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It is not the strongest of the species that survive, nor the most intelligent, but the most responsive to change.¹

In the past few decades, women's and feminist movements have made great strides in advancing the rights of women. The engagement of women in international development processes following the UN Decade of Women (1975-85) signalled a transition for women's movements; they began developing holistic analyses of the issues impacting on women's lives, and made connections between political, economic, social and cultural realities as well as the local, national and global spaces for organizing and advocating. The resulting engagement of women's movements with institutions also signalled a transition from loosely formed social and feminist movements to the rise of institutionalized NGOs.² According to Charkiewicz, funding guidelines and UN access rules disciplined social movements to make the transformation to organizational structures that included staff, management and a board. This reorganization has had important implications; some good, in terms of organizational accountability and effectiveness, while others are more challenging. In a reflective process, evaluating this transition, Ruth Ochieng asked why violence against women is still rife despite the way movements have been able to restructure and the supposed levels of sophistication in our organizing.³ Her enquiry pushes us to reflect on whether, in our haste to adhere or conform to new forms of organizing and engaging, we have been able to integrate the 'old' discourses and lessons learned, with new effective and relevant strategies. In that same conversation, Ruth Ochieng questions whether we should return to the older methods of working, i.e. 'Should we not go back to mobilizing grass-roots women?'

It would be easy to say 'Yes, a return to the old is all that is needed,' but I think that one of the lessons we have learnt is that connecting our issues and working at multiple levels is a challenge we cannot afford to abandon. At this very moment, given that it is ten years since the adoption of the Beijing Platform of Action, women from all over the world are collectively reflecting on whether we *actually* have been able to advance women's rights since 1995.

This evaluation is critical as we examine the role of women's movements in their engagement with the state and institutions of authority. Currently, we are operating in a context where (many of) our governments have ratified important international treaties, conventions and charters, which bind them into the responsibility of being providers or at least guardians of social well-being within their countries. In practice, however, governments are more apt to follow the social and economic policies recommended by multilateral entities such as the World Bank, the IMF and the World Trade Organization. Reflection on our own effectiveness needs to take into account what our current engagements with governments and institutions look like. Who defines this engagement? How do we strategize and allow ourselves to reimagine our relationship and engagements with states, vis-à-vis the feminist agenda?

As feminist movements, we have to contend not only with shifting contexts and factors, but also with a range of issues within our movements. The very nature of feminist movements is diverse, with common as well as differing goals. Our history of organizing includes the challenge of engaging with this diversity within and among movements: identities defined by race, ethnicities, class differences, geographic location and, of course, age. As feminist movements, we must role-model internal democracy, consensus finding and the recognition of diversity as practice, and not only theory.

According to Leslie Calman, the success of movements can be gauged by analysing three potential arenas of action: (i) a movement can target society, particularly with regard to social consciousness and ideology; (ii) it acts to influence the state; and (iii) it can act on participants within the movement itself.⁴ All of these are intricately connected with overlapping ways of measuring outcomes.

In this chapter, I attempt to address the effectiveness of feminist movements. Through an exploration of the notions of leadership within, I explore the 'feminist futures of feminist movements'. What I am proposing here is not any different from what has been proposed before; I am simply urging us to revisit and recommit to the manifesto of the feminist project with vigour and enthusiasm. As young women, we do not propose to change the vision for social justice; our goal is to propose a revolutionary (new ways of looking at the same issues) approach to tackling challenges. Our moment in time is different, and we recognize that it will require a combination of experience, wisdom and new ways of risk-taking. One example of this was the DAWN Training Institute of 2003, where there was a transfer and sharing of experience, wisdom and strategy from the DAWN team, but at the same time, as the young feminist attendees, we were able to share our issues and concerns, and our ways (sometimes quirkily creative) of dealing

with them.⁵ The goal remains that we do not lose sight of the integrity of the issue we are trying to take on, yet we should not remain clutching at an ideology without assessing why that ideology (or the strategies leading from it) does not have the impact we want it to have.

Contemplating the task ahead

As we envisage the tasks before us, we can become overwhelmed by the magnitude of what needs to be done.⁶ This sentiment is echoed by Peggy Antrobus, who notes that social justice work is full of risks, but a commitment to personal change will allow us to find sources of power among us that cannot be taken away by external forces.⁷ Therefore, the 'self' as the individual is a starting point. However, the self as a movement is another important aspect of this reflexivity. Throughout this anthology, young feminists from all over the world have made varied proposals for dialogue in many different realms and at many different levels (local, regional and global), as well as possible actions to accompany the dialogue and changing discourses. Therefore, as we contemplate the way forward, it is important for us to be clear that what we need is thoughtful *action*. But to change the rules, the very core of the social order, I firmly believe we need feminist leadership. According to Peggy Antrobus, what makes feminist leadership different from other forms of leadership is that it is transformational: 'with a passion for justice, a commitment to change things, beginning with oneself'.⁸

Starting with ourselves: the feminist movement's internal challenges

Feminist movements today face a range of challenges that can be framed in two critical areas: soul and strategy. While we have placed much emphasis on making the personal political, we have not spent nearly enough time on making that very same politics personal. How do we internalize the politics we advocate for in the world out there as feminists and as movements? If the basic tenet of feminism is to deconstruct power, and to propose alternative paradigms for power sharing, feminism has been concerned with redefining democratic communities on more participatory grounds. In all honesty, though, how have we fared in this regard? How have we dealt with issues of power? According to Edwards and Sen, if we are to transform society and cause a fundamental shift in values, one that is sustainable and freely chosen, we can do so only if we have undergone personal and inner change ourselves.⁹

Who are we? There are different kinds of feminisms - different interpreta-

tions and applications. In addition, my interaction with other young women over the last few years (electronically and face to face) has exposed me to the diverse relationships of young women to feminism and feminist movements. I will limit myself to only a few of those. Some young women avoid overt identification with the movement and to the label 'feminist'. They may be engaged in addressing different forms of oppressions - human rights abuses, racism, heterosexism or poverty, with social justice at the centre of their analysis - yet many of them feel isolated and excluded from the feminist movement. They feel that the movement has not adequately challenged power and multiple oppressions. According to one such colleague:

I feel that at this moment in time, feminism does not apply to my experience and often due to class, race and gender gaps with consistent visions/versions of feminism, it forces me to leave out parts of my community. It too often asks me to prioritise the needs of women and girls, without challenging me/us to be leaders and advocates for the entirety of our communities.¹⁰

Some young women have mixed feelings and misconceptions about the meanings of feminism and the movement, while others feel that openly identifying with the movement makes them vulnerable, in their local contexts, to 'anti-feminist backlash'. In an email discussion in 2003, young women noted that 'in an era of increased militarization and fundamentalisms, where women are often relegated to traditionally oppressed roles, it is of the utmost importance to have an awareness of the consequences for young women of identifying as feminists'.¹¹ In broader discussions with other young women, living in contexts where it is 'easier' to come out as feminists, these young women are often criticized as not being willing to go the extra mile to really live their activism.

The 'professional' feminist is a phenomenon that has surfaced over the last few years. This identity often comes about from those young women who enter and network with the feminist movement through women's and gender studies programmes at their universities. Through their research, they start engaging with issues of social justice and then eventually find employment in the field. However, a colleague from Peru last year pointed out that although it is important for young women to have a historical, analytical and theoretical framework, it is as important for these young women to find local spaces for their activism that does not involve (paid) 'work'.

The last group of young women that fall into the 'feminist' category is what I would like to call the 'new generation feminists'. This group feels that feminism and the movement is the key to achieving social justice.

Many of them are engaged in local struggles but also engaged in critical analyses on the issues affecting women, and young women in particular. These young women actively seek and create spaces to learn from 'previous generation' feminists to engage across generations and critically reflect on strategies and on their own feminism. They are keen to bring new analyses and ways of looking at power relations, different strategies and ways of organizing into the movement. Although this group may be critical and reflective about the movement, its dynamics and relations within, they do so without disengaging. Many of these young women are working in contexts where organizing is very complex, engaging with a range of power relations, and they therefore understand the need to push through the tensions in order to achieve desired outcomes.

I have highlighted only *some* of the feminist identities of young women that I have come across and 'labelled'. While we recognize the importance of choosing the feminist identity for political reasons, it is as important for us to scrutinize how we build alliances and support those who may not openly identify as feminists, but who are part of other movements for social justice.

Diversity As a movement, at the global, regional and even national levels, issues of diversity create a complexity that continues to challenge and perplex us. The fact remains that there are feminists identifying as black, rural, indigenous, lesbian, transgender, HIV positive, disabled, as well as young. In terms of representation, we seem to have our bases covered, but our weakness is in discerning how to ensure *meaningful* participation, while also acknowledging that this diversity will sometimes entail moments of conflict, disputes and contradictions.

When trying to address these issues, we always resort to the reference of 'embracing' complexity and diversity. However, working with diversity is tough, messy, and can get difficult because it is intensely personal. It is important for us to recognize this tension but also to commit ourselves, our energies and our humour, in order to handle diversity with grace and honesty.

Fragmentation is, however, not only a result of different identities. We also have ideological differences among us, some of which are due to our diverse backgrounds, some due to the changing global contexts around us. The reason for these ideological differences can be narrowed down to three general causes: interpretation, application and politics. There are different ways of interpreting and applying feminist ideologies. Politics (or lack thereof) is an issue that has emerged particularly in the last decade. For instance, it is felt that gender mainstreaming has coopted the

language of gender, but without the discourse on power and patriarchy. In addition, we have grown specialized in our areas of attention (human rights, peace, environment ...), but find it difficult to incorporate this into our global strategies.

The fragmentation of issues has also had a specific impact on how 'sub-movements' see the feminist movement and its efforts to engage or support them. For example, women who are disabled might see themselves as part of the feminist movement, but might form a 'sub-movement' for disabled women in order to give identity and focus to the specific challenges facing them. Similarly, HIV-positive women have long felt that the feminist movement has not taken up issues of HIV-positive women with the urgency and attention they deserve. According to Gracia Violeta Ross, an HIV-positive young woman from Bolivia, women who form part of the HIV/AIDS movement are all fighting for the same goal as feminists: a better life for women. However, she feels that the feminist movement needs to take cognizance of the victories of the HIV/AIDS movement, while also finding ways to support the activism of HIV-positive women within the broader HIV/AIDS movement, and through the feminist agenda.¹² At the AWID Forum in 2002, Sisonke Msimang, a gender and AIDS activist, endorsed this by saying:

Our sisters in the North need to develop a consciousness about the fight against AIDS as a feminist fight. One that, if we lose, could have profound effects on the lives of girls and women into the next century. A feminist analysis of the impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic on women's lives is necessary. But it is not enough. We need global solidarity, an admission that the processes of structural adjustment that devalued currencies and scaled back on social services have made it that much more difficult for Africa to cope with the epidemic. We need to hold those who now glowingly talk about the need to address poverty and gender equality, accountable. But first we need solidarity between and amongst women of the North and South.¹³

Language, and how we use it, is another issue that needs critical reflection. Are we cognizant enough of the connections between language and power? For example, the language of technology has given us access to many more ways of communicating and organizing ourselves, with greater possibilities for regional and global alliances. However, we also know that there are still many more women who do not have access to technology. At a global level, it is important for us to stay connected and informed of what is happening in other countries. At local levels, where the work at a societal and community level is happening, how does technology impact

on our ability to include or exclude women who identify with the feminist agenda? How is it changing our ways of working with each other and with other movements?

Antrobus also touches on issues of language by noting how English has taken on hegemonic power, excluding the majority of women in the world.¹¹ Language is critical and powerful as the means to convey our politics, but also in its ability to include or exclude, based on privilege, ideology and culture. In our strategizing, with the resources at our disposal, we have to find innovative ways of acknowledging and then addressing these issues.

Passing on power – what about the power in sharing?

At the Dawn 20th Anniversary Celebrations in October 2004, younger feminists organized an inter-generational dialogue where it was acknowledged: 'We need to understand that young feminists are today's leaders and recognize our own accountability in power relinquishing and power sharing within feminist movements.'¹² There have been difficulties within the feminist movement, where there is a 'generation gap within the women's movement, and a marked absence of younger women in leadership positions', in dealing with power issues and leadership.¹⁶

Many feminists before have argued that the feminist movement needs to become truly multi-generational. Lydia Alpizar and Shamillah Wilson argue the importance of the movement(s) in encouraging young women's participation in order to: (i) allow the movements to reinvent themselves; (ii) maintain consistency with the principles and values of feminism – and, as we are challenging power and privilege, it is important that we also do so amongst ourselves; (iii) build strength and sustainability.¹³ A committed engagement with these issues will provide the foundation for developing inter-generational solidarity and power. Given that so many people have talked about this, are talking about this, I think the time has come start acting and take on this challenge. Now.

I suppose the starting point is that, as younger feminists, our challenge is finding ways to create a bridge between our own lives and past feminist action. According to Rosas and Wilson:

Young women today are born into a reality where the gains made by the earlier generation are a reality, if no one talks to us about the struggle and history of achieving those rights, we take them for granted and assume that they were always there. As young women, we acknowledge the wisdom and experience of our predecessors. At the same time, we want to find ways of creating interactions of exchange and learning where we can gain this knowledge, but also where we can share our 'knowledge' as well.¹⁵

Building on this argument, so many of the problems and so much of the angst in the movement are related to issues of giving and taking power. We are extremely self-conscious about wisdom. As young women, we need to acknowledge the history and wisdom of previous generations much more than we currently do. At the same time, we need to recognize that in acknowledging wisdom and experience, we can still challenge each other. In renegotiating our relations of power with each other, we need to recognize that at different moments, we will either give or receive inspiration/wisdom/ideas and momentum from other members of the movement (and this is not based on any age-defined principles). We need to create accountability mechanisms to take on this challenge with honesty and respect.

Spirituality

In conversations with young women who attended the 2003 DAWN Training Institute in Bangalore, many of the young feminists felt that feminist movements do not support their practice of spirituality; or at least the feminist movement proposes a very particular practice or engagement with spirituality that is secular in nature. The reality is that many women do find themselves as part of 'organized religion' and feel that the disengagement of the feminist movement means that they are unsupported in their practice and in their challenge of dominant paradigms of religion, from within. For example, questions such as, 'Is it possible to be a Muslim and a feminist at the same time?' tend to fuel the fires of women who already have to defend such identities in their own communities. Assumptions and reductionist thinking about faith and spirituality are powerful divisive forces in the global context. Within the feminist movement too, we need to ask ourselves the tough questions: does being spiritual mean that we cannot be political as well? Can the two qualities co-exist individually and in the collective? We have to find ways to analyse and act in solidarity, and disengage, as do cultural relativists, because we feel we are not 'conversant' with the issues. Finally, if we are to be holistic in how we function, we need actively to make space for women to share their faith and spirituality with us.

Sustainability

The last aspect of how feminist movements function is the issues related to sustainability. Very often we hear that 'We do not have the capacity,' or 'We cannot be everywhere, advocating on all issues.' This thinking results in the reactive rather than the proactive pursuit of our agendas. We have so far explored issues of sustainability in terms of personal relations and tensions. However, the issue of well-being is critical to sustainability of

the movement itself – at the individual as well as the collective levels.

According to Rosas and Wilson:

Many of us experience illness, depression, poverty, anger and conflict. Many of us are struggling with addictions, not just to substances but also to obsessive work regimes which do not allow us time to reflect, or breathing space. Being a feminist means we have many fascinating, complex experiences, trying to create a new culture, and re-create our own lives. But the destructive aspect of it, the guilt and sacrifice, at work and in our lives more generally, is a tremendous challenge.¹⁹

Being an activist means that we make passionate engagements, with constant personal sacrifice. There have been many discussions around these issues, between young women.²⁰ Although we personally value the need to be devoted and committed to and passionate about the cause, it is crucial to recognize that a longer and sustained fight is likely to have more impact than one that is interrupted because of a withdrawal of activists, through ill health and exhaustion.

In an email discussion hosted by the Association for Women's Rights in Development's Young Women and Leadership Programme in 2004, one of the young women asked:

Does activism have to make one feel burnt-out? Maybe it does, but I have a sense from the discussion thus far that the type of burn-out people are expressing is not necessary to work for social justice. So I would put the question this way ... after the revolution, once we have won the battles for justice, what do we want the world to look like? Now how can we start living that way today?²¹

As a movement, our challenge is to find ways to prevent such a culture of burn-out from proliferating, as well as finding ways to start addressing it if it does exist in our organizations and networks. At the Young Women and Leadership Institute in 2003, Pregs Govender advised participants:

What you [need to] look at – because as young women you are at the start of what is a lifelong journey – is how to sustain yourself. You can learn all about economic policies but you will get depressed, burnt-out, you will despair, you will want to give it up. Because it is too overwhelming. So through the work you do you have to actually say, how will I make sure that I sustain myself? That the joy you experience is there in how you live your life and how you work. If we work without that, if we allow the system that we are fighting against to destroy our joy, we don't stand a chance. We cannot let the horror of what we are fighting against destroy our soul.²²

We need to find different ways of retreating into spaces of our own, for rest and rejuvenation. We need to do this without feeling guilt or feeling 'selfish', and we need to support each other while doing so.

Relation to other movements – allies or adversaries?

The feminist movement is one of the predominant social movements engaged in the fight for equality and justice worldwide. According to Sunila Abeysekera, social movements are generally described as conscious, collective activities to promote social change, representing a protest against the established power structure and dominant norms and values.²³ However, contemporary social movements are no longer guided by the sense that they are completing a universal plan. Their agenda is not always shaped by long-term fixed goals (for example, anti-privatization movements), and the mobilization they undertake is rooted in specific times and places.

... Activism implies acting upon, acting against, acting for causes and issues of social concern, not only personal concern. There is an implied sense that it is for the social good, working towards social change, and a move towards something better. By its very nature, activism creates a polarised tension, a dichotomy, of two opposing camps, us and them.²⁴

These camps that are referred to are like two groups of protagonists: those who are 'on the right track' and those who are not. In the current global context, we are faced with the possibility of forming alliances or adversarial relationships with a range of role-players. We find ourselves opposed to right-wing fundamentalists, and at the same time, in different spaces, we might form very specific alliances with more progressive religious groups. There is also the possibility of working with corporations with a commitment to social responsibility while taking an adversarial position, in general, towards the hegemonic powers and practices of corporations. For this chapter, however, I will focus only on our alliances with other social justice movements and our relationships with the state.

Whenever the issue of how we relate to other movements is raised, I sense that there is the assumption that there is no history of feminist engagement with other social movements. Yet many feminists were part of resistance/national liberation movements within their own countries and contexts (for example, the ANC Women's League played a very active role within the South African resistance movement). While engaging with these struggles, women were also fighting patriarchy, although often not explicitly. This is one of the reasons the feminist movement was born: women's rights were not getting appropriate attention in other movements and struggles. For example, in the South African liberation struggle, women

were told, 'After liberation we can deal with your issues.' In an online discussion by ISIS, it was noted that:

We have always expressed solidarity with the issues raised by a host of other social movements, and two, that we have more often found ourselves supporting the agendas of other movements, without actually being able to transform these movements from within. To a vast extent, these movements have remained patriarchal in nature.²⁷

However, it is also true that feminists have continued to work with other social movements, and that we are at a moment in time where we have come full circle. We realize that in order to survive and have strength, we need to find ways to influence these other movements to incorporate our agendas.

Our task now is to build strategic alliances. According to Antrobus, we cannot build a movement for social transformation without making strategic alliances with men. She encourages the feminist movement to distinguish between men who are open to partnership with feminist leadership and those who are not, and to make strategic alliances with those who do understand that there is no justice for men without justice for women.²⁸ Working with young men, in particular, is an opportunity to ensure that a new generation of leaders sees the necessity of addressing systemic gender inequality in order to achieve social justice. In addition, we also need to support women who are working within other social movements, through analysis, through dialogue, and also to support them in advancing the feminist agenda within those movements.

The world is volatile, and in order to be effective and to survive as a movement and a species, we need to assess moments and opportunities accurately, prioritizing when various actors need to work together. There are also moments when we will have an adversarial relationship with other movements, but this is all part of the context we engage in. We need to accept the challenges of apparent paradoxes in our ideologies and our actions, in order to achieve our visions.

The state and institutions of authority

The institutionalization of NGOs has changed the terrain of engagement of women's and feminist movements, requiring an explicit focus on states and their allies. Women's NGOs, in particular, find themselves in the predicament of having to choose carefully the way in which they interact with the state. While there are opportunities and a necessity to work with the state around concrete issues affecting women, such as education and health, they also run a risk of being coopted by the state. This has

implications for the potential to challenge the state. Alternatively, they can adopt an oppositional stance towards the state, which in particular contexts might influence their access to resources, or have implications of repression in some instances.

In order to be effective, women's rights groups find themselves in the position where they have to engage at the global, regional and national levels. This has had serious implications for women's groups in developing countries, where many are left behind because of limited available resources. Those who are able to organize themselves at the different levels find themselves speaking for 'everyone', and issues of legitimacy have come in question.

According to Patricia McFadden, there are those who define our politics in relation to the neo-colonial state, to decide what intellectual tools we use in understanding inequality and injustice: she feels that we are even allowing them to redefine the language we have struggled so hard and long to find, which speaks most deeply to the social and bodily violations that confront us.²⁷ Charkiewicz is also very critical of engagement at the institutional level, and the fact that feminist groups have allowed themselves to be moulded into what the institution can handle. 'The pursuit of the strategy to speak the language of the system is based on the assumption that it will change global governance from within – the problem is that these strategies subtly change the movement.'²⁸

This brings up the age-old debate of whether, as feminist movements, our engagement should be one of resistance or reform. At the end of the day, there are benefits and disadvantages to both prospects. The threat of cooption is real. As autonomous women's movements, we need to ask how can we ensure that the organization and issues are not coopted by a modernist yet repressive state (or institutions)? How do we engage with the state on our own terms? Is it possible to work on feminist policies within the state? According to Pregs Govender, we should not aspire to fit into and function within institutions of power. Our goal should rather be that we should set our agenda, understand our values, and try to transform those institutions.²⁹

As we strategize, it is important to see many possibilities, often simultaneous, for our engagements. First, it is important that we do work with the state, but without losing our autonomy to challenge. Instead of adopting a simply adversarial role, we need to recognize that we can achieve more by engaging and getting our voices heard in the institutions that govern. However, engaging with *only* the state is also problematic. It is important for us to work across spaces in order to address our issues in authentic ways. In addition, our engagement with the state will push us to engage with

much more vigour with the internal challenges (within our organization **and movements**) that we need to address; for in our challenges to the state (or other institutions) for their lack of democracy and accountability, we **should not be guilty** of the same charges. I am not trying to be simplistic **about the complexity** of engaging with institutions of authority; however, we need to consider honestly how effective we are in our intended outcomes, and the various possibilities that may need to be explored, in our quest for social justice.

Moving forward

There is a need to evaluate our feminist engagement at all levels and in all issue areas that we work in. Personal issues that women identify with and their links (or lack thereof) with institutional politics provide challenges for how we engage. Our aim is not only to engage with the state or within the movement itself. Our aim is to transform patriarchal structures, so we need to be clear how we are going to do it. Are we focusing a skewed amount of our attentions on the state and institutional levels? What is happening at the community or national levels? As I said earlier, if we are to effect real change, we need to employ a combination of strategies, at multiple levels, involving a range of different players.

According to Srilatha Batliwala, 'feminist leadership requires incredible agility and resilience because each step forward creates new and sometimes graver challenges/backdash. This makes feminist leaders stronger and smarter strategists and negotiators.'¹⁰ We have paid considerable attention to the soul of the feminist movement. Throughout this book, we have described some of the external and internal challenges that we face. As young women, we want to push the boundaries around the debate of leadership. As a movement, we need to assess how we are able to adapt to changes in our own environments on a continuous basis. How does this get integrated into long-term strategy and also, ultimately, effectiveness?

Here are some of the challenges I feel we need to tackle if we are to take on the leadership in advancing the social justice agenda:

- 1 We are always responding to challenges and we are not always as able to be proactive around them. We need to find ways to generate new knowledge and variations around the issues we are engaging around so that we can stay ahead – for example, the recent tsunami disaster. Have we, as feminists, really integrated natural disaster responses into our core strategies or agendas? Now that the tsunami has happened, how are we supporting grass-roots groups who are involved in helping people pick up the pieces? Also, how do we take on and push for issues

that are not necessarily within public memory, that are not 'sexy'? How do we renew strategies and interests for the 'old' issues that are still plaguing us?

- 2 We find it difficult to mobilize around new issues. For example, the fragmentation around specialization of issues such as new technologies and genetic engineering have meant very little joint responses to these new engagements.
- 3 We need to build the capacity to know why we succeed/fail, to understand why change does, or doesn't, happen. This should inform how we strategize and implement new strategies for effecting social justice. We also need to put in place systems and measures of accountability, and for evaluating change.
- 4 Our survival and strength depend on our best use of available and limited resources. In our current context of organizing, we are constantly made aware of the competition for limited resources. We need to make intelligent, informed, and, ideally, collective choices about how we use these limited resources.
- 5 How do we engage with the mainstream and challenge it at the same time? How do we define our agenda and ensure that we constantly revisit our engagements with the state and with institutions?
- 6 How do we connect to global movements and build even stronger connections to our local and regional movements?

If we want to be effective, if we want to be strategic, we need to realize that in order to be different, cutting-edge and innovative it might mean that we run at loggerheads to the customary notions of an activist movement. We need to capitalize on our strengths, home in on our weaknesses, and be responsive and able to adapt to an environment that poses some unique challenges, with high levels of uncertainty and complexity. The biggest hurdles we face are how we deal with issues of power, accountability, leadership and bureaucratization, both within the institutions we challenge and within our own movements. We must move out of the boxes we seem to have trapped ourselves in – to act with courage and to 'revolutionize' the ways in which we engage within and without. Speed, choice and innovation are critical if we want a world where there is freedom from fear and freedom from want, and where obstacles to human security are a thing of the past.

Notes

1 C. Darwin (n.d.), see <http://www.writersmugs.com/quote/Charles_Darwin/32.html>.

2 E. Charkiewicz (2004), 'Women in action: beyond good and evil: notes on

global feminist advocacy', see <<http://isiswomen.org/organisation/pub/wia/wia2-04/ewa.htm>>, p. 2.

3 Ruth Ochieng in N. Montes-Rocas and M. Ibanez (2004), 'At the cross-roads: rethinking the critical advocacies of the women's movements', see <<http://isiswomen.org/organisation/pub/wia/wia2-04/malen.htm>>.

4 L. Calman (1992), *Toward Empowerment: Women and Movement Politics in India* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press), p. 5.

5 In September 2003, the Third World feminist network DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) held its first Feminist Advocacy Institute with young feminists from the global South.

6 P. Govender (2003), 'Transcript of Association for Women's Rights in Development Young Women and Leadership Institute' (Cape Town, South Africa: AWID).

7 P. Antrobus (2004), *The Global Women's Movement: Origins, Issues and Strategies* (London and New York: Zed Books), p. 166.

8 Ibid.

9 M. Edwards and G. Sen (August 2000), 'NGOs, social change and the transformation of human relationships: a 21st century civic agenda', *Third World Quarterly*.

10 Y. Chlala, N. Ngugi, A. Sengupta and S. Wilson (2004), 'Transformative leadership: the "now" and "future" of the movement', *Agenda* 60, see <<http://www.agenda.org/organisation.za>>.

11 K. Evans and S. Wilson (August 2004), 'Views from her(e): young women's perspectives on gender, human rights and development', see <http://www.awid.org/publications/primers/yw_fact_sheets_en.pdf>.

12 G. V. Ross Quiroga (2004), 'A bridge needs two sides: partnership and collaboration between women's movements and the movements of HIV positive women', paper presented at the Global Roundtable, Countdown 2015, Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights for All in London.

13 S. Msimang (2002), 'Human rights for all: understanding and applying "intersectionality" to confront globalization', plenary presentation at AWID's 9th International Forum, see <http://www.awid.org/forum2002/plenaries/AIDS_and_Feminism.html>.

14 Antrobus, *The Global Women's Movement*, p. 146.

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