Troubling Herstory

Unsettling White Multiculturalism in Canadian Feminism

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Cet article examine deux documents publiés par le Comité national d'action sur le statut de la femme (CNA) (National Action Committee for the Status of Women) à son zénith, sur les luttes anti- racistes au début des années 1990. Quand on compare l'histoire officielle du CNA avec un texte féministe anti-raciste on remarque à quel point le multiculturalisme blanc inclusivement recentré sur un féminisme blanc, fait autorité. Cette réaction d'un féminisme blanc à l'anti-racisme reste dominant et continue d'entacher l'histoire des hiérarchies raciales-nationales du CNA.

The consolidation of an anti-racist feminist movement during the late 1980s and early 1990s marks a pivotal turning point in the history of Canadian feminism. The National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) was a key site of intense institutional struggle over racism in the women's movement during this period, and was ultimately transformed by it. This "dramatic shift" (Gottlieb 377) in NAC can be broadly mapped out as a decade of effective mobilization led by feminists of colour. A "real groundswell" (NAC 1985) emerged in the mid-1980s and resulted in the creation of a Visible Minority and Immigrant Women Committee (1986). Winning this space for institutionalizing anti-racism inside NAC was crucial for making permanent gains, particularly as it was followed by several years of organizing by "strong women of Colour caucuses" (Gottlieb et al. 374). By 1996, with the highly successful NAC-CLC Women's March Against Poverty, it was clear that the "real push from within by anti-racist feminists" had resulted in unprecedented political and organizational changes (Robertson 313). NAC had elected its first feminist of colour President (after two decades of white feminist leadership), it was operating within a new anti-racist mandate, and had an affirmative action policy which ensured strong representation in the leadership by racialized women. Perhaps most importantly, NAC's agenda now reflected priorities defined by women of colour, from the membership through to the Executive, in a political culture committed to building grassroots alliances.[1]

Despite its significance as one of the most transformative organizational struggles over racism in the post-1960s women's movement in Canada, this piece of NAC's history has yet to be written. In part this reflects the need for more research to build on the important but sparse documentary record of the period (Armstrong; Gottlieb; Nadeau 2005, Rebick and Roach; Robertson et al.; Stasiulis). More research, however, will not necessarily translate into a practice of rewriting and excavating the recent history of feminism from an anti-racist perspective" (Wright cited in Srivastava and Nadeau 22). Achieving this will require a corresponding critical assessment of the white feminist narrative frames and conventions that dominate the field.[2] As others have noted, rewriting women's history "entails returning to, and revising, earlier feminist scholarship" (Carter, Erickson, Roome and Smith 47). This applies equally to rewriting the history of the women's movement through critical race analysis. A particularly difficult obstacle in the story of NAC is the long-standing reliance on hegemonic national frameworks and premises which reinforce the "underlying norm of Anglo-Canadianness in the feminist movement's political culture" (Lee and Cardinal 225). While this critique is not new, a general failure to engage with it has sustained the hegemony of white multiculturalist narratives in NAC and more broadly in Canadian feminism.

Towards such an engagement, this paper analyses two documents written at the cusp of NAC's shift into anti-racism (Molgat; NAC 1992b). Revisiting these texts permits an examination of the subtle, yet persistent, tendency of white multiculturalist narratives to substitute for anti-racist histories of the Canadian women's movement. I draw particular attention to the erasures and conflations that often emerge when "the lines between multiculturalism and anti-racism are blurred" (Srivastava 293). This is a necessary step towards re-centring the historiography of

NAC through anti-colonial and critical race analysis of social movements, nations and nationalisms.

A Tale of Two Stories: White Multiculturalism Meets Anti-racism

In 1992 NAC produced two uniquely herstorical documents in the months leading up to its twentieth anniversary celebrations. One text, '*An Action that Will Not Be Allowed to Subside': NAC's First Twenty Years,* was commissioned by the Executive as a "short, celebratory history" for the occasion (NAC 1992a). It became the organization's first and most "encompassing outline of NAC's story" (Molgat 1992:1). The other text, *Fighting Racism,* became the theme issue of the twentieth anniversary edition of NAC's in-house publication *Feminist Action Feministe* (NAC 1992b). A groundbreaking Issue, it was the first in the organization's history to focus entirely on racism in the women's movement and organizing by women of colour.

Both documents shared similar origins in that each was supported by the Executive in conjunction with twentieth anniversary events. Ultimately however, each followed a very different trajectory. While *Fighting Racism* fell into obscurity, the "little history for the AGM" (NAC 1992c) was elevated to the status of the organization's authorized or official history. It was updated five years later and posted on NAC's website as its "Herstory" and remains there to this day (also linked to Wikipedia).

Understood in its historical context, this outcome is consistent with the fact that "a clear anti-racist stance" (Gottlieb: 372) was still nascent in NAC. While Executive members at the time saw a "noticeable shift" in the organization's structure and a "change in consciousness" (Gottlieb 377), some also saw NAC as "working towards inclusiveness" but often "still presenting a very white perspective" (Gottlieb 373). My analysis of the content and differential treatment of these two documents in NAC is instructive for illuminating this struggle to build a language and politics of anti-racism within a mainstream feminist organization. It is also relevant for displaying the politics of multiculturalism which continues to shape the historiography of NAC. Then and now, white multiculturalism operates as a narrative mechanism for "erasing race" (Jiwani), naturalizing and re-centring white feminism, and de-centring anti-racism in the story of Canadian feminism. By understanding narratives as "the stories we tell about ourselves" (Mackey 2), we can read these two documents as displaying contested racial-national identifications that cut across individual, collective and institutional contexts.

The remaining sections examine each document separately to show how these two texts are distinct responses to racism in feminism, with each having different analytical and political potential. First, I analyze NAC's authorized *Herstory* as illustrative of a white multiculturalist narrative. Despite multiple gestures to diversity and inclusivity, it is unable to narrate the history of racism and anti-racism that has defined NAC since its formative moment in the 1970s. In this sense, it mirrors official multiculturalism which, always and ultimately, displaces analyses of racism while reproducing the racial-national hierarchy of hegemonic white Canada within its narrative boundaries.[3] Second, I analyze *Fighting Racism* as illustrative of anti-racist feminist narratives. Through a critical race analysis, this counternarrative of feminism in Canada recentres anti-racist feminist movements and displaces normative white feminist foundations. The paper ends with a brief consideration of the updated portion of NAC *Herstory* (1997). Its ambivalent positioning in relation to the original document suggests further insights into both the reproduction and critique of white multiculturalist feminism.

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NAC *Herstory* as White Feminist Multiculturalism

Ghassan Hage's concept of white multiculturalism is useful for displaying the colonial and racial-national narrative practices evident in NAC's authorized Herstory. Emerging as dominant in the 1960s, multiculturalist discourse came to represent the idea of Canada as departing from the overtly racist and exclusionary nationalism that preceded it (i.e., Anglo-conformity). Naming this 'new' articulation *white* multiculturalism disrupts this misconception by highlighting the historical continuities. Hage shows how this current form of white nationalism also constructs a "White-centred conception of the nation" (23), and contains the nation's racialized Others as objects in narratives by white nationals who "construct themselves as spatially dominant" (48). In the case of white multiculturalism however, this is accomplished not primarily through overt racist exclusions but through identification with, and mobilization of, liberal-democratic discourses of national inclusivity and diversity.

In feminism as in national discourse, white multiculturalist normativity is thus a subtle exclusionary practice which is nonetheless pervasive in its effects. That is, it reproduces the normative racial-national hierarchy of "insider-outsider relations" (Bannerji) through the production of an unacknowledged "privileged norm" (Puwar 57) or "exalted subjects" (Thobani), ultimately stabilizing white Canadian feminism as a "hidden, Invisible Self group" (Day 129). As the following analysis reveals, this form of white hegemony has been difficult to detect and even harder to unsettle.

NAC`s authorized *Herstory* is organized chronologically as a storyline tracing the organization's first twenty-years.[4] The account of this "autonomous women's organization" (3) foregrounds NAC's first eleven Presidents as a device for chronicling collective achievements and struggles. It begins by mapping out a broadly conceived origin story, linking NAC's founding conference in Toronto (1972) to the earlier Royal Commission on the Status of Women (1970) and the work of its founding committee. This first half of the text focuses on the 1970s, providing both an introduction to NAC's main organizational features (the Executive and Presidents, newsletter, committees, staff, member groups, government funding, annual meetings and lobby), and some description of its feminist affiliations in the period (i.e., Quebec women, union women, aboriginal women, women of colour, immigrant women and women with disabilities). The motif of a "balancing act" between "conservative elements" and "radical elements" (3) is used to describe these early years, with NAC represented as sometimes exclusionary but generally "capable of containing a variety of feminists and feminisms within itself" (7). The second half of the text represents the next two decades, beginning with the early 1980s as a period of "internal conflicts" (9) followed by a "new era" (9) mid-decade in which NAC had emerged as more organizationally sound, with a broader profile on the national stage and rapid expansion. The 1980s ends with more internal tumult, but also with an organizational review process to resolve it. The 1990s is marked off as a time where NAC suffers cutbacks from government funding but also a renewed sense of political cohesion under the banner of "regionalization and diversity" (12).

In many ways, the document is comprehensive in covering prominent figures, key events, internal conflicts, organizational struggles and changes over time. Its author also tried to be transparent about its limits by highlighting, in particular, the "spotty and incomplete" (1) archival record. Specific concerns were raised about how this produced "absences" in the stories of "women of colour, of immigrant women, of women with disabilities, of poor women, and of lesbians" (2). As a future corrective, the original version invited additional stories or alternate versions. Despite the clear and explicit desire to "capture the complexity and diversity" of NAC's history (1) the account is troubling. While its internal critique reveals efforts taken to remedy these exclusionary effects, other contradictions remained unnoted and intact.

These silences are analyzed below as an expected outcome of a text shaped significantly by a logic of white multiculturalism. Three dominant narrative practices in the text illustrate the concrete operation of this logic, and show how it reproduces an implicit centring of white feminism. This analysis is thus aimed at highlighting the text's misplaced emphasis on fixing *exclusions* (i.e., archival gaps), arguing instead that the core problem resides in the unrecognized "differentiated inclusion" (Puwar 2004:58) of NAC's white feminist political culture and history as the text's normative centre.

"Unity in Diversity": Producing NAC's Founding Myth

Thematically the text is organized around white multiculturalism's framing myth, "unity in diversity." NAC's history is represented as reflecting these two overlapping ideals, each of which is narrated as a founding trait. From its beginnings then, NAC is represented as marked predominantly by unity in the form of "cooperation" and "cohesion." It is claimed that "NAC's early years were reasonably harmonious" (7), with disunity noted but treated as a relatively minor matter:

> Questions of representation remained, to be sure. While many women were, or felt themselves to be, excluded, there was an *impressive cohesion*. (7, my emphasis)

Diversity is also claimed as a founding and enduring organizational trait:

> Though not representative of the *diversity* of the women's movement as we know it today, the *diversity* of the Strategy for Change conference *set the tone* for the National Action Committee. (3, my emphasis).

NAC's founding conference, most notably, is celebrated as a moment of diversity which is claimed to have "set the tone" for ongoing cohesion. This is highlighted by noting political and generational diversity as a "union of the 'jeans and suits'" (3) and identifying national, racial and class diversity as "a strong delegation from Quebec," "a number of aboriginal women from across the country" and "labour women" (4).

While the text acknowledges that the conference organizers regretted "the underrepresentation of some groups of women" (4), it does not recognize the equally salient story of systematic over-representation of white middle-class feminist dominance. While the attendance of a relatively "diverse group by race, age and class" (Ritchie cited in Rebick 30) is not in dispute, it has long been acknowledged that Strategy for Change also included

"a preponderance of white women. This was a Liberal conference with a Liberal agenda, so there were many bureaucrats" (ibid, 30-1). Missing from this herstory is an account of white feminism in NAC as a founding hegemonic racial formation, mediated through class (but also cutting across class), which persisted well into the 1980s (Rebick and Roach).

Claims to unity become more complicated if this disproportionate white presence is acknowledged. While liberal feminist participation is noted, its position of racial-national and class dominance is not. Moreover, as in sent is any reference to white feminism, or an equivalent recognition of racial dominance in NAC.

In failing to name racism and white hegemony, the text renders these central ordering power relations in NAC invisible and is made void of a language for critical race analysis. Instead, a multiculturalist vocabulary functions as codes for the national organization's racially minoritized Others (and other marginalized groups). Racialized women are thus addressed either as "underrepresented" categories (women of colour, Aboriginal women, immigrant women) or, in the few instances when named individually, as rep-

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Canada's mosaic metaphor, it is neutralized by treating it as one part amongst equals in a diverse group. By overemphasizing diversity, and assuming a largely unified (if incomplete) whole, systemic power relations are erased. In its place NAC's herstory is told as a narrative of progressive inclusivity. Namely, instances of expanding diversity over time are foregrounded as implicit achievements of unity evolving from "the tone" created at its founding moment. Moments of expanding diversity of groups in NAC thus appear self-evident, and indeed are described but not explained (e.g., National Congress of Black Women). In this manner, moments of inclusivity appear as autonomous developments disconnected from the context of broader struggles. Anti-racist feminism is thus not named in the narrative, nor is it examined as a distinct and challenging social movement.

Failing to account for white feminism's dominant presence thus mythologizes NAC as inherently cooperative and diverse, rendering its founding moment as largely innocent of racial hegemony. This implicitly denies NAC's herstory of racism and anti-racist movement. Indeed, as a struggle that fundamentally challenged the myth of unity in NAC, anti-racist feminism simply cannot be told on these terms.

Erasing Racism and the Politics of Containment: What's in a Naming?

White multiculturalism also sanitizes national stories by erasing racism from the narrative and replacing it with a language of "diversity" and "inclusivity" discussed above (Mackey). This erasure is a pronounced feature of the NAC *Herstory* document, particularly in its original version (1992). Indeed, the word "racism" only appears once—in the last paragraph on the second last page (12). Also absentative of a racial group in NAC. Of the 31 individuals named in the text only seven are women of colour, each only named once (with the exception of Mary Two Axe Earley), and all contained within two paragraphs (pages 5 and 7). Earley and three other aboriginal feminists from the 1970s, for example, are largely particularized around activism challenging injustices to "native women by the *Indian Act*" (5).

Whiteness, on the other hand, is not (and cannot be) treated as a racial category here because it is never named as such. White feminism is thus rendered "invisible, unmarked, undeclared" (Puwar 8). White feminists are instead disproportionately individualized and written in to the text as the core, universal agents of NAC's history. At least two-thirds of individually named feminists are white (but are racially unmarked). Moreover, these names are integrated throughout the text, and several appear multiple times. Laura Sabia, for example, is not identified as a key figure in NAC's formative white feminist cohort, but rather, appears variously in the text as "founding mother" (2) and "NAC President," and is noted for her general contribution to achieving a national feminist organization. By erasing racial hegemony, white feminists are naturalized as national subjects while racialized women are constituted as Other in a standard white multiculturalist racial geography.

De-racing Whiteness: Institutional Scripts as Ideological

The text's reliance on "institutional scripts that take specific types of bodies as the norm" (Puwar 88) further renders invisible the historical association between whiteness and the national feminist space (i.e., NAC). This is evident in the text's organization around a main storyline honouring NAC's first generation of Presidents as "Eleven

strong women" (1). This celebratory foregrounding of institutional positions of leadership has a profound influence on the text. Delinked from a language of racism, it obscures their place as representative of almost 15 years of white feminist leadership hegemony. On these terms, white feminism is narrated as the bearer of inclusivity, with moments of expanding diversity written as achievements of a particular white feminist presidency. The text notes, for example: "It was during Macpherson's term that the National Congress of Black Women joined NAC" (7), and that "Hosek's presidency saw the formation of a Visible Minority and Immigrant Women's Committee and Lesbian Issues Committee" (9).

Moreover, institutional scripts permit white feminist origin stories to occupy a disproportionate amount of narrative space, beginning with NAC's first decade as the focus for more than half of the text. This unexamined preoccupation with origins, particularly in combination with an emphasis on institutional scripts, inscribes whiteness as NAC's naturalized "generational heritage."[5] In remarking on iconic white feminist Doris Anderson's presidency, for example, it is noted (lamented?) that her "departure marked the end of an almost unbroken string of NAC presidents who had attended the Strategy for Change conference" (9). This emphasis on "the originals" (6) inscribes NAC's founding generation as white. This is amply apparent in the methodological decision to supplement the sparse archives by holding "conversations with some founders and past presidents" (1). Seven of these nine women were Presidents. Two-thirds of the group were active since the 1970s, two were active largely in the mid-1980s, and only one was associated with the '90s generation (13). While labour activists and Quebec feminists were represented in the interviews, aboriginal women and feminists of colour were not despite an explicit recognition of the need "to properly reflect the place of women of colour, of immigrant women" (2).

The above examples indicate that the troubles in this narrative are a product of the racial-national imaginary which is shaped by, and works within, the logic of white multiculturalism. This supports a story of the national feminist space narrated through de-raced white feminists and Otherized racial categories substituting for histories of racial hegemony and anti-racist feminist movements authored by feminists of colour.

Rewriting Inclusivity as Contested Unity: Anti-Racist Feminist Narratives of NAC

This white multiculturalist narrative of NAC's history has been contested as long as it has been written. Indeed, the roots of contemporary anti-racist feminist analyses were well-developed at the time of the original writing of NAC's *Herstory*, and existed as a viable narrative model for writing the women's movement. And yet, white multiculturalism dominated as the official strategy for narrating NAC after the dramatic shift. For this reason, and because an entrenched reliance on this narrative continues to blur the boundaries between white feminist and anti-racist narratives of NAC, the following analysis of *Fighting Racism* briefly highlights some of the key premises that make anti-racist feminism a distinct narrative tradition and counternarrative.

Fighting Racism was co-produced by feminists of colour and white feminist anti-racist allies active in NAC and the broader movement. While equivalent in length to the *Herstory* document, it follows a different format. As an Issue of NAC's regular in-house publication, the document is a twelve-page collection of articles, reports, announcements and information about the organization. "Fighting Racism" is the title shared by the text as a whole and its opening article, and signals the dual emphasis on racist oppression and resistance to it within feminism and other social movements. Campaigns led by Indigenous women and women of colour nationally and globally are at the centre of the analysis. My discussion focuses on the three key articles that spatially occupy over half the document.[6] Together these articles reflect the main themes in the Issue as a whole, and are useful for displaying the vocabulary and premises of anti-racist feminism from the period. Two points are raised for a critique of white feminist multiculturalism.

First, a primary mark of anti-racist feminist narratives is their displacement of white feminist subjects as the tacit "central point of reference" (Puwar 141). *Fighting Racism* accomplishes this disruption in many ways, perhaps most pervasively by centring the narrative around the agency and activist histories of "Asian women, Black women, Native women, Palestinian women and immigrant women who have struggled to expand the politics and vision of the women's movement" (8). This implicitly decentres white feminism by rewriting the space of Canadian feminism as having multiple roots, movements and origin stories (many extending beyond the naturalized borders of Canada). More explicitly however, "white feminism" is named and treated as an integral concept in the vocabulary of anti-racist feminism. This naming allows it to be situated in relation to the wider history of feminist struggles, as "a privileged group of women" (8) who "experience the world quite differently than black women, aboriginal women or other women of colour" (2). Through this language, racial hegemony in the movement's origins is made visible. This recovers the movement's untold history as a contested and hierarchical site of inequality marked by "exclusive traditions" (8), a "Eurocentric world view" (3), and in reference to NAC specifically, a history "dominated by white middle class women" (1). In this manner whiteness is acknowledged as itself a site of struggle in which some white women find anti-racism an "enriching and strengthening" experience (2) while others "are stuck within a narrow and exclusive definition of women's oppression and women's freedom" (8). In acknowledging multiple positions of whiteness

(ranging from resistant to anti-racist allies), the narrative de-essentializes the struggle by framing the issue as "white women giving up power" (8).

Second, the myth of uncomplicated "unity in diversity" is shattered in this text by pronouncing "racism" as a keyword in feminist vocabulary: "Racism is a women's issue. Imperialism is a women's issue. The movement must speak to all women's lives" (9). The articles are unified in their articulation of anti-racist feminism's defining concept, intersectionality. They demonstrate how this analytical and political frame for "understanding the multiplicity of women's oppression" (3) is powerful for making visible *how* the "'isms' are interlinked and mutually reinforcing" (2). As a practice requiring that "racism, homophobia and other forms of oppression" (2) be explicitly named and examined, intersectionality is thus antithetical to a neutralizing and homogenizing discourse of "unity in diversity." Indeed, anti-racist feminist narratives replace this language with terms of "unity and solidarity" (8), signalling that historical struggle must be achieved by working across mutually acknowledged difference to challenge all hierarchies. This requires seeing racism as a constitutive part of the history of women's movements in Canada, including NAC. On these terms, "fighting racism" is positioned as imperative for achieving solidarity and it "is central to building a truly inclusive women's movement that represents the interests of the majority of women" (1).

Updating *Herstory*

These anti-racist feminist terms of analysis were fully present in the updated version of NAC's *Herstory* (1997), reflecting the real shift to anti-racism in NAC. This two-page addendum was placed at the end of the original document with only minor changes to the first telve pages.[7] The additional section thus incorporates the full original text and some of its conventions, particularly the use of framing the narrative through Presidents. However, it also breaks with the original narrative in significant ways. "White feminists" are explicitly named, as is "systemic racism as part of the feminist movement" (para. 6). The story now also acknowledges NAC's origins in racial hegemony by making reference to the fact that the organization had emerged through struggle to "*become* antiracist and inclusive" (para. 4, my emphasis). And like *Fighting Racism* it situates white feminism as a complicated and contested space, acknowledging "the failure of some feminists to understand the interconnectedness of dealing with racism as part of feminism" (9) while also noting that this was not the only response. "On the other hand, new groups of women started to support NAC and long time committed feminists continued and increased their support" (p.9). Unfortunately, less is said of the diversity within anti-racist feminism regarding divisions and differences within the movement, or of main strategic or substantive debates being articulated at the time.

Despite this shift away from replicating the white multiculturalist narrative of its predecessor, the new text nevertheless remains an addendum and leaves intact the initial problematic narrative. At one level this might serve as a useful contrast to the original framing, providing a glimpse of the contested discursive field and therefore opening possibilities for reflection on the disjuncture. On the other hand, it needs to be recognized that "multicultural add-ons to the grand narrative do not fundamentally alter its terms" (Stanley 36). In this case, the add-on approach did not compel a critical revisiting of white multiculturalism as NAC's dominant grand narrative. As such, NAC's participation in the making of white feminist hegemony remains untold, and women of colour remain objectified for the vast majority of the text. These decidedly problematic legacies remain normalized rather than destabilized.

Conclusion

A reliable history of NAC as a space founded on racial and national hegemony remains unwritten. While there has been movement in this direction (Lee and Cardinal; Nadeau 2009; Stasiulis; Vickers) the dominant narrative has not yet been displaced and anti-racist feminist frameworks have remained largely undeveloped and frequently ignored. This has limited the narrative terrain quite substantially. While NAC's past is now recognized as marked by white feminist exclusion, this has not translated into a broad narrative shift. Unsettling this terrain will require more than adding in excluded herstories (although this is necessary). Rather, it is necessary to displace the white feminist narrative of the organization as an ongoing and progressive succession of *inclusivity,* and to replace it with critical race narratives that recognize that white normativity in NAC was produced through *hierarchies of inclusion*. This shift will allow for a much-needed explanation of how white feminist leadership persisted for so long (and what forms it took), and why anti-racist feminist leadership—particularly when undertaken by feminists of colour—was perceived by many at the time as an intolerable disruption. More broadly, rewriting the standard narrative opens space for a more complex analysis of anti-racist and white feminisms in NAC, and for reflecting on the racial and national politics of writing the history of Canadian feminism.

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[1]For a discussion of the left-based coalition politics in NAC's shift to anti-racist feminism see Nadeau (2005).

[2]See Nadeau (2009) for an elaboration of this argument.

[3]This argument is also central to discussions of white settler nation-states in the Canadian context (see, for example Arat-Koc; Bannerji; Day; Mackey; Ng; Rukszto; Sharma; Thobani; Walcott).

[4]This document was first written in 1992 and updated five years later and reintroduced with the subtitle "NAC, The First 25 Years" (1997). Unless otherwise stated, all citations from the text refer to both the original (1992) and the updated (1997) versions (citing the page number of the original). This reflects the fact that the template and content of the original remained almost entirely intact in the later version. These 1997 "additions by Joan Grant Cummings" are discussed separately as "Updating Herstory"; see also endnote 7.

[5]See Nadeau (2005, Chapter 4) for a full discussion of the notion of generational heritage as it has been constructed in NAC through cultural identifications with the first wave "parliament of women"

[6]The three articles are "President's Letter: Fighting Racism" (Rebick), "Global Enemy – Divided Feminists – Racism in the Women's Movement" (Javed), and "Let the Links Be Made" (Persad). While the largest essay is written primarily about the International Women's Day coalition, it references the broader "movement and its organizations" (Persad 8). Rebick addresses these same issues but in the specific context of NAC, while Javed's article raises similar points for feminist organizations in a global context (including Canada).

[7]The main difference between the texts is the removal of page 12 of the original, replaced by two new pages added to end of the later version (except for a half sentence deleted in error on page 6, a more deliberate removal of one sentence on page 7 referring to comments by Glenda Simms, and a short paragraph added at end of "Lack of Funds II to address poverty and coalition work).

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