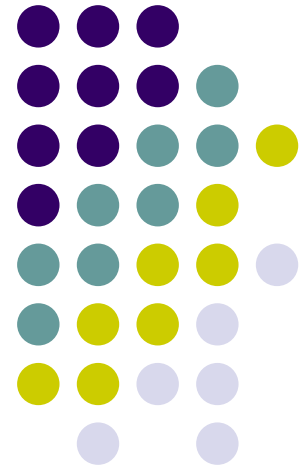
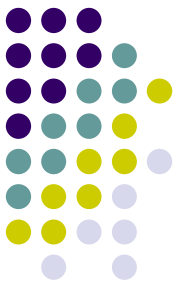


# Women of Color in the Feminist Movement: An Invisible Subgroup?

By: Carolyn Friend





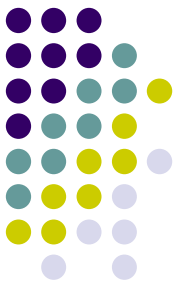
# Problem

- Do women of color have a strong presence in the feminist movement ?
- How did feminist organizations for women of color take off ? Are there connections between their rise and the rise of general feminist and general women's organizations?
- Does there seem to be a connection to historical events and other social movements?

# Theories and Hypotheses



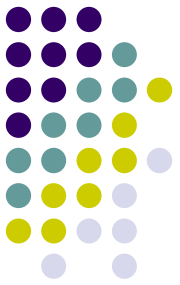
- Organization dynamic model: growing density of civil rights organizations promoted women's activism and organizational activity. (Minkoff 1997)
- Most ethnic/racial minority rights struggles spawn separate women's movement (Garcia 1989)
- There should be a steady increase in cumulative women's organizations from 1848 with sharper increase in the late 1960s.



# Hypotheses

- Organizations for women of color are out there, but they don't have the bodies and \$ to be as strong as general feminist organizations.
- Due to institutional racism and the whiteness of mainstream feminism, organizations for women of color struggle to catch on.

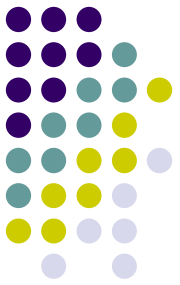
# Background on Feminist Movement



- Feminist movement- industrialization, urbanization, displacement of female functions out of the home, further education, changing values of women
- 1830-1865: Women wanted to get involved in *abolitionist movement* but couldn't because they weren't allowed to speak in public

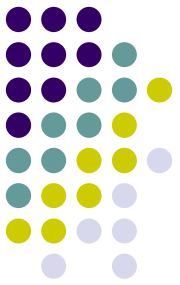
(Freeman 1975)

# Background



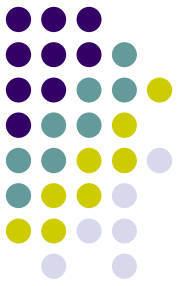
- First Wave of feminism- centered around *women's suffrage movement* (1890-1920)
  - “like White men, many White women wanted the power of the vote—exclusively for themselves.”  
(Taylor 1998, 237)
  - African American women were pushed out by white suffragists but still remained active in the start-up of the civil rights movement

# Background



- Second Wave of feminism- centered around *women's liberation movement*: mid 1960s-70s
  - Kick started by *civil rights movement*: 1954-1965 (Taylor 1998, 239)
  - “frustration with the contradictions between progressive politics and practice led [women of the civil rights movement] to organize independently against male-dominated institutions” (Minkoff 1997, 783)

# Second Wave & Women of Color



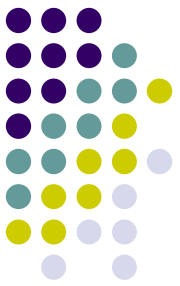
- 1966- National Organization for Women is founded by Betty Friedan, Aileen Hernandez, and Pauli Murray (Taylor 1998, 242)
  - Portions of NOW were modeled after NAACP
  - In 1974 10% of NOW members were of color
- Prior to 1973 black women's groups dealt with problems in the black community.

Black Women Organized for Action

National Black Feminist Organization

(Freeman 1975)

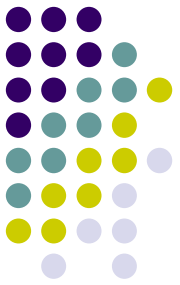




# Black Feminist Organizing

- 1973- NBFO held their first conference and were very particular about the attendees
- Worked to change beliefs that feminism was only advantageous to white women
- Pressured NOW to include issues of women of color and poor white women
- Most influential group in the struggle were lesbians

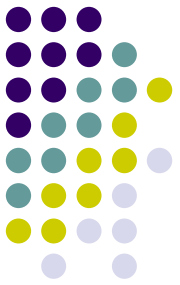
(Taylor 1998)



# After the protests...

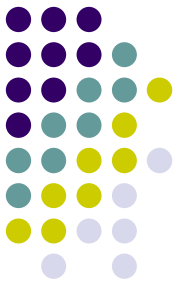
- Late 1970s: sharp increase in density of organizations
  - Mass membership associations
  - Specialized groups
  - Single-issue groups
  - Traditional women's groups
- “Unobtrusive” mobilization (Katzenstein 1990)

(Minkoff 1997)



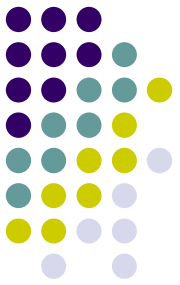
# Methods

- Associations Unlimited
  - Subject descriptor “women” & “feminism”
  - Only national organizations
  - 627 total
    - 362 feminist
    - 58 women of color
  - Coded for founding date, staff size, budget, what racial group the org focused on, and whether or not the org was feminist

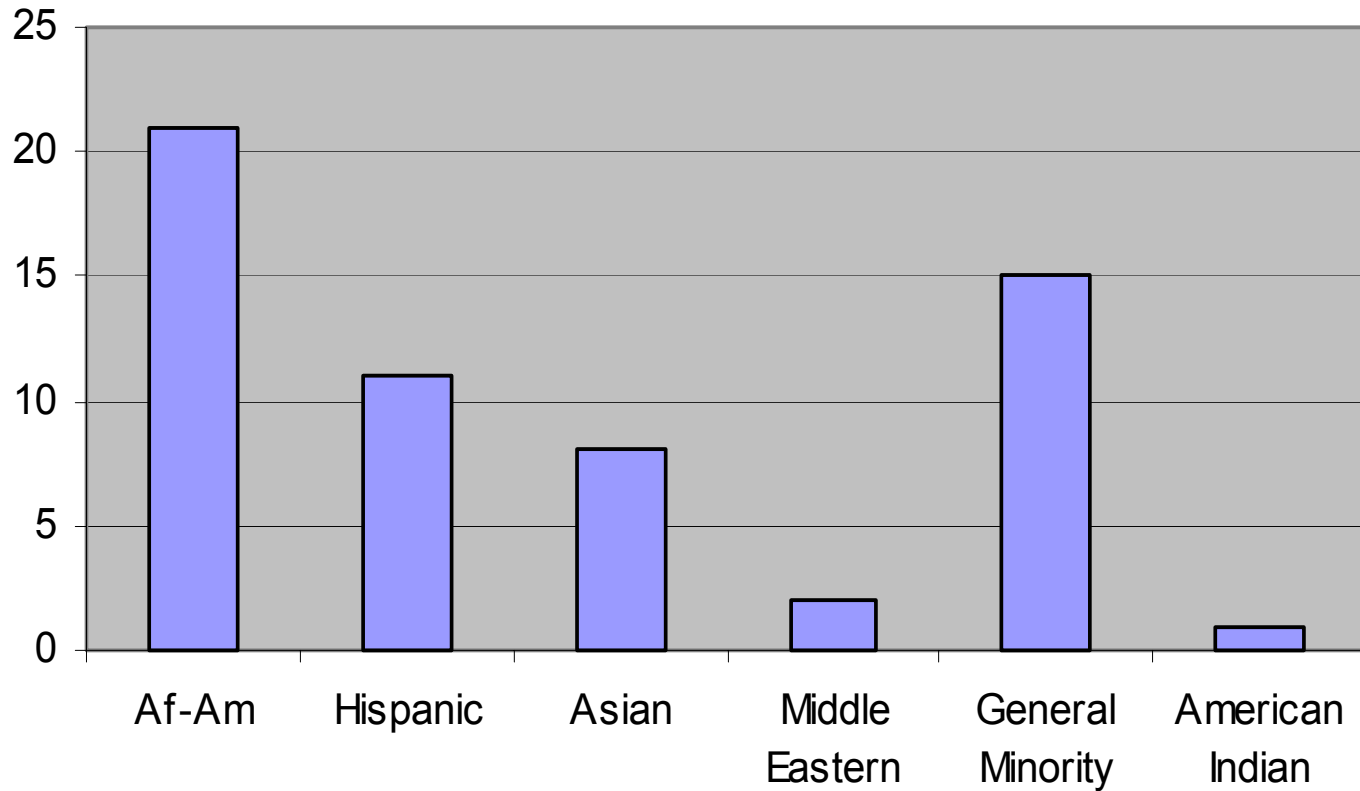


# Codebook

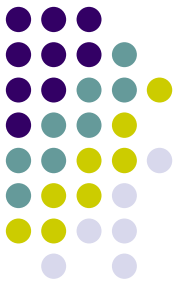
- 0=general feminist
- 1=Black
- 2=Hispanic
- 3=Asian
- 4=Middle Eastern
- 6=general minority focus
- 7=American Indian
- Feminist: promotes equity; physical, mental and emotional wellbeing; integrate into church; women's health policy; advocacy



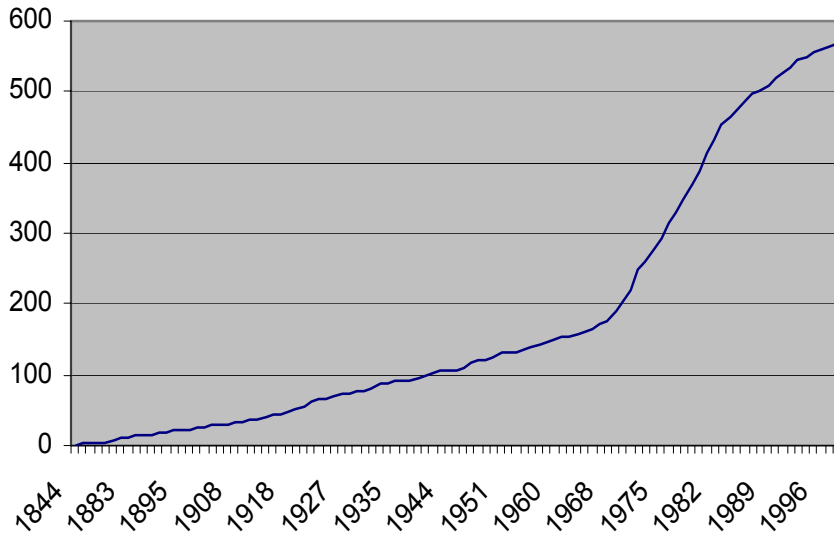
## Minority Focus Women's Organizations



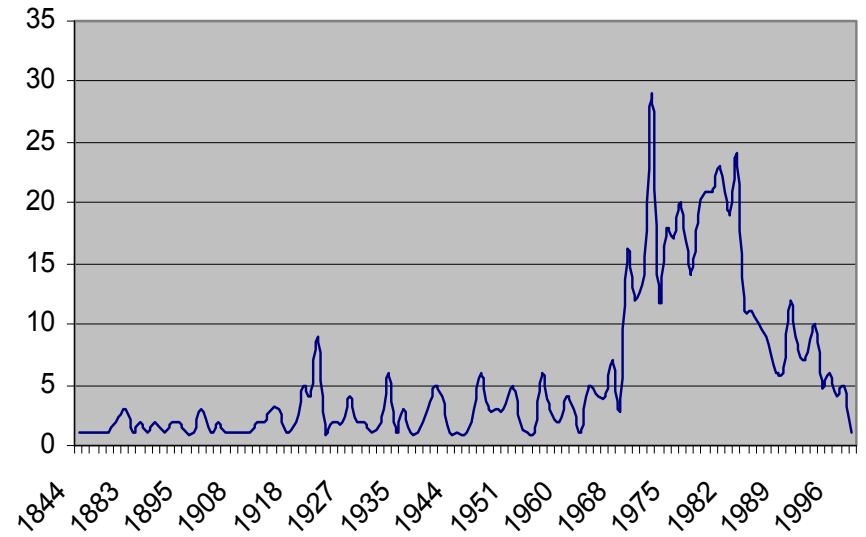
# All Women's Groups: N=566



Cumulative Women's Groups

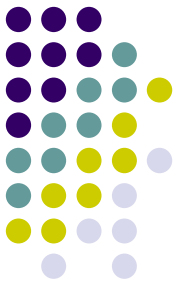


Women's Group Foundings

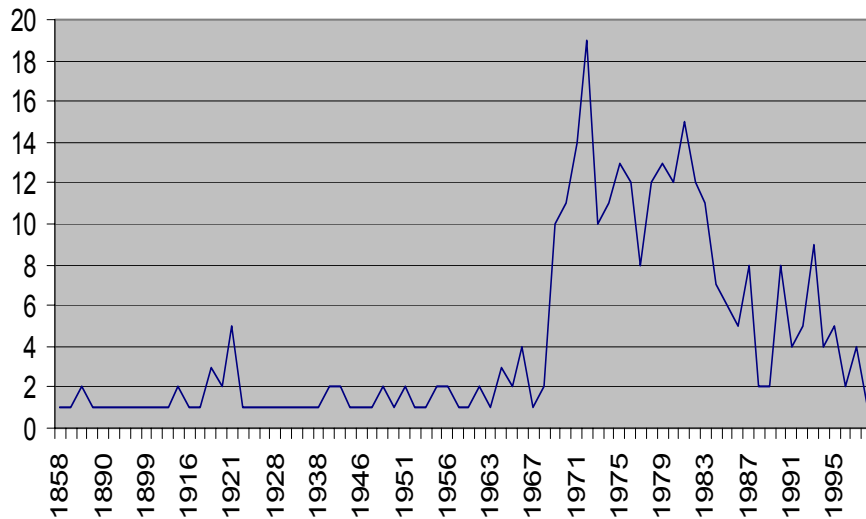


# General Feminist: N=324

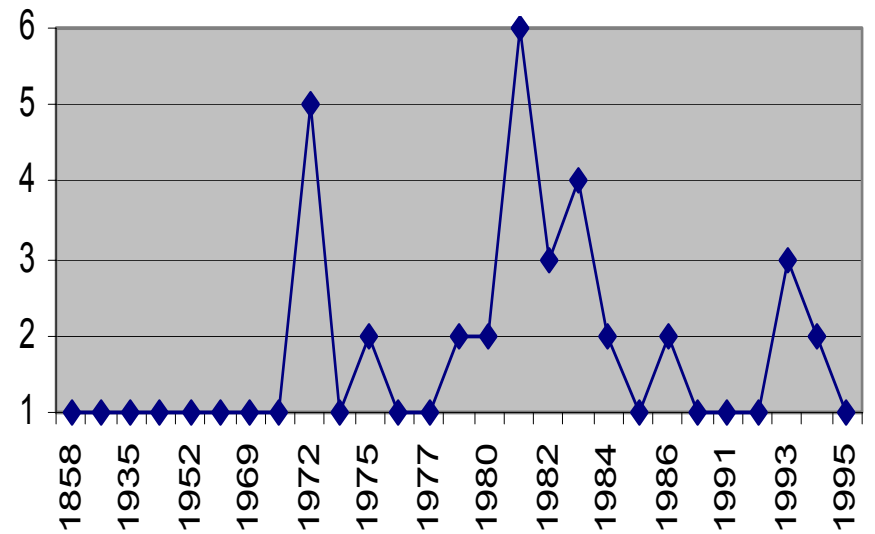
## Women of Color: N=49

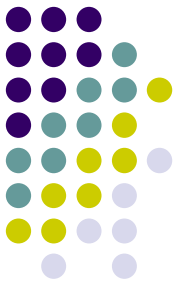


Feminist Foundings



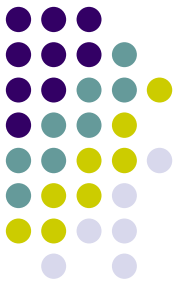
Women of Color Foundings



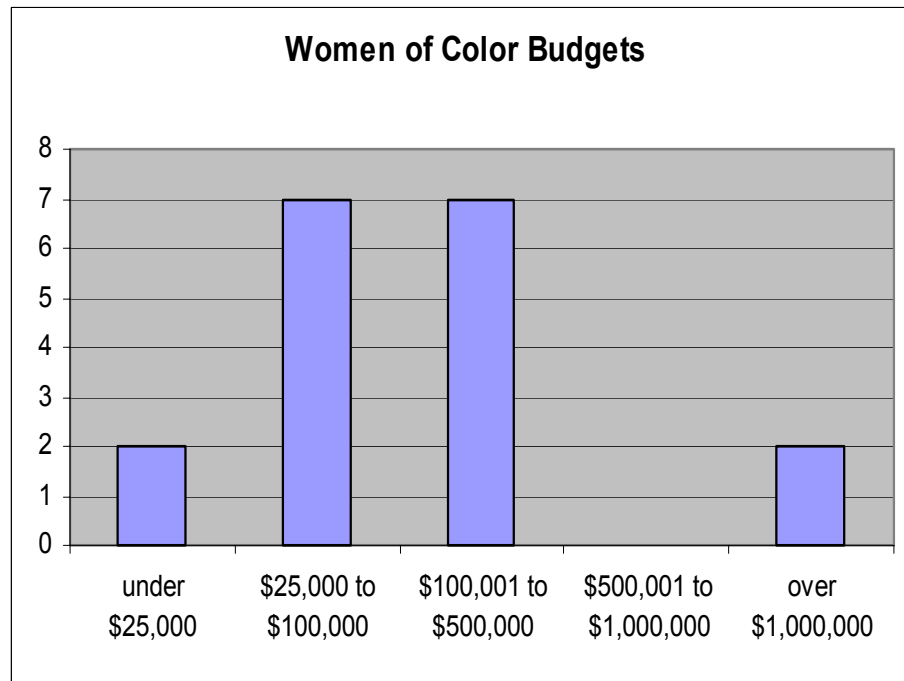
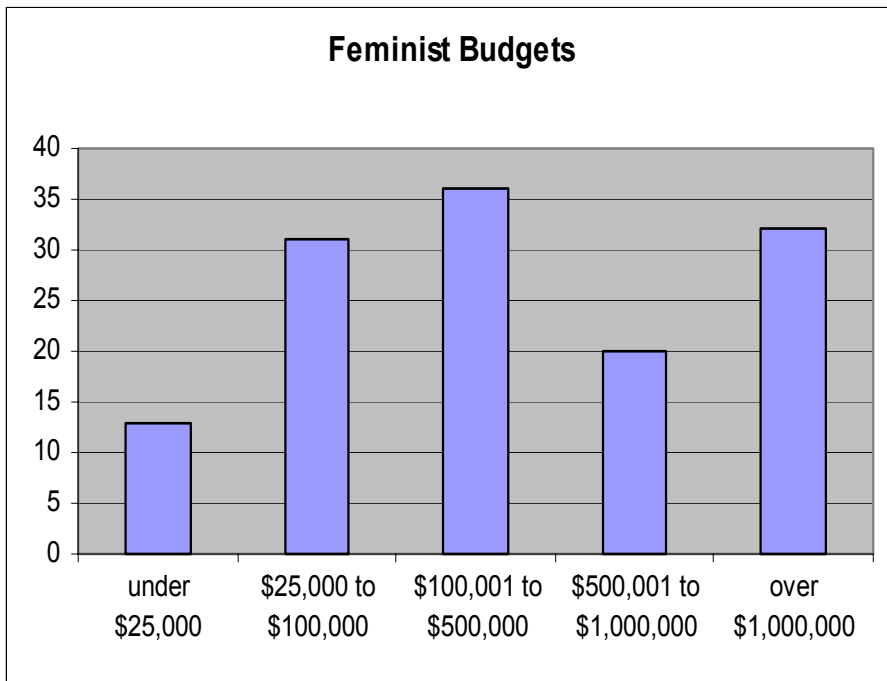
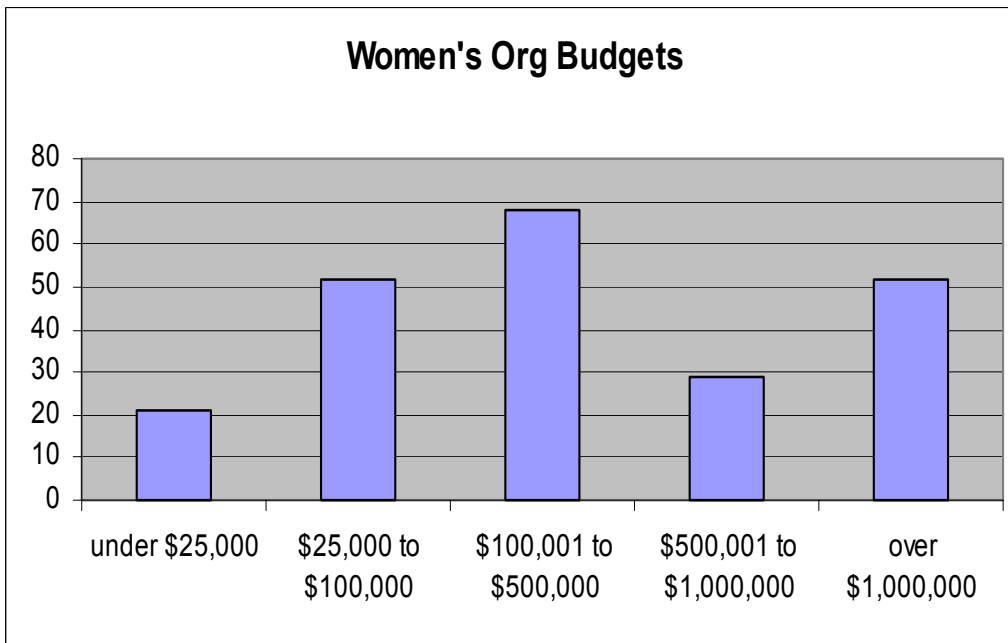


	Aggregated Budget	Aggregated Staff Size
Entire Sample	\$434,482,143.00	4,746
Feminist	\$203,403,556.00	2,564
Non-Feminist	\$231,078,587.00	2,182
Women of Color	\$14,788,230.00	237

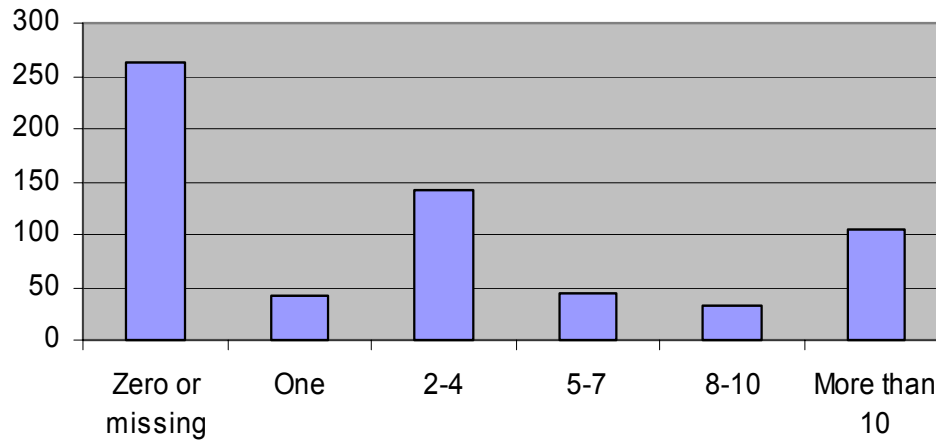




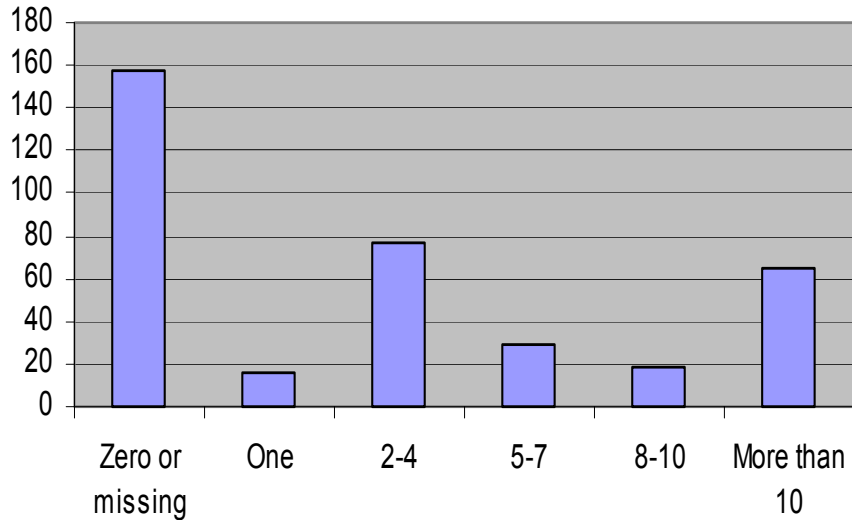
- Feminist Organizations
  - 47% of aggregated budget
  - 54% of aggregated staff
  - Average Org: \$562,000; 7 staff members
- Women of Color Organizations
  - 3.4% of aggregated budget
  - 5% of aggregated staff
  - Average Org: \$255,000; 4 staff members



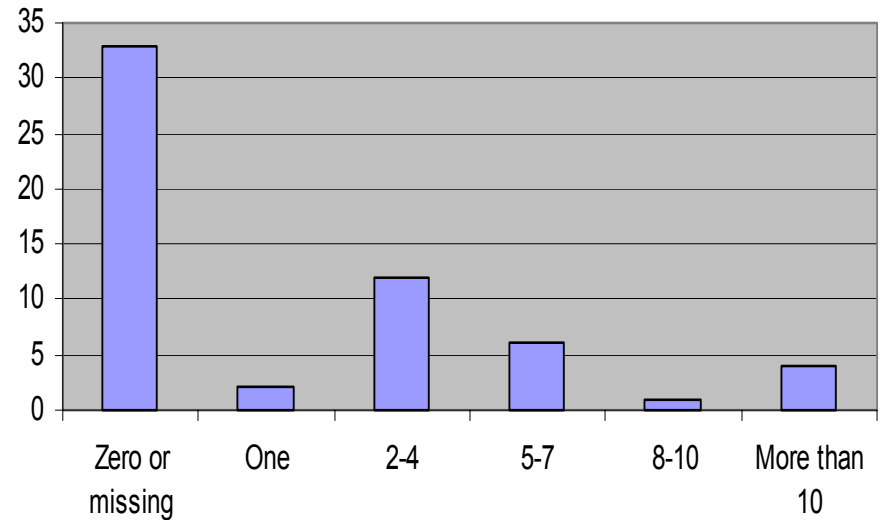
### Staff Sizes, Women's Organizations

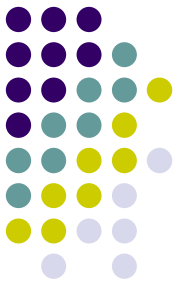


### Staff Sizes, Feminist



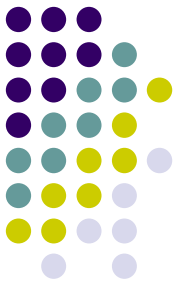
### Staff Sizes, Women of Color





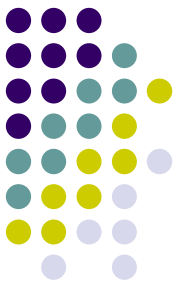
# Analysis part 2

- Chose around 15 large women of color organizations to profile
- Encyclopedia of Associations – every 5 years (1970-present)
  - Membership
  - Staff
  - Budget
  - Issues
- Goal was to see how issues changed over the course of the organizations history



# Why it didn't work

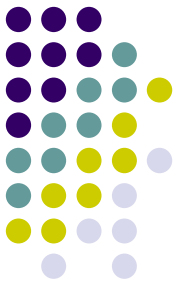
- Needed to work forward in time instead of backward
- High mortality rate of organizations when looking back
- Insanely time consuming
- Many entries that did show up in many editions also stayed exactly the same



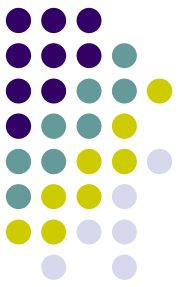
# Other Issues

- Founding black women's organizations aren't in the Encyclopedia so I wonder what else is missing
- I would have liked to do the same sort of analyses with civil rights organizations
- Out of all feminist organizations, 230 are missing budget information and 157 are missing staff information
- There is no research on this topic

# Interpretations



- All the literature backs up that the civil rights movement opened the door for the women's liberation movement. I couldn't separate them if I tried.
- Women's organizations do begin increasing in numbers after Seneca Falls
- Feminist organization foundings also seem linked to historical events- 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment, Civil Rights Act, founding of landmark organizations
- Organizations for women of color increase after the Second Wave of feminism begins. In response to racism within the movement?

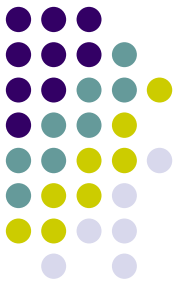


# Further Interpretations

- It appears that women of color organizations do actually have the staff to keep the orgs running, they just lack funding
  - Women of color are less likely to have the time and \$ to devote to worrying about social issues (Freeman 1975)
  - Donors tend to be wealthy whites (Ostrander 1999)
- Since my part 2 analyses didn't quite work it is obviously that women of color organizations do struggle to keep going

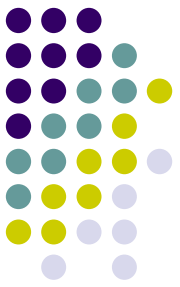


# Conclusions



- Feminism is a very white movement
- Organizations for women of color are out there, they follow similar patterns to general feminist organizations, but they encounter more roadblocks
- It would be very interesting to trace how major feminist organizations issues have changed.
  - Perhaps issues concerning women of color have been incorporated more recently? Hence the mortality of many organizations.

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