Contents

Introduction: The Emergence and Development of Racial/Ethnic Feminisms in the 1960s and 1970s Second-Wave Feminism(s) The Whitewashing of the Second Wave Feminist Movements and Intersectionality: Recasting the Second Wave Feminist Emergences, Intersectionality, and Social Movement Theory Methodological Considerations/The Plan of	Х
Racial/Ethnic Feminisms in the 1960s and 1970sSecond-Wave Feminism(s)The Whitewashing of the Second WaveFeminist Movements and Intersectionality:Recasting the Second WaveFeminist Emergences, Intersectionality, and SocialMovement TheoryMethodological Considerations/The Plan of	ĸi
The Whitewashing of the Second WaveFeminist Movements and Intersectionality:1Recasting the Second Wave1Feminist Emergences, Intersectionality, and Social1Movement Theory1Methodological Considerations/The Plan of1	1 *
Feminist Movements and Intersectionality:1Recasting the Second Wave1Feminist Emergences, Intersectionality, and Social1Movement Theory1Methodological Considerations/The Plan of1	$1 \times$
Recasting the Second WaveFeminist Emergences, Intersectionality, and Social1Movement Theory1Methodological Considerations/The Plan of1	6
Movement Theory Methodological Considerations/The Plan of 1	1 😽
Methodological Considerations/The Plan of 1	4
the Book	7
1 To Whom Do You Refer? Structure and the Situated 2 Feminist	4
Structure in Accounts of Feminist Emergence 2	4
How Much Is Enough? The Relatively Deprived as 2 Challengers	5
	1
To Whom Do You Compare? The Salience of Race/ 4 Ethnicity plus Class	2
	5

۱

.

2	The "Fourth World" Is Born: Intramovement Experience, Oppositional Political Communities, and the Emergence of the White Women's Liberation Movement	47
	Introduction: The Movement Level	47
	Dynamics of Facilitation and Constraint	49
	Redefining Liberation	52
	The Debate over Separation and Autonomy	56
	New Left Hostility to a New Feminist Movement	62
	Feminist Responses to Hostility: A New Audience for Organizing	67
	Organizing by Women's Liberationists: Creating an Autonomous Movement	70
	Conclusion: Reforming a Community Versus Forming One	73
3	The Vanguard Center: Intramovement Experience and the Emergence of Black Feminism	76
	Introduction: Black Feminism as the "Vanguard Center"	76
	Where Were the Black Feminists? Looking in the Wrong Places	77
	Black Women and Changes in the Civil Rights Movement	80
	Black Feminists Respond: Early Organizations	86
	The Black Woman, Black Liberation, and Middle-Class Style	94
	Responses to White Women's Liberation	98
	Black Feminist Organizing Within/Outside the Black Movement: Questions of Autonomy	103
	Conclusion: The Influence of the Vanguard Center	127
>.4	"We Called Ourselves 'Feministas'": Intramovement Experience and the Emergence of Chicana Feminism	129
	Introduction: "Feministas," Not "Feminists"	129
	Chicanas in the Chicano Movement of the 1960s and 1970s	132
	Early Organizing by Chicana Feminists	138
	The 1971 Houston Conferencia de Mujeres por la	145
	Raza/First National Chicana Conference	1,2
	Challenging the Machismo in Chicanismo, and	150
	Other Chicana Feminist Concerns	

ix

λ	Chicana Feminist Organizations in the 1970s and the Problem of Backlash	154
	Counterarguments: The Historical Chicana Feminist and the Need to Remake the Political Family	159
	Chicana Feminism's Relationship with White Women's Liberation: Sympathies Versus Sisterhood	166
	Fitting into the Struggle: Chicana Feminist Organizing Through the 1970s	172
	Conclusion: Organizationally Distinct Chicana Feminism in the Second Wave	175
5	Organizing One's Own: The Competitive Social Movement Sector and the Rise of Organizationally Distinct Feminist Movements	178
	Introduction: The Intermovement Level and Feminist Emergences	178
	The Competitive Social Movement Sector	181
	The Social Movement Economy and the Feminist Threat	183
	White Women's Liberation and Universal Sisterhood	188
	"Either/Or" from Everywhere: African American and Chicana Feminist Responses	195
	Organizing One's Own: An Ethos and Its Origins	200
	Conclusion: The Legacy of Intermovement Politics and Possibilities for Feminist Organizing	211
	Conclusion: Feminists on Their Own and for Their Own: Revisiting and "Re-Visioning" Second-Wave Feminisms	214 🖂
	Second-Wave Feminisms, Plural	214 💛
	Second-Wave Feminisms and Theoretical Considerations	216 😒
	Bridging Divisions: The Legacy of Second-Wave Feminisms and Coalition Making	219
	Last Words	225
	Appendix: The Interviews/Living After the Second Wave	227
	References	231
	Index	261