

Introduction

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Prime Minister Julia Gillard spoke passionately in Parliament on 9 October 2012. Many people around the world took notice of what has come to be called her 'Misogyny Speech'. By the following day, footage of the speech had been viewed more than 300,000 times online, 'Gillard' was one of the top trending words on Twitter and newspaper headlines around the globe reported the speech.³ Just more than one year later, the video clip on YouTube had been viewed more than 2.5 million times. This speech was clearly 'heard around the world'.⁴ The Liberian peace activist and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Leymah Gbowee spoke of her excitement in watching the speech and the high value she placed on it as an example of a woman leader breaking the bounds of public priority to make a personally political statement about the still radical idea of misogyny.⁵

In this speech, the leader of the nation plainly named what she saw as the sexist and misogynistic actions and comments of the Leader of the Opposition, Tony Abbott. She declared Abbott to be the embodiment of 'what misogyny looks like in modern Australia'. In the speech, Prime Minister Gillard said she was personally offended by sexist acts, and later: 'I could not take the hypocrisy of the Leader of the Opposition trying to talk about sexism ... I was not going to sit silent.'⁶ This speech is significant for many reasons, but in the context of this book's focus it is a clear example of activism. Here we see a woman holding a recognised and formal position of leadership, publicly calling someone to account for sexism generally, and specifically against her. In September 2013, Julia Gillard spoke publicly as to how, when she first became prime minister, she had not wanted to place any particular public attention on her sex because 'it was just so obvious, it was going to be commented on and it was going to be so much of what came to define my Prime Ministership without me constantly pointing to it'. But despite her lack of attention to her sex she felt the burden of a 'misogynist underside' emerge. She described the particular parliamentary

1 The University of Melbourne.

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3 'Gillard's Misogyny Speech Goes Global', *ABC News Online*, 10 October 2012, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2012-10-10/international-reaction-to-gillard-speech/4305294>. For the YouTube video of the speech, see: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ihd7ofrwQX0>.

4 'The 2013 Time100 Poll', 28 March 2013, <http://time100.time.com/2013/03/28/time-100-poll/slide/julia-gillard/>.

5 'Nobel Laureate Leymah Gbowee Praises Gillard's Misogyny Speech', *ABC News Online*, 9 April 2013, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-04-09/nobel-peace-prize-winner-leymah-gbowee-on-the-drum/4619274>.

6 Jacqueline Maley, 'I Give as Good as I Get: Gillard', *Age, Daily Life*, 11 December 2012, <http://www.dailylife.com.au/news-and-views/dl-opinion/i-give-as-good-as-i-get-gillard-20121210-2b4p5.html>.

debate as a 'crackpoint' in her thinking: 'after everything I've had to see on the internet, after all the gendered abuse that I've seen in newspapers, that has been called at me across the dispatch box, now of all things I've got to listen to Tony Abbott lecture me about sexism.'⁷ Here in this speech, and the context of it, is one prominent example of the entanglement between 'the personal' and 'the political' that women acting in the public sphere readily encounter. The cause of these sexist acts and statements towards Prime Minister Gillard can be explained as misogyny (at worst) and unease (at best) against a woman holding such a conventionally recognised position of authority. Judith Brett has described Prime Minister Gillard's speech as 'fighting back' against 'the misogynist fantasies of so many men ... projected onto [her] on a daily basis'.⁸

The immense interest in Gillard's Misogyny Speech demonstrates how timely it is to broadly consider ideas about and experiences of women and leadership. And in doing this, we are not only interested in women's leadership in public and readily recognised positions, such as that of prime minister. Instead we are interested in exploring the diversity of leadership roles that women have undertaken in the past and today, to more fully appreciate how involved women have been in leading society, while simultaneously also examining the obstacles that stand in their way.

This collection developed out of an Australian Research Council Linkage Grant, 'Australian Women and Leadership in a Century of Australian Democracy'. The researchers involved in this project were interested in uncovering and examining women's leadership within movements for social and political change in Australia since white women were granted political citizenship in 1902 of the newly federated Commonwealth of Australia. This research has revealed 'the diverse ways that women have performed leadership'.⁹ In addition to adding women's experiences to the historical record, the analysis of specific examples of women's leadership reveals many inconsistencies and complexities that demand sustained examination.¹⁰ As part of this same project, *Diversity in Leadership: Australian Women, Past and Present* further develops new understandings of historical and contemporary aspects of women's leadership since Federation in

7 'Julia Gillard in Conversation with Anne Summers', 30 September 2013, <http://australianpolitics.com/2013/09/30/gillard-summers-conversation-sydney.html>, quote from 'Watch Gillard Comment on Her Misogyny Speech'.

8 Judith Brett, 'They Had it Coming, Gillard and the Misogynists', *The Monthly* 84 (November 2012), <http://www.themonthly.com.au/gillard-and-misogynists-they-had-it-coming-judith-brett-6770>.

9 Rosemary Francis, Patricia Grimshaw and Ann Standish, 'Identifying Women Leaders in Twentieth-Century Australia: An Introduction', in *Seizing the Initiative: Women Leaders in Politics, Workplaces and Communities*, eds Rosemary Francis, Patricia Grimshaw and Ann Standish (Melbourne: eScholarship Research Centre, University of Melbourne, 2012), <http://www.womenaustralia.info/leaders/sti/index.html>, 13.

10 Fiona Davis, Nell Musgrove and Judith Smart, 'Introduction', in *Founders, Firsts and Feminists: Women Leaders in Twentieth-Century Australia*, eds Fiona Davis, Nell Musgrove and Judith Smart (Melbourne: eScholarship Research Centre, University of Melbourne, 2011), <http://www.womenaustralia.info/leaders/fff/index.html>, 12.

a range of local, national and international contexts. The aim of the chapters in this collection is to document the extent and diverse nature of women's social and political leadership across various pursuits and endeavours. We suggest the actions documented and analysed in the collection should be understood as cases of political activism, which are examples of women enacting their civic citizenship, even when those rights were not legally bestowed, as was the case for Indigenous women.

The previous Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia, Her Excellency the Honourable Quentin Bryce AC CVO, recently delivered the 2013 Boyer Lecture series. In these, Bryce spoke of the importance of listening to people's stories and then, in her role, echoing these stories around the nation. She described the power of 'real life stories, once heard, we can never walk away from'.¹¹ One of the arguments made in this lecture series was of the key role people's stories play in building neighbourhoods, in practising good leadership, good citizenship and participating in a democracy.¹² These stories, she suggests, should be understood as examples of people's actions and agency. This same argument can be seen in the contributions to this collection. The chapters are similarly a collection of stories—women's stories. Some are presented as single or multiple life stories while others are stories of movements and organisations, but all are examples of women's actions, agency and ultimately leadership.

While leadership is an overused term today, how it is defined for women, the context within which it emerges and how it changes over time remain elusive. Moreover, women are exhorted to exercise leadership, but occupying leadership positions for women comes with challenging issues of acceptable behaviour for women in these positions and what skills women are perceived to need to be successful leaders. These complex and conflicting ways in which leadership is enacted are examined in this collection. The volume is divided into six parts to capture the diversity of women's leadership, but also to identify the complexity and nuance of women's leadership in various historical and contemporary contexts. These are: feminist perspectives and leadership; Indigenous women's leadership; local and global politics; leadership and the professions; women and culture; and movements for social change.

The purpose of the book is threefold. First, the aim is to identify outstanding women leaders to demonstrate the significance of the intervention and activities in their field of interest. In doing this some of these women have inspired the actions of others within a range of activities. In uncovering the experience of women the intention is to record the outcomes of women's achievements. Second,

11 'Joining the Neighbourhood', *Boyer Lectures 2013: Back to Grassroots*, 3 November 2013, <http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/boyerlectures/>.

12 These ideas are developed further in Kim Rubenstein's Epilogue to this collection.

we draw together a group of leading scholars with interdisciplinary expertise in various fields including history, Indigenous studies, political science, law and heritage, and in so doing provide a wide perspective on understandings of women and leadership. Finally, this volume raises the question regarding the perceived fragility of women's capacity to take up leadership roles since white women gained full citizenship. The experiences of the women examined here clearly show how many attempted to define a different kind of leadership culture that challenged a masculine model on which leadership is conventionally based.

The collection begins by examining feminist interventions into understandings of leadership. The chapter by Amanda Sinclair grounds *Diversity in Leadership* by articulating a rigorous theoretical framework for the specific case studies of women's leadership that follow in the collection. Sinclair identifies key questions regarding how leadership is defined and the need to interrogate the very construction of leadership itself. What is leadership, she asks, and why is it that so many of women's contributions to public life have not been recognised as such? Aboriginal leader Lillian Holt has argued that leadership is a white male idea. Many women feel deeply ambivalent about leadership—about what it signals, symbolises and seems to require. Sinclair argues that while this ambivalence is well founded, it is equally important to mount a feminist argument for and conceptualisation of leadership. To this end, this chapter looks at the construct of leadership itself. Leadership as an idea has enjoyed enormous popularity over the past three decades or so: across many societies and sectors we hear a call for more 'leadership'. What does this mean? How societies and groups define leadership depends on their history, cultural myths and ideologies. This creates and has created profound problems for women as leaders. Highly visible and effective women in public life have often not had the term leader bestowed on them. To further complicate matters, many women are sceptical about the term leadership—they do not want to be labelled a leader because of what it connotes: the out-front, tough and stoic male hero. Sinclair proposes a feminist reconceptualisation of leadership that goes beyond women performing against pre-existing criteria of leadership, or the 'add women and stir' remedy. She suggests that alongside our efforts to have women recognised as leaders, we need to use our findings to interrogate and contest received wisdom about leadership. We need to build into understandings of leadership and leaders more explicit notions of power, sex and gender. Our interest in women's leadership should be more than just adding women in, but be more reforming, and shift public images and imagination about what good leadership is and how it can be executed.

In pursuing this line of inquiry and interrogating the very definition of leadership and exploring its different forms, expressions and manifestations, Part II of the collection identifies distinctive leadership practices of Indigenous

women. Gwenda Baker, Joanne Garngulkpuy and Kathy Guthadjaka explore this theme in their chapter on ‘Guthadjaka and Garngulkpuy: Indigenous women leaders in Yolngu, Australia-wide and international contexts’. This chapter examines the extraordinary growth in political leadership over the past 30 years amongst Indigenous women from remote communities in Australia. Kathy Guthadjaka and Joanne Garngulkpuy are Indigenous women who have taken up key leadership positions in their communities on Elcho Island, a remote island off the Northern Territory. The chapter demonstrates that these women are representative of an Indigenous Australian phenomenon: the intense participation in democratic affairs by Indigenous women. In providing leadership, a continuing conversation on governance and an interaction with Western systems of thought and administration, Guthadjaka and Garngulkpuy, it is argued, have been pivotal in promoting a wider level of political inquiry and activity within their communities. This chapter demonstrates how locally developed strategies are more likely to be accepted and are more likely to achieve positive outcomes. It also considers how their locally developed strategies can be used by other local and international groups who seek to explore and implement their own ideas.

Aunty Pearl Gibbs provides an exemplary case study of political leadership of an Aboriginal rights activist. Rachel Stanfield, John Nolan and Uncle Ray Peckham focus on the work of Pearl Gibbs, a prominent Aboriginal leader of the twentieth century. Pearl Gibbs began her activism focusing on women’s issues. Her early work assisted young Aboriginal women, members of the Stolen Generations, working in situations of exploitation as domestic servants in Sydney homes. Pearl Gibbs’ career then expanded into national campaigns for Aboriginal rights, where she worked with prominent Indigenous activist William Ferguson in the central west of New South Wales. As her leadership role developed, she began to break down gender and racial barriers, becoming the first woman to serve on the NSW Aborigines Welfare Board and the first Aboriginal woman to hold a ticket in an all-male trade union. The chapter outlines the contribution Aunty Pearl Gibbs made in encouraging Aboriginal activism on the international stage, detailing her formative influence on the life and work of Uncle Ray Peckham as a young man, including Pearl Gibbs’ role in his attendance at the World Youth Festival in Italy in 1951.

In both global and local politics, women have in various ways assumed myriad models of leadership, taking up different causes and campaigns, and this is the focus of Part III of the collection. As Marilyn Lake demonstrates in her chapter, international mobilisation exerted a powerful attraction for women leaders as Australian women joined their sisters around the world from the beginning of the century to campaign for full equality on an international basis in economic, political and social domains. Australian women such as Vida Goldstein, Muriel

Heagney and Mary Bennett could take on leadership positions as a result of their internationalism, which also worked to strengthen their political position at home. Women such as Jessie Street were able to forge networks and access resources that led to them taking pioneering roles, for example, in domestic campaigns for racial and sexual equality. Jessie Street became vice-president of the Status of Women Commission at the United Nations and both she and Bennett played major roles in campaigns for recognition of the human rights of Aboriginal people and the passage of the 1967 referendum on Aboriginal affairs. Australian women also used international organisations, ranging from the League of Nations and the International Labour Organisation to the United Nations to strengthen their campaigns at home for economic and political equality, for equal pay, equal opportunity and affirmative action. In doing so, they defined a form of political leadership that was formed through an internationalist engagement.

Susan Harris Rimmer similarly points to the contributions of Australian women who have been successful in promoting social change using international forums, particularly the United Nations. Based on previous research and new interviews—with Elizabeth Evatt, Hilary Charlesworth, Carolyn Hannan, Caroline Lambert and Erika Feller—she describes the different ways in which these women have displayed leadership for women's rights on the world stage. Rimmer questions whether Australian domestic reforms can and should be pursued through international processes, and/or whether international progress can be a goal in its own right. What is the measure of successful leadership in the international sphere? Rimmer argues that domestic reform and engagement with the UN system can be a mutually enriching experience. The women whose careers she discusses have been innovative in their use of the international system or have created new ideas about international law and practice. Their experience has some common themes: the need for both patience and determination; the key role of good gender analysis as opposed to general gender awareness; and the importance of strategic thinking. The last can range from improving decision-making machinery in the interests of women to changing the way the reform agenda is formulated. Rimmer concludes that these stories of leadership at the international level need to be told, especially as the feminist movement in Australia undergoes generational change. Australian advocates for women's rights should consider using international processes as one of their tools but with full knowledge of the limits to achieving transformative change in this way.

Other campaigners developed their leadership qualities and attributes around local politics and as individual campaigners. Bertha McNamara (1853–1931) stood unsuccessfully for Labor preselection for her party's senate ticket in 1928. Had she been elected, she would have been the first woman in the Australian

Parliament. Often remembered more for her relationships by marriage with the writer Henry Lawson and the populist politician Jack Lang than for her own achievements, she was a strong voice for parliamentary engagement in the Labor movement in New South Wales in the early part of the twentieth century. She was also a writer, whose short stories and pamphlets drew on the socialism of Edward Bellamy, and a bookseller whose store provided an important focus for many in radical circles in New South Wales. Michael Richards considers the ephemeral evidence of her life and work, and contributes to a discussion of how such stories can be told in a museum. Richards argues that although recognition of the first cohort of women elected to parliament must be paramount in history museums, such institutions should also pay close attention to the often-overlooked women who first nominated unsuccessfully for election—the pioneers in testing the openness of the first democracy in the world to allow women to stand for parliament.

Judith Smart and Marian Quartly explore the development of women's collective activism and civic awareness in Australia through the formation of National Councils of Women in all States between 1896 and 1910, culminating in the National Council of Women of Australia (NCWA) in 1931. Linked to the International Council of Women (ICW), and through it to the League of Nations and later the United Nations, the council movement provided an umbrella structure under which existing women's groups could discuss matters of common interest, gather and exchange information in order to promote peace and general wellbeing. Though the NCWA included radicals among its affiliates, the feminist face it presented was self-consciously moderate, emphasising information, education and cooperation rather than activism, agitation and opposition. The founding objectives dedicated the organisations to 'unity of thought, sympathy and purpose' among women 'of all classes, parties and creeds' and to 'the application of the Golden Rule to society, custom and law'. But membership of the ICW also committed the NCWA to a broad equal rights feminist agenda. Until the mid 1970s, it was the major voice of mainstream women's views in government and community forums, and the number of affiliated organisations enabled NCWA leaders to claim they represented the views of more than a million Australian women. Through its ICW affiliation and its participation in regional conferences, the NCWA was the strongest non-governmental organisational channel through which Australian women could speak and be heard internationally. In their chapter, Smart and Quartly examine the constraints this broad leadership role placed on national presidents from the 1930s to the 1970s and the means they employed to minimise conflict and to inform and lead their diverse membership on issues of equity and justice to which ICW affiliation committed them.

Finally in this section, Nikki Henningham demonstrates how women with disabilities have developed particular distinctive leadership styles and approaches to agitate effectively for their rights. The International Year of Disabled Persons in 1981 was a crucial year for the disability rights movement in Australia, not only because it helped to 'mainstream' important issues but also because it reaffirmed the importance of people with disabilities taking control of their own organisations and leading their own projects. Within this context, Australian women with disabilities took inspiration from activists from overseas and were at the forefront of a push to inject a feminist perspective into the thinking of disability advocacy organisations such as Disabled People's International (DPI). Women like Margaret Cooper, Lesley Hall and Sue Salthouse have played a significant role in shaping policy to improve the lives of women with disabilities on the national and international stages. The advocacy organisation in which they have all occupied leadership roles at one stage or another, Women With Disabilities Australia, has been recognised by the United Nations for its work on behalf of the rights of women with disabilities. This chapter traces key themes in the gendered development of the disability rights movement in Australia and abroad, focusing on the role played by individual women with a global presence. It discusses key individuals and their leadership styles, in a context where they quickly came to realise that existing frameworks within the disability rights and feminist movements did not accommodate the needs of women with disabilities.

The theme of women and the professions past and present offers an opportunity to explore how professional work has often demanded that women's leadership is understood in different ways to that of their male counterparts. This is the focus of Part IV of the collection. Joy Damousi examines the careers of the first three Australian female factory inspectors—Agnes Milne, Margaret Cuthbertson and Annie Duncan—as a way of exploring an aspect of Australian women's leadership within the professions during the early twentieth century. By adopting the perspective of administrative leadership embedded within an organisational structure, Damousi examines how female factory inspectors administered the *Factory Acts* as a form of leadership. In the context of the rapidly shifting industrial and urban landscapes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the role of the female factory inspector invites an analysis of the concept of 'leadership' within the framework of administrative leadership. Damousi argues that there is a need to develop a historically grounded understanding of leadership, which encompasses the opportunities available to women at that time and the diversity of their activities towards bringing about social change for working women. In this chapter, leadership is explored through different models of social change at a time when the position

of female factory inspector came with considerable responsibility and direct influence, as administering the *Factory Acts* could have a distinct impact on improving the conditions of working women.

Shurlee Swain explores how in the nineteenth century, religion and philanthropy provided another avenue through which women were able to move beyond the confines of the home and exercise leadership in their local communities. This chapter examines the intersections and fissures that developed in these interlinked areas as a result of professionalisation and secularisation during the twentieth century. Australia provides an interesting case study in this area. At the beginning of the century its early enfranchisement of women provided alternatives to philanthropy as a way of bringing about change, but this was countered by the relatively slow progress of professionalisation, particularly in the area of social work. The focus of the chapter is on the shifting relationship between professionals and volunteers in articulating claims to leadership in the arena of welfare and social policy. It asks what factors particular to Australia created the space for the emergence of a significant number of younger female social entrepreneurs when the welfare state began to contract as the century came to its end.

In another context, Patricia Grimshaw and Rosemary Francis consider the leadership of women who have held positions and exerted influence in Australian universities since the early decades of the twentieth century to current times and offer brief biographical profiles of several women. There were few women who held lectureships or senior administrative positions in Australian universities before the onset of World War II, but those who found such employment were often remarkable scholars and teachers whose participation was significant in influencing others to follow in their paths. The areas where women gained positions widened from the humanities and science emphases of earlier decades into major professional areas such as education, medicine and law. In comparison with other Western countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States, in Australia, the entry of women to academia remained slow. Australia remained a provincial country, which, despite bursts of progressive legislation, was relatively socially conservative and continued to emphasise the value of marriage and domesticity for its predominantly Anglo-Australian women. Under the pressure of the vigorous women's movement of the late 1960s and 1970s, and the affirmative action legislation of the 1980s, social attitudes underwent a marked change that allowed for a fracturing of the domestic ideal for married women—especially notable for those with children. Women since the 1990s have held a wealth of leadership positions, so that outstanding women leaders emerged not only within a breadth of disciplines but also in the

previously male province of academic administration, including the first female vice-chancellors. The year 2009 saw the first Australian woman academic, scientist Professor Elizabeth Blackburn, receive a Nobel Prize.

Within cultural forums, women's leadership has been in evidence in a range of ways, and this is the focus of Part V of the collection. Beginning this discussion is Libby Stewart's chapter, which notes how female political leaders in Australia, and in other parts of the world, are often portrayed in superficial ways. Their appearances in brief television grabs or newspaper articles to explain policy or programs are often subjected to comments about clothing or hairstyles, which trivialise their efforts and demean their leadership credentials. Studying the material culture of female political leaders can reveal much more about these women than is often conveyed in the public arena. The women's suffrage movement has left a wealth of items, such as jewellery, medals and board games, which convey the depth and seriousness of the women who drove its activism during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Less obviously important but equally revealing are items like election T-shirts, presentation plaques, cartoons and photos, which make up part of the valuable heritage of the lives of female political leaders. The Museum of Australian Democracy holds many of the items mentioned here and this chapter analyses, through a study of some of the museum's collection of objects relating to female political leaders, the complexities of women's struggle for political representation and leadership both in Australia and elsewhere.

Other cultural forums provide evidence of women's advocacy and activism as a mode of leadership. As Mary Tomsic demonstrates, concerned women have publicly and actively taken an interest in the types of screen entertainment available for children in Australia since the 1920s. A number of women presented evidence at the 1927 Royal Commission on the Motion Picture Industry about the effects of films on children. In doing so the types of entertainment that these women believed to be appropriate for the nation's children were articulated. This interest continued to grow, and in particular the introduction of television into Australian homes from 1956 provided an impetus for more activity. While work in the area of children's film and television has not been the sole domain of women, it is women's social activism that has proven to be a significant force. Women's leadership has taken a number of forms, and has pursued differing political and social agendas. Despite this, what remains consistent is the understanding of children as important viewers, whose entertainment should be taken seriously. Whether as social/community workers, interested mothers, academics or film workers—all the women have in their own ways advocated for 'good' entertainment for children. What is suitable and good entertainment is contentious and historically specific, but significantly, adults campaigning for children's entertainment is social action carried out on behalf

of others. It is argued that this helping work by women can be understood as a means of enacting children's social citizenship. In this chapter Tomsic examines some specific instances of women's involvement with censorship and the royal commission, and in doing so she highlights the varying approaches taken and the vast amount of (mostly unpaid) labour that has been carried out by women exerting their influence in the public sphere with the aim of improving screen entertainment available to Australian children.

In her chapter on women and literary leadership, Susan Sheridan poses the question: in what ways have twentieth-century Australian women exercised leadership through their literary work? Poets and novelists like Judith Wright, Henry Handel Richardson and Christina Stead are well known for the memorable stories and images conveyed by their writing, and it could be said they offer models of individual achievement. Others have led public opinion in more conventional ways, furthering the cause of Australian literature by advocacy (Miles Franklin) or by exercising their influence as editors (Beatrice Davis at Angus & Robertson publishing company). Sheridan explores how women have been active in establishing and running three writers' associations, the Fellowship of Australian Writers (established in 1928 and dominated in the 1930s by Flora Eldershaw and Marjorie Barnard), Sydney PEN (founded in 1931 by Ethel Turner, Mary Gilmore and Dorothea Mackellar) and the Australian Society of Authors (founded in 1963, with Barbara Jefferis as its first woman president in 1973). In these cases of women's leadership, they were not organising on their own behalf as women, but as writers, for writers of both sexes. And in doing this, they established social and political networks to work towards improving the opportunities and income prospects for all Australian writers.

In the final part of this collection, movements for social change are explored. Aspects of women's leadership are examined through concepts of consensus, career trajectory of women leaders and patterns of women's leadership. Marian Sawyer and Merrindahl Andrew argue that participatory democracy was a catchcry of the student movements of the 1960s but too often concealed the continuance of gender hierarchies. The women's liberation movement reacted to this contradiction, seeking an alternative to male models of leadership and organisation. The 1970s saw a sustained attempt to institutionalise these new organisational norms in the women's services established in many Western democracies.

Traditional forms of leadership were associated with hierarchy and the subordination of women. Instead of leadership being seen in terms of the attributes of an individual, the new direction was to look at the functions of leadership and how they could be democratically shared within a group. Functions included not only setting and achieving goals but also maintaining group morale and nurturing members. The concept of shared leadership was

embodied in the flatter structures adopted by women's movement organisations (matrices rather than hierarchies) and the emphasis on democratic process and consensus decision-making. This philosophy was seen both as reflecting preferred female ways of organising and as supporting the empowerment of women.

The idea of shared leadership became important in the movements for social change in which women were playing a central role, including the environment and consumer movements examined here. In these movements it was rare for women to be willing to be described as 'leaders' in the traditional sense. In transnational organisations such as the United Nations, the kind of expertise required for effectiveness might seem distant from the practice of shared leadership; however, as shown in Rimmer's chapter on feminist engagement with the United Nations, there are common elements aimed at the empowerment of women, whether through information sharing or the emphasis on more inclusive processes.

Jane Elix and Judy Lambert examine women's activism in the environment movement since the 1970s. Charismatic leadership, they note, is highly valued in the environment movement, but leaders are also usually expected to respect and work within low-hierarchy structures, undertake extensive internal consultation and demonstrate inclusive decision-making. Leaders also often take on significant managerial and fundraising roles at the same time as being involved in high-stakes public campaigns. This chapter examines patterns of female leadership within the environment movement, primarily through analysis of interviews with 34 women leaders who were involved in the movement from the 1970s to the present. During this time women have been active participants and leaders in community environment groups at local and regional levels, and in State-based environment organisations, but their presence in national leadership roles has been much less obvious. Elix and Lambert consider how women leaders in the environment movement combine leadership with family responsibilities; whether the expectations placed on such leaders—including high levels of commitment over long periods—are compatible with women's lives; the differences between women's and men's leadership in the environment movement; patterns in the career trajectories of women leaders in the environment movement; and the impact of feminist values on women leaders' self-perception.

In the final chapter, Jane Elix and Kate Moore argue that with the creation of the National Consumers' League by Florence Kelly in the United States, political action by consumers has been largely identified with women. This coincides with the gender stereotyping of consumption as a female activity, in contrast with the masculine (and more heroic) domain of production. The consumer movement is composed of many different types of organisation, all

of them feminised to some degree. In Australia the largest is probably Choice, whose flagship magazine receives extensive media coverage. Women founded Choice and have shaped its direction. Similarly, women dominated the board of management and staff of the former peak body for consumer groups, the Australian Federation of Consumer Organisations (1974–94), briefly renamed the Consumers’ Federation of Australia (1994–96). Turning to government, we find that consumer affairs is also a portfolio characteristically held by women. The consumer movement has been largely absent from the social movement literature, perhaps because of its gender but also because its repertoires have rarely included the kind of disruptive protest events that have attracted male scholars. This chapter redresses this invisibility and explores the patterns in women’s leadership across different consumer sectors through interviews with women leaders.

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Collectively, the chapters of this book point to the ways in which the definition of leadership, and who is defined as a leader, is a historical, social and cultural process. Without taking these factors and processes into account, our knowledge of women’s engagement with leadership is diminished. It is through adopting a historical and social perspective on women’s leadership that we can more fully explain how women’s leadership has often gone unnoticed; it has frequently been labelled as community organising or something else. In addition to this, women themselves have often eschewed the term, choosing instead to describe their achievements in collective terms. The studies here provide examples of the diversity and range of women’s leadership and demonstrate their significance in inspiring the actions of others within local, national and international contexts. It is by seriously and broadly interrogating the actions and work of women that we can begin to unravel the powerful discourse of leadership and consider the diversity of modes in which leadership is carried out and the range of women who have worked towards guiding social change.

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