1946), an African-American feminist, challenged the women's movement to expand its analysis to include the intersection of race, class, and gender. Because of the ongoing work of these and other women of color, awareness was raised, resulting in more diverse theory and practice within the women's movement.

Another divisive leadership issue that occurred early in the second wave was reaction to the increasing visibility of lesbians as leaders within the women's movement. Afraid that the visible presence of lesbians would discredit the movement, during the early 1970s, the National Organization for Women disavowed lesbians within the organization and the movement, labeling them “The Lavender Menace.” This in turn mobilized lesbian feminist leaders to organize for lesbian rights within the

women's movement and the larger culture. This challenge in the long run encouraged the leaders of NOW to become more inclusive of women regardless of their sexual orientation.

### *International Scope*

During the second wave, the women's movement grew internationally. Several important forums and organizations served as a way for feminists to create worldwide coalitions. Perhaps the most visible forums for women worldwide have been the official UN world conferences and the parallel conferences for nongovernmental organizations. The first UN conference for women was the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held in Mexico City in 1975. Following this in 1980, the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women was held in Copenhagen, Denmark. The World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the UN Decade of Women was held in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1985. Some of the early international issues concerning women were equal rights, property gains, gains in political and economic power, violence against women, recognition of the importance of unpaid work, and improvements in paid work for women. The Fourth World Conference on Women was held in Beijing, China in 1995. More than 30,000 women from more than 180 countries took part in the Beijing conference, and women leaders developed the Platform for Action, arrived at by consensus over twelve days of negotiations, that addressed concerns of women worldwide. Women leaders from nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) organized independent conferences to be held simultaneously. The NGO forums were important because they were more inclusive than the delegations sent by nations to the official UN conference. The Beijing conference was the largest gathering of women in history thus far.

At present, women from around the world who are fighting for human rights, environmental concerns, land use, and sovereignty rights have become influential leaders in the international women's movement and in their own nations. These women are pressing the international women's movement to

adopt priorities that go beyond individual rights and the agendas of developed countries. In much of the world, women are involved in agriculture or are low-paid factory workers and therefore directly affected by development efforts and globalization. At Beijing, Vandana Shiva, scientist, author, ecofeminist, and founder of the Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology, spoke on gender justice and development issues. Winona LaDuke, co-chair and one of the founders of the Indigenous Women's Network, presented concerns over land stewardship and sovereignty rights. Human rights, land, and the environment have become important issues for the women's movement.

### THE THIRD WAVE AND THE FUTURE OF FEMINISM

As the second wave continued to organize, the daughters of second-wave feminists and a generation of younger women emerged to form a new perspective of feminism that they describe as the "third wave" of the women's movement. In the United States, most third-wave feminist leaders have grown up with the gains achieved by members of the second wave and have been exposed to feminist ideas, organizations, and culture growing up. The establishment of women's studies departments on university campuses during the second wave has meant that there is now a cohort of young women and men who have been taught the theories of the women's movement in the classroom. Curricula at the primary and secondary level have changed as well, with today's young students being exposed to women leaders throughout history. Within the third wave of feminism, there is a shift in attitude about leadership that is evident in the development of formal leadership



### "Ain't I a Woman?": Sojourner Truth's Speech Delivered at the Women's Rights Convention in Akron, Ohio in December 1851

Well, children, where there is so much racket there must be something out of kilter. I think that 'twixt the negroes of the South and the women at the North, all talking about rights, the white men will be in a fix pretty soon. But what's all this here talking about?

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

Then they talk about this thing in the head; what's this they call it? [member of audience whispers, "intellect"] That's it, honey. What's that got to do with women's rights or negroes' rights? If my cup won't hold but a pint, and yours holds a quart, wouldn't you be mean not to let me have my little half measure full?

Then that little man in black there, he says women can't have as much rights as men, 'cause Christ wasn't a woman! Where did your Christ come from? Where did your Christ come from? From God and a woman! Man had nothing to do with Him.

If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn the world upside down all alone, these women together ought to be able to turn it back, and get it right side up again! And now they is asking to do it, the men better let them.

Obliged to you for hearing me, and now old Sojourner ain't got nothing more to say.

training. The Feminist Majority Foundation began offering a feminist leader campus program in 1994. Currently the Feminist Majority Leadership Alliances are student-run campus groups that focus on issues as diverse as body image and international feminism. They receive guidance from campus organizers, information online regarding starting and maintaining a group, and specific leadership skills such as public speaking and dealing with the press. In turn, one of their programs of outreach to the community is to mentor high school girls. The Third Wave Foundation is an organization that is run by girls and women from ages fifteen to thirty and offers support and grants for young women organizers. The foundation emphasizes coalition building, as

evidenced in their program Reaching Out Across Movements (ROAM). This organization was cofounded in 1995 by Rebecca Walker, Amy Richards, Catherine Gund, and Dawn Lundy Martin.

Besides the benefit of formal training in leadership and early exposure to feminist ideas, third-wave feminists also have access to new forms of communication, such as the Internet, which they can use for organizing. Third-wave feminists have distributed their messages through music, events, and publications including independent magazines online and in print usually referred to as “zines.” While they forge a twenty-first-century vision of feminism, with new theories and methods of action, they are also involved in protecting some of the rights that they grew up with, such as reproductive freedom. The leaders of the third wave of the women’s movement are currently shaping the future through their words and actions and continuing the fight for women’s rights.

—Diane Rodgers

**See also** Anthony, Susan B.; Birth Control; Body Shop, The; Brighton Declaration; Friedan, Betty; Goldman, Emma; Green Parties; King, Billie Jean; Mead, Margaret; Patriarchy; Roosevelt, Eleanor; Sanger, Margaret; Wells-Barnett, Ida B.; Winfrey, Oprah; Women and Business Leadership; Women and Political Leadership; Women and Social Change Leadership; Women’s Olympics; Women’s Suffrage

### Further Reading

- Ashby, R., & Gore Ohrn, D. (Eds.). (1995). *Herstory: Women who changed the world*. New York: Viking.
- Baumgardner, J., & Richards, A. (2000). *Manifesta: Young women, feminism, and the future*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Bunch, C. (1987). *Passionate politics: Feminist theory in action*. New York: St. Martin’s Press.
- Daley, C., & Nolan, M. (1994). *Suffrage and beyond: International feminist perspectives*. New York: New York University Press.
- D’Itri, P. W. (1999). *Cross currents in the international women’s movement, 1848–1948*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press.
- Ferguson, K. (1984). *The feminist case against bureaucracy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Ferree, M. M., & Martin, P. Y. (Eds.). (1995). *Feminist organizations: Harvest of the new women’s movement*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Hall, R. H. (1999). *Organizations: Structures, processes, and outcomes*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Hanlon, G. (1997). *Voicing power: Conversations with visionary women*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Kennedy, F. (1976). *Color me Flo: My hard life and good times*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Kirk, G., & Okazawa-Rey, M. (1998). *Women’s lives: Multicultural perspectives*. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield.
- Koedt, A., Levine, E., & Rapone, A. (Eds.). (1973). *Radical feminism*. New York: Quadrangle Books.
- Moraga, C., & Anzaldúa, G. (1981). *This bridge called my back*. Watertown, MA: Persephone Press.
- Radford-Hill, S. (2000). *Further to fly: Black women and the politics of empowerment*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minneapolis Press.
- Rejai, M., & Phillips, K. (1997). *Leaders and leadership: An appraisal of theory and research*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Scanlon, J. (Ed.). (1999). *Significant contemporary American feminists: A biographical sourcebook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Shaarawi, H. (1986). *Harem years: The memoirs of an Egyptian feminist* (M. Badran, Ed. & Trans.). New York: Feminist Press of the City University of New York.
- Shiva, V. (Ed.). (1994). *Close to home: Women reconnect ecology, health and development worldwide*. Philadelphia: New Society.
- Smith, B. (Ed.). (1983). *Home girls: A black feminist anthology*. New York: Kitchen Table Press.
- United Nations. (1976). *Report of the World Conference of the International Women’s Year, Mexico City, 19 June–2 July 1975*. New York: Author.
- United Nations. (1980). *Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development, and Peace: Copenhagen, 14–30 July 1980*. New York: Author.
- United Nations. (1986). *Report of the World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development, and Peace, Nairobi, 15–16 July 1985*. New York: Author.
- United Nations. (1995). *The United Nations and the Advancements of Women, 1945–1995*. New York: Author.
- United Nations. (1996). *The Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action: Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, China 4–15 September 1995*. New York: Author.
- Walker, R. (Ed.). (1995). *To be real: Telling the truth and changing the face of feminism*. New York: Anchor Books.

## WOMEN'S OLYMPICS

Ralph Waldo Emerson asserted that every institution is the lengthened shadow of a great man. If one substitutes “woman” for “man,” Emerson’s assertion holds true for Alice Million Milliat (1884–1957) and the Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale