Global Perspectives on Women's Leadership and Gender (In)Equality

Edited by

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Foreword

In leadership roles, women add diverse perspectives; this improves the work environment and decision-making practices, as well as organizations. Based on historical underpinnings and some cultural customs, women are not always seen or treated as equal to men, although some progress has been made. There is the obvious need to discuss gender (in) equality. At times, women are underrepresented in leadership roles and in the political sphere. It is necessary to examine the role of women through a global lens. Having a global perspective will show that this issue of women's rights advancement is not limited to a specific culture.

This edited volume cross-culturally examines the role of women and the contributions they made to society. It highlights a few female leaders who strongly advocated for women's rights. Institutions interested in promoting gender equality should pose the following questions: What is the gender structure of employment in this institution? Do women have equal access to leadership and decision-making roles? What are the existing gender (in)equalities in the institution? What kind of policy measures can address those challenges? Moreover, to demonstrate their commitment to gender equity, institutions should develop training programs to

help women become leaders. All in All, *Global Perspectives on Women's Leadership and Gender (In)Equality* provides case studies of female leaders from various countries, and discusses the importance of women in leadership roles.

University of the Virgin Islands, Kingshill, VI Kimarie Engerman

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Gregory Hammond is a graduate of Williams College (1997) and the University of Texas at Austin (2004). Since receiving his PhD, he has worked at the University of Vermont, Oberlin College, Arizona State University, and Colgate University before settling on his position at Austin Peay State University in Clarksville, TN, where he is an associate professor. His dissertation was the basis for his book, *The Women's Suffrage Movement and Feminism in Argentina from Roca to Perón* (2011), and his work focuses on Peruvian feminism.

Dmitry Kurochkin is a lecturer and researcher at Harvard University. He graduated *magna cum laude* from Lomonosov Moscow State University and earned his doctorate from Tulane University. Kurochkin is an interdisciplinary scholar and holds master's degrees in a variety of fields, including mathematics and economic analysis and policy. He is the co-editor of *Emancipation Women's Writing at the Fin de Siècle* (2018).

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media, women journalists, and girlhood studies. Her articles have appeared in journals such as *Communication Theory*; *Journalism*; *Feminist Media Studies*; *Journal of Children and Media*; *Communication, Culture and Critique, and European Journal of Women Studies*. She is also the co-editor of the first book in Hebrew in the domain of girlhood studies: *Girls and Their Bodies: Voice, Presence, Absence*. The book adopts a critical gender perspective to examine various aspects in the lived and constructed bodily experience of girls from diverse social groups and locations. Lachover is also one of the founders of Sapir Feminist Forum, which promotes academic and social activism in the south of Israel.

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Elena V. Shabliy is a visiting scholar at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University. She graduated with honors from M.V. Lomonosov Moscow State University and holds an Interdisciplinary PhD from Tulane University, where she wrote her dissertation on *The Early Women's Emancipation Movement: The Formation of a New Female Identity in the Russian and Late-Victorian Novel*. In 2009, she earned a Master of Liberal Arts degree from Tulane University. She was a visiting scholar in the Department of Comparative Literature at Harvard University in 2015–2017. She is the editor of *Representations of the Blessed Virgin Mary in World Literature and Art* (2017) and co-editor of *Emancipation Women's Writing at the Fin de Siècle* (2018). She was a visiting scholar at Columbia University and a postdoctoral fellow at Harvard University.

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Women's Leadership and Political Opportunity Structures

Elena V. Shabliy

Introduction

Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (1949) was published seventy years ago at the outset of second-wave feminism and presented a celebrated philosophical and meticulous study of women in their contemporary and historic(al) situations from various angles, such as psychoanalytical, historical, literary, and biological. De Beauvoir analyzes the *feminine myth* as it appears in works of famous writers highlighting that each separate author contributes to the great collective myth of women.[1] In works of thinkers she chooses to interpret, the woman appears as a *privileged Other*.[2] Women, according to de Beauvoir, belonged to this category for centuries: "she is the Other in a totality of which the two components are

[1] Simone de Beauvoir. *The Second Sex* (New York: Knopf, 1957), p. 248.

[2] Ibid. (original emphasis).

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necessary to one another."[3] The Otherness is usually a hostile entity, as it is perceived by various social strata; De Beauvoir acknowledges a woman of letters and *femme philosophe* Olympe de Gouges (1748–1793) as one of those wo/men who dared to protest against their harsh destiny and unjust position.[4] Gouges is known not only for her book *The Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen* (1791), but also as one of the first advocates who defended women's human rights and victims of injustice, and for demanding the emancipation of slaves.[5]

In 2019, another important work—John Stuart Mill's essay "The Subjection of Women"—celebrated its 150th anniversary. Mill's work is a culmination of the so-called first-wave feminist philosophical thought; it is symbolic that men supported women's rights and preached their liberation and emancipation. Throughout centuries and across the globe—both males and females alike advocated the change in woman's lot that was frequently compared to slaves' position: "In early times, the great majority of the male sex were slaves, as well as the whole of the female."[6] Mill, referring to Plato's *Republic*, underlines that "women of the privileged classes should be of manly character, inferior in nothing but bodily strength to their husband and fathers." In the *Republic*, Plato discusses the role of women in the ideal state, and the problem of (in)justice is central to his dialogues. Plato aspires to be objective in his statements asserting that "one woman is musical in nature, one not, one medical by nature, one not," "one woman is athletic or warlike, and another is unwarlike and unathletic," "one loves wisdom and one hates it," "one has high spirit, one no spirit," and so forth.[7] He concludes that women and men may have the same nature fit for guarding the ideal city, "only one is weaker and one is stronger."[8]

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[3] Ibid., p. xx.

[4] This word *wo/men* is used in Elisabeth Schüssel Fiorenza's *The Power of the Word: Scripture and the Rhetoric of Empire* (Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 2007).

[5] https://www.iep.utm.edu/gouges/. "Olympe de Gouges (1748—1793)," The Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy (last accessed 05/08/2020). The adoption of Universal Declaration of Human Rights was introduced after World War II.

[6] https://www.gutenberg.org/files/27083/27083-h/27083-h.htm. "The Subjection of Women," John Stuart Mill (last accessed 05/08/2020). The UN 2030 Agenda encourages the engagement of men in elimination of all forms of violence against women and girls.

[7] *Great Dialogues of Plato*. Translated by W.H.D. Rouse, with an introduction by Matthew S. Santirocco and a new afterword by Rebecca Newberger Goldstein. (Signet Classics, 2015), p. 295.

[8] Ibid.

Equality leads to the improvement of the moral sentiments of mankind, and inequality may undermine the foundations of social balance.[9] The question of gender and equality is very important; and it is interrelated with the ancient issue of justice. What is justice? What is just? Plato and Mill like many other philosophers, such as Aristotle, Augustine, Kant, John Stuart Mill, John Rawls—to name but a few—dwell on this fundamental philosophical question.[10] Madame de Staël was dreaming of that time when "philosophical legislators will bestow a serious attention upon the education of women, upon the civil laws by which they are protected, the duties incumbent upon them, and the happiness which may be secured to them."[11] Thus, the question of gender equality was supranational. Mill names just a few examples of countries where women were silent:

> France, and Italy, and Switzerland, and Russia now afford examples of the same thing. How many more women there are who silently cherish similar aspirations, no one can possibly know; but there are abundant tokens how many would cherish them, were they not so strenuously taught to repress them as contrary to the proprieties of their sex.[12]

The internationalism of the women's movement spoke for itself; countless literary and philosophical works worldwide gradually had their impact on the betterment of women's lot; and new possibilities for leadership opened up in the second half of the nineteenth century. Advanced wo/men initiated societal change and were sometimes negatively perceived by the public. They paved the way for women of future generations. However, it was not only in the Western world that women cried out for help over the centuries: women across the world experienced injustice and inequality.

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[9] Ibid.

[10] In "Gender Justice," Anca Gheaus discusses "the injustice involved in the gendered division of labor, which is one of the most important, yet philosophically disputed, gender issues in the developed world." Anca Gheaus. "Gender Justice." *Journal of Ethics & Social Philosophy*, 2011: 1.

[11] Madame de Staël, Early American Imprints. Second Series; No. 29847 (Boston: Published and Sold by W. Wells and T.B. Wait &, 1813), p. 151.

[12] J. S. Mill. "The Subjection of Women." https://www.gutenberg.org/files/27083/27083-h/27083-h.htm (last accessed 11/4/2019).

The second wave of feminism began in the 1970s, and the third wave in the early 1990s. Despite the fact that women's human rights advocacy has a long tradition, there is an ever-burgeoning interest in the field of gender and leadership; sustainable societies assume inclusion, belonging, and balance. It is crucial for individuals' well-being and societies to harmonize economic growth, social inclusion, and environmental protection, in order to achieve sustainable development.[13] Promotion of inclusive economic growth and creation of equal opportunities as well as raising standards of living are those aspects that nurture this societal democratic development; economic and technological development depends on many factors, such as culture, traditions, institutions, and, last but not least, history.

In the recent past, women faced exclusion and often were not treated fairly and equally worldwide. Over time, beginning in the twentieth century, women became an integral part of economic, technological, and democratic development. In order to achieve that, more than one hundred countries set gender quotas (O'Brien and Rickne 2016). Although research on "gender and leadership role occupancy has attracted attention for about 60 years," "men remain more likely overall to emerge as leaders than women."[14] Nevertheless, international scholars acknowledge the positive global development in women's representation in government, business, legislation, and education. The "glass ceiling" still exists and the global gender gap remains wide open. In spite of the underrepresentation of women in leadership roles, "the number of women reaching management positions is greater than ever before."[15] This recent increase means the possibility of future societal change. Michelle Ryan and Alex Haslam suggest a new expression "glass cliff," asserting that women's positions of

[13] https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/development-agenda/ "The Sustainable Development Agenda." (last accessed 02/26/2019).

[14] Julian Barling. *Gender and Leadership*. In *The Science of Leadership: Lessons from Research for Organizational Leaders* (Oxford University Press, Chapter 8, 2014), pp. 205–206.

[15] Michelle Ryan and Alex Haslam. 2006. "What Lies Beyond the Glass Ceiling?" Human Resource Management International Digest 14 (3): 3. The *Wall Street Journal* coined the term "glass ceiling" in the 1980s.

leadership tend to be associated with a risk of failure.[16] They add that "[s]uch positions, then, are likely to be somewhat precarious, with women leaders at risk of being blamed for negative events set in motion long before their appointment."[17] The authors point out that they "have identified glass cliff positions in politics where women are often selected to stand in less winnable seats than men, and in law, where women are assigned less lucrative cases than men. These findings have also been replicated in experimental studies, where law students are more likely to assign a woman to more risky legal cases than are men, and graduate management students are more likely to choose a woman to lead a failing company than a man."[18] As described in Chap. 5 of this book, there is evidence that, globally, women face discrimination in pay, promotion, and types of assignments.[19] Remarkably, women leaders often distance themselves from feminism (Steinberg 2008). Margaret Thatcher, for instance, and Indira Gandhi believed in rather personal success. Golda Meir (Chap. 7) did not identify herself as a feminist, either; however, she worked on promoting women's rights and providing support and government services for new female Jewish immigrants.

On March 4, 1960, in a *Daily Express* interview titled "What My Daughter Must Learn in the Nine Years," Margaret Thatcher—the "Iron Maiden" and the first female Prime Minister of the United Kingdom—speaks not as a politician, but simply as a mother who cares about the future of her six-year-old daughter:

> Our daughter Carol is six and a half years old. In the course of the next 15 or so years she will have to learn how to make a living and how to live. Girls, far more than boys, have to adapt themselves to changing circumstances. Once he has embarked on a career a boy can regulate the course of his life to a greater extent than his sister can… First I want her to have a good education. There are some things that remain a mystery throughout life unless they are learned at school… If Carol is bright enough I should

[16] Michelle Ryan and Alex Haslam. 2006. "What Lies Beyond the Glass Ceiling?" Human Resource Management International Digest 14 (3): 4.

[17] Ibid., p. 4.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Susan Vinnicombe, Ronald J. Burke, Stacy Blake-Beard, and Lynda L. Moore. *Handbook of Research on Promoting Women's Careers* (Elgar Original Reference. Edward Elgar Publishing, 2013), p. 3.

> like her to go to university. If I had to choose between sending her to a university or to finish abroad, I would choose the university every time, providing she could get in… I don't want Carol to be taught too many practical subjects in her last years at school, but to learn academic subjects—yes, to slog away… And I am determined to teach my daughter to be a good and economical cook… Thirdly I want my daughter to have a worthwhile career from which she will derive pleasure and satisfaction as well as profit… But I know one cannot go by the book, but by the person. I would never be dogmatic about bringing up children. I am learning all the time how to bring up my own.[20]

In this interview, Thatcher again and again underlined the importance of education for girls; this almost sixty-year-old interview is still significant and relevant. The 2030 agenda largely focuses on women's and girl's education worldwide.[21]

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)

On September 25, 2015, countries adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. This Agenda aims at solving problems, such as ending global poverty, reducing gender inequality, and achieving positive results and progress in Sustainable Development by 2030 worldwide. This Agenda is universal and applicable around the globe, and five key themes of this Agenda are the so-called 5P's: People, Prosperity, Planet, Partnerships, and Peace. The "Rio+20" Conference on Sustainable Development in 2012 was the preparatory step toward the new Agenda when countries began working on the Sustainable Development Goals

[20] https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/100948; Article for Daily Express ("What my daughter must learn in the next nine years"), 1960, Margaret Thatcher (last accessed 11/14/2019).

[21] http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr2018_technical_notes.pdf; "Calculating the Human Development Indices—Graphical Presentation" (last accessed 11/17/2019). In most countries, the maximum years of schooling—eighteen—is equivalent for getting master's degree; and the maximum for "mean years of schooling, fifteen, is the projected maximum of this indicator for 2025.

and setting the Millennium Development Goals. The 2030 Agenda has 4 sections: (1) a Vision and Principles for Transforming our World as set out in the Declaration; (2) 17 Goals and 169 Targets; (3) a Means of Implementation and Global Partnership; (4) Follow-up and Review.[22] The United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 5 aims at ending the gender-based discrimination prevalent in many countries. Equality is a fundamental human right and a foundation for a prosperous, peaceful, and sustainable world; there are 17 goals set with 169 targets to strengthen "universal peace in larger freedom."[23]

Goal 5—"Gender Equality"—set to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls worldwide is also one of the main themes of, and reasons for, this edited volume. It has the following aims, among many others: "Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life"; "[u]ndertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws"; "[e]nhance the use of enabling technology, in particular information and communications technology, to promote the empowerment of women"; "[a]dopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels."[24] The new Agenda promoting this sociopolitical progress and advocating women's human rights advancement asserts that all forms of discrimination should be eliminated and all women and girls "must enjoy equal access to quality education, economic resources, and political participation as well as equal opportunities with men and boys for employment, leadership and decision-making at all levels."[25]

[22] https://www.undp.org/content/dam/undp/library/MDG/Post2015-SDG/UNDP-SDG-UNDG-Reference-Guide-UNCTs-2015.pdf. "Mainstreaming the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development."

[23] https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld; "Transforming our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" (last accessed 02/26/2019).

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

Many societies have inspirational stories, biographies, and exclusive leadership cases; this collection of essays presents outstanding examples and case studies across the globe. The lives and careers of women leaders offer a unique point of the "role of gender in political life."[26] Gender and equality will remain one of the major issues of the global community in the coming decades. Recent technological developments broaden the borders of this topical discussion, which also leads to moral, religious, ethical, and philosophical reflections.

Types of leadership can be identified as charismatic, transformational, inspirational, authentic, ethical, among others (Barling 2014). Transformational leadership is one of the most frequently researched leadership theories (Barling 2014; Burns 1979). According to James McGregor Burns, one of the founders of leadership studies in the United States, in *transformational* or transforming leadership, leaders and followers raise each other to higher levels of motivation and morality; *transactional* leaders approach their followers with a concept of mutual exchanges.[27] Transactional leaders see their "job performance as a series of transactions with subordinates—exchanging rewards for services rendered or punishment for inadequate performance."[28] According to Judy B. Rosener's findings, women often describe themselves as transformational leaders.[29] Through interactive leadership, women usually enhance other people's sense of self-worth.[30] This category of leaders believes that when people feel confident about themselves, they show better and more effective results.[31] Women leaders try to enhance the feeling of inclusion and belonging.[32]

Moral leadership presupposes mutual needs, aspirations, and certain values.[33] Definitions and criteria of leadership may be individual and

[26] Michael A. Genovese (ed.) *Women as National Leaders* (Sage, 1993), p. 3.

[27] James MacGregor Burns. *Leadership* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), p. 4.

[28] Judy B. Rosener. "Ways Women Lead," https://hbr.org/1990/11/ways-women-lead (last accessed 10/01/2019).

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] James MacGregor Burns. *Leadership* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), p. 4.

subjective. In fact, no precise definition of leadership exists—there are many approaches to leadership, however, including a psychological approach, and there are dozens of definitions of this term. Burns also writes about *moral leadership* that "emerges from, and always returns to, the fundamental wants and needs, aspirations, and values of the followers… the kind of leadership that can produce social change that will satisfy followers' needs."[34] Interestingly, Burns also identifies the concept of the nuclear family as one of the forms of leadership.

Moral and *Political* Leadership

There is always a certain degree of subjectivism in leaders' perception and their role assessment in society. The study of leadership is very topical and will be advanced by scrutinizing leaders and their biographies, as Burns suggests: "Leadership in the shaping of private and public opinion, leadership of reform and revolutionary movements—that is, transformational leadership—seems to take on significant and collective proportions historically, but at the time and point of action leadership is intensely individual and personal."[35] The well-known types of negative leadership are outside the scope of this collection of essays.

In this book, we look at women's political engagement and participation from a historical point of view as well as focus on contemporary individual examples in various parts of the world. These synchronic and diachronic approaches allow the authors to better investigate the paradigm of women's involvement and their leadership roles. Thus, the *political* and *moral* types of leadership are central to this book. These case studies are not exhaustive, however, and further research would clarify the current political structure and offer a bigger and clearer picture, contributing to a greater understanding of the existing problem. This edited volume continues a meaningful dialogue that may be of interest to political scientists, economists, sociologists, anthropologists, policymakers,

[34] Ibid., p. 4.
[35] Ibid., p. 33.

and business leaders. Women's leadership is one of the most discussed—but least understood—phenomena.

This book focuses on individual women leaders and women's political leadership worldwide—in Israel, Latin America, Serbia, the United States, and many other countries. It is a collection of essays on a variety of outstanding women throughout history, in various global settings, and also includes some essays on women's leadership. The concept of *intersectionality* is crucial for shaping this work—as an important analytic and methodological tool. This term has frequently been used in current conversations within various areas of social sciences, among feminists, legal scholars, and other researchers.

While there is a significant amount of extant literature on leadership, examining the ways in which gender and leadership are connected deserves further attention by scholars. Feminist discourse traces back to the nineteenth century and earlier; it began with an active literary discussion of women's plight and the shifting gender roles that were reflected in literary works of the time under the influence of international emancipationist writing.[36] The ideology of feminism could be sometimes helpful in forming a salubrious environment for wo/men, but the anti-feminist mood is present in the mass media and Internet sources. It also depends on how one looks at feminism and women's leadership:

> Over the centuries femininity has been stereotyped as dependent, submissive and conforming, and hence women have been as lacking in leadership qualities. In some cultures, in consequence, women are cut off from power positions as well as from the stepping stones and access routes that reach toward leadership… This leadership bias persists despite the political influence of the likes of Eleanor Roosevelt, Golda Meir, Indira Gandhi, or Margaret Thatcher. As leadership comes properly to be seen as a process of leaders engaging and mobilizing the human needs and aspirations of followers, women will be more readily recognized as leaders and men will change their own leadership styles.[37]

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[36] Elena V. Shabliy, Dmitry Kurochkin, and Karen O'Donnell (eds.). *Women's Emancipation Writing at the Fin De Siècle* (Routledge, 2019). See "Introduction."

[37] James MacGregor Burns. *Leadership*, p. 50.

In addition, the existing hierarchies among wo/men could also be explanatory for women's obstacles for active women's leadership roles.[38] Elisabeth Schüssel Fiorenza emphasizes the existence of *kyriarchy rather than patriarchy*. "*Kyrie eleison*" is a Greek liturgical phrase meaning "God have mercy." Thus, *Kyrios* means lord, father, elite male, head of household, and head of state or empire; and *archein* means ruling.[39] "In the 1970s and 1980s, feminists used the term 'patriarchy,' but it became increasingly clear that this term was not adequate, because it didn't express issues of race, class, nationality, and so on."[40]

Feminist activism and women's political representation are not necessarily interrelated factors. Some developed countries, where feminist thought and philosophy are well represented in the curriculum—in comparison to other countries, do not display the satisfactory women's representation in the political arena, whereas less-developed countries such as Cuba, the Republic of Rwanda, and Senegal, for example, along with Finland, Iceland, and Sweden, better show women's political representation.[41] The leading countries in the percentage of women in ministerial positions are Finland (62.5 percent), Cabo Verde (52.9 percent), Sweden (52.2 percent), France (50.0 percent), Lichtenstein (50.0 percent), Nicaragua (47.1 percent), and Norway (47.1 percent), according to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU).[42] Some Latin American countries, for example, offer a positive political structure for women. As Melanie Hughes notes, the "rise of women to political power in non-Western and less-developed countries is difficult to explain," adding that the research concerning women's political representation was mostly conducted on

[38] Chandra T. Mohanty. *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

[39] https://bulletin-archive.hds.harvard.edu/articles/springsummer2017/articulating-different-future; "Articulating a Different Future: An interview with Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza," Harvard Divinity Bulletin (last accessed 11/4/2019).

[40] Ibid.

[41] The Inter-Parliamentary Union 2015, http://www.ipu.org/pdf/publications/wmnmap15_en.pdf; "Women in Politics: 2015" (last accessed 05/08/2015).

[42] Ibid.

"industrialized democracies."[43] A multitude of factors should be considered when estimating women's participation in the political arena. In the case of the Latin American democratization process, women's movements undoubtedly contributed to the process of consolidation of democratic rule. The example of Latin American women's movements is striking; "mobilized women's movements placed pressure on the state and newly organized parties to recruit women."[44] In eleven Latin American countries, women's movements were initiated to institute quotas to establish a minimum level of representation (between 20 and 40 percent) for women in party lists for legislative elections. In fact, the quotas introduced in Latin American countries changed the political opportunity structure for female leaders significantly. There was the feminization of Latin American politics; women's political presence increased in the executive branch (in ministerial positions), in the senate, and in the lower house or unicameral parliaments. The explanation of women's progress in Latin American politics highlights certain mechanisms for women's political access. Women's success in the Latin American political structure could be also explained by women's high educational level and the region's comparatively high integration into the world economy. In the 1980s, many Latin American countries democratized after years of authoritarian regime domination. Similar to Latin America, in Russia, for example, women actively participated in democratic elections; however, the question remains whether or not Russian society is ready for introducing guaranteed quotas on female leadership.[45]

This volume begins with case studies of Latin American women leaders. Gregory Hammond's chapters provide two accounts of the lives of women activists in Latin America. In Chap. 2, Hammond dwells on the Argentinean example of female leadership; Argentina was home to one of the first formal women's rights organizations in South America. In

[43] See Melanie Hughes. "Armed Conflict, International Linkages, and Women's Parliamentary Representation in Developing Nations" http://www.pitt.edu/~hughesm/Hughes%202009.pdf, p. 175. (last accessed 05/10/2015).

[44] Richard E. Matland and Kathleen A. Montgomery. *Women's Access to Political Power in Post-Communist Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 7.

[45] Larisa Gorchakova. "Zheshiny v Rossijskom Obshestve" (English translation: "Women in Russian Society"), *Alma mater: Vestnik Vysshej Shkoly*. № 2, (2010): 79–80.

addition, Argentina's feminist movement was never isolated. Many outstanding women leaders played crucial roles in developing the movement. Among these leaders was Dr. Alicia Moreau de Justo, born in London in 1885. Hammond discusses her life, career, and her commitment to the women's movement and the political structure in Argentina. Moreau was one of the most active opponents of the Perón regime.

In Chap. 3, Hammond discusses Peruvian activist Magda Portal and her accomplishments and understanding of the feminist movement. Remarkably, Portal was not only a devoted politician but also a poet and a gifted writer. In 1923, she won the *juegos florales* poetry competition—the first woman to win the prestigious contest. Throughout her life, despite numerous challenges that Hammond describes in detail, Portal continued to advocate for her party and the rights of women for over 25 years. Portal's story, Hammond argues, is that of a woman who was a leader in both the literary and political world, and who showed the courage to stand up for her beliefs.

In Chap. 4, Anna Hamling discusses the testimony of Rigoberta Menchu considering the concept of the *truth* that is central to her narrative *I, Rigoberta Menchu*. Her essay explores rethinking the stereotypical characterization of Menchu and *other* Mayan women as "Third World" actors. This study analyzes the concept of justice in Menchu's narrative, her continuing activism and acknowledgment of her struggle against oppression in sociopolitical and cultural contexts of Guatemala's Civil War. Menchu advocated nonviolence. When Rigoberta Menchu won the 1992 Nobel Prize for Peace, she did not stop her tireless and hard work in advocating justice, women's rights, and equality throughout the world.

In Chap. 5, Hristina Mikic focuses on the analysis of gender (in)equality in creative industries in Serbia; she provides a better understanding of the current landscape of gender (in)equality in the creative sector in Serbia. This chapter also concentrates on the existing gender wage gap and gender-related obstacles for business development in creative industries.

In Chap. 6, Taryn Oesch and Amy DuVernet explore the gap in leadership roles between men and women with recommendations for leaders and learning and development (L&D) professionals wanting to equalize access to leadership development, thereby improving gender diversity in leadership at their organizations. As Oesch and DuVernet conclude, all

biases are related to our upbringing, education, environment, and many other factors, not forgetting about *intersectionality*.

In Chap. 7, Orit Miller Katav discusses Golda Meir's biography, expounding on the life of one of Israel's most prolific leaders and analyzing her political activism. Meir's life was devoted to the dream of founding the State of Israel; she made many sacrifices that led to the breakdown of her marriage and her health as well. She did not let anything stand in the way of her ambitious dreams. Margaret Thatcher once praised Meir's leadership in a radio interview for London Broadcasting (LBC), saying: "Golda Meir saw Israel through one of the most difficult periods in her history. She didn't falter, she was marvelous."[46] Finally, in Chap. 8, Einat Lachover offers insight into Hannah Semer's journalistic activism, leadership, and her private life. Scholars worldwide have been interested in the history of women journalists, but these stories, Lachover argues, have not been integral in democratic journalism's historically male-dominated narratives. This chapter suggests that seeing the life story of Semer as both a private and political representation constitutes a lesson of a woman's road on the path to power and influence.

The Report *Women, Business and the Law 2018* measures the legal obstacles to women who try to engage in economic activity around the globe. The World Bank investigates how various laws influence women and their decision to get jobs or start their own businesses. This recent report covers data for 189 economies and underscores the fact that gender inequality remains a global problem. No economy can grow and run at its full potential unless both women and men participate actively in it. Consequently, gender and (in)equality problems are important subjects that need to be investigated more comprehensively in the near future.

[46] https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/104051; Radio Interview for London Broadcasting (LBC); Margaret Thatcher, 1979 (last accessed 11/06/2019).

Conclusion

Exceptional women have held significant leadership roles in different regions around the world during important historical periods; women were active participants in many social movements, including the women's movement. In Russia, women were advocates of the abolishment of serfdom that took place in 1861. In 2020, the United States celebrates the battle for women's suffrage and the 100th year of women's constitutional right to vote—the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution granted women the right to vote and prohibited federal and state governments from denying citizens the right to vote based on their sex. Important gains have been made in women's political leadership. For example, it is remarkable that after a hundred years, among mayors in the U.S. cities, "women of all racial groups have made inroads."[47] In 2013, women at the U.S. universities earned more bachelor's degrees, more master's degrees, and more doctoral degrees than males:

> Dramatic changes in women's educational attainment and workforce participation have given millions of women the background and skills they need to become leaders—taking on roles that were once reserved for men and providing organizations with a larger and more diverse pool of potential leaders. In other words, qualified and ambitious women are not in short supply.[48]

Nonetheless, there are still many barriers to overcome. The American Association of University Women (AAUW) issued a report titled *Barriers and Bias: The Status of Women in Leadership* that describes stereotypes and bias that prevail and are the "leading obstacles to women's leadership."[49] The authors of the report note that in the "2015 Massachusetts study, only 21 out of 151 nonprofit organizations had boards with at least 50 percent of women." The leadership gap, according to this report, is not confined to politics and the business sphere. Globally,

[47] https://www.aauw.org/resources/research/barrier-bias/; "Barriers & Bias: The Status of Women in Leadership." (last accessed 11/15/2019).

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

this gender gap is also apparent in unions, religious institutions, academia, and many other institutions.[50]

Codifying gender equality and gender justice is an important step toward creating a prosperous, peaceful, and just society. Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), adopted in 1948, states: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."[51] John Simmons (defending the moral conception of human rights) argues that "[h]uman rights are those that are inane and that cannot be lost (i.e., that cannot be given away, forfeited, or taken away)."[52] Social contract theories consider human rights to be part of moral norms; moral rights are pre-institutional and timeless. The UDHR is an important document in the history of human rights and is part of domestic and international law. After World War II, this Declaration was proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly in Paris in 1948. It was drafted by representatives of various cultural as well as legal backgrounds. The UDHR states that "human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief" and that "human rights should be protected by the rule of law"; human rights should be acknowledged by international law, "who bears the correlative duties for human rights."[53]

In the 1980s and 1990s, the term *patriarchy* was widespread and perhaps overused. However, the term *kyriarchy* that was coined by Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza would be more precise. This term means "rule of the kyrios, the emperor, lord, elite, educated, propertied head of household."[54] Thus, as Schüssler Fiorenza suggests, one should speak not of *patriarchy* and male domination, but rather elite and propertied domination.[55]

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[50] Ibid.

[51] https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/; Universal Declaration of Human Rights (last accessed 11/4/2019).

[52] Reidar Maliks and Johan Karlsson Schaffer (eds.) *Moral and Political Conceptions of Human Rights: Implications for Theory and Practice* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 26.

[53] Ibid., p. 19.

[54] https://bulletin-archive.hds.harvard.edu/articles/springsummer2017/articulating-different-future; "Articulating a Different Future: An interview with Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza," Harvard Divinity Bulletin (last accessed 11/4/2019).

[55] Ibid.

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2

Alicia Moreau de Justo: Transcending Generations

Gregory Hammond

In 1823, the government of Argentina, which had only formally declared independence seven years prior, established a secular organization designed to take over the social services. Although hampered by the political turmoil that split the nation in the 1860s, this Sociedad de Beneficencia (Beneficent Society) provided an early opportunity for women to formally participate in government social service, and its leadership was soon dominated by the wives and daughters of the elite. While later criticized for this elite outlook, the Society thus opened the path for women to find "respectable" employment in education, particularly following the educational reform of President Domingo Sarmiento (1868–1874).[1] By the end of the century, some of the women

[1] Domingo Sarmiento, *Educación popular* (Buenos Aires: Banco de la Provincia Córdoba, 1985), p. 167; Alicia Moreau de Justo, *La mujer en la democracia* (Buneos Aires: El Ateneo, 1945), p. 168. See Karen Mead, "Gendering the Obstacles to Progress in Positivist Argentina, 1880–1920." *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 77:4, November 1997, pp. 645–675.

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who had excelled in these educational careers began to enter new professions, such as medicine, while also joining some of the political organizations that sought to challenge the monopoly on power and wealth possessed by the Argentine elite, most notably the Radical Civic Union (Radical Party) and the Socialist Party. It was in this context that Dr. Cecilia Grierson, Argentina's first woman physician, joined with the then-head of the Beneficent Society, Alvina Van Praet de Sala, to create a chapter of the International Council of Women (ICW) in 1900. The Argentine National Council of Women would ultimately serve as the starting point for women leaders in the twentieth century, and of these none led the charge for women's rights longer than Alicia Moreau de Justo.[2]

Born in 1885 to exiled French leftists, Moreau's family moved to Buenos Aires shortly after her birth. Raised in a comfortable, though not luxurious, home, her father molded her into both an active learner and, as she put it, a "premature socialist."[3] By the time she began training as a teacher, she had already shown a great interest in politics, having received instruction from Radical Party founder Hipòlito Yrigoyen and worked on the campaign of Socialist Alfredo Palacios. In 1914, she earned her medical degree, and, in 1924, she married Juan B. Justo, one of the original founders of Argentina's Socialist Party.[4]

At the dawn of the twentieth century, Argentina's dominant National Autonomist Party (PAN) confronted a serious challenge from parties of the middle and working class. While the Radical Party continued to challenge the traditional party structure from outside of government, the Socialist Alfredo Palacios was elected to the House of Deputies in 1904, and for the next three decades he would remain a voice of reform from within the government by introducing the Socialist legislative agenda to Congress, including women's suffrage. However, most of these reforms

[2] "Consejo Nacional de Mujeres de la República Argentina," *Revista del Consejo Nacional de Mujeres*, 1:2, July 1901, p. 2; "Informe del Consejo Nacional al incorporarse al internacional," *Revista del Consejo Nacional de Mujeres*, 1:3, September 1901, p. 18; L. Sosa de Newton, *Diccionario Biográfico de mujeres argentinas*, (Buenos Aires: Plus Ultra 1986), 654.

[3] Monica Deleis, Ricardo de Titto, and Diego L. Arguindeguy, *Mujeres de la política argentina* (Buenos Aires: Aguilar, 2001), pp. 319–320.

[4] Deleis et al., *Mujeres de la política argentina*, pp. 321–324.

were not passed until the 1920s, by which point the Radicals had ended the PAN's total hold on political power which had endured since the 1870s. Palacios' very presence in the Congress, along with the example of the Council, provided socialist feminists with ample incentive to form their own political organizations in order to support and influence the Party. Formal socialist women's organizations preceded his election and coincided with the earliest attempts to reform women's rights. This created a strong association between feminism and socialism in Argentina that persisted into the 1940s.

As part of the effort to expand the activities of the party, the Socialist Women's Center opened in 1902. The Center, according to co-founder Fenia Chertcoff de Repetto, did not suffer from "any class prejudice," or "fill its existence solely with the labors of the workplace and home."[5] Instead, with a "clear and well-defined program," the Center "expands its horizons with the fertile work of the economic, political, and social emancipation of the proletarian class, and therefore of women as well."[6] The Center thus made socialism and feminism aspects of the same movement—a position that would not fit that of the National Council of Women. Nevertheless, much of the work of the Center resembled that of the more conservative Council. For example, the Center created facilities to instruct mothers in modern childcare and hygiene, and petitioned Congress on issues such as the limitation of alcohol sales and the right to divorce. However, it also conducted activities that stood out from the more traditional tasks of the Council. The socialist feminists went to the tenements, factories, and workshops and studied those conditions under which women and children work. These studies contributed to later workplace reforms and also led the Center to support strikes. By engaging in these activities, the Socialists intended to win working class support for feminist projects as well as expand the party's base, which it did by contributing to Palacios' victory in 1904.[7]

[5] Fenia Chertcoff de Repetto, "El movimiento socialista femenino en la República Argentina," *Almanaque de Trabajo*, 1918, p. 141.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Fenia Chertcoff de Repetto, "El movimiento socialista femenino en la República Argentina," *Almanaque de Trabajo*, 1918, pp. 142–145; Alfredo Palacios, Congreso Nacional, Cámara de Diputados, *Diario de Sesiones 1907*, v. 1, 27 May 1907, pp. 26–27; Mirta Lobato, "Entre la protec-

The Center's foundation generated a "new impulse" to be imitated "by the multitude of workers who remain unorganized and resigned to their fate."[8] This image of workers as "resigned" came in the wake of the Residence Law, the first of a series of measures meant to curb worker activism, which allowed the authorities to deport "all foreigners whose conduct compromises national security or disrupts public order."[9] In its application, the Residence Law served as a tool to remove those foreigners who had helped spread Marxism and anarchism. The appearance of the Center, therefore, coincided with a moment of political crisis for the Socialists as they attempted to work against, or around, the new law.

The Socialist Women's Center provided important support services for Socialist unions and political groups, allowing women to engage in political campaigns and call for the "leveling of men into one social class."[10] The Center also organized concerts and children's festivals in order to boost morale within the party and improve its public image.[11] Perhaps most importantly, Socialist women contributed to Socialist publications and public discourse. The most prominent contributor in this regard was Alicia Moreau de Justo, who became one of the most visible figures in Argentine socialism in the twentieth century. Her career in most respects paralleled those of her contemporaries. She was of immigrant stock, and enjoyed the full benefits of the expanded access to education women had begun to enjoy and had personal connections to prominent male politicians—not least of which were her teacher Hipolito Yrigoyen (future president and leader of the Radical Party) and her husband Juan Justo (founder of the Socialist Party).[12] These activities both reflected and reinforced the commitment of the Socialist Party to women's rights. Palacios, recognizing the importance of feminist activism in his party, advanced a

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ción y la exclusión: Discurso maternal y protección de la mujer obrera, 1890–1931," in Juan Suizo, ed. *La cuestión social en Argentina, 1890–1943* (Buenos Aires: La Colmena, 2000), p. 254.

[8] Raquel Messina, "La mujer y el socialismo," *La Vanguardia*, 31 May 1902; "Centro Socialista Femenino," *La Vanguardia*, 10 April 1902.

[9] República Argentina, *Leyes Nacionales años 1901–1903* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta del Senado, 1908), p. 190.

[10] Juana M. Gómez de Regino, "A las mujeres," *La Vanguardia*, 11 August 1900.

[11] "El 1 de Mayo en Buenos Aires," *La Vanguardia*, 10 May 1902; "Centro Socialista Femenino," *La Vanguardia*, 9 January 1904; "Centro Socialista Femenino," *La Vanguardia*, 2 April 1904.

[12] Deleis et al., *Mujeres de la política argentina*, pp. 317–336.

project that would set the stage for broader inclusion of women in political issues—the reform of the Civil Code.

The Civil Code limited the authority of women both in and out of the home, creating a serious obstacle to women's rights; its reform was the first challenge to suffragists. Well before the beginning of the twentieth century, legal theorists asserted "it is not possible to authorize political rights for [women] before conceding the use of all the rights that would make them fit for civil life."[13] Feminists argued that the Civil Code was a relic of the colonial past, and therefore had no place in a modern society where women's work was an economic and social necessity. In any case, feminists could not tolerate a legal code that "literally makes married women equal to deaf-mutes." However, they also recognized that "reforms of this class are the hardest to make."[14] Reformers expected resistance from those that argued that any change to the legal structure of the family meant chaos.[15]

Not surprisingly, given these expectations, the first attempt at reform proved to be fairly mild. In 1902, deputy Luis Drago presented a bill that would clarify the boundaries between the property of a husband and wife, and introduced prenuptial agreements, but did not end limits on a wife's ability to testify in court, work outside the home, or make decisions regarding her children. Despite the tentative nature of this reform, Drago defended his project on the floor of Congress using arguments that feminists had used in the past and would use again many times in the future. While marriage clearly represented "the communion of divine right and human rights with the pairing," it did not mean that the wife had to occupy "a completely subordinate and secondary position" or be left "defenseless in the use of her goods."[16] Drago reinforced this philosophical assertion with extensive references to ancient history and to French, U.S.,

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[13] Vaca Guzmán, *La mujer ante la lei: la política y el matrimonio* (Buenos Aires: Pablo E. Coni, 1882), p. 10.

[14] Elvira López, "Los derechos de la mujer," *La Vanguardia*, 3 November 1904; "La mujer en la Argentina: Costumbres, educación, profesiones a que se dedica, datos estadísticos, legislación, etc.," *Revista del Consejo Nacional de Mujeres*, 2:6, June 1902, pp. 36–37. The article was part of a serialization of López's doctoral dissertation.

[15] "El proyecto Drago," *La Voz de la Iglesia*, 20 June 1902.

[16] Congreso Nacional, Cámara de Diputados, *Diario de Sesiones 1902*, v. 1, pp. 348–352; "Notas parlamentarias," *El País*, 21 June 1902.

and British law in order to prove that the proposed reform, rather than undermining the family, would reinforce it. These arguments ultimately failed, and it would be five years before Alfredo Palacios made a second effort.[17] Palacios' reform was more comprehensive, paving the way for the reform that finally passed in 1926 by eliminating all legal impediments to married women working and owning property and testifying in court, as this equalized their legal power over their children. In his speech on the project, Palacios reiterated some of Drago's points by using historical precedent and contemporary examples from other nations to prove the validity and necessity of reform. He added that women possessed the "moral capacity" to use these rights well, even if they still lacked political rights. Palacios also specifically rejected "declamatory and exaggerated feminism" that sought to establish "a perfect equality that the natural conditions of [women's] personality prevents."[18] Instead, he merely wanted to correct the outdated and "irritating" inequalities contained in the Civil Code. Most importantly, Palacios made the source of his arguments and his reform proposal clear—"this project was formulated by the feminist center."[19] This meant that the socialist feminists had matched, if not surpassed, the National Council of Women in their ability to make their case heard in the halls of government. However, this success did nothing to halt the fragmentation of the feminist movement along ideological lines. Indeed, by proving that women could make their voices heard in Congress without the aid of the Council or the Sociedad de Beneficencia, the Socialists demonstrated that women did not need to unite in a single entity.

As the Socialists developed their political influence and the National Council of Women began to explore new avenues of activity, other politically oriented women's groups also appeared. Some of these groups served as auxiliaries within existing parties, much like the Socialist Women's Center and Anarchist groups, while others avoided partisan identification, seeking instead to unite women around particular issues. While the Council continued to define itself as the leading women's organization,

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid., pp. 1168–1171.

[19] Congreso Nacional, Cámara de Diputados, *Diario de Sesiones 1907*, v.1, pp. 1168–1171.

the growth of other women's groups challenged that assertion, eventually leading to the splintering of the feminist movement. Thus, the women's movement in Argentina made progress in spite of the lack of a unified voice.

As the Socialist Women's Center established itself, the National Women's Council took on an increasingly conservative character. For example, in 1902, the Council registered a "debt of gratitude" to Dr. Manuel Carlés, the future founder of the ultra-right-wing group called the Patriotic League. Carlés had assisted the Council in conveying its messages and requests to the Ministry of Justice and the Chamber of Deputies, reinforcing the Council's political voice.[20] Cecilia Grierson's response to a survey from the International Council of Women provided further evidence of this shift—when asked about women's participation in political events, Grierson responded that while any woman could participate, only women in the Socialist Party actually did. She later noted that public opinion in Argentina "is completely opposed" to women's public political activity. Finally, on the crucial issue of suffrage, Grierson claimed that "women do not have political rights, nor does it appear that they want them" in Argentina.[21] This skeptical appraisal of women's interest in politics, while not demonstrating hostility to the idea, indicates that the Socialist Party was indeed the only group that took the idea seriously. This attitude even came across in the Council's reaction to news from other International Council chapters. In 1903, the Council received an invitation from a U.S. suffragist group asking for Grierson's support in promoting the suffrage agenda at the 1904 ICW meeting. Ultimately, this invitation passed unanswered. However, in the notes on the invitation, the secretary suggested the possibility of opening a new "field of battle" for those that sought to "ennoble their sex" without resorting to the "evangelization of sex."[22] This suggests that there were those within

[20] "Actos de la quinta asamblea del Consejo Nacional de Mujeres," *Revista del Consejo Nacional de Mujeres*, 2:8, December 1902, p. 11. See also "Acta de la septima asamblea del Consejo Nacional del Consejo de Mujeres," *Revista del Consejo Nacional de Mujeres*, 3:12, December 1903, p. 8.

[21] Cecilia Grierson, "Estudio relativo al estado civil de la mujer argentina," *Revista del Consejo Nacional de Mujeres*, 2:6, June 1902, p. 29.

[22] "Informe de la secretaria del exterior," *Revista del Conesjo Nacional de Mujeres*, 3:10, June 1903, p. 16.

the Council who wanted to pursue the idea of women's suffrage, or at least a more assertive political strategy. That the official attitude of indifference overcame such interests undoubtedly contributed to the eventual separation of key groups and individuals from the Council.

The Council had always included women from a broad range of political allegiances, and it was here that Alicia Moreau de Justo began to make her presence felt. Many of the most politically active members of the Council served on the Press and Propaganda Committee, which produced the Council's magazine. The Radical Elvira Rawson de Dellepiane presided with Sara Justo, a prominent Socialist and Moreau's sister-in-law, as treasurer, while the López sisters, Elvira and Ernestina, edited the magazine. The sisters had produced some of the most notable scholarship on feminism in Argentina at that point, and they shared the desire for a more active political role. In 1904, they attended the ICW meeting in Chicago, ostensibly to learn more about educational methods, but while there they made their own connections to the politically minded members of the international organization, and their work on the magazine earned praise from the participants.[23] The aftermath to this meeting set the stage for the activists in the Council to part ways with the conservative leadership, thus allowing them to truly take the lead in the campaign for women's rights.

Shortly after their return from Chicago, the López sisters and other members of the Press and Propaganda Committee created a new organization, the Centro de Universitarias Argentinas. This group, which joined the Council in 1905, made "the intimate union between women devoted to university studies" its reason for existence. Ordinarily, the Universitarias would hold conferences and meetings in order to share the intellectual work and publications of its members, much as any other academic society. However, it also pledged to "lend moral support when the interests of a particular woman are damaged or her rights ignored." In short, this society of an elite and—at that time—very small group of women reserved the right to participate politically and gave itself a broad criteria

[23] "Carta de la Dra. Elvira López a la Dra. Grierson," *Revista del Consejo Nacional de Mujeres*, 5:17, March 1905, p. 13–14; *Revista del Consejo Nacional de Mujeres*, 5; 19, September 1905, pp. 1–2, 37; Sosa y Newton, *Diccionario Biográfico*, p. 361. Note that Elvira López directed her report on the Chicago conference to Grierson, not to Van Praet or to the Council.

for defining women's issues.[24] The Universitarias included almost all of Argentina's best-educated women and thus presented a viable alternative to the Council. That Grierson not only joined but also became president of the Universitarias (a fitting role for the nation's first female doctor) underscored this, though the affiliation of the Universitarias with the Council showed that it did not necessarily seek to challenge the older organization. Nevertheless, within a year, the first major split within the Council took place in a climate of increased feminist radicalism.

In September 1906, a group of Socialists and Anarchists, many of them affiliated with the Universitarias, organized the "Free-Thinkers Congress," bringing together some 130 delegates from across the nation and the world. The Free-Thinkers Congress, which included Moreau de Justo and many of the Socialists who eventually served in the National Congress, provided a forum for the most radically progressive ideas of the day, including feminism. At the conference, some of the speakers "turned into interesting female-Quijotes of feminism" in their calls for absolute divorce and "female redemption" in terms of legal rights. While these ideas did not go unchallenged during the conference, the mainstream press described the feminist speeches as "amazingly eloquent, deeply and convincingly thoughtful" with the power to "reveal false prejudices." The final resolutions of the Free-Thinkers Congress included a list of the most important left-wing feminist reforms, defining their agenda for years to come: absolute divorce, completely secular public education on an equal basis for males and females, and equality between men and women in the civil and political realms as well as in the workplace. The resolutions also supported the creation of feminist organizations, a suggestion that Moreau de Justo took to heart. Less than two weeks after the end of the Congress, she had presided over the inaugural meeting of a new "Feminist Center" that included many of the participants of the Free-Thinkers Congress.[25] Indeed, the new organization brought in several members of

[24] "Publicaciones recibidas," *Revista del Consejo Nacional de Mujeres*, 5:18, June 1905, pp. 32–33; Frutos, *La mujer en la medicina argentina*, p. 88.

[25] "El Congreso del Librepesamiento: Inauguración de las sesiones, los primeros discursos," *La Prensa*, 21 September, 1906; "Congreso del Librepensamiento," *La Protesta*, 23 September 1906; "Congreso del librepensamiento, su última sesión," *La Prensa*, 24 September 1906 "Ecos del congreso del librepensamiento," *La Prensa*, 7 October 1906; María Abella de Ramírez, *Ensayos femini-*

the National Women's Council, providing them with the outlet for political activism that they craved. The attention that the Free-Thinkers Congress received highlighted the increasingly public profile of feminism as a political force in Argentina. However, this very success would soon lead to the split within the ranks of that movement.

The controversy that led to the Council's division did not appear suddenly. In 1908, the Council's Press and Propaganda Committee began work on an international conference to celebrate the centennial of Argentine independence. At the same meeting, the Universitarias Argentinas, now the center for the more radical feminists still remaining in the Council, announced its own plans for a conference and requested the Council's support. While the Council turned down this request on the basis that the organization could not support two conferences with the same purpose at the same time, the Universitarias persisted with their plans.[26] Van Praet responded to this potential competition with intransigence. Given the move toward a more overtly political agenda, Van Praet reasserted her opposition to pursuing the vote and other changes in women's legal status. Responding to prompting from both activist members in the national Council and from international chapters, she argued that not only would a suffrage campaign be ineffective, but also "counterproductive" to the Council's "well-founded reputation." In this way, she reassured the conservatives within the Council who apparently had "misunderstood" the Council's intentions. These groups, chiefly from the interior of the nation, had sent word that they were ready "to erase their names from the list of affiliated societies if the Council changed the direction that they thought it would take when they incorporated with the association." The Council, she asserted "has not deviated from the principles that supported its foundation and it continues its forward

stas (Montevideo: Editorial El Siglo Ilustrado, 1965), pp. 13–15. This book, originally published in 1906, contains a variety of essays inspired by the Free-Thinkers Congress.

[26] "Acta de la Sesión del Consejo Nacional de Mujeres," *Revista del Consejo Nacional de Mujeres*, 8:31, September 1908, pp. 6–7. At this time, the president of the Universitarias was Emilia Salza, a former member of the Press and Propaganda Committee, who, along with Grierson, took on a leading role in organizing the 1910 Conference. The original proposal for the Congress came from Julieta Lanteri, a doctor and former member of the Council who made a significant impact on public discourse on feminism and suffrage in the 1910s and 1920s. *Primer congreso femenino internacional de la República Argentina* (Buenos Aires: A. Ceppi, 1911), p. 7.

march within the feminism that carried it back then."[27] Feminism, as she interpreted it, "elevates and dignifies the association whose moral and maternal influence grows greater day by day."[28] Her claim of toeing the line in terms of political advancement certainly rang true—Van Praet had indeed kept the Council to a more traditional focus on "moral" influence and social aid work, and her comments reveal that many within the organization agreed wholeheartedly with that focus. Van Praet made it absolutely clear that she intended to maintain the support of those traditionalists at any cost.

Van Praet's reassertion of the Conservative leanings of the Council spelled the end for the possibility of progressive politics within the group. At the same meeting in which Van Praet renewed her claim to the leadership and direction of the Council, Emilia Salza, president of the Universitarias, presented her resignation from the Council. She assured the membership that she took this action not out of any "personal motives" but rather due to "a question of ideals" and the need to devote herself to the Universitarias and its conference. Van Praet accepted the resignation with good grace. However, when Salza left the Council, she took the group affiliation of the Universitarias with her. While a few of their members remained for a time, the possibility of a progressive political agenda had now vanished from the oldest feminist group in the country, never to return.[29]

By the beginning of 1909, there were three major leftist feminist groups—the Universitarias Argentinas, the Centro Socialista Femenino, and the Centro Juana Manuel Gorriti—the latter two of which had connections to major political parties. These groups now combined their efforts to organize the First International Women's Congress, to be held in May of 1910. This alliance formed the basis for progressive feminism in the next two decades. Members of the Socialist and Gorriti Centers even collaborated on a new publication titled *Unión y Labor*. The editors

[27] "Acta de la asamblea del Consejo Nacional de Mujeres," *Revista del Consejo Nacional de Mujeres*, 8:32, December 1908, pp. 6–7.

[28] Ibid.

[29] "Informe de la Secretaria del Interior," *Revista del Consejo Nacional de Mujeres*, 8:32, December 1908, pp. 15–16, 63; "Acta de la asamblea del Consejo Nacional de Mujeres," *Revista del Consejo Nacional de Mujeres*, 8:32, December 1908, p. 13.

of the magazine, which included ex-members of the Council's Press and Propaganda Committee, made their stance clear in their opening remarks:

> This will be a record of female progress in our country and abroad, so that the example of our confederates from across the sea may inspire us and give us the necessary strength to fully sustain the exalted banner of women's progress. This is because female progress is also progress in general, since we women form part of humanity.[30]

The writers of *Unión y Labor* thus reiterated their adherence to international feminism and the connection between female rights and modernity.

The appearance of *Unión y Labor* coincided with a resurgence of political and labor activism in the nation. In 1909, Juan Antonio Argerich—who had joined Alfredo Palacios as a Socialist deputy—presented another attempt to reform the Civil Code. This effort died in committee, as before. Nonetheless, it did help to maintain awareness of women's issues.[31] However, as the centennial Independence Day approached in 1910, a new crisis took center stage as a new wave of strikes surged throughout the country. These reached such intensity that the government declared a state of siege shortly before the Women's Congress was to begin.[32] In spite of protests, the government cracked down on leftist organizations and publications (the Socialist newspaper *La Vanguardia*, for example, stopped publishing until August of that year).[33] By the time the state of siege ended, the National Congress had passed a new law, called the "Law of Social Defense." This law, in addition to further tightening the immigration policies laid out in the Residence Law, explicitly forbade anyone from promoting anarchism or any "illegal" actions. Furthermore, all public meetings of any kind now required a government permit. This edict effectively ended anarchism as a major political

[30] "Nuestro propositos," *Unión y Labor*, 1:1, 21 October 1909, p. 2.

[31] Congreso Nacional, Cámara de Diputados, *Diario de Sesiones, 1909*, v.1, pp. 442–443.

[32] "Agitación Gremial," *La Vanguardia*, 8 May 1910; "Generalizacón de la huelga: toman parte en la lucha numerosas mujeres," *La Vanguardia*, 5 May 1910; Diego Abad de Santillán, *La FOR A, ideología y trayectoria* (Buenos Aires: Proyección, 1971).

[33] "El estado de sitio," *La Vanguardia*, 14 May 1910.

movement (though it did not disappear entirely).[34] It was in this atmosphere of upheaval and repression that the feminist centennial conferences took place.

Of the two women's assemblies that took place in May of 1910, that of the progressive wing enjoyed greater success in terms of participation and long-term significance. The First International Women's Congress of the Argentine Republic included participants in the 1906 Free-Thinkers Congress and brought together women from across South America and Europe. The stated goals of the Congress included the creation of "bonds of unity" between women of all nations and "social positions" and to "modify prejudices" that obscure women's accomplishments in the home and workplace.[35] Ernestina López addressed the opening ceremonies and elaborated on these goals with a call to "elevate the concept of feminism and generate general sympathy for it."[36] She expressed hope that the Congress would provide "useful elements" for feminist action, and that "cooperation that by itself is capable of miracles" would result.[37] These sentiments demonstrated a continued interest in international feminism and the idea of a unified feminist movement—an ideal that must have appeared increasingly remote.

While the goal of feminist unity may have been dubious, the Congress did provide a forum for a wide range of topics of concern to feminists, outlining the agenda for Argentine feminism for decades to come.[38] Each presentation touched on some aspect of feminism, encouraging women to take an active role in seeking solutions to social problems. However, there were limits to its activism. Toward the end, the National League of Women Free-Thinkers proposed a resolution to the Argentine Congress in support of the "exercise of all political and civil rights" for women. The assembly ultimately decided that such a resolution was inappropriate.[39]

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[34] República Argentina, *Leyes Nacionales años 1909 y 1910* (Buenos Aires: Secretaría del Honorable Senado de la Nación, 1913), pp. 478–483.

[35] *Primer congreso femenino…*, p. 14. See page 8 for a listing of the Congress' officers.

[36] Ibid., p. 38.

[37] Ibid., p. 38.

[38] Ibid., pp. 53–54, 201–202, 315, 367–368.

[39] Ibid., pp. 415; Lavrin, *Women, Feminism, and Social Change*, pp. 204–205.

Moreau de Justo summed up the overall impact of the Congress when she wrote:

> This Congress has the merit of having fixed the thoughts of some Argentine women at the time on such questions as: civil and political rights, the situation of children both legitimate and illegitimate, organization of the family, divorce, and the repression of alcoholism… It was a handful of women that had the audacity to break the silence that surrounded their problems, in an age when most men did not dare to publicly discuss some of them. Their thinking proved to be as high-minded as that of their European sisters whose example guided them.[40]

The Congress thus helped to elevate Moreau de Justo to the ranks of the most prominent women leaders of the day and reinvigorated the women's rights movement as a whole, just as voting rights within Argentina saw their first major expansion in decades with the Sàenz Peña law of 1912. This law created the secret ballot and mandatory voting for all adult males, paving the way for the reformist Radical Party to take power in 1916.

Socialist feminists, long concerned with women's civil and political rights, thus renewed their efforts throughout the 1910s. The Socialist Women's Center continued to act as both an interest group and a support organization within the Socialist Party, and a number of skilled women took on leadership roles within its ranks. In addition to Sara Justo and Alicia Moreau de Justo (who married Party founder Juan Justo in 1924), there were Fenia Chertcoff de Repetto (wife of Party leader and national deputy Nicolás Repetto) and Carolina Muzzilli, a self-taught woman who understood from personal experience the issues of working-class women.[41] These four leaders represented a new wave of progressive feminism that helped reinforce the link between Argentine socialism and feminism. The Socialist's Party support for feminism had been clear since its creation, and the Party Congress of 1912 saw a reaffirmation of that support. During that Congress, Nicholas Repetto and José Muzzilli

[40] Alicia Moreau de Justo, *La mujer en la democracia* (Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1945), p. 163.

[41] Paulina Luisi, "Homenaje a Carolina Muzzilli," *Humanidad Nueva*, 11:1–2, February 1918, p. 18; "Homenaje a Carolina Muzzilli," *La Vanguardia* (supplement), 11 March 1947.

(Carolina's brother) moved a resolution calling on the Party to expand its organization of women within its ranks and those of affiliated unions. They reminded the assembly that women formed an essential and growing segment of the proletariat, and that without their inclusion the worker's movement as a whole could not succeed. The Congress therefore resolved to support the unionization of women workers and equal pay for men and women. To accomplish this, they pledged to use "conferences, pamphlets and books" to reach these women and "by making them think of their interests… they will join the Socialist Party, the Party of Class, made up of the working class in defense of its economic and political interests."[42] In his statement, José Muzzilli expressed confidence in the ability of the Party to attract female members so long as they avoided "the lyrical declarations of bourgeois feminists" and the "belligerent demonstrations of the 'suffragettes.'"[43] At this point, the Socialists remained the only party to make a clear statement on women's political or civil rights. This made it simple for the Socialists to assert themselves as the leading force in the women's rights movement, a status that they would reiterate time and again over the next forty years. Nevertheless, they remained a minority party that faced continued hostility from the major parties and press, and thus the need to expand their base and form alliances was of paramount importance.[44] Without at least some support from the majority party, they could not expect success in any of their major projects, which rarely fared well during the rule of the conservative PAN.

The success of electoral reform in 1912 thus made the Socialists cautiously optimistic. "The inertia and parliamentary disdain for constructive legislation," wrote deputy Enrique Dickmann, "is well known… I am not sure that the new political forces have sufficiently infused new practices and customs into the heart of the Congress to push it down the high road to social legislation."[45] Despite this "inertia," the Socialists

[42] "X Congreso Nacional del Partido Socialista," *La Vanguardia*, 17 January 1912.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Enrique Dickmann, *Jornada legal de trabajo y semana inglesa* (Buenos Aires: La Vanguardia, 1914), pp. 23–24; Juan Justo, *El socialismo argentino* (Buenos Aires: La Vanguardia, 1915); Alicia Moreau, "Fábula antigua y moraleja actual," *Humanidad Nueva*, v.9, 1916, p. 99.

[45] Enrique Dickmann, *Jornada legal de trabajo y semana inglesa* (Buenos Aires: La Vanguardia, 1914), pp. 23–24; Juan Justo, *El socialismo argentino* (Buenos Aires: La Vanguardia, 1915).

continued to push their agenda, and had even met with some success in implementing mild workplace reforms.[46] However, the Socialists also faced continued hostility to their efforts. Moreau de Justo noticed that in the Argentine press, Socialists became the "common enemy" for all politicians, uniting "the most reactionary and the most progressive" in a "singular crusade" against the party.[47] Rather than discouraging her, this seemingly unreasonable antipathy simply underscored the importance of the Socialist "mission" of "popular education" and the "elevation and betterment of the mass of men."[48] Socialists and feminists in the Party therefore made concerted efforts to make information about their cause available to as much of the general population as possible.

While similar in form to the services of the National Women's Council, the Socialists sought to distance themselves from the style of religious charities and elitist "feminism of the salon" by combining intellectual appeal with useful services and reform campaigns.[49] For example, they held conferences on prohibition, tax reform, education, divorce, and the needs of working women, and petitioned Congress on these issues; supported Socialist candidates in elections; created children's centers and the adult learning center *Sociedad Luz*; backed male and female strikers and sent inspectors to make sure management followed workplace regulations; and sponsored festivals for children and families during May Day and other holidays.[50] However, the hoped-for outpouring of support from working-class women never materialized. By the beginning of the 1920s, the Center still had plans to "initiate an intense propaganda campaign" among working women in order to "break the indifference that they have demonstrated until now and interest them in the redemption of their rights."[51] Despite the credible claim that the Socialists alone

[46] Ibid.; Juan Justo, *El socialismo argentino* (Buenos Aires: La Vanguardia, 1915). Dickmann was a friend of Fenia Chertcoff whose family had immigrated to Argentina around the same time.

[47] Alicia Moreau, "Fábula antigua y moraleja actual," *Humanidad Nueva*, v.9, 1916, p. 99.

[48] Alicia Moreau, "El triunfo socialista," *Humanidad Nueva*, v. 9, 1916, pp. 134–135.

[49] Bartolomé Bosio, "Caridad del clérigo-burgués y el socialismo," *La Vanguardia*, 20 April 1901; Alicia Moreau, "El feminismo en la evolución social," *Humanidad Nueva*, 4:10, October 1911, pp. 357–358.

[50] Fenis Chertcoff de Repetto, "El movimiento socialista femenino en la República Argentina," *Almanaque del Trabajo 1918*, p. 142.

[51] "Centro Socialista Femenino," *La Vanguardia*, 5 May 1921.

"really concerned themselves with the wellbeing of women," it appeared that most women proved reluctant to join the party.[52] This reluctance may be explained in part by the persistent resistance of other political parties to the Socialist message. It may also be the case that the reach of the various Socialist activities and groups was not as extensive as its partisans might have hoped, although it is equally likely that the average working woman simply might not have had the time, ability, or inclination to support the Socialists, even if they appreciated the work the Center performed. Their efforts and rhetoric notwithstanding, the Socialists ultimately could not credibly claim to be the foremost leaders of the women's rights movement.

Undaunted, Moreau de Justo and her fellow women's rights activists continued to develop their arguments in favor of reform by turning the apparent reluctance of women to participate in politics into a rationale for them to do just that. The idea that women possessed an inherently moral/domestic quality formed an integral part of any argument that justified their activity in the public realm. While individual activists disagreed on the extent to which women should be included in politics, all seemed to agree that women based their lives in home and family, and therefore had to have some way to shape society in order to defend their realm. "What greater mission can be conceived for women," wrote one leftist commentator, "than that of having children and shaping men?"[53] These feminists believed that all famous men "were the spiritual sons of their mothers, not their fathers."[54] Regardless of ideology, another writer asserted, "everyone recognizes the importance of motherhood in the past, present, and future and the utility and necessity of making the greatest number of women possible fit" for their maternal duties.[55] The existence of a wide variety of organizations designed to train and assist mothers was proof that feminists of all ideologies agreed with this statement. However, the seeming universal acceptance of women's value as mothers by no means translated into acceptance of feminism or suffrage. Some

[52] Ibid.

[53] "¿Cómo ha de ser la mujer?" *Humanidad Nueva*, 8:11, August 1915, pp. 466–467.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Eugenia Viale, "Para las madres," *Unión y Labor*, 4:45–46, June–July 1913, p. 14.

right-wing critics believed that women already exercised considerable power within the home, and that political activity would transform them into "caricatures of men."[56] For others, the very meaning of feminism was to "perfect women as women, limiting them to their family mission."[57] However, feminists argued that the very importance of the domestic role made women not only fit for the vote, but also essential for democracy. After all, if a woman could be trusted with such a vital job as raising children, surely they were fit to vote. Besides, "twenty centuries of masculine civilization [had] plainly demonstrated their inability to govern smoothly"—women could do no worse.[58] Moreau de Justo further raised the argument of upbringing—if women were brought up for the home alone, or taught from birth that the domestic sphere was their only place and highest ambition, then that attitude would become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Thus, men and women alike in all classes had to change their attitudes—allowing women greater political and civil rights would go a long way toward this goal.[59] With these arguments in mind, Moreau de Justo attempted a bold new strategy to highlight women's readiness to effectively participate in the political realm.

In February of 1920, the Socialists joined with other reform-minded groups to the National Feminist Union, which would stage a mock election in Buenos Aires alongside the official national election. "Although it will not hold legal value," the organizers proclaimed, "no one can ignore the moral significance of this act, since it will be a completely impartial view of the future female electorate."[60] The Union requested candidate lists from all the major parties, encouraging them to support the experiment and encourage participation. In this way, the feminists sought to interest political parties in the prospect of female suffrage and to "awaken in women the desire to study the political and social problems

[56] Estanislao Zeballos in Font, *La mujer…*, pp. 19–20.

[57] Luis Reyna Almandos, *La mujer…*, p. 127.

[58] "La mujer y su situación en la vida moderna," *La Mujer y la Casa*, no. 2, November 1919, pp. 5–6; "Las sufragistas bellas," *La Razón*, 10 May 1913.

[59] Alicia Moreau, "La inferioridad de la mujer," *Humanidad Nueva*, 9:1, January 1916, pp. 16–19.

[60] "Ensayo del voto femenino," *La Vanguardia*, 10 February 1920; Marcela Marìa Alejandra Nari, "Maternidad, polìtica y feminismo," in Fernanda Gil Lozano, Valeria Silvina Pita and Marìa Gabriela Ini, eds. *Historia de las mujeres en la Argentina, siglo XX* (Buenos Aires: Taurus, 2000), pp. 197–198.

of our republic" as well as gauge their reactions to those problems. As head of the Union, Moreau de Justo promised that the vote would be entirely "apolitical" and "impartial," and succeeded in gaining support from the "principle feminist organizations" and the Radical, Socialist, and Progressive Democrat Parties.[61]

Given her well-known affiliation with the Socialists, having Moreau de Justo as head of the Union may have given rise to doubts about the impartiality of the mock election, but the national press seemed supportive of the idea. As the March 7 election neared, newspapers reported on the "active preparations" of the Union and expressed interest in learning how a segment of the population "that has never been consulted" would react in an election.[62] Reporting on the event itself, however, proved to be less positive. *La Naciòn*, for example, reported that as many as four hundred women turned out at each of the polling places across the city, and women of all ages and classes participated. They also observed that Sara Justo turned up to vote at no less than four of those polls in order to test the accuracy of the system put in place. The overall tone of the article demonstrated pleasure at the "platonic enthusiasm" of voters and poll workers alike. In contrast, *El Diario* observed that with 20 polling places in operation, only about 2500 women voted, and that they observed a climate of "apathy" at those polls their reporters visited. The official tally of the votes gave a strong majority to the Socialists—1995 votes, versus 619 for the Independent Party of Women, 465 for the Radicals, 397 for the Progressive Democrats, and 402 for other candidates.[63] As Moeau de Justo and the press analyzed the results, they saw cause for both celebration and alarm. On the positive side, women had certainly demonstrated their interest in politics, and had cast their ballots in good order, even though there had been only a month to prepare. Though participation was low, the Union's leaders could point out that this had, after all, been

[61] "Emancipaciòn polìtica de la mujer: resoluciones tomadas en la asamblea de organizaciones feministas," *La Razòn*, 14 February 1920; "Ensayo de sufragio femenino," *La Vanguardia*, 15 February 1920; "Ensayo electoral femenino," *La Razòn*, 24 February 1920.

[62] "Sufragio femenino," *El Diario*, 23 February 1920.

[63] "Ensayo del voto femenino en la capital," *La Naciòn*, 8 March 1920; "El voto femenino, inocente diversiòn electoral," *El Diario*, 8 March 1920; "El Ensayo del voto femenino," *La Naciòn*, 10 March 1920. The article in *El Diario* mentions that the reporters did not arrive at the polls until 5 PM, making fatigue a reasonable explanation for the apparent "apathy" that they observed.

a purely voluntary endeavor, whereas actual elections at the time involved mandatory voting. By that reasoning, one could also assume that many potential voters might not have been able to visit the polling places due to work or family obligations. Such considerations led the largest newspapers to acknowledge that, though the low turnout might indicate that suffrage was not an urgent matter, it was still worth pursuing. However, they also observed that the "extreme parties" would benefit the most from women's voting rights. *La Naciòn*, in particular, noted that the initial results of the mock election "frankly favored" the Socialist Party. While dismissing the notion that the majority of women in Buenos Aires truly favored this "tendency," the article did suggest that these results reflected "gratitude" for the Party that "in its electoral propaganda has promised [women] to bring feminist agitation to Congress."[64]

This article highlighted the concern that, at least at first, women would support Socialists in order to thank them for their perennial support of women's political rights, and even a limited surge in support for the Socialists clearly concerned the political mainstream, as did the prospect that women approved of "feminist agitation." The Socialists, on their side, certainly did nothing to diminish their association with feminism. Indeed, Moreau de Justo and other party leaders frequently celebrated their long-standing support of suffrage and used events such as the mock election to bolster their status as the principle advocates for women's rights. In their eyes, such examples, alongside the spread of suffrage internationally, proved that women would "confirm and accentuate the evolution of political democracy" instead of supporting conservative and clerical candidates, as some predicted. Thus, the Socialists expected suffrage to become a "beautiful reality" quite soon. Meanwhile, they continued to publicize their own bylaws that ensured women equal standing with men in Party assemblies and elections.[65] Thus, many politicians of other parties likely saw their concerns about

[64] Reproduced in Font, *La Mujer*, p. 202 and Cichero, *Alicia Moreau de Justo*, pp. 161–162.

[65] "La mujer y las elecciones," *La VanguardiaI, 23 February 1920*; "Por los derechos de la mujer," *La Vanguardia*, 4 March 1920; "Asamblea local – quienes pueden votar," *La Vanguardia*, 22 August 1926.

the short-term outcome of women's suffrage as valid, offsetting any other rationale that might lead them to support it. Regardless, the Union, now firmly under Moreau's leadership, continued to operate throughout the 1920s, conducting further mock elections and publicizing feminist opinion through its magazine, *Nuestra Causa*. Such activism helped to keep feminism in the public eye.[66] However, by the early 1930s, the first generation of Argentine feminists began to fade from the scene, leaving Moreau as one of the few prominent leaders of the movement to remain.

Julieta Lanteri de Renshaw, Fenia Chertcoff de Repetto, and Cecilia Grierson, leading figures in the early feminist campaign, had all passed away by 1934, and Elvira Rawson de Dellepiane, frustrated by her own lack of success in these campaigns, especially following the ouster of the Radical Party in 1930, withdrew from political activism.[67] Moreau, however, kept up her efforts to support the cause of women's suffrage as an important ingredient in the overall Socialist campaign, a program she made very clear in her 1933 book, *El Socialismo y la Mujer*, one of the most extensive defenses of the necessity of women's involvement in politics in Latin America to date. This book presented the most comprehensive vision of left-wing feminism available, discussing both her goals for and expected roles of women in Argentina. Socialism "signifies not only a modification of laws and budgets," Moreau de Justo wrote, "but also a change of institutions, customs, ideas, and feelings." This transformation "cannot be made without woman," she continued, "who is the mother, the first educator, the one that forms man's fundamental feelings and

[66] "El voto femenino de mañana," *El Diario*, 20 November 1920; "Ensayo de voto femenino," *La Vanguardia*, 25 November 1920 (This mock election coincided with a municipal election, and saw 5814 women vote); "Uniòn Feminista Nacional," *Nuestra Causa*, 3:24, June 1921, pp. 298–299.

[67] "Falleció hoy la Dra. Lanteri," *El Diario*, 25 February 1932; "Con Julieta Lanteri, desaparece un gran espíritu femenino," *Crítica*, 25 February 1932; Adelia di Carlo, "Doctora Julieta Lanteri: la gran líder del feminismo argentino ha muerto," *Caras y Ccaretas*, no. 1744, 5 March 1932; Araceli Bellota, *Julieta Lanteri: La pasión de una mujer* (Buenos Aires: Planeta Singular, 2001), pp. 218–232; Mónica Deleis, Ricardo de Titto, and Diego L. Aruindeguy, *Mujeres de la Política Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Aguilar, 2001), pp. 260, 272–274, 287–289, 325–236; Alfredo G. Kohn Loncaria, *Cecilia Grierson: vida y obra de la primera medica argentina* (Buenos Aires: Stilografa, 1976), pp. 21–22; Alicia Moreau de Justo, *El socialismo y la mujer* (Buenos Aires: La Vanguardia, 1933), pp. 9, 21–27; Deleis et al, *Mujeres de la política argentina*, pp. 325–326.

answers the first questions that the spectacle of the world poses to his developing intelligence." Yet Moreau de Justo called on women to:

> Unite their forces as workers in the home, the factory, the workplace, the field, and the city to *conquer their political rights*, to fight with greater intelligence and greater strength for the birth of a world completely free of error and violence, a world based on the rights that make all human beings equal.[68]

Socialist feminists believed that while the society and religious charities that "women of the upper bourgeois" operated did demonstrate women's "capabilities and even their self-denial," these organizations ultimately did more harm than good by "closing off all ideas of social renovation." Moreau de Justo perpetuated the ideas that had guided her and her fellow feminists for years. Women could and should be equal to men, but their maternal role would always represent their chief value to society; women could help transform society, but their role within any society would not necessarily change from the domestic sphere. These ideas guided the Socialists in the 1930s as they tried to revive their political fortunes during the Infamous Decade with the help of women's organizations.[69] A surge of strong right-wing activism created an atmosphere of overt hostility to feminism, in contrast to the subtler resistance that had allowed the 1932 suffrage project that had passed the lower house of Congress to stagnate in the senate budget committee. While conservatives proved unable to reverse the gains feminism had made so far in national legislation, these "enemies of liberty," as Moreau de Justo dubbed them, could obstruct new advances or put their own face on the goals of feminism.[70] However, both feminists and conservatives would face new challenges as the political climate shifted in the 1930s, setting the stage for the rise of a new political movement—that of Juan and Evita Perón.

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[68] Alicia Moreau de Justo, *El socialismo y la mujer* (Buenos Aires: La Vanguardia, 1933), pp. 9, 21–27.

[69] Moreau de Justo, *El socialismo y la mujer*, pp. 9, 21–27; Deleis et al, *Mujeres de la política argentina*, pp. 325–326.

[70] Congreso Nacional, Cámara del Senado, *Diario de Sesiones de 1938*, v. 1, pp. 1364–1366; Congreso Nacional, Cámara de Diputados, *Diario de Sesiones de 1938*, v. 2, pp. 1484–1486; Coca, *Ley de sufragio femenino*, 139–144; Moreau de Justo, *La mujer en la democracia*, pp. 82–83.

After winning the presidency in 1946, Juan Perón sought to make good on his pledge to support the long-sought-after women's suffrage law, a campaign that Evita enthusiastically challenged. The mainstream press, usually critical of Perón in those days, embraced the proposal but reminded readers that the vote should be accompanied by "an active civic education campaign for women" in order to prepare the new voters.[71] Surprisingly, the socialist feminists engaged in a concerted effort to reject the Peronist suffrage project. Most suffragists opposed the idea of implementing women's suffrage under the GOU government on the basis that said government lacked democratic credibility.[72] The Perón regime, they argued, was also "of a totalitarian cut" and lacked legitimacy.[73] To the socialists, there was little doubt that support for suffrage amounted to little more than a cynical attempt to amplify the Peronist movement and Evita's power:

> Why does he [Perón] want to mobilize the population and create a movement around a cause that has already been won and to which there is no opposition? Could it be that this is a way of mobilizing women with the definite end that could well mean the enlargement and reinforcement of electoral clout for a lady with aspirations to a candidacy? History will tell.[74]

The socialist feminists did not limit themselves to written criticism but also made efforts to mobilize women against the government. Moreau de Justo worked tirelessly to win women over. In June of 1947, the Socialist Women's Center held a conference to discuss their political strategy in the face of what seemed to be the inevitable triumph of the Peronist suffrage project.[75] They aimed to convince women voters that the Socialist Party had always had their best interests at heart. The events of September 1947, however, proved that these efforts could not to stop the *Peronista*

[71] "El sufragio femenino," *La Nación*, 23 August 1946.

[72] GOU – Grupo de Oficiales Unidos (Group of United Officers).

[73] "La mujer socialista," *La Vanguardia*, (suppl.) 21 January 1947.

[74] "La mujer frente a problemas actuales," *La Vanguardia* (suppl.), 11 March 1947. See also "La Unión de Mujeres Socialistas organiza jiras por el interior," *La Vanguardia*, 22 October, 1946.

[75] *Conferencia nacional de mujeres socialistas, Junio 5, 6, 7, y 8 de 1947*, CEDINCI, Box c-88; *La vanguardia* (suppl.), 8 April 1947, p. 2.

juggernaut. Evita's predecessors in the campaign for suffrage, in contrast, upheld the notion that in a democracy all groups must be represented equally, and therefore the recognition of subordinate rights for a particular group was anathema.[76] Nevertheless, these first activists had recognized the dangers women faced when entering the realm of party politics. Moreau de Justo believed that women could, and should, "give their support to the highest and most dearly held beliefs and present a healthy and almost incorruptible support" for their party. However, she also recognized that the lack of experience of most women made them vulnerable to manipulation.[77] In order to protect themselves, Blanca Cassagne Serres had advised women voters to study particular candidates or issues carefully and, when in doubt about how to vote, "we should consult serene men and women; those that don't go to political meetings or committees, because the state of reflection appeals to them more," advice which, assuming it could be followed, might still lead the voter astray.[78] When the law did pass to great acclaim, Evita sought to capitalize on that success by organizing the Peronist Women's Party (PPF), producing a slate of candidates that would run in the next congressional election and setting the stage for her own brief bid for the vice-presidency in 1951. Moreau de Justo vigorously rejected the idea of a women's party for the simple reason that it seemed ludicrous to her that there would be issues that affect women only. She cited maternity leave as an issue that certainly affected women a great deal, but that also involved a variety of professions and had the potential to greatly impact society as a whole.[79]

Despite the prominence of largely female-only organizations prior to winning suffrage, early feminists, nevertheless, clearly saw themselves as integrating into existing political structures as quickly as possible once the vote was theirs. Members of the PPF even had violent encounters

[76] Blanca Azucena Cassagne de Serres, *¿Debe votar la mujer? Cultura Civica Femenina* (Buenos Aires: Editor Licurgo, 1945), pp. 47–48.

[77] Alicia Moreau de Justo, *La mujer en la democracia* (Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 1945), pp. 100–107.

[78] Cassagne Serres, *¿Debe votar la mujer?*, p. 26.

[79] Moreau, *La mujer en la democracia*, p. 101. Moreau specifically lists doctors, sociologists, writers, journalists, labor leaders, and politicians (but not factory owners) as interested in the issue of child-care. It is perhaps an unintended consequence of this listing that Moreau, by naming all of these professions as interested parties in addition to women, implicitly excludes women from their ranks.

with opposition organizations, including Moreau de Justo's women's center. The very fact of Evita's leadership, therefore, made it impossible to attract women who had devoted themselves to the women's rights movement. Those women who did run on the PPF ticket all won their races, including six senators and twenty-three deputies, whereas Moreau de Justo lost a similar bid. Equally important, from the point of view of suffragists and *Peronistas* alike, women proved their enthusiasm for voting, as turnout among women exceeded that of men. Finally, women proved to be more supportive of Peronism than men, as 63.9% of female voters chose Perón. The other parties that ran female candidates, including the socialists, failed to elect any of them. More than anything else, this triumph of the *Peronistas* demonstrated the inability of the suffragists to command a popular following. The *Peronista* candidates, on the other hand, won purely on the basis of their connection to the PPF—none had participated in any sort of political activities before, a decision Evita made to prevent the possibility of an independent power base for any one *Peronista*. While this may have denied some talented women access to power, it was consistent with Evita's concern for unity and loyalty.[80] Thus, for the remainder of the Perón regime, Moreau de Justo was relegated to the position of political outsider, a position that did not end with the overthrow of his presidency in 1955. She never abandoned her role as a political activist, acting as a political consultant, journalist, and prominent opposition figure to the human rights abuses of the notorious military regime of the 1970s and 1980s before her death, at age one hundred, in 1986.[81]

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[80] Silvia Guivant, *La visible Eva Perón*, pp. 52–53; dos Santos, *Las mujeres peronistas* pp. 59–66; Vera Pichel, Vera Pichel, *Delia D. de Parodi: una mujer en el congreso* (Buenos Aires: Circulo de Legisladores de la Nación Argentina, 1998), pp. 73–74; James, *Doña María's Story*, pp. 187–190.

[81] Deleis et al., *Mujeres de la política argentina*, pp. 328–326.

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3

Magda Portal as Peruvian Poet, Radical, and Reformer

Gregory Hammond

In August of 1923, Magda Portal stood backstage at Lima's Municipal Theater, awaiting what must surely have been the crowning glory of her young life. At the age of twenty-three, she had just won the *Juegos Florales* (Tournament of Flowers), the national poetry competition that was one of the highlights of Lima's artistic season—an extraordinary accomplishment not just because of her age, but because she would be the first woman in history to earn this accolade. Before the award ceremony could begin, which would include a recitation of her winning poem, a ripple of activity surged through the crowd—Augusto Leguìa, the president of the nation, had just entered the auditorium, another unprecedented event. Rather than adding to the moment, however, Leguìa's arrival created a problem—once a reformer, he had seized power in a coup four years earlier, and like most dictators, he had shown intolerance for dissent. Indeed, just a few weeks prior, there had been a brutal crackdown on protestors marching against his policies, which

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included favoritism toward foreign, particularly U.S., capital and a warm relationship with the Catholic Church. The audience was well aware of all of this and was filled with people who were sympathetic to the protestors. As the mood of the audience thus turned from anticipation to resentment, Portal was invited onto the stage. However, instead of proceeding with the ceremony, Portal once again did something unprecedented—in a voice loud enough to be heard from the audience, she said, "No, I don't want to greet Leguìa, even out of courtesy. I renounce the prize."[1] This surprising act of defiance prompted warm applause from the audience, and thus began Portal's career, not only as a prominent figure in Peruvian literature, but also as one of the most important political leaders in her nation's history. As a poet and novelist, her work remains influential to this day. As a political leader, she led the way as an advocate for women's rights, particularly the right to vote, as well as a defender of the rights of workers and Native Americans.

Portal's emergence as a political leader, while spectacular, was not without precedent. Many individuals had spoken boldly in favor of women's rights in Peru, though prior to the 1920s organized action in this regard was rare. Those advocates who did appear were constrained by the political landscape of their nation, which, in the first half of the twentieth century, provided few opportunities for reformism of any kind. As in other Latin American nations, women's social and legal roles were still largely defined by the social norms of the colonial era and the laws of the early republican period, which upheld the gendered division of labor between the home and the public realm, although these boundaries were never truly solid. Economic realities, in particular, had always run counter to these norms, as many women were required to engage in "public" business in some fashion.[2] In the late nineteenth century, the development of industry and urbanization further undermined the traditional basis for

[1] Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel…*, pp. 21–25; Daniel Reedy, *Magda Portal, la Pasionaria Peruana: Biografía Intellectual* (Lima: Ediciones Flora Tristán, 2000), pp. 62–64.

[2] Bianca Premo, "From the Pockets of Women: The Gendering of the Mita, Migration, and Tribute in Colonial Chucuito, Peru," *The Americas* 57, no. 1 (July 2000): 63–93; Florencia E. Mallon "Gender and Class in the Transition to Capitalism: Household and Mode of Production in Central Peru," *Latin American Perspectives* 13, No. 1 (Winter, 1986): 147–174.

women's status as legal minors under the jurisdiction of their fathers and husbands, and that combined with the climate of discontent following the disastrous War of the Pacific against Chile (1879–1883), helped give rise to Peru's first clear expressions of feminism.[3]

In the wake of the war, a small but dynamic group of Peruvian women who had already undertaken efforts at expanding educational opportunities for women began to push for a larger role in public affairs. As one such activist, Elvira Garcia y Garcia, later recalled, "The War of the Pacific altered the social order in Peru, and the economic crisis that national disgrace brought with it showed women paths they could and should take without shame; and so they did in effect."[4] These "paths" primarily took the form of literary and journalistic expression, helping to create the environment in which Magda Portal would thrive. Even before the war, feminist ideas had opportunity for expression in Peru, largely through the famous salon of the exiled Argentine writer Juana Manuela Gorriti.[5] This salon became the starting point for a generation of Peruvian feminists, such as Mercedes Cabello and Clorinda Matto de Turner, who sought, in their work, to promote a new vision of femininity that shunned ostentation and that embraced a public-spirited conscience, even going so far as to encourage women to seek professional careers, while still basing itself in the traditional role of wife and mother, which they regarded as a woman's highest calling. Cabello, for example, argued that "if you educate women, illuminate their intelligence, you will have a powerful and universal motor for the progress and civilization of the world and a strong and unmoving column on which to base the morality and virtue of future

[3] Linda Rupert, *Women in Peru: Voices from a Decade* (New York: Ecumenical Committee on the Andes, 1986), p. 28; Jesús Cosamalón, "'Soy yo la que sostengo la casa,' El trabajo feminine en Lima," in Carmen Meza and Teodoro Hampe, eds., *La Mujer en la Historia de Perú (siglos XV al XX)*, (Lima: Fondo editorial del congreso de Perú, 2007) pp. 381–382; Carlos Neuhaus, "Mujeres, Poder, y Política en el siglo XIX," in Meza and Hampe, *La Mujer en la Historia…*, pp. 444–447; Carmen Meza Ingar "Legislación Social y Familiar," in Meza and Hampe, *La Mujer en la Historia…*, pp. 360–372; Carol Andreas, *When Women Rebel: The Rise of Popular Feminism in Peru* (Westport, CT: Lawrence Hill & co., 1985), pp. 8–12; Maritza Villavicencio, *Del Silencio a la Palabra: Mujeres Peruanas en los Siglos XIX y XX*, (Lima: Ediciones Flora Tristan, 1992), pp. 18–36, 106, 152–158.

[4] Quoted in Villavicencio, *Del Silencio al la Palabra…*, pp. 124–125.

[5] Graciela Batticuore, *El Taller de la Escritora: Velada Literaris de Juana Manuela Gorriti: Lima-Buenos Aires (1876–1892)* (Buenos Aires: Beatriz Vierbo Editor, 1999), p. 27.

generations."[6] However, she also acknowledged that while efforts to win the vote were worthy of praise, she "[thought] that the question was not one of great importance for women, nor on the day that she obtains her rights will she be elevated any higher in the already high position in which nature has placed her."[7] Ultimately, this approach to feminism, though limited in scope by avoiding calls for voting rights or other drastic changes in women's legal status, helped add to the spirit of reformism that developed in Peru toward the turn of the twentieth century.[8]

It was into this social and political environment that Magda Portal—the second of nine children—was born on May 27, 1900, in what was then the seaside town of Barranco, now a part of Lima. Her parents, Pedro Portal and Rosa Amelia Moreno del Risco, were solidly middle class, her father having risen from relatively humble position as a rubber worker in the Amazon to a thriving real estate entrepreneur. Portal's early childhood was happy, even idyllic, but that happiness was tragically cut short by her father's death when she was only five years old. This not only deprived her of a beloved parent, but also left the family financially bereft. Ultimately, they were forced to leave their home after losing a legal battle to a man to whom they had rented rooms. While her mother eventually remarried, briefly restoring the family's fortunes until he, too, passed away, this early tragedy left a deep impression on young Magda, giving her an early lesson in injustice and forcing her to take on responsibilities beyond her years. Thus, while she continued to pursue her education as

[6] Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera "Influencia de la mujer en la civilizaciòn," *El Album*, 19 (8 August 1874), Quoted in Villavicencio, *Del Silencio al la Palabra…*, p. 65.

[7] Villavicencio, *Del Silencio al la Palabra…*, pp. 96–97.

[8] Virginia Vargas Valente, *Feminismos en América Latina: su Aporte a la Política y a la Deomcracia* (Lima: Centro de la muje peruana Flora Tristan, 2008), p. 37; Francesca Denegri, *El Abanico y la Cigarrera; la Primera Generación de Mujeres Ilustradas en el Perú* (Lima: IEP ediciones, 2004) p. 16; María Nelly Goswitz, "Catalina y Blanca: Un analisis del ideario narrativo de Mercedes Cabello a través de las protagonistas fememninas de *Sacrificio y Recompense* y *Blanca Sol*" in Claire Emile Martín, ed. *Cien Años Despues: la Literature de Mujeres en América Latina* (Lima: Universidad de San Martín de Porres, 2010), pp. 111–113; Monica Cárdenas Moreno, "Elementos para la construcción de una ética femenina en el Perú decimonónico. Estudios de las novelas de Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera: *Blanca Sol* y *Conspirador* in Martín, *Cien Años Despues…*," p. 133; Irma Hernández, "Clorinda Matto de Turner: modista teoria," in Martín, *Cien Años Despues…*, pp. 135–136; Sarah H. Tyson, "The Image of the Modern Matriarch in Clorinda Matto de Turner's *Aves sin nido*," in Martín, *Cien Años Despues…*, pp. 145–150.

best she could, she was also obliged to work hard to support her family in any way she could.[9]

Peru, too, saw increasing levels of strife in the early decades of the twentieth century. The social divisions highlighted during the war with Chile had not healed, and political participation was limited to the elite. Under the governments of the Civilista Party and their successors, Peru's leaders followed a mild program of modernism, which included improvements in education, infrastructure, and immigration, but did not embrace broader political participation by those outside of those who depended on the import-export trade that focused on mining and certain cash crops such as cotton, which was the traditional source of Peruvian wealth since the colonial era.[10] Feminism, therefore, had little opportunity to affect the political landscape, even if the feminists of the nineteenth century had shown an interest in pursuing voting rights. Nevertheless, a small but active group of educated women had emerged by the 1910s, drawing inspiration from across South America and beyond. In 1910, for example, a group of seventeen Peruvian women attended the International Women's Congress in Buenos Aires, an ambitious attempt to spur women's rights movements across the continent.[11] In the aftermath, the Peruvian attendees formed cultural societies, *Evolución Femenina* and *Feminismo Peurano*, that espoused a feminist philosophy.[12] However, these feminist groups ultimately lacked support outside of their core membership—connections to the dominant party or prominent organizations did not exist for these feminists as they did in other nations.

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[9] Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel…*, pp. 4–8; Reedy, *Magda Portal…*, pp. 30–33.

[10] Peter Klaren, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 172–179, 212–219; Carmen McEvoy *La Utopia Republican: Ideales y Realidades en la Formaciòn de la Cultura Politica Peruana, 1871–1919* (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontìfica Universidad Catòlica del Perù, 1997), pp. 60–65; Ulrich Muecke *Political Culture in Nineteenth Century Peru: The Rise of the Partido Civl* (Pittsburgh: Univeristy of Pittsburgh Press, 2004) pp. 5–6, 37–46, 100–101; Carlos Contrear, *Ideales Democràticos, Realidades Autoritarias: Autoridades Politicos Locales y Descentralizaciòn en el Perù a Finales del Siglo XIX*, (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanoa, 2001) pp. 9–17; Villavicencio, *Del Silencio al la Palabra…*, pp. 45–55.

[11] *Primer Congreso…*, pp. 53–55, 201, 367–368; Francesca Miller, *Latin American Women and the Search for Social Justice* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1991), pp. 80–81.

[12] Vargas Valente, *Feminismos en América Latina…*, pp. 46–47; Carmen Ruiz Barrionuevo 2008. "Aurora Càcere, "Evangelina," entre el Modernismo Finisecular y la Reivindicaciòn Feminista." *INTI*, no. 67/68 (2008): 27–44.

The reason for this lack of support originated in the limited opportunities women had to pursue higher education and activity in charitable organizations—such institutions had only received limited government support in Peru, and women did not find the same opportunities to develop their intellectual or organizational skills by participating in them, as was becoming more common elsewhere. In addition to this, Peru's comparatively weak economic development and lack of immigration allowed for a more static social milieu, discouraging challenges to accepted attitudes regarding gender roles. Efforts to alter this situation thus encountered both greater resistance from society as a whole and a smaller base from which to operate. The political dominance of the Civilista Party further limited options, as only literate males were permitted to vote at the turn of the twentieth century, whereas such restrictions were, or already had, disappeared in those nations where organized women's rights movements had already taken shape.[13] Furthermore, *Evolución Femenina* was not immune to personal or political divisions that hampered its ability to advocate a clear agenda. In 1924, Maria Jesus Alvarado, the founder of the organization, was met with outrage when she proposed that the newly formed Peruvian National Council of Women endorse civil equality as well as women's suffrage. That even this mild proposal provoked such a response demonstrates the challenges Peruvian feminism faced.[14]

As the feminists of *Evolución Femenina* made their effort to promote acceptance of basic feminist principles, a more sweeping political movement was also taking shape in Peru. Following a major strike in 1919, lawyer Victor Raul Haya de la Torre and socialist journalist José Carlos Mariátegui had emerged as powerful voices for reform against the dictatorship of Augusto Leguía. Prior to the strike, the Civilista Party, which is dominated by a small clique of wealthy families, had controlled Peruvian politics since 1895.[15] While subject to its own divisions and challengers, the Civilistas had nevertheless effectively barred political

[13] Peter Klaren, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 205–206.

[14] Helen Rappaport, *Encyclopedia of Women Social* Reformers, Vol. 1 (Santa Brabara, CA: ABC Clio, 2001), pp. 10–11; Miller, *Latin American Women…*, pp. 80–81.

[15] Klaren, *Peru: Society and Nationhood…*, pp. 213–216.

competition in the nation while pursuing an export-led model of growth. Leguía, Mariátegui, and Haya de la Torre were part of the reaction against this political monopoly and sought greater representation for the small but growing urban middle and working classes. However, Leguía was himself a former member of the Civilistas, and his ascendancy did not mark a radical change in government policy despite his purge of the previous ruling party.[16] Haya de la Torre and Mariátegui, in contrast, represented a more radical departure from Peru's political past. Mariátegui, a young intellectual whose struggle with bone cancer led to his untimely demise in 1930, supported a variety of left-wing publications that promoted innovations in both politics and the arts—Portal's poetry and essays frequently graced the pages of these publications in the 1920s, and he became the founder of Peru's Socialist Party, which eventually affiliated with the Comintern in the late 1920s. Haya de la Torre, a law student from the northern city of Trujillo, was similarly inspired by Marxism and a wish to challenge traditional Peruvian culture and politics, though he would never embrace the Soviet style of communism. Both men embraced the nationalist philosophy of *indigenismo*, and reflected a nostalgia for Peru's Inca heritage and a desire to reconnect with the Indigenous population, which they romantically described as the authentic Peruvian culture, in contrast to the Eurocentric culture embodied by Lima, and both men would have a profound impact on Magda Portal's career.[17]

The events that would place Mariátegui and Haya, and ultimately Portal, in the spotlight unfolded in the late 1910s. Following a brief surge in demands for its exports during World War I, there was a sharp economic downturn, which, in Peru, like many other Latin American nations at the time, provoked a strong reaction from the labor movement culminating in a major strike in 1919. In Peru's case, student leaders such as Haya de la Torre sought to capitalize on this wave of unrest by allying themselves with the unions, providing them with legal advice and

[16] Orazio Ciccarelli, *The Sànchez Cerro Regime in Peru, 1930–33* (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1969), pp. 11–14.

[17] Steven Stein, "Paths to Populism in Peru," in *Populism in Latin America* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999), p. 102; Peter Klaren, *Modernization, Dislocation, and Aprismo: Origins of the Peruvian Aprista Party, 1870–1932* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1973), pp. xiii–xiv; Klaren, *Peru: Society and Nationhood…*, pp. 233–236, 245–247; Graham, *Peru's APRA…*, p. 25.

educational opportunities through the "Popular Universities" which offered instruction on a wide array of subjects.[18] However, this strike ultimately created the opportunity that allowed Augusto Leguìa to seize power, thus cutting short the hopes of leftists and labor leaders and beginning what would be an eleven-year dictatorship. Following the collapse of the strike, Mariátegui, already a well-known figure in Peruvian politics, was offered the choice of government-sponsored exile or imprisonment, and he chose the latter, traveling extensively in Europe and making useful connections with activists and artists there, while continuing to stay in touch with his supporters back home, including Haya de la Torre. Haya and his supporters thus continued to agitate for radical change, organizing protests and union actions that increasingly put him at odds with the Leguìa regime. The breaking point came in May 1923 when he organized massive protests against a proposed ceremony that would symbolically reinforce Peru's connection to the Catholic Church, an institution that most Peruvian leftists viewed as an agent of oppression. More than once, the protest marches turned violent, and, during one of these, Haya, who always marched in the front, was forced to jump into the Rìmac River to escape arrest, leading to a serious illness. It was during his recovery that Portal first met Haya, introduced by a mutual friend, and it was only a few months later that she performed her famous act of defiance at the *Juegos Florales*.

Portal, by this point now in her early twenties, had already worked a series of jobs in order to support her family, usually in the publishing industry, which doubtlessly appealed to her already developed love of writing. While she could not afford to formally enroll, she nevertheless began auditing classes at the University of San Marcos, the oldest institution of higher learning in South America and, in those days, a hotbed of political and artistic innovation, as students discussed the revolutionary ideas then coming out of Mexico, the Soviet Union, and the student movement that had emerged in Argentina. This Bohemian climate appealed to Portal, though she avoided some of its more notorious

[18] Klaren, *Peru: Society and Nationhood…*, pp. 236–240; Klaren, *Modernization, Dislocation, and Aprismo…*, pp. 85–105; Lewis Taylor, "The Origins of APRA in Cajamarca, 1928–1935," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 19 (2000), pp. 437–459.

excesses, such as drug use. Instead, she embraced the art of poetry, and she rapidly made connections in Lima's artistic avant-garde, perhaps most importantly with the poet César Vallejo, with whom she developed a close friendship. It was Vallejo who not only encouraged her to develop her own voice as a poet but also helped her develop her political conscience, as he himself had experienced extreme poverty and injustice growing up in a small mining town. In this way, her intellectual and artistic curiosity led almost inevitably to political activism, a combination which soon came to dominate her life. It was also during this period that she met two other men who would have a profound impact on her life. The first, Federico Bolaños, was a fellow poet whose work appeared in the same journal that published much of Portal's early poetry. The two soon became lovers, living together openly, and, in November 1923, Portal gave birth to their daughter, Gloria. While the couple were married the following year, tensions had already developed between the two, as Federico became abusive toward her. Ultimately, she left Federico in favor of his brother, Reynaldo, who wrote under the name Serafin Delmar. He became Gloria's surrogate father and Portal's collaborator for the next decade.[19]

In that fateful year of 1923, both Vallejo and Haya de la Torre would go into exile. In Vallejo's case, this exile was to be permanent, but, for Haya, it proved to be just one more chapter in a long and varied career. Most importantly, it was during this absence from the nation that Haya visited the Soviet Union and created his signature organization, the American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) while in Mexico City in 1924. Mexico's revolution was reaching its culmination at that point and provided much of the inspiration for APRA's agenda and its style. Indeed, Haya had become a close friend and the personal secretary of the philosopher and Minister of Education José Vasconcelos, who used his position to support the work of radical artists in the nation, most famously Diego Rivera, who helped design the flag that became APRA's banner. It is worth noting at this point that Mexico's political leaders at the time were, at best, mild supporters of women's suffrage, as they tended to see women as natural allies of the Catholic Church, which they viewed as

[19] Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel…*, pp. 9–11, 16–28; Reedy, *Magda Portal…*, pp. 33–36.

anathema to the Revolution.[20] APRA therefore officially embraced *indigenismo* as a method of defining Peruvian nationalism and challenging economic inequality, adopted a strongly anti-imperialist stance, advocated the nationalization of land and industry and the internationalization of the Panama Canal, and, most critically, issued a call for solidarity among all oppressed peoples.[21] It was this last position, vaguely defined as it was, that ultimately attracted the support of a new generation of feminists, of whom Portal would prove to be the most important by far. She would eventually join Haya in exile, helping him to establish chapters of APRA in several Latin American nations.

While Haya remained in exile during the mid-1920s, the main force behind feminism in Peru was the socialist movement led by José Carlos Mariátegui, and it was with him that Portal worked most closely at this time as both a poet and activist. Mariátegui, now returned from his own exile, began to publish a variety of left-wing magazines and newspapers, most importantly *Labor* and *Revista Amauta*, which served to publicize the message of Peruvian socialism as well as women's rights.[22] It was in publications such as these that Portal was able to come into her own as a writer and political thinker, first as co-editor, with Federico Bolaños, of her own magazine, *Flechas*, then, after a brief sojourn in Bolivia, in a series of artistic reviews with Serafín Delmar, and finally as a regular contributor to Mariátegui's *Revista Amauta*. While she continued to write poetry, she also began writing essays that echoed the ideas of Haya de la Torre and Mariátegui—in particular, the notion that art and literature should serve as a tool for progress and change in society.[23] In *Flecha*s, she and Bolaños declared open war on what they saw as outdated values and institutions in favor of what they called "spiritual renovation." However, the publication only lasted a few months, and its end coincided with the

[20] See Jocelyn Olcott, *Revolutionary Women in Postrevolutionary Mexico* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005) and Anna Macias, "Women and the Mexican Revolution, 1910–1920," *The Americas* 37:1 (1980), pp. 53–82.

[21] Carol Graham, *APRA: Parties, Politics, and the Elusive Quest for* Democracy, (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992), pp. 24–25; Klaren, *Modernization, Dislocation, and Aprismo…*, pp. 106–109; Klaren, *Peru: Society and Nationhood…*, pp. 259–260.

[22] Vargas Valente, *Feminismos en América Latina*, pp. 47–48.

[23] Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel…*, pp. 28–40; Reedy, *Magda Portal…*, pp. 95–100.

collapse of their relationship and the beginning of her partnership with Serafín Delmar. After the new couple returned from their trip to Bolivia, during which they continued to involve themselves in union activism and left-wing politics, they published a series of art and literary reviews that served to showcase their own work and those of their friends, including select foreign poets, such as Pablo Neruda. In one of these, titled Timonel (Helm), Portal laid out a sort of personal manifesto, representing her own philosophy of both art and politics:

- I believe in love, which unites us and effaces borders
- I believe in education, which illumines hitherto unknown roads towards joy
- I believe in work, which gives us dignity
- I believe in revolution, which will be our salvation[24]

The couple regularly met with Mariátegui and other prominent leftists in a semi-formal salon that took place within his home, and visited mining towns in order to read her work to union members and to help lead classes for the workers. It was during this period that she became a featured writer in his magazine, *Amauta*, which began publication in 1926. The very name of the magazine, which means "wise man" in the Quechua language that had been the tongue of the Inca empire and which was still widely spoken throughout the Andes, reflected Mariátegui's values and his hope to combine Marxism with an appeal to traditional Native culture. *Amauta* and the classes conducted for the workers, which included those at the prosperous but notoriously unhealthy Cerro de Pasco mines owned by U.S. corporations, thus contained frequent explanations and discussion of Marxist theory, as well as articles written by Haya de la Torre that outlined the program of his APRA movement. Thus, by 1927, the development of Portal's literary and political style was fully established. While she later remembered this period with great fondness, her happiness would once again be cut short—this time, the Leguìa regime intervened, as she and many of the other *Amauta* authors were implicated in a plot to overthrow the government.

[24] Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel…*, p. 31.

While the accusations of conspiracy were groundless, her involvement in the labor movement ultimately led to her exile in 1927, along with Serafin Delmar and most of the other leading writers for *Amauta*, although Mariátegui himself was able to avoid this fate. While the group dispersed across several countries in the Americas and Europe, Portal and Delmar traveled to Cuba, and then to Mexico leading to her reunion with Haya de la Torre. There she was able to join the community of Peruvian exiles that Haya had already organized, and which moved in the same circles as Frida Kahlo, Diego Rivera, and José Clemente Orozco. While certainly congenial compared to Peru, in Mexico leftists were also under pressure as the government of Plutarco Calles began to slow, and even reverse, some of the reforms that had defined the Revolution. These included not only the radical experiments in education championed by José Vasconcelos but also the promises of land reform and the nationalization of certain foreign-dominated industries, most notably petroleum, that had represented core objectives of many of the revolutionary leaders in the 1910s. It was in this context that Haya, recently returned from his trip to the Soviet Union and other European nations, became determined to transform APRA into a truly Pan-American movement that would not only defend the values of the Revolution but also encourage their spread over what he called "Indo-America." Both Portal and Delmar embraced this vision and would ultimately dedicate the next twenty years of their lives to it, though at great personal cost.[25]

Portal saw in APRA an opportunity to advance not only the cause of women's rights but also wholesale social and economic reform. Though dismissive of the term "feminism" and the generation that had given rise to *Evolución Femenina*, Portal's background and her opinions placed her closer to the earlier feminists than she might have cared to admit. Like earlier feminists, Portal was a prolific writer of literature and literary criticism, which she used to expand on the main themes of *Aprismo*. In her 1928 essay "El Nuevo Poema y su Orientación Hacia una Estética Económica" (The New Poetry and its path to an economic aesthetic), for example, Portal describes the revolutionary role of literature both in the Marxist sense and in the sense of creating a new "indoamerican" race

[25] Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel…*, pp. 41–48; Reedy, *Magda Portal…*, pp. 130–138.

along the lines described by José Vasconcelos.[26] Five years later, she presented a much clearer feminist thesis for APRA, *El Aprismo y la Mujer*, in which she spelled out the role women would play for the party, and vice versa. In her opening remarks, Portal notes the observation of Argentine socialist Mario Bravo, one of the leading voices for women's suffrage in that nation's Congress at the time, "that politics seems like a 'thing for men' in which activity women will lose their feminine charms."[27] This attitude, Portal argued, came to envelop the upper classes who had ignored the legitimate claims of Peruvian women. She noted that the recently enacted constitution included a provision for women's suffrage at the municipal level, but that such reforms, like the constitution in general, had little positive effect. Indeed, she argued that the APRA delegates at the convention had pushed for more extensive voting rights, and it was only because of their efforts that any sort of suffrage legislation had passed at all. Portal assured her readers that APRA's "first concern is to declare that women have in *Aprismo* a jealous defender, since it already considers her not as a sex, but rather than as an integral part of the exploited social class."[28] This assertion fit well with the party's slogan "Only *Aprismo* can save Peru," denying legitimacy to any other political movement. Throughout the essay, Portal asserted that women supported APRA enthusiastically, and that the leaders of the party were well aware of the value of women to their political and social project. She made special mention of the role women played in spreading the message of *Aprismo* and of sustaining it during the period in which it was banned.[29] Portal thus reassured her readers that APRA would reward the support of women with support for those causes of greatest concern to them. Toward the end of the essay, she placed the goals of APRA with regard to women in straightforward terms:

> *Aprismo* will give women recognition of her own condition, responsibility for her actions and free will, and has already initiated for her the period of

[26] Mihai Grüenfeld, "Voces femeninas de la vanguardia: El compromise de Magda Portal," *Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana*, 26, no. 51, (2000): 68.

[27] Magda Portal, *El aprismo y la mujer* (Lima: Editorial Atahualpa, 1933), p. 5.

[28] Portal, *El aprismo y la Mujer*, p. 8.

[29] Ibid., pp. 24–28.

> preparation and intellectual development sufficient for her to find her own path, freeing her from the old bonds that tied her to the rule of the family in conditions of semi-slavery, but without destroying either the home or the family, but rather trying to build it on a more solid human basis.[30]

Portal's philosophy of women's rights, therefore, did not differ all that greatly from those of earlier feminists in Peru or anywhere else, but she left no room for any party other than her own to claim success as an advocate for women's rights. It was this attitude of exclusivity that, on the one hand, inspired and galvanized support for APRA, but by the time Portal began to travel throughout Latin America to promote the party's message in 1929, it was also clear that they had alienated many of their old allies.[31]

APRA had, at first, been unclear as to its exact nature—whether it was a political party in the traditional sense, a philosophical movement, or an umbrella organization for left-wing groups. Clearly, there were differences in philosophy within the group—Mariátegui, for example, proved to be a mostly doctrinaire Marxist (though he resisted outright affiliation with the Moscow-dominated Comintern), rejecting alliances with the middle class and liberal democratic practices, whereas Haya believed an alliance between the working and middle class was essential and that electoral victory could be a path to revolution.[32] Nevertheless, in the mid-1920s, these differences were put aside in the interest of common objectives, and both Portal's poetry and Haya's political essays continued to appear in *Amauta*. Meanwhile, APRA cells had been formed in Mexico City, Panama, Buenos Aires, and even Paris, working with their supporters in Peru and allies in several other nations, particularly Juan Antonio Mella's Cuban communists. Thus, if APRA was meant to be a Pan-American organization, it appeared to be well on its way in January 1928. However, it was at this point that Haya announced a new strategy—despite the persistence of the Leguìa regime, they would organize a new political party, and put Haya forward as a presidential candidate at the

[30] Ibid., p. 58.

[31] Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel…*, pp. 51–94; Reedy, *Magda Portal…*, pp. 138–158.

[32] *Frente Popular Aprista a las Izquierdas de Amèrica*, in the Magda Portal Collection (MPC), Nettie Lee Benson Library, University of Texas at Austin, Box 1 Folder 1.

first opportunity. To many *Apristas*, this appeared to be a naked power grab, especially since Haya and the Mexican *Apristas*, including Portal, had not consulted any of the others before making this pronouncement. Over the next year, the tentative alliance between Haya and Mariátegui dissolved, and many of APRA's allies abandoned the organization, in some cases writing bitter exposés about the party. Others kept their thoughts on the matter private, but, nevertheless, membership began to dwindle, and APRA appeared poised for collapse. Portal, along with Delmar and a few other loyalists, not only held the party together, but they became instrumental in the effort to win power for APRA in the elections that eventually took place in 1931, helping to establish APRA as a political force for the rest of the twentieth century.[33]

Portal threw herself into the work of the party, making it the focus of her life to the exclusion of almost everything else, even going so far as to destroy some of her unpublished poetry as a symbol of her total commitment to the political work that lay before her. Throughout the summer of 1929, she took a whirlwind tour of the Caribbean, making stops and giving lectures in Cuba, Puerto Rico, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Colombia (where she made friends with future president Romulo Betancourt). Her daughter accompanied her for most of this tour, while Delmar remained in Mexico to help with organization efforts there. In her speeches, Portal hammered on the points of "Indo-American" unity, highlighting that the common enemy was the imperialism of the United States (a message that created particular problems for her during her visit to Puerto Rico). As she put it, "either we come together and resist, or become no more than Yankee colonies."[34] These remarks received enthusiastic support wherever she went, and her speeches were widely (though certainly not universally) praised in the local press—this was fortunate for her, as she had no funds to support her efforts, and her travels could only continue with donations from her audiences and the groups that sponsored her appearances. It was this effort, and the efforts of many like her, that allowed APRA's reputation both in Peru and beyond to weather

[33] Victor Villanueva, *El APRA en Busca del Poder* (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1975), pp. 18–24; Klaren, *Modernization, Dislocation, and Aprismo…*, pp. 109–129; Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel…*, pp. 56–60.

[34] Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel…*, p. 76.

the schism prompted by Haya's new strategy, and by the end of 1929, Portal, now reunited with Serafin Delmar, made her way back to South America to spread the party's message to Peru's neighbors. It was during this period that global events set the stage for the party's first true bid for power.[35]

The collapse of the global economy and the onset of the Great Depression created a political crisis in nearly every nation of the Western Hemisphere, and Peru was no exception. By August of 1930, support for Leguìa had evaporated and Col. Luis Sánchez Cerro, who had opposed Leguìa for years, led the coup that successfully overthrew him without having to fire a shot. In the following year, he had ruled the country and earned a reputation as a reformer and a nationalist, an appealing combination that contributed to his later electoral victory.[36] At the time, however, Peru was plunged into chaos as years of pent-up resentment were finally unleashed. Haya saw opportunity in this time of uncertainty, an opportunity enhanced by the death of his ally-turned-rival Mariátegui, who had at last succumbed to the cancer that had weakened him for years. Thus, while the Socialist Party of Peru, now redubbed the Communist Party and openly allied with the Comintern, remained, Haya believed that APRA could become the dominant party of the left, and he urged his supporters to return to Peru to pave the way for his own return. Portal and her family obeyed this request, and soon she would help to lead the campaign to build up APRA in Peru with the same passion and focus she had shown in the Caribbean.

Events within Peru in 1930 continued to be unsettled, as strikes often turned violent and Sánchez Cerro's regime turned repressive, going so far as to ban both APRA and the communists as well as most unions, leading to numerous arrests and forcing many of the leaders, including Portal, into hiding. This repression backfired on Sánchez Cerro, however, and he was forced to relinquish his power in early 1931, finally opening the way for the first national elections in Peru in over a decade. Now free to openly work for the party, Portal began crisscrossing the nation, taking every

[35] Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel…*, pp. 72–80; Reedy, *Magda Portal…*, pp. 146–157; MPC Box 10 folder 11.

[36] Ciccarelli, *The Sànchez Cerro Regime…*, pp. 45–138; Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel…*, pp. 95–101; Reedy, *Magda Portal…*, pp. 159–168.

opportunity to speak to the newly enfranchised voters, drawing large crowds wherever she went. Part of this reaction may have been the relative novelty of the campaign itself—prior to 1931, national candidates made little effort to campaign outside of Lima. Part of her appeal might also have been the simple fact that she was a woman, particularly at a time when women's voices were almost completely unheard in politics. Women's issues ultimately did form part of APRA's platform during the campaign, as Portal worked tirelessly to build support for the party by appealing to women as well as men, despite the fact that women did not yet have access to the polls. This effort took the form not just of speeches but of organization in the form of women's auxiliary committees that provided an array of social services and the inclusion of a Declaration of Women's Rights that the party formally adopted. This declaration included support for full legal and social equality, including equal pay for men and women, support for a minimum wage, and a ban on child labor as well as full voting rights for women over the age of 18.[37] However, she, and the party, ultimately moderated their tone on suffrage because "the cultural level of the Peruvian woman, her prejudices, her meek dependence on male influence… suggests that the women's vote would favor conservative, not revolutionary, ideas."[38] Such attitudes were frequently shared by leftists in other Latin American countries. At the time, however, women's rights remained an important part of the APRA platform and strategy, as women were hailed for their organizational efforts on behalf of the party.[39] Indeed, privately, she was already expressing dissent over matters of policy and strategy with Haya, who seemed to be adopting a style of personal aggrandizement that, even at the time, reminded some of Mussolini and Hitler. For the moment, however, Portal kept any doubts she might have had to herself, publicly devoting herself to the cause and expressing confidence that APRA's victory would be the dawn of a new and better age for the nation. Ultimately, these efforts had mixed results. While attracting a large following, several of APRA's policies alienated

[37] "Plan de acciòn inmedianta del Partido Aprista Peruana," *La* Tribuna, 20 September 1931; Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel…*, pp. 101–111; Reedy, *Magda Portal…*, pp. 167–183.

[38] Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel…*, pp. 101–102.

[39] "La Obra de las Mujeres Apristas," *La Tribuna*, 22 September, 1931; "Serà Efectiva la Huelga de Todos los Empleados de la Companìa Peruana de Telèfonos," *La Tribuna*, 21 September 1931.

many Peruvians, and the right-wing began to organize themselves in support of Sánchez Cerro, who, despite his brutality during his brief dictatorship, had acquired his own popular following as a "man of the people" who had ended the corruption and abuse of the Leguìa years, and who had taken steps to alleviate the economic hardship experienced during the onset of the Great Depression. The elite, though initially wary of the colonel, now saw him as their best chance to block Haya de la Torre and APRA from winning power. In the end, APRA did become the largest party in Congress, though they fell short of a majority, and Col. Luís Sánchez Cerro won the presidency, stunning Portal and the other APRA leaders.

Despite this disappointing outcome, APRA had shown tremendous success for a novice party. Furthermore, despite the ferocity of the campaign, the two sides had shown areas of common interest, and there was, at least potentially, room for compromise. For example, Sánchez Cerro had expressed at least modest support for women's suffrage, and an article in the new constitution he proposed would grant women the right to vote in municipal elections. Unfortunately, this was not to be. Unwilling to accept his loss at the polls, Haya declared that he was the legitimate victor, and he ordered his followers to resist the Sánchez Cerro government at every turn. The ensuing political stalemate made the passage of nearly any legislation impossible as the would-be reformers of the nation turned on each other—by early 1932, APRA was once again banned, and its members expelled from Congress.[40] During this period, Portal remained the head of the party's Women's Section, the only woman to serve on APRA's executive committee, while Delmar served as editor of the party's magazine. These prominent positions, unfortunately, placed them in a dangerous position, and in March of 1931, Delmar was arrested as a co-conspirator in a plot to assassinate Sánchez Cerro. While there was little evidence tying him to the actual attempt, which left the president seriously injured, Delmar did admit that he was aware of the plot, and that was enough to earn him a 20-year jail sentence. While he did

[40] Graham, *Perù's APRA…*, pp. 26–34; Villavicencio, *Del Silencio a la Palabra…*, pp. 172–174; Klaren, *Modernization, Dislocation, and Aprismo…*, pp. 129–135; Ciccarelli, *The Sànchez Cerro Regime…*, pp. 139–176.

not ultimately serve the entirety of that sentence, he did spend over a decade in prison, almost completely cut off from his family. This hardship for Portal was soon followed by another—Haya himself was arrested, sparking first protests and then outright rebellion, which the government ruthlessly suppressed, resulting in thousands of civilian deaths. Any prospect of a peaceful resolution to Peru's political divisions now seemed hopeless, and Portal was forced to go into hiding, leaving her daughter in the care of trusted friends.

Despite these enormous hardships, Portal's time in hiding did not mean she was inactive—quite the contrary. The arrest or exile of so many APRA leaders left her as the de facto head of the party, and, much in the same way as she had during the electoral campaign, she traveled across the nation—often making use of safe houses arranged by loyal *Apristas*, but sometimes forced to stay in old offices, factory basements, and even in open fields or ditches. Nevertheless, she persisted in her efforts, helping to organize the women support brigades, that had proven so important in the election, into an underground network that not only provided refuge for other *Apristas* on the run, but which also continued to circulate the party's literature and help coordinate protest activities. For example, when Peru appeared to be on the brink of war with Colombia, the Women's Command issued pamphlets calling for a peaceful resolution to the conflict and an end to war-mongering, and Portal was in frequent contact with other anti-war activists—this in direct contradiction to many male *Apristas*, who actually favored the war and thought Sánchez Cerro too timid in confronting the Colombians.[41] Finally, after a period of clandestine action while constantly on the move, Portal, and the other *Apristas*, found a brief respite with the successful assassination of Sánchez Cerro in April of 1933.[42]

Over the next six years, Peru was governed by the dictatorship of Gen. Oscar Benavides (1933–1939), who then designated a successor Manuel Prado, who governed through World War II. Initially, it appeared that Benavides would seek to bring peace to the nation—he issued a pardon for all political prisoners, though unfortunately that did not include

[41] Letter from Robles de Mendoza to Magda Portal, 20 September 1934, MPC, Box 1 Folder 1.

[42] Ciccarelli, *The Sànchez Cerro Regime…*, pp. 189–192; Reedy, *Magda Portal…*, pp. 169–177.

Serafin Delmar. Nevertheless, Haya was released, Portal could come out of hiding to reunite with her family, and APRA could come out of the shadows. Benavides even began to enact some of the reforms that had been part of APRA's platform in 1931. However, the political enmities that had erupted over the past few years could not so easily be quelled, a fact that Portal herself noted in an open letter written in 1933: "It seems we are still attempting to wash out blood with blood. As those who propagate these hostilities well know, such tactics are useless in building a nation, useless in attaining justice, civilization, or culture."[43] With this in mind, she did her part to attempt to reconcile the forces that had divided the nation—it was in 1933, for example, that she wrote her book on women and *Aprismo*, praising the women who had done so much to keep the party afloat during the past few years while also holding out hope that women could now be a force for peace and progress. Unfortunately, these appeals ultimately fell on deaf ears—many on the right still wanted to punish APRA for the death of Sánchez Cerro and the disruptions that had undermined his administration, while many *Apristas* expressed impatience with what they saw as the slow pace of reform, Benavides' seeming unwillingness to schedule elections, and Haya once again taking on a defiant tone in his public remarks.[44] Finally, in the fall of 1936, Benavides had had enough—APRA was banned again, Haya went into hiding once more, and Portal, who had so skillfully avoided capture by Sánchez Cerro's government, was arrested and sentenced to 500 days imprisonment, after which she and Gloria left the country, traveling to Argentina and Uruguay before settling down in Chile under the protection of Socialist leader Salvador Allende, continuing her work for APRA and for reform there after refusing the Peruvian government's offer to allow her return on the condition that she renounce political activism.[45]

For the remainder of the decade and through the end of World War II, APRA was banned again, and its leaders and members faced persecution and exile, but the circumstances were not the same as they had been in

[43] Magda Portal, *La Noche*, 22 May 1933.

[44] Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, *Mundial*, 1933, MPC, Box 10 Folder 1.

[45] Magda Portal "Voto Politico para la Mujer Chilena" January 1941 MPC, Box 4 Folder 1; Letter from Bernardino Leòn y Leòn to Magda Portal, 1 April 1941 MPC, Box 1 Folder 5.

1932. The economy had begun to recover after the coup, reducing the push for drastic change as Benavides made gestures toward working-class demands. At the same time, Benavides took advantage of political divisions among his potential rivals, seizing on an APRA plot to start a rebellion if the election of 1936 fell through to justify an extension of his mandate.[46] Portal continued to be an active advocate for APRA and for women's rights during this period, but she also began to diverge from the path Haya de la Torre had set for APRA. For example, she found herself confronted with party discipline for endorsing the idea of uniting with the Communist Party in the popular front, an idea she would pursue following her release from prison when she attempted to organize a short-lived women's organization dubbed Acciòn Femenina.[47] She also denounced militarism in all its forms, even as World War II began, a philosophy that certainly put her at odds with her comrades.[48] Nevertheless, in her writing and speeches of the time, she continued to uphold the idea that APRA alone could bring justice to the nation, and that included women's rights, though even here she gave indications of a growing rift with APRA.[49] For example, while in prison, she wrote to her friend Anna Melissa Graves that "In our old feudal societies—in America women still suffer the prejudices of the middle ages—women are white slaves, playthings, whose rebelliousness and desire for freedom is viewed as a scandalous crime. For that reason, we who fight face a double enemy. We fight the common enemy, social injustice, and against the prejudices of the society, whose origins we find even among our own comrades!"[50] Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, Portal would increasingly argue that women had earned their rights because of their struggle in those years, whereas male *Apristas* regarded women as requiring protection, and

[46] Orazio Ciccarelli, "Fascism and Politics in Peru during the Benavides Regime, 1933–39: The Italian Perspective," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 70, no. 3 (Aug., 1990), pp. 405–432; Klaren, *Peru: Society and Nationhood…*, pp. 277–281.

[47] Magda Portal to Maria Luisa y S., 16 November 1935, MPC, Box 1 Folder 1; Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel…*, p. 132.

[48] Letter from Magda Portal to Alicia Moreau de Justo, 4 November 1936, MPC, University of Texas at Austin, Box 1 Folder 2; Letter from Paulina Luisis to Magda Portal, 9 March 1939 MPC, Box 1 Folder 3.

[49] Stein, pp. 97–106; Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel…*, pp. 105–138; Reedy, *Magda Portal…*, pp. 138–157.

[50] Magda Portal to Anna Melissa Graves, 10 October 1935, MPC, Box 1 Folder 1.

therefore gender equality was impossible.[51] By the end of the war, therefore, there were already signs that Portal's drift from the center of APRA might contribute to the party abandoning women's rights as a part of its agenda. For the moment, however, these fissures were kept private.

Meanwhile, there were renewed signs that the political winds were shifting in APRA's favor once again. In 1941, a new dictator, Manuel Prado Ugarteche, had replaced Benavides, and at first he maintained, and even increased, the repressive measure used against the government's opponents. However, as the war dragged on, the attack on APRA subsided, as Haya de la Torre, still technically in hiding but more than able to keep in touch with his supporters, encouraged cooperation with the regime as part of the larger battle against fascism—a position that Portal herself had in a sense endorsed prior to the war. In a letter to Haya in 1941, for example, she had recognized that cooperation with the United States might be necessary, but "this understanding does not mean the enslavement of Indo-America in the near future" and that APRA must lead this effort.[52] However, Haya apparently did moderate his stance on issues of imperialism, even encouraging cooperation with the United States, which he had once denounced as the great imperialist enemy, while Prado continued to make pro-labor gestures and even a mild form of economic nationalism. As a consequence, APRA became legal again in 1945, and they became the largest part of the government that brought a compromise candidate, José Luis Bustamante, to the presidency. Over the next three years, APRA controlled the Congress and oversaw the introduction of some social and economic reforms, but a more radical faction within the party urged more aggressive action, undertaking acts of violence that contributed to the rise of a new dictatorship under General Manuel Odría.[53]

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[51] Villavicencio, *Del Silencio a la Palabra…*, pp. 172–174.

[52] Letter from Magda Portal to Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, 20 June 1941, MPC, Box 1 Folder 5.

[53] Thomas M. Davies, Jr., "The Indigenismo of the Peruvian Aprista Party: A Reinterpretation," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 51, no. 4 (Nov., 1971), pp. 637–645; Stein pp. 106–107; Percy Murillo Garaycochea, *Historia del Apra, 1919–1945* (Lima: Editorial Atlàntida, 1976), pp. 471–484; Klaren *Peru: Society and Nationhood…*, pp. 281–299; Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel…*, pp. 139–145; Reedy, *Magda Portal…*, pp. 190–229.

APRA's opportunity to pursue its agenda in 1945 was undoubtedly conditioned by its status as one part of a coalition, as well as Haya de la Torre's more moderate tone. This, according to Haya de la Torre himself, was a deliberate strategy meant to allow APRA the opportunity to govern, a chance it had denied itself in the 1930s.[54] It was this moderation, however, that alienated many of his earlier supporters, including Magda Portal, while failing to appease many of APRA's opponents, who continued to identify the party with communism.[55] Once again, she had expressed doubts about these shifts to Haya in private, worried that the party was losing its sense of direction as it struggled to survive. These concerns grew even more pronounced during the election campaign of 1945, in which Haya was prevented by statute from running, though he campaigned actively for party candidates. But in these speeches, the shift in his philosophy became apparent. As Portal recalled, when Haya spoke to women's groups he:

> began speaking about the home, about the care given by women to their husbands, about how marital harmony can only be achieved when women 'understand their husband's situation.' I was at his side and told him, 'This isn't what they're interested in. Talk to them of other things'…women of the popular classes were hearing about Marx and they had come to find out what it was really about, and Haya came to talk to them about being good wives and mothers."[56]

To Portal, these statements showed a callous disregard for the women who had sacrificed so much over the past fifteen years, and a deviation of the values that all *Apristas* had initially fought for. Gone were the calls for land reform and the nationalization of industries, now replaced by assertions that, instead of taking wealth from those that had it, APRA would try to create wealth for those that did not. Haya had already dropped

[54] Graham, *APRA…*, p. 34.

[55] Nelson Manrique, *Usted fuè Aprista! Bases para una Historia Crìtica del APRA* (Lima: Pontìfica Universidad Catòlica del Perù, 2009), pp. 123–134, 172–174, 190–191; Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel…*, pp. 145–170; Reedy, *Magda Portal…*, pp. 138–157; 235.

[56] Andreas, *When Women Rebel…*, p. 37.

most of the Marxist-tinged rhetoric of his early career, and his drift to the right would continue over the next two decades.

Once again, however, Portal kept her reservations about these changes to herself, instead resuming her activism and tireless campaigning to the party that had meant so much to her.[57] However, her work was undermined not only by her slowly developing rift with Haya but by profound personal tragedy. To begin, while she was still in exile in Chile, Serafìn Delmar had finally been released from prison as part of the thaw in APRA's relationship with the Peruvian government. Joining his wife and daughter after more than a decade apart, their joy soon turned sour—that separation had placed a tremendous strain on them all, leading to arguments and the eventual destruction of the marriage and suicide of her only child. It was in the aftermath of this devastating personal loss that Magda Portal, having lost her two closest family members, would also lose the political movement that had been the foundation of her life and career.

During the electoral campaign, Portal had been greatly disturbed by the shift in Haya's rhetoric, but she still held out hope that he and APRA, now holding a majority—though not an absolute one—in Congress could enact at least some of the reforms that they had discussed for over two decades. As head of the Women's Command, she decided to focus all of her energies on women's rights legislation, and in November of 1946, she organized the First National Conference of *Aprista* women in order to both celebrate and underscore all that women had done for the party as well as to clarify the reforms they desired, including the vote, but also the promised reforms of healthcare, and land reform, among other things, that APRA had promised in the past but now seemed unable or unwilling to deliver.[58] In doing so, Portal and the other organizers emphasized the

[57] "Triunfalmente fue recibida en Abancay Magda Portal" *El Callao*, 2 September 1945; "Hoy dìa Mogda Portal Ofrecerà su Primera Conferencia en Trujillo," *La Naciòn*, January 1947; Description of Rally in Arequipa, 13 August 1945 MPC, Box 10 Folder 1; *Escuela de Servicio Social Aprista*, MPC Box 10, Folder 4; Virginia de Izaguirre, *Plan General de Trabajo del Comando Nacional Femenino* n.p., 1947.

[58] Letter from Dr. Maxime H. Kaczynski Godard to Magda Portal, 12 May 1946 MPC Box 1 Folder 8; Melida Velasquez Pitta *Lo que Toda Mujer Peruana Debe Saber en la Hora Actual*, October 1946 Box 10 Folder 6; List of demands for women in APRA, n.d., MPC Box 10 Folder 4; Open

legitimacy of their demands based not only on national history but on recent global events:

> The evolution that marks the rhythm of human life responds to undeniable imperatives; this why the civilized man, however slowly, has come to understand that women can be the best collaborator, not only in the spiritual realm of the home, but also in the political and social field of humanity…The success of the allies is due in large part to the preparation their women had, since while in Germany women were turned into the best females in order to produce sons destined for the cannon's mouth, in the United States, England, and Russia they prepared women for all economic and social activities.[59]

The women at the conference hailed Portal for her leadership, proclaimed her "teacher and guide of the Peruvian woman," and presented the party and the national government with their demands.[60] Haya, however, had proven reluctant to support such reforms during the campaign, and he continued to balk at them now, arguing in his speeches that the foremost duty of women was to serve as good wives and mothers, nothing more. There the matter stood during the following year, as Portal dealt with the aftermath of her daughter's death, and the divide between the reformist old guard and more conservative new guard festered within the party, which itself contributed to a confrontation with the president that resembled the old stalemate with Sánchez Cerro. Thus, the stage was set for the *Aprista* Party Congress in 1948, during which Haya announced that since women could not vote in Peru, they could not be full members of APRA, only supporters of it. Outraged, Portal demanded that she be allowed to address the Congress, but Haya refused. Stunned and hurt by this arbitrary move, she left the Congress, effectively ending more than twenty years of affiliation with the party. Later that year, following another botched coup attempt by APRA, which Haya himself may have betrayed,

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letter from Magda Portal, 20 Nov. 1945, MPC Box 10 Folder 5; *Primera Convenciòn Nacional de Mujeres Apristas*, MPC Box 10 Folder 6.

[59] First pamphlet from the Secretariado de prensa y propaganda del Comando nacional de capacitaciòn femenina, April 1946 MPC, Box 1 Folder 5.

[60] *Primera Convenciòn Nacional de Mujeres Apristas*, 17–23, MPC Box 10 Folder 6.

General Manuel Odrìa seized power, banning the party once more. This time, however, Portal neither went into hiding nor face time in prison; rather, she made a brief statement to the authorities clarifying that she was no longer a member of the party, thus formally announcing her resignation.[61] This alone was regarded as tantamount to treason by the party faithful, but in 1950 she published a short volume that, for the first time, revealed all of her problems with APRA to the public, and she and a group of other ex-*Apristas* formally declared the party defunct.[62]

By the time she wrote her 1950 essay "¿Quienes traicionaran al pueblo?" (Who Betrayed the People?), Portal's earlier enthusiasm for *Aprismo* had clearly turned to bitter disappointment. She denounced the accord of 1945 as a double betrayal, "They fooled the masses by taking advantage of their faith and their numbers for purely political ends… [and] they thought to trick their centrist and right-wing allies in order to reinforce their hold on high government positions."[63] Once in power, Portal described the "leaders" of APRA betraying their founding principles one by one. For Portal, the worst of these betrayals was the decision to exclude women from party membership with a new position on women's suffrage during the 1948 Congress, creating a plan to set the voting age at 25 for women, while keeping it at 18 for men. "In this way," wrote Portal,

> The Party of the People repaid more than 20 years of loyal support from women that made no distinction of age or sex in order to fight for liberty, justice, and democracy for all Peruvians; that suffered privations of all types, prison and persecution equal to those of the men and bearing with stoic valor, the long years of misery and abandonment in which the *Aprista* struggle had placed them.[64]

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[61] Luis Bramant Arias, *La Tribuna*, 3 June 1948, MPC, Box 10 Folder 8.

[62] Daniel M. Masterson, "Caudillismo and Institutional Change: Manuel Odría and the Peruvian Armed Forces," *The Americas* 50, no. 4 (April, 1984): 482; Tad Szulc, *Tiwlight of the Tyrants* (n.p.: Harry Holt and Co., 1959), pp. 169–181; Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel…*, pp. 139–163; Reedy, *Magda Portal…*, pp. 240–269.

[63] Magda Portal, *¿Quienes Traicionaron al Pueblo?* (Lima: Self-published, 1950), pp. 11–12; *Tercer Congreso Nacional Revisionistsa del Partido Aprista Peruano* MPC, Box 10 Folder 2.

[64] Portal, *¿Quienes Traicionaron al Pueblo?*, pp. 22–23; Miller, *Latin American Women…*, pp. 120–122.

In the meeting of ex-Apristas that took place in June of 1950, the official statement branded Haya as a figure akin to Stalin, denouncing his authoritarian personality and APRA's lack of a consistent doctrine beyond his quest for power.[65] Regardless of her reasoning, Portal now became, in effect, an exile within her own country, branded as a traitor by her former comrades, but regarded as untrustworthy by those who had been her opponents in years past.

Following the coup of 1948, Odría moved rapidly to consolidate his power, cracking down on leftists and greatly expanding the military budget in order to bolster his support from the army. In 1950, he took the step of orchestrating a presidential election, in which he was the only candidate. That he took this step was an indication that he desired popular support for his regime, and over the next six years, he experimented with policies designed to promote his image while diverting support for APRA, including seizing upon the split between Haya de la Torre and Portal, praising her for her "denunciation of the Maximum Leader" and for her "repentance" after so many years working for APRA.[66] These measures were ultimately insufficient to allow him to remain in power over the long term, but Odría remained a popular political figure even after his resignation in 1956.[67] It was in this context that Peru passed the law granting women full voting rights in 1955. Ironically, in the 1960s, he and Haya would work as political allies.

These years were difficult ones for Portal, as she faced hostility, including death threats, from her enemies. By 1958, however, her circumstances began to improve with the birth of her beloved niece, Rocìo, who became a kind of surrogate daughter for her, the publication of her first, and only, novel *La Trampa* (The Trap), which was a thinly veiled autobiographical account of her years in APRA, and the opportunity to manage a book

[65] *Tercer Congresonational Revisionistsa del Partido Aprista Peruano*, 47, MPC, Box 10 Folder 2.

[66] "Jornada, su Campaña de Oposiciòn y la Propaganda Aprista," *Combate* 17 April 1950; "Magda Portal Renuncia la 'Gran Estafa' del Jefe Aprista," *Combate*, 17 April 1950.

[67] Stephen L. Rozman, "The Evolution of the Political Role of the Peruvian Military," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 12, no. 4 (Oct. 1970): pp. 555–556; Grant Hilliker, *The Politics of Reform in Peru: The Aprista and Other Mass Parties of Latin America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971), pp. 118–125; Masterson, "Caudillismo and Institutional Change," pp. 483–484; Klaren, *Peru: Society and Nationhood…*, pp. 301–307; Szulc, *Twilight of the Tyrants*, pp. 182–189.

store for a progressive Mexican organization. Her writing career thus revived as she used her time at the book store to promote and publish literary works. Her interest in politics was also revived, as she joined Peru's Communist Party in 1967, and later became a journalist, critiquing events in Peru and the world much as she had in earlier years. She still faced hostility from certain die-hard *Apristas* during this period—most notably in the early 1970s when financial hardship forced her to close her bookstore, and she temporarily had to make ends meet by using her car as a taxi. This provoked members of the taxi drivers' union, most of whom had been dedicated supporters of Haya, and she would daily wake to find her car coated in filth. By the late 1970s, these hardships had subsided, and she even began to receive recognition and accolades from both the literary community and a new generation of Peruvian women's rights activists, who embraced her as an early champion of feminism. Thus, by the time of her death in 1989, Magda Portal's career had come full circle—she had gone from being celebrated for her talent and defiance as a writer and activist who defied expectations, to being condemned for those very qualities, to being heralded as a national hero.[68]

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[68] Weaver, *Peruvian Rebel…*, pp. 171–186.

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4

Rigoberta Menchú, an Indian Woman from Guatemala

Anna Hamling

Introduction

The keywords of Latin American history such as colonialism, exploitation, violence, and political or social instability contributed to the creation of a new genre in the Latin American literature: *testimonio* (testimony). *Biography of a Runaway Slave* by Miguel Barnet is the first testimonial narrative based on interviews with Esteban Montejo, a 103-year-old man who had lived in Cuba both as a slave and a fugitive slave, and who fought in the island's War of Independence against Spain. The resulting book did not fit easily into any existing category of literature and came to be known as *testimonio*. Elzbieta Sklodowska (1992) clarifies that *testimonio* emerged as an alternative narrative form in Latin America for marginalized and oppressed communities in the wake of the success of the Cuban Revolution of the 1950s. Since then, the Indigenous

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peoples, peasants, and oppressed people or groups of people "felt more enabled to speak for themselves."[1] This type of narrative does have an underlying political intent to inform people from outside the community, or outside the country, about the oppressed people's conditions of life and their suffering.[2] In most cases, people who are witnesses to violent, oppressive situations are trying purposely to communicate with others hoping for a change, be it social, political, or both. One such person is Rigoberta Menchú, a Mayan woman from Guatemala, who received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1992 for her human rights activism against the oppression in her country. In 1984, Rigoberta Menchú wrote her famous testimony, *I, Rigoberta Menchú*. It is a first-person account of the brutality of the Guatemalan government and the ruling class toward Indigenous Guatemalans. This narrative brought her fame, praise, but also controversy. What is *testimony* and why is her story important? I will examine these questions through the personal testimony and discourse analysis of *I, Rigoberta Menchú* with the hope that her story will never be forgotten, but remembered and understood in the context of the Indigenous other theory of suffering of Indigenous people in Guatemala.

What Is Testimonial Narrative?

The original definition of *testimonio* is centered on the first-hand accounts of the witness(es) who either dictated them to a transcriber or who is the author himself/herself. One of the more powerful characteristics of *testimonio* is that, as a genre, it is difficult to be categorized, because the word *testimonio* can describe anything written by a first-person witness who wishes to tell her/his story of an event. John Beverly, an expert on testimonial literature, provides the following definition in *Testimonio: On the Politics of Truth*:

[1] Leigh Binford. "Empowered Speech: Social Fields, *Testimonio* and the Stoll-Menchú Debate." *Identities* 8, 1(2001): 105–133.

[2] Ibid.

> By *testimonio*, I mean a printed novel or novella-length narrative in book or pamphlet form, told in the first person by a narrator who is also the real protagonist or witness of the events he or she recounts, and whose unit of narration is usually a 'life' or a significant life experience.[3]

Marc Zimmerman's definition included *intersectionality* which is the key to understanding *testimonio* narrative. In *Literature and Resistance in Guatemala*, he writes: "clearly *testimonio* is a form in which literary and social considerations become necessarily and overtly intertwined, and because of this *intersectionality*, *testimonio* defies any easy explanation or categorization."[4] Gilmore clarifies it even further:

> the forms of testimony may vary, adopting narrative discourses such as autobiography, historical novel, interviews, photographs, prison memoirs, diaries, chronicles, letters, newspaper articles, anthropological or social science documentaries; they can be fiction or nonfiction.[5]

Testimonial literature might be defined as "an authentic narrative, told by a *witness* who is moved to tell her/his story by an urgent event such as war, oppression, or revolution. It is an oral discourse, in which the witness portrays his or her own experience as a representative of collective memory and identity. The narrative of exploitation and oppression denounces atrocities of the event that may precede the official history."[6] This way, such narratives challenge mainstream Latin American literature by creating a consciousness of the voiceless people, "the other," of their existence and importance in the greater society. Arias (2002) considers that testimonial literature is "a hybrid representation which include

[3] John Beverley. *Testimonio: On the Politics of Truth* (London: Duke University Press, 2000), p. 31.

[4] Marc Zimmerman. *Literature and Resistance in Guatemala: Textual Modes and Cultural Politics from El Sénor Presidente to Rigoberta Menchú*. Volume Two: Testimonio and Cultural Politics. (Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 1995), p. 11.

[5] Gilmore, L. *The Limits of Autobiography. Trauma and Testimony* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), p. 22.

[6] Leigh Binford "Empowered Speech: Social Fields, *Testimonio* and the Stoll-Menchú Debate." *Identities* 8, 1(2001): 105–133.

subjectivities and memories."[7] In this sense, the testimony might even rewrite and reinterpret data. Olmos (2010) describes testimony as a project against—or struggle against—hegemony. It is a form of the first-person form of injustice and of the social and economic situation of the subaltern people. Thus, the testimonial literature centers on the issues of voice, power, and authenticity. Testimony is a socially constructed representation of the past without a universal standard for truth, and it is an imperfect tool because of its dependence on memory. People construct different memory even if they have the same facts, but also the interaction between the storyteller and the interlocutor has an impact on the way the story is told.[8,9] In addition, the process of producing *testimonio* has an effect on the narrator's past. Gugelberger (1991) contends that *testimonio* is the voice of the collective self-engaged in the common struggle. It means there is no one authority, but the author of the collective "we" takes the role of the community witness.

He poses a very good question (1991): What does it mean to stand in solidarity? How can we as "first-world researchers" validate another reality, and, in hearing witness, authorize voice and denounce oppression and yet recognize our limitations—our position in power hierarchies and our cultural positions as outsiders? Below is one possible answer:

> This has to do with the foundation of our societies as a result of colonization. Societies were built as a result of colonization. Societies were built as an affirmation of a European identity in the Americas, coming to represent both 'modernity' and a rejection of the 'archaic' rural world of Indigenous peoples.[10]

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[7] Arturo Arias. "After the Rigoberta Menchú Controversy: Lesson Learned About the Nature of Subalternity and the Specifics of the Indigenous Subject." Modern Language Notes, 117, 2 (2002): 481–505.

[8] John Beverley. *Testimonio: On the Politics of Truth* (London: Duke University Press, 2000), p. 226.

[9] Sommer, Doris. "Not Just a Personal Story: Women's Testimonios and the Plural Self." In: Schenck C, Brodzki B *Life/Lines: Theoretical Essays on Women's Autobiography* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 914.

[10] Margarite Fernández Olmos. "Women's Writing in Latin America: Critical Trends and Priorities" in *Searching Women in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Eds. Edna Acosta-Belén and Christine E. Bose (Oxford: Westview Lyndsey Stonebridge, 2010), p. 67.

As a result, Western world studies tend to omit the knowledge Indigenous women can bring to the research. Most of them remain silent or subaltern (Olmos 2010) to the Western women's narratives. We knew very little about their identities and beliefs in their cultural settings and local histories. Most of them are not heard. In 1983, the voice of Rigoberta Menchú was heard and the construction of a better understanding and representation of the Indigenous peoples began. Gender discussions in the West often omitted the original inhabitants of the lands who were colonized and became politically, socially, and economically weak. The testimony of Rigoberta Menchú, in fact, suggests an alternative discourse to the subject and includes her and her people's experiences.

Civil War in Guatemala

Contemporary Guatemala has experienced a history of violence, notably from the Guatemalan Civil War which began in the 1960s and ended with the peace accords in 1996 (unfortunately, various forms of violence in Guatemala have continued to this day). Because of the genocidal violence during the Civil War-era, much of the rural population suffered greatly with an estimated 200,000 deaths, and thousands of others who sought refuge outside the country (Comisión para el Esclarecimiento Histórico 1999, Guatemala). During the Civil War, Guatemalans feared their present and their future and could not experience any "normality" in their living conditions. Civilians experienced violent conflicts between the government armed forces and the guerrilla rebels that shaped their daily life.[11]

Between 1981 and 1984, the Mayan population experienced unthinkable suffering; the intensity of the warfare against them was disproportionate compared to the rest of the population. In only a few years, army militias in many massacres destroyed over 400 Mayan villages.[12] The genocidal violence, poverty, and economic instability were major factors

[11] Amy Kaminski. "Residual Authority and Gendered Resistance." *Critical Theory, Cultural Politics and Latin American Narrative*, Eds. Steven M. Bell et al. (Notre Dame: U. of Notre Dame P, 1993), p. 66.

[12] Ibid., 50.

for Guatemalans, deciding to leave the country for a better life or being forced to flee the country for pure survival.[13]

When the peace accords were signed, officially, the Civil War had ended. However, for the victims, for the people who had lived through the war, this symbolic peace accord ended the conflict, but it has never ended the personal memories of the atrocities, of the suffering that people had gone through, and that for so many survivors persist to this very day. "The problems of the past—extreme hunger and poverty, high levels of violence and human rights abuses, distrust and fear—still remain today."[14]

I, Rigoberta Menchú

Rigoberta Menchú, was one of such victims. In her verbal account, she depicts the narrative of her whole community in her village in Guatemala. While the devastation from the Civil War took many lives, impoverishment and hunger continued to take others. Not only were people killed but whole villages were burned, fields destroyed, and families scattered, and many were never able to return to their homes again. This is what Rigoberta Menchú conveys in her oral discourse in *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, which she dictated to a Venezuelan anthropologist Elisabeth Burgos, who was her transcriber. It is possible that Burgos may have altered or edited Menchú's words to create a more coherent story which begins with personal information of the witness:

> My name is Rigoberta Menchú. I am twenty-three years old. This is my testimony. I didn't learn it from a book and I did not learn it alone… The important thing is that what happened to me has happened to many other people too: My story is the story of all poor Guatemalans. My personal experience is the reality of a whole people.[15]

[13] Ibid., 83.

[14] Ibid., 63.

[15] Menchú, Rigoberta, and Elisabeth. Burgos-Debray. *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala* (London: Verso, 1984), p. 1.

Rigoberta Menchú states clearly from the beginning that her story is not only her personal *testimony* but that it is a story of the community of which she is a member. Menchú identifies herself with this community, and her witnessing of the events is both personal and collective.

Menchú does not claim to have all of the answers herself; she states at the beginning of her book that she is an Indigenous woman activist and that this book is her, and her community's, *testimony*. In one of the most powerful scenes in *I, Rigoberta Menchú*, she describes in detail the torture of Indigenous Guatemalans, including her brother. Guatemalan government forces, in its fear of spreading threats, had labeled most Indigenous peoples as communists. They abducted and tortured them for "subversive" acts which they had never committed. Rigoberta's brother was tortured and humiliated for not wanting to leave the village on orders of the military. Furthermore, the army made the villagers watch as they burned him and other victims. As Menchú dictates the narrative of these inhuman violent crimes committed by the military, she confirms she is actively involved in the ideological discourse:

> They were Indians, our brothers. And what you think is that Indians are already being killed off by malnutrition, and when our parents can hardly give us enough to live on, and make sacrifices so that we can grow up, then they burn us alive like that? I said, this is impossible, and that was precisely the moment for me, personally, when I finally felt firmly convinced that if it's a sin to kill a human being, how can what the regime does to us not be a sin?[16]

Menchú describes all of the oppressions that her people are experiencing. She explains that Indigenous Guatemalans would like to live in peace, but the Guatemalan government is "savage," and commits all the "sins" against Mayan ancestors.[17] Menchú experienced a great deal of suffering, in her first twenty-three years, on a daily basis. Even before she was born, the landowners "sprayed the coffee with pesticide by plane while we were working, as they usually did, and my brother couldn't stand the fumes

[16] Ibid., 180.

[17] Menchú, Rigoberta, and Elisabeth. Burgos-Debray. *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*, p. 47.

and died of intoxication," Menchú states.[18] Although she did not witness this event first-hand, it became part of the story of her family. According to Maier's hierarchy of witnessing cruelties, Menchú is the second level of witness—she becomes the "witness to the testimonies of others."[19] Life itself for Rigoberta was full of suffering and sadness, but she realized "that it wasn't just my problem; that I wasn't the only little girl to have worried about not wanting to grow up. We were all worried about the harsh life awaiting us."[20] As "the repression" (Menchú's term for the murder of large numbers of Mayan individuals and communities) grew, Menchú became more and more aware of the mistreatment and murder of Mayan peoples by landowners and the military. Villages near her own village of Chimel began to suffer; even before 1981—the start of the genocide—she notes, "It wasn't only the villages nearest to us which had been attacked, there'd been massacres in other communities too. Chajul, Bebaj, Cotzal, were the first to suffer the repression."[21] She describes witnessing the murder of her friend at the hands of a landowner as the beginning of her experiences with death. After refusing to sleep with the son of a landowner, her friend was killed. Menchú recalls, "It was the first dead body I'd ever seen, and that's why I was saying that I'll have to talk about a lot more corpses, but this is the first one I ever touched."[22] Menchú's experience of seeing her friend's body persisted for years in her dreams. The death of her friend was a turning point in her future activism against violence. Menchú realized that other Mayan communities were also subjected to these atrocities; she began to organize events to raise awareness about the violence. In the following few years, her father, brother, and mother were all killed. She remembers: "It was in 1979, I remember, that my younger brother died, the first person in my family to be tortured. He was sixteen."[23] Contrary to Rigoberta's *testimony*, Stoll (1999) explains: "Testimonies from other Guatemalans indicate that Rigoberta Menchu's brother was not burned alive (after being tortured and before being killed) and that

[18] Ibid., 38.
[19] Ibid., 75.
[20] Ibid., 118.
[21] Ibid., 126.
[22] Ibid., 151.
[23] Ibid., 172.

Menchu herself was not present when his body was dumped in the street outside Chajul."[24]

Menchú responds that her *testimony* repeats the first-hand account her mother gave her and that, until she is presented with the evidence of her brother's body itself, she will continue to believe her mother. Independent human rights records do record the public burning of forty-eight Indigenous people by the army in Chajul at roughly the same period (*The Truth of Rigoberta Menchú's Testimonial 1999*). Regardless of whether Menchú's brother was burned alive or not, the version of events told to her by her mother is very real to Menchú and continues to haunt her. She describes the tortured men as almost unrecognizable. Despite only hearing her mother's *testimony* of the event, her brother's violent death has become a reality for Menchú. These feelings overwhelm her, after the death of her father, she admits, "I couldn't bear it. I couldn't bear to be the only one left. I actually wanted to die."[25] Despite her lack of hope, she survived and continued working. With the death of her mother, Menchú and her brother turned their grief into strength, encouraging one another to "keep this grief as a testimony to [their family] because they never exposed their lives even when their grief was great too."[26] The example of their family members' lives and deaths gave strength to Menchú.[27]

The Recovery of Historical Memory (REMHI) project documented testimonies of the victims of Guatemala's Civil War. Rigoberta Menchú in the interview confirmed 80 percent of all the testimonies, and together they succeeded in breaking the fear and terror that have dominated Guatemalan society for so long (March/April 1999). She stated, "In many ways, during the 1980s, I was a solitary indigenous voice, the only survivor, upon whom fell the task of travelling the way, to the UN and to the human rights groups and tell them of what was happening in Guatemala."[28]

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[24] David Stoll. *Rigoberta Menchu and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans* (Boulder: Routledge, 1998).

[25] Menchú, Rigoberta, and Elisabeth. Burgos-Debray. *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*, p. 186.

[26] Ibid., p. 199.

[27] Ibid., p. 185.

[28] The Recovery of Historical Memory (REMHI), (Guatemala, 1999), p. 123.

Stoll's Interpretation of Menchú's Narrative

Stoll challenges Menchú's "truth" in *Whatever Happened to the Truth* (The American Enterprise May/June 1999). Kenneth Lee confirms that "Stoll's book… catalogs a devastating list of exaggerations and fabrications in Menchú's famous book.[29] This attack on Menchú further involves David Stoll (1999) who states:

> To many ladinos as well as Mayas, Rigoberta is a national symbol and will continue to be one; however many vicissitudes she suffers because she is a living one. In Guatemalan intellectual life, she is a Mayan voice attempting to transcend the ladino-indigena dichotomy at the root of the struggles over national identity. By pointing towards a more equitable relation between the two great ethnic groups in Guatemalan history, her book is a national epic. The key passage in *I, Rigoberta Menchu* is the first one: "that my story' is the story of all poor Guatemalans." Even if the life told is not particularly her own, even if it a heavily fictionalized heroic life, she achieved what she intended in a way that one person's actual life never could.[30]

The Nobel Prize was not awarded to her for literature but for human rights, and Stoll admits this:

> There is no doubt about the most important points: that a dictatorship massacred thousands of indigenous peasants, that some victims included half of Rigoberta's immediate family, that she fled to Mexico to save her life, and that she joined a revolutionary movement to liberate her country. On these point Rigoberta's account is beyond challenge and deserves the attentions it receives.[31]

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[29] Kenneth Lee. "Whatever Happened to the Truth?" *The American Enterprise* (May/June: 5–6 1999): 43.

[30] David Stoll. *Rigoberta Menchu and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans* (Boulder: Routledge, 1998), p. 283.

[31] Ibid., p. viii.

Stoll affirms Menchú's status as a symbol, an icon of the suffering of Indigenous peoples and the struggle for their rights in Guatemala, but he still disputes the account of historical truth that she represents. She is the representative of the oppression of her own Indigenous community. According to Stoll, Menchú is not the active actor, is not the active subject, and is not the active voice to define moral and political authority. The Rigoberta controversy cannot be "either/or." Stoll, an American anthropologist educated in the United States in line with Western epistemology, fails to understand the authoritative narrative voice of Rigoberta Menchú claiming that "her truth" is the valid truth and should be part of the official history. There is a clash of cultures, a clash in the understanding of *testimonio*, and a lack of empathy for the suffering of the narrative voice of Indigenous people in Guatemala. The atrocities committed by the Guatemalan government are questioned, and while Indigenous people and Menchú are among the victims, Menchú and her family became the main actors in the controversy. Her *testimony* about the death of her brother from malnutrition, her lack of education, her class status, and other centricities are being questioned by Stoll. Nuns from Brussels convey that Rigoberta Menchú was a student in their school, but the events she is describing took place in Guatemala. She was not a first-hand witness and not a conscious political activist during that time. Her father, Vicente, was a small landowner who had enough means to send Rigoberta to school to Brussels. The nuns in the school stated:

> Segun la hermana Margarita y otras monjas de la orden del Sagrado Corazon, que administra el instituto Belga-Guatemalteco, Menchu era muy Buena estudiante, que llego a finalizar el primer ano de bachillerato.[32]

> Sister Margarita and other nuns of the order of the Blessed Heart that run the Belgian and Guatemalan institute, Menchú was a very good student that completed her first year of college.[33]

[32] Edward D. Fischer. "Derechos humanos y relativismo cultural. La ética antropológica en el área maya." (2001), p. 12. http://www1.udel.edu/LAS/Vol2-2Rogachevsky.html.

[33] Author's translation.

This statement is contradicted by Lawlor who explains that the nun Maria Estela confirmed that Menchú was working as a maid. She was also taught by one of the nuns working in the institute.[34] The question of the narrative—historical "truth" in Menchu's *testimony*—seems to be of major importance in this case. Lincoln presents his point of view this way:

> For me, the story would have been equally compelling had Menchu not claimed eyewitness veracity for it. The story would still have been about courage in the face of the oppression of the native people, vulnerability, truth. It simply would have been made more compelling had it been true in factual sense, rather than a narrative sense, since it was represented as such. In other words, it is far easier to convince me of courage and vulnerability when one has been courageous enough to tell the truth, or at least to represent what one is saying for what it is…This *testimonia*, unfortunately, is perjured testimony.[35]

Menchú lived in a very dangerous country, and experienced dangerous situations; it seems natural that there are certain inconsistencies in her story, but she, herself, affirms that "she will not tell the whole story. She has her secrets."[36] She, however, wants the entire world to know about the atrocities that the Guatemalan government and military are committing against her and the Mayan people, and how powerless they are in the face of it. She hopes that the international community will be aware of these atrocities and takes steps to put pressure on the Guatemalan government. Maya people want to live in peace and their traditions.

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[34] Mary Lawlor. *Public Native America: Tribal Self-representations in Casinos, Museums, and Powwows* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2006), p. 45.

[35] Kenneth Lincoln. *Native American Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 138.

[36] Menchú, Rigoberta, and Elisabeth. Burgos-Debray. *I, Rigoberta Menchú: An Indian Woman in Guatemala*, p. 154.

Rigoberta Menchú and Her Activism for Indigenous People

Indigenous women's perspectives often generate feelings of unbelief to our Western knowledge and experiences. Without a doubt, Indigenous women's individual experiences will differ due to intersecting oppressions produced under social, political, historical, and material conditions that we share consciously or unconsciously. These are the conditions and sets of complex relations that influence us every day. They are also complicated by our respective cultural differences and the compliance and resistance as Indigenous sovereign female subjects.

The English translation *I, Rigoberta Menchú* presented Menchú's life story within the context of her people's situation in the late twentieth century. The variations in the title and the conditions of narrative authority make the varied nature of the material immediately apparent, but the content does not.

The book won the 1983 Casa de las Americas Prize for testimonial literature. Menchú became the focus of international attention on the plight of Indigenous peoples, particularly in Guatemala. Menchú lived in exile in Mexico during the 1980s, after the killings of her parents and younger brother. She worked with the United Nations on the rights of the oppressed and was widely considered and praised as a catalyst for peace in the news media. She was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in the especially significant year of 1992, amidst the discussions about the quincentenary of contact between Europe and the Americas. Some books for young readers were written about her; these texts stressed ethnic values and depicted her journey for peace as a champion of human rights. Being Indigenous, a woman, and poor are three constituents of vicious discrimination that characterize those at the bottom of the social pyramid in Latin America. This is well known, but what is not known or is rarely discussed is the space/place where these constituents live—in other words, where these constituents are most significant.

The work of LaFlesche (2000) points out the issue of gender inequality (in Western feminist discussions) and masks a more serious concern for the political, social, and work emancipation of Indigenous women of the

"Fourth World" (Maier 2004). Fourth World refers to people who were the original inhabitants of lands who, as a result of colonization, find themselves as politically weak, economically marginal, and culturally stigmatized. Maier (2004) considers feminism and development that they seek, among several other things, to provide a re-interpretation of feminist theory from the south; more specifically from women who are black, Indigenous, peasant, or poor, disputing the essentialist view that condemns them as inferior (or voiceless) to women (or men) from the global north.

Conclusion

Rigoberta Menchú's testimonial narrative brought her fame. Her book was first translated into French and Spanish, but after 1983 it was translated into dozens of different languages. Her story represented the individual and collective suffering of the Indigenous people in the context of the Civil War in Guatemala. Menchú became an icon of the Mayan people. She would speak on their behalf in spite of the oppression. As Menchú became a political and social activist against violence in her native country, she was awarded the Nobel Prize for human rights in 1992. In 1997, she announced her decision to run for presidency in Guatemala but was defeated. She continues her activism on behalf of Indigenous people today.

From Gifts of Speech. Excerpt from Rigoberta Menchú's Speech at the Conference in Universidad Autonoma in Mexico City, 1996

www.gos.sbc.edu/m/menchunobel.html

On the threshold of the twenty-first century, communities and cultures should adopt new forms of living together based on cooperation, the acceptance that cultural diversity is not an obstacle for development, but on the contrary, constitutes the foundation on which a more just,

humane world with full liberty and democracy, social justice, in which the harmonious relationship between man and nature is the fundamental pillar of human existence, can be constructed. Friends, I repeat my desires of success in these work sessions and discussions that await you. Without doubt, your contributions will be invaluable for the construction of this new space in which to build relationships and learn to live together in cultural diversity.

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5

Gender (In)Equality in the Creative Industries: Insights from Serbia

Hristina Mikić

Introduction

Development of creative industries over the past two and a half decades has mainly been the subject of research by theorists and practitioners from the perspective of quantifying the economic growth and exports of this sector, as well as the employment distribution. These research topics have not paid sufficient attention to gender perspectives of the creative sector development, and these issues have only recently come into the spotlight.

Early research carried out by UNESCO analyzed the future of creative industries. Gallagher discussed the position of women in media and film industries, and she found that the proportion of women in those industries rarely exceeded 30 percent in any country.[1] She also found certain challenges in ensuring gender quality in audiovisual industries such as

[1] UNESCO 1980, p. 86.

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vertical and horizontal segregation of occupation in those industries, dual responsibilities for creative women, inferior education, and low protective legalization of women as media workers. She emphasized that women mainly worked on less-paid positions, as personal assistants, clerk-typists, or scrip staff.

In 2014, UNESCO conducted a large-scale global survey analyzing a sample of thirty-one countries focusing on the gender (in)equality status in culture and creative industries, as well as on cultural policy measures in this area. The findings of the study demonstrated that in most countries there was a lack of gender statistics in the creative sector, lack of mechanisms for public policies gender mainstreaming, as well as unequal access to decision-making roles in cultural and creative professions. For example, it turned out there was a greater proportion of women employed in public cultural institutions, and they had greater access to decision-making roles than in other areas of cultural professions.[2] In some cases, in contrast to the high participation of women in certain positions in the creative sector, they were not able to advance to senior management positions.

Another study on gender (in)equality in creative industries in selected East European countries (British Council 2018) also documented gender differences in this sector. Research findings indicate that architecture, IT, TV, commercial filmmaking, and performing arts had been considered as mostly male-dominated, while traditional creative fields (museums, galleries, libraries) as well as documentary photo and video, publishing) are often dominated by women. This study also documented a salary gap between women and men, revealed that undervalued women work in technology-related jobs in the creative sector, noted the unequal distribution of the leadership roles in cultural and creative industries, and highlighted that parenting and household duties were obstacles for women achieving success in creative activities.

Findings on gender inequality were also generated by some sectoral studies in the creative sector. The Vivendi Survey (Ibos 2013) showed that women were not represented in the professions managing creative production in music and film industries, but that they were engaged in

[2] UNESCO 2014, p. 25.

the creative sector in less-paid and side positions. Their work was undervalued, and often they were unable to take up higher positions because career development in the creative sector is often aggressive, arrogant, and subject to self-promotion, which naturally suits more men than women (Pujar 2016). The EWAN survey (2015) on the position of women in the film industry in Europe built on those findings. It showed that only 21 percent of European films were directed by women, who often had very little access to financial resources and were beneficiaries of grants in only 22 percent of cases. Also, a gender gap was observed in women's film-related education and their entry into the filmmaking market. Furthermore, while there were female talents in the film industry, their potential was not sufficiently utilized (EWAN 2015).

Baker and Hesmondhalgh (2015) studied gender segregation in music, publishing, and television in England; they found a low representation of women in creative industries focused on interactive content and IT such as gaming and multimedia. They also found gender inequality in different creative occupations. Their research demonstrated that women were more represented in professions dealing with coordination and facilitation of creative production, while the top creative professions (such as directors) were occupied by men. The exception refers to managerial positions on television, which are increasingly occupied by women. Women mainly occupy those positions in the creative professions that are more concerned with the organization of creative contents than in the creation and production of such contents and often find it difficult to reach the leadership positions of creative directors.

All these findings indicate that gender inequality is present in the creative sector to a different extent. Pujar states that gender inequalities are deepening due to insufficient implementation of gender mainstreaming of public policies, lack of gender statistics in creative industries, lack of program evaluation and funding for creative production, and lack of political will for mainstreaming gender into cultural policies.[3]

[3] Sandrine Pujar. *Gender Inequalities in the Cultural Sector*. Culture Action Europe, 2016. https://cultureactioneurope.org/files/2016/05/Gender-Inequalities-in-the-Cultural-Sector.pdf, pp. 31–32.

Comprehensive research on gender perspectives in the creative sector in Serbia has yet to be conducted, although there have been individual initiatives. In 2017, the Institute for Research in Cultural Development conducted a survey on the position of women in public cultural institutions to find out about gender inequality in this area (Milanović et al. 2017). This research found that women were more likely to be employed in the public sector than men. The reason being that these jobs do not bring social power and high profits and are not of interest to men. However, with the rise of social power in cultural institutions (such as provincial or state ones), women's participation is declining. Women do not opt for leadership positions because they do not want to take on a great deal of responsibility or to engage politically, which they observed to be a crucial factor in coming to leadership positions in cultural institutions.

This chapter is dedicated to researching gender equality in creative industries. The main questions to be validated are as follows: What is the gender structure of employment in the creative sector in Serbia? Do women have equal access to leadership and decision-making roles in the creative sector in Serbia? What are the existing gender inequalities in creative industries? What kind of policy measures can address those challenges?

The research offers new perspectives on gender equality in the creative sector in Serbia. The analysis presents some new views on the gender structure of creative sector employment, as well as findings on gender inequalities in the creative work of women and men. The research offers a better understanding of the development of creative industries from a gender perspective and attempts to answer the question of whether the accelerated development of this sector in Serbia deepens the gender gap or decreases this gap, and also examines how the growth of creative industries impacted the economic position of women in this sector. Recommendations from the SDGs perspective can serve to better gender mainstreaming of government policies in the creative industries.

The chapter is organized as follows. It begins with an overview of the relevant literature and evidence on gender (in)equality in creative industries, followed by a historical overview that provides background on the development of creative industries in Serbia, with special attention paid

to the position of female creative entrepreneurship in different sociopolitical periods of Serbia's development. The third section explains the methodology of research and data collection. The fourth section provides the main findings of the research and discussion of results. The last part of the chapter shows the conclusions and recommendations for improving gender equality in the creative industries in Serbia, especially in line with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) perspective on women's empowerment and gender policy issues.

Development of Creative Industries in Serbia and Position of Female Creative Entrepreneurship: A Historical Overview

The beginnings of creative industries in the form of creative entrepreneurship in Serbia date back to the mid-nineteenth century. After gaining independence from the Turks, Serbia began its autonomous economic development. Although it was predominantly based on the strengthening and expansion of the manufacturing industries, the development of handicraft in villages also occupied a certain place. It was mostly women at home that were involved in these activities. Combining self-taught knowledge, folk skills, and their own creativity, women pursued these tasks with household responsibilities. They had no greater economic autonomy. In such a system, the exchange of creative products was performed by men, and this still continues in some rural parts of Serbia (Mikić et al. 2016).

The limited legal, economic, and social position of women during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was prescribed by the Civil Code of 1844. The rights of women were decided by male family members; married women could only do chores, whereas unmarried women—although they were able to get jobs—mostly did auxiliary and less-paid jobs (Draškić and Popović-Obradović 2009). According to the 1866 Jobs Census Report (Državopis Srbije 1884), women were mostly engaged in agriculture (about 91 percent). Among other professions, they could make clothing (about 2 percent), trade (1.8 percent), as well as carry out

blacksmithing, locksmithing, and woodworking crafts (2 percent). Although there was a low representation of creative occupations (1070 people), there was no greater gender differentiation between women and men. For example, the creative professions (literature and fine arts, painters, typographers, musicians) had a share of 0.09 percent of the active labor force, while the participation of women was about 46 percent.

Serbia's industrialization and specialization of work created new job opportunities for women. Some sources state that the position of women in all jobs was worse than that of men with very low wages (Aritonović 2009, 242). Individual cases of prewar industries reveal the different effects of industrialization. For example, the first yarn and textile industry of the Minh brothers in Paraćin employed more than 55 percent of women at the end of the nineteenth century, which gave women in the Pomoravian region greater economic independence and created conditions for their emancipation. However, they were mostly employed in manufacturing jobs, and in some cases exposed to poor working conditions in the spinning rooms.

Household craftsmanship, an area in which women could express their creativity and skill, took on its institutional forms in the late nineteenth century. The first women's schools and cooperatives were opened, where women worked in an organized manner to acquire skills and manufacture creative products. In the first place, there were textile and wool products—rugs, carpets, handicrafts, canvases (Đunisavljević 1990), and in the Leskovac area, cotton cloths with patterns of woven silk (Kanc 1987). In the cooperative system, women were not represented in managerial positions either. Cooperatives management, product sales, and communication with the outside world were mostly in the hands of men, while women were in charge of production. The emergence of new creative activities in Serbia at the beginning of the twentieth century (such as cinema, photography, music production) did not change the position of women. These areas were still dominated by men. Thus, the entire period until the end of World War II was wasted in an attempt to get better socioeconomic rights for women (Aritonović 2009) in all fields, including creative entrepreneurship.

After World War II, the advent of the Communist Party proclaimed the policy of women's equality. The constitutional and legal provisions

improved the position of women in terms of eliminating discrimination and unequal legal status.[4] The changes were related to improving the position of women in marriage, employment, social security, and education. The Antifascist Women's Front played a significant role in protecting women's rights. It was an organization that gathered women in large numbers, participated in work actions, industrialized the country, and fought for their improved integration into the economy (Stojaković 2010). The increased participation of women in the workforce was a result of not only the proclaimed idea of gender equality but also an unavoidable need. The country was destroyed after the war, and the accelerated development of industry required the engagement of all available workforce.[5]

Although the textile and tobacco industries were the most significant sectors for women's employment, they also represented a significant workforce in certain areas of the creative sector. According to the Federal Bureau of Statistics (SZS, 1964; 1989), since 1952, when 23 percent of women (139,000) were employed in Serbia, their share increased by 27.1 percent (338,000) in 1962, and by 39 percent (924,000) in 1983. This growth coincides with a period of the rapid development in the manufacturing industry. The same source testified that, in 1961, about 9572 women were employed in the graphic industry and publishing, cultural and educational activities, and arts activities, representing 42.7 percent of total employment in the creative sector. Gender differentiation within the various fields of the creative sector is also noticeable—the highest share of women (about 40 percent) was recorded in the art and entertainment sectors, and the lowest in the film industry (about 20 percent). In 1961, 17,358 people were employed in creative occupations (11 occupational groups), of which 40.8 percent were women. In addition, there is interesting data on women's participation in decision-making processes in the creative sector. Within the self-governing councils of creative activities, women participated on average with 31 percent, while they were less represented as members of Boards of Directors (about 15 percent).

[4] Vera Gudac-Dodić. "Položaj Žene u Srbiji (1945–2000)." *Srbija u Modernizacijskim Procesima XIX i XX veka: Žene i Deca*, 33–130 (Urednik Latinka Perović. Beograd: Helsinški Odbor za Ljudska Prava u Srbiji, 2006), 34.

[5] Ibid., 60.

Most women managed libraries, reading rooms (*čitališta*), and theaters (on average about 47 percent), while the gender gap was evident in the activities of community colleges, museums, archives, galleries, institutes for heritage protection, and cultural centers where women were not represented on the Boards of Directors.

The self-governing period was marked by frequent economic reforms that were required to enable workers to play a greater role in shaping economic development. The ultimate goal was the independent economy management by workers. The transformation of the economy took place through various forms of economic integration—business contracts, contracts on joint procurement of raw materials, associations of companies, and formation of cooperative property (Horvat 1970). These processes led to increased employment and changes in its sectoral structure. However, the employment growth was often the result of bureaucratization of the economy and political party's employment, which eventually led to the inefficiency and collapse of the concept of a self-managed enterprise (Mikić and Radonjić-Živkov 2018). The proclaimed equality of women, which marked this whole period, was hardly achieved in reality. Women represented a less cost-effective workforce, were often laid off, and performed lower-paying jobs (Gudac-Dodić 2006); moreover, in comparison to men, they were discriminated against during an employment process, while their participation in a decision-making process and the self-governing economy management was symbolic (Božinović 1996).

In the early 1990s, the disintegration of Yugoslavia, civil wars, and UN sanctions aggravated the country's economic situation and adversely affected employment. Additionally, the transformation of a self-governing economy began. It started in the mid-1990s when companies could be sold internally to employees. However, this model of privatization did not give any significant results in the transformation of the economy. In 1998, new legislation on privatization was adopted, and after the political changes in 2000, a more dynamic process of privatization and development of entrepreneurship followed. The transformation of big companies had a negative impact on the employment of women, as many of them who used to work in the process industry were out of work. According to the data of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (SORS 1998, 2009), in the period from 1997 to 2004, the total number of employees

decreased by almost 20 percent, while the number of employed women decreased by 30.5 percent. This also led to a fall in the share of women employed in the economy, from 40.1 percent (1997) to 30 percent at the end of the transition period in 2008. The majority of women were employed in the state and social sectors in the fields of health, catering, education, and culture. However, women's earnings were below average. They ranged around 88 percent of the average wage in the economy, and 90 percent of the average wage in non-economic activities.[6]

At the same time, there was an increase in the employment of women as entrepreneurs. They were mostly employed in the service industry, where there was less need for start-up capital (Stajić 1998). The transition period also led to women seeking new employment opportunities. Many women who lost their jobs tried to upgrade the skills that they had acquired by working in self-managed companies. Based on a pilot survey of creative industries in Pirot and Kikinda, more than 35 percent of surveyed women started creative entrepreneurship after losing their jobs. Most of them worked in socially owned enterprises, which either ceased to exist or decreased after privatization, and they found themselves in the group of laid-off workers due to their age and qualifications. Creative skills were acquired through video tutorials or the Internet. The ideas were further developed independently by experimenting with materials, techniques, and products. At first, they pursued creative activities as a hobby (see also: Mikić 2020). For them, these were activities of a more social than economic nature. Creative activities helped them to overcome the sense of losing their jobs and social exclusion. Some of them formed their own associations to support one another in overcoming the psychological crisis of losing their jobs. Creative activities and positive reactions to this aspect of their creativity restored their faith in their own abilities and confidence and gave them new social status and identity.

[6] Vera Gudac-Dodić. "Položaj žene u Srbiji (1945–2000)." *Srbija u Modernizacijskim Procesima XIX i XX veka: Žene i Deca*, 33–130 (Urednik Latinka Perović. Beograd: Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji, 2006), p. 70.

Methodology of Research and Data Collection

Gender equality and gender non-discrimination are basic human rights enshrined in many conventions. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) defines gender equality as "equal enjoyment by women and men of socially valued goods, opportunities, resources, and rewards. The aim is not that women and men become the same, but that their opportunities and life chances become and remain equal."[7] Gender equality can be traced through different spheres of the social and economic lives of men and women—education, healthcare, decent work, entrepreneurship, economic well-being, leadership, and representation in political and economic decision-making processes. Our investigation was primarily focused on selected economic dimensions of gender equality in creative industries from the perspective of SDGs goal targets. The methodological framework for analysis is presented in Table 5.1.

The analysis is based on available data on creative industries from the official statistics (Labour Force Survey and Administrative Employment Data 2014–2017), and segregated data from mapping studies of creative industries in Serbia from two explanatory research studies in Pirot and

Table 5.1 Methodological framework for analyzing gender equality in creative industries

Dimensions	Indicators	SGDs 5: Gender equality goal targets
Employment	Participation of women in the creative industries labor force	Ensure women's participation and equal opportunities for leadership in economic life
Wage	Differences in wages between women and men in creative industries	Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources
Entrepreneurship	Number of women as creative entrepreneurs	
Opportunity	Women as creative industries decision-makers, business owners, or leaders	Strengthening policy for promoting gender equality and women's empowerment

[7] OECD 1999, p. 13.

Kikinda (2015–2017). Data for public sector institutions was extracted from the Centre for Cultural Development research on the position of women in public cultural institutions in Serbia (Milanović et al. 2017), and this data includes only the gender aspect of cultural institutions in the field of museums, archives, libraries, cultural centers, and galleries.

Since no gender statistics are maintained on business registration, the analysis was conducted on a sample of companies. Companies are ranked by income, so the number of female owners or directors of these companies was derived from the analysis of the group of the first thirty companies. The limitations of our analysis mainly stem from the sample reliability and how credibly it reflects the entire creative sector. However, by ranking business by parameters of economic performance, the goal of the analysis was to get a broader picture of gender opportunity.

In this chapter, we use the adapted UNESCO model for defining and classifying creative industries (UIS 2009; Mikić 2012, 2015). This model defines creative industries as sectors of organized activities that produce and distribute goods, services containing or conveying cultural expressions, or their content derived from cultural, artistic, or heritage origins (UNESCO 2005; UNESCO et al. 2015). The UNESCO model of creative industries contains six core domains: cultural and natural heritage, performance and celebration, visual arts and crafts, books and press, audiovisual and interactive media and design, and creative services, as well as one supporting domain (supporting material and equipment). The framework is based on the concept of a cultural cycle in the creation and production of cultural contents, and all activities are divided as production, dissemination, exhibition, and consumption of cultural and creative contents (UIS 2009). In our analysis, we also use a broad definition of creative industries (core domains and supporting domains—thirty-four economic activities at the two- and three-digit level of ISIC rev. 4) and a narrow definition (only core domains—thirteen economic activities at the three-digit level of ISIC rev. 4). This approach is conditioned by the lack of indicators within the gender statistics at a satisfactory analytical level. Therefore, our analysis should provide a general overview of gender inequality in the creative sector, but it can also serve as a framework for further research on this topic.

Gender Perspective of the Creative Industries in Serbia

More dynamic development of the creative sector can be best traced back to 2001. Factors that contributed to this were the liberalization of legislation in the field of creative industries, the affirmation of private entrepreneurship, and the emergence of a new generation of artists, designers, and creative workers. The lack of funding for new cultural employment in the public sector influenced young members of the creative class to look for employment in private and civilian sectors. In 2017, the number of creative businesses nearly tripled compared to 2001. Although these are mostly micro-enterprises, employing up to three people, the total number of employees increased by about 27 percent (Table 5.2). With the growth of creative business and employment, structural changes in the creative sector occurred. At the beginning of the observed period, traditional creative activities (performing arts, visual arts, etc.) had a dominant share in the structure of the creative sector. Over time, the structure of the creative sector changed, and in 2017, the contemporary creative industries (multimedia, audiovisual creation, design, and creative services, computer programming) were given primacy. Their growth was largely driven by the business outsourcing, that is, the increased volume of outsourcing business to foreign clients.

In the same period, the institutional conditions for improving the position of women were advanced. Several strategic documents were adopted addressing this issue (e.g. gender equality strategy, employment strategy, protection against discrimination), and several state bodies in charge of monitoring their implementation were established (e.g. Gender Equality Offices, Commissioner for Protection of Gender Equality).

Table 5.2 Employment in creative industries, 2001–2017 (in thousands)

	2001	2009	2017
Total employment	2101	1889	2063
CIs employment (narrow definition)	57.1	69.8	72.4
% of total employment (narrow)	2.7%	3.7%	3.5%

Source: Authors' calculation based on administrative employment data from SBRA and SORS

However, recent analysis has shown that women continue to suffer significantly from different types of discrimination in the field of labor and employment, and it is difficult for them to enter the labor market; women living in the countryside are more exposed to these risks (Pantović et al. 2017). Existing strategies and action plans in the field of gender equality do not address the individual issue of the position of women in the creative sector, although its development was set as one of the priorities of the government appointed in July 2017. The Draft Cultural Development Strategy (MKI 2017b) and the Action Plan proposal (MKI 2017a) pay very little attention to this topic. The women's issue is approached from the perspective of promoting women's creativity and overcoming stereotypes about women. Within the legal norms, the Law on Culture (2009) stipulates that at least 30 percent of women should be on the Board of Directors and Chairmen of cultural institutions, while measures aimed at affirming women's creative entrepreneurship and gender equality in the creative industries do not recognize this law.

In the gender structure of employees in the creative sector, women participate with an average of 41.2 percent, which is above the average employment rate of women in Serbia (38.1 percent). However, if one looks at the structure of employment in the narrower fields of creative industries (Figs. 5.1 and 5.2), differences within them can be noticed. For example, in modern fast-growing industries, women's employment is less favorable (women make 33.7 percent of the total number of employees), compared to traditional areas of the creative sector (museums, galleries, libraries, cultural heritage) where their share is 58.9 percent. The employment rate of women in traditional areas of the creative sector is 1.5 times higher than the average of the creative sector and 2 times higher than the average of the economy. This leads us to the conclusion that in contemporary creative industries, predominantly based on new technologies, gender differentiation of the male-dominated professions is pronounced. Explanatory mapping of the creative industries in Pirot and Kikinda gives us better insights into the distribution of women's employment in the creative sector and the depth of the gender gap that exists between traditional and contemporary areas of creative work. For example, the rate of women engaged in creative industries in these two cities is about 554 percent. In the field of cultural heritage, handicrafts,

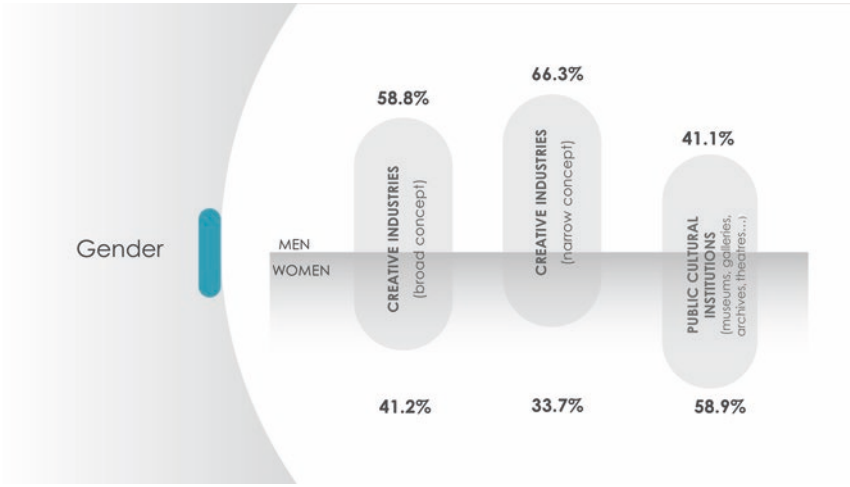

Fig. 5.1 Gender structure of creative sector employees, 2017. (Source: Author's calculation based on data from LFS (2017) and Milanović et al. 2017)

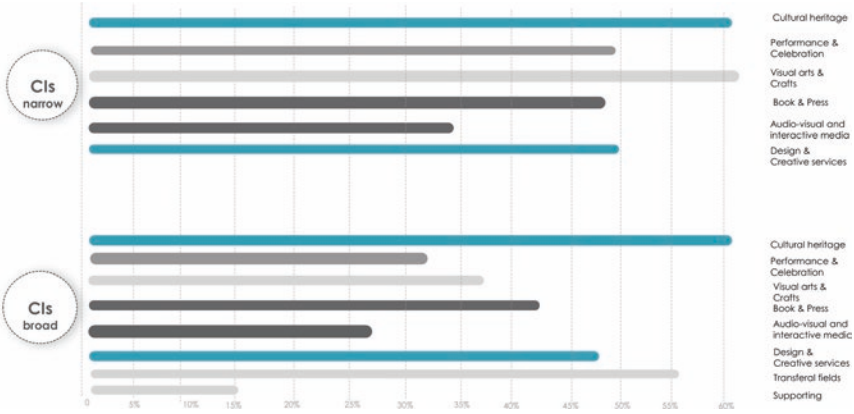

Fig. 5.2 Women's employment in creative industries by fields. (% of total employment). (Source: Author's calculation based on LFS (2015) and Milanović et al. 2017)

household craftsmanship, and the visual arts, their share is 77 percent, while the gender gap is recorded in the fields of multimedia, programming, radio, and TV and audiovisual productions where the share of women is about 18 percent.

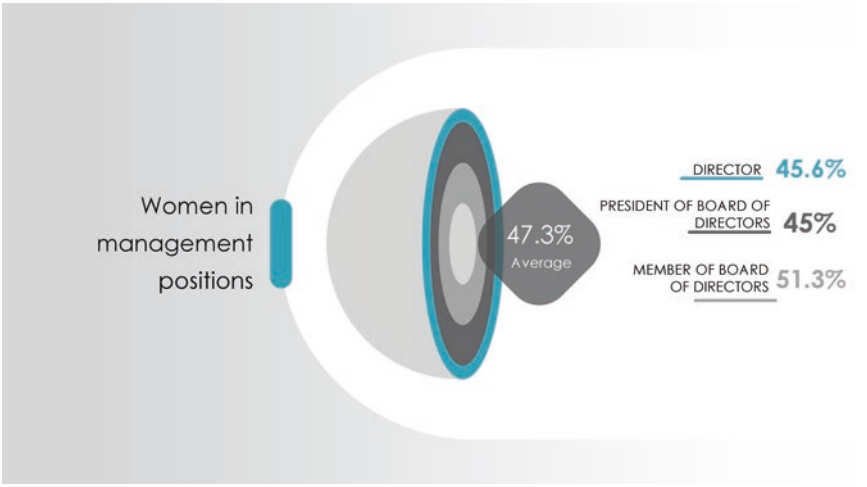

Fig. 5.3 Leading positions in cultural institutions by gender, 2017. (Source: Calculation based on data from Milanović et al. 2017)

In terms of participation in the decision-making process and leadership of organizations and institutions in the creative sector, women participate in leadership positions with an average of 47.3 percent. The structure of leadership positions and women's participation is shown in Fig. 5.3. Although there are differences regarding who founded these institutions, the greatest degree of integration was observed in the leadership positions in cultural institutions at the local level, where there is an equal number of women and men in director positions (Milanović et al. 2017).

With regard to the selected sample of creative industries, women are represented half as much as managers of creative businesses in the private sector compared to public institutions (Fig. 5.4). Findings from Pirot and Kikinda show that women are, on average, owners and directors of about one-third of creative industry business. Women are predominantly registered as entrepreneurs (about 44 percent) and founders and managers of associations (35 percent). About 89 percent of women's entrepreneurial ventures in these cities were established after 2000, coinciding with transitional changes in the economy and restructuring of large socially owned enterprises, resulting in an increase in the number of women who

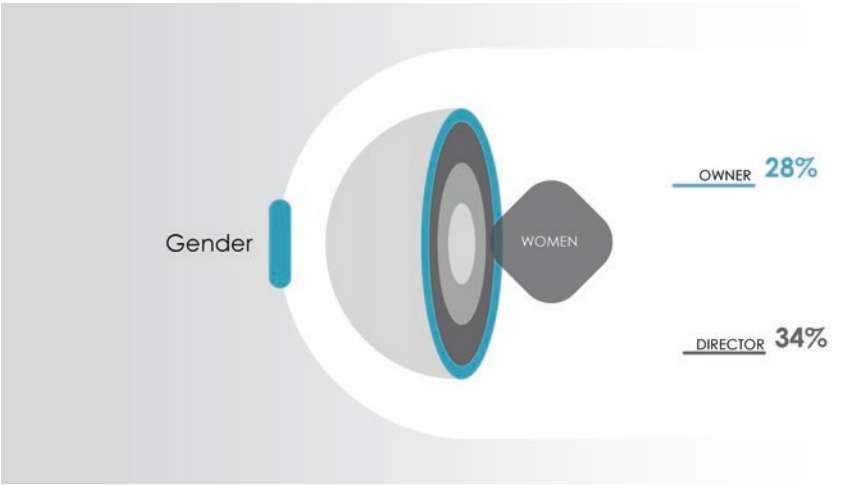

Fig. 5.4 Creative industries business by gender of owners and directors, 2017. (Source: CI narrow definition; author's calculation based on selected entities from SBRA)

lost their jobs. About 43 percent of women started jobs out of economic necessity (compared to 27 percent of men), and the average profile of this type of female entrepreneur is about 49 years, secondary vocational education (50.1 percent), living in a four-member household, and possessing craft skills and knowledge (43.5 percent). These findings indicate a significant difference between women working as creative entrepreneurs and those working in public cultural institutions. Primarily, when it comes to reasons, women in public cultural institutions mainly feel that jobs in culture are done for pleasure (Milanović et al. 2017), while this is not the case for women creative entrepreneurs where the economic motive prevails. As with employment, women take leadership positions in the areas where the largest number of women are engaged—cultural heritage, household craftsmanship, visual arts, souvenirs production, photography, fashion design. The income from creative activities in 58 percent of cases is their main source of household revenue. Women creative entrepreneurs do not perceive more discrimination with regard to their gender. They generally consider that the areas where they work do

not yield high salaries and, thus, conclude that these areas are not attractive to men.

In terms of the gender wage gap in creative industries, women's earnings were generally lower than average women's earnings at the national economy level. According to the creative industries domain structure, the biggest differences in earnings exist in book and press (32.5 percent) and the least in performance and celebration (0.6 percent). In some domains, the wage gap increased. For example, gender inequalities, measured by differences in average earnings, have increased almost threefold in the field of audiovisual and interactive media in the last four years (Fig. 5.5). These findings are in line with the results of other studies that have demonstrated that women are less represented in the profitable areas of high-income occupations (Pujar 2016; Schulz et al. 2016).

The smallest differences in earnings between men and women are in the sectors dominated by state property such as cultural heritage. This fits in with the general characteristics of gender inequalities in earnings in Serbia, where they are significantly higher in private than in the public sector (Avlijaš et al. 2013).

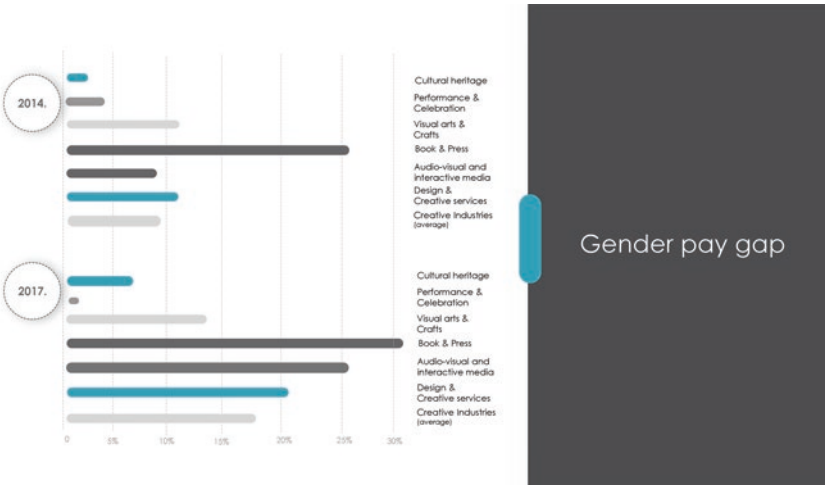

Fig. 5.5 Gender wages gap in different domains of creative sector, 2017 (%). (Source: Author's calculation based on SORS Administrative data on employment (2014, 2017))

Women and men perceive success factors in creative business differently, suggesting some differences in behavioral patterns between small and female creative entrepreneurship (Fig. 5.6). Both genders share the common view that vision and courage are needed in the first place to succeed, as well as creative ideas. Women evaluate good creative ideas in terms of aesthetics, the combination of colors and materials, and the authenticity of the product that they can create. Men, on the other hand, look at creative ideas more in terms of their functionality and efficiency to meet market needs. Men and women in the creative industries differently implement their creative ideas through innovation. It is characteristic for women to decide to innovate the product by increasing the product range (61.5 percent), as well as through innovations to improve work organization (66.7 percent). On the other hand, men carry out innovative activities through the improvement of product quality (38 percent) and better job management and organization in creative firms (79.3 percent).

Men consider market knowledge to be the third factor for success in the creative industries, while women consider creative skills (Fig. 5.6).

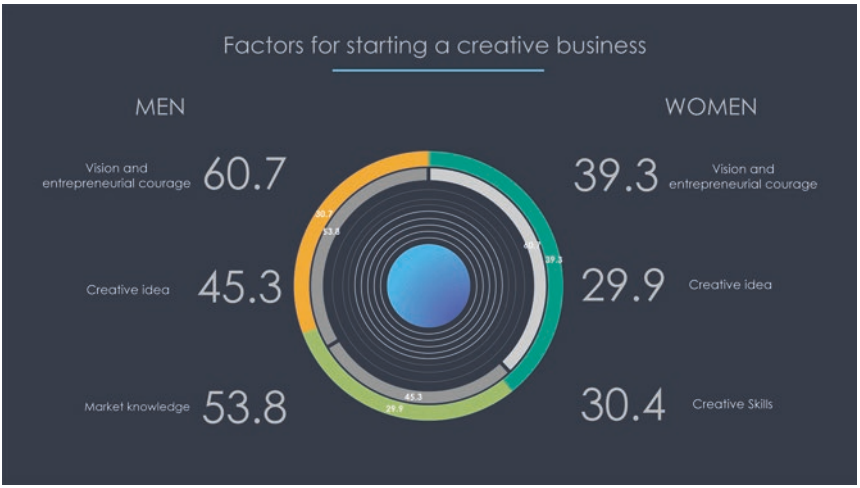

Fig. 5.6 The most important factors for starting a business in creative industries. (Source: Author's calculation based on data from Pirot and Kikinda creative industries mapping studies (2015–2017); 221 responses)

Such findings are the result of different types of creative work in particular areas of the creative industries. In the areas where women are typically engaged, creative skills are crucial for the product to emerge and meet customer needs. Men perform jobs in the areas where more technical knowledge (and less creative expression) is required and often perceive market knowledge as a key success factor in business.

Problems for business development in the creative sector also show some differences. They are the result of a different approach to economic resources for women and men. Women rank economic and financial problems highly, while men experience the limitations and characteristics of the market as barriers to developing a creative business. In addition, unlike men, who may find it easier to handle competition and are willing to face it, women tend to find it more difficult to handle competition and are unable to cope with these challenges (Fig. 5.7).

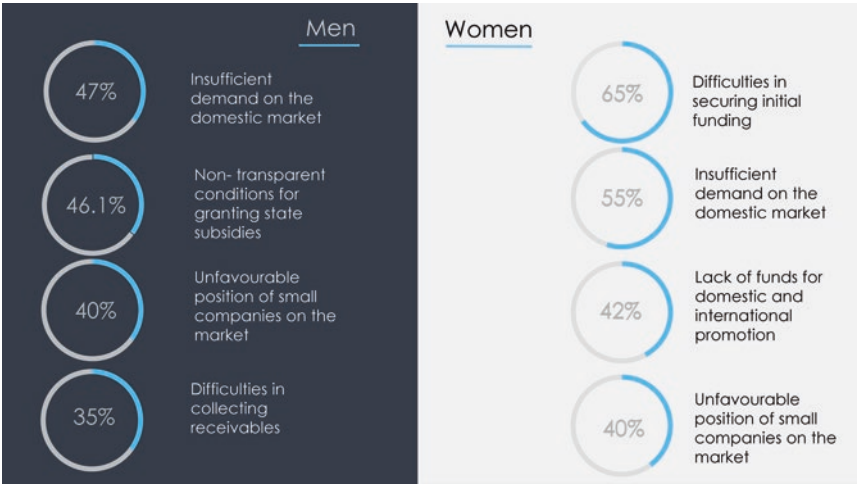

Fig. 5.7 Creative business problems by gender. (Source: Author's calculation based on data from Pirot and Kikinda creative industries mapping studies (2015–2017); 221 responses)

Conclusions

The preliminary findings presented in this chapter show that, in Serbia, gender equality of women and men regarding employment in the creative sector is better than the economic average. Women in the creative sector participate with an average of 41.2 percent as compared with the average employment rate of women in Serbia, which is 38.1 percent. These numbers are influenced by the above-average employment rate of women in the traditional areas of the creative sector, predominantly in the public-owned sector. The employment rate of women in traditional areas of the creative sector is 1.5 times higher than the average rate for the creative sector and 2 times higher than the average rate for the national economy.

On the other hand, the accelerated development of the creative sector in favor of IT-intensive activities deepens inequalities between men and women, both in terms of employment and average earnings. Activities that have high employment growth rates and gross value added are characterized by gender-differentiated professions that favor men. The difference in earnings between men and women in these activities is twice as high as the average of the creative industries, and three times the average of the national economy.

Although too much importance is attached to the IT sector by governmental and state bodies, the results of our analysis show that caution should be exercised in this regard. Long-term insistence on the development of IT intensive activities can deepen gender inequalities in the creative sector. Therefore, it is important to enable better gender mainstreaming of government policies in creative industries in line with SDGs perspectives on women's equality and empowerment. In this regard, the recommendations would be as follows:

- creating adequate gender statistics in the creative industries to enable evidence-based and result-oriented policies;
- strengthening policies and programs for the promotion of gender equality and women empowerment in creative industries;
- improving the position of women in the creative industries through support for women's creative entrepreneurship (creative laboratories

for raising women's entrepreneurial capacity, women networking, promoting creative products and services provided by women, mentoring, promoting women's creative leadership, etc.);
- facilitating better gender mainstreaming of cultural policy measures to promote gender equality through projects funded by the Ministry of Culture;
- mainstreaming entrepreneurship policy measures to empower women for creative entrepreneurship, especially those based on the interpretation of cultural heritage.

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6

Developing Women Leaders in Business: Research Insights and Best Practices

Taryn Oesch and Amy DuVernet

The 2017 Google memo and the #MeToo movement were the tip of a very large iceberg, and pointed to a deep-seated and pervasive problem. While harassment in the entertainment industry received the greatest focus in the media, these cultural phenomena also brought attention to the persistent disadvantages experienced by women in business and their refusal—and, perhaps more importantly, the refusal of the organizations they work for—to maintain that *status quo*. That refusal stems not only from social justice motivation but also from the positive business impact experienced by organizations that employ a diverse workforce.

A full review of the adversities faced by women in business and potential solutions to address these social issues is beyond the scope of this chapter. Instead, we focus specifically on the disadvantages women encounter with regard to access to and experience in leadership roles within

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organizations, as well as the potential for both formal and informal learning and development processes to impact their access to and experiences in these roles.

We start with an overview of the gender gap that exists across leadership levels in business. In doing so, we review research pointing to the magnitude of this gap, the business consequences of a lack of diversity in leadership roles, and the inherent perceptions, social systems, and individual differences that contribute to this gap. Next, we detail recent research investigating the extent to which leadership training can contribute to, minimize, or eliminate that gap. We conclude with recommendations for using learning and development processes to improve women's access to and performance in leadership roles.

The Gender Gap and Its Causes

A considerable amount of research points to the existence and extent of the gap in women's leadership. The same research has often investigated causes and consequences of the gap. Below, we review this work.

The Magnitude of the Problem

In a 2018 PwC survey of 3627 women in 61 countries, almost half agreed that "an employee's diversity status (gender, ethnicity, age, etc.) can be a barrier to career progression" in their organization and almost half did not believe their organization "is doing what it takes to improve gender diversity."[1]

The survey respondents would seem to be correct; it is well- documented that women are increasingly underrepresented at each level of the organizational hierarchy across industries. On the 2017 S&P 500 list, only 4.8 percent of CEOs, 11 percent of top earners, and 26.5 percent of executives and senior-level leaders were women—despite the fact that

[1] PwC. "Time to Talk: What has to Change for Women at Work," 2018, https://www.pwc.com/timetotalk.

almost half of total employees were women.[2] Further, less than 5 percent (a paltry 24) of the total number of Fortune 500 CEOs are women (as of April 2018).[3] Overall, more men than women hold C-suite positions, with an exception being the chief human resources role; however, notably, this C-suite role rarely leads to promotion to the CEO role.[4] Furthermore, only 21.2 percent of S&P 500 company board seats (see Note 2) and 10.6 percent of Fortune 500 company board seats (see Note 3) are held by women. Even fewer are chairs.

These gaps begin in the lowest-level positions. LeanIn.org and McKinsey & Co.'s 2017 survey of more than 70,000 employees at 222 companies, for example, concluded that starting at the entry level, fewer women are hired than men, despite women's higher degree attainment, and the number of women decreases at each step of the corporate ladder to the C-suite, where just one in five leaders is a woman.[5] Additionally, recent research[6] found that women with degrees are significantly more likely than men with degrees to be underemployed in their first position after graduating from college. Because initial underemployment can be difficult to overcome, this gap persists over time, researchers concluded. Research from Accenture found that women are 22 percent less likely to become managers than their male peers, while men are 47 percent more likely to become senior managers or directors than their female peers.[7]

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[2] Catalyst. "Pyramid: Women in S&P: 500 Companies," May 17, 2018, http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/women-sp-500-companies.

[3] Fortune. "These Are the Women CEOs Leading Fortune 500 Companies," June 7, 2017, http://fortune.com/2017/06/07/fortune-500-women-ceos/.

[4] Holman, Jordyn. "In C-Suite Role Without Path to Top, Women Hold Over 50% of Jobs," *Bloomberg News*, February 7, 2018, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-02-07/in-c-suite-role-without-path-to-top-women-hold-over-50-of-jobs.

[5] Rachel Thomas et al., "Women in the Workplace: 2017," McKinsey & Co., October 9, 2017, https://womenintheworkplace.com/.

[6] Burning Glass Technologies and Strada Institute for the Future of Work, "The Permanent Detour: Underemployment's Long-Term Effects on the Careers of College Grads," May 23, 2018, https://www.burning-glass.com/wp-content/uploads/permanent_detour_underemployment_report.pdf.

[7] Ellyn Shook and Julie Sweet, "When She Rises, We All Rise. Getting to Equal 2018: Creating a Culture where Everyone Thrives," Accenture, March 7, 2018, https://www.accenture.com/t20180307T184141Z__w__/us-en/_acnmedia/PDF-73/Accenture-When-She-Rises-We-All-Rise.pdf.

Intersectionality

The gap is wider, and the difficulties faced more pronounced, for women who are also members of other minority groups. These women not only experience different types of biases that impact their ability to advance but also, according to research, experience gender bias differently than white women who are not also members of another minority group. This phenomenon is known as *intersectionality*.

For example, women of color are the most underrepresented group in the corporate pipeline (see Note 5), and only two CEOs on the Fortune 500 are women of color. Women also experience more age bias than men do, according to research; the AARP reports that 72 percent of women, but only 57 percent of men, between the ages of 45 and 74 believe people experience age discrimination at work,[8] and a 2015 study found "robust evidence of age discrimination in hiring against older women [but] considerably less evidence of age discrimination against men."[9]

Women with disabilities also face increased bias and decreased career opportunities. The disadvantage starts with being hired; according to the U.S. Department of Labor, men with disabilities are almost twice as likely to be employed as women with disabilities.[10] And even after being hired, women with disabilities face problems; a 2011 survey found that only 16 percent of employers had "special career planning and development tools for employees with disabilities."[11]

[8] Kimberly Palmer, "10 Things You Should Know About Age Discrimination," *AARP*, 2017, https://www.aarp.org/work/on-the-job/info-2017/age-discrimination-facts.html.

[9] David Neumark, Ian Burn, and Patrick Button, "Is It Harder for Older Workers to Find Jobs? New and Improved Evidence from a Field Experiment," National Bureau of Economic Research, October 2015, http://www.nber.org/papers/w21669.pdf.

[10] "Women," Office of Disability Employment Policy, U.S. Department of Labor, accessed April 4, 2018, https://www.dol.gov/odep/topics/women.htm.

[11] William Erickson, "Research Brief: Employer Practices and Policies Regarding the Employment of Persons with Disabilities," Cornell University, 2013, https://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1328&context=edicollect.

The Pay Gap

The gender leadership gap is intimately related to another issue: the pay gap. According to 2016 U.S. Census data, women earn 80 cents to every dollar earned by men—and despite anecdotal evidence of progress over time, 2016 marked the first year since 2007 in which that ratio increased.[12] Furthermore, a 2016 Glassdoor survey found that when comparing workers with the same job title, employer, and location, the gender pay gap in the United States is 5.4 percent, but when comparing workers with similar age, education, and years of experience, the gap is 19.2 percent. Researchers concluded that "the single biggest cause of the gender pay gap is occupation and industry sorting of men and women into jobs that pay differently throughout the economy."[13]

The 2018 PayScale research similarly found that the median salary for women is 22 percent lower than the median salary for men; however, when accounting for factors like experience, industry, and job level, women earn 97.8 cents to every dollar a man earns. These industry and occupation differences appear to account for much of the pay gap; for example, women are more likely to pursue a career in teaching, while men are more likely to pursue a career in software engineering. These career choices impact compensation. The research also found that the gender pay gap grows from 98.3 cents for individual contributors to 94.4 cents for executives.[14] Importantly, the occupations with the smallest pay gaps are the ones with the smallest number of women, such as architecture and engineering.[15] We delve further into industry and occupation differences in the next section.

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[12] Jessica L. Semega, Kayla R. Fontenot, and Melissa A. Kollar, "Income and Poverty in the United States: 2016," United States Census Bureau, September 12, 2017, https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2017/demo/P60-259.pdf.

[13] William Chamberlain, "Demystifying the Gender Pay Gap: Evidence from Glassdoor Salary Data," March 23, 2016, https://www.glassdoor.com/research/app/uploads/sites/2/2016/03/Glassdoor-Gender-Pay-Gap-Study.pdf.

[14] PayScale, "The State of the Gender Pay Gap 2018," April 5, 2018, https://www.payscale.com/data/gender-pay-gap.

[15] William Scarborough, "What the Data Says About Women in Management Between 1980 and 2010," *Harvard Business Review*, February 23, 2019, https://hbr.org/2018/02/what-the-data-says-about-women-in-management-between-1980-and-2010.

Again, the pay gap is larger when certain *intersectionalities* are considered. For example, a Pew study found that the pay gap was much wider for black and Hispanic women than it was for Asian and white women, and researchers explained "a majority of each of these gaps… by differences in education, labor force experience, occupation or industry and other measurable factors." They also noted that discrimination could be part of those "measurable factors" as well as more unmeasurable ones.[16]

The Glass Cliff Phenomenon

A final element of the gender leadership gap worth noting is the glass cliff phenomenon. The term was coined by researchers at the University of Exeter to describe the increased likelihood of women's promotion to top leadership positions during a crisis.[17] Further research[18] has hypothesized that the glass cliff occurs due to a status quo bias (i.e. the belief that when things are going well that there is no need to change) or because stereotypically female skills may be preferred during crisis, while stereotypically male skills may be preferred when a company is performing well. Research[19] has also found that female executives are almost twice as likely to receive training in change management as male executives, and it is possible that this gender difference is a cause and/or an effect of the glass cliff. The glass cliff has important implications for women executives, because taking the lead of a company during a crisis may increase the likelihood of failure or appearance of failure, which can impact women's professional reputations and the typical role models to whom other potential female leaders might aspire.

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[16] Eileen Patten, "Racial, Gender Wage Gaps Persist in U.S. Despite Some Progress," Pew Research Center, July 1, 2016, http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/07/01/racial-gender-wage-gaps-persist-in-u-s-despite-some-progress/.

[17] Michelle K. Ryan and S. Alexander Haslam, "The Glass Cliff: Evidence that Women are Over-Represented in Precarious Leadership Positions," *British Journal of Management 16*, 2 (June 2005): 81–90, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1467-8551.2005.00433.x.

[18] Susanne Bruckmüller and Nyla R. Branscombe, "How Women End Up on the 'Glass Cliff," *Harvard Business Review*, January 2011, https://hbr.org/2011/01/how-women-end-up-on-the-glass-cliff.

[19] Training Industry, Inc., "Women's Access to Leadership Development: A Tale of Two Experiences," March 8, 2018, https://trainingindustry.com/research-report-womens-access-to-leadership-development/.

Industry Differences in the Gender Gap

The gender gap differs in degree and shape by industry and function. For example, Thomas et al. (see Note 5) report, "Some industries struggle to attract entry-level women (technology), while others fail to advance women into middle management (food, beverage, and restaurants) or senior leadership (insurance)." Worldwide, in health care, education, nonprofit, legal, public administration, and media and communication occupations, women make up 50 percent or more of the industry, but only the nonprofit sector is "trending towards full parity" at leadership levels.[20]

The gender gap in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) fields has received a lot of press attention recently, especially in Silicon Valley. Despite the fact that the first computer programmers were women, and the profession was originally considered to be a "feminine" one, over half of women in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) fields leave the industry 10 to 20 years into their careers, and women make up only 25 percent of "computing occupations,"[21] 21 percent of technical executives overall,[22] and 11 percent of technical executives in Silicon Valley.[23]

The sales and legal professions also have significant gender gaps. Gartner research[24] found that sales had the second largest gap, after supply chain and logistics, with only 19 percent of sales leadership positions filled by women. In addition, despite having equal or higher quota attainment, women in sales have lower base pay and lower incentive-based compensation than men in sales. Additional research found that while

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[20] Till Alexander Leopold, Vesselina Ratcheva, and Saadia Zahidi, "The Global Gender Gap Report," World Economic Forum, November 2, 2017, http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2017.pdf.

[21] Catherine Ashcraft, Brad McLain, and Elizabeth Eger, "Women in Tech: The Facts," National Center for Women & Information Technology, May 13, 2016, https://www.ncwit.org/sites/default/files/resources/ncwit_women-in-it_2016-full-report_final-web06012016.pdf.

[22] ISACA, "The Future Tech Workforce: Breaking Gender Barriers," March 6, 2017, http://www.isaca.org/SiteCollectionDocuments/Breaking-Gender-Barriers_res_eng_0317.PDF.

[23] [23] David A. Bell and Shulamite Shen White, "Gender Diversity in Silicon Valley: A Comparison of Silicon Valley Public Companies and Large Public Companies," Fenwick & West LLP, May 9, 2017, https://www.fenwick.com/FenwickDocuments/Gender_Diversity_2016.pdf.

[24] Gartner, "Gaining the Talent Advantage: Gender Diversity in Sales," February 28, 2018, https://www.cebglobal.com/sales-service/sales/gender-diversity-in-sales.html.

women account for over half of law school graduates and 40 percent of first-year firm classes, they represent only 30 percent of non-equity partners and 19 percent of equity partners.[25]

Women also face challenges even in industries that are dominated by women. In a phenomenon known as the "glass escalator,"[26] men in female-dominated fields such as education and nursing appear to pass women on an invisible escalator, earning promotions and advancing more quickly. They often are paid more as well; for example, male nurses earn, on average, $5100 more than female nurses.

The Business Impact of Gender Diversity

Research shows that gender diversity improves team, organizational, and financial performance. For example, in one analysis, companies in the top quartile based on gender diversity were 15 percent more likely to have financial returns greater than their national industry averages.[27] Additional research has found that companies with above-average gender diversity (at least 30 percent women) overall and at the senior level (more than 20 percent women) outperform other companies in leadership and business outcomes.[28] Improving women's representation on boards of directors also supports better financial performance.[29]

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[25] Carolyn Aberman, "The Legal Gender Gap: Where Are All the Women Partners?", Lucas Group, April 17, 2018, https://www.lucasgroup.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/The_Legal_Gender_Gap_Where_Are_All_the_Women_Partners.pdf.

[26] Lydia Dishman, "The Other Wage Gap: Why Men In Female-Dominated Industries Still Earn More," *Fast Company*, April 8, 2015, https://www.fastcompany.com/3044753/the-other-wage-gap-why-men-in-women-dominated-industries-still-earn-more.

[27] Vivian Hunt, Dennis Layton, and Sara Prince, "Diversity Matters," McKinsey & Co., February 2015, https://www.mckinsey.com/~/media/mckinsey/business%20functions/organization/our%20insights/why%20diversity%20matters/diversity%20matters.ashx.

[28] Evan Sinar, et al., "Global Leadership Forecast 2018: 25 Research Insights to Fuel Your People Strategy," Development Dimensions International, Inc., January 25, 2018, https://www.ddiworld.com/glf2018.

[29] Mary Curtis, Christine Schmid, and Marion Struber, "Gender Diversity and Corporate Performance," Credit Suisse Research Institute, August 2012, https://www.calstrs.com/sites/main/files/file-attachments/csri_gender_diversity_and_corporate_performance.pdf.

In addition, it is important for a company's leadership to match its employee base, which, at the lowest and largest level of an organization, is typically about evenly split between men and women, and its customer base, which could include equal proportions of both genders or be more heavily made up of one gender. Consumer purchases are primarily made by women,[30] and when it comes to business-to-business (B2B) industries, women make up 41 percent of purchasing decision-makers.[31] Gender-diverse leaders will arguably make decisions that benefit a gender-diverse customer base.

Research also shows that gender diversity can improve team and organizational performance. For example, in one study, women scored higher than men in emotional intelligence capabilities, and researchers argued that those capabilities could make them more effective leaders in the twenty-first century, where "collaborative, rather than competitive," leadership is more important.[32] Other researchers have concluded that there is "a strong and statistically significant correlation between the diversity of management teams and overall innovation" and that there is an increasing demand for what can be termed "female-oriented skills," such as social skills.[33]

Additional research has found that women are more likely to be rated as top performers than men,[34] (also see Note 24) and in a survey that identified five personality traits related to effective leadership, researchers found that female leaders scored higher than male leaders on four of five traits: initiative and clear communication, openness and ability to innovate, sociability and supportiveness, and methodical management and

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[30] Kimberly Palmer, "Thinking Like A Woman Could Pay Off With Credit Cards," *Forbes*, September 5, 2017, https://www.forbes.com/sites/kimberlypalmer/2017/09/05/thinking-like-a-woman-could-pay-off-with-credit-cards/#3a8bf40350c1.

[31] Cathy Benko and Bill Pelster, "How Women Decide," *Harvard Business Review*, September 2013, https://hbr.org/2013/09/how-women-decide.

[32] Greg Young, "Women, Naturally Better Leaders for the 21st Century," Taylor & Francis Group, August 16, 2016, https://www.crcpress.com/rsc/downloads/WP-TL2- 2016_Transpersonal_Leadership_WP2_FINAL.pdf.

[33] Rocío Lorenzo et al., "How Diverse Leadership Teams Boost Innovation," The Boston Consulting Group, January 23, 2018, https://www.bcg.com/publications/2018/how-diverse-leadership-teams-boost- innovation.aspx.

[34] Visier, "Insights for Equal Pay Day," April 10, 2018, https://www.visier.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Visier-Insights-Gender-Equity-Update.pdf.

goal-setting.[35] Gipson et al.[36] summarize research on women's leadership traits, which include a tendency toward "a relational approach to work" and being better at skills such as "inspiring, and motivating others, building relationships, and collaboration and teamwork"; having more of a service orientation; and being more inclined to consider multiple stakeholder perspectives when making decisions.

Furthermore, there is a connection between female leaders and employee engagement and retention; a 2018 survey found that 50 percent of Americans would prefer to work for a female-led company. More than half of women and men said that "when they see women in leadership positions, they're encouraged to believe that they can also have a leadership position" and that women-led companies are more purpose-driven.[37]

What Causes the Gender Gap?

There are several hypotheses about the causes of the gender gap, and the general consensus is that it is driven by a combination of factors. Implicit biases and different behavioral and performance expectations play a key role.

Biases

Implicit biases occur when individuals unconsciously attribute certain characteristics to other individuals or groups solely because of their group membership.[38] Research has shown that men are more likely to receive favorable appraisals with regard to their performance potential, and this

[35] Norwegian Business School, "Research Goes Viral," April 25, 2017, https://www.bi.edu/about-bi/news/2017/04/research-goes-viral/.

[36] Asha N. Gipson et al., "Women and Leadership: Selection, Development, Leadership Style, and Performance," *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 53*, 1 (March 1, 2017): 32–65, http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0021886316687247.

[37] Berlin Cameron, The Harris Poll, and The Female Quotient, "Research Reveals Half of Americans Want to Work for a Female Leader," *Nasdaq GloboNewswire*, January 25, 2018, https://globenewswire.com/news-release/2018/01/25/1305181/0/en/Research-Reveals-Half-of-Americans-Want-to-Work- for-a-Female-Leader.html.

[38] Brian A. Nosek et al., "Pervasiveness and Correlates of Implicit Attitudes and Stereotypes," *European Review of Social Psychology, 18*, 1 (2007): 36–88.

increased likelihood can be attributed, in part, to the implicit biases held by those providing appraisals. Recruiting firm Hays Australia asked 1029 hiring managers to review a resume and then answer questions about the candidate's "attributes, skills and probability they would be interviewed." The resumes were identical except for the names—Susan versus Simon. Both male and female survey respondents "were significantly more likely to interview and hire 'Simon' rather than 'Susan.'"[39] Other research has found bias in talent management systems that can impede women's advancement, especially in male-dominated industries.[40]

Second-generation bias occurs when "powerful but subtle and often invisible barriers for women [arising] from cultural assumptions and organizational structures, practices, and patterns of interaction… inadvertently benefit men while putting women at a disadvantage."[41] Examples include a lack of role models, gendered work roles and careers, and differences in access to leadership training and networking opportunities.

Behavioral Expectations

Role incongruity also plays a part in the gender gap. This phenomenon "occurs when someone holds beliefs or stereotypes about a group that are inconsistent with the behavior thought to be necessary to succeed in a specific role."[42] For example, Catalyst researchers have found that stereotypes can put women into what the organization calls a "double bind": When their behavior fits gender stereotypes, they aren't seen as able

[39] Hays, "De-Gendering Gender Diversity: Improving Female Representation in the Workplace," 2017, http://www.5050foundation.edu.au/assets/reports/documents/hays-Degendering-Gender-Diversity.pdf.

[40] Anika K. Warren, "Cascading Gender Biases, Compounding Effects: An Assessment of Talent Management Systems," Catalyst, February 9, 2009, http://www.catalyst.org/system/files/Cascading_Gender_Biases_Compounding_Effects_An_Assessment_of_Talent_Management_Systems.pdf.

[41] Herminia Ibarra, Robin J. Ely, and Deborah M. Kolb, "Women Rising: The Unseen Barriers," *Harvard Business Review*, September 2013, https://hbr.org/2013/09/women-rising-the-unseen-barriers.

[42] Shawn Andrews, "Gender Barriers and Solutions to Leadership," *Training Industry Magazine*, Summer 2016: 36–38, https://trainingindustry.com/magazine/issue/gender-barriers-and-solutions-to-leadership/.

leaders, but when their behavior doesn't fit gender stereotypes, they are seen as "unfeminine"—which is typically considered a weakness. "Women leaders are perceived as competent or liked," researchers said, "but rarely both." What's more, they are held up to higher standards of leadership competency, meaning they must constantly work to prove themselves.[43]

Personal Life Differences

Perceptions of personal life differences between men and women affect leadership, as well. For instance, the so-called motherhood penalty plays a role in the perception of women's capacity for leadership. While research shows that motherhood can lead to workplace discrimination, it also indicates that actual commitment to work is not impacted by motherhood. Thomas et al. (see Note 5) found that 80 percent of women who say they are going to leave their organization in the next two years say they plan on staying in the workplace, and men and women are equally likely to say they are leaving their organization to focus on family (2 percent or less). In contrast, a Harvard study of fictitious job applicants found that mothers had lower competency ratings, perceptions of commitment to their jobs, likelihood of promotion, and starting salaries than women without children, and than men. A study comparing job applicants who were laid off from their previous job with job applicants who have been out of work because they stayed at home with their children found that the laid-off employees were twice as likely to be called for an interview as the stay-at-home moms.[44] In a PwC survey (see Note 1), almost half (48 percent) of new mothers said "they were overlooked for career advancement because they had children," and 42 percent said they worried about what becoming a mother would do to their careers. On the other hand, fathers benefit from having children compared to men who did not have children.[45]

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[43] Laura Sabattini, "The Double-Bind Dilemma for Women in Leadership: Damned if You Do, Damned if You Don't," Catalyst, July 15, 2007, http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/double-bind.

[44] Katherine Weisshaar, "From Opt Out to Blocked Out: The Challenges for Labor Market Re-entry after Family-Related Employment Lapses," *American Sociological Review, 83*, 1 (January 10, 2018): 34–60, http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0003122417752355.

[45] Shelley J. Correll, Stephen Benard, and In Paik, "Getting a Job: Is There a Motherhood Penalty?", *American Journal of Sociology, 112, 5* (March 2007): 1297–1339.

Further, there appears to be a perpetuated cycle wherein the motherhood penalty plays a role in the pay gap, and the pay gap in turn contributes to the motherhood penalty; if one parent stays home with the children, it is often the mother, because she tends to earn a lower salary than her male partner. That time away from her career then has implications for her salary and career progression if and when she returns to work.

Traits and Behavioral Differences

Research[46] has also found a significant confidence gap between men and women, which can lead to women being less likely to pursue leadership roles and more likely to feel unqualified for these positions. The 2015 Deloitte Millennial Survey[47] found that while women and men rated themselves comparably in financial, economic, and business knowledge—and women rated themselves higher than men in academic knowledge—significantly more men than women rated their leadership skills as strong.

On the other hand, a recent study of 681,000 employees' performance reviews and career paths in the United Kingdom concluded that women are not less confident but rather more risk-averse than men, which makes their confidence manifest differently.[48] Similarly, researchers behind a survey of women CEOs concluded, "Organizations need to recalibrate how they recognize ambition. The drive in high-achieving women may not manifest" in the same way as it does in high-achieving men.[49]

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[46] Wiebke Bleidorn et al., "Age and Gender Differences in Self-Esteem: A Cross-Cultural Window," *Personality Processes and Individual Differences, 111*, 3 (December 21, 2015): 396–410, https://www.apa.org/pubs/journals/releases/psp-pspp0000078.pdf.

[47] Deloitte, "Mind the Gaps: The 2015 Deloitte Millennial Survey Executive Summary," https://www2.deloitte.com/content/dam/Deloitte/global/Documents/About-Deloitte/gx-wef-2015- millennial-survey-executivesummary.pdf.

[48] KPMG, The 30% Club, and YSC, "Cracking the Code," April 2015, https://30percentclub.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Cracking-the-code.pdf.

[49] Korn Ferry Institute, "Women CEOs Speak: Strategies for the Next Generation of Female Executives and How Companies can Pave the Road," November 9, 2017, https://engage.kornferry.com/womenceosspeak

Relatedly, research has found that women tend to negotiate less than men,[50] which has implications for their ability to receive promotions and raises as well as to combat bias.[51] In fact, "negotiating adeptly" was identified as one of the top leadership challenges for women in a survey of 337 HR leaders and line managers.[52] This reluctance to negotiate may be due to a confidence gap, a belief that their negotiations will not succeed, or even a negotiation skills gap, as research (see Note 19) has found that men are more likely than women to receive training in negotiation skills at all levels. On the other hand, other researchers[53] have found a gender gap in the success of negotiations rather than in whether negotiations happened at all, at least when it comes to negotiating for a promotion or higher compensation. Additional research points out that women and men may have different information about what is negotiable due to differences in access to decision-makers, leading to differences in negotiations.[54]

Social and Professional Support

Another reason for the gender gap is that women have less access to networks and sponsors than men do. Ely, Ibarra, and Kolb (see Note 51) write that "women are reluctant to engage in networking activities for at least two reasons": It does not feel authentic to them (to address this

[50] Linda Babcock and Sara Laschever, *Women Don't Ask: Negotiation and the Gender Divide* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003).

[51] Robin J. Ely, Herminia Ibarra, and Deborah Kolb, "Taking Gender into Account: Theory and Design for Women's Leadership Development Programs," *Academy of Management Learning & Education, 10*, 3 (2011): 474–493, https://flora.insead.edu/fichiersti_wp/inseadwp2011/2011-69.pdf.

[52] Laura Santana and Katherine Pappa, "Challenge: Developing, Retaining, and Promoting Talented Women," Center for Creative Leadership, September 2016, https://www.ccl.org/wp- content/uploads/2016/09/challenge-develop-retain-promote-talented-women-center-for-creative-leadership.pdf.

[53] Nancy M. Carter and Christine Silva, "The Myth of the Ideal Worker: Does Doing All the Right Things Really Get Women Ahead?", *Catalyst*, October 1, 2011, http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/myth-ideal-worker-does-doing-all-right-things-really-get-women-ahead.

[54] Hannah Riley Bowles, "Dear Negotiation Coach: A Closer Look at the Gender Gap," *Negotiation Strategies for Women: Secrets to Success* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Law School): 16–18, https://www.adelaide.edu.au/wpdn/external/NegotiationStrategiesWomen-FreeReport.pdf.

concern, they recommend helping them "tie networking to a larger purpose, such as organizational goals" or expand their network by becoming mentors and sponsors), and they think networking requires activities like golf which they may not be interested in, or that they cannot participate in because of work/life conflicts (to address this concern, they recommend helping women find ways to "integrate networking into daily activities by using projects, committees, and assignments strategically as opportunities to develop new relationships"). Furthermore, recent research found that both men and women tend to have mentors of the same gender.[55] Unfortunately, that means that more men than women have mentors who are high-level executives. Women of color are even less likely to interact with influential leaders (typically white men) outside of work, so their networks tend to be smaller.[56]

Access to leadership development opportunities is also an issue, despite the fact that most women are looking for those opportunities.[57] Women are less likely to receive advice from leaders about how to advance their careers, but employees who do receive such advice are more likely to have been promoted in the last two years (see Note 5). A 2013 survey found that while 78 percent of women in senior-level positions had served as formal mentors at some point in their careers, 63 percent of all women who participated in the survey said they had never had a formal mentor.[58]

There is also evidence that the way many executives assess employees for leadership capability can create differential outcomes by gender; researchers examined a database of ratings of executives' potential and competence and found that while women's scores were lower than men's

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[55] Cynthia Emrich et al., "Creating a Culture of Mentorship," Heidrick & Struggles, December 27, 2017, http://www.heidrick.com/Knowledge-Center/Publication/Creating_a_culture_of_mentorship.

[56] Catherine Hill, Kevin Miller, Kathleen Benson, and Grace Handley, "Barriers and Bias: The Status of Women in Leadership, American Association of University Women, March 29, 2016, https://www.aauw.org/research/barriers-and-bias/.

[57] Cathleen Clerkin, "What Women Want—And Why You Want Women—In the Workplace," Center for Creative Leadership, July 28, 2017, https://www.ccl.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/WhatWomenWant.FINAL_.pdf.

[58] Stephanie Neal, Jazmine Boatman, and Linda Miller, "Women as Mentors: Does She or Doesn't She? A Global Study of Businesswomen and Mentoring," Development Dimensions International, Inc., March 2014, https://www.ddiworld.com/ddi/media/trend-research/womenasmentors_rr_ddi.pdf?ext=.pdf.

in five of the seven key competencies of leaders, they scored higher than men in three of the four scores of potential. Researchers hypothesized that women have as much leadership potential as men but are often not given the opportunities (like projects or promotions) to develop these competencies. They concluded, "A scientific approach to talent development—focused on spotting high potentials, understanding their capacity for growth in key competencies, and giving them the experience and support they need to succeed—will be an extraordinary source of competitive advantage in the coming decades. And it will help more managers transform themselves into the great leaders they were always meant to be."[59] Clearly, there is a need to provide formal leadership development opportunities to women; in doing so, organizations can take a small step toward leveling the playing field.

Learning and Development: Part of the Problem or Part of the Solution?

As we alluded to above, organizational systems have the potential to contribute to both the persistence of the gender leadership gap and its decline. For example, selection and promotional systems have obvious implications for advancing women into leadership position. Likewise, learning and development (L&D) programs and systems can impact leadership diversity by preparing women for leadership roles and equipping them with the skills to address the unique challenges they often face in those roles (e.g. the double bind).

Unfortunately, research points to some concerns with regard to L&D's role in the gender leadership gap. A recent survey of European companies found that organizations are 18 percent more likely to sponsor training for men than for women.[60] Furthermore, research has

[59] Claudio Fernández-Aráoz, Andrew Roscoe, and Kentaro Aramaki, "Turning Potential into Success: The Missing Link in Leadership Development," *Harvard Business Review*, November–December 2017, https://hbr.org/2017/11/turning-potential-into-success-the-missing-link-in-leadership-development.

[60] The Knowledge Academy, "Companies are more likely to offer men workplace training than women, study reveals," October 4, 2017, https://www.theknowledgeacademy.com/blog/companies-

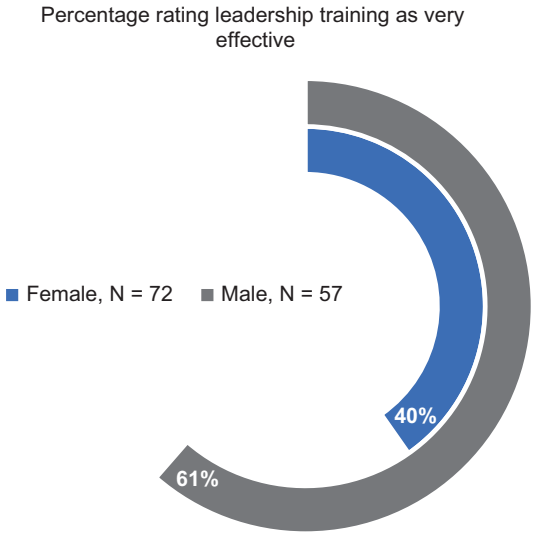

Fig. 6.1 Leadership training effectiveness by gender. (Reproduced with permission from Training Industry, Inc., "Women's Access to Leadership Development: A Tale of Two Experiences," March 8, 2018, https://trainingindustry.com/research-report-womens-access-to-leadership-development/)

found some discrepancies in access to leadership training in critical areas. A recent survey of U.S. men and women who received leadership training in the past year found that men were 50 percent more likely to describe the training as "very effective" (see Fig. 6.1). In both studies, men and women who received leadership training were trained in different skills; men in the U.S. study were more likely to have been trained in critical leadership skills such as strategy and negotiation (see Note 19). In the European survey, meanwhile, men were more likely to receive training in supervisory skills, while women were more likely to receive training in diversity or health and safety (see Note 60).

We know that when it comes to training, one size does not fit all. This is especially true of leadership training, as researchers have found that different strategies affect men's and women's career development differently (see Notes 19 and 53). Biases and self-perceptions "greatly influence

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are-more-likely-to-offer-men-workplace-training-than-women-study-reveals/.

the leader development process" for women (see Note 36). So, what is the solution to the gender leadership gap? One key is more effective leadership training for women. The remainder of this chapter will share strategies and tools for developing leadership training that supports gender equality at all levels of an organization.

Leadership Training Programs

Leadership development or training "involves courses, training, or educational programs with the purpose of improving the performance of managers and personal leaders within the organization. Leadership training often focuses on first-line supervisors, middle managers, and senior executives."[61] Leadership training programs can take a variety of forms, but all have the common goal of preparing leaders for their unique role in driving organizational functioning. Below, we review a few types of leadership development that have particular relevance to women, including female-only programs, experiential assignments, and returnships.

Female-Focused Leadership Training Programs

One popular leadership training solution to support gender balance is women-only courses and programs. Using programs that are restricted to women as participants' only source of leadership training is likely to be an incomplete strategy; diversity of thought and experience is typically beneficial in a learning environment, and the fact that executives and decision- makers are more likely to be men means that a women-only environment can limit women's access to those key influencers. However, when used in conjunction with coeducational environments, mentoring, and coaching, women-only leadership training "enables women to clarify their leadership ambitions, recognise their leadership strengths and access leadership positions."[62]

[61] Training Industry, Inc., "Leadership Development," accessed May 24, 2018, https://trainingindustry.com/glossary/leadership-development/.

[62] Susan Vinnicombe and Val Singh, "Women-only management training: An essential part of women's leadership development," *Journal of Change Management, 3*, 4 (May 2003): 294–306.

Experiential learning is another form of training with perhaps particularly beneficial outcomes for leadership development. For example, providing developmental assignments helps emerging leaders practice new skills and learn on the job. However, research has shown that women tend to have less access to those types of assignments, with obvious implications on their leadership development and career advancement. Cross- cultural[63] and international assignments, in particular, can support women's leadership development.[64]

To address the motherhood penalty, many organizations are using a new type of internship called the "returnship," targeting women (and, sometimes, men) who have taken a career break, often for family reasons.[65] The term was pioneered and trademarked by Goldman Sachs in 2008 when it launched its program, which includes training and networking along with work experience in multiple divisions.[66] Re-entry expert Carol Fishman Cohen recommends modeling returnship programs on existing internship programs, identifying role models inside the company, and providing face-to-face meetings between hiring managers and returnship participants to help alleviate anxiety about returning to work.[67]

Methods of Delivering Leadership Training

There are a variety of methods, or modalities, of training used in leadership development programs. Common modalities include instructor-led, classroom-based training (ILT), virtual instructor-led classroom-based

[63] Margaret M. Hopkins, Deborah O'Neil, Angela M. Passarelli, and Diana Bilimoria, "Women's Leadership Development Strategic Practices for Women and Organizations," *Consulting Psychology Journal Practice and Research, 60,* 4 (December 2008): 348–365.

[64] Sophia Zhao and Sunil Puri, "Glass Doors to the Corner Office: Women and Leadership," Center for Creative Leadership, October 20, 2017, https://www.ccl.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/Glass-doors-to-the-corner-office-women-and-leadership.pdf.

[65] Taryn Oesch, "A New 'Mommy Track': How Returnships Can Help Close the Gender Gap," TrainingIndustry.com, March 30, 2018, https://trainingindustry.com/articles/performance-management/a-new-mommy-track-how-returnships-can-help-close-the-gender- gap/.

[66] Goldman Sachs, "US Returnship® Program Opens for Applications," October 11, 2017, http://www.goldmansachs.com/careers/blog/posts/returnship-open-for-applications.html.

[67] Carol Fishman Cohen, "The 40-Year-Old Intern," *Harvard Business Review*, November 2012, https://hbr.org/2012/11/the-40-year-old-intern.

Table 6.1 Common training modalities

Modality	Definition
Instructor-led training	Classroom-based training facilitated by an instructor.
Virtual instructor-led training	Online training facilitated by an instructor.
On-the-job training	Learning that occurs while working, typically through supervision of a manager, coach, or mentor.
Coaching	A development technique in which an individual helps an employee achieve certain skills or professional or business goals, providing personalized feedback and direction to support performance improvement.
Formal coaching	Coaching provided by a professional, often an external consultant, and typically with a broad, long-term career development focus.
On-the-job coaching	Coaching provided at work, during the workday, typically by a manger or a peer, often centered around specific situations or focused on short-term goals.
E-learning	Online learning, typically delivered as a self-paced course.
Informal learning	Learning that occurs outside of a formal in-person or virtual classroom environment; typically, learning that occurs organically rather than through a prescription.
Webinar	A live, online learning event, shorter in duration than a course.
Gamification	The application of gaming designs and principles to learning or training to make them more engaging and entertaining.
Mobile learning	Learning that occurs on a mobile device, such as a smartphone or a tablet.

Training Industry, Inc. "Glossary," accessed June 1, 2018, https://trainingindustry.com/glossary/

training (VILT), on-the-job training, coaching, video, e-learning, informal learning, webinars, books and written materials, gamification, and mobile learning (see Table 6.1 for definitions).

Recent research by Training Industry, Inc. (see Note 19), found that preferred learning modalities may vary between men and women. Men indicated a preference for significantly more modalities than did women. Further, while ILT, on-the-job training, and video were the top three preferred modalities for both genders, women were more likely to prefer webinars, and men were more likely to prefer e-learning, written

materials (e.g. books or manuals), and mobile learning for leadership training. Additionally, while women preferred on-the-job coaching, men preferred formal coaching, which, as discussed below, can lead to more equal levels of each gender's reports of leadership training effectiveness.

Which Skills Are Most Important for Female Leaders?

There are, of course, many skills that contribute to leadership success, and many theories that assert that certain skills are more important than others to target for leader development. However, based on the skills gaps identified in the extant research, as well as the unique challenges potential and current female leaders tend to face, several stand out as especially important to nurture in women.

A recent survey[68] by Training Industry, Inc., of leadership development participants across genders, industries, and levels found that the skills most strongly related to leadership performance were negotiation, project management, soft skills, strategy, and time management. Other research has found that strategic thinking[69] and negotiation skills are critical to leadership, especially at higher levels.[70] Unfortunately, research (see Note 19) has found that men are significantly more likely to report being able to apply new skills on the job after receiving training in time management, among other skills, and that women are less likely to receive training in both strategy and negotiation (see Figs. 6.2 and 6.3). Ely, Ibarra, and Kolb (see Note 51) offer recommendations for training women in negotiation; first, they suggest helping learners see the ways they negotiate successfully every day, rather than focusing on isolated events that may represent our quintessential view of negotiation (e.g.

[68] Amy DuVernet, "Leadership Development Effectiveness Model," Training Industry, Inc. (2017).

[69] Robert Kabacoff, "Develop Strategic Thinkers Throughout Your Organization," *Harvard Business Review*, February 7, 2014, https://hbr.org/2014/02/develop-strategic-thinkers-throughout-your-organization.

[70] Troy V. Mumford, Michael A. Campion, and Frederick P. Morgeson, "The Leadership Skills Strataplex: Leadership Skill Requirements across Organizational Levels," *The Leadership Quarterly, 18*, 2 (April 2007): 154–166, https://msu.edu/~morgeson/mumford_campion_morgeson_2007.pdf.

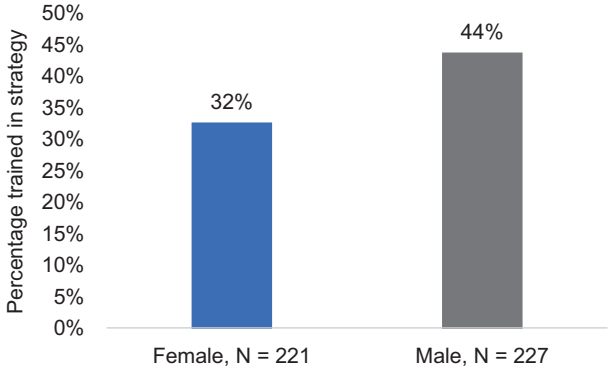

Fig. 6.2 Gender differences in strategy training. (Reproduced with permission from Training Industry, Inc., "Women's Access to Leadership Development: A Tale of Two Experiences," March 8, 2018, https://trainingindustry.com/research-report-womens-access-to-leadership-development/)

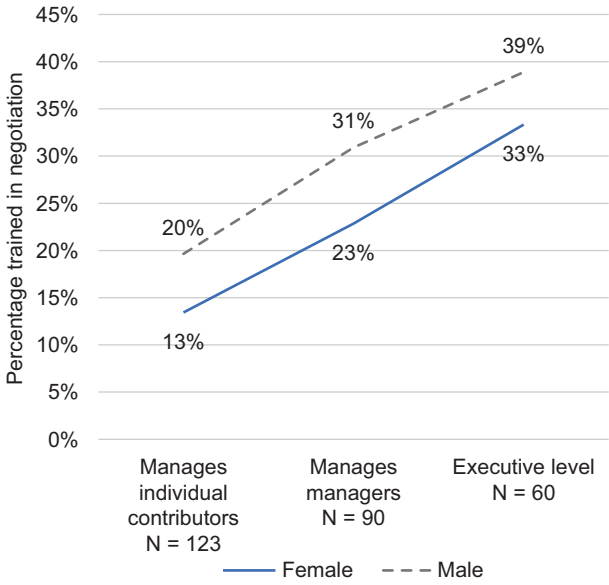

Fig. 6.3 Gender differences in negotiation training. (Reproduced with permission from Training Industry, Inc., "Women's Access to Leadership Development: A Tale of Two Experiences," March 8, 2018, https://trainingindustry.com/research-report-womens-access-to-leadership-development/)

negotiating a raise). They point out that it is also important to help women see themselves as people who have something valuable to offer.

Korn Ferry conducted research with 57 female CEOs to identify lessons from their success that could be applied to help other women succeed. Regarding this research, Stevenson and Orr[71] write, "A combination of four traits and competencies emerged as key to [the CEOs'] success: courage, risk-taking, resilience, and managing ambiguity." Other researchers cite the importance of helping women develop self- acceptance, self-development, and self-management.[72]

Start Early: Identifying High-Potential Women

Another method that L&D can use to feed competent, well-prepared women into the leadership pipeline is through high-potential training programs. Employees are often identified by managers and L&D professionals as "high-potential," meaning they are good candidates for management positions now or in the future. These employees are typically high performers in their current roles, have strong emotional intelligence and interpersonal skills, are motivated to develop their leadership skills, and are highly engaged.[73]

When identifying high-potential employees to cultivate for leadership roles, it is important to be aware of biases as well as potential gender differences to ensure that selection criteria will be appropriate regardless of the employee's gender. A recent study found some gender differences between high-potential women and high-potential men; women were more likely to show enthusiasm, set inspiring team goals, encourage involvement, set high expectations, "have strong team-playing skills," have strong social skills, be personally involved with team members, show

[71] Jane Edison Stevenson and Evelyn Orr, "We Interviewed 57 Female CEOs to Find Out How More Women Can Get to the Top," *Harvard Business Review*, November 8, 2017, https://hbr.org/2017/11/we-interviewed-57-female-ceos-to-find-out-how-more-women-can-get-to-the-top.

[72] Andromachi Athanasopoulou, Amanda Moss-Cowan, Michael Smets, and Timothy Morris, "Claiming the Corner Office: Female CEO Careers and Implications for Leadership Development," *Human Resource Management, 57*, 2 (March/April 2018): 617–639.

[73] Training Industry, Inc., "Coaching," accessed April 13, 2018, https://trainingindustry.com/glossary/coaching/.

self-awareness, and be open to feedback. Men were more likely to be viewed as reserved, be consistent under pressure, be direct in communication, "maintain a certain distance" in relationships, assess talent objectively, have a "big-picture" and strategic mindset, be assertive, and be interested in advancement.[74] The take away from this research is that high-potential programs must consider a range of behaviors and skills when identifying candidates for participation.

Research also points to the critical nature of strong diversity goals in ensuring high-potential women are not only identified for these programs but also receive incentives and support to mitigate the female penalty that they might otherwise face. By emphasizing the importance of diversity, organizations create a strong, top-down mandate that can actually reverse the gender pay gap for high-potential females.[75]

Finally, once an organization has identified a woman as high-potential, it is important to tell her. A survey of female CEOs found that this transparency serves as validation and encourages ambition and development. Organizations must also be clear about the skills and experiences they expect their leaders to develop in order to direct both development and self-regulatory processes (see Note 49).

Continued Development: Coaching, Mentorship, and Sponsorship

Coaching, mentorship, and sponsorship are three strategies frequently mentioned regarding women's leadership development. They are also frequently misunderstood. All three are required to effectively bridge the gender leadership gap. *Coaching* is a development technique often used for executives and new leaders that involves a professional coach who helps employees achieve development goals "by providing feedback and

[74] Stefanie Mockler, "Identifying High Potential Leaders: Are There Gender Differences?", Vantage Leadership, March 9, 2017, https://www.vantageleadership.com/our-blog/identifying-high-potential-leaders-gender-differences/.

[75] Lisa M. Leslie, Colleen Flaherty Manchester, and Patricia C. Dahm, "Why and When Does the Gender Gap Reverse? Diversity Goals and the Pay Premium for High Potential Women," *Academy of Management Journal, 60*, 2 (April 2017): 402–432, http://people.stern.nyu.edu/sworthen/leslie/lesliefemaleprem_amj2017.pdf.

direction to facilitate performance improvement."[76] *Mentorship* is a relationship in which a more experienced person provides guidance to a less experienced person, often in the same field or company. *Sponsorship* is a relationship in which a person with an influential position advocates for a promising employee, for example, when a promotion opportunity is available.[77]

Coaching

In the context of the workplace, there are several types of coaching. On-the-job coaching is provided at work, during the workday, typically by a manger or a peer. Formal coaching is provided by a professional coach or external consultant, either from an organization's HR or training department or from an outside coaching firm. On-the-job coaching tends to be appropriate for specific situations or when the focus is on a short-term goal, while formal coaching tends to have a broader, long-term career development focus.[78] Executive coaching, meanwhile, is specifically targeted to senior leaders and helping them deliver high performance through personalized development.

Sinar et al. (see Note 28) recommend using coaching at all levels, writing that "when everyone in the company can be a coach, everyone benefits." Coaching can help fill a strong talent pipeline, improve employee satisfaction among leaders, and lower turnover. It can be especially helpful for women.[79] In fact, research conducted by Training Industry (see Note 19) demonstrates that when formal coaching is provided as part of leadership

[76] Training Industry, Inc., "Levels of Leadership," accessed June 1, 2018, https://trainingindustry.com/wiki/leadership/levels-of-leadership/.

[77] Stephani Mager, "Coaching, Mentoring and Sponsorships: What Does it all Mean?", TrainingIndustry.com, March 8, 2017, https://trainingindustry.com/articles/leadership/coaching-mentoring-and-sponsorships-what-does-it-all-mean/.

[78] Training Industry, Inc., *Developing Female Leaders: Research Insights and Best Practices*, Webinar recording presented by Amy DuVernet, Ph.D., CPTM, and Taryn Oesch, CPTM (2018, Raleigh, NC), https://trainingindustry.com/webinar/leadership/developing-female-leaders-research-insights-and-best-practices/.

[79] Anna Marie Valerio and Katina Sawyer, "The Men Who Mentor Women," *Harvard Business Review*, December 7, 2016, https://hbr.org/2016/12/the-men-who-mentor-women.

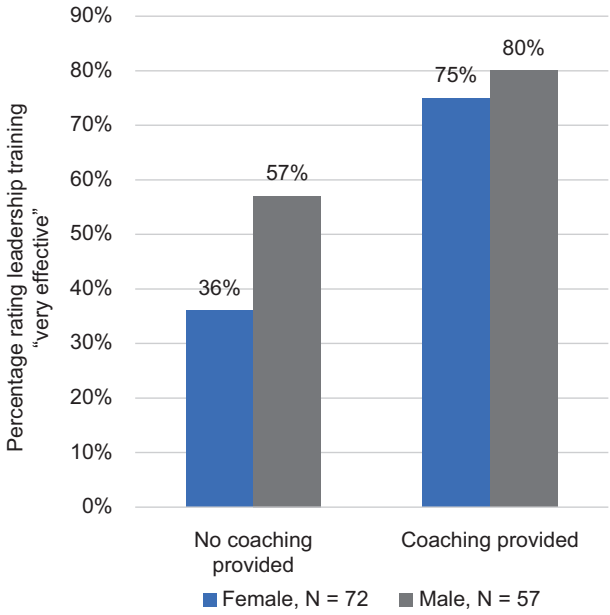

Fig. 6.4 Impact of formal coaching on leadership development across genders. (Reproduced with permission from Training Industry, Inc., "Women's Access to Leadership Development: A Tale of Two Experiences," March 8, 2018, https://trainingindustry.com/research-report-womens-access-to-leadership-development/)

development, the gap in reported leadership training effectiveness between men and women almost disappears (see Fig. 6.4).

The coaching provided to women should be planned and implemented strategically and informed by research. For instance, a holistic approach that incorporates discussion of work-life integration as well as insights specific to the client's stage in her career can be effective (see Note 63). Coaches should also understand the unique, gendered challenges many women leaders face in the workplace as well as the possible gender differences in leadership styles and personality.[80]

Despite the benefits of using formal coaching to develop female leaders, Training Industry, Inc. (see Note 19), found that women were much less likely than men to prefer formal coaching as a form of leadership

[80] Marian N. Ruderman and Patricia J. Ohlott, "Leading Roles: What Coaches of Women Need to Know," *Leadership in Action Now, 25*, 3 (November 2005): 3–9.

training, though they were more likely to prefer on-the-job coaching. It could be that women are hesitant to seek the help—in addition to asking for the time and cost—of a coach. But given the potential impact of coaching to facilitate effective leadership development, "women shouldn't view a desire for coaching or mentoring as a signal of needing to address a glaring weakness,"[81] and organizations should encourage them to pursue this type of developmental opportunity—including providing the time and money required for an effective coaching relationship. Gipson et al. (see Note 36) note that the greater demand on women's time can affect the coaching process, and executive coaches should "be mindful of the intersection of work and life that may affect the direction of a woman's career and substance of coaching."

Mentoring

Mentoring can improve development, engagement, productivity, competence, confidence, and relationships.[82] Women should have both male and female mentors (see Note 36), and organizations should encourage women to become mentors for both male and female employees (see Note 63). Emrich et al. (see Note 55) recommend helping employees develop interpersonal skills to become better mentors and making mentoring part of performance reviews and succession planning to make these programs more effective.

Unfortunately, some research has found that women have less access to mentors than men do,[83] especially in the technology industry (see Notes 5 and 21).[84] This problem is worsening in the wake of the #MeToo

[81] John Beeson and Anna Maria Valerio, "The Executive Leadership Imperative: A New Perspective on How Companies and Executives can Accelerate the Development of Women Leaders," *Business Horizons, 55*, 5 (September-October 2012): 417–425.

[82] Everwise, *Why Your Emerging Leaders Need Mentors*, September 2014, https://www.geteverwise.com/eBooks/Why-Your-Emerging-Leaders-Need-Mentors/.

[83] Egon Zehnder, "Leaders & Daughters: Global Survey 2017," https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/public-gbda/Leaders_Daughters_Final.pdf.

[84] Heather Foust-Cummings, Sarah Dinolfo, and Jennifer Kohler, "Sponsoring Women to Success," Catalyst, August 17, 2011, http://www.catalyst.org/knowledge/sponsoring-women-success.

movement; a recent survey found that one in six male managers say they are uncomfortable mentoring women.[85]

On the other hand, some experts say that women are "mentored to death" and that organizations should provide sponsorship opportunities instead.[86] Additionally, mentoring may not provide equivalent benefits to men and women.[87] "Ultimately," say Gipson et al. (see Note 36), "mentorship offers little to no tangible reward to the mentor, which may affect sustainability. As a result, sponsorship as opposed to mentorship may be a more viable option for developing women leaders," because sponsors have more "skin in the game" than mentors do.

Sponsorship

Sponsors are senior-level leaders and decision-makers with a significant level of influence in the organization. They help women gain exposure to other decision-makers, ensure they are considered for promotions and developmental assignments, and protect them from "damaging contact with senior executives." (see Note 84) Unfortunately, research shows that many women feel these connections are not a good way to advance in their careers, hoping instead that their work will speak for itself. It is, therefore, important to educate both sponsors and developing female leaders on the importance and benefits of sponsorship.[88]

"Sponsorship is focused on advancement and predicated on power," write Foust-Cummings, Dinolfo, and Kohler (see Note 84). By having an influential executive looking for opportunities and promoting a woman

[85] LeanIn.org, "#MentorHer: Key Findings," February 6, 2018, https://leanin.org/sexual-harassment-backlash-survey-results/.

[86] Taryn Oesch, "The Catalyst for Balanced Leadership: Best Practices for Women's Leadership Development," TrainingIndustry.com, March 20, 2018, https://trainingindustry.com/articles/leadership/the-catalyst-for-balanced-leadership-best-practices-for-womens-leadership-development/.

[87] Herminia Ibarra, Nancy M. Carter, and Christine Silva, "Why Men Still Get More Promotions Than Women," *Harvard Business Review*, September 2010: 80–85.

[88] Merida L. Johns, "Breaking the Glass Ceiling: Structural, Cultural, and Organizational Barriers Preventing Women from Achieving Senior and Executive Positions," *Perspectives in Health Information Management, 10* (Winter 2013): 1–11, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3544145/.

to other influential executives, sponsorship can help provide entrance into important networks and advance that woman in her career within an organization. Sponsors also benefit by demonstrating that they are "leaders who groom talent" and by developing their own leadership skills.[89]

To create an effective formal sponsorship program, clearly define your goals from the outset, and use those goals to match sponsors and women. For example, if the goal is career advancement for the women being sponsored, select sponsors based on "position power." If the goal is personal development, select sponsors based on "good chemistry." And, just like with coaching, train the sponsors to understand both gender and leadership—and then hold the sponsors accountable for the advancement of their protégés (see Note 84).

Some experts say informal sponsorship, arising from natural relationship- building, is more effective than formal sponsorship programs.[90] Still, L&D leaders can encourage women to seek sponsors, and executives to be sponsors to encourage these natural relationships, which so often develop between men but less often occur between men and women or among women. If the executive team is personally invested in seeing successful sponsorships develop at the organization, they are more likely to occur and be successful in advancing women (see Note 90).

Contextual Support for Development

Even the most thoroughly developed and designed women's leadership training program cannot be successful if the context in which its participants work is not conducive to the application of the skills participants learned. Before initiating any leadership training program, it is critical to ensure that outside elements align with and support the program and its

[89] Laura Sherbin, "6 Things Successful Women in STEM Have in Common," *Harvard Business Review*, April 27, 2018, https://hbr.org/2018/04/6-things-successful-women-in-stem-have-in-common.

[90] Joanna Barsh and Lareina Yee, "Unlocking the Full Potential of Women at Work," McKinsey & Co., 2012, https://www.mckinsey.com/~/media/McKinsey/Business%20Functions/Organization/Our%20Insights/Unlocking%20the%20full%20potential%20of%20women%20at%20work/Unlocking%20the%20full%20potential%20of%20women%20at%20work.ashx.

objectives. Specifically, the participants' managers, organizational culture, performance management systems, and industries in which female leaders work can each dramatically impact the outcomes of leadership development programs.

Managerial Support

Obtaining the buy-in and support of the training participants' managers is essential for any training program, but it is perhaps especially important for women undergoing leadership development; research has shown that "when managers actively support their employees' leadership development, it enhances perceptions of access to leadership development opportunities, especially for women," which, in turn, results in more positive leadership development outcomes (see Fig. 6.5 and Note 19). When learning and development (L&D) leaders demonstrate the individual and business value of leadership training to women's managers, they can motivate them to provide that crucial support to female learners.

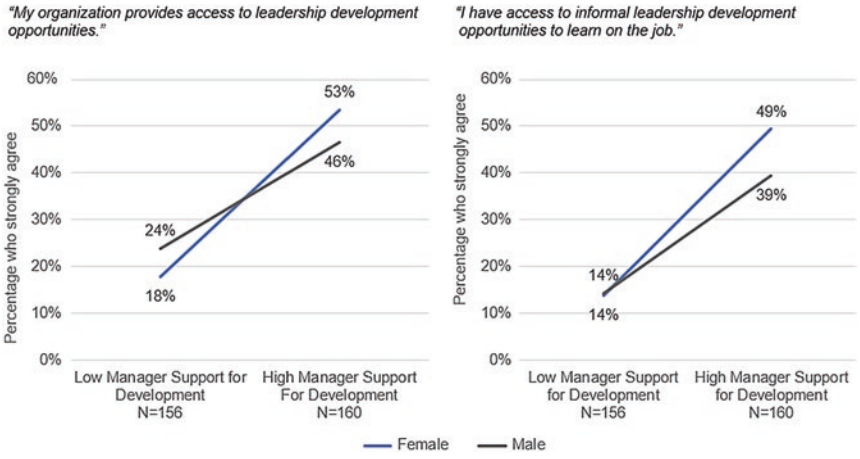

Fig. 6.5 Manager support for leadership development. (Reproduced with permission from Training Industry, Inc., "Women's Access to Leadership Development: A Tale of Two Experiences," March 8, 2018, https://trainingindustry.com/research-report-womens-access-to-leadership-development/)

Additionally, it is important to train managers on the gender leadership gap and the specific needs of developing female leaders so they know what kind of support to provide and behaviors that will help women advance (see Note 5). For example, a recent survey of senior human resources executives and leaders found that the following manager behaviors are important for helping women advance: creating informal networking opportunities, providing exposure to senior leaders, helping them develop business acumen through coaching and feedback, challenging "negative self-perceptions" through "career and coaching conversations," and addressing unconscious bias in themselves and others.[91]

Organizational Culture

The importance of creating an organizational culture that supports the development of both men and women cannot be overstated. In fact, research shows that corporate culture is twice as important as individual mindsets and attitudes in boosting women's confidence in the workplace.[92] Executives, team leaders, human resources, and L&D all play a role in this task.

An organization's culture and values can impact the emergence of women as leaders. For example, researchers from the University of Buffalo, the Brazilian School of Public and Business Administration, and the Georgia Institute of Technology found that women are more likely to become leaders in a culture that values collaboration and communication.[93] Similarly, a culture that encourages diverse communication styles and cooperation supports gender diversity.[94] And developing a culture "where strong, collegial,

[91] Tammy Hermann, "Elevating Women in Leadership," Lee Hecht Harrison, October 18, 2017, https://www.lhh.com/our-knowledge/2017/elevating-women-in-leadership.

[92] Sandrine Devillard et al., "Gender Diversity in Top Management: Moving Corporate Culture, Moving Boundaries," McKinsey & Co., 2013, https://www.mckinsey.com/~/media/McKinsey/Global%20Themes/Women%20matter/Addressing%20unconscious%20bias/WomenMatter%202013%20Report%20(8).ashx.

[93] Matthew Biddle, "Collaborative Culture can Empower Women in Male-Dominated Workplaces," *UBNow*, August 17, 2016, https://www.buffalo.edu/ubnow/stories/2016/08/lemoine-gender-leadership.html.

[94] Caroline Simard et al., "Climbing the Technical Ladder: Obstacles and Solutions for Mid-Level Women in Leadership," Michelle R. Clayman Institute for Gender Research, December 1, 2013, https://anitab.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Climbing_the_Technical_Ladder.pdf.

and trust-based relationships are the rule and not the exception" can encourage beneficial mentoring relationships (see Note 55).

Devillard et al. (see Note 92) recommend developing an inclusive culture by building awareness of the issues that women face in the workplace and a "conviction that what is good for women will be good for men," supporting sponsorships, developing human resources policies that are gender-diverse and gender-neutral (including flexible schedule policies), and supporting diverse leadership styles.

An organization's culture also includes the way meetings are led, and the evidence is clear that women face significant challenges in mixed-gender meetings. From interruptions and challenges to the double bind, gendered meeting dynamics (e.g. assigning note-taking roles to women) can make it difficult for women to demonstrate leadership skills during meetings.[95] Fortunately, organizations can help by providing education and raising awareness about those dynamics to both men and women.

President Barack Obama's female staff famously developed a strategy called amplification to help each other be heard; when a woman made a good point, other women would repeat it and credit her. Amplification helped the men recognize the women's contributions without—as often occurs—taking credit for it themselves. President Obama reportedly noticed this strategy and started calling on women more frequently.[96] Heath, Flynn, and Holt's[97] research on this topic concluded that organizations need to invite women to meetings more frequently, ask them more direct questions when they are present, and provide them with more feedback about their behavior after the meetings. "These changes can have profound results," they wrote.

As part of their efforts to create a supportive and engaging culture for women, many organizations establish networks or affinity groups specifically for women (among other groups). When done right, these groups

[95] Andrea S. Kramer and Alton B. Harris, "Breaking Through Bias: Overcoming Gendered Meeting Dynamics," TrainingIndustry.com, August 30, 2017, https://trainingindustry.com/articles/performance- management/breaking-through-bias-overcoming-gendered-meeting-dynamics/.

[96] Juliet Eilperin, "White House Women Want to be in the Room Where it Happens," *The Washington Post*, September 13, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/powerpost/wp/2016/09/13/white-house-women-are-now-in-the-room-where-it-happens/.

[97] Kathryn Heath, Jill Flynn, and Mary Davis Holt, "Women, Find Your Voice," *Harvard Business Review*, June 2014, https://hbr.org/2014/06/women-find-your-voice.

can improve recruitment of female talent, advance and retain women, and build a support system.[98] However, many leaders believe that these groups may not be effective or may even undermine efforts to develop female leaders.[99] Some organizations, like Deloitte, are shifting instead to structures like "inclusion councils," which bring men—especially executives—into the group in order to gain broader buy-in.[100]

With the #MeToo movement, sexual harassment has been brought to the fore of discussions on gender and the workplace, and a discussion of gender and organizational culture would be incomplete without addressing this issue. One in two (50 percent) women, and one in ten (10 percent) men, say they have experienced harassment at work, but anti-harassment training has traditionally been ineffective in actually preventing harassment or creating long-term behavior change in perpetrators. In fact, "perfunctory anti-harassment training can put employees' backs up [make them feel defensive] and, if it uses absurd examples, can even make them less sympathetic towards victims and less likely to see borderline cases as wrong."[101]

What's the solution? Personalize the training to the individual learners and the organization, and hold managers accountable for preventing and responding to harassment through performance reviews. Use scenario-based learning to develop empathy for victims.[102] Make anti-harassment part of the organizational culture, and make sure executives are demonstrating their commitment to that culture.[103]

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[98] Diversity Best Practices, "Employee Network and Affinity Groups," *Diversity Primer*, 2010, https://www.diversitybestpractices.com/sites/diversitybestpractices.com/files/import/embedded/anchors/files/diversity_primer_chapter_10.pdf.

[99] Christine Snyder and Chelsea Mikula, "Women's Affinity Groups: Beneficial Forums or Danger Zones?", *Cleveland Metropolitan Bar Journal*, April 2014, https://www.tuckerellis.com/webfiles/files/Women's%20Affinity%20Groups_April%202014_Snyder_Mikula.pdf.

[100] Jeff Green, "Deloitte Thinks Diversity Groups are Passé," *Bloomberg Businessweek*, July 19, 2017, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2017-07-19/deloitte-thinks-diversity-groups-are-pass.

[101] The *Economist*, "The Capitalist Case against Sexual Harassment," October 1, 2017, https://www.economist.com/leaders/2017/10/21/the-capitalist-case-against-sexual-harassment.

[102] Ron Zamir, "Culture or Compliance? Why Anti-Harassment Training Has Failed and How We Can Fix It," TrainingIndustry.com, December 15, 2017, https://trainingindustry.com/articles/compliance/culture-or-compliance-why-anti-harassment-training-has-failed-and-how-we-can-fix-it/.

[103] Taryn Oesch, "Sexual Harassment Compliance Training That Actually Works: Does It Exist?", TrainingIndustry.com, November 8, 2017, https://trainingindustry.com/articles/compliance/sexual-harassment-compliance-training-that-actually-works-does-it-exist/

Performance Management, Assessment, and Feedback

Performance management systems also need improvements in order to encourage women's leadership development and success. For example, when there is insufficient performance information, evaluators tend to assess individuals through a gender-biased lens.[104] They are also more likely to rely on gender stereotypes than on individual performance data when evaluating individuals separately rather than jointly.[105] The same behaviors tend to be evaluated differently depending on whether they are displayed by a man or a woman, and women tend to receive less constructive feedback, less credit for their success,[106] and more vague feedback than men (see Note 45).

There are several strategies that can support less biased and, therefore, more effective performance management. First, ensure that managers have all relevant performance data to minimize reliance on gender stereotypes. Second, when possible, use joint evaluation, or what Bohnet, van Green, and Bazerman (see Note 102) call "evaluation nudges" when evaluating performance and making promotion decisions. By evaluating employees together, evaluators are more likely to "focus on individual performance" rather than on group stereotypes.

Human resources and L&D leaders should also encourage the use of objective assessment tools that help eliminate the effects of institutional bias.[107] Artificial intelligence (AI) is increasingly being used to evaluate

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[104] Tristan L. Botelho and Mabel Abraham, "Pursuing Quality: How Search Costs and Uncertainty Magnify Gender-based Double Standards in a Multistage Evaluation Process," *Administrative Science Quarterly, 62*, 4 (December 1, 2017): 698–730.

[105] Iris Bohnet, Alexandra van Green, and Max Bazerman, "When Performance Trumps Gender Bias: Joint Versus Separate Evaluation," *Management Science, 62*, 5 (March 2015): 1225–1234, https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/8506867/RWP12-009-Bohnet.pdf?sequence=1.

[106] Paola Cecchi-Dimeglio, "How Gender Bias Corrupts Performance Reviews, and What to Do About It," *Harvard Business Review*, April 12, 2017, https://hbr.org/2017/04/how-gender-bias-corrupts-performance-reviews-and-what-to-do-about-it.

[107] Caitlin S. Stamarski and Leanne S. Son Hing, "Gender Inequalities in the Workplace: the Effects of Organizational Structures, Processes, Practices, and Decision Makers' Sexism," *Frontiers in Psychology, 6* (2015): 1400, https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4584998/.

performance data without the influence of human bias.[108] Leadership assessments, meanwhile, should evaluate performance based on diverse leadership styles that include both traditionally male and traditionally female leadership characteristics (see Note 86). Giving more frequent feedback can also help minimize gender bias and recognize diverse leadership styles (see Note 106).

One such tool is the 360-degree assessment, which is a popular leadership assessment tool that uses feedback from the individual's co-workers, supervisor(s), direct report(s), and even customers to understand how they perceive his or her performance and areas for improvement.[109] Research suggests that, when combined with coaching, 360-degree assessment tool can help women understand their skills and help them and the people they work with understand and combat their biases (see Note 51). It should be noted, however, that L&D leaders should examine the 360-degree assessment tool the organization uses to evaluate its applicability to women's leadership competencies and ensure that it does not contain any gender biases.

Field-Specific Solutions

Since there are industries and job roles in which the gender gap is significantly greater, it makes sense to examine solutions for those industries and job roles specifically. Additionally, there are some function and industry differences in leadership training access and preferences. For example, women report less access to training in critical leadership skills like strategy and negotiation when they work in male-dominated fields like engineering or the technology industry (see Note 19). Unfortunately, those fields are also the fields in which women are at a particular disadvantage, and such training could, therefore, be especially beneficial.

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[108] Bernard Marr, "The Future Of Performance Management: How AI And Big Data Combat Workplace Bias," *Forbes*, January 17, 2017, https://www.forbes.com/sites/bernardmarr/2017/01/17/the-future-of-performance-management-how-ai-and-big-data-combat-workplace-bias/#75d2f4954a0d.

[109] Training Industry, Inc., "360 Degree Assessment," accessed May 24, 2018, https://trainingindustry.com/glossary/360-degree-assessment/.

Additional research suggests that women leave the technology industry at least partly due to a lack of development opportunities (see Note 20), and companies that rank as the top workplaces for women in technology tend to offer more formal leadership development programs for women.[110] Women in the technology industry are looking for opportunities to advance, and training for these employees should include both technical and leadership skills in order to help them advance and keep them engaged (see Note 89).

Continuous learning is critical in technical industries and roles, since the field of technology is changing so quickly,[111] and conferences and workshops, where professionals often learn about innovations in their industries, still tend to be dominated by men and are often even unwelcoming to women. Here, educational events targeted at women can help level the playing field.[112]

In sales, another field with a significant gender gap, industry leaders recommend[113] providing training in skills such as coaching, performance improvement, forecasting, performance management, sales operations and enablement, building a sales culture, managing up and across, negotiation, and self-promotion. It is also important to make sure managers understand gender differences in selling approaches. That way, what may be a more "feminine"—but still effective—approach to selling will not be misinterpreted as being "too nice," for instance. Finally, when developing training, make sure language and examples are gender-neutral or inclusive of both genders.

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[110] Susan Davis-Ali et al., "Measure What Matters: Key Findings & Insights," Anita Borg Institute, October 2016, https://anitab.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/topco-16-insights-report-web.pdf.

[111] Taryn Oesch, "Developing Women Leaders in Technology, Part Two: Learning and Development," TrainingIndustry.com, October 13, 2017, https://trainingindustry.com/articles/it- and- technical-training/developing-women-leaders-in-technology-part-two-learning-and-development/.

[112] Taryn Oesch, "Developing Women Leaders in Technology, Part Four," TrainingIndustry.com, November 21, 2017, https://trainingindustry.com/articles/it-and-technical-training/developing-women-leaders-in-technology-part-four/.

[113] Taryn Oesch, "How Learning and Development Can Help Close the Gender Gap in Sales," TrainingIndustry.com, March 28, 2018, https://trainingindustry.com/articles/sales/how-learning-and-development-can-help-close-the-gender-gap-in-sales/.

Conclusion

In her book *Own It: The Power of Women at Work*, Sallie Krawcheck wrote "Increasingly, I've recognized that we women love to learn." She argued that in today's business environment, "the mindset of lifelong learning will be an increasingly valuable attribute, because this is the mindset that enables us to adapt to change."[114]

Assuming Krawcheck's hypothesis is true, it is good news for the gender leadership gap. As businseses increasingly understand the benefits of having diversity across all levels of the organization, they will look for more and better methods for boosting women into leadership roles. To ensure success once they are in those roles, organizations can leverage women's aptitude and desire for lifelong learning to provide coaching and training opportunities that help women develop leadership skills and break that glass ceiling once and for all.

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[114] Sallie Krawcheck, *Own It: The Power of Women at Work* (New York, NY: Crown Business, 2017).

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7

Golda Meir: The Israeli Iron Lady

Orit Miller Katav

Introduction

What turns a girl from a poor family into a prime minister and leader? What causes a young woman to leave her comfortable parents' home in the United States and emigrate to a foreign country? How did a young wife get ahead in the local administration without any agricultural knowledge and language skills? And what made a young mother leave her small children for days and weeks on end to go on overseas trips on behalf of a country that hadn't yet been founded? Golda Meir, Israel's first and only female prime minister to date, came a very long way from her humble childhood in the Russian Empire to her later childhood and young adulthood in Milwaukee, her emigration to Kibbutz Merhavia, and her appointment to the highest positions of foreign minister and prime minister.

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This chapter chronicles the life of one of Israel's leaders, a short-statured woman who commanded silence when she entered a crowded room, everyone hanging on her every word. It was sometimes jokingly said that "in a room full of men, Golda is the only real man." Every person she conversed with, regardless of whether he was a pupil, president, king, or ambassador, knew that Golda was listening attentively and respecting what he had to say. As someone who led Israel in two difficult wars, she fought hard against terrorists and terrorist organizations as a decisive ruler whose policy was guided by the principle of Israel's peace and security. This is what sets her apart from every other leader in Israel. Golda's life was devoted to the dream and vision of founding the state. She made sacrifices that cost her her marriage and her health. Nothing stood in her way of fulfilling her dream, which was to serve and lead the country. Late in life, she wrote the book *My Life*, detailing her life story. The book depicts an Israeli Iron Lady, named after the most valuable metal of all. Gold. Golda.

Girl, Teen, Woman

Golda Mabovitch was born on May 3, 1898, in Kiev, in the former Russian Empire, to parents Moshe and Bluma Mabovitch. She had an older sister named Sheyna. After years of trying to have more children, including several that died in childhood, Golda's parents gave birth to another girl, Golda's younger sister Clara. The family was poor, and her father, a carpenter, couldn't comfortably support the family. They were so poor that Golda didn't have any toys or dolls to play with, or festive dresses to wear on the Sabbath or special occasions. The bitter cold inside and outside their homemade a lasting impression on Golda as a child, which is why, later, the hot climate in Israel was like a warm caress on her face. She remembers a terrifying experience that happened to her when she was four years old. The Jews in Pinsk feared a pogrom on their homes that was imminent. Her father guarded the front doors while the girls in the family hid upstairs with boiling water and knives for protection. The attack passed, but the memory of the existential fear of the pogrom left a lasting mark on young Golda. That fear became a central motif in Golda's

worldview of her Jewish identity, the basic need for stable and lasting security for the Jewish people, and the recognition that Jews cannot live safely anywhere other than in their own national homeland, the State of Israel. To her, the reality was—it is us Jews against the rest of the world. For her, the Jews in the Diaspora were destined to always fight for their survival.[1]

Life in the shadow of poverty caused many arguments between her parents and between the sisters. Golda looked up to her older sister Sheyna, who wanted to study and get an education. She wanted to emulate her sister and learn about new concepts like Zionism and Socialism. Sheyna taught Golda everything she knew, but Golda was always hungry for more knowledge and control. The arguments at home formed Golda's attitude to life that if it is possible to reach an agreement, then that was definitely preferable to scandal or confrontation. "I have a rule in life, which is that if you can arrange things without a scandal, arrange them."[2] Golda exhibited a great deal of independence and inquisitiveness in her thinking, which often enraged her mother, who was unhappy about having a daughter who was so passionate about her studies instead of helping around the house. The burden of supporting the family was too great for Golda's father to bear and, after moving to Kiev and returning to Pinsk, her father decided to emigrate to the United States and to try his luck there. The rest of the family joined him three years later in the hopes of a new and better life. Golda never returned to visit the city where she was born. Golda realized it was possible to raise a family while making a living and promoting a cause by observing her mother, who ran their home in the time her father was away working in America. A solid foundation of family values coupled with a strong work ethic was at her life's core and it was also the most stubborn conflict she had to deal with. What came first, family and children, or duty to the job and to the country?[3]

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[1] Meron Medzini. *Golda: Political Biography* (Tel Aviv: Yedioth Ahronoth and Hemed Books, 2008), pp. 25–34; Gold Meir, *My Life* (Tel Aviv: Sifriyat Maariv, 1975), pp. 20–31.

[2] Ibid., p. 12; Rafael, *Lo Zachiti* [in Hebrew], p. 121; Meir, *My Father's Home* (Jerusalem: HaKibbutz HaMeuhad, 1972), p. 81.

[3] Meir, *My Life*, pp. 73–91; Goldstein, Y. (2012). *Golda Biography* [in Hebrew] (Beer Sheva: University of the Negev), pp. 71–87; Tzoref, H. et al. (Eds.), *Golda Meir: The Fourth Prime Minister, Selected Documents and Introductions from her Lifetime* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem: National Archives, 2016); Elinor Burkett. *Golda* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2008), pp. 93–96.

In the United States, the family moved several times before settling in a modest apartment in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Although life was more comfortable, it was still hard to make a living, and the entire family played a more active role here. From the age of twelve, Golda learned the values of hard work and livelihood. Golda enjoyed studying at school and she stood out for her inquisitiveness and knowledge. In Golda's yearbook, the text about her read: "those around her will learn the perfect ways of respect from her."[4] While in school, she moved to Denver to live with her sister Sheyna and studied at a local high school there. This move was her own decision and happened following many arguments at her parents' home. Golda did not agree to an arranged marriage to an affluent man 15 years her senior that her parents had insisted on. She ran away from home and caused quite an uproar in her family as a result. At the home of her engaged sister Sheyna, Golda met her husband-to-be, Morris Meyerson.[5]

Morris had everything Golda was looking for at the time. He was attentive, affectionate, admired her, and he was knowledgeable in many fields. Meyerson was twenty-one years old and Golda was fourteen. The age gap was not an issue since Golda was mature for her age and Morris was sensitive and kind. He shared his wealth of knowledge and enriched her life with music, literature, and current affairs. Golda enjoyed spending time with Morris in libraries or at the theater more than she did spending time with girls her age. Sheyna's activities in Poalei Zion and her Zionist ideas about Israel deeply affected Golda, who started to take an active part in the movement. Golda took an avid interest in the movement's activities, fundraising, and members' meetings, and she became an enthusiastic and a tireless activist, and a talented speaker and orator. When she graduated from high school, she studied at a teacher's college in Milwaukee and worked teaching immigrants' children. Sheyna tried to spur Golda's enthusiastic activity in the movement, but the principles of Zionism and had already taken hold of Golda and fueled all of her activities as a young woman, and, as an adult, would shape her future position as the prime minister of Israel.[6]

[4] Medzini, *Golda*, p. 45.

[5] Meir, *My Life*, pp. 110–121.

[6] Meir, *My Life*, pp. 42–53.

Marriage, Motherhood, and Career

Golda married Morris in December 1917, when she was nineteen years old, once her parents had come to terms with the fact that their son-in-law would be a pauper and lack an academic education. In the presence of a handful of friends and relatives, Golda and Morris had a modest Jewish wedding at her parents' home. It wasn't long until the Meyerson couple emigrated to Israel along with Golda's sister and brother-in-law. The desire to fulfill the Zionist vision burned bright in Golda, and she swept her husband along, despite his resistance, to making Aliya. The Balfour Declaration, which was announced in November 1917, one month before her wedding, heralded redemption for the Jewish people. The announcement that, for the first time in two thousand years, the British government recognized the right of the Jewish people to build a national home in the Land of Israel opened the gates for massive immigration to Israel. The third wave of immigration to Israel happened immediately after the end of World War I in 1918. After a turbulent sea voyage in July 1921, Golda and her family arrived on the shores of Palestine and settled down in Tel Aviv, the first Hebrew city in Eretz Israel. The romantic dreams about Eretz Israel were quickly replaced by a bleak reality of housing shortage, shared residence in a crowded apartment with her sister and her husband, odd jobs, and the decision to adopt an agricultural life of communal living on a kibbutz.

Life was very hard during those years. The hardship of making a living and moving from Tel Aviv to Kibbutz Merhavia in the Yizrael Valley did not help the couple's precarious relationship. While Golda blossomed in the local landscape and stood out for her organizational skills on the kibbutz, Morris became more withdrawn. The divide between the two grew as Golda wanted to devote herself to the cooperative work and her representation in the kibbutz, while Morris recoiled from the communal nature of the kibbutz and the distance from the civilization he so craved. Their relationship began to crumble. For the sake of domestic peace, after two years, they left the kibbutz and returned to Tel Aviv. From there they moved to Jerusalem. Life was not easy in the holy city either. In Jerusalem, the couple started working at Solel Boneh—Morris as a bookkeeper, and

Golda as a cashier. Their two children, Menachem and Sarah, were born there, and life for the family was difficult, fraught with poverty. From the beginning, Golda knew that their move to Jerusalem was a compromise intended to keep their family united. But this compromise did not last long and, in 1928, Golda moved back to Tel Aviv with her children, while Morris stayed in Jerusalem on his own.

Golda and Morris lived as a married couple for eleven years until they decided to separate and live apart. The physical separation was enough for Golda to embark on a political career. She now behaved like an independent and liberated woman, without the constraints of a husband waiting at home for her, counting the hours until her return. However, her two children yearned for family dinners, bath time, storytime, and a hug before sleep. Her role as a mother and caregiver was mostly filled by her sister Sheyna and her mother, who had emigrated to Israel with her father several years after their daughters. Guilt about leaving her children in the care of others was an existential dilemma for Golda, who fretted about the quality of her motherhood until her final days. She was often heard saying: "A mother's dilemmas are also questions of what's more important—a mother who sacrifices herself for her children or one that actualizes herself?"[7] For years, Morris would come to Tel Aviv on the weekends to visit Golda and the children. During one of his visits in 1951, when Golda was traveling for work and her adult children were already married and living with their spouses, Morris died on Golda's living room sofa.[8]

Activism in the Poalei Zion movement prepared Golda for political life in Israel. Even when she arrived at Kibbutz Merhavia, Golda stood out for her organizational abilities and immediately got involved in the social life and discussions of the kibbutz members. Two years after they arrived in Israel, Golda was elected to head the diplomatic mission to the Histadrut's second convention. In 1928, Golda was elected Secretary of the Council of Women Workers in the Histadrut. Golda started this position with high hopes for achievements and influence. The Council of Women Workers and its counterpart in the United States, Pioneer

[7] Meir, *My Life*, pp. 84–86.

[8] Medzini, *Golda*, pp. 62–68.Morris was 57 when he died.

Women, were women's organizations that worked to promote women's rights in society, in the workforce, and in the economy, as well as the significant need to promote equal rights for women in Israel and worldwide. Golda did not identify with the women's protest movement in the United States, radical feminism, and the act of "burning bras" accompanying propaganda against mothers. On the contrary, her goal was to promote the status of working mothers and to protect their rights to earn a living and advance in the work force, and decide on hours of rest and sick leave. She also worked to establish professional training farms for new female immigrants to Israel.[9]

As an independent and ambitious woman, Golda made many connections with elected party members. These connections eventually proved to be very beneficial to her when her acquaintances would recommend her as a woman with a great capacity for work, loyal to the party, and a confidante. One of the senior party members she befriended was David Remez.[10] Remez recommended her to the party members, which was how the decision to promote her was made. A professional relationship developed between Golda and Remez. As part of her job, Golda would go on numerous diplomatic missions in Israel and worldwide, mainly to the United States, and she gave speeches in English and in Yiddish. She recruited thousands of women to the movement and raised considerable sums for the Jewish settlement. After proving her rare ability to persuade and fundraise on her diplomatic missions, she was appointed to serve on the Histadrut's executive committee as a full member of the Histadrut. She was responsible for the department engaged in the mutual assistance plans of the Histadrut that ran the Professional Union Division. She was also responsible for conducting negotiations on work agreements with the employers. Golda held a very senior position in the party and was also a member of the Haganah.

Golda developed superb negotiation skills, which opened opportunities for numerous diplomatic trips on behalf of the Jewish settlement. Thanks

[9] Medzini, *Golda*, pp. 70–75; Meir, *My Life*, pp. 84–86; Hazan, "Golda Meir: A Leader on the Throne of the Party Secretariat" [in Hebrew], pp. 249–278; Witz, "Golda is not just a default," *Haaretz*, June 6, 2016.

[10] David Remez served as Secretary General of the Histadrut, Minister of Transport, Minister of Education, and as a Member of Knesset.

to her sharp senses, her ability to make small talk on any topic, her gift for summing up her interlocutor and getting them to identify with her point of view, she became a significant party spokesperson and representative. She slowly but surely climbed the ranks of the party's leadership. Her rise to the top was marked by her relationship with another senior party member, Zalman Shazar.[11] Even though Golda had separated from Morris numerous years beforehand and they were living separate lives, they never divorced.[12]

Golda did her job in the party loyally and consistently, and the party rewarded her for it with further appointments and promotions. Thus, step by step, Golda went from one position to another while proving that being a woman was a privilege for her. She did every job and appointment she took as a serious and dedicated professional. Being a mother was a gift to her. Thanks to her experience raising children, her struggles to survive poverty, the difficulties making a living, running a household, cooking and cleaning, concurrent to being a working woman prepared her for the future.

Golda proved that her personal experience was no different than that of other immigrants that came to Israel who had to contend with the difficulties of Aliya, language, livelihood, and acclimating to the local culture. For her, it was a life experience she acquired through her own blood, sweat, and tears. No one could claim that she was born with a silver spoon in her mouth, or that she was handed jobs on a silver platter. All of her achievements were rightfully gained at the expense of her health, rest, and quality time with her children, by sacrificing meetings with her childhood friend Regina and her sisters Sheyna and Clara, and perhaps even at the expense of her marriage to Morris. "The fact is that I lived and worked with men my entire life, but the fact that I am a woman never bothered me with anything. It never embarrassed me and never gave me an inferiority complex, just like I never thought it was better to be a man than a woman… Not at all. And men never treated me by favor."[13]

[11] Zalman Shazar served as the first Minister of Education and Culture in the Israeli government, and as the country's third president.

[12] Meir, *My Life*, pp. 102–120; Lieberman, "The Golda Touch," May 18, 2016.

[13] Meir, *My Life*, p. 84.

Climbing the Political Ladder

The 1930s and 1940s were rife with historical events that shook the entire world, particularly the Jews in the Diaspora and Jewish settlement in Eretz Israel. The rise of the Third Reich in Germany and the spread of Nazi ideology throughout Europe preceded the fifth wave of immigration to Israel.[14] News of the horrors of the war began to reach the Jewish settlement in Eretz Israel. Numerous existential questions concerned Golda and the leadership of the Jewish settlement. Whether to expedite the immigration of the Jewish refugees from Europe as an emergency, whether to recruit the men of the Jewish settlement to the British army fighting in Germany, and, if so, who would look after the soldiers' families while they were off in battle, what would happen to the Jewish settlement after the war, and whether to fight the British after the war to demand independence for the state.

Golda claimed that Israel should act on all fronts, adopting a pragmatic approach. On the one hand, everything possible should be done to bring Jews to Israel while recruiting a force to fight alongside the British. On the other hand, she thought it was necessary to establish a local fighting force that could appropriately deal with Arab attacks on Jewish towns. From a political standpoint, Golda claimed that the Jewish settlement's demand to establish an independent state should be promoted, and noted the importance of preparing for the Aliya of millions of Jews that would arrive in Israel after the war.[15] At the end of the war, while the British were still in Eretz Israel, thousands of war refugees were prevented from immigrating to Israel, and they settled in displaced persons (DP) camps. On a visit to a DP camp in Cyprus in 1947, Golda promised that Israel would be a home for every Jew in the world, a place Jews could emigrate to and live as a free people, safe in their homeland.

This was the perspective guiding her policy as a government minister and as a prime minister in the following years. The Jewish people's right

[14] Fifth wave of immigration 1930–1939. Most of the immigrants came from Europe, mainly Germany. The illegal immigration that contradicted the laws of the "white book," which the British instituted in Israel. 250,000 immigrants managed to escape the clutches of the war, ending in September 1939.

[15] Sagi, p. 131.

to live like any other nation, free in their own country, was the motto guiding her actions in Israel and on her political missions around the world. The goals of the missions were to fundraise for land development, purchase military equipment, recruit support for the Jewish settlement, create a lobby supporting the establishment of the State of Israel, and even a summit meeting with Jordanian King Abdullah, prior to the establishment of the State of Israel. The first meeting took place in November 1947, and the second meeting occurred a few days before the establishment of the state was declared in May 1948. The purpose of the meetings was to reach understandings regarding the partition plan and the establishment of the State of Israel.[16] Although the meetings did not prevent the invasion of Jordanian forces into Israel when it was declared an independent state, they did pave the way for friendly relations and mutual respect between the parties. Decades later, Golda established close relations, based on respect and mutual interests, with the Jordanian King Hussein.

With tears in her eyes and palpable excitement, Golda signed the Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel. Immediately thereafter, she went on a fundraising diplomatic mission to the United States and to the Soviet Union as a political minister. Her stay in the communist country was difficult for her mentally and professionally.[17] Golda felt that visiting the cold Soviet country was for the good of the nation and the new state. She worked toward strengthening ties with the Soviet Union government and with the Jewish community there in order to lay the groundwork for the future emigration of Jews to Israel. Lou Keidar accompanied Golda as her personal assistant and French translator. The two became work partners and close friends. Over time, she became her confidante and the person closest to her throughout her entire political

[16] The United Nations Partition Plan for Palestine, UN Resolution 181, adopted on November 29, 1947, calls for the region of Palestine to be divided into a Jewish state and an Arab state. The Jewish state accepted the resolution while the Arab League refused. The day after it was announced, the first stage of the War of Independence broke out. The second stage of the war erupted after the establishment of the state was declared on May 14, 1948.

[17] Koestler, A. *Promise and Fulfillment Eretz Israel 1917–1949* [in Hebrew], (Tel Aviv: Achiasaf, 1949), p. 145.

career and even after her retirement.[18] The Jewish community in Moscow lovingly welcomed Golda Meir as representative of the state. On her visit to a synagogue on the evening of Rosh Hashana, around fifty thousand people came to express their support for Israel.

The First Female Minister in Israel

When she completed her role as a diplomatic minister in Moscow, Golda returned to Israel. She was appointed Minister of Labor and Housing, after refusing an appointment as Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Development. In her opinion, the job descriptions for these appointments were too vague and she preferred to know exactly what her job entailed and where her responsibilities lay. From her experience as a working woman, Golda initiated numerous laws that became the basis of Israel's labor and employment laws, such as The Hours of Work and Rest Law, the Annual Leave Law, the Youth Work Law, the Apprenticeship Law, the National Insurance Law, and the Women's Work Law. She also inaugurated the first center for professional training in Beer Sheva. In the 1950s, Israel was coping with immense waves of immigration and the new immigrants discovered that there was no place for them to live. The employment offices caved under the multitude of job requests. The immigrants were prepared to take any job, as long as they could support their families. Israel set up transit camps[19] with poor living conditions. Golda worked night and day to find solutions to employment, immigration, and housing problems, and to provide the immigrants with suitable living conditions.

In 1955, Golda ran for mayor of Tel Aviv. The mayor at the time was elected by the council members. She had extensive support from the party and the public, but in order to be appointed mayor, she had to

[18] Medzini, *Golda*, pp. 210–211; Meir, *My Life*, pp. 179–186; Witz, "Golda is not just a default," 2016; Lou Keidar, "On a mission to the silent Judaism: Lou Keidar's testimony," interviewer Drora Beit Or, Golda Memorial Site, date accessed April 15, 2018. www.goldameir.org.il/index.php?dir=site&page=content&cs=73&langpage=heb.

[19] The transit camps were interim housing for immigrants in the early 1950s, consisting of tin shacks without running water or ventilation.

receive the unanimous consent of the other city council members for the appointment, which she did not. Golda was disappointed that many still held the opinion that as a woman she should not be mayor of a city or fill any other senior position.[20]

Her non-appointment enabled her to serve as foreign minister a year later. Golda was appointed for several reasons. Prime Minister Ben Gurion's relations with Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett soured, thus requiring a reliable appointment to the position. This was Golda's second time as a senior minister who proved her skills in the government's Ministry of Labor. The main reason was that Golda knew senior government officials in the United States and the Soviet Union after going on so many successful diplomatic missions on behalf of the State of Israel. Her fluent English and ability to converse with anyone were what clinched her appointment. Golda Hebraicized her surname to Meir as a sign of Israeli identification and representation, under Ben Gurion's influence.[21]

Golda served as foreign minister for a decade and bore the responsibility of strengthening ties and support among the newly independent states in Africa, fostering international relations with the United States, and encouraging immigration to Israel by the Jews of the Diaspora. She also served as chairperson of the Mapa'i Party, and later as chairperson of the Labor Party.[22] Meir attested to the experience as an attempt to enter the intellectual community. She knew that her talent did not lie in formality and language, but in clarity of thought and the desire to benefit the state and its citizens.[23] Around a year after she started working as a senior

[20] Medzini, *Golda*, pp. 228–229; Meir, *My Life*, pp. 87–188; Avizohar, M. (1994). *Golda, The Growth of a Leader* [in Hebrew] (1921–1956), (Ed.), (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, and the Golda Meir Institute for the Study of Labor and Society, 1994); Witz, "Golda is not just a default," 2016.

[21] Meir, *My Life*, p. 148; Medzini, *Golda*, p. 286.

[22] Mapa'i was the Mifleget Poaley Eretz Israel, literally meaning The Workers' Party of the Land of Israel. The party was established by the merger of three parties in 1965. In 1968, it became the Israeli Labor Party; The Knesset website, date accessed August 21, 2018. https://main.knesset.gov.il/mk/Pages/MKPub.aspx?MKID=685; Lidmar Harry, "Profile of the Foreign Minister," Golda Meir commemoration site, date accessed August 21, 2018. www.goldameir.org.il/index.php?dir=site&page=content&cs=221&langpage=heb.

[23] Meir, *My Life*, pp. 212–213; Yehudit Simchonit, "Gold and African Countries", Golda Meir commemoration site, date accessed August 21, 2018. www.goldameir.org.il/index.php?dir=site&page=content&cs=255&langpage=heb; Hanan Einor, "The African Challenge" [in Hebrew], Golda Meir commemoration site, date accessed August 21, 2018. www.goldameir.org.il/index.php?dir=site&page=content&cs=241&langpage=heb.

government official in the Foreign Ministry, a military operation, known as Operation Kadesh, was launched against Egypt in Sinai.[24] On November 29, 1956, the Sinai War broke out. Israel, France, and Britain fought against Egypt. Another military operation, Operation Musketeer, was conducted around the same time. With Operation Musketeer, Britain and France planned to capture the Suez Canal because Egyptian president Nasser had nationalized it just a few days before. The two superpowers wanted to retain security and marine control of the region. The operation failed for them and Egypt gained control. At the end of the war, Israel made significant gains in improving the security of its southern borders. The main achievement was stopping the Egyptian fedayeen incursions on the southern Israeli communities and opening the canal to Israeli ships. The decisions were made with the UN's mediation, although the status of France and Britain was damaged after Operation Musketeer's failure.

Intensive diplomatic efforts took place between Israel, France, and Britain, including a Congress in Saint Germain where state representatives met to try and maximize the combat options. Golda believed that Israel was ultimately responsible for its fate and would have to deal directly with Egypt and the consequences of the war on its own in the future, which is indeed what transpired.[25] The battle in Sinai was not only on the battlefield but also on the political diplomat plane. Golda saw her mission as meaningful but when the prime minister chose to make his own decisions without consulting her, she took personal and professional offense since she tended to be in full control of the information she possessed and make decisions accordingly. Feeling left out of the picture was not something she was accustomed to, and the prime minister—referring to her lack of diplomat experience as foreign minister—did nothing to improve her overall dissatisfaction.

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[24] Bar Zohar, M. *Ben Gurion* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved. Bar Zohar), pp. 1156–1157; Dayan, *Milestones* [in Hebrew], pp. 160–168; Tzur, Y. *Paris Journal: The Diplomatic Campaign in France 1953–1956* [in Hebrew], (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1968), pp. 271–274; Golani, *Tihiyeh Milchama HaKaitz*, pp. 141–158; Peres, S. (1970). *David's Sling* (Tel Aviv: Weidenfeld, 1970), p. 160; Meir, *My Life*, pp. 171–178; Tzoref, *Golda Meir*, p. 197.

[25] Ibid., pp. 215–261; Tzur, *Yoman Paris* [in Hebrew], pp. 295–296; Medzini, *Golda*, pp. 286–318.

Golda was used to seeing immediate and concrete results from her endeavors, such as construction and housing for workers, employment and work for new immigrants, their absorption in Israel, and getting to know people on the ground. Tangible things that could be measured and the public's reactions gauged. Diplomacy is different in that it is difficult to immediately assess the magnitude of the political impact. Sometimes, an idea that is planted sprouts only years later when the soil is fertile and ready for it. The diplomatic language and mannerisms are also completely different from Golda's direct dialogue. But Golda, in true form, continued to tackle the tasks she faced. She believed that could help build the country and foster its security. The Foreign Ministry was a significant stepping stone in her promotion since it is ranked third in the political hierarchy, after the Ministry of Defense and the Premiership.

Golda knew that this was where tomorrow's reality would be forged, and she did it out of a belief that only Israel could care for itself and it was her personal and professional obligation to do it optimally. Despite the internal political difficulties and struggles in the government and in the party, Golda did her job well. She established diplomatic relations with numerous countries around the globe, some—mainly on the African and Asian continents—of which did not previously recognize Israel. The relationships familiarized both sides with each other's mentality, difficulties, and special requirements and helped to subsequently promote relations based on respect, finance and trade, agriculture, security, and mutual support. It was important to encourage the emigration of Jews to Israel, and mainly to stay in touch with the Jews of Eastern Europe who could not yet leave the Iron Curtain, and to plant the idea and desire to make Aliya when they could. This is how Golda did her job professionally at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs until the next military operation, which was not long in coming. One decade after the war in Sinai, the war that changed the State of Israel forever—the Six-Day War—broke out.[26]

In 1966, Golda resigned from the government. She continued to serve as a Member of Knesset on behalf of the Labor Party and as a member of the Foreign Affairs and Security Committee, and retained her position as Party Secretary. These roles combined were much less demanding than the minister position. Golda had more free time to focus on her health,

[26] The Six-Day War took place between June 5 and 10, 1967.

treat her disease, and gain strength before her next position. She would do this on weekends at her home in Tel Aviv or at her daughter Sarah's home in Kibbutz Revivim, where she was surrounded by relatives and grandchildren and would rest up for the coming week. In May 1967, the security situation in the region took a turn for the worse and it seemed that war was imminent. A National Emergency Government was established to form a unified political policy and to unite the nation. For her, the appointment of Moshe Dayan to Minister of Defense instead of Prime Minister Eshkol, who held the defense portfolio as well, was for a general sense of security. Golda thought then and after that Eshkol did a fine job preparing the army and the country for battle, and would have led Israel to the same victory even without Dayan's help in the role.[27] In the days leading up to the war, Golda was sick with the flu, and she stayed at home to rest. As Party Secretary, she led the discussions and the decision-making before this unification.[28]

Israel was euphoric in the days after the Six-Day War. Defense Minister Dayan got all the credit and left Prime Minister Eshkol in his shadow. Eshkol's health deteriorated during that time. The postwar reality turned out to be problematic. Israel's territory grew significantly, but the West Bank's million Arabs became Israel's responsibility. The PLO accepted the UN's recognition as the exclusive representative of the Palestinians, and a resolution was drafted at the Khartoum Summit in 1974, consisting of the "Three No's": no recognition of Israel, no peace with Israel, and no negotiations with Israel.[29] In a conversation between Meir and Eshkol, Golda said: "When I asked Eshkol what we were going to do with a million Arabs, he said: I get it, you like the dowry but not the bride. And that's just it. Have you ever seen someone get a dowry without a bride?"[30]

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[27] Meir, *My Life*, p. 264.

[28] Medzini, *Golda*, pp. 421–430; Tzoref, *Golda Meir*, pp. 271–288.Golda Meir Chronology 1956–1966, Golda Meir commemoration site, date accessed August 28, 2019. www.golda.gov.il/archive/home/he/100/show_bio4.html.

[29] Despite this statement, the UN adopted Resolutions 224, 338.

[30] "The Territories – Summary discussion, political situational assessment," 7028/1 A, 18.4.1968, National Archives."Political Commentary and Chronology for February 1969," RG, 5/3/1969; Ibid., "Memorandum for the President from H. Kissinger"; Ibid., "Yediot Aharonot Report Comments on Current Internal Issues"; Ibid., "Allon Tests Strength"; Ibid., "Recommendation that Israeli Deputy Prime Minister Yigal Alon" "Suggested Position to make with Israeli Prime Minister Meir."

Dealing with the Arab population in the West Bank has become a critical and significant issue in every government meeting since that war.[31] In February 1969, Prime Minister Levi Eshkol died, and Golda, by a majority vote by the Party, was appointed Israel's first female prime minister on March 17, 1969.[32]

Mrs. Prime Minister

"There won't be a solution for the territories without peace and no peace without a solution for the territories. Peace means direct negotiations with Arab countries. Since there's currently no one to talk to, should we decide? Presenting the issue as if using weapons does not buy the right to territory distorts the reality, insinuating that we set out with the intention of capturing territory—our moral validity to hold the territories must not be questioned."[33] With regard to the UN: "I have no doubt that we cannot rely on the UN with disarmament or without disarmament in Sharm El-Sheikh and I don't want a million Arabs. I want to add borders to Israel that are more or less safe, maximal security, so that the border is as far as possible from what it was on June 4. And somehow that the Arabs will not remain amongst us."[34] This statement encapsulated Golda's beliefs as prime minister and leader of the country. The citizens' security came first. Peace was a goal to be aspired to but not at all costs. Certainly not at the expense of ultimate importance and she dedicated her term as prime minister to do everything in her power to strengthen the military and the nation. Arming the military with advanced technology, planes, helicopters, and weapons was possible, thanks to Golda's close ties with the American president, Richard Nixon.

The open bridges policy with Jordan whereby the Palestinian population on both sides of the Jordan River could maintain contact with each other and transfer goods between them was an important goal. Golda mainly nurtured the respectful and continuous dialogue with the

[31] Suggestions for handling the population in the territories have been made since the end of the war and to date.

[32] To date, also the only one in this position.

[33] "Sixth Government Meetings, Seat C, 3/68," 168/9 K, National Archives.

[34] Ibid.

Jordanian government headed by King Hussein, in numerous secretive meetings. The late 1960s and the early 1970s were accompanied by numerous waves of terrorism directed at Israel and at the Kingdom of Jordan. There was much collaboration between both countries in tackling this phenomenon.[35] Concurrent to terrorism on the Israeli-Jordanian border, there were also attacks by terrorist cells along the Israeli-Egyptian border. Golda maintained close relations with the U.S. government, and the Secretary of State William Rogers was sent to the Middle East to try and reach an agreement. Rogers presented three peace plans between Israel and Egypt, between 1969 and 1971. Also, Gunnar Jarring's visit for this purpose failed, and on March 8, 1969, the War of Attrition broke out between Israel and Egypt.[36] Nasser, president of Egypt, was determined to defeat Israel. Golda envisioned security of the borders and did not surrender to the heavy attacks in the South.[37] Both sides had conflicting demands. Golda would not give up the occupied territories, while Nasser was not prepared to move forward without Israel's declared consent to relinquish them. The war ended on August 7, 1970, in a military stalemate between the countries without any clear victory. This signaled what was yet to come since Nasser was not prepared to give up on the lost territories and Arab pride.[38]

Golda believed that Israel should not capitulate to terrorism, extortion, or intimidation. The Black September terrorist organization operated against Israeli and Jewish targets, and Prime Minister Meir fought back.[39] In September 1972, athletes from the Israeli Olympic delegation were

[35] Palestinian terrorist organizations cropped up in Jordan and operated from its territory. The PLO was chosen to represent the Palestinians, and its main goal was to fight Israel until it was destroyed. The PLO was headquartered in Jordan, where it operated against the Israeli and Jordanian governments. The IDF bombed its headquarters in coordination with Jordan. The Black September organization was established.

[36] Its name came from the Egyptians' desire to exhaust Israel and retrieve the territories that were captured during the Six-Day War.

[37] The war caused a heated debate in Israel over the fact that a difficult war was being waged in the South while life carried on as normal in the center of the country. High school students sent Golda letters expressing their reservations about her policy.

[38] Meir, *Shalom ben Shavim* [in Hebrew], pp. 9–10; Meir, *My Life*, pp. 276–280; Rubinovitz, Z. (2010). "Blue and White "Black September": Israel's Role in the Jordan Crisis of 1970," *The International History Review*, (Vol. 32, No. 4, December): pp. 687–706; "Fedayeen," August 31, 1974.

[39] In May 1972, a Sabena plane was hijacked and landed at Lod airport. Massacres were carried out at Ben Gurion airport and letter bombs were sent. Two terrorist attacks on Kiryat Shmona.

massacred in Munich, Germany. The massacre by terrorists on German soil shocked Israel and the rest of the world. In the wake of the massacre, Golda swore they would "pay with their lives." Golda ordered an attack on the terrorist bases in Lebanon and in Syria and ordered the assassination of any terrorist that had "blood on his hands."[40] Golda directed the Mossad to find and eliminate all the terrorists that played a part in planning and carrying out the massacre. This decision restored a sense of security, honor, and peace of mind in Israel, knowing that Israel's long hand would reach anyone that wanted to harm its citizens. Her decision almost cost her her life. While visiting New York in March 1973, an assassination attempt on her life was prevented, thanks to the U.S. security.

The Mossad's success in the mission, strengthening the security of Israeli citizens and mainly the sense of euphoria from the Six-Day War, dominated the public discourse. The conception was that Israel was almighty. This conception was misguided. On Saturday, October 6, 1973, Egypt and Syria launched a coordinated attack against Israel. The attack—the beginning of the Yom Kippur War (also known as the 1973 Arab-Israeli War)—occurred on Yom Kippur, the holiest of Jewish holidays; this day was chosen specifically. Early intelligence reached Golda. Warnings, precise confidential information about the attack that King Hussein brought her personally, warnings of evacuating the families of the Russian advisors, silence on the Egyptian radio, and information that came from the Egyptian spy Ashraf Marwan via the head of the Mossad Zamir were presented to Golda hours before the attack. Despite all this, Golda relied on the recommendations of the military leadership, which insisted that "the army was in control" and did not mobilize the recruitment of any significant reserve forces. This mistake resulted in a significant loss of life. Thousands of IDF soldiers died in the attack that caught Israel by surprise for the first time since its establishment.

This was a really hard blow. Golda ordered massive and immediate recruitment of reserve soldiers, but the first few days took a heavy toll. Morale was at an all-time low, and the country went into a state of mourning. The IDF recovered from its initial bewilderment and started to fend off the Egyptian and Syrian forces and gained significant

[40] Meir, *My Life*, pp. 276–280.

advantages on the battlefield. Golda demanded immediate military assistance from the United States, and President Nixon agreed to send an airlift of phantoms, weapons, ammunition, and other military equipment, which gave Israel a fighting chance. The army began to make military gains. On October 24, the war ended when Israel regained control of the territories, deterrence, and the retreat of enemy forces. Golda was intent on having the prisoners of war returned, and she stipulated the armistice agreements on this. When the dust of war settled, the country was left wounded and divided. The public demanded that an inquiry be launched into the military failings. The Agranat Commission thoroughly investigated the events of the war. Its conclusions stated that the military leadership was responsible for the failings, while the political leadership, with Golda at its head, was misled and dragged into the "eclipse" caused by incorrectly reading the military situation.[41] Golda was re-elected as prime minister in March 1974 during the elections that took place after the war. The public outcry against her and the outcomes of the war weighed heavily on her. About a month after the elections, Golda announced her retirement from politics.

Retirement

Golda's retirement enabled her to write her autobiography, *My Life*. Here, she wrote about the guilt she felt about the Yom Kippur War: "Nothing is harder for me than the Yom Kippur War, and the pain will never leave me."[42] The agonies and outcomes of the war were the hardest for her to bear. She thought about taking her own life, but feared what the nation and the world would say about it, so she banished the thought from her head, mainly due to the responsibility she bore as leader of the people and the nation. She could not forget the scenes of the funeral processions, the

[41] "Relations with Jordan," "Prime Minister's Announcement in the Knesset," 16.3.1972, 7033/6 A, National Archives; Ibid., "Hussein's Visit," 28.3.1972; Ibid., "Hussein," 2.4.1972; HATZAV, Jordan's Non-Participation in the Yom Kippur War," 11-1954/1997, IDF and Defense System Archives; Shlaim, pp. 314–320; Marwan's code name in Israel was "Babylon."Zamir, pp. 126–133; Medzini, pp. 518–521; Bergman, Meltzer, pp. 177–190; Meir, *My Life*, pp. 305–328.

[42] Meir, *My Life*, p. 305.

wounded, the captives, those who did not return from battle, and the tortured sobs of bereaved families. Golda was often heard saying that she could not forgive herself for ignoring her instincts and logic and trusting the recommendations of the military leadership.[43] Her conscience dictated that she had to resign as prime minister. Golda remained involved in political life, attended party meetings, and expressed her opinions on government decisions, mainly with regards to the peace agreements with Egypt, which were becoming more tangible.

Golda opposed signing peace agreements that contained an element of defeat for Israel and was hesitant to return land for fear that it would move the combat lines in the future. Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem in 1977 sparked hope in her heart that dialogue and peace were possible, even among enemies. In her speech to the Knesset, she stated the importance of protecting the country's borders and asserted that no Jewish or Arab mother raised her sons so their blood could be spilled in battle. Peace is a wish that should be fulfilled. She even gave Sadat a personal gift for the birth of his grandson, "for the future generations." Her visits to Kibbutz Revivim continued, and she found solace and comfort being around her loved ones, the land, and agriculture. After five decades of public service, even after her retirement, she continued to represent Israel in conventions abroad on behalf of the State of Bonds, where she received acclaim and respect. Her disease came back, and after several hospitalizations and treatments, Golda passed away on a Friday night, December 8, 1978, at the age of eighty. Prime Minister Golda Meir was buried at an official funeral in the Gedoley HaUma [national heroes] section on Mt. Herzl in Jerusalem.

Conclusion

Golda recounted her excitement on her visit to Jerusalem after the Six-Day War victory. For the first time ever, she placed her hands on the stones of the Western Wall. She wedged a note with the one word "peace" written on it into the wall. A soldier standing next to her wept and placed

[43] Ibid., pp. 305–328.

his head in her lap, seeking her comfort and warmth.[44] Such touching events were the milestones in her life as a public figure throughout her lengthy career. It is difficult to separate Golda Meir the woman, the mother, the minister, and the prime minister. She was all these things, and more. In a reality where women were taught to be wives and mothers, to settle for a basic education, and to rely on their husband to earn a living, Golda stood out with her independent thinking, personal charisma, inquisitiveness, and assertiveness. Her determination to work for the Jewish people's benefit and for their national security guided her throughout her life. What was so special about her that made her Israel's first and only female prime minister? I grew up in a home where my mother admired Golda. Whenever it was my birthday, she would always mention that it was also Golda's birthday. As a girl, I would look at photos of her and I could not understand what the source of admiration was. I would see an elderly, stooped, and gray-haired short-statured woman wearing clunky shoes and an unflattering dress. "What's special about her?" I would ask. "Oh… What do you know?,"was always my mother's answer.

The years passed and history became my passion and profession. My daughters were young when I wrote my doctorate. Golda would stare out at me from every document, protocol, and biography. I found myself torn between raising my daughters, doing the housework, making a living from teaching, and writing my dissertation at night. Photos of her seemed to become clearer. The words in her books guided me. It was only then that I understood what she wrote. How much a woman needs to sacrifice for her family and loved ones. What price a working woman has to pay to give her family a higher standard of living, and the immense price a woman pays if she also wants something for herself. Only a woman with a strong will, ambition, and flexible thinking can juggle everything and continue wanting to do more and to get ahead. When I realized her personal connection to people in government, I understood the source of her charm. Golda was a conversationalist and confidante, a knowledgeable woman of honor, and, mostly, infinitely determined to get what she wanted. Women have always known how to use their charm to get what

[44] Meir, *My Father's Home*, pp. 81–85.

they want, but Golda used logic, compassion, warmth, passion, and persuasion. Her goal was the good of the nation and the state, and not her own personal gain, and this is where she differed from all the other male and female politicians in Israel. Her heart was always torn between her own children and her many other beloved children—the citizens of the State of Israel.

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8

A Noticeable Woman in the Public Sphere: The Life of Israeli Journalist Hannah Semer (1924–2003)

Einat Lachover

Introduction

The journalist Hannah Semer has always fascinated me. I grew up in Israel during the 1970s and 1980s, when Semer's was one of the few women's voices heard in the public arena, alongside figures such as politicians Shulamit Aloni, Geula Cohen, Tamar Gozansky, and Supreme Court Justice Miriam Ben-Porat. Semer was an exceptional figure; she broke through the *glass ceiling* of journalism in a way no other Israeli female journalist did before or has done since, and very few female journalists worldwide have equaled her professional and public achievements. Semer held jobs that traditionally were—and still remain—the exclusive preserve of male journalists: parliamentary correspondent, political correspondent, editorial writer on political affairs, and, most exceptionally, editor-in-chief of a daily newspaper for two decades.

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Over the past thirty years or so, scholars worldwide have been interested in the history of women journalists in newsrooms, but these stories have not been integral in democratic journalism's historically male-dominated narratives (Smith 2015). I suggest seeing the life story of Semer as both a private and political representation that constitutes a lesson of a woman's road on the path to power and influence. It is especially intriguing to investigate the life story of a person who defines what reality is for the public and plays a role in molding public consciousness.

The project of writing about Hannah Semer is political in nature, for it examines the story of her life as a woman within a particular historical, social, and cultural context while adopting a critical stance toward the gendered structure of society in which she lived. I will analyze Semer's life story by examining her place in the world she operated in, considering the balance of powers and *intersectionality* determined by her gender, class, race, and other factors as well. Semer's choices and actions—in both her personal life as a mother and her professional life as a writer and editor-in-chief of a party newspaper—are analyzed against the backdrop of the resources at her disposal and the barriers she faced.

Therefore, the endeavor of this chapter is twofold: to uncover the private and unique life story of a high-level newswoman and at the same time to locate her story in a sociopolitical context. I will analyze Semer's personal story using communication research on historical, occupational, and cultural aspects of women in journalism worldwide and in Israel, as well as sociological literature on the political, social, and cultural status of Israeli women. The study's methodology combines analysis of Semer's own diverse journalistic and theoretical writing with that of journalistic writing about her and interviews with her. The chapter discusses the main issues around Semer's public status: for example, professional leadership, her prominent voice in the Israeli public sphere, the home–work conflict, and being a political character. I analyze the public discourse on her incomparable leadership and also her own point of view on her role as a noticeable woman in a male sphere, in this way seeking to present Semer as a model of women's leadership acting in a complicated context of the social–political power relationship.

To understand and evaluate Semer's unique career and public contribution, it is important to also understand Israel's gendered context

during Semer's career. The Israeli case is of particular interest given that Israeli society is based upon advanced democratic principles advocating gender equality (Halperin-Kaddari 2006).

The Israeli Gendered Context: A Dual Picture

During Semer's long career, Israeli society went through profound changes in the gendered context. Before the establishment of Israel in 1948, the notion of women's equality was widespread, rooted in the national and social revolution of the Zionist movement. The normative Zionist model constructed the "Israeli woman" as a modern woman seeking equal rights in a democratic country. This narrative continued to flourish and was validated by the "Israel declaration of independence"—the document that constitutes the State of Israel and which assured, among other things, a defense against sex discrimination. A number of laws in accordance with this spirit of equality were legislated during the first years of the new state in the areas of education and occupation. Two main additional factors enforced the gendered equality conception. The first was the fact that Israel was the first country in the world to rule mandatory army service for women—even though not all women could enroll. The second was the quite rare political presence of Golda Meir, who, in 1969, became Israel's prime minister after a number of senior roles (Fogiel-Bijaoui 2010, 2016; Halperin-Kaddari 2006).

The gap between men and women and between distinguished groups of women—in work, pay, and law—became wider during the first three decades after Israel became a democratic state (Fogiel-Bijaoui 2010, 2016; Herzog 2004; Safran 2006). Doubt about equality did not appear on Israel's national agenda until the mid-1970s. A slow but deep change in the status of Israeli women began. The percentage of women in the job market and the level of education increased sharply, followed by a slow and partial improvement in women's status at work and in management in the 1980s and 1990s (Fogiel-Bijaoui 2016). This change was a result not only of local *feminist* endeavors (Herzog 2006; Safran 2006), but also of larger processes that legitimized women's demand for their rights as individuals, not just as mothers and wives (Fogiel-Bijaoui 2016).

The current picture of the status of Israeli women is dual: an impressive march toward gender equality embedded in a patriarchal political structure (Fogiel-Bijaoui 2016). As a result, a large gap exists between basic parameters (life expectancy, reading and writing levels, etc.) and more advanced parameters (the status of women in public life and the job market, equal pay, etc.).

The Life Story of Semer

Hannah Haberfeld (later Semer) was born in 1924 in Bratislava, Slovakia. Although her family was strictly observant in the practice of Jewish religious laws and customs, they embraced a modern lifestyle. The complex and inclusive fabric of her childhood may have prepared Semer to cope with the dynamic changes that marked her adult life. The Holocaust brought years of hiding, labor in a brick factory in Nitra, Slovakia, and, finally, in the fall of 1944, deportation to the Ravensbrück concentration camp for women in Germany. After the war, Semer returned to Bratislava, and until 1950, when she immigrated to Israel, she took care of her ailing mother, completed her high school education, and studied economics at the university. During this time, she also married, though she divorced her husband soon after arriving in Israel. In 1958 she remarried, and in 1960 gave birth to a daughter, whom she raised on her own after separating from her husband (Lachover 2009; Naor 2012; Rubinstein 2012).[1]

Semer had taken her first steps in the world of journalism while still a student in Slovakia as editor of *Tribuna*, a Jewish-Zionist weekly in the Slovak language. As a new immigrant in Israel, she was hired in 1951 as a roving reporter for *Omer*, an emerging daily newspaper directed at immigrants. The job gave her a chance to explore her new country, and with the appointment as parliamentary correspondent a year later, she took her first steps into the Israeli political arena. In 1952, Semer embarked upon her long career at the major daily paper *Davar* (Lachover 2009; Rubinstein 2012). Owned by and politically aligned with the

[1] For more biographical details not mentioned here, see: Naor 2012 and Rubinstein 2012, or, along with a more detailed summary of Semer's biography, see my article, Lachover 2009.

Histadrut, Israel's Labor Federation, the paper was identified in practice with Mapai, the Zionist socialist party that dominated the Knesset (Israeli parliament) until 1977, and later with the Labor Party. The party effectively controlled *Davar*: it appointed the editor-in-chief and all other senior position holders; and the paper's advertising policies, content, and opinion pieces were all geared to party needs (Caspi and Limor 1999).

At *Davar*, Semer first served as the Knesset correspondent and was later appointed political correspondent. From 1957 through 1961, Semer was correspondent both in Washington and at the United Nations. In the early days of Semer's career, Israel had only a small number of female journalists employed by the local daily newspapers. Semer, despite being a newcomer in the country, managed to integrate quickly into the center of Israeli journalism; her excellent reportage abilities stood out very quickly. She was a competitive reporter who knew how to distinguish and identify important news items, and her language was rich and fluent (Rubinstein 2012).

At the end of 1961, she was appointed head of the *Davar* office in Jerusalem and writer of the newspaper's editorials. In 1966, she became the assistant to the editor-in-chief, and four years later rose to editor-in-chief herself, a role she filled for twenty years, until her retirement in 1990 (Lachover 2009; Rubinstein 2012). In the period Semer was appointed editor-in-chief, party journalism had begun to ebb and *Davar* had already lost some of its eminence and influence, with the paper's circulation dropping and advertising drying up. Semer was never able to extricate the paper from this decline (Caspi and Limor 1999; Semer 1996).

After making way for her successors in 1990, Semer continued to write. Until the paper closed down, she wrote between one and four editorials a month for *Davar*, after which she periodically published articles in the mass circulation daily *Yedioth Aharonoth*. She thus continued to be an active opinion-maker in the Israeli public sphere until her death in 2003. During these years, she also taught journalism at the university level and was involved in editing and moderating current affairs programs on radio and television, remaining a renowned public personality (Lachover 2009; Rubinstein 2012).

Breaking Through the *Glass Ceiling*

For a number of decades, women have substantially outnumbered men in academic journalistic training, and they have also entered the profession in (slightly) greater numbers. But even in the early twenty-first century, the international landscape of women working as journalists remained uneven. Surveys show the same trends of vertical segregation across the news industries in Western countries: women are not reaching higher professional levels in the news industry in any sustained way (IWMF 2011; GMMP 2015). Furthermore, evidence shows the more complicated issues. Women are employed in great numbers in particular areas of journalism, referred to as "pink-collar ghettoes" (e.g. the magazine industry, or on "female topics"), which are less focused on hard news reporting and opinion writing and, as a result, less valued (Chambers et al. 2004; Franks 2013).

As in other developed countries, the gender composition of the Israeli journalistic sphere in the mid-to-late 1970s and into the 1980s showed clear indications of systematic changes (Caspi and Limor 1999). But this tendency shifted in the 1990s, both in Israel and internationally. Empirical evidence from Israeli studies in the 1990s and 2000s shows a resistance to substantive change, with a deceleration of the earlier feminization process and a stabilizing of the proportion of women in the profession. Furthermore, Israel, like other countries, saw gender segregation in reporting areas in journalism, as well as in occupational roles in other professions (Lachover and Lemish 2018).

In this context, Semer's high-profile career path—and especially her roles as parliamentary and political correspondent and chief editor of a daily newspaper for so many years—clearly illustrates a woman breaking through the *glass ceiling* of journalism. But at the same time, we must emphasize the contrast between Semer's career achievements and the wider, structural picture of women journalists in Israel (Lachover and Lemish 2018) and in most other Western countries (IWMF 2011; GMMP 2015). Semer's story should be considered as the exception that proves the rule, and if effort is not continually applied, then very little will change and we will revert back to the default position (Franks 2013).

A Visible Woman in a Male Public Sphere

Gender (in)equality in the journalism profession reflects the binary construction of gender that takes place in Israel as well as in other Western countries. Women are still identified with qualities considered appropriate to the private domestic sphere, while men are identified with those appropriate to the public sphere (Herzog 2004). This normative distance between the "woman's world" and the world of politics, as perceived by both men and women, increases the distance between the political figure and the normative woman, obstructing women's advancement in politics (Fogiel-Bijaoui 2010) as well as in political journalism.

Despite the exclusion of women from the public discourse, Semer had a dominant presence during the second half of the twentieth century. Her influence was apparent in her administrative positions at *Davar*, as well as the many other public professional positions she held, both nationally and internationally. Her most important post was managing the Editor's Committee of the Israeli press and media in the 1970s and 1980s.[2] She also served as chair of the Israel Press Council.[3] In the international arena, Semer was Israel's representative to the International Press Institute for eight years, and, in 1982, she was even elected to the organization's directorate.[4] She was also a member of The Next Century Foundation, an organization whose goal was to promote peace in the Middle East through responsible dialogue and responsible media (Lachover 2009).

Semer stood out, however, not just because of her public and administrative positions but also because of her writing. Self-expression in the public domain was central to her life and part of her everyday routine. She published three books and complained about not having written more: "You have no idea how many books I have not written during my

[2] This committee consists of the editors and owners of the main Israeli newsrooms. Until the 1970s, it was quite prestigious and its members were given important information on condition it not be published (Limor et al. 2007).

[3] The Israel Press Council is the uppermost media organization in Israel. This voluntary organization was established in 1963 and is made up of representatives of the public, reporters, editors, and media owners (Limor et al. 2007).

[4] The global network of editors, media executives, and leading journalists, dedicated to the furtherance and safeguarding of press freedom, the promotion of the free flow of news and information, and the improvement of the practices of journalism.

career. Some would have been bestsellers if they had been written. But I was always too busy writing to write."[5] Indeed, Semer's voice was heard mainly through her diverse and prolific journalistic writing. Over five decades of journalistic work, she wrote thousands of news items, articles, and opinion columns. As a roving reporter during the 1950s, she wrote news items and articles every day on diverse topics, and from 1961 through 1970, she was the paper's chief opinion columnist. Even while she was editor-in-chief and busy with administrative work, she continued writing, producing around two opinion columns per month. Furthermore, almost every week for more than two decades (1969–1991), she published a column in the commercial women's magazine *La'Isha*.

Beginning in the early 1960s, Semer participated in and moderated current affairs and cultural programs on radio and television, becoming a well-known public figure. As a 1969 newspaper article observed, "The popularity of Hannah Semer, deputy editor of *Davar* and editor of numerous radio programs, is evidenced by the fact that every day she must reject around twenty job offers and invitations to appear at lectures and symposia."[6] The exaggerated language notwithstanding, these words make evident that Semer was a woman well known to the Israeli public. Similarly, in a 1974 interview published in *Davar Hapoelet*, the interviewer stressed Semer's public prominence:

> Hannah Semer, editor of *Davar,* is not someone who needs any preliminary introduction. As an active participant in radio and television news programs, a fixture on Israel Broadcasting Authority and Galei Zahal broadcasts, and a guest of women's magazines, her name is known even to those who do not read her articles in *Davar*.[7]

The fact that Semer was the only woman in a very masculine environment also played a part in her prominence. For example, in 1972, when

[5] Hannah Semer. (June 27, 1983). *La'Isha*, p. 5. Semer's first book, *Half Tea, Half Coffee* (1969), is a collection of her writings for her radio program together with essays she wrote especially for the book. Her second book, *Ceausescu of Romania* (1976), is a biography of the Romanian leader Ceausescu published before his transgressions as dictator became known. Semer regretted writing the book and shelved it.

[6] Avidar, T. (September, 1969). Nothing Stands in Hannah's Way, *Att*, Issue no. 30, 29:5.

[7] Eisin, N. (1974). Hannah Semer, *Dvar Hapo'elet*, nos. 3–4:10.

Semer was awarded the Sokolow Prize—the most prestigious journalistic award in Israel—for her professional achievements, the judges noted that she was the only woman to head a major daily paper in Israel, and one of the very few such women in the world.

Semer was aware that her accomplishments in the public arena were atypical. She explained, "In every forum of editors, whether Israeli or international, I was on my own. There are practically no women editors in chief of daily newspapers… At international conferences I was always singled out as a symbol, a precedent. But this precedent, at least for the meantime, has remained just that."[8] However, she rejected the notion that the only women worthy of admiration were those in the public arena, and she called attention to the invisible and unrewarded accomplishments of both wage-earners and women working in the home:

> For example, I look at a housewife with four children who must get up every morning, shop, clean, straighten up, cook, do laundry, iron, and I ask myself: how does she do it? How does she manage? What someone else does always looks more difficult. (She turns to the interviewer.) Look at this (my work) as the work of a housewife that is never finished.[9]

Over the years, Semer expressed doubt that promoting a few women to the head of the pyramid would lead to any significant change for women in general (Semer 1977). She repeatedly claimed that what is important is instead what happens at the bottom, a conclusion she based on her political analysis of the appointment of Golda Meir (1898–1978) as Israeli prime minister as well as the appointment of other women around the world:

> There is a discrepancy between the few women who have climbed to the top and serve as proof that it is possible and the large majority who serve as living proof that those who are used as examples are not typical of society at large. The fact that the prime minister of India is a woman is not an indication that the status of women in India is good. Even in Britain, with

[8] Hannah Semer. (May, 28, 1990b). A Woman, Flesh and Blood, *La'Isha*, 22: 27–28.

[9] Mary Oskovsky-York. (January, 1988). A Different Thing, *Olam Haisha*: 38.

> its queen and its empress, women are far from being of equal status. The measure of equality does not lie in the achievement of the few but rather in that of the average.[10]

Semer nevertheless appreciated her own capabilities and achievements. In an interview on the eve of her retirement, the interviewer brought up rumors surrounding the reasons for her advancement: "As a young, successful and beautiful woman with good connections within the political elite, you must have heard many annoying insinuations. How did you cope with them?" Semer responded:

> I never felt such things had anything to do with me, because I always proved myself at work. I also think that my authority with respect to internal matters at *Davar* came from the fact that I knew my work. That was always my calling card. I do not think that anyone can accuse me of achieving anything in my professional life that I did not work for. I am a professional woman and I am admired as such, and I am also a sought-after lecturer abroad, not only as a journalist but also as a fairly good theoretician.[11]

Semer saw herself as a public figure. She perceived her own life as interesting and relevant to others, and therefore did not hesitate to write about her personal experiences in her articles. Near the end of her life, she even began to write her autobiography, and while she never completed it, this suggests again that she was aware of her special status and great influence (Lachover 2009).

The Interplay Between the Personal and the Political

One of the hallmarks in constructing narratives of individual women's lives has been to foreground the interplay between the personal and the political. Indeed, *feminist* biographers believe that the public or

[10] Hannah Semer. (June 27, 1983). *La'Isha*, p. 19.
[11] Tali Lipkin-Shahak. (September 14, 1990). *Dvar Hashavua*, p. 8.

intellectual lives of their subjects cannot be re-created without understanding their private actions and intimate relations (Quataert and Wheeler 2012; Ware 2012).

Almost inevitably, women who live the kind of public life deemed worthy of historical writing, like Semer, must make decisions and sacrifices that have potentially profound effect on their personal lives (Ware 2012). Indeed, in many public interviews, Semer frankly revealed the difficulties she faced in combining a journalistic career with her family life. She was married twice and divorced twice, and she raised her daughter on her own in what she referred to as a "non-standard family."[12] In Israeli society in the 1960s and 1970s, prior to the second wave of the *feminist* movement, this was remarkably exceptional.

Semer maintained that, for women, a contradiction does indeed exist between a career in journalism and family life. In her 1972 acceptance speech for the Sokolow Prize, she said, "Only a man can succeed in this kind of work [journalism], not because he is stronger or smarter, but because he has a wife at home. The trouble with women is that they do not have wives."[13] She explained her own success in integrating these two areas by pointing out she had given birth to her daughter relatively late, when her position at the newspaper had already been established, "so that I did not have to prove myself," and also that her sister gave her a great deal of help.[14]

Yet, throughout her life, Semer also articulated her complex attempts to balance her commitment to her demanding job and her obligations as a parent. She felt she was depriving her daughter on some level and sought to make up for this: "She was not a latchkey kid. I made sure of that, to make up for the fact that she grew up in an unconventional family."[15] She even advised the young women on the news staff to give preference to their family life. "If a career must be purchased at the price of giving up family life, this is a price that women should not have to pay, and they should not be asked to do so."[16] With regard to missing out on

[12] Cohen, Z. (August-September, 1983). An Interview with Hannah Semer, *Naamat*, pp. 8–9.
[13] Anonymous 1972, p. 3.
[14] Cohen, Z. (August–September, 1983). An Interview with Hannah Semer, *Naamat*, pp. 8–9.
[15] Tali Lipkin-Shahak. (September 14, 1990). *Dvar Hashavua*, p. 9.
[16] Ibid.

conjugal relations, Semer claimed over the years that she felt fulfilled and that she had not remarried as a matter of choice, and not due to the constraints of her career. "If I had needed to get married, I would have done so. I had no problem in finding a partner. I did not give up marriage for my career. This was not the price of my success."[17]

Studies of women journalists discuss the gendered distribution of responsibility for care of home and family as the most prominent obstacle women journalists face in developed countries (Smith 2015). In Israel, this aspect is particularly complicated because of the centrality of the institution of family in Jewish-Israeli society (Berkovitch 1997; Fogiel-Bijaoui 1999) and the underdevelopment of comprehensive support services for families, such as daycare, longer school days, and tax deductions for employing a caregiver. Interestingly, while in the rest of the world fewer female journalists marry and have children than their male counterparts, in Israel, women journalists, having internalized the Israeli sanctification of family, continue to have as many children as their male colleagues. At the same time, just like other professional women, they face the challenge of unequal division of labor in the domestic sphere (Lachover and Lemish 2018). This explains the disturbing revelations in Semer's interviews in the final decade of her life about her behavior as a parent and the price her daughter paid for her choosing such a demanding career: "I paid a high price for that [loyalty to the newspaper]. I had one daughter, and things were not always so good for her."[18] When the interviewer asked if she would make the same choices if she had to do it over again, she gave a short philosophical answer: "I don't know."[19]

Being a Political Woman

Understanding Hannah Semer's life requires examining it through a lens of both politics and gender, for Semer herself was extremely political, making frequent observations about the broad social and cultural context of her life in general and about being a woman in particular. Semer

[17] Ibid.

[18] Sarig, M. (March 31, 2000). Hannah Semer. *Iton Tel Aviv*, p. 83.

[19] Ibid.

supported many causes throughout her life: the reestablishment of ties between Israel and Germany, a solution to the conflict with the Palestinians, the withdrawal from Lebanon, and the independence of party journalism, among others. Her political involvement was mostly expressed in her routine intensive journalistic writing. She did not hesitate to express controversial opinions and was not concerned about the price to be paid for her choices. As a reporter and an editor, Semer was an independent thinker who chose professional over establishment considerations (Lachover 2009). For example, once, on assignment in the United States, she was given a special expense account to cover Histadrut Secretary-General Pinhas Lavon's speech at the AFL-CIO conference on the West Coast. While Semer did fly to the West Coast, instead of covering Lavon's speech she decided to follow Khrushchev's celebrated visit—a decision she was almost fired for (Semer 1995). Another example is an article she wrote, entitled "Removing the Government of Evil from the Land," opposing the Likud government during the 1982 Lebanon War after the massacre at Sabra and Shatila.[20] Prime Minister Menachem Begin criticized the article in the Israeli parliament, with the Likud faction of the Histadrut calling for Semer to step down or be fired, and she received numerous threats from government supporters (Lachover 2009).

In contrast to these strong political stances, Semer most unambiguously rejected being defined as a *feminist*—despite the fact that she was aware of the status of women in Israel and worldwide, interested in the feminist movement, and wrote on *feminist* topics. Semer, like other Israeli women of her generation, including politically influential women such as Prime Minister Golda Meir (Triger 2010) and Shulamit Aloni (member of parliament and founder of the Citizens' Rights Movement) (Rotchield 2006), may have avoided the *feminist* definition so as not to be identified with the feminist movement, which, at the time, was marginal.

Semer's reluctance to define herself as a *feminist* cannot be explained by any fears on her part. It seems that Semer was not taken in by the question of gender (in)equality. Semer was ahead of her time, viewing what

[20] Hannah Semer. (September 20, 1982). Removing the Government of Evil from the Land, *Davar*, p. 1.

were considered the everyday problems of women as social problems, and not personal ones (Lachover 2013).

Some of Semer's professional decisions reflected her nonconformist approach to gender. She appointed a series of women to major jobs that had formerly been considered "male" positions out of a profound belief in gender equality and the conviction that women are excellent employees (Oskovsky-York 1988). Furthermore, she set a major milestone in the history of female journalists in Israel in 1983, during the First Lebanon War. She set an Israeli first by appointing a woman—Tali Lipkin-Shahak, a young married woman and mother—as military correspondent at a time when the military desk was the newspaper's most important position. Semer herself saw this appointment as groundbreaking (Semer 1990a).

Semer's writing can also be seen as reflecting her unusual gendered perspective. She wrote personal stories and lifestyle articles that seemed marginal at the time, particularly for the editor of a daily newspaper. Furthermore, among the many publications she wrote for, she was a frequent contributor to *La'Isha*, Israel's most popular commercial women's magazine. One might ask why the editor-in-chief of a major daily newspaper and a highly respected political columnist and public figure published regularly in what was considered to be a peripheral press. In her column in *La'Isha*, she wrote on the so-called feminine topics, including food, fashion, culture, and consumerism. She also referred more to her own personal experiences, using them to extrapolate wide-ranging personal insights. Semer herself discussed the rationale for writing about feminine topics. For example, in a column, in *La'Isha*, discussing the issue of skirt length, she expressed a sober view of current fashion trends and then explained why she was interested in such minor matters:

> Do not accuse me of spending my time contemplating fashion while the Soviets are manning missiles in Egypt and the Syrians are asking for missiles as well and the Viet Cong is advancing into Cambodia and Turkey has been hit by an earthquake … sometimes we need to forget about all this, to take a break from it all.[21]

[21] Hannah Semer. (December 29, 1975). The Hazed Discourse, *La'Isha*, p. 22.

Summary: Telling Semer's Life Story as a Political Act

Telling the life story of the journalist Hannah Semer involves deeply examining how she paved her professional life and managed her personal life prior to the second wave of the *feminist* movement in a society that prioritized the institution of family. Her distinctiveness as a woman at the top of the hierarchy in such a blatantly masculine field, as an unmarried woman and a single mother, is the major dimension in understanding who she was. Semer's singular actions and achievements illustrate the barriers faced by women journalists, and indeed by all working women in Israel.

Semer belongs to a group of extraordinary and heroic women who are considered extraordinary because they participated in and influenced the public arena (Melman 1993). Telling the story of a prominent individual woman has two main purposes. First, an individual's life story, no matter how unusual, exposes the cultural and historical context in which it took place (Lieblich 1997; Tuchman 1979). A *feminist* biography enables an individual case to shed light on the destiny of women in a particular period, place, and social group (Caine 1994). I believe that Semer's singular life story reveals the reality of (in)equality for women in Israel in her time. The objective of such biographies is thus to reclaim and preserve the true place of women—and in Semer's case, the true place of women journalists—which was ignored or misunderstood by *historiography* (Reinhartz 1993; Down Hall 1987). Second, life stories of women serve as an inspiration for other women and can help us to invent or reinvent our own lives (O'Brien in Kimber 2000). A symbolic representation of a woman in a position of economic or political power is one way to change gendered perceptions and stereotypes (Pitkin 1967; Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler 2005). More and more research demonstrates that women in positions of power have these symbolic effects on women and girls. Increasing women's representation in elite positions thus increases women citizen's political interest and engagement (Paxton and Hughes 2017). Semer's exceptional story can serve as an inspiration and example for female journalists and other professional women worldwide. The life stories of women leaders deal with women who are highly influential not because they are typical of their times but because they were exceptional

(Melman 1993). Semer's life story is unique, but we should widen the circle of women leaders and role models to include women who contributed to the field of journalism in different ways.

Semer succeeded in a male-oriented field, but her career experience was different from that of her male colleagues. She did not hide but often shared her private life, thus exemplifying the *feminist* slogan: personal is political. She also redefined what constitutes news by writing from a personal point of view and in different spheres of journalism, including women's magazines. In this way, she reached a target market invisible to established male journalists.

As mentioned above, Semer did not complete writing her own life story, but in her recording of other people lives in articles and obituaries, she often documented forgotten women leaders, artists, journalists, and "first ladies" she thought were insufficiently appreciated by the public. One figure who received a great deal of her attention was Prime Minister Golda Meir. Both Semer and Meir were political figures and members of Mapai's party, but they were often regarded as political and professional opponents. Semer was seen as a "political dove," and Golda as a "hawk"; it was said that Golda did not approve of Semer's perception of critical journalism (Peri 2003). Based on dozens of articles that Semer dedicated to Meir, during her career and after her death, I conclude that Semer in fact appreciated Meir's leadership. The public image of Meir and Semer in conflict reflects the problematic cultural image of women in power competing with each other (Reinke 2010). Furthermore, I argue that Semer's writing on Meir's leadership was actually a means of reflecting about herself. For example, Semer emphasized the centrality of the public work in Meir's life, as "a woman who devoted her life to public work, not because she sacrificed herself, rather because it was her pleasure, it was her element, it was the air she liked to breath. It is fascinating following her progress in the public sphere […] only thanks to hard and devoted work, natural talents and what is called common sense" (Semer 1990b). In thus writing about Meir, Semer engages in a retrospective on the centrality of work in her own life. She defined her own profession as "a type of work that cannot be controlled until it has taken control."[22] Yet, she also continually stressed she was committed to her work by her own free choice.

[22] Hannah Semer (February 25, 1972). A Sense of Proportion, *Davar*, p. 15.

"Working at *Davar* is not forced labor. I am no longer in a concentration camp. I chose this job and I stuck to it."[23]

A similar example can be found in Semer's eulogy of Meir:

> I think Golda was a quite feminine woman. Not that she spent all her time going between beauty salons and hairdressers and elite dressers: In fact, she didn't do that, not as a young woman and not as an old woman. She didn't even put on make-up before doing TV shows […] So she did not put on make-up, but she was feminine in her public life in two aspects: in her attitude to people and the way she judged people, and secondly, the more meaningful one, was her socialist view and urge for social action […] and Golda was not intimidated by being feminine regarding things that are considered, for some reason, as typical to women […] Golda proved what only very few women among two million living women in the world proved—and she did not find it necessary to be estranged from her femininity. (Semer 1978)

It seems that by writing about Meir and other women leaders, Semer was echoing and responding to the tension she experienced between cultural definitions of professionalism and femininity. Rather than dichotomizing masculinity and femininity, she mixed and integrated the genders in her life and in her writing, seeing no contradiction between the two. Future research on women leaders could broaden this practice and analyze their discussion and writing about other women. This retrospective point of view integrates with the dialogue that *feminist* biographers carry on with their subjects.

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Conclusion

Gender discrimination remains deeply embedded in many political structures. Female leaders continue to be public targets of gender stereotypes that challenge their advancement and create negative perceptions of women's capacity to lead. Previous research has highlighted the highly gendered nature of leadership (Schein et al. 1996), concentrating on women's positions as they break through the "glass ceiling" over the "glass cliff" (Bruckmüller et al. 2014; Cook and Glass 2014; Ryan et al. 2016). The leadership gender gap is well known and widely discussed; it starts early in women's careers and grows as their careers advance. (Un)conscious bias—that focuses on specific characteristics such as gender, religion, race, age, or disability—can affect one's behavior toward others. The number of women in executive government and in parliament worldwide has stagnated.[1] There might be various reasons for this stagnation, including the recent economic crisis. Over one hundred economies prevent women from getting certain positions, simply based on the fact that they are women.[2]

[1] https://www.ipu.org/news/press-releases/2017-03/new-ipu-and-un-women-map-shows-womens-representation-in-politics-stagnates, The IPU (last accessed 11/04/2019).

[2] http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/992111524236982958/WBL-Key-Findings-Web-FINAL-2.pdf, Women, Business and the Law (WBL) (last accessed 11/4/2019).

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This edited collection proposes a coherent discussion of women in leadership, with contributions spanning the disciplines of political science, history, women's studies, and anthropology, among others. It is a contribution to the growing field of leadership and gender studies as well the intersection of gender and political engagement; in addition, this book presents real-life examples and case studies of outstanding women. One should add that there are not only explicit moral leaders but also "hidden" moral leaders—such as artists, educators, programmers—who influence people around them in significant ways daily. This type of leadership also shapes people's lives and life trajectories.[3] Burns (1978) names Einstein, Shaw, and Stravinsky among other positive examples of leaders.[4] Philosophers, writers, and poets should be named among moral leaders. Additionally, some writers are essentially the conscience of nations. There are negative sides of leadership, as Burns notes, such as "the personality cult," and dictatorship and tyranny that originate in this cult.[5] One should, therefore, identify moral leaders and tyrants—the polar categories,[6] and also recognize instances in which manipulation occurs instead of leadership.

This book identifies big-picture concepts, themes, questions, and some possible conclusions; there are still various stereotypes about women in leadership positions that need to be examined. Julian Barling argues in *The Science of Leadership: Lessons from Research for Organizational Leaders*:

> not all leadership positions are perceived as equal, and men are disproportionately favored for those leadership positions perceived to be task-oriented (and hence more "masculine"), whereas female leaders were preferred for "feminine" tasks, which are perceived to be of lower status and attract lower compensation compared to male tasks.[7]

[3] James MacGregor Burns. *Leadership* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978), p. 2.

[4] Ibid., p. 1.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., p. 3.

[7] Julian Barling. (2014). *Gender and Leadership*. In *The Science of Leadership: Lessons from Research for Organizational Leaders* (*The Science of Leadership*, Chapter 8), p. 206.

Barling concludes that, despite recent positive trends in women's inclusion and greater representation in managerial positions, bias against women leaders still needs to be addressed.[8] Furthermore, we should also distinguish between managers and leaders: "Managers are people who do things right, and leaders are people who do the right thing."[9] Organizations need to recruit more, retain, develop, and promote women; they also need to achieve a gender balance in their leadership teams.[10] There are many approaches to leadership, and these include moral, political, and psychological methods. The psychological approach is one of the most important and developed: "the genius of leadership lies in the manner in which leaders see and act on their own and their followers' values and motivations."[11] As for moral and political approaches, this book presents examples of these two approaches. This collection of essays emphasizes how important it is to take a closer look at examples of outstanding women leaders throughout history.

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[8] Ibid., p. 206.

[9] "Harvard Business Review," https://hbr.org/2010/08/true-leaders-are-also-managers (last accessed 02/25/2019).

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