

Contents

FOREWORD BY SRILATHA BATLIWALA	i
ABOUT THE REPORT	v
ACRONYMS	ix
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
1 INTRODUCTION	8
1.1. Why ‘gender and social movements’?	9
1.2. Why are social movements relevant?	10
1.3. Why are women’s rights and gender justice critical concerns for progressive social movements?	12
1.4. What questions does this report explore?	13
1.5. What is meant by ‘gender’ in this report?	14
1.6. Who is the overview report for?	15
1.7. Scope, structure and additional resources	15
2 ENGENDERING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: EVOLUTION, DEBATES, DEFINITIONS AND RESOURCES	18
2.1. How and why do social movements emerge and grow?	19
2.2. What are the defining features of social movements?	22
2.3. Fundamental concepts for understanding social movements	25
2.3.1. Common cause or common political agenda	25
2.3.2. Issues of representation: who can lead, who can speak for whom?	26
2.3.3. Social movements, inclusion and intersectionality	28
2.3.4. The ‘deep structures’ of movements	29
2.4. Relationships between social movements and organisations	30
2.4.1. The interconnectedness of movements and organisations	30
2.4.2. Tensions in the movement-organisation relationship	32
2.5. Social movements and money	33

3	LOCATING WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND GENDER JUSTICE IN SOCIAL MOVEMENT PRACTICE	35
<hr/>		
3.1.	What are the defining features of women's and feminist movements?	36
3.2.	How have feminist and women's movements evolved?	37
3.3.	Intersectionality and inclusion in women's movements	38
3.3.1.	Sexual orientation, gender identity and evolving understandings of gendered power	38
3.3.2.	Men, masculinities and challenging patriarchal power	39
3.4.	The impact of women's, feminist and gender justice movements	39
3.5.	How are women's rights and gender justice included in the broader social movement spectrum?	41
3.5.1.	Women-led movements for broad social change agendas	41
3.5.2.	Men's movements for women's rights and/or gender justice	43
3.5.3.	Mixed-gender movements that do not have women's rights or gender justice as a foundational focus	44
3.5.4.	Mixed-gender movements with women as active leaders and members but without a central focus on gender justice	46
3.5.5.	Mixed-gender movements with gender justice as a foundational axis	47
3.5.6.	Alliances between women-led movements and other social justice movements	48
4	INTEGRATING GENDER JUSTICE IN SOCIAL MOVEMENT PRACTICE: CHALLENGES AND TENSIONS	50
<hr/>		
4.1.	Barriers around the recognition of gender equality and women's active participation as key issues within movements	51
4.1.1.	Identifying inequalities 'among equals'	52
4.1.2.	Instrumentalising women's participation	53
4.1.3.	Divide and rule tactics around gender and sexuality	53
4.2.	Gendered attitudes, behaviour and stereotypes ingrained within the 'deep structure' of a movement	53
4.2.1.	Stereotypes about and backlash toward feminism	54
4.2.2.	Sexual harassment and violence within social movements	54
4.3.	Barriers posed by ideas around gender, culture, tradition and the private sphere	55
4.3.1.	Resistance to challenging power relations in the private sphere	56
4.3.2.	Using notions of culture, tradition and religion to silence gendered dissent	56

4.4.	Disparities and competition in movement priorities, allegiances and alliances	57
4.4.1.	Hierarchies in movement priorities	57
4.4.2.	Negotiating competing alliances	59
4.4.3.	Differences within and between women’s movements	59
4.5.	Difficulties maintaining change and achievements in the longer term	60
4.5.1.	Sustaining an intersectional approach	60
4.5.2.	Sustaining gender transformation ‘after the revolution’	61
4.5.3.	Scaling up from initial change to movement wide transformation	63

5

ROUTES TO SHAPING GENDER-JUST MOVEMENTS

64

5.1.	What does a gender-just movement look like?	65
5.2.	Recognise and transform culture, power dynamics and hierarchies within movements	66
5.2.1.	Engage with the deep structure	66
5.2.2.	Politicise the personal	67
5.2.3.	Acknowledge that change is emotional	68
5.2.4.	Rethink masculinities	69
5.2.5.	Interrogate the gendered division of labour in movement practices	70
5.3.	Support internal activism for change	70
5.3.1.	Build collective power among women	70
5.3.2.	Build and support feminist leadership	71
5.3.3.	Develop women’s platforms and caucuses	71
5.3.4.	Work on movement politics, not just representation of women	73
5.3.5.	Support and learn from individual change-makers	73
5.3.6.	Anticipate and respond to backlash	74
5.3.7.	Acknowledge women’s agency and avoid a ‘victim’ approach	75
5.4.	Draw the line on impunity for gender-based violence	75
5.5.	Develop the politics and make the arguments on gender and movements	76
5.5.1.	Make women’s rights and gender justice visible in movement agendas	77
5.5.2.	Openly discuss what women’s rights and gender justice means for the movement	77
5.5.3.	Agree movement-wide political positions and/or policies on gender	78

5.6.	Build inclusive alliances, shared analysis and common cause	79
5.6.1.	Create spaces for dialogue to build understanding between movements and activists	79
5.6.2.	Use intersectional analysis to find areas of common struggle	80
5.6.3.	Highlight the history of women’s activism in forging alliances	80
5.7.	Expand inclusion within women’s movements	82
5.8	Operationalise gender justice within movements and movement-linked organisations	83
5.8.1.	Harness and adapt organisational change strategies and techniques	83
5.8.2.	Measure and track movements’ records on women’s rights and gender justice	83
5.9.	Remain attentive to movement-organisation power relations	84
5.9.1.	Better align donor practice with movement methods and needs	84
5.9.2.	Consider how organisational resources can contribute to movement-building	85
5.10.	Stay with it, and support change over time	86
6	REFLECTIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION	88
6.1.	Reflections	89
6.2.	Areas for further exploration	90
7	BIBLIOGRAPHY	93
8	GLOSSARY	105
9	LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS	109