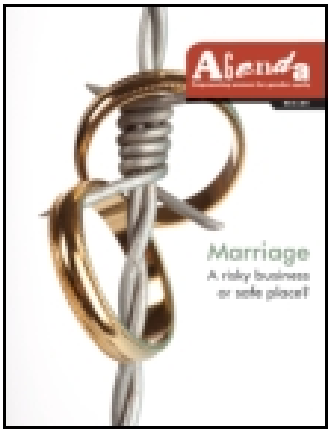

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Feminist contributions, challenges and claims

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Feminist contributions, challenges and claims

article

Shamim Meer

abstract

This *Article* highlights key contributions of second wave feminism, arguing that these are of relevance today, as we struggle to deal with questions of social justice within a context of increasing poverty and inequality.

I look at feminist understandings of expanded social justice which highlighted crucial links between the economic, political and the cultural, and which stressed that the personal was political. I look at feminist strategies which stressed women's agency and the need for separate women's movements even as feminist women challenged men alongside whom they worked in trade unions, liberation movements and radical social movements. I look at how feminist struggles have fragmented over the decades alongside an increasing hegemony of economic and political neoliberalism, and the demobilisation of emancipatory movements. While women made gains within state institutions and the United Nations (UN) system in the 1990s, alongside these gains was the co-option and depoliticisation of feminist concepts forged in the throes of struggle of the earlier decades.

Women's agency too came under threat and was challenged as men's movements came to be promoted as vehicles for gender equality. I argue that while men can play a vital role in struggles for gender equality it is women's movements that need to be advanced and supported as key actors in repoliticising feminism today.

keywords

Feminism, movements, men, women, race, class

Feminism and feminists have come under considerable attack over the past decades. These attacks have included caricatures of feminists as bra burners, and men hating harridans who see men as perpetrators and women as passive victims; they have included charges that men are under threat because of advances in women's rights; and they have included a de-politicisation of feminist claims within state institutions, development institutions and academia.

These reinterpretations and subversions of feminist contributions have taken place alongside an increasing turn to neoliberal economics and politics since the 1990s. Ideas of liberation forged in the throes of struggle in the 1960s, have become blunted and are under constant threat. Current struggles seem to focus more on culture and identity and less on the economy and on the task of redistribution of wealth. More recently women's agency too, has come under threat with increasing confusion about the role of men in redressing women's subordination and violence against women.

In order to repoliticise feminist concepts, and to safeguard claims to women's agency as key actors in struggles to redress their subordination, it is important to look

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pp. 1–10

back at the key feminist contributions of the past decades, and to understand how these became subverted.

I suggest, following Fraser (2012), that the task of repoliticisation requires current struggles around *redistribution*, *recognition*, and *representation* linked to a critique of current day capitalism.

Women on the left began to challenge male domination in the state, the economy and society.

In what follows I elaborate on key contributions of second wave feminism, I note the gains feminists made in the 1990s, and I attempt to understand the subversion and de-politicisation of these gains. I then turn to men's responses to feminism and I argue that profeminist men can play a valuable role in advancing gender equality within a range of institutions where men predominate (such as trade unions, political parties, left movements, development organisations). I conclude by noting current challenges to repoliticise feminist struggles, to address questions of political economy and culture, while building and sustaining women's agency and women's movements as key vehicles to advance women's rights.

Feminist contributions

In the 1960s women rose up in what has come to be known as second wave feminism[1]. This was a time of optimism where radical social movement activists were fuelled with a sense that they could create a world free from exploitation and oppression. Students, workers, black people and women rose up as never before across the world. In Africa, Latin America and Asia national liberation movements challenged colonial and imperial rule; in the United States of America (USA) the civil rights movement and anti-Vietnam war protests challenged the establishment and attacked racism, capitalism, and imperialism; in Britain and across Europe workers and students challenged oppressive class relations.

Women on the left began to challenge male domination in the state, the economy and society. They drew attention to the reality that women were the subordinates of men, that despite advances of previous decades – such as women gaining the vote, increased numbers of women in the industrial work force and among the university educated, and despite some women being more privileged by their race and class positions, women as a group continued to be the subordinates of men of their race and class.

Feminist strategies to redress women's subordination included consciousness raising, the setting up of autonomous women's organisations as vehicles to build solidarity and advance feminist claims, and strategies to work within radical social movements and trade unions led and dominated by men.

Feminism as a political movement asserted women's agency as political subjects, challenging relations between men as a group and women as a group, and rebelling against all power structures, laws and conventions that kept women servile and subordinate (Fraser, 2009).

Alongside continued feminist activism, feminists contributed new understandings of women's social situation – contributions which have had considerable impact in shaping feminist struggles and strategies, considerable impact within academia (although not always acknowledged) and considerable influence in shaping public opinion. These included new understandings about gender, masculinity and femininity, new understandings of the personal as political, new understandings of the intersections of race, class, gender and other social power relations, and new understandings on violence against women.

Gender

Feminist academics made the distinction between gender and sex – with *gender* referring to the social, cultural and historical construction of masculine and feminine roles, behaviours, attributes and ideologies. This highlighted that femininity and masculinity, far from being natural and fixed, are social and cultural constructions which have changed over time and are capable of changing in the direction of greater equality. Feminists highlighted that unequal *gender relations of power* were institutionalised, produced and reproduced within families, communities, markets and states privileging men and subordinating women, and that struggles had to be taken up to

rectify this both at the level of ideas as well as in relation to material reality – that is in relation to economics, politics, and society (Kabeer, 1994; Mukhopadhyay and Meer, 2004).

Personal as political

In addition to challenging socio-economic distribution, feminists challenged previously unquestioned private issues – to do with personal intimate relationships and family life, such as domestic violence and rape. These were hitherto seen as private matters best left within the private domain of the family. Feminists revealed these as resulting from unequal gender relations of power and as legitimate sites of political action. They insisted that the personal was political as they took up issues of housework, violence against women, sexuality, reproduction, and women's health.

Second wave feminism critiqued Marxism's exclusive focus on political economy, and liberalism's exclusive focus on law, unveiled injustices in the family, cultural traditions, civil society and everyday life. It politicised the personal and expanded the meaning of justice.

Difference among women

Differences among women by race, sexual orientation and political ideology came into conflict from the 1970s, challenging the dominant idea of a homogenous entity woman, with shared interests and a common political goal. Black women pointed out that the notion of this homogeneous entity 'woman' was based on the experience of white, heterosexual, middle-class women.

In the USA and Western Europe the feminist movement came under attack from black women for taking white women as the norm and excluding black women. The mainstream feminist movement came under attack also from lesbian women who challenged its heterosexual, and sometimes homophobic, leanings. Differences emerged also between liberal feminists on the one hand, who supported existing economic systems and simply wanted legal (formal) equality with men, and Marxist and socialist feminists who saw women's liberation as part of a broader social change agenda that included dismantling the capitalist system and replacing it with more equitable economic relations under socialism.

Feminists took up the challenge to build a political programme of action that took into account difference while recognising women's shared subordination in relation to men of their social group. Across race, class and culture men were the leaders – in households, communities and states. Men were the normative citizens with agency and rights – including rights over women – their wives, sisters, daughters – and rights over women's bodies.

Intersectionality

Black and post-colonial feminists highlighted that gender relations get constructed historically in *intersection* with other social divisions and social differences – such as class, race, culture, imperialism and so on (see for example Hull, Bell-Scott and Smith, 1982; Davis, 1983; Imam, 1997; Salo, 2001).

> Feminists enabled the imagining of equitable relationships among women and men within transformed egalitarian economic, political and cultural systems.

Women in Africa, Latin America and Asia highlighted historical, cultural constructions of gender and prioritised connections between gender, imperialism and race. They saw as necessary that they fill feminist concepts constructed in the west and with white middle-class women as the normative women with their own meaning. Post-colonial feminists highlighted the importance of class, race, and culture in configuring gender relations (Salo, 2001; Lewis, 2001).

Necessity of transforming economic, political and cultural systems

Feminists advanced understandings around power, privilege and culture as part of the deep structures of institutions. They asserted that all systems and structures including households, markets, and states are gendered, as well as being raced and classed, in ways that privilege elite men and subordinate women (even as difference

led to some women being more disadvantaged than others) (Kabeer, 1994). Feminists enabled the imagining of equitable relationships among women and men within transformed egalitarian economic, political and cultural systems.

women in trade unions have had to continually defend past gains and the women's forums – the separate, safe spaces where women raised their concerns and developed their strategies

Feminists pointed out that women are not simply excluded from social contracts. The problem was that women were included, but in ways that oppressed and exploited them. They pointed out that formal equality was insufficient and that substantial transformation of social structures was necessary to include women and particularly those women who were excluded on account of their race, class and gender. They pointed out that patriarchy as a system guaranteed and sanctioned men's domination over women, at the same time as race and class disadvantaged particular groups of women.

Feminist challenges to men in movements and men's responses

From the 1970s feminists challenged men – the men with whom they had close personal relationships, the men in left movements. Feminists who organised around violence against women challenged men to look at their personal practice and to take responsibility for their behaviour towards women. Women in socialist movements, national liberation movements and trade unions challenged men in these movements to address women's gender subordination as an integral part of their political programmes to dismantle colonial, class and race oppression.

In southern Africa men in liberation movements and trade unions responded with qualified support to women's call to redress their subordination. Women welcomed and built on this support – a famous example being Samora Machel's statement at the first Conference of Frelimo's women's wing in 1973, that the:

> ''liberation of women is a fundamental necessity for our revolution, a guarantee of its continuity and a precondition for its victory'' (Machel, 1973)[2].

Statements such as this signalled a shift from the idea of women as caterers of the revolution, and as adding numbers to the (male defined) national resistance to colonialism (Meer, 2011).

Given their radical political programmes, men in southern African liberation movements and trade unions were hardly able to spurn women's demands for expanded notions of justice. However their support often did not go beyond public pronouncements, and their analyses of political economy did not expand so as to embrace the intersections of race, class, gender, and culture. They remained fixed in their view that class was the major contradiction, and gender a secondary non-essential contradiction.

Men in South African trade unions were challenged by the increasing numbers of women members to place equal pay, maternity leave, child care, violence and sexual harassment on union agendas. Union women challenged views that women were 'tea makers' and not 'speech makers' and leaders. They called for changes in their lives at home, in the union and at work, and they challenged male sexual exploitation of women trade union members (*SPEAK* 4, 1984 in Meer, 1998). Men in unions ostensibly accepted the notion of gender equality alongside class and racial equality, and the inclusion of issues such as equal pay, maternity leave and child care in bargaining agreements with employers. However trade union men did not expect challenges to their sexual behaviour or their prerogative to leadership, and their response to such challenges from union women was to avoid confronting their sexual behaviour, to resist women's demands for equal representation in union leadership, and to insist on male membership to women's forums. In the face of this resistance, women in trade unions have had to continually defend past gains and the women's forums – the separate, safe spaces where women raised their concerns and developed their strategies to influence the male-dominated trade unions (Meer, 2005).

In the 1970s some socialist men in the USA, responded to the challenge presented

by feminists and began to focus on the personal, on sexual relations, and on work relations within capitalism. They saw class inequalities as being as important as gender inequalities, and they highlighted that class differences among men result in multiple masculinities – some hegemonic, some subordinated. In their view the task was not simply to get individual men to change sexist attitudes and practices – the very system had to be transformed. However an inherent danger in socialist feminism was that economic reductionism could relegate race and sexuality to non-essential issues (Messner, 2000).

Radical college men in the USA responded to feminism's uncovering that masculinity was a social construction by setting up *men's liberation* consciousness-raising groups in the 1970s. They explored the high cost of masculinity to men – how their socialisation pressured men and boys to compete for success and limited their emotional capacities (*ibid*).

The socialist and radical men who supported feminism referred to themselves as 'profeminist' men, based on the view that while only women could be feminists, men could support the cause of feminism. However, men supporting feminism were a minority. The dominant response to feminism from organised men in the USA was hostility to feminist claims and the beginnings of a backlash to feminism emerged from the 1970s in the USA and elsewhere, with claims by men that they were under threat as a result of advances in women's rights.

Feminist strategies of entryism in a period of increasing neoliberalism

By the 1990s feminist activism was extending into a widening range of institutional arenas, and feminist understandings and strategies had deepened. Feminist women were demanding equal participation in parliaments, councils, state bureaucracies, and workplaces. In an effort to bring gender equality and women's rights into the centre of development institutions, increasing numbers of women entered national level development and governance institutions and the UN organisations.

These incursions into mainstream institutions took place in a changing world order. In contrast to the social ferment and rising movements of the 1960s, by the late 1990s radical movements were on the decline. In contrast to the 1960s decade influenced as it was by post-World War two prosperity when welfare states in the global North and newly independent development states in the South led economies of 'state organised capitalism', and where social contracts were still in existence (Fraser, 2012; Sen, 2012), this new era was marked by the idea that there was no alternative to neoliberalism. Neoliberal economics (marked by deregulation, the shift of control away from the public sector to the private sector, privatisation and sharp cuts in public spending on health education and social services) pragmatism, and a liberal strand of feminism became entrenched in place of more expanded ideas of social justice.

Emancipatory ideas forged within radical social movements took on ambiguous meaning in this changing context and within these mainstream institutions.

Emancipatory ideas forged within radical social movements took on ambiguous meaning in this changing context and within these mainstream institutions (Fraser, 2009: Cornwall, Harrison and Whitehead, 2004). Liberatory feminist concepts became blunted within institutions which could not admit notions of radical change and which were themselves entrenched in their adoption of neoliberalism.

At the same time feminist strategies of entryism did lead to significant gains. Grassroots and national-level organising coalesced with global activism, enabling feminists to provide the impetus for a series of UN Women's Conferences, and for a number of gains within UN institutions. These included the adoption in 1979 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) by the UN General Assembly; the acceptance of women's rights as human rights at the International Human Rights Conference in Vienna in 1993; and in the incorporation of sexual and reproductive rights in health policy at the International Conference on Population Development in Cairo in 1994. More women entered state legislatures and bureaucracies across the world, and women in civil society were able to win laws to

advance women's rights (Mukhopdhay and Meer, 2004).

However, these gains were accompanied by new barriers and challenges. Poverty was deepening across the world and inequalities were increasing within and between countries. Neoliberal globalisation, which privileges profit over people, left little space for redistribution of resources and power (Tsikata, 2004). The market-led development path and structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) imposed on the third world by the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and northern donors, and adopted by national states was hostile to redistributive measures.

Gender in itself lost the meaning feminism had imbued it with.

The feminist political agenda of transforming gender and other oppressive social and economic relations did not sit easily within dominant market-led agendas. Feminists found they had to water down or simplify their analyses in order to gain acceptance within these new arenas of engagement (Goetz, 2004). Attempts to infiltrate feminist agendas seemed to end up with feminist agendas being assimilated into neoliberal priorities, so that they came to resemble formal equality between women and men within the existing capitalist economic order. Concepts developed in the brave world of social movements were depoliticised, watered down, stripped of notions of power and dreams of transformation, and given new meaning within the technical world of development and state bureaucracies (Cornwall, Harrison and Whitehead, 2004). In addition, feminist gains were met with backlash by the moral right who cast feminism as the evil responsible for all social ills, and demanded a return to masculinist understandings of women's place (Oakley and Mitchell, 1997; Batliwala, 2008).

Depoliticised conceptualisations hid that it was unjust and inequitable systems which enabled a few to amass wealth at the expense of the majority that needed to be changed, that the goal had to be substantive rather than formal equality, and that it was the organisation (agency) of the oppressed group that was key to redressing the unjust order.

Gender as a concept was depoliticised – stripped of notions of power, privilege and subordination – and taken to mean women and men as though these groups were equally affected and had the same relation to systems of inequalities. Depoliticised notions of gender masked that women are oppressed and that men are privileged in relation to women of their race and class by the gender system. That men's gender interests may tend in the direction of maintaining male privilege, was ignored as gender translated into simply men and women.

Within these new arenas, the challenges raised by black and working-class women that strategies and struggles needed to take into account the ways race, class and gender, together, led to the subordination of particular groups of women seemed too complex to take on. The category women seemed to continually subsume the interests of black, working-class and poor women into a homogenised notion of women, with white, heterosexual, middle-class experience taken as the norm. When calls for the empowerment of women and for affirmative action of women were made on the basis of this notional woman stripped of race and class it was often those women who were already advantaged on account of their race and class who took up the new opportunities on offer – thus entrenching the subordination and discrimination of black, working-class women (Meer, 2006).

The goal of gender equality was blurred as income-generation projects were seen to equal women's empowerment, and formal equality through laws was seen as equal to women's rights. More often than not, women had been seen as instruments to larger development objectives – educating women for example was seen as a means to other ends such as reducing infant mortality, and ensuring children would not drop out of school, rather than a right or entitlement for women themselves. Women's agency, which had been advanced as a key strategy with intrinsic value, came under threat as development donors began to see men and men's organisations as potential vehicles for advancing gender equality. Women's development organisations were pressured to include men, with the result that men at times outnumbered women in women's organisations in Zambia and Mo-

zambique (Win, 2010). In addition to challenging women's agency, this threatened the safe spaces that women had fought hard to carve out in order to develop solidarity and organisation to take up issues, such as violence against women.

Men's responses to feminism in the 1990s

In addition to backlash responses from men in society, and attempts to co-opt or water down feminist claims in development institutions and movements, there were attempts by some men to take on the challenge presented by feminists. Among these were attempts by men to come to terms with masculinity as social construct.

By the mid-1990s men in Brazil, southern Africa and East Africa had joined the ranks of men engaged in consciousness raising around the negative effects of socialisation on men. In South Africa organisations set up by women, to support those women who had experienced violence by male partners, began to work with male perpetrators of violence. These included organisations such as Agisanang Domestic Abuse Prevention and Training (ADAPT), Masimanyane Women's Support Centre, the 5 in 6 Project, and initiatives with men on violence against women, HIV and AIDS and health by Planned Parenthood, and Engender Health (Sexwale, 2007).

However the focus of such efforts seemed to be on individual behaviour change, and did not include the more radical strand of challenging structures of privilege and the political economy. Furthermore, the stress on the high costs to men, tended to mask male privilege, and presented gender oppression as faced equally by men and women (Messner, 2000).

By the mid-1990s the effects of a backlash to feminism were evident in both Zimbabwe and South Africa where many men saw their problems as arising from the advances women were making. Men concerned with this backlash set up Padare Men's Forum in Zimbabwe. In South Africa, for all the formal commitments to gender equality, efforts to work with men in the labour union federation COSATU faced challenges of sexism and homophobia from within the labour movement (Mbuyiselo Botha in Esplen and Graig, 2007).

Men's organisations

In addition to responses by men in existing mixed gender social movements and as individuals, some men set up men's organisations in response to the gains women were making. From the 1970s the dominant response by men's organisations in the USA was hostility to feminism. Hostile men in backlash mode, set up organisations to save men from the feminist onslaught, which they saw as resulting in shorter life spans, greater health problems, unfair divorce and custody settlements and domestic violence for men.

Women's development organisations were pressured to include men, with the result that men at times outnumbered women in women's organisations in Zambia and Mozambique

At the other extreme were smaller numbers of men engaged in radical profeminist organisations – these men supported feminists, were aware of the need to dismantle patriarchy as a system, and men's domination over women. They focused on addressing rape and sexual violence as key sites of male domination (Messner, 2000).

For South Africa, Morrell (2002) notes three categories of men's organisations – those defending male privilege, those dealing with a crisis in masculinity and those working to advance gender equality. Morrell (2002) notes that by 2002 the South African men's organisations in existence did not reach large numbers of men, nor did they seem to have the capacity to endure.

Assessments of profeminist men's organisations have focused on two aspects – the extent to which they have gone beyond consciousness raising to address broader social and political change, and the extent to which men organised as men can in fact advance the cause of feminism.

Few profeminist men's organisations over the past decade seem to have gone beyond consciousness raising and a focus on individual men. Much work focused on

the personal, and at changing men's sexual behaviour, men's violence against women and relations of fatherhood. While some groups gave attention to questions of institutional functioning and culture and their own exercise of masculine privilege (Flood, 2003), most initiatives paid little attention to masculine privilege and to issues such as equal pay, representation in politics, parental rights, domestic work, or changing institutions (Esplen and Greig, 2007). Such depoliticised understandings of masculinity are in line with the de-politicisation of feminism, with issues of identity and socialisation becoming delinked from and taking precedence over issues of structural economic and political change.

On the question of whether it is desirable or advisable for men to organise as men to advance gender justice, Messner (2000) makes the compelling argument that white people who want to oppose racism do not form a 'white people's' movement; heterosexuals opposing heterosexism and homophobia do not form a 'straight people's' movement. However, whites and heterosexuals can speak out and take action to support change to end racism and homophobia; and so too with men. Rather than forming a men's movement, profeminist men concerned with working for gender equality should work within other organisations – trade unions, workplaces, families, left movements, community organisations, schools, political parties, development organisations to transform the ideologies and the practices of these organisations and institutions.

Messner (2000) holds that the idea of a men's movement is shot through with danger, contradictions and paradox. Social justice in gender relations is against men's shared interests and rather than a source of solidarity among men, this will be a source of disunity among men. Men's organisations may in fact endanger gender equality goals since men's organisations can so easily slide into safeguarding male privilege, and reinforcing the patriarchal family since it is not in men's gender interests to dismantle their privilege, and since the dismantling of privilege is never a rousing call to action of any privileged group.

Struggles today

The context today is of economic recession and a financial crisis which fuels intensified racial and ethnic strife, xenophobia, and a backlash against women. Angry men, who see little hope for employment and a living wage, charge women with stealing their jobs, abandoning their families and threatening the nuclear family.

In the face of neoliberal hegemony the pervasive feeling has been that little can be changed. Liberation movements, new democracies and trade unions seem unable to advance the interests of the working class and poor.

Poverty and inequality deepen across the world with women constituting the majority of the world's poor. Despite legal gains, and increased numbers of women in political office over the previous decades, pay differentials continue to exist between women and men, violence against women continues, women experience rape in war and are disproportionately affected by the AIDS pandemic.

However while movements have declined, new uprisings have taken place to challenge capitalist and undemocratic forces – uprisings against the World Trade Organisation (WTO) (1999), against the war on Iraq (2002 and 2003), in the Occupy movements (2011) and the Arab Spring protests (2011). Within national contexts in Africa, Asia, Latin America, radicals attempt to regroup in the face of the failure of post-colonial democracies and trade unions to deliver on promises of social, political and economic rights.

What are the tasks of feminists within this changing context? Feminists in Africa question the wisdom of placing the state at the centre of post-colonial activism (Essof, 2001), given that state and donor actions and discourses, and the patron-client relationships between gender activists and the state may in fact suppress feminist demands, even as they appear to advance African feminist claims (Bennett, 2001).

In the current context it is of critical importance to build and sustain women's movements to build the voice and the power of women as a political constituency so that women may address unequal relations of

power within society, hold governments accountable to the needs and interests of women, and in particular the most marginalised and impoverished women. There is need to take up new struggles around re-politicising feminist concepts, to guard gains already won, to deal with backlash and push agendas beyond formal and legal equality.

Fraser (2009; 2012) notes that feminist struggles in the 1970s had contributed an expanded notion of gender justice which wove together a critique of the economic, the cultural and the political. In order to redress these injustices feminists had demanded redistribution, recognition and representation. However, within the changed economic context of neoliberal hegemony these three dimensions became separated from each other and from a critique of capitalism. Critiques of culture were overplayed and critiques of the economy downplayed; within academia cultural theory eclipsed feminist social theory; socio-economic struggles were subordinated to struggles for recognition, and feminist claims – around care work, sexual violence, political representation, for example, were now advanced on the basis of identity politics and recognition. While the previous generation of feminists had sought to remake the political economy, the post-1970s generation of feminists focused on transforming culture. The politics of redistribution was replaced by the politics of representation ''just as neoliberalism declared war on social equality'' (Fraser 2012: 4).

However, while Fraser points to the dominant trend which has destabilised feminists claim-making there were exceptions to this dominant trend. Groups of feminists, particularly in the third world, continued to focus on redistributive justice which brought together concerns of redistribution, recognition and representation – groups such as Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) (see Sen and Grown, 1988) and as the body of work on the effects of structural adjustment on women testifies.

It is clear that advancing a gender equality agenda needs to go beyond consciousness-raising and awareness-raising of individuals to transform the institutions which produce and reproduce unequal relations of power which result in women's subordination. Struggles for gender equality should address women's status so that women are seen as autonomous human beings and not the property of men: struggles need to focus, at the same time, on redistribution of both power and resources within all institutional sites – including the household, community, market and state and they need to focus on questions of political representation.

it is of critical importance to build and sustain women's movements to build the voice and the power of women as a political constituency

Men should and can support such struggles, taking these up within trade unions, radical movements, political parties, their families, and workplaces. However clearly women as the most affected need to take up these struggles and clearly the self-organisation of women is crucial, not only because the affected group understand their situation like nobody else can and are best placed to formulate claims – but also because this advances their status as autonomous human beings with agency. This latter reason is important precisely because women's subordination is to do with lack of status, or as Ashe (2007: 39) puts it, their ''despised identities''.

Notes

1. First Wave Feminism refers to the nineteenth and early twentieth century movement in Britain, USA and Canada for the reform of women's social and legal inequalities and for the right to vote.
2. Available at: http://www.historyisaweapon.com/defcon1/machelfundamentalemancipation.html

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