Building African Women’s Movements

Johannesburg,
September 27-28, 2010
CONTENTS

Summary ................................................................. 3
Intentions ............................................................... 4
Context ..................................................................... 6
  State/Government ................................................ 6
  Market/Private Sector ......................................... 9
  Civil Society ...................................................... 11
Social Movements ................................................. 13
  Examples and Characteristics ............................ 13
  Challenges and Provocations .............................. 19
Strategies ............................................................. 21
  Gaps and Directions ........................................ 21
  Go Where Women Are ...................................... 23
Intergenerational Organizing ............................... 25
Wellbeing .............................................................. 28
Skirting Feminism .................................................. 29
Going Forward Together ...................................... 31
Appendices ............................................................ 33
  Appendix 1: Concept Note ................................. 33
  Appendix 2: Agenda ......................................... 40
  Appendix 3: Participants ................................. 42
SUMMARY

JASS gathered 22 Southern African women researchers, scholars, practitioners and activists to analyze and debate movement-building, women’s rights and organizing. Discussion addressed over-arching questions: How do we frame our work? What counts as movement-building? What does all of our experience, mobilizing, and political education mean for achieving the ultimate goal of women’s rights and social justice?

- The group began by mapping the context for women’s rights in Southern Africa: the limitations of existing constitutional and legal frameworks; the challenges of political crisis, increasing militarization; the re-definition of citizenship criteria; and state alliances with religious and traditional fundamentalisms. The continent is undergoing de facto recolonization as South African, Asian and international capital appropriates, in particular, land and minerals. Globalization continues to reconfigure economies and gender relations to work, requiring deepened understanding of the market and strategies to organize women workers, currently represented by neither unions nor women’s movements. In civil society, women are fighting reactive rear-guard action against backlash. Donor approaches have constrained much rights and development work within a project (rather than movement) mode. The language of women’s rights and equality has been diluted and co-opted by “gender mainstreaming”, while safe spaces and opportunities for women continue to shrink. Divided into “sector silos” and silenced by fear, women must organize strategically to build the power of numbers.

Reviewing existing social movements, the group asked: What makes them work? How do they organize? What sustains them? How can we learn from other models but still embody the transformative principles that some of us describe as feminism? From JASS’s provocative presentation on movement-building, women discussed distinctions between movements and NGOs. They drew on experiences in struggle times, in grassroots economic empowerment, and in organizing lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people in hostile environments in order to frame what to emulate or avoid as movement-building strategies in general.

More specifically, the group focused on organizing rural, “poor” and/or marginalized women, raising questions of difference and of solidarity, power and privilege, respect and reciprocity, and the need to unpack coverall terms such as “the women” and “the community”. While economic empowerment may not, per se, equal liberation, organizing efforts must address economic needs as well as political rights and demands. At the same time, strategies must go beyond the practical to challenge structural and systemic inequality and shift mindsets and values.

Ageism and generational divides hinge around access to resources and decision-making, as do other elements of position: race, class, sexuality, and location. The discussion raised issues of inclusivity, mentorship, space and power.

Activists notoriously ignore their own wellbeing, as individuals and as organizations, with disastrous consequences for movements. The group inspired each other with suggestions and provocations in this regard.

To close this creative two-day gathering, each woman proposed the ways in which she would engage with the others going forward, pooling passions and strategies for the future.
**INTENTIONS**

Numerous reasons prompted JASS to hold this thinkshop, drawing diverse African women together and creating a space for exchange, reflection and strategizing with the hope of improving communication and collaboration among diverse like-minded women working in a diverse range of activities. JASS proposed to address a set of questions:

- How do we understand the theory and practice of feminist and women’s movement-building and what this means in the regional context?
- Are our different strategies effectively addressing the power dynamics shaping gender inequality in the region and how better communication amongst us produce a bigger impact?
- How can we more effectively gather, share and use knowledge about women’s rights organizing in the region, expanding the African contributions to theory and practice?
- What gaps exist with regard to strengthening and leveraging women’s movements for justice and how can we best fill them?

Participants brought their own expectations and wishes for the two days. As summarized below, these provide a useful sweep of women’s rights and feminist concerns. Gathered in Melville, Johannesburg, in September 2010, the (approximately) twenty women hoped to:

- build connections between HIV women’s movement and feminist movements;
- link Southern African women with international processes;
- figure out what feminism is or can be, beyond the rhetoric, especially African feminism;
- work out “Who am I: a feminist or a human rights activist?”
- create strategies for movement building in a challenging environment;
- return to a focus on women’s economic empowerment (are we looking at political instead of economic?)
- linking national and regional processes;

**JASS, hosting the thinkshop, is an international community of group of activists, practitioners, academics in Southern Africa, Southeast Asia and Central America and Mexico, working on women’s movement-building.**

Sharing a commitment to organizing and connecting from the grassroots upward, each region where JASS teams and allies operate, mobilize with a takes a different focus defined by the context. In Southern Africa, JASS has taken women’s organizing around HIV/AIDS as the entry point, engaging from critical sense of inequality and power with related issues of with the related intersection of power, technology, sex, stigma and money, and so engaging with a diverse range of women, organizations and agendas beyond the box of HIV/AIDS but closely connected.

This is an opportunity to get out of our skins and go beyond existing agendas—a luxury we need more of. Often, we’re “doing” without enough reflection.
• re-frame our work to build on ways we resist, subvert and act on patriarchy;
• address the tension between projects with particular timeframes and donor-accountability, vs building political processes;
• recognizing the hostile environment in Southern Africa, strategize to build up and build on that work already underway, so as not to be crushed;
• develop inclusive strategies and deepen our definition of solidarity;
• share lived experience to come up with strategies to organize and mobilize movements, whether around HIV, political voice, GBV or other needs;
• understand better how to take a progressive feminist women’s movement forward;
• learn about our own power and where it could propel us if we are able to organize collectively;
• identify examples of women’s movements elsewhere and learn from them;
• make new connections, understand the work of other women in the room, find out how it connects with movement-building and figure out how to position JASS in synergy;
• plan some form of collective effort, no matter how modest;
• develop a common language: sometimes, we use the same words but with different meanings;
• be aware of differences between us.

We need to identify opportunities for rebellion and make our opponents obvious. Often, we don’t name them; we work with abstract ideas of “them.”
To analyze the context and moment in Southern Africa, participants identified and discussed the trends and dynamics in relation to the state, the economy /market and civil society that are shaping our reality.

State/Government

Constitutional and legal frameworks
A key emphasis of women’s rights organizing over the past two decades has been to push for more women representatives or anti-discrimination laws. However, experience shows that we urgently need to develop alternative strategies to engage with governments. While legislation differs in each country in Southern Africa, women’s rights advocacy has spawned a proliferation of gender equality mechanisms and frameworks. There is a vast gulf between rhetoric and reality, however. Most reformed laws are not implemented, financed, or enforced, while some regulations produce negative impacts. For example, quotas (mandating a greater percentage of women in decision-making) have often been so depoliticized that they can work against us, encouraging political parties to practice tokenism, and bringing in women who lack any connection to women’s rights agendas and movements. The not-always-subtle message around this political gender mainstreaming is: don’t expect more.

A recent trend, legislation governing the operations of NGOs is in the works in different countries to increase state control over operations, access to funds and freedom of movement and expression. Overall, the move is towards constricting democratic space for effective justice-related NGO work, as governments seek to control public debate and politics. NGO legislation may specify, for example, where NGOs can operate; may stipulate that the majority of the board must be government officials or may mandate governments to prevent the registration or relicensing of NGOs that operate against (perceived) state interests. In Zambia, for instance, the Zambian government is trying to block the registration of a conflict-resolution NGO. In Malawi, the Sedition Act controls NGO freedom of expression, while in South Africa, the state is more focused on controlling the media. These legislative moves have created a restrictive and unpredictable atmosphere provoking caution and fear among NGOs and media, even before legislation takes action, effectively undermining critical debate and demand for accountability.

Sustained mobilizing by civil society requires resources. By channelling all bilateral aid through governments, as mandated by the 2005 Paris Declaration on the new aid modalities, the space and resources for women’s organizing is shrinking. Governments are less likely to facilitate or allow funding of women’s organizing, especially of women’s groups that take a critical stance. In Zambia for example, the government refused for
two years to sign off on EU funding for civil society, because it wanted to ensure it could legally control the funding agenda of the recipient NGOs. Finally, it was the EU who pushed Zambian civil society to mobilize and pressure their government to sign onto the civil society provision.

Significant infrastructure development is taking place in most countries in the region. But who is getting the tenders in those countries? It is an open secret that the work goes to a group of insiders close to power, as corruption is both common and hidden by the old boys’ network. As roads and other developments are planned and carried out, very little of the government resources invested trickle down to women. In national budgets, more money is allocated to the airforce and military equipment than to meeting citizens’ needs. In this equation, the rights of women to safe abortions and maternity leave are left off any agenda entirely.

An opportunity exists at regional level with improved regional mechanisms to hold each member government accountable. The SADC Protocol, for example, mandates member states to hold each other accountable to deliver on human rights and development commitments. If not. While other states are not really pressuring one another at this point, women’s groups have an opportunity to generate pressure on their own governments by mobilizing regional support from SADC members – who then do the work of lobbying each other.

**Political crises, militarization and fundamentalisms**

Whatever is happening politically impacts our work with women, and the opportunities and risks we face in promoting change. Women’s movements’ capacity to organize is weakened by being drawn into and divided by partisan battles and paralyzed by false agreements, whether we have a so-called “unity government” or face a messy constitution-making process or uncertainty at elections (all currently true in Zimbabwe). Several countries are moving slowly and quietly towards de facto one-party states, using elections as a smokescreen for manipulating political consensus and legitimacy.

Conservative religious and other fundamentalists “in bed with the state” hold increasing sway over policy, politics and public debate in the region. They use religion and “morality” to police what and how information and ideas are shared and reach the public agenda, as the new conservatism is welcomed by states. In one example, the Department of Home Affairs in South Africa issued a press release supporting the efforts by a conservative group which was proposing a new draft Bill against LGBT people.

With the World Cup, 2010 was one year that South Africa could have given women jobs – the President sat in his chair, talking about the 500,000 jobs he'd created to build stadiums. But women’s jobs were dusting the seats.

We are witnessing the reconstitution of who is a legitimate citizen in our countries. Drawing on a particular kind of nationalist discourse, together with patriarchy, culture and tradition, you find that you count or you don’t count. In the extreme version, people just disappear as participating citizens.
Traditional formations and customary law are enormously powerful even when they are less visible. In Swaziland, for example, delegations of traditional leaders regularly meet with government. Our governments use the guise of an African version of democracy and exploit traditions for their own ends. The Zimbabwean government, to give another example, will use culture as a pushback against criticism. Manipulating dual legal systems is an important tool used by those in power to govern.

Militarized states are experiencing a surge in politically motivated sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). Zimbabwe is a military state at a very practical level: “You don’t see them or hear them, but they are running things.” It is important to make repressive trends, such as the targeting of gender justice activists in Zimbabwe, more visible in order to confront it. Throughout the region, unspoken fear sparked by unpredictable violence and repression holds people back from criticizing their governments.

**Dilution and co-optation of women’s rights**

The language of rights threatens governments and so interpretations have tended to co-opt and dilute their meaning. Gender equality language has been watered down, as the key focus has shifted from “women” to the more nebulous “gender” to the even vaguer term, “vulnerable groups,” thereby losing its core intention, and the essential element of power and injustice at the heart of women’s inequality. As our language has become co-opted, “gender” organizations demobilized our constituencies and reframed our analysis, often with our participation. We need to revive and re-politicize gender equality, putting women back at the heart of women’s rights.

One effect is that national budgets don’t take gender seriously. We are losing ground on the pressure some governments once had to designate and track expenditures in relation to women. Gender mainstreaming no longer addresses women’s marginalization clearly but is instead understood as “men and women” rather than addressing the problem of women’s inequality.

Backlash begins with the extended family who may also be in the government: “You are embarrassing us.” The state is not separate from social relationships. Pressures of identity and non-conformity are more real than we generally talk about. A woman activist carries numerous levels of threat: from being raped on her way home from a meeting to family pressures, as well as the actions of official state organs.
Market/Private Sector

Re-colonization?
Yet another scramble for land is taking place. (Daiwoo recently attempted to buy up whole swathes of Madagascar, for example. China has allegedly purchased thousands of hectares of arable land from Mozambique.) This can be said to constitute a re-colonization of the region with deep impact on women’s already fragile land rights and agricultural production. “Communal” land is being sold off to South Africa and to Asian countries who want the rights to minerals and other resources to fuel their own fast-growing economies. Food will be grown in these places and sent back to those countries.

Increasingly, money and investment flows into the region originate from the East, especially China. The Chinese are investing in infrastructure in most Southern African countries, but often, constructed by Chinese workers flown in and housed in fully isolated industrial communities for this purpose. Thus, big investments are not translating into jobs for locals. The scale is immeasurable – for example, almost a third of any flight into Zambia are Chinese passengers. What does the presence of Chinese companies mean for small businesses in Zambia and the rest of the region? How will they compete? Will they benefit from increased investment without policies in place to protect them from getting swallowed up by the giants? Does this look like a new form of colonization?

The colour of capital
Some of the new “colonization” of the region is driven by South African white capital. Would it make a difference if it was black capital? Different kinds of patriarchies are associated with black or white capital – white Boer patriarchy vs a Zulu man with a big car – both are patriarchy and both involve economic exploitation, but in different forms.
In South Africa, we haven’t changed the economic model. Instead, we’ve chosen BEE (Black Economic Empowerment), to get a few more black faces in business and economic power. Similar to quotas and other strategies to get more women in political decision-making, policies like BEE represent a token shift for a small few rather than shifting the whole model. While the exclusion of women cuts across racial divides, given the bitter racial dimensions of our history of colonization, the fact that South African capital is white feels particularly painful.

**Marketing “justice”**
Corporations are making inroads into the social justice agendas of the NGO world, skewing messages and struggles that are underway by co-opting our language for commercial purposes. South Africa is seeing increased corporate responsibility strategies from the private sector in the form of CSI (corporate social investment), which many view as a marketing gimmick to soften or cover up the profit agenda. Examples of marketing social justice struggles include a campaign for Nelson Mandela Day, “encouraging 67 minutes of “doing good”, a big media hooplah with no real justice impact but enormously attractive to the corporate sector.” Corporate giving is seldom linked to any sort of needs assessments and is unlikely to focus on rights. Often in-kind gifts are made without any provision for putting the goods to use. For example, computers are donated to areas with no electricity. While the corporate responsibility trend creates some opportunities for women rights advocates in terms of resources and visibility, it’s important to understand private sector interests and motives to engage strategically and carefully.

The media often collude with the market and the state in the way they construct the “citizen.” Similarly, the media can misrepresent social activism and popular demands, often framing protests and actions as “spontaneous” rather than as the result of intensive organizing. The Mozambique food crisis provides one

**Corporations and globalization**
Policies to advance globalization and neoliberalism have tended enrich the few in our countries while relegating the majority to poverty. Deregulated market economies distribute resources globally, so that those with wealth and power can come and get rich at the cost of our land and resources.

We often look to governments as the decisionmaker on economic issues, but in reality, both bilateral donors and international financial institutions play a big role in setting the agenda and defining the possibilities for reform by demanding wage freezes for teachers and healthcare workers, by demanding the privatization of key social services, et We need to identify more clearly who is the enemy and who is the key decision-maker for what happens locally. In the context of the recent international financial crisis and the ongoing recession, it is clear that those at the top with the most money were not seriously affected. Meanwhile, those at the bottom of the economic scale have been hurting all along.
Unions are losing power as the new economic arrangements and labor policies erode their numbers, strategies and influence. How far do trade unions intend to change things when jobs are dependent on capitalism? The context requires that we re-examine former frameworks both for movements and for influencing economic policy and politics. Many women are losing jobs as a result of the recession, outsourcing, and other shifts, and remain out in the cold, not organized or represented by unions or by women’s movements who are not as active as they should be issues of jobs, wages, etc.

We need to deepen our analysis of the market and how it informs our organizing. Just over a year ago, the entire world collapsed as a result of Wall Street shenanigans. This should have thrown the whole neoliberal model into question. Yet no alternatives have emerged and we’re back to business as usual, with a few buffers here and there. Alternatives often (or are framed by the press) to be radical and left, and such forums (like the Social Movements Indaba) remain on the margins. Will they – will we – find ways to engage the majority around structural economic transformation?

Civil Society

Projects vs movements
Donor approaches – their priorities and timeframes – have a great deal to do with our ending up in project mode rather than movement-building mode. Many donors have minimal consultation with women’s movements and organizations, instead plugging our organizations into boxes that have already been set in place with other agendas that have nothing to do with injustice and inequality. The effect is often to undermine, rather than support, women’s political and economic roles, opportunities and rights. Currently, more donors are promoting grassroots organizing, a shift that is both an opportunity and a threat in that, to meet funding criteria, organizations that shouldn’t be doing grassroots work reinvent the wheel rather supporting and linking with what’s already underway.

Organizations based in the Global North are under increased pressure to have a Global South base and to be more engaged with grassroots to get funds. This trend has huge implications for how the work happens. Often, the Global South ends up mobilizing resources that go to fund the Global North operations without a joint agenda of any kind.

Men in women’s rights
The reframing of women’s rights and struggles as “gender”, with its tendency to call for neutrality and balance, opened the door to the increasing involvement of men and of men’s organizations. While we need men as allies, especially men alive to the possibilities of their own transformation, this scenario presents major challenges. From the shrinking pot of gender equality funding, men’s organizations now take a larger share and assume a

We have become so concerned about being “gender-balanced” that we felt almost apologetic about not having men in leadership positions in women’s organizations. We have come, gradually, to miss the main point, which is to put women at the centre of the struggle for women’s equality.
larger voice. In some places, like Zambia, it is considered normal for men to lead women’s organizations; this seems especially contradictory for organizations that were created to empower women to be leaders, a goal that is still not been met. Even organizations dealing with the deepest, intimate dimensions of oppression, like domestic and sexual violence, are sometimes led by men. Perhaps most disturbing is the fact that some men and gender groups show little or no accountability to women or women’s movements who have paved the way; instead, men speak on our behalf and emerge as experts on women. Thinking of a parallel: when Kenneth Kaunda was fighting the colonial masters for Zambian independence, would he have given the leadership to whites?

What’s not happening presently – and needs to happen, yet again – is for women’s rights activists to make a powerful case as to why women’s organizing and women-only spaces are critical. Overall, with regard to men in gender equality, we can’t hate the players; it’s the game we want to change.

The power of numbers vs the costs of unity
Civil society is driven by party politics in many if not all of our countries. Tied to that, we’ve lost ground and become fragmented. Our consolidated voice has been muted. There is a lack of cooperation. Instead, we work in issue silos and sectors – HIV, GBV, poverty – with occasional linking discussions. Have we done the work of identifying common bottom lines? We risk leaving silences and gaps, for example between violence against LGBTI and gender-based violence.

The political situation in Zimbabwe led to a great deal of pain and distress on this question of division. At a certain moment, the whole pretence of unity was shattered. Some women in Zimbabwe will still argue with you as to whether political violence against women actually happened: “It was overstated, it was all MDC.” How can women pretend to be together when deeply divided by ideology? We need to ask, more broadly, whether we want to be allied with certain groups.

Moving Forward: Action Points
We need to:
• imagine new ways of promoting our agendas with the state;
• work on building a grounded, vibrant base for women;
• go where women already are organizing themselves;
• build on common issues and voice – address what’s being silenced;
• support local agendas but reach the global level when necessary;
• deepen our macroeconomic analysis and identify alternative models for development;
• establish safer spaces to check in with each other and ascertain that we’re moving in the right direction;
• hold onto our own terms – feminism, movements, rights – and develop new language when our own is co-opted.

Try using the F word (feminism) in government-civil society processes in South Africa: you won’t be included in the next consultation. Others will be constantly on platforms because they speak that “gender equality” language of the state. So it’s not violent confrontation but rather a steady, nuanced marginalization of critical alternatives.
SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The discussion began identifying social movements we know, examining them to be able to ground our discussion about movement-building in the familiar. Lisa Veneklasen, JASS ED, shared a presentation on women’s movements and movement-building, to kick off a deeper examination of particular strategies.

Examples and Characteristics
In groups, we identified movements we are familiar with, asking:
- How do social movements work?
- How do they organize?
- What sustains these movements?
- What are their key characteristics?
We agreed on some answers, while underscoring the diversity and range of what movements can look like.

We came up with a wide variety of organized efforts which we described as movements but which are not all really movements including:
- Treatment Action Campaign (TAC – is it still a movement?)
- Zimbabwe’s opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC, noting that while initially a convergence of people around a common agenda – much like a movement – a political party is not really a movement)
- National Constitutional Assembly (NCA, formed in the late 1990s in Zimbabwe, which is more of a civil society coalition than a movement)
- the red shirt movement demanding a change of government in Thailand
- the food sovereignty movement in South Africa
- climate change and environment movements
- Women’s War in Nigeria and Women for Peace in Liberia
- the ANC Women’s League, both a movement and a culture
- liberation movements
- religious movements
- democratic movements
- sex worker movements
- trade union movements
- Christian evangelical movements
- self-employed women’s movements in India
- Latin American women’s movements
- Community-based women’s initiatives such as savings and burial societies. They meet around money but also take up other issues.

We are (rightly) critical of NGOs’ apolitical focus on income-generating activities (IGAs), with outsiders advising grassroots women to bake bread or raise chickens. But in our work in Malawi, women tell us that they can’t do without the IGAs. The women talk about the cattle they received from ActionAid. They want to establish piggeries. There is no moving forward without addressing women’s practical needs.
What makes movements work? What makes them effective? Movements organize around a common and deeply felt issue and are clear about what they want and don’t want. Passion and anger can fuel them. For example, the 1983 government round-up of prostitutes led to a movement of women which eventually organized the Women’s Action Group, WAG. The issue of property-grabbing in Zambia, similarly sparked action and mobilization, as women challenged the traditional justifications for stripping a widow of all her husband’s property. A movement can be the local expression of a well known need.

Process is crucial: from collective dialogue and shared stories to articulating issues – the most immediate and experiential through to deeper structural questions. In this way, a common agenda for change emerges. This can change over time, but this kind of process of coming together to analyze and define common agendas is fundamental for an effective movement.

A movement exists through its mass membership and constituencies, and therefore depends on a strong entry point and mobilization strategies. Movements may use media in constructive ways. Opportunity and timing are key, as with Zimbabwe’s MDC and its simple slogan – Chinja maitiro (change how things are done). A movement can be mass-based but doesn’t have to be; it does need to represent a particular constituency or interest. However, scale does matter to some extent. Small movements might disappear. The ability to influence bigger movements and to grow is important. TAC for example grew throughout South Africa and has provided a model for HIV/AIDS and other movements worldwide.

LGBTI (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex) movements demonstrate courage in the face of persecution, crucial in inspiring new members and building critical mass. From liberation movements, we can draw the lesson of visible and invisible mobilization, balancing public presence with behind-the-scenes and underground organizing.

The capacity to recognise and address conflict, especially internal conflict, seems important to successful movements. Is a movement self-organized or do members and activists mobilize and organize other people? Related to conflict are questions of hierarchies and leadership. Hierarchies can lead to conflict, but ostensibly flat structures often hide power differences as well as limiting efficiency. Resources sustain movements. Some generate their own resources through membership fees or other means. However, relying on per diems, salaries, and donor funding can trap a movement as employees, which can derail the political aims and culture of the activists.

Movements may not last forever. Some accomplish what they need and then disappear. Others, however, refuse to die down even after they’ve served their purpose – this relates to the problematic tendency of movements to solidify into institutions. Movements have life cycles; they transform and mutate in response to the changing context and their own evolution.
Something may begin as a movement and then become an NGO. NGOs are not movements but most of us sit in them. Trade unions become institutionalized like NGOs or even corporations. Is the NGOCC in Zambia – the NGO Coordinating Council – an NGO itself or a movement? What seems to kill a movement is when it becomes an organization. For some, TAC no longer counts as a movement. Time is a significant factor: movements build up and make change over time. A movement is not a short-term campaign or project. The spirit of voluntarism has built many movements over time. But we begin to lose it as we look for resources. We find people coming on board for other reasons. Is our work and action still coming from our heart?

**JASS’ Experience on Movements**

Many of the web of people who make up JASS have been political organizers over years and even decades. JASS ED Lisa Veneklasen’s presentation drew on this history of action and reflection on movement-building. ¹

**The Collective Organizing Power of Women**

Disobedience, in the eyes of anyone who has read history, is woman’s virtue. It is through disobedience that progress has been made, through disobedience and through rebellion. 

– Oscar Wilde

The benefits that women’s movements have brought societies over centuries are often invisible. But women’s movements are the longest living movements in history – emerging in multiple ways in different moments, and having achieved enormous changes. Women’s movements represent collective disobedience and alternative worldviews.

---

What is a movement?
Clusters of NGOs do not make movements. Drawing from JASS Co-chair Srilatha Batliwala’s work, movement have these characteristics:
- a political vision and broad agenda;
  - broad membership and active constituency base
  - some degree of organization; formal and informal linkages
  - proactive and reactive joint actions in pursuit of common goals;
  - continuity over time, adjusting to the moment and context;
  - activities that combine extra-institutional forms (marches, protests, organizing, gatherings) with institutional ones (advocacy and lobbying)

What is movement-building?
From theory and practice, the key elements of movement-building for JASS are:
- organizing diverse people and groups together around a common cause and alternative vision of the world
- dialogue to sustain the vision and strategies, continuously refreshing a shared political analysis of common problems and the context
- a division of labour without the usual hierarchy that places policy work at the top, multiple types of leaders, flexible linkages between levels of work and sectors;
- core principles to facilitate prioritization and strategies for joint action
- mechanisms for internal negotiation and accountability
- big visions for change, based on clear values
- shared resources
- the voice and leadership of those most affected by injustice at the heart and front of the movement.

Women and movement-building: a distinction
JASS, among others, draws on Srilatha Batliwala’s writing to distinguish between building feminist movements and feminist movement-building. It’s not as confusing as it sounds!
- **Building feminist movements** involves organizing and mobilizing women around gender equality goals such as the work done on addressing violence against women, reproductive rights and the African Gender Protocol;
- **Feminist movement-building**, however, means building movements by organizing and linking women from diverse social movements (such as the trade union, treatment access, anti-privatization and environmental movements) from a feminist perspective. So, while the agenda may be fair trade, the organizing of women is carried out with a feminist perspective and there will be alliances with mixed organizations and other social movements.
JASS Southern Africa, for example, is involved in the second kind of movement-building, bringing feminist perspectives into broader movement-building and/or other movements (such as the clusters of groups working on HIV/AIDS and LGBTI agendas), at the same time as building bridges with feminist movements and organizations. We are aware of the many different definitions, associations and confusions about feminism, and given the misinformation and outright demonization of feminism and feminists by the right-wing worldwide for the last decade, we occasionally refer to it as the “F” word. In JASS’ organizing work, we do not lead using the term to avoid creating unnecessary resistance. We are careful to define what feminism means to us once the opportunity arises to explain our approach as feminist. The African Feminist Charter is an invaluable source to help explain what feminism is about and what feminist organizing entails.

Women’s movements and change
For JASS, women’s movement-building is about strengthening women’s activist citizenship, leveraging the power of numbers for sustained pressure and demand. Though the political goal of women’s equality is central to women’s movement-building, women’s movements are also about generating and promoting fresh worldviews and alternatives, and changing hearts and minds. A feminist approach to the entirety of a person, women’s movements also care for women’s spirits and increasingly bodies.

While women have always faced domestic and sexual violence, growing backlash, political repression and the unravelling of the social fabric in different countries mean that women activists face increasing risk of hate crimes, violence by paramilitary and “shadow armies,” sexual violence as a political weapon), gang violence and more. Thus, in the face of the power of fundamentalisms safety and security becomes an additional central role for women’s movements, especially where the state and police apparatus are more the cause as the solution.

Activating and empowering collective citizenship involves a combination of organizing and awareness-raising to bring women together to define common heartfelt concerns and shared community interests based on a critical analysis of their world and their lives. While organizing may start with seemingly “small” issues at first, women gain a sense of their power as they use it to solve problems and eventually, agendas and the numbers involved can become bigger and more complex. Eventually movements work to mobilize ‘outside’ strategies for visibility, utilizing mass-based organizations for demonstrations and eye-catching “actions, while relying on linkages to allies on the inside of the halls of power to move policy and politics forward.

What is feminist organizing?
While all movement organizing tends to involve the head, heart and feet, feminist organizing treats the personal arena as the heart of organizing and the frontline of injustice and political consciousness. For JASS, this means making sex, sexuality and self-care a non-negotiable element of learning and organizing. Inspiration, fun, artistic and creative expression are also key to sustain hope and spirit. Potential leaders are
generally not trained, rather the key is to identify those women who’s talents and passions only need a spark and a platform to blaze.

Given the inevitability that success in women’s empowerment generates conflict if not full-on backlash, self-care and security are priorities for organizing. Effective activists need political analysis skills to anticipate and mitigate conflict where possible, and negotiate and mediate conflict among and within groups.

**Power**

At the heart of our movement-building is a clear understanding of power and how to confront, use, change and build it.

---

*Knowledge and “noise”*

Change is shaped by information, messages and good ideas but these are never enough to shift power. Citizen numbers, unite through action and alliances at critical moments, must use communications to ramp up the noise.

---

Watch cars pass the “Arrive Alive” billboards in South Africa: they slow down to read about how speed kills, then they speed up to gain time. Only two out of twenty really slow down. That’s our goal: we want knowledge to translate into action.
What do women's movements need?

- Safe spaces – to build trust, shared analysis and lasting relationships
- Strategic alliances with individuals and organizations connected to power
- Visibility / legitimacy
- Division of labour upending the hierarchy that places policy leaders at the top of decision-making – rather prioritizing grassroots organizing and leaders
- Creation and recognition of multiple leadership roles
- Resources
- Allies who speak with, not for, us.

Challenges and Provocations

Reviewing and generalizing from numerous models threw up controversial points. Here, where the heat was strong, we went deeper into the discussion.

Inspiration or warning?

Much as we can learn from other movements, we need to be very careful about where we can actually draw lessons. For example, Zanu-PF, the ruling party in Zimbabwe has been described as a way of life rather than a political party. “That’s why they have staying power (aside from military power and rigging elections). Something about that political party has embedded itself in people’s hearts and minds, they’ve built a value system that engages people and that the opposition MDC has not been able to dislodge.” Similarly, Hope Chigudu would say the best example is the Jesus movement.

I'm frustrated that the women’s movement is dependent on other institutions to survive. We need to acquire economic power – our own buildings to have meetings, our own printing presses, as other movements in the past were able to sustain themselves. Trade unions sustain themselves through membership fees.
So, one question might be: What is it about movements like Zanu-PF or the church that gets people’s hearts in a way we are not doing. Must we aim for that level of political sophistication or engagement? “The Zanus of this world, like the evangelicals, have just the right thing in the right doses: sense of belonging, indoctrination. They don’t talk about choice. Rather, they attend to practical needs. They know when it’s time to give people something to take home with them. Those Zanu women told us they always walk away with something – a pint of milk, a loaf of bread.”

Conversely, many of us don’t want to be part of a movement like the Jesus or Zanu movements, or even like the Liberian Women for Peace movement which played on the patriarchal norms of motherhood to achieve impact.

**Leadership and power**
The role of charismatic leaders and power dynamics in a movement are questions worth debating further. When we think about feminist interests, and about alternative ways to organize, we need to confront the ways in which power is usually played out, spread and transformed, and in relation to whom? Is the face of that movement necessarily charismatic?

In a movement, we may be organizing ourselves or we may be organizing others. This raises questions of identity (as those that propel LGBTI movements) vs solidarity (when relatively privileged women work with poor and working class women as occurs in trade unions and economic justice movements). Who feels the pain the most? Must those who most feel the issue become the leadership? For example, should a movement against property grabbing and inheritance practices be led by widows?

**Transformation**
It is relatively easy to be focused and deal with just one issue but we deal with multiple issues, aim for structural change and strive for wholistic transformation. So, how do we name and frame what we do to transform women’s lives, including our own? Some of us are happy to use the word feminism; others prefer to talk about alternative organizing.

The moment we’re in is one of rehabilitation of women’s rights and feminist movements. We’re recovering from the pain of gender mainstreaming, MDGs, all the fragmenting of issues and the technification of what is, essentially, a liberation movement. Using the connections we can make through the internet and driven by younger generations, we are seeking local-to-global conversations about what feminism is and what it might mean to be a feminist in this new age. What alternative forms of organizing are possible, given the associations we have and the context? Can we from these, find a new way that would increase our power and influence over ideas and political structures? How do we free ourselves from the traditional ways of organizing, to explore something different?

We’re changing ourselves to fit the world, instead of changing the world to fit women.
- Gloria Steinem, prominent American 2nd wave feminist
STRATEGIES

“The guerrilla fights the war of the flea, and his military enemy suffers the dog’s disadvantages: too much to defend; too small, ubiquitous, and agile an enemy to come to grips with.”
- Robert Taber: War of the Flea: The Classic Study of Guerrilla Warfare

Gaps and Directions

Where and how can we improve our strategies for women’s rights and empowerment?

1. NGO-ization

In this moment, gender mainstreaming has made gender equality a career path rather than a movement. Technical solutions are proposed for complex contexts, and a focus on visible political processes and representation has left economic needs and social issues unaddressed. There is a failure to link different sectors and generations, or to bridge urban-rural and class divides. This trend means that women don’t have ways of organizing in hostile environments or supporting those in hostile environments. We need to be developing alternative ways of being, gathering and meeting.

2. Consciousness raising at grassroots (and all) levels

Because women’s movements have been active on changing policy but not values and ways of life in the last decade, they are so no longer as relevant to women’s daily lives. The main gap here is a lack of efforts focused on raising women’s consciousness at grassroots level. Organizations tend to create information materials, assuming that women who are less formally educated therefore lack knowledge. Information alone does not change how people think. By contrast, we should be prioritizing the popular education model, valuing and engaging with lived experience as the basis of the learning process rather than replicating classroom-style learning.

As an alternative, we should set out a framework from which to help us fully understand and thus, challenge a system that oppresses people. This approach would include the need to pause and reflect on power dynamics at all times. We must ensure the central role of the voices of marginalized women, those at the cutting edge of the issues we’re addressing. Their role needs to be sustainable, because when gains are made, power is seldom distributed fairly.

Often, the masses are a tap you turn on and off, to demonstrate your power to the government or other forces, but otherwise the policy leadership make all the key decisions.

This discussion also highlights the importance transformational processes for women like us, focusing on the personal elements of ourselves not only the women we’re working with. We need to ensure safe spaces in which to talk about personal issues and the impact of patriarchy on our personal lives.
3. Knowledge as a resource
Our information resources need to be expanded, collective where possible, and well distributed. This has a bearing on bridging intergenerational divides, establishing a meaningful relationship between all generations of feminist intellectuals. Here, we envisage a once-off event to begin a longer process of mentoring across generations.

We need to be activists as far as the right to information is concerned. The means to communicate must be affordable, accessible and available as an activist priority. We give ourselves the creative challenge to develop inclusive research and gather powerful information and stories.

We need to translate our knowledge and theories into our organizing with women around their needs and rights. For example, take Nani Zulminarni’s piece from *Women Navigate Power* – how do we translate that information to be useful for women in rural areas in Southern Africa?

Focuses moving forward
From a list of proposed themes, we focused on three. For each theme, a group defined the problem or challenge, and then went on to imagine alternatives or solutions. Here, we drew on the collective analysis of the context, on the decades of experience in the room and on our passion and commitment to the work. In this way, we began, together, to imagine alternative ways of organizing as women and as feminists.

Themes to consider:
- What is feminism? Collective dialogue strategies.
- Safer space for strategizing, to check moving in right direction.
- Silos, silences and secrecy.
- Building and supporting relationships
- Grounded vibrant base for lesbian women.
- Support local agendas to reach global levels.
- Intergenerational organizing.
- Mobilization: Go where (marginalized, lesbian, poor) women already are.
- Imagine new ways of promoting our agendas to the state.
- An activist approach to technology and media.
- Creating positive alternatives – meetings, organizing – from policy to norms.
- Personal transformation.
- Need for macroeconomic analysis.
Go Where Women Are

Defining our strategies
How do we think change happens? What actors and approaches do we propose?

This continent has decades of experience of addressing women’s practical needs as a starting point in organizing rural women. Up through the 1990s, there were many stories of market women organizing to get electricity and then being unstoppable. Then, with the 1990s, the discourse changed. It was now all about rights, and somehow, economic needs fell out of fashion.

There were, of course, reasons for this shift. These same experiences demonstrated the limits of simple income-generation in addressing the structural problems underlying poverty and inequality. When we look at our previous interventions – for example, income generation and service delivery – we are not saying we should stop work on those important fronts. The lives of women in Southern Africa have become even harder. Rather, we should ask ourselves: what else is needed? How do we combine services and income generation with organizing to influence decisionmaking and demand accountability for rights.

Crucial elements of our strategies must be to challenge structures, looking at broader economic scenario that makes it necessary for women to raise and sell chickens to survive. When we look at our previous interventions – for example, income generation and service delivery – we are not saying we should stop work on those important fronts. The lives of women in Southern Africa have become even harder. Rather, we should ask ourselves: what else is needed? How do we combine services and income generation with organizing to influence decisionmaking and demand accountability for rights.

The account in Women Navigate Power of PEKKA in Indonesia, combining economic and political organizing, is inspiring. This approach organizes women into savings cooperatives to support growing businesses while using their collective power for political influence as well. Their cooperatives are a clear alternative to the model of microcredit that turns women into individual borrowers of credit – increasing her access to resources while doing little to empower her to control those resources. A useful step would be exchange visits to Indonesia and to other parts of Africa where women are organizing around economic needs at the same time as building political force.

Clearly, economic empowerment does not equal liberation. All the same, a woman who has money has more choices. If you don’t have busfare to travel 20 km, you can’t access support, for example. A woman with busfare has options.

2 Developed and published by JASS and ActionAid in 2007.
Solidarity and power
There is an assumption which needs to be surfaced and interrogated that we all understand and agree that it’s important to work with rural and poor women generally. There are politics implicit in these kinds of choices: that women’s rights is not just a job, it’s about life. It requires not a dipping in and out, but an immersion. It also raises important and hard questions about solidarity. How do we, as educated and often privileged women, engage in this work, build relationships and friendships? Our society and lives are structured to discourage relations across class and race lines.

In the process
After we have identified how we intend to organize with poor or marginalized women, we have to ask if we are spending enough time in those spaces. We need to walk with the women to fetch the water, spend time with them, in order to understand what they need. We can’t reach women unless we know where they’re coming from.

An example is the upcoming South African Women’s Summit: some women on platforms will claim to represent “the” women, “the” community, but are they really consulting them?

We should not romanticize the information and knowledge that we bring. Some women may not be ready to read our fancy pamphlets. Will there be electricity to read by or show videos? We know that information does not always translate into action. The reason that people have unsafe sex is not because they lack the information. We have to understand the greater context.

A lot of strategy has been about fixing and responding, and these are important, of course, in feminist politics. But it is also important to listen and be present. It’s not about having to decide at the end of the meeting or find a “solution.” That might be part of the package but it’s not the only important outcome. What matters more is allowing the process and the collective voice to emerge and guide the next steps.

How do you do that, in practice? How do you sit in a room, with such a range of things present – this person has no food for supper, that one no running water, another is locked in a fight over housing. How do you, practically, contain such a diverse set of issues and problems? How do you go beyond just hearing the numerous practical needs into creating an opportunity to collectively identify solutions?

I think of that saying “Nothing for us without us.” I feel a hypocrite, sometimes, leaving a meeting in my 4x4 to go to a comfortable hotel. What are we doing, what are contributing? Are we allowing rural women to decide for themselves or are we in a hurry, pushing them for our own agenda?

In my experience, it’s hard to walk into a room with just your head. There is so much that you learn by feeling what’s going on in a room. You learn to spot the moment when it’s time to bring in the more political, strategic pieces.
I don't think all of us are good community organizers nor does it make sense for all women do grassroots organizing. What’s important is a division of labour and upending the usual hierarchy that goes with the division – making policy and grassroots work equally important and linking the two in an integrated strategy. Those of us who can, should be bridging different levels and spaces. Some sisters can talk to the Nike Foundation but I don’t want them necessarily in communities.

A way of life
Even to come out and talk about abusive relationships is hard for many women. We are living in a patriarchal world, so until we make our work personal, it is difficult to move forward. Even if we bring in feminist principles – the personal is political, for example, and an understanding of personal and intimate power relations – there are always conflicts and contradictions. Women may be passionate about fighting for access to ARVs, but still accept fetching wood.

Intergenerational Organizing

Power
Typically, older women are seen as having more power over resources and decisionmaking and knowledge, while younger women are seen as having less power and knowledge and as needing to be mentored. These simple divisions need to be complicated:

• Are we talking about age in years or age in women’s movements?
• How does power work across other differences (class, race, sexuality) in combination with age?
• Since a straightforward binary of older–younger does not reflect reality, how can we develop a more nuanced understanding of how each generation – 20s, 30s, 40s, 50s, 60s, etc – bring different value and face different challenges?

All the same, it is often true that women who are both older and middle class have more power and define what transpires as action. When all key positions are held by older women, they need to acknowledge: I have power – how am I exercising it? As across other lines of difference, a key question is how to surface and deal with conflict that comes with that power.

Ageism can have direct and deadly effects. HIV infection has increased because young women are not involved in setting the agenda. The reasons and contexts in which young women are infected are different from those of older women or earlier contexts. Young women experience violence too in different ways from older women.
Younger women feel that they don’t have enough power and that their input is only validated if it is in line with those of the other people holding the space. We can agree that dialogue is important but then we must be clear about who facilitates the dialogue and who sets the agenda. Inclusivity must be reflected in all these ways. It is not unusual for a group to announce: “We are going to hold an event. There will be forty of us – could you mobilize five or so of you younger people to join in?” Instead, younger women want to be there from the beginning.

It is also true that young/er feminists have considerable power themselves. “Development partners are falling over themselves to fund young people.” Young women recognize their own need to seek independence and to organize resources around their own interests, without excluding “women in general.”

The polarities and hierarchies of patriarchy pit us against each other. There is no competition if the space belongs to the young women, because the young women’s movement is part of the women’s movement overall.

**Accountability**

On the understanding that feminism is a way of life, some younger women hold older women accountable for not practising what they preach, for keeping their social and political lives disconnected from their personal lives. Others argue that there is a fine line or a tension between building a value system that sustains us and policing or censoring each other in moralistic ways. A crisis arose at the 2008 African Feminist Forum when all participants were asked to sign a letter to the Nigerian government protesting violence against lesbians. We are challenged (not only on generational bases) to keep negotiating the contradictions and inconsistencies between our public, private, and intimate identities.

**History**

At the core of intergenerational tensions lies a failure to recognize the history of feminism and of our movements. “As young activists, how did we get into these spaces in the first place? The answer will help us to shape our own agenda. Once we know and acknowledge the history of what has been formed, we can work out how to build on what’s there, rather than reinventing the wheel.” Rather than pushing for inclusivity, young feminists need to be supported to get their analysis and experiences out there, and continue to learn from as well as contribute to the thinking of older generations.

When names, authors, ideas, experiences are cited, older women are more likely to know them. Does this mean that the voices of younger women are lost? Or does it underline the importance of learning about the history of our movements and making the effort to read theory?

Peggy Antrobus holds that one of the biggest gaps is the other generation in their 60s and 70s, those who don’t step forward but who were part of the movement. How can we engage with them? Peggy for example makes herself available to mentor young women and her analysis continues to enrich feminist thinking.
Difference
We get stuck on naming. On one hand, we are not shy of specifying “academia” or “butch lesbian” so why does age make us jumpy? On the other hand, we can box ourselves in with labels. Many of us are uncomfortable with being identified by age. Just as we need to unpack “women”, “the women”, we need to interrogate the boundaries of age and other kinds of difference.

For one thing, we can break down the binary of old and young. Maria Suarez of Feminist International Radio Endeavor started an intergenerational learning process called Women’s Life Cycles. Women cluster by decade, to discuss what’s driving the challenges and issues of your generation. The dynamic process reveals multiple, exciting generations, and also brings class, race, sexuality and location into the conversation.

Naming ourselves can lead to contradictions. Transgender people felt marginalized even within the LGBTI grouping, and so they insisted on naming themselves in meetings. That gave them authority and power. But as a result they are limited by that category. When we name ourselves, we get power but then we have to struggle to break free from what we’ve named.
As a movement, we need to appreciate all qualities of all women, older or younger or in between. It is important that we don’t discard difference, but see it as a positive point. The question is: What can we harness from the differences we bring into the movement, such as history or new technology? Our aim is to build solidarity, working with women across barriers and boundaries in ways that make sense to us at different points in time. We are moving towards building collective power and that should guide us as we move forward.

At some stage, young feminists are going to be older feminists. How will they cross that wall, if we build it?
Wellbeing

Wellbeing is a political choice for women, and not only because the personal is political. In all societies, women come last, and through socialization, we feel obliged to nurture everybody first. This has profound implications for where we are in the world. In Zimbabwe in particular but everywhere else too, women normalize the abnormal. No water? We’ll make a plan! This plays across our bodies in different ways. We tend to face problems in a fragmented way - as workers, mothers, lovers and so on. It is rare to be in a space where wholeness is embraced with all our roles and identities. In our activist lives, multiple struggles against patriarchy put us at risk in different ways, including burnout, trauma, stress and backlash. In our region, women activists face GBV as well as structural and politically motivated violence, including sexual violence.

In the face of a silence, we don’t have a language for our own wellbeing. It often seems that it is not appropriate to talk about our emotional and physical pain. In addition, there is stigma attached to depression, so it’s difficult to raise it.

Sex and sexuality lie at the heart of all these discussions, central to how women are baited and controlled. In “normal life”, we are not free to talk about any of this. Women are seen as having no sexual desire or pleasure. For example, Zimbabwe has a law against sodomy, but (still in line with the British Queen Victoria) Zimbabwean law does not recognize women’s homosexuality. How can it even exist if sexuality is constructed – legally and socially -- around the penis?

Our challenge is to come up with non-patriarchal alternatives. We live in the master’s house so tend to come up with solutions on in-house terms. For example, we can expand reproductive health to include sexuality, not only our capacities as mothers. Women need alternative communities, beyond blood family, who will be there, for example, to help raise children.

The personal is deeply connected to the work we do, so we can focus on addressing women’s wellbeing within organizations. An important starting point is to create safe spaces (like this Thinkshop) to talk about these issues, and to use alternative methods – song, art, graffitti, massage – to deal with all aspects of our lives and ourselves. Some organizations have taken steps such as scheduling women’s wellbeing days. Tensions around remuneration, we noted, affect the wellbeing of an organization and its members. Everyone should feel fairly rewarded for the work that they do, and be provided with health insurance/ medical aid. Organizations tend to take for granted that everybody has money to get to the airport but this is obviously not true, especially if the work cuts across boundaries of class and privilege. Self-care should start with our organizations.

Historically, some women’s organizations and groups tried to imagine away differences. Pretending to have a flat (non-hierarchical) structure only had the effect of hiding differences and conflicts, and making them harder to address. This is like calling South Africa a rainbow nation and hoping that makes it true.
Leadership involves particular wellbeing issues. Women don’t always choose those positions – sometimes, if you stay long enough you end up as the ED. Then, you must deliver, take ultimate responsibility of keeping your organization alive. “My experience involved having my mother die over a five-month period where I was not able to lead my organization effectively but no one else was either. Everyone was so sorry and supportive, but I still had to manage everything. They were supportive but not to the extent of putting things in place for me to take the time I needed to take.”

Wellbeing extends to ensuring the safety and security of ourselves, our colleagues and our allies. In situations of backlash, for example, we need strategies to protect each other in unsafe places.

In Malawi, for example, JASS Southern Africa works to integrate self-care into all aspects of the work. This can involve simple things such as making sure there are sanitary towels and tampons in the training kit, not just a first aid kit. When organizing an event, it’s important not only to address dietary needs but to consider if the women in the group will need a baby-sitter and a packet of nappies. When we work with HIV+ women, we might serve fruit rather than biscuits, and allocate a contingency budget for health emergencies.

In all these ways, we are striving for integration and wholeness against fragmentation.

**Skirting Feminism**

Not everyone at the Thinkshop considers herself a feminist. Some of the most interesting discussions addressed women’s identification with/ antipathy to/ interest in a feminist identity. Some people have personal issues with the label of feminism, citing bad experiences with groups or individuals who identify that way, while others call themselves feminist but are concerned that the label is offputting to the women they work with.

We say we are working with women. But do we take time to analyze the differences between women? Or do we just assume we have so much in common? Everyone comes from different spaces with different needs, challenging different aspects of patriarchy. LGBTI movements remind us that we need to analyze the different kinds of women within the word “women.”

The following moments in our discussions touched on the unique integration of personal and political that characterize feminist alternatives.

**Marriage**

Nani Zulminarni begins her essay in *Women Navigate Power* with being asked whether or not she is married. We have all been asked that so many times. The implication is: can you understand what I’m talking about, or do you want to destroy our relationships? We
are up against something big here. These are among the issues we need to confront in patriarchy and narrow forms of Christianity.

**Against binary thinking**
Over the past twenty years, we’ve been bombarded with ideologies that gradually become “normal”, including “gender balance” and technical approaches. These push aside our common sense and intuitive ways of thinking, and we begin to accept a view of the world in polarities – working with women or men, good or bad, black capital vs white, younger or older women? We dig ourselves into trenches. And that’s where feminist thinking is so important. Our feminist frameworks help us see how power works so dynamically in different moments, so that we have a simple but nuanced analysis of how oppression works in terms of race, class, sexuality, location and so on. These are complex and contradictory issues that can only be understood if we’re comfortable with gray areas – no simple black or white. It may be strategic or necessary to take sides at one point or other, but to have that subtlety is important to keep our vision.
Going Forward Together

At the close of the Thinkshop, each participant proposed actions to take coming out of this process, and issues or steps we would be willing to work on with others. The result was a constructive pathway towards potential collective action.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Who?</th>
<th>Individual action</th>
<th>Collective action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shamillah</td>
<td>Share information and links on intergenerational learning</td>
<td>Create spaces to discuss wellbeing and collect stories about alternatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fadzai</td>
<td>Meet regularly with members to consult on agenda, with or without funding</td>
<td>Research on sex through individual Shona and Tonga histories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sly</td>
<td>Convene a meeting for women NGOs in Zimbabwe to talk about feminism, as individuals and as organizations</td>
<td>Identify or create safe spaces for women’s wellbeing; develop intergenerational funding proposals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juliana</td>
<td>Explore alternative ways to organize constituencies</td>
<td>Promote meaningful cross-generational dialogue; develop strategies to close the digital divide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engwase</td>
<td>Engage with feminist ideas, interact with feminist sisters, appreciate feminist principles – diligently!</td>
<td>Pursue the issue of male involvement in women’s movement spaces, working with JASS and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patience</td>
<td>Start on strategies for alternative ways of organizing</td>
<td>Research and mobilize resources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susan</td>
<td>Explore regional and continental movement-building and feminist organizing with students and organization</td>
<td>Hold discussions on movement-building as feminists, sex, wellbeing and alternatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nollen</td>
<td>Take home ideas about organizing and mobilization</td>
<td>Network more with young women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamim</td>
<td>Personal writing on what has come up here</td>
<td>What used to be called consciousness-raising: bringing the personal and the political into the same room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindi</td>
<td>Call and call on the women in this room to learn and share strengths</td>
<td>Working with grassroots women on the ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shereen</td>
<td>Feminist political education for change</td>
<td>More of the same! Make the circle big enough for anyone to fuel the fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prudence</td>
<td>Working and reaching women at grassroots and political levels</td>
<td>Work with partners to organize workshops on feminism and movement-building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrie</td>
<td>Connect more with grassroots processes and people</td>
<td>Organize cross-regional and intergenerational exchange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sally-Jean</td>
<td>Make space for feminist sexworkers movement-building</td>
<td>Feminist practices of technology and activism; selfcare.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisa</td>
<td>Take care of this activist: meditate, think and write more</td>
<td>Develop tools and exchanges around economic organizing; support the production and visibility of African feminist analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Task</td>
<td>Task</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azola</td>
<td>Pay serious attention to self-care, bearing in mind the reality of depression</td>
<td>Coordinate with everyone beyond the comfort zone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mazuba</td>
<td>Be more rebellious in my thinking, take initiative in young feminist movements, do more writing and research</td>
<td>Create spaces for intergenerational dialogue; access information to share research on women’s sexuality histories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annie</td>
<td>Enrich film on girls crossing borders with these discussions</td>
<td>Work on stories and storytelling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Concept Note

JASS Movement Building in Southern Africa

Introduction
JASS strengthens and leverages the voice, visibility and collective organizing power of women to create a just and sustainable world for all. A global community of justice activists, scholars, and popular educators in 25 countries worldwide, JASS (Just Associates) works from a feminist perspective to transform norms, institutions, policies and decision-making processes in both public and private spaces of power. Our shared analysis and strategies are shaped by an intersectional perspective on power, integrating race, class, sexuality, and location. We nurture and draw on relationships between us and on the local-to-global organizational affiliations that each woman brings – these are among our most potent political resources and enable us to multiply our impact with agility.

In Africa in particular, JASS takes HIV/AIDS as an entry point for working with diverse women, looking at and addressing HIV/AIDS through the lens of power and inequality in order to define opportunities for movement-building; energize women’s rights agendas; and organize frontline HIV activists, young women activists, LBTI, sex worker, faith-based activists and feminists to address practical needs and deepen democracy at all levels. JASS has been working regionally in southern Africa since 2007, and has since launched country-level initiatives in Malawi and Zambia, and in late 2010, in Zimbabwe.

This concept paper seeks to articulate the contextual factors, thinking and strategic elements of JASS Southern Africa.

Why Feminist Movement Building?
Why feminist movement-building? Why now? JASS’ perspective is that feminists were rightly drawn to the national and global policy arenas by meaningful change opportunities created by critical international conferences in the 1990s. But over the years, heavy investments in lobbying and campaigning expertise were promoted at the expense of and detached from grassroots empowerment and organizing that responded to women’s basic needs and rights. In some cases, international campaigns have co-opted community-based efforts, creating bitterness and distrust between NGOs and social movements and grassroots leaders. Increasingly, NGO advocates are recognizing the importance of constituency-building to produce the sustained citizen demand necessary to challenge macho social attitudes and translate policy promises into concrete changes for women and communities. But (re)investment in grassroots organizing linked to policy work has been slow and piecemeal.

The Global Picture
Over the last decade, dominant approaches to human rights, gender equality and development have emphasized technical and policy fixes to complex social problems. Despite good intentions and some important successes, it has become clear (as Srilatha Batliwala points out) that depoliticized approaches to social change do little to uproot the entrenched power structures and dynamics that perpetuate gender inequality and injustice – or indeed, inequalities of any kind.
Gender mainstreaming exemplifies this powerful trend; even when informed by quality expertise, it has proven inadequate if not counterproductive to addressing the complexities of gender inequality, as investments in women’s organizations and agendas seem to disappear into the “mainstreaming oblivion.” Women’s rights advocates have faced similar frustrations as policy processes become increasingly resistant to or manipulative of gender-equality agendas. Policy implementation, in fact, has been troublingly elusive. At the same time, with encouragement from donors, a narrow policy focus has spawned a preponderance of professional advocates who often lack the political perspective or skill to develop the kinds of community-responsive strategies required to hold decisionmakers accountable over the long haul and translate policy into reality. A marked urbanization of social justice efforts has only exacerbated a hierarchy of power among NGO elites, social movements and community groups. The bigger, more established feminist and women’s rights NGOs have failed to tap into emerging leadership and activism in a meaningful way.

The contours of gender equality seem more complex and resistant now than they did a decade ago. Important gains achieved by women’s movements in recent decades – particularly with regard to mechanisms and instruments for formal equality, and the growing numbers of women in formal decision-making – have provoked a fierce backlash. Today, women’s rights promoters at all levels struggle, with working with increasingly scarce resources to hold on to past gains and to prevent further backsliding on women’s rights commitments in a context of financial crisis, shrinking government commitment and capacity, and powerful social and religious conservatism.

At the same time, many new and untapped opportunities for connection and influence exist for women’s rights activists around the world. While they are seldom made visible, innovative grassroots organizing, education and media work continue at local levels, both in urban and rural areas, and particularly among younger women and the most marginalized rights defenders, like sex workers and lesbian activists. However, many of these efforts lack resources and the links to broader national and regional efforts that could facilitate a scaling up of influence and impact. Women are playing increasingly important leadership roles in promoting gender perspectives within other social movements, such as labor, indigenous and peasant movements, and many are eager to explore linkages with feminists to confront widespread machismo within mixed organizations and movements. Women have yet to harness the creative and political power of communications technology – from radio to video to internet – to make feminist agendas more appealing and better understood.

In this shifting context, many gender equality activists are eager for an opportunity to step back from the action, analyze the changing political landscape and carve out fresh alternatives for tapping into the power of women’s numbers as the majority of the globe’s citizens to advance development, human rights and peace.

The Southern African Context
Women represent nearly 60% of HIV and adults in sub-Saharan Africa, with young women three times more likely to be HIV-positive than young men. The epidemic un_masks extreme inequality and has unleashed deep sexism and racism as well as deepening the rural–urban imbalance. Misguided policies and programs, particularly ABC (“abstain, be faithful, use condoms”), failed to factor in the intimate dynamic of gender inequality and women’s lack of negotiating power when it comes to sex. Thus – no surprise – the highest infection rate today is among African women in steady partnerships. Home-based care programs have exploited women’s traditional
care-giving role while letting governments and the international aid community off the hook for providing even the most basic reproductive healthcare. The result has been a disastrous overburdening of women, increasing their health risks while decreasing their productive capacity to generate income and food for their families.

African women (such as those who founded TASO-Uganda) were pioneers in the AIDS fight, but African women’s rights groups went missing in action as powerful gender-blind rights and service NGOs competed for vast aid sums for HIV/AIDS interventions as well as the important gay rights organizations that were key in the AIDS fight. While women’s organizing has been fragmented, under-resourced and often suppressed (Zimbabwean activists face particular hardship and harassment), massive, informal, community-based networks (market women, burial societies and savings clubs) engage poor women in large numbers, but are disconnected from institutionalized women’s rights work. Leaving grandmothers and children to head families, HIV/AIDS also sparks new forms of organizing and mobilization particularly by young women. Transactional sex and sexual orientation, long taboo, now generate intense and creative activism. However, despite shared needs and interests, women are often divided into separate “sectors” that diminish the possibilities of joint action.

While notable progress has been made on legal and policy reform, these rights and resources have not become real for most women. To organize to pressure governments for basic rights and freedoms – schools, reproductive health services, access to HIV/AIDS treatment and prevention, police and justice systems that protect women from violence on the street and in their homes, decent jobs, and access to credit, resources and clean water – Southern African women must challenge the powerful traditions and backlash (current and anticipated) that frame women as the problem. This requires a departure from urban-based NGO business-as-usual, emphasizing instead community and political organizing skills and promoting an alternative model of leadership judged by the numbers empowered to speak out and sustain pressure for accountability. Southern African women have a lot riding on whether governments respond to their voices and protect their basic rights and freedoms.

The evolving regional context demands attention. Large amounts of HIV/AIDS funding now go to countries such as Zambia and Malawi for HIV/AIDS, but poverty, hunger and lack of transport often undermine women’s access and use of ARVs. Laws in place to address sexual and gender-based violence go unenforced. Such violence used as a political weapon in the ongoing Zimbabwean crisis has been well documented, drawing worldwide focus, but the political will to take action remains illusive. Homophobia in action in Malawi and in draft legislation in Uganda have been attracting attention from the media and from African and international human rights bodies, and Zimbabwean activists’ efforts to ensure LGBTI rights in the country’s new constitution drew negative responses from leaders of both the ruling and opposition parties. The powerful international fundamentalist Christians funding and stirring up this wave of stigmatization need to be unmasked, while opening up these difficult and controversial subjects in communities.

**HIV/AIDS as entry point for an integrated women’s equality agenda**

To be effective in this context, when the process initiated in 2006, JASS chose women living with and active on HIV/AIDS as the entry point for feminist movement building in part because, at the time, African women’s rights groups were not very engaged in this agenda. Women’s vulnerability to HIV/AIDS offers a clear lens into the multidimensional nature of women’s
inequality in Southern Africa: economic insecurity (from pressures for transactional sex, to limited access to land and credit); social oppression (stigma, being blamed for HIV); and political marginalization (from the inability to negotiate condom use, to lack of voice on the allocation of HIV-related and other resources). Positive women’s experiences demonstrate both the inadequacy of single-issue interventions (from medicines to income-generation) and the untapped potential for women to lead the organizations of PLWHA (even though women make up more than 70% of membership) as well as the vibrancy of women’s organizing on the margins of NGO structures and formal women’s rights agendas.

To address these dynamics and opportunities, JASS Southern Africa’s initiatives in the region in general and in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe seek to:

• strengthen grassroots, young, activist leadership with the necessary political skills, strategies and visions to organize women to leverage the power of their numbers to influence decisionmaking and public discourse about women, sex and HIV/AIDS at all levels;
• build bridges and mutually respectful alliances between grassroots women’s groups, and urban-based NGOs around a common agenda that addresses the web of factors around HIV/AIDS and integrates different types of economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights;
• enhance the public visibility and recognition of women’s experiences with HIV/AIDS in a way that helps shift policies and programs and that enables women living with HIV/AIDS to feel empowered and connected to a larger cause;
• challenge the stigma and taboos about sex and sexuality that lie at the heart of the AIDS pandemic and, in all aspects of training and leadership support, confront gender violence and women’s inequality fed by international fundamentalist churches;
• increase positive women’s access to and use of public resources – ranging from local government development funds to resources held by big international NGOS – for livelihoods, improved healthcare and political participation;
• amplify public outcry against gender violence and improve women’s ability to create and access mechanisms for safety, protection and justice;
• generate practical, how-to knowledge about building grassroots movements among HIV and women and about influencing the ways in which international donor agencies support women and social change.

HIV + Women in Southern Africa

JASS’ HIV/AIDS activism framework analyzes how power operates through stigma, technology, money and sex, central to a women’s change agenda.
Implementation
The JASS-Southern Africa team draws from a wealth of experience in movement building processes and grassroots women’s rights advocacy to carry out strategies that are sustained and holistic. The approach is sustained in that JASS engages with a core group of women – each one selected through a workshop process on the basis of her enthusiasm for being an organizer and activist leader – for a minimum of five years. Each of these women is trained and mentored in organizing and building alliances, agendas and action. JASS chooses its institutional partnerships based on where the women who are most active in organizing are located., JASS strategies are holistic in recognizing that women’s economic problems are not isolated from their health problems, cultural challenges, political marginalization, social inferiority and stigma. There is no single issue whose solution will address the full nature of women’s empowerment – violence is related to the economic, political, sense of self, and cultural aspects; the economic can not be solved without the political and social; and so on. The most effective means to make substantive and lasting change in any woman’s life in a short period of time is, from JASS’ perspective, by supporting her to work with other women to solve the interlocking problems they face in the way that they see and experience them, one issue at a time, as these emerge naturally in the context.

JASS’ role, then, is to support and strengthen the organizers’ role in the community through careful processes that engage women in systematically examining their lives, individually and in a group. Women gain new awareness, information and tools to understand and address different levels of power; to identify and seize opportunities; and to develop good plans on shared priorities. In supporting the political evolution of individual activists and the improved organization of groups through workshops, mentoring and accompaniment, JASS ensures that every interaction provides new skills, insights and challenges for growth, and for leveraging the power of women’s numbers for change.

Methodology
Critical elements of JASS methodology are listed below and available in detail online[^3] and in *A New Weave of Power, People and Politics: The Action Guide for Advocacy and Citizen Participation.*[^4]

- **Feminist popular education.** Often called “liberation education,” processes are structured to enable women to learn by analyzing and questioning their lived experience, using new information and the confidence gained to take action step by step.

[^3]: http://www.justassociates.org/howwedoit.htm
[^4]: http://www.justassociates.org/ActionGuide.htm

Detonation!
One of the things we have detected since 2007 when our feminist movement-building began is that women who are natural activists have been so ... let’s say “oppressed” by donor frameworks and NGO-ization that, when we create a different kind of space, language and process, an explosion happens. “Detonar!” as our Mesoamerican colleagues say – we detonate political energy by naming and building on the many forms of resistance women use in their daily lives just to survive with some dignity. For example, Malawian women now describe their organizing as “crossing the line”, such as “I crossed the line in my church by demanding we set up a committee on HIV/AIDS.” Their leadership and intuitive instincts are being recognized, strengthened and unleashed as movement organizers. This creates a momentum and opportunity – and a great challenge to live up to as their agendas and strategic support needs become more complex!

-- Lisa Veneklasen, JASS E.D., at Power – Movements – Change workshop, Amsterdam, November 2009
• **Power analysis.** A lens through which to understand inequality, this framework dissects how “power over” operates in the visible, hidden and invisible arenas. It has proven enormously useful to activists at all levels as they work to build alternative forms of “power to,” “power with” and “power within.”

• **Knowledge and noise.** While information is vital for making change happen, facts and ideas alone are insufficient to influence powerbrokers. Activists need to find strategic ways to “make noise” – from art and performance, to mobilizing numbers, to social media.

• **Linking needs and rights.** JASS strategies are grounded in the belief that women become motivated to work together for change by a shared and heartfelt need. This can range from the need for food to better schools to ARV access to transport. The process of organizing around these needs provides an opportunity to learn about and realize existing rights – from the right to food and health to the right to communicate and participate.

• **Intersectionality.** Building diverse alliances among women demands a shared, nuanced understanding of how identities shape power and privilege between and among women, based on class, race/ethnicity, location, religion, sexuality, ability, and other factors.

**JASS Core Strategies**

- JASS promotes movement-style leadership by providing the skills, training, analysis, tools, mentoring and connections for women from diverse backgrounds to leverage collective citizen power;
- Safe spaces for reflection, analysis and learning, especially critical as women are traumatized by the experience of HIV/AIDS, poverty, stigma and in some cases, political repression and violence;
- JASS strengthens women’s organizing for effective mobilization linked by broad alliances to advocacy at all levels, enabling women to sustain pressure and respond agilely to political opportunities and crises;
- JASS’ communications training and tools enable activists to create fresh multimedia messages and strategies that connect with women and influence public opinion, making women’s rights, feminism and the role women’s movements visible and relevant;
- JASS harvests, refines and shares practical conceptual learning about building movements, gender justice and social change, with and for women’s rights activists and allies concerned with development and equality.

**The Beginnings of JASS Southern Africa**
The JASS Southern Africa feminist movement building initiative was launched in November 2007 with a gathering of women leaders and activists living with and working on HIV. This initial
meeting was organized in collaboration with Action Aid International and OSISA. The main objective was to understand the context of women’s organizing in relation to HIV and their broader connection to women’s rights and the feminist agendas from the perspective of women affected. Using a power and political analysis framework, the meeting introduced the concept of movement building as a means to move forward the agenda of women in the context of the ‘continued feminization’ of HIV.

The strategy decided on at the initial movement building meeting focused on strengthening of activist and feminist leadership – especially young women – as well identification of additional development opportunities of a growing community of “JASS movement builders (JMBs).”5 This also included expanding writing, documentation and technical skills. Given the commitment of building from the local to the global, a key element of the strategy was to initiate and deepen country-level organizing and action to ensure that the work of JASS in the long term was linked to clear actions that can be connected to national and regional change agendas. In other words, whilst the initiative would start at the regional level, it would then slowly zoom in at the national level for deliberate, concrete and sustained action with a direct impact on women’s lives that would be tracked and monitored and eventually, connected to regional change strategies.

Finally, at the regional level, it was noted that the strength that JASS brings is the engagement with other regional processes and agendas and that spaces should be created for that level of exchange, reflection, dialogue and learning.

Thus, in 2008, JASS continued to work with the initial JMBs through a training focusing on political facilitation, communication strategies around international opportunities to develop linkages and exposure like the International AIDS Conference in Mexico and the AWID Forum in Cape Town. During this time, in 2008, the first phase for work in Malawi began with a needs assessment and strategy development process. Also, at the end of 2008, the first Cross Regional Dialogue took place in Cape Town, South Africa. In 2009, the focus shifted to initiating and deepening national level capacity building that would support for social change. In Malawi, engagement and empowerment of grassroots women leaders as identified in the preliminary process was initiated. In Zambia, the preliminary process (Phase I) included a Needs Assessment, Consultation of key stakeholders and a Strategy Meeting. In December 2009, the second Cross Regional engagement took place in Amsterdam. In early 2010, the work in Malawi continued and Zambia process targeting young feminists and grassroots women leaders was initiated. As the organization continues to deepen its work in these national contexts, the importance of reconnecting at the regional level and using that as a strategic impetus to develop the thinking, practice and tools that inform this work at a wider scale beyond JASS was identified as another priority for 2010.

---

5 JASS Movement Builders (JMBs) was the name for the women who had participated in the November 2007 meeting. Later on it included those who participated in national level processes also.
Appendix 2: Agenda

Objectives:
• Analyze the Southern African women’s rights and movement-building context -- assess the opportunities, challenges and dynamics it presents
• Discuss, clarify and debate our understandings of feminist and women’s movement-building and what this means in the regional context and in relation to our work
• Define and improve strategies that build and engage power at different levels and across issues
• Explore ways to collaborate – both on the theory and practice of movement-building (training, knowledge production, communications, etc.)

Monday 27 September, 2010 – Setting the Context

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>08.30 – 09.00</td>
<td>Registration and Coffee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09.00 – 10.00</td>
<td>Welcome and Introductions and Expectations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 10.00 – 12.30 | Situating the conversation - Why women’s movements? What difference would strong movements make?  
  - mix of political contextual analysis about the nature of governments/state, market and civil society to get a sense of how this is shaping women’s rights
  - assessment and clarifying the strengths and weaknesses of women’s rights organizing and why/if we think movements need to be strengthened |
| 12.30 – 1.30 | Lunch                                                                     |
| 1.30 – 2.30 | Understanding of movement-building  
(What does Southern Africa bring to this task (e.g. what already exists that can be built upon) and 3. What is missing or needs to be strengthened? ) |
| 2.30 – 3.30 | Presentation on key thinking around movement building                    |
| 3.30 – 3.50 | Tea break                                                                 |
| 3.50 – 5.00 | Participants sharing our work (do we consider it as movement building? Why? Why not?) |
| 5.00 – 5.30 | Synthesis of day – what are key issues                                   |

Tuesday, 28 September 2010 – Moving forward with Movement Building

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>09.00 – 09.30</td>
<td>Locating the discussion based on previous day engagement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>09.30 – 11.00</td>
<td>Participants sharing our work (do we consider it as movement building? Why? Why not?) – Continued</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.00 – Te break

11.20 - 13.00  From the discussion thus far - revisit our assumptions of how change happens:
• If we say movement building is necessary for effecting social justice – how do we frame a political agenda? (Vision and key objectives for energising women’s movements)
After initial discussion break into groups that would look at particular elements:
(i) Knowledge generation, (ii) Feminist Political Consciousness Raising

13.00 – 14.00  Lunch

14.00 – 16.00  Putting together the whole picture – How do we move forward from here? 
Building on the thinkshop

16.00 – Next steps, Evaluation and closure.

Key documents:


Appendix 3: Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Country</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Everjoice Win</td>
<td>ActionAid</td>
<td>South Africa, Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susan Holland-Muter</td>
<td>African Gender Institute</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaliwe Clarke</td>
<td>African Gender Institute</td>
<td>South Africa, Zambia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shereen Essof</td>
<td>Feminist Alternatives</td>
<td>South Africa, Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamim Meer</td>
<td>feminist writer</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fadzai Muparutsa</td>
<td>GALZ</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patience Mandishona</td>
<td>Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe, GALZ</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reval Makanje</td>
<td>Hivos</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shamillah Wilson</td>
<td>JASS</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisa Veneklasen</td>
<td>JASS</td>
<td>USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrie Wilson</td>
<td>JASS</td>
<td>USA, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annie Holmes</td>
<td>JASS</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azola Goqwana</td>
<td>JASS</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindi Blose</td>
<td>JASS</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sally Shackleton</td>
<td>JASS/ Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce, SWEAT</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engwase Mwale</td>
<td>NGO Coordinating Council, NGOCC</td>
<td>Zambia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mazuba Haanyama</td>
<td>Open Society Institute of Southern Africa, OSISA</td>
<td>South Africa, Zambia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prudence Mabele</td>
<td>Positive Women’s Network</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slyvia Chirawu</td>
<td>Women and Law in Southern Africa, WLSA</td>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doo Aphane</td>
<td>Women for Women</td>
<td>Swaziland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Juliana Davids</td>
<td>World AIDS Campaign</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rollen Mukanda</td>
<td>Zambia National Women’s Lobby</td>
<td>Zambia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>