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Routes to Shaping Gender-Just Movements

At the start of the march during the World Social Forum in Dakar, 2011, families unite to demand equality.

Photographer: Marie Devers

'Change is not a linear process, for which there is a recipe'
(Susanna George, BRIDGE e-discussion, October 2011).

While there is tremendous diversity in social movement practice across contexts, and different constellations of power relations, there are also many common patterns in both the challenges (as explored in chapter four), and successful strategies around transforming gendered power in movements. This chapter draws on case studies and reflections by social movement actors to offer creative and practical ideas for fully integrating and sustaining gendered analysis and action into visions and agendas of progressive social movements. It begins by outlining core elements of gender-just movements, drawing on ground-up experience. It then explores practical ideas for initiating and expanding gendered transformation in movement political visions, actions, constituency and leadership, and addressing attitudes in deep structure that underpin these. As noted in chapter two, movements take on many forms, including in their structure and level of formal or centralised organisation and decision-making. The routes outlined here point to areas and ideas for action but would necessarily need to be adapted to respective movement structures and cultures.

5.1 What does a gender-just movement look like?

While social movements vary in their outlook and methods across contexts, there are nevertheless many similarities in how movements respond to issues related to gender inequality and unequal power relations both within movements and in the external environment in which they are situated. The following box draws on past experience from diverse movements and movement actors to suggest possible components of feminist-allied and gender-just movements. These components function like enabling conditions, creating a supportive environment that allows for deep reflection, revision and action, and to sustain commitment to gender justice over time, including in the face of backlash. The routes to change outlined in the remainder of this chapter provide examples of how these elements can be acted on, including in light of the challenges explored in chapter four.

A gender-just social movement:

- Affirms the relevance and importance of integrating gendered inequality and challenging patriarchal power as an integral component of advancing justice for all, and naming this explicitly as a priority in movement politics, policies and strategies for action.

- Creates a positive, reflexive environment to support internal reflection and action around how gender operates in the deep structure of both individual and collective beliefs and actions.

- Provides active and formalised support for women's participation and leadership in all arenas of movement practice (including in movement policies if present and in movement-affiliated organisations), with attention to diversities among women and with adequate support for women in positions of leadership.

- Consistently tackles gender-based violence, establishing zero tolerance for the harassment of women, and creating mechanisms to prevent gender-based violence in movement spaces and to hold perpetrators to account.

- Assesses gendered bias in assigned movement roles and redistribution of labour and roles along more gender-just lines including in terms of public roles, movement outreach, internal administration and use of time.

- Enables full participation across gender by taking into account care work, reproductive roles and other gendered responsibilities which can affect movement participation.

- Appreciates the ways in which gender affects how activists are targeted by external opposition, and develops specific strategies to prevent and respond to gender-based backlash, repression and violence against women activists by external actors.

- Engages with norms and notions of gender including taking into account context-specific gender identities, trans and intersex identity and shifting understandings of gender in social life and activism.

5.2 Recognise and transform culture, power dynamics and hierarchies within movements

As chapters three and four showed, there are many barriers to building gender-just movements that cannot be easily tackled, because they lie within the informal structures and cultures of movements. It is, therefore, essential to engage with the personal – often invisible – power dynamics of movements to create lasting change.

5.2.1 Engage with the deep structure

Experience has shown that it is vital to engage with and work on transforming the deep structure of inequalities and biases within movements and among movement members in order for deeply ingrained social practices and attitudes around gender to shift. Indeed where efforts to work on the formal and visible aspects of gender justice – such as introducing new equality policies – fail, it tends to be because the deeply held beliefs and informal practices that sustain patriarchal gender norms have not been named or interrogated.

Many practitioners believe that supportive organisational cultures are essential for sustained, well-resourced and exemplary work on women's rights and gender justice (Kelleher and Bhattacharjya 2013). Working on the deep structure of a movement or organisation requires active individual and collective reflection and questioning around learned gender hierarchies in who speaks, decides and leads, and supporting new ways of being, seeing and doing that enact egalitarian power relations in terms of gender and other social divisions.

It is vital to initiate focused discussions on how power is used and shared in movements and their organisations, in relation to the thematic issues movements address but also with regards to the internal dynamics, practices and willingness to take on women's and gendered concerns. The necessity of discussing power and not simply more neutral ideas of 'gender' or 'women's concerns' is voiced in the following reflection:

'In our experience, we are increasingly coming up against people who have picked up the "right" jargon – participation, gender, equality, empowerment etc. So, we have terribly biased men (and sometimes women) using all the right words but without any matching intentions. For movements to resist these forces we need to move beyond their stated words. This requires more time and engagement, and pushing our analysis deeper and deeper' (Roshni Kishore Nuggehalli, BRIDGE e-discussion, May 2012).

An element of political will is required to open up to self-critique and rethinking in the name of advancing more inclusive, just politics and practices. The methodology of self-critique, while powerful, can also involve very difficult processes of facing past discrimination and of interrogating people's own acts of discrimination or violence against others. It requires patience as well as support as people work with and reconstruct their belief systems and political worldviews.

5.2.2 Politicise the personal

'Gender transformation usually needs a personal commitment to be successful, which also helps to avoid the problem of people just "talking the talk". The work to do a gender and intersectional power analysis in one's personal relationship, and linking it to social movement politics, is likely more successful if done in a way that is non-threatening, such as among peers. Engaging movement members at the personal level and/or with people in their personal lives are ways that I've seen successful changes come about' (Nadine Jubb, BRIDGE e-discussion, March 2013).

Feminist and women's movements have created sophisticated practices to interrogate how societal power impacts on people's personal lives, including in relation to self-perceptions, internalised oppression and learned hierarchies used to engage others. The notion of 'the personal is political' frames this work to question individual and collective understandings of gender and other axes of social power, and places emphasis on an ethics of 'walking the talk' in activist practice. As a Nicaraguan feminist activist reflects, 'We go along in the fights against violence but do not check how much violence there is in our personal relationships. We ourselves do not recognise the power we have' (Interview with Nicaraguan activists; Ardón 2012).

Consciousness-raising groups (see the box below) and other techniques of self-reflection are also used in mobilising traditions such as popular education, where people analyse oppression from their own life experience and use this reflection to develop conceptual and practical methods to challenge it. This process of reflection can become an ongoing collective engagement within movements about harmonising theory and action.

Consciousness-raising

Consciousness-raising is a movement-building strategy common in feminist movements. It involves creating group processes to explore personal experiences of violation and/or empowerment and develop a critical understanding of the root causes of oppression, deepen knowledge of history (including activist and alternative perspectives on mainstream history) and build solidarity and a shared political commitment to changing the status quo. Consciousness-raising is commonly facilitated in non-hierarchical ways, with the experiences and knowledge of all participants considered valuable and relevant for learning and reflection.

The move to encourage individual self-reflection within movements stems from a political embrace of personal experience as a legitimate, relevant domain of movement politics and action. Support for this idea cannot be assumed, particularly in movements with a more collective vision of activism, and as such needs to be cultivated. This point is explored in the following reflection from the South Africa context:

'It seems to me that creating the "right" balance here is like walking a tightrope. In our recent work in labour unions in South Africa, our very attempt to politicise the personal, to value "individuals" and "whole beings" as well as and as part of "collective" action has been severely criticised – the "movement" valorisation of the collective to the exclusion of the personal I think is a structural condition that many of our movements unconsciously perpetuate' (Michel Friedman, BRIDGE e-discussion, March 2013).

As the experience below from the Admas network in eastern Ethiopia shows, the process of personal critique and reflection can also support organisational platforms to become more activist in their approach to women's rights and gender equality.

Changing attitudes on gender through consciousness-raising in eastern Ethiopia

Admas is an umbrella network of seven community-based organisations, each of which has its own members in Dire Dawa (eastern Ethiopia). At the time, it was a woman-dominated association with around 3000 members. Its core business involves income-generation activities, which provide saving and credit services to non-members who are organised into cooperatives. The organisation decided to launch a process addressing issues of violence, poverty and HIV among women in their communities. At the first peer-learning event, Admas began with the idea to promote 'gender equality' but decided on the goal to create core change agents and a critical mass of people who believe in the education provided by the association. It explored the root causes of gender inequality, analysing proverbs, stories, progressive interpretations of religious texts and personal experience.

The process trained 140 change agents who were then supported through regular meetings and dialogue. Change team members transformed their understanding of themselves, their context and how gender relations work in their context and their capacities. Their change strategy reflects an understanding of gender that is not only about women but also expanded commitment from men and the involvement of key religious leaders in debate. In its approach, the Admas change team also shifted from the idea of providing access to paralegal services such as access to courts, law and justice to developing a critical mass of change agents who, through discussing and educating members and their families about underlying misconceptions, would address the issue on a different level, through individual consciousness-raising and collective action. Organisationally, the relationship between the Admas board and its members in the various civil society organisations has been changed by the role of the change agents. Having given the change agents freedom to facilitate how they wanted to, the agents have in turn become much more responsible network members. (Adapted from Kelleher and Friedman 2009: 11–17)

5.2.3 Acknowledge that change is emotional, and provide space to name, heal and change

In as much as everyone in the world is gendered, everyone has also, therefore, had experience of living with gendered power relations, and the privileges and/or marginalisations that come with it. People often become activists out of a desire to confront and stop further violations against them or their communities. As part of their activism, people may subsequently have to face tremendous loss and deep personal compromises, including the death of or acts of violence against movement members or their kin and friends as they challenge power. In the change process people thus engage a full range of emotions from fear and anger to happiness and courage, all of which also affect the interpersonal relationships within and the overall experience of movement participation.

Acknowledging that social change is emotional means providing space to anticipate and positively recognise and deal with these varied emotions, including through structured support and space to explore the emotional side of activism – for example, through artistic expression, and building a 'politics of compassion' (Doetsch-Kidder 2012; Goodwin, Jasper and Polletta 2001). In practical terms, there is growing recognition in women's movements, in particular around the importance of creating spaces and providing tools and resources for emotional health about the centrality of well-being and for self-care as a form of activist practice in itself (see CREA 2008; Barry and Djordjevic 2008). Both in principle and in practice, well-being strategies affirm the importance of helping to support activists and address burnout and the human impacts of marginalisation and repression, shape organising strategies that enable reflection and organisational sustainability, and model the holistic, balanced relationships that social justice movements aim to create in society.

Practical tools to support activist well-being

Capacitar emergency response kits: A set of simple hands-on techniques that can be used to address stress and trauma. Available in multiple languages at: http://www.capacitar.org/emergency_kits.html.

Integrated security manual: Practical tools and strategies for the safety and security of women human rights defenders. Available at: http://www.integratedsecuritymanual.org.

Out of the spiritual closet – organisers transforming the practice of social justice: A framework and practical activities for holistic activism and integrating reflection towards individual, group and societal transformation (Zimmerman et al. 2010).

Self-care and self-defence manual for feminist activists: A workbook for personal and collective reflection and training (CREA, Artemisa and Elige 2008).

Spirit in motion sustainability toolkit: Guide and workshop exercises to support personal and reflection for social justice activists. Available at: http://movementbuilding.movementstrategy.org/media/docs/5857_SIMtoolkit.pdf.

5.2.4 Rethink masculinities

As discussed in section 3.5.2, progressive men's movements have taken on board feminist critique around the patriarchal behaviours most men learn from an early age, and have committed to transforming norms held by men activists around masculinities, including around men's expected leadership, public bravery, heteronormativity and reliance on women as care workers in the family. The quote below reflects on this kind of exploration:

'[Part of my activism is] being clear about how I see my own patriarchal privileges in my life which I certainly have enjoyed but which have not always been good for me. [For example]… relying on my former wife to take care of the children while I charged ahead and developed a career including in gender equality and HIV. I am now much more aware [of the ironies inherent in that] and try to challenge others to be clear about what investments we have in this system and how that colours what we do' (Interview with Jerker Edstrom; Nascimento 2012).

Reflecting on internalised notions of masculinity – and hence of femininity – is a critical component of interrogating the deep structure of movements and organisations, since subtle, unquestioned expressions of these, often oppressive to women, are often manifested there, and thus cannot be inspected or addressed without examining the deep structure. The gendered division of labour, described below, is one such manifestation.

5.2.5 Interrogate the gendered division of labour in movement practices

Social relations within movements tend to replicate those existing in society as a whole unless they are actively questioned and transformed. As in the wider world, women bear greater responsibility for unpaid care than men (Esplen 2009; Budlender and Moussie 2013, Chopra et al. 2013), and the importance of care work as an economic support structure goes unrecognised (Razavi 2007). In mixed-gender movements it is important to analyse the gendered division of labour both in formal and informal understandings of what roles women and men play, including in leadership, decision-making, administration and care work between movement members. Experimenting with gender role reversals, putting in place formal policies around gender-just representation, and tackling barriers to movement participation posed by roles that women and men play outside movements, such as domestic work and child care, are all ways to address this.

5.3 Support internal activism for change

The most powerful accountability mechanism in any movement is its own constituency. It is thus vital to consider and support initiatives by movement members themselves that call for the respective movements to address their politics and practices around women's rights and gender justice. Here are some examples.

5.3.1 Build collective power among women

In contexts where women have not had opportunities to build leadership, political and technical experience, it is important to invest in building women's own skills and capacities. At the outset this may require space for women to interrogate past injustices both in their lives and in the context of movement work, and through this to build a sense of solidarity among women around feminist and gender justice politics and demands on their respective movements, and to build confidence to engage with broader movement constituents. Different constituencies of women – for example, young women, women with disabilities, women of colour and HIV-positive women – may see the need to form their own caucuses or groups to be able to explore their specific experiences and develop their politics. In the CLOC-Via Campesina movement, women leaders have worked hard to empower women in their movement so that they can challenge traditional gender norms:

One successful strategy has been to organise training schools where women are encouraged to recognise each other as owners of rights. They make themselves more visible, empower themselves, and their fears and mistrust lessen. In mixed groups, emblematic women leaders go on to act as role models for other women's empowerment, and they train others in how to confront discrimination or abuse and how to do public speaking. In this sense, the movement is an ongoing training school, producing "teachers" as it goes. (Adapted from Caro 2013)

As noted in section 5.2.5, this process of building collective power is emotional as well as technical. Cultivating a greater sense of agency and voice among women may be a necessary precondition for women to be able to engage effectively with everyone in their movements, given that 'it can be very difficult for groups who have been previously excluded, marginalised or violated to be more practically inclusive of the "oppressor" groups without some prior process of emotional healing having taken place' (Michel Friedman, BRIDGE e-discussion, March 2012).

5.3.2 Build and support feminist leadership

Feminist leadership can challenge both visible and invisible power and construct new forms of power that are more democratic, legitimate and accountable (Batliwala 2011). It can, therefore, play an important role in the development of gender-just movements. CREA, an Indian feminist human rights organisation that has played a leading role work to build and understand feminist leadership, has developed the following definition:

'[CREA's] leadership programme works on the assumption that leadership is not a fixed state of being but a process through which women assert their rights by continually evaluating relevant experiences, questioning their roles in society, challenging power structures and effectively catalysing social change' (Batliwala 2011: 27).

In a social movement context, the women leaders of CLOC-Via Campesina are doing this; they are working together to build a new generation of leaders who can embody the principles of feminist leadership they have developed. For them, leading their movement towards a stronger understanding of the 'popular rural feminism' they seek to promote 'implies accepting oneself as a woman, being proud of it, desiring equality, preventing abuse, taking the opportunity to think differently, valuing oneself and demanding respect' (Caro 2013: 4). For others within the movement, the CLOC's women leaders are seen as 'as hardworking, creative, bold and brimming with ideas and proposals for dealing with crises' (Caro 2013: 2).

5.3.3 Develop women's platforms and caucuses

Women's rights advocates have used the strategy of building women's platforms within mixed-gender movements not yet actively committed to women's rights or feminist visions, as a way to both focus in and develop analysis, skills and a sense of personal and collective power, as well as a stronger lobby for gendered demands to the broader membership and movement leadership where relevant. For example, at Occupy Wall Street, a series of feminist general assemblies were organised that addressed not only women's role in economic justice movements but also took up issues of patriarchy, heterosexism and transphobia.[43] Occupy caucuses were set up for women, as well as for people of colour and queer people, and groups such as Occupy Patriarchy and Women Occupying Wall Street emerged to highlight the particular demands of women from the Occupy movement (Sahasranaman 2013).

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43   Transphobia is intolerance towards and discrimination against people who are trans.

As the example from the Anti-Privatisation Forum in South Africa below shows, forums built by and for women in movements can help to shift gender power relations within social movements:

Remmoho: a women's space in South Africa's Anti-Privatisation Forum

'As women we were part of the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF) [in South Africa]. This organisation struggled for basic services, especially water, housing, proper sanitation and electricity for poor people in the community. As women in this organisation we had no voice and were oppressed as our leadership was male dominated. They expected us as women to listen and agree with them at all times without questioning or challenging any issue. We sat down and discussed the problem of being voiceless and concluded that we will have a woman structure – Remmoho – in order for us to have a voice, a safe space and a say in how the organisation is run. We knew that Remmoho would be able to speak for all women collectively and also challenge some of the decisions taken on behalf of women. In this space we will be able to share, dialogue and discuss problems we face as women in our homes, at work and in the public space. This is one of the reasons why we formed Remmoho. We wanted to engage without any anger as previously you needed to fight before you can be heard in the APF' (Phillips 2012: 32).

The impact of women's platforms on broader movement membership is contingent on a number of factors, including the internal strength of the platform. There is also the possibility for women's platforms to become marginalised within broader movement spaces, resources and decision-making processes if they are not fully acknowledged by the rest of the movement membership or not given explicit roles in contributing to shaping movement agendas and practices. The following perspective on the anti-dam movement in India points to the potential for women's wings or platforms to become isolated from general movement politics and hence responsibility:

Limited power for the women's wing of a farmers' movement

'A large farmers' movement, begun by Krishak Mukti Sangram Samiti in Assam, India, was started in 2001. [They began] to take up women's issues but it is not yet part of their core agenda. A separate women's wing has been set up within the movement to take up these issues. It is often seen that only women talk about women issues. Even in their decision making body, out of a hundred only three are women. In Northeast India there are 168 mega dams proposed to generate 80,000 megawatts of electricity. This involves huge investment in the region, so the anti-dam movement is considered to be involved in "anti-national activities". Being a conflict zone, this region is heavily militarised... So, more women are going to be victim of sexual violence, human trafficking, and displacement as a consequence of the presence of more military forces. But these issues are not considered as core issues and also are not discussed widely in the movement. Women's participation is considerably high in activities like demonstrations, mobilisations and other similar activities, [yet] their representation in decision-making bodies is as low as [to be almost] invisible. The women's rights agenda is either sidelined or discussed by women only' (Bondita Acharya, BRIDGE e-discussion, October 2011).

5.3.4 Work on movement politics, not just representation of women

Representation of women (and historically marginalised women within them) in movement leadership, public voice and decision-making is one critical component of mixed-gender movements. However, as discussed in chapters three and four, representation in itself is insufficient without a complementary focus on redistributing gendered power and, through this, fundamentally changing the gendered power relations that sustain inequality within movement spaces. In the CLOC-Via Campesina movement, which has a significant proportion of women members and a policy on gender parity in decision-making spaces but still experiences gender inequalities within its deep structure, women leaders have developed a plan of action to transform movement politics:

'Since patriarchy is a long-standing problem, the CLOC women's network aims to raise awareness that will enable people to see the inequality that is naturalised at present in cultural constructions of the family, in organisations and in society at large. This means denouncing injustice and transforming daily behaviour such as unbridled male sexuality, expressed in crude comments and other forms of sexual harassment. It also means addressing the sexual division of the word and hence questioning the non-democratic use of speech in meetings; since men generally speak first, they often mark out the conditions for debate [...] It means training men, incorporating them in debates with women and young people so that they manage to understand that women only want access to the same choices.' (Caro 2013: 6)

Within the Occupy movement, a disparity between representation and movement politics was also observed:

As Occupy attracted more women activists, the personal safety of women within the movement became a serious issue. Women occupiers faced harassment while participating in protests. Safe spaces committees were set up in Occupy Wall Street as well as in other Occupy encampments. Safety was also brought up in General Assembly meetings. However, along with the issue of building safe spaces within a movement that, at its centre, was about space and who can claim it, women also raised key questions about the role and relation of women in Occupy. Could they remain limited to issues of sexual harassment and safety? What about their demand for economic justice, knowing they were paid less, that poverty affected them in unique, distressing ways; that women of colour are acutely affected by foreclosures, and that queer/gender non-conforming people do not find jobs easily? (Adapted from Sahasranaman 2013)

5.3.5 Support and learn from individual change-makers

In some movement contexts, individuals with influence have broken ground in opening up debate and initiating changes in politics and practice on gender. This may include changing their own practices as well as questioning movement politics and practices that perpetuate gender power dynamics, as the example of the Batang Berjuntai Credit Cooperative below illustrates.

Leadership for change in the Batang Berjuntai Credit Cooperative

'The Batang Berjuntai Credit Cooperative was begun by a few inspired and inspiring young leaders (both men and women) who were all from a rural Indian-Malaysian plantation community. While they were always focused on ending poverty and social justice, somewhere along the line one of their leaders, Paul Sinnapan, went for a clearly powerful gender sensitisation course run by the Asian Women in Cooperative Development Forum (AWCF) – and came back a transformed man. The first thing he did when he came back from this training was to call a meeting of the cooperative and share his experience, and get an agreement from the board and its members that the credit cooperative and its board was immediately going to become 50% women. They did this by changing the policy on membership. Men could only belong to the credit cooperative if one member of their family (whether mother, wife, daughter or sister) were a part of the credit union as well. Their board also has more than 50% women, and they also have policies regarding making sure that the board is inter-generational. To work on the deep structure of their culture, they tapped into the writings of an old Tamil [philosopher and social reformer] who wrote a lot about right conduct in the family and in relationships... interpreting gender equality, social justice and human integrity as intrinsically rooted in their Tamil/Hindu heritage.

Over time, and through dialogue within the cooperative and in different smaller units around which the cooperative is organised, they developed concepts of gender equality and redistribution of power in the family. One example I recall is having family budget meetings where everyone in the family, children included, were a part of the discussion of how household income and expenditure were decided. Sharing of reproductive work including childcare is a centre piece of these discussions (though this has been a harder area to bring about change in). Sinnapan himself changed his own routines as the leader to incorporate reproductive work... and the cooperative itself changed the meeting times in their office – no meeting would start until after 10a.m. to give both women and men time to see their children off to school, clean their houses, do laundry and cook before coming into work' (Susanna George, BRIDGE e-discussion, October 2011).

5.3.6 Anticipate and respond to backlash

While individuals can help break ground in questioning internal discriminations and injustices and putting women's rights and gender justice on movement agendas, they may also face backlash and criticism for doing so. Indeed people who step outside movement norms to question the internal status quo are not always welcomed from the outset, and can face experiences of being sidelined, harassed or discredited as invalid spokespeople for the movement.[44] These forms of silencing tend to take gendered forms, with attempts to discredit women by framing them as outside 'appropriate' gender norms, in particular questioning women's actual or alleged sexual or reproductive choices. Men who stand against patriarchal gender norms may also face ridicule and/or questions regarding their identities as 'men'. People who act as forerunners can experience isolation or a lack of public support for their positions, even though some who fear retribution by taking a public stance may express solidarity in private (Tamale 2003).

In supporting change it is, therefore, important to express solidarity with individuals and minority voices within movements who do speak out, including ways to show both public and private support and redistribute the burden of backlash that they

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44   For a personal exploration of this in the context of anti-apartheid activism in South Africa, see Govender (2007).

face. Support may also need to include anticipating and taking action around gender-specific forms of marginalisation and silencing such as gender-based ridicule and harassment which can come from inside or outside the respective movements (see Rothschild 2005). The Women Human Rights Defenders International Coalition is an example of a targeted initiative around the protection of activists facing repression and violence for their work challenging gendered injustice (see the box below).

The Women Human Rights Defenders International Coalition

The Women Human Rights Defenders International Coalition began as a campaign in 2005 to document the particular violations faced by women human rights defenders and LGBTI defenders, and to advocate for gender-sensitive protection and prevention mechanisms. The coalition advocates for support for individuals as well as groups, including through mechanisms to respond to individual women's human rights defenders at risk, proactive measures for activists' safety and personal self-care, and greater donor funding for self-care and safety for activists, organisations and movements. (Source: http://www.defendingwomen-defendingrights.org/)

5.3.7   Acknowledge women's agency and avoid a 'victim' approach

Although the realities of violence and systematic marginalisation of women and girls make a compelling case for promoting gender justice, it is important to not end the analysis of gender inequalities or the case for alliance-building there. Solidarity with gender justice entails acknowledging women's agency and leadership in naming and taking action against gendered oppression and inequality, and the subsequent need for movements to listen and respond. This point is expressed in the following quote:

'The specific demands of women are part of social [demands]. Perhaps the invisibility comes from their not having been named as subjects of change or as social actors with full rights. They did not appear on the list… Now we see that naming female and male actors means that we are highlighting that the fight against domestic violence is a social problem... To make visible one of the components also shows its specific condition… that which makes it an agent of change.' (Interview with Domingo Hernández Ixcoy, Maya-K'iche leader; Ardón 2012)

5.4   Draw the line on impunity for gender-based violence

Holding movement members and leadership to account for ethical conduct around gender relations – be it in public or private – is essential to challenging hidden and invisible power dynamics that make movement participation uncomfortable or unbearable for women and gender minorities and undermine the lived politics of a movement. This includes issues such as domestic violence or sexual harassment by movement members, either to others in their movements or in their personal lives. It also includes challenging impunity and the failure of movement leadership to take a stand against discrimination or violence within movements.

In practice, individuals or groups within movements may decide to take action within their movements or at community level which in turn instigates a broader response and action for changed behaviour, as the following example from India suggests.

Holding our own to account – women in the Mumbai pavement dweller movement

'I remember the pavement dweller women in Mumbai that I helped organise in the Eighties came up with an ingenious tactic for dealing with men who beat their wives: the moment a beating started, the woman at the receiving end would yell out to her neighbours, and each household would send their children, armed with slippers and sandals, to the hut with the offending man. The children would surround and clamber on top of him and "garland" him with footwear – this is a traditional form of public humiliation in the Indian subcontinent, to garland a wrongdoer with footwear. To have this done by children, than whom you as an adult should be wiser, was even worse humiliation' (Srilatha Batliwala, BRIDGE e-discussion, October 2011).

Women in the Piquetero Movement of unemployed workers which emerged in Argentina during the financial crisis of the 1990s have led similar community-based activism against domestic violence:

Internal activism against domestic violence in the Argentinian Piquetero movement

'In the Piquetero Movement, people don't go to the police in these cases; instead, "persuasive actions" are taken towards the aggressor. Several women go to the home of the man who has engaged in violence against his companion to talk to him about what this means, about why he shouldn't continue to act this way, about the way his companion suffers, etc. The first goal is to let him know that his violent attitudes are a public matter, well-known in the neighbourhood, and to insist that he seek out a self-help group or other type of therapy. In some cases, when these measures haven't produced favourable results, the women remove the aggressors from their homes by force.' (Source: D'Atri and Escati 2008: 6)

In addition to activism by members, it is important for movements to take explicit stands against gender-based harassment and violence in any spaces where the respective movements lay out ethical and political principles, such as in organisational or physical spaces created by movements, and in their publically articulated political visions and codes of conduct where these exist. Standing up against internal discrimination is important in principle and may also help open space for frank discussions and change in movement practices. This can include interventions to ensure women's physical safety in collective spaces, and solidarity with people who are violated, while also challenging impunity in bringing perpetrators to account or in silencing claims made by people targeted.

5.5 Develop the politics and make the arguments on gender and movements

Developing and continually reflecting on a political approach regarding patriarchal power lies at the heart of fully engaging women's rights and gender justice within movements. Political visions are what make a movement, and as such taking a position on gendered injustice and oppression is a necessary component of building gender-just movements. This also includes developing clear notions of how gendered power manifests, including with regards to gender identity (including trans and intersex

identities), and the ways in which gender identities are compounded by other forms of oppression. While separate spaces for women or other marginalised groups within movements can create an important arena for these discussions to take place, it has also proved necessary for issues of women's rights and gender justice to be debated and explored in broader, mixed spaces, so that gender is not siloed into a small range of 'women's issues' (Bhattacharjya et al. 2013).

5.5.1 Make women's rights and gender justice visible in movement agendas

As this report has argued, gender justice is not a separate issue that movements should 'add on' to their agendas; gender inequality is central to all issues tackled by social movements –therefore, no issue can be fully addressed without taking into account these gender dimensions. Making this visible to movement members in the context of movement politics is the first step to fully establishing why it is necessary to integrate gender analysis and action as part of activism. Awareness can be created through many means including public mobilisations, position papers on gender in relation to the movement's core issues, internal dialogues, questions and demands for specific actions, leading by example, developing gender analyses on movement issues and politics and encouraging members to reflect on the gender dynamics of movements' cultural practices. As in the experience of the Korean Women's Trade Union (see the box below), taking the step to do what is being asked of the broader movement and organise women around movement agendas is also a means of having women's concerns heard and inviting solidarity to take the issues on.

Making women workers' rights visible in the Korean trade union movement

The Korean Women's Trade Union (KWTU) was founded in 1999 to meet the organising needs of women workers – typically working in smaller un-unionised companies and in short-term, temporary and contracted labour which fell outside the scope of traditional labour unions. The KWTU has led by example in organising women temporary workers for better working conditions, including as golf caddies, and cleaners in universities. Their successful strikes in turn encouraged existing unions, until then only supporting full-time workers, to open their membership to women workers on temporary contracts. (Source: Park 2009)

5.5.2 Openly discuss what women's rights and gender justice means for the movement

To improve the chances of success and overcome resistance, one strategy is for a movement or movement-related organisation to work on discovering and building its own understanding of women's rights and gender justice. Movements need knowledge, pedagogical methods and concrete tools that can translate gender-responsive approaches from theory into practice that works in different contexts and among different movement actors. Movements and their related organisations cannot simply 'import' gender equality strategies from outside; they need room to digest ideas about women's rights and gender justice and translate them into terms and approaches that fit with their context and ways of working (Bhattacharjya et al. 2013; Caro 2013).

These ongoing discussions and negotiations may be difficult at times. For example, at Amnesty International, this involved translating thinking from one movement (feminist/women's) into the language and understanding of another (the Amnesty movement). Debates were shaped by the legalistic nature of human rights movements – for example, debating whether domestic violence could be classed as torture. 'An important step was this dialogue of insiders and outsiders shaping the issue of women's rights into a form that Amnesty could incorporate into its ways of working as well as pressure from inside and outside' (Kelleher and Bhattacharjya 2013: 3).

5.5.3 Agree movement-wide political positions and/or policies on gender

Another strategy is to develop specific policies and analysis on women's rights and gender justice and incorporate these in key movement frameworks or guidelines. This can only occur in movements that have a degree of centralised leadership and policy or agenda-setting mechanisms. Once established, these statements or policies have both symbolic and practical value, and can be used by movement members in other contexts – for example, in their more localised organising, to reinforce the political legitimacy of a women's rights agenda or to hold actors to account in areas such as women's representation or meaningful participation. The strategy of establishing gender policies has been used by the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC), a global civil society network of organisations, and an important organisational ally for women's peace movements in the South Pacific. Its founding document in 2005 recognised the importance of including a gender perspective in conflict prevention, followed by a comprehensive gender policy, the result of pressure from women's networks within GPPAC.

Introducing and sustaining a gender-aware approach to conflict prevention

The Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) is a global civil society network of organisations working on conflict prevention and peace-building that calls for a fundamental change in dealing with violent conflict. GPPAC's Global Action Agenda, the founding document developed for the network's launch in 2005, recognised the importance of including a gender perspective in conflict prevention. However, women's groups within the network pressed for a comprehensive gender policy. FemLINKPACIFIC, a network of Pacific women's peace groups, proposed a model for enabling spaces for country and regional gender focal points within the network with key roles and responsibilities to ensure accountability of the network to women's rights treaties and conventions, including UN Security Council Resolution 1325. While a lack of resources delayed the implementation of the commitments and proposals set out in the framework, commitment remains high, given the political commitment of the GPPAC Executive Director, and a targeted gender coordinator. The members of the International Board of GPPAC including the Chairperson also continue to be strong champions of the policy as well as gender equality in their own work and actions. (Source: Bhagwan Rolls 2013)

5.6 Build inclusive alliances, shared analysis and common cause

The important process of building alliances and finding common cause between feminist and other social movement politics involves openness to critique and a desire to listen and to change. Put differently, 'inclusion works in two ways – the struggle to be included and the willingness to include' (David Kelleher, BRIDGE e-discussion, March 2012). Some strategies to help this process are discussed below.

5.6.1 Create spaces for dialogue to build understanding between movements and activists

Common cause can be built through dialogue and constructing a shared analysis as the following experience suggests:

'I remember a meeting that a group of feminists convened with peasant and indigenous leaders to speak about our commonalities… I think that trying to look at how we agree, instead of disagree, always works better. In that moment… some leaders discovered that feminism could be a good thing, something positive, even though it would be difficult for them to admit it.' (Interview with Catalina, Mayan activist; Ardón 2012)

In East Africa, the sex worker and LGBTI rights movements both emerged with significant support from feminist individuals and organisations in the region as well as supportive donors. Bringing members of these movements into frequent contact with each other in leadership training and strategy meetings helped form activist relationships and solidarities, including for people who identified with two or more of the movements.

Negotiating solidarities: Building support for LGBTIQ and sex worker rights in East Africa

In the early 1990s, individual lesbian and gay community members and activists in East Africa stepped into rough waters to claim their right to be human, to engage on issues deeply passionate to themselves. Later in the 1990s, the sex worker movement in East Africa grew from small regional organising to more joined-up activism which was strengthened by ongoing capacity-building and leadership training to encourage sex workers to engage in policy processes and influence decisions. The LGBTIQ and sex work movements began to collaborate in light of a need to grow movement numbers, out of external encouragement from donors, and in the face of common forms of repression including police raids and retrogressive legal reform.

Feminist organisations, individual feminists and activists, and feminist movements[45] in the region contributed greatly to creating space for dialogue and engagement within the women's movement on the issues being raised by the sex worker and LGBTIQ movements. They supported and spearheaded the birth of the coalition of civil society organisations that campaigned against the homophobic bill in Uganda, and rallied to petition the government of Uganda against the closure of leadership training workshops for sex workers.

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45   Key among these are the Uganda Feminist Forum and the Africa Feminist Forum.

'This led to issues of identity politics being seen by other movements as human rights concerns. Other social justice movements and actors, especially feminists, realised what they had in common with the LGBTIQ and sex work movements; all are trying to change the status quo'. (Nakaweesi-Kimbugwe with Chigudu 2013: 5).

5.6.2 Use intersectional analysis to find areas of common struggle

Intersectional analysis is a useful tool for identifying how different axes of power intersect and, through this, defining areas of common struggle between social movements. For example, individuals and groups that embrace an intersectional approach can also act as bridges between movements, using relationships and experiences across movements as a way to call for unified action and to help build social capital between movements. This has been the case with the human rights movement, as gender equality advocates from both women's movements and within the human rights movement itself have worked over a number of years to bring an intersectional approach to rights, arguing that 'women's rights are human rights'. The result has been that 'when the politics of feminism are combined with the tools of the human rights framework, great progress can be made. And when both sets of movements work in tandem, each others' voices can be amplified' (Bhattacharjya 2013: 5).

In Brazil, Afro-Brazilian feminists have engaged in intersectional activism around gender, race and class inequality, gaining social capital and organising experience through national gender equality platforms and transnational feminist organising with black and Afro-descendant women from across the Americas. The experience of mobilising around governmental forums on gender equality also provided women activists with leadership and technical skills that they then used in engaging governmental process around race, organising alongside Afro-Brazilian men activists in spaces such as the 2001 United Nations World Conference Against Racism in Durban (Franklin 2011).

Alliances may also emerge around a need to unite against common adversaries. This is common in campaigns or in the face of sudden shifts in political power or political repression, where there is a very focused change objective, and the need to create a base of allies around it may supersede existing antagonisms between movements concerned. In the course of confronting a common adversary movement actors often get to know each other and form relationships which may carry on after the particular campaign or goal has been achieved.

5.6.3 Highlight the history of women's activism in forging alliances

Too often the past activism of feminists and women's movement activists is written out of the history of social movements. Women are not recognised as agents of progressive change, which can hinder building alliances and solidarity with other movements and activists. 'The tragedy is that the role of women [is often] silenced by the narrators of history. How can we ensure that history recognises/acknowledges the role of individual women and gender justice movements as part of our collective narrative and not a footnote in the margins?' (Philip Thigo, BRIDGE e-discussion, October 2012; see also Abbas 2012).

The very act of women being visible in solidarity actions can challenge such stereotypes and help to build common cause and new or stronger relationships with allies:

'[During] the coup d'état in Honduras in 2009… an incredible number of women took to the streets in protest, and men in mixed organisations realised that this was due to years of feminist organising. This broke down negative stereotypes of feminism (as "bourgeois" elites only interested in individualistic personal issues), and the "Feminists in Resistance" gained a lot of respect for their perseverance and commitment in their fight for democracy in Honduras despite repression and reprisals specifically against women' (Morna Mcleod, BRIDGE e-discussion, October 2011).

It is clearly essential to weave women's stories back into histories of activism. With this in mind, feminists and women's movement activists continue to engage in a retelling of activist histories, researching and making visible the hitherto undocumented or uncelebrated histories of women and gendered minorities in community and national struggles. They have also documented and reconstructed the history of social movements to better reflect the role of women, such as the rich history of Muslim women's activism (see the box below).

Re-telling the story of Muslim women activists

The training and information kit Great Ancestors: Women asserting rights in Muslim contexts documents stories of Muslim women activists in Asia, Africa and the Middle East from the 8th to the 20th centuries, making visible a rich and diverse history of activism in personal, community, political and religious domains. The tool was produced by the global network of Women Living Under Muslim Laws and the Pakistani women's rights organisation Shirkat Gah Women's Resource Centre (see Shaheed and Shaheed 2005).

Knowledge of activist history in itself is a resource in coalition-building. Demonstrating a history of connection between social movements and political struggles can help make the case for contemporary solidarity and the need to build on past progress. The following quote explores this idea:

'In my efforts to advance feminism within anti-racism movements and vice versa in the UK, I have found it useful to be able to demonstrate how feminism has always been a part of the historical anti-racism struggle in the country. This has been key because of how racism operates in the UK, which can make some people of colour/ethnic minorities/black people resist ideas that appear to come from the dominant white majority, especially when it comes to how "our" women should be… [M]any people have been surprised and then pleased to learn that the movement for women's votes in the UK was born out of the fact that women were barred from participating in the anti-slavery conferences of the time. It was in trying to be part of the anti-racism movement of the time that women became aware of their rights as women' (zohra moosa, BRIDGE e-discussion, September 2012).

5.7 Expand inclusion within women's movements

'Women and women's movements are not immune to social hierarchies within them. This brought the discussion back to the processes of building common cause - for example, healing past oppressions and operating from a place of reflexivity, self- awareness, and introspection - the 'qualities of relationship' (Alia Khan, summary of BRIDGE e-discussion, March 2012).

Women's movements themselves are not static; they emerge, grow and change in response to internal factors (such as new constituencies demanding recognition, inter-generational change and new directions in theory) and external factors (such as political clampdowns and new technologies). As the quote above suggests, challenging inequalities and the exercise of discriminatory power within women's movements remains ongoing as movements self-critique and work towards increasingly inclusive politics of transformation. This in turn strengthens solidarities with other movements of which women's movement members are part, and contributes to moving progressive politics forward. The Latin American and Caribbean Feminist *Encuentros* explored in the box below provide a snapshot of this dynamic of internal critique and inclusion.

The Latin American and Caribbean Feminist *Encuentros*: Engaging political and identity-based difference

'The meetings have helped pluralise feminisms' (Virginia Vargas, AWID, 2011: online).

The Feminist *Encuentros* in Latin America and the Caribbean were founded in 1981 as gatherings for feminists from across the region to debate their politics, develop and reflect on strategies and form solidarities across different feminist constituencies. Disagreements and transformations around how the *Encuentros* are organised, who participates and what is discussed have mirrored broader challenges in feminist movements around intersectionality, in particular concerning race and ethnicity, social class, sexual orientation and gender identity. As growing numbers of poor and working-class women from mass women's movements joined, participants questioned where class fits in the feminist visions of the space and how much money was spent on venue costs given the economic status of many participants. Black/Afro-descendant and indigenous women called for greater visibility and consistent integration of their agendas in the programme, including issues of racism among feminists.

Black/Afro-descendant women mobilised within the Encuentro and created a separate regional platform to build a stronger regional black feminist movement. Lesbian women faced both homophobia and solidarity, forming a lesbian feminist network in response. Indigenous women were under-represented in early *Encuentros*, with indigenous women's mobilising gathering pace primarily outside regional feminist spaces and instead as part of the broader Latin American indigenous movement. In more recent years debates over the inclusion of transgender and intersex feminists have surfaced. In response to experiences of transphobia, a platform of lesbian, transgender and intersex feminist and allies organised a separate meeting in 2012, *Encuentro LesBiTransInter Feminista 'Venir al Sur'*. The Feminist *Encuentros* themselves continue to take place, adapting and expanding their political analysis in light of the needs and emerging movements of diverse Latin American and Caribbean feminists. (Adapted from Alvarez et al. 2003)

5.8   Operationalise gender justice in movements and movement-linked organisations

Evidence from the detailed case studies developed for this report points to the role that a movement's central body or support organisation can play in whether and how women's rights and gender justice are embraced. Where there is an organisational base or platform relevant to or influential in guiding movement thinking and practice, it may be useful to consider how organisational change strategies and auditing and evaluation approaches can be adapted to support this process (Bhattacharjya et al. 2013). Below are some ways this has been done in practice.

5.8.1   Harness and adapt organisational change strategies and techniques

Work on changing internal politics needs to be coupled with a range of change strategies, to transform movement culture and staff or member consciousness. While not sufficient on its own, senior-level commitment is a key driver of change: whether in terms of forging action to create gender parity in decision-making or membership, ensuring gender justice goals are at the heart of strategic plans and campaigns, allocating resources to staff with a gender-specific remit, or setting up accountability mechanisms (Bhattacharjya et al. 2013). In the case of GPPAC discussed earlier, pressure from gender advocates within the movement for 'gender mainstreaming' and a comprehensive gender policy, coupled with supportive leadership, has heightened political commitment to work on gender justice (Bhagwan Rolls 2013). It became clear that 'simply having a policy is not enough. It is vital to effectively demonstrate the "how to integrate" or operationalise the policy' (Bhagwan Rolls 2013: 3). This is supported by a pool of active gender 'focal points' (both women and men), part of GPPAC's gender mainstreaming[46] strategy.

Neither leadership nor policy insures against weak or inconsistent implementation. This is where feminist tools relating to consciousness-raising can be harnessed, enabling a shift in culture so that gender justice issues can be integrated across all levels of organisational culture and, through this, into operational planning, staff management, resources and accountability structures.

5.8.2   Measure and track movements' records on women's rights and gender justice

In order to plan effective action for integrating women's rights and gender justice into a movement or movement-related organisation, some kind of audit of the 'current state of play' on gender issues is useful, drawing on well-established gender auditing tools.[47] Such audits and ongoing evaluations can inspire reflection, learning and further action by identifying failures and recording progress, both on 'internal' mechanisms and outward-facing policy and activism. Amnesty International introduced its Stop Violence Against Women (SVAW) Campaign in 2004, which was to last six years. This campaign was a real departure for Amnesty; it was a new subject and a long and global campaign, involving

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46   GPPAC's two-pronged approach to gender mainstreaming consists of an internal strategy of integrating a gender perspective into GPPAC's work at all levels, alongside an external strategy that focuses on strengthening GPPAC's advocacy and outreach work on priority topics related to gender justice (Bhagwan Rolls 2013).

47   Examples of gender audit tools include Moser (2005) and International Labour Organization (2007).

working partnerships with other organisations. It was also intended to change Amnesty's approach to women's rights (Kelleher and Bhattacharjya 2013). The subsequent evaluation exercise was, therefore, an important learning event; it concluded that while the campaign mobilised large amounts of energy on women's rights, it did not change the movement or normal organisational functioning and did not make women's rights part of Amnesty's 'DNA' (Wallace and Banos Smith 2010).

5.9   Remain attentive to power relations between movements and organisations

Today many organisations, including NGOs, formally registered community-based organisations, trade unions, political parties and donors are major actors with concerns and priorities that intersect with social movements' demands for women's rights and gender justice. It remains critical to be alert to the tremendous opportunities as well as tensions involved in these interactions. Organisations explicitly dedicated to movement-building and movement support need to remain aware of their own positions of power when working with movements, and recognise the importance of tackling new forms of oppression and emerging constituencies. They should also engage with movements' critiques of mainstream models including mainstream organisational forms and political processes.

5.9.1   Better align donor practice with movement methods and needs

Donors investing in social change around gender equality and women's rights should continue to explore ways to support movement-building[48] and longer-term investments in base-building, cultivating popular political consciousness around challenging patriarchal power, and more clearly focused processes for building gender-just movement cultures. A number of donors are considering ways to democratise the donor–grantee relationship around grants decision-making and better align with activist agendas through participatory grant-making models, as profiled below.

Participatory grant-making to support movement agendas

There is growing interest among social justice and human rights donors to consider grant-making models that allow for funding allocations and strategic direction to be set more directly by organisations and activists in social movements. The Nicaragua-based Central American Women's Fund (http://www.fcmujeres.org), founded in 2003, has pioneered a model of participatory grant-making where applicants make the decisions around who receives funding. The fund supports feminist and women's rights activism with a focus on young women and minorities. This model has since inspired activist donor initiatives in other regions including UHAI – the East African Sexual Health and Rights Fund (http://www.uhai-eashri.org/) supporting LGBTI and sex worker activism in East Africa, and FRIDA, the Young Feminist Fund supporting young feminist activism globally (Pittman 2011).

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48   See McGarvey and Mackinnon (2008) for a funders' guide to supporting community organising.

In addition to changing grant decision-making processes, donors funding movement-building for women's rights and gender justice should continue to consider funding strategies that support movements to develop and reflect on gender justice and feminist politics, strategies and actions relevant to their respective contexts, and long-term tools to trace success in moving agendas forward. Multi-year and core funding are essential for movement-building as a means to enable continual investment in gender justice goals including among new movement members. This more flexible resourcing also enables movements to invest in ongoing work on deep structure, internal reflection and action around gender norms, and support for healing and emotional transformation. In both their funding and convening capacity, donors can support inter-movement dialogues both between and within women's/gender justice and other social movements to facilitate learning and building common cause.

5.9.2 Consider how organisational resources can contribute to movement-building

Organisations working on issues that intersect with movement agendas around gender justice and challenging patriarchal power can consider how to use their resources to advance movement-building. There remains a need to support spaces (physical and virtual) to develop and share movements' political visions, a process that can be supported by collaboration with movement actors, convening and creating spaces that may not already exist for different movements and members of movements in different geographical locations to meet and explore common political concerns and build analytical and leadership skills. Looking strategically, organisations have acted, and can continue to act, as intermediaries for movement actors to access formal discussion and decision-making spaces around women's rights and related intersectional concerns, including in governmental forums within other social movements. The example below looks at how CREA, a feminist NGO, supports movement-building to advance the rights of women and girls and the sexual and reproductive freedoms of all people.

CREA: movement-building through training, knowledge production and creating inter-movement spaces

CREA, a feminist human rights organisation based in New Delhi, India, contributes to movement-building in India, South Asia and globally through its Building Feminist Leadership and Movements initiative. CREA uses leadership training, hosting dialogues across movements and generating knowledge and analysis on contentious issues between and within movements which each provide conceptual resources and practical knowledge for movement actors. The annual Feminist Leadership, Movement Building and Rights Institutes (FLaMBRI), aimed at younger activists, builds analytical skills and reviews past organising strategies and how they can be applied to contemporary agendas. CREA also hosts global dialogues that facilitate inter-movement alliances by opening space for rigorous debate on contentious issues. In 'Ain't I a Woman: A Global Dialogue' activists from the sex workers' rights and the stop violence against women movements explored disagreements and ways to build common cause around sex workers' rights to freedom from violence. The Count Me In Conference, held in 2011, was historic in providing a platform for South Asian activists from a spectrum of movements – many of whom had not previously interacted – to learn about and strategise on ways to end violence against sex workers, disabled women, lesbian women and trans people.

5.10   Stay with it, and support change over time

Time is an important factor in the development and success of social movements (see section 2.1) Although individual campaigns or instances of uprising for change may be limited to particular points in time (typically ending once successful, or if diffused), the broader struggle for women's rights and gender justice remains ongoing. Movements can help open space in society for new discussions and new voices, which in turn means that new constituencies begin to demand their rights – for example, the LGBTI and disability activist communities in the past half-century have been calling for action on their respective concerns and are highlighting how these intersect with gender inequality issues. As noted earlier, success can also bring backlash, as individuals, constituencies or institutions that benefited from the unjust status quo attempt to reclaim their power or role – a situation which in turn requires a response and sometimes different activist strategies. Movement politics must remain flexible to remain relevant as power relations shift, new constituencies emerge and new demands surface. Thus while shifts in how movements engage gender – for example, in acts of solidarity with women and gendered minorities, or welcoming new leadership – are important, the actual test is sustaining this respect and working on the full integration of women's rights and gender justice over time.

The process of changing perceptions and politics in itself is long-term in its scope and requires what Brazilian activists call 'revolutionary patience' (Obando 2008), and continual engagement. This idea is explored by activists in the reflections below:

'One of the major difficulties that we have found in our work is that movements and organisations need to "digest" what gender means to them. They have to be able to think about it in their own terms, integrate it into their ways of thinking and negotiate a place for it in their own cultural realities. This takes a long time, and it's not done in a gender training workshop' (David Kelleher, BRIDGE e-discussion, September 2012).

'Another challenge is the often unstated, but pervasive, focus on the ends or goals, and not the means or process. In campaigns and strategy meetings, there is a tendency to look at the tangible results at the cost of ignoring and devaluing the process. It is a constant struggle to raise issues of process and recognising how change is incremental' (Roshni Kishore Nuggehalli, BRIDGE e-discussion, May 2012).

'These are very complicated discussions even between two individuals to integrate what gender equality means in your marriage, in your family… Integrating gender equality has to be part of daily practice between our cultures, between our different economies… These discussions do not have easy answers. We have to talk about it constantly, and in that talking we find our solutions' (Interview with Mirijam Van Reisen, Social Watch Philippines, 2011).

Sustain the gains with new activist generations

As part of building on past movement gains, it is vital to support new activist generations to continue to advance feminist and gender justice politics, actively sharing activist histories, knowledge and analysis while also making space for young people's leadership and new analysis of gender and other intersecting justice concerns. This requires confronting ageism in movement spaces (see chapter 4.3.2.), as well as building on the potential of younger generations to advance gender justice within social movements' agendas. It means actively considering support, where asked for or appropriate, for emerging younger movement actors, as voiced in the following quote:

'I suppose the hardest deep structure is the hierarchies within hierarchies that make activism difficult. The spark of activism is so often being faced by difficulties because of some aspect of discrimination. To address the structures, one may really need to find a way to educate youth about injustices and find a way to get them to realise that everyone needs to work towards equality and fairness for a better society. Good mentors [are needed], as well as adequate leadership, especially within the youth activist movement' (Sian Rolls, BRIDGE e-discussion, May 2012).

This chapter has outlined a range of enabling conditions needed to create a supportive environment for thinking about and acting on unjust gender power relations in social movements. It has identified key routes to change emerging across social movement practice, profiling examples of how these have been conceptualised and enacted in different movement contexts. The concluding section points to insights emerging from the process of writing this report around areas for further exploration, documentation and analysis.