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Sustaining Women's leadership

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FEMINIST GUIDE

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► Who is this guide prepared for?

This feminist training guide is made for women, young, old, able-bodied or with disability and organizations that support these groups who are also interested in strengthening their feminist knowledge and informing their lived experiences and advocacy to create a more equitable world for all who live in it. The guide is created for use and dissemination by the Mentoring and Empowerment Program for Women and Girls (MEMPROW).

► Why was this manual created?

This manual was created to suggest ways in which feminist theory can inform our movement work and everyday living centred on Ugandan experiences, African perspectives, and global activism. We endeavour to explain the concepts and to share examples and links that make it more relevant to readers in their early journey of feminist thinking and living, as well as an approachable tool to be used by feminists along their journey. We recognize the ways in which the socio-economic context informs women and girls lived experiences. Socio-political context refers to social and political power that is not equally or equitably divided, resulting in some people being disproportionately disadvantaged by this unequal division of power.

Improving and increasing access to feminist thought and knowledge is an essential step towards creating more change agents located at various points in society. We also reminded ourselves of the importance of raising women's consciousness's to the social and political contexts of our lived realities.

► Defining frameworks for feminist approaches: anti-oppression (OAITH 2010):

This section is adapted from "A guide to critical reflection: understanding and using a feminist anti-oppression framework" developed by the Ontario Association of Interval and Transition Houses (2010), a Toronto based organization that employs anti-oppression feminist approaches in responding to violence against women. This brief was deemed necessary in framing a wider understanding of the systems of oppression which will be useful for **MEMPROW** audiences.

Theory refers to the perspectives, values, and beliefs we hold that guide our work. It includes knowledge and information that help us better understand the lived realities of the women and children we work with. One of these theories is an anti-oppression framework. Anti-oppression refers to the "strategies, theories, and actions that challenge socially and historically built inequalities and injustices that are ingrained in our systems and institutions by policies and practices that allow certain groups to dominate other groups" (Douglas, S.) For the purposes of this manual, the term feminist anti-oppression framework will be used. This manual incorporates diverse ways of thinking from different interpretations of feminism within the context of an anti-oppressive framework.

An anti-oppression framework starts from the premise that privilege and oppression exist within society, resulting in unequal access to power. This unequal access to power results in privileged groups gaining greater access to information, resources and opportunities whereas those groups that are oppressed experience the opposite. Oppression is defined as "the systematic mistreatment of a people or group based on a belief in the innate superiority of one group or idea over another" (Degano and Disman). One experiences oppression based on her or his belonging to a social group.

The following table highlights who experiences oppression in our society (OAITH 2010).

IDENTITY	OPPRESSION	OPPRESSED GROUP
Gender	Sexism	Women
Race	Racism	People of Colour
Class	Classism	Working class People living in poverty
Ability	Ableism	People with disabilities
Age	Ageism	Children, Youth, Seniors
Nationality	Colonialism	Permanent Residents, People with temporary visas, sponsored people with no status, refugee claimants

At a systemic level, also referred to the macro level, oppressive values, thoughts, and beliefs become ingrained or embedded into the various systems that influence our lives including, but not limited to: government, media, education, courts, child welfare, healthcare, military, religion, and even non-profit organizations. Oppression becomes ingrained into systems that result in less access to power for people who do not identify as privileged groups. Less power is created in less access to information, resources, and opportunities.

Privilege refers to the unearned right someone has as a result of his or her identity.

The following table highlights who holds privilege in our society.

IDENTITY	OPPRESSION	PRIVILEGED GROUP
Gender	Sexism	Men
Race	Racism	White
Class	Classism	Middle to upper class
Able	Ableism	Able-bodied
Age	Ageism	Adults
Nationality	Colonialism	Non-indigenous people Citizens

Privilege refers to the unearned right someone has as a result of his or her identity. ”

GLOSSARY

Biological Determination

B The concept that physiological differences between men and women determine social roles. This concept is the basis of discriminatory behaviour which prohibits women from achieving their full potential.

Culture

C This term refers to a host of customs, beliefs, music, religion, and all other products of human imagination of a people living at a particular time and place. It is the way in which people have adapted themselves to their local social, economic, religious and political environment.

Custom

C An established and habitual practice that is typical of a particular group of people. It is the given society that determines what is considered good or bad and this often changes over time.

Feminism

F This is the struggle by women to identify challenge and transform the power relations between women and men that seek to keep women in a position of social, economic and political subordination to men.

Feminist Leadership

F leadership process that seeks to transform social structures and practices that oppress women on the basis of their gender and limit their participation in society.

Gender

G A culturally shaped group of attributes and behaviours given to the female or to the male. Feminist theory is careful to distinguish between sex and gender.
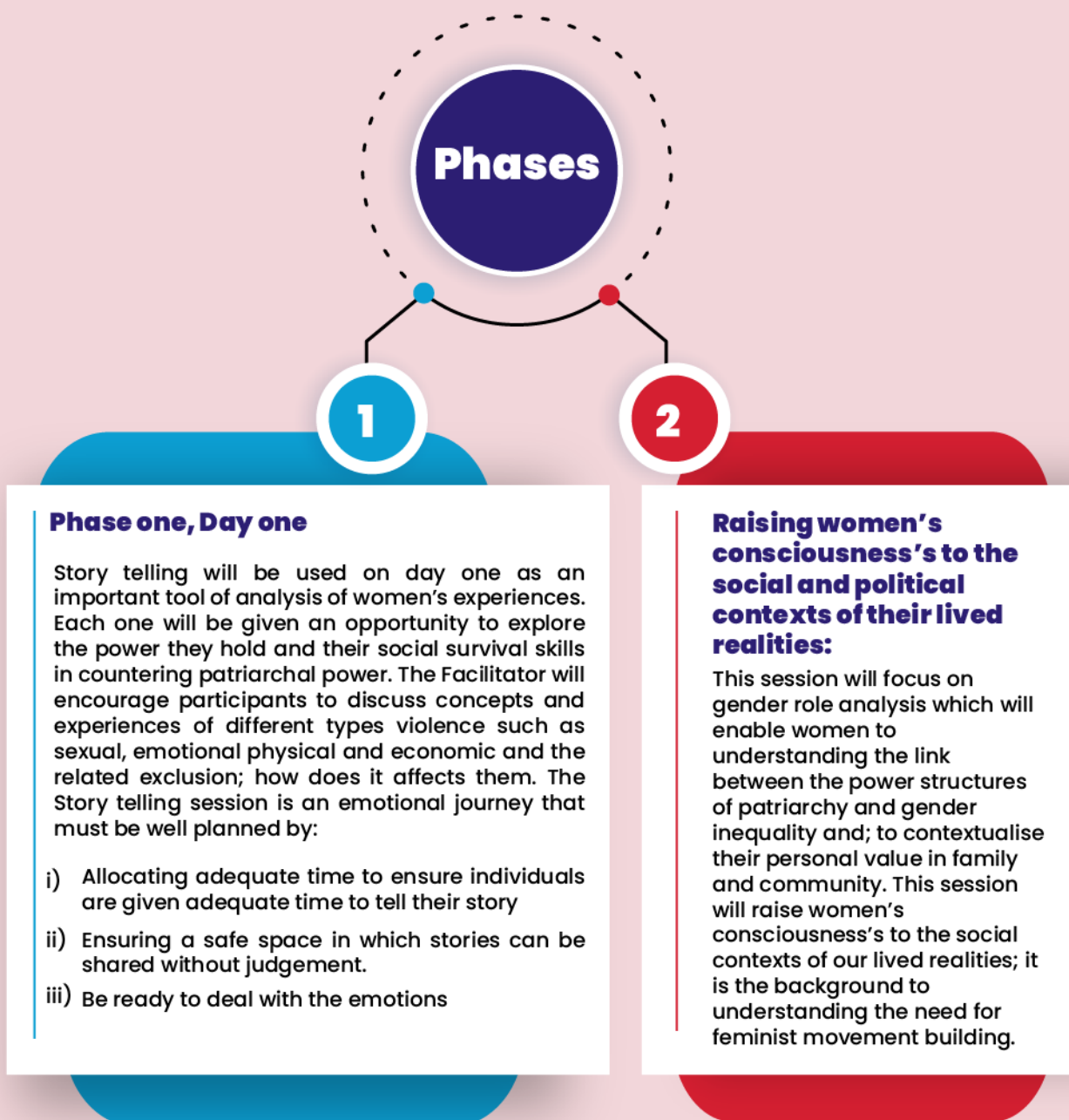
Patriarchy

P It is the ideology of male domination that gives men the privilege of accessing power, money and social status. Simply put, it is a system or society in which men control political, economic, military, religious and social power

Situating women and raising consciousness's to the social contexts of their lived realities:

In this section, the participants will explore the impacts of the power of patriarchy over their lives as insight in the root causes of the inequality and subordination of women.

This process of learning is in 2 phases:

Phases

1

2

Phase one, Day one

Story telling will be used on day one as an important tool of analysis of women's experiences. Each one will be given an opportunity to explore the power they hold and their social survival skills in countering patriarchal power. The Facilitator will encourage participants to discuss concepts and experiences of different types violence such as sexual, emotional physical and economic and the related exclusion; how does it affects them. The Story telling session is an emotional journey that must be well planned by:

i) Allocating adequate time to ensure individuals are given adequate time to tell their story

ii) Ensuring a safe space in which stories can be shared without judgement.

iii) Be ready to deal with the emotions

Raising women's consciousness's to the social and political contexts of their lived realities:

This session will focus on gender role analysis which will enable women to understanding the link between the power structures of patriarchy and gender inequality and; to contextualise their personal value in family and community. This session will raise women's consciousness's to the social contexts of our lived realities; it is the background to understanding the need for feminist movement building.

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Understanding Feminism

-**Begin** the module by asking participants to define feminism in their own words.

-**Ask** them to write down some of the myths they have heard about feminism. Return to them at the end of the session to find out if these have since been changed.

i) What is Feminism?

The Charter of Principles for African Feminists adopted in Accra, Ghana at the First African Feminist Forum 2006 defines Feminism as thus:

- ■ **Feminism** is an ideology that aims at eradicating all forms of inequalities. In particular, it seeks equality in the relations of power between women and men. It is important to stress that feminism is a political movement that is rooted in specific ideology and that has specific goals and aims. While the approaches to feminism might differ from individual to individual, they must all be rooted in the ideology. Therefore not everything can qualify as feminism.

Feminism is premised on challenging the status quo. To be able to understand this, we have to understand the systemic nature of the oppressions that women and anyone outside the accepted definition of masculinity face. This means that feminists are aiming at dismantling the different systems that allow for this type of oppression. The goal therefore is not to assimilate into such structures, especially because we understand that they were never built for us, but to uproot them and think about better alternatives.

- ■ **Feminism** as an ideology focuses on the social order of male rights and privilege, gender roles, relations of power between men and women among others to unpack the normalized power imbalances between men and women in all social institutions and structures.

- ■ **Feminism** is therefore a social change strategy concerned about shifting power relations such that many who remain marginalized under this status quo have access to their basic rights as well as human dignity (as fundamentals).

ii) Feminist Values and Principles include:

- **Intersectionality.** We understand that different people experience different oppressions, even though we are all universally oppressed. For example, a poor woman and a financially stable woman might face some different and unique experiences. As a result of this understanding, it is important to take an intersectional approach that encompasses the experiences of all women.

- **The personal is political.** We appreciate that the private affects the public. Decisions that are considered inherently private such as choice of dressing, hair, partner, etc. are therefore all political choices.

ASK

Ask the participants to discuss amongst each other and decide on a few more principles they think should be on the list.

- The ultimate goal of feminism is to challenge and more importantly, dismantle oppressive ideologies including patriarchy, but not limited to it. Feminism and feminists must therefore invest equally in challenging hetero-normativity, capitalism, racism, etc. because we understand that these too affect women's abilities to navigate life. It is about transforming power between all men and all women; as well as between women of different social groups. It is also about transforming social institutions and structures that reinforce gender and other forms of discrimination. Key sites include the family, community, states, market, education systems, and media.

ASK

Ask the participants to imagine and visualize a feminist future. What does it like?

- It is important for feminists to understand exactly what kind of world they are working towards. What are the key things that are important to you in the feminist struggle? What exists in this current world order that needs to change?

Understanding and Unpacking Gender and **The Systemic Nature of Patriarchy**

PRACTICES

BELIEFS

ROLES

ASK??

Ask participants to name some of the different attributes/roles do people usually assign to and men and of women?

They include domesticity, playing reproductive roles, submissiveness, etc. for women. Limiting and toxic understandings of masculinity, among others for men.

In order to understand the impact of these narratives, ask the participants to take part in this exercise.

Divide participants into 3 small groups. Each group is given a flipchart and a set of cards with the gender beliefs (yellow), institutions (blue) and practices (pink) written on them. Ask each group to create a table linking the belief with the institutions with the practices that result from it.

Feminist Living

ASK??

Ask participants to take 10 – 15 minutes reflecting on their personal values and how they live them out on a daily basis.

Identify a time you went contrary to your values and why.

We have all been socialized in a patriarchal world. The news, education, economics, politics, homes, religion and all the other institutions and systems are rooted in and controlled by the patriarchy[1]. Feminism is the direct response to challenging patriarchy and other systems of power which can be used to create and sustain the oppression of women and other marginalized groups. Power systems like racism, capitalism, sexism, white supremacy, and extremism among others.

Feminism as an ideology and political movement requires that individuals who choose it to fully live and represent what it stands for. As an ideology feminism, **"stands not only for gender equality but for the transformation of the social relations of power that oppress, exploit, or marginalize any set of people on the basis of their gender, age, sexual orientation, ability, race, religion, nationality, location, class, caste or ethnicity[2]."** The duty then is for every feminist to be able to live out this ideology.

Feminist living is about the daily practice of understanding of privilege and use of power[3]. We all hold power and enjoy privilege in different forms and spaces. The relationship between a mother in law and her daughter in law is power, being a heterosexual cis gender man or woman comes with power and privilege, access to resources, geographical location, level of privilege and many others in the world we live in is a form of power or privilege. The practice of acknowledging privilege and exercising power responsibly and justly is the foundation of feminist living.

In the African context, the Charter of principles for African feminists documents the individual ethics feminist are expected to live by. The charter states:

"As individual feminists, we are committed to and believe in gender equality based on feminist principles which are;"

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[1]Define patriarchy is a system of power that provides for male domination.
[2]CREA. (2014). Achieving transformative feminist leadership.
[3]CREA. (2014). Achieving transformative feminist leadership.

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PRINCIPLE 1

The indivisibility, inalienability and universality of women's human rights.

Definition of key words:

- **Indivisibility:** *cannot be divided. Women's rights are whole and cannot be split among women. Each woman gets full rights and not part of a whole. Denial of one right invariably impedes enjoyment of other rights[4].*

- **Inalienability:** *cannot be bought, sold or transferred from one individual to another[5].*

- **Universality:** All humans everywhere are entitled to the same human rights.

Activity (time allocation for this activity is dependent on the context)

Choose from the following groups of women - sexual minorities, women living in poverty, sex workers, women with disabilities, incarcerated women, illegal immigrants and domestic workers among others[6].

Participants should be divided into groups of 4-5 depending on the number. Each group is required to identify 5 human rights and explain why each category of women listed in bullet point one deserves or does not deserve to enjoy that specific right. For example, the right of a domestic worker to access justice having been sexually assaulted by a male relative in a home she is working in.

Each group will then present their work and receive feedback from the other members.

PRINCIPLE 2

The effective participation in building and strengthening progressive African feminist organizing and networking to bring about transformatory change.

Feminism draws its strength from numbers. The concept of sisterhood and solidarity is steeped in the idea that there is a collective. Because feminism is a political movement, part of changing the status quo lies in changing the way power is used and distributed. One of the ways in which to change the status quo[7] is to build a solid movement to challenge it. Therefore, feminists as individuals and as a collective, within their areas of power and influence must work towards having more people identify as feminists.

Divide participants into groups and task each group to develop a strategy they will use to build progressive feminist organizing and networking.

PRINCIPLE 3

A spirit of feminist solidarity and mutual respect based on frank, honest and open discussion of difference with each other.

Women are not a homogenous group. This means difference will always exist in the collective. Within the feminist space, each feminist must be able to recognize, acknowledge and respect difference. Understanding of difference also speaks to how we understand power and privilege within the movement as this is pivotal for solidarity and movement building.

Key to open discussions on difference is the willingness to learn. On a daily feminist must be open to learning, unlearning and relearning. Sometimes the idea of difference is just a result of one form or another of ignorance.

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[4]UNFPA Resources (2019) Retrieved on 2nd March 2019 https://www.unfpa.org/resources/human-rights-principles

[5]inalienability. (n.d.) West's Encyclopedia of American Law, edition 2. (2008). Retrieved June 4 2019 from https://legal-dictionary.thefree-dictionary.com/inalienability

[6]Dul pa dhano ma megu ma gi wok ku lembe ma malo no, paro migi juromo tiyo kude ni ŋiyo i lembe mange pa dhano ma megu ma ju jwigo rwom migi tek tek i kind dhano mange, nyo ke dhano ma megu ma gi muliri i dhu tic migi ni kum bedo dhano ma megu.

[7]Jwigo ditto migi eno bino ni kwan kwo ku dhano wegu ma gi ketho i paro migi ni ditto man tela uporire pigi kende gi lembe eno gam kelo adwogi marecu ma calo bedo ku lim ma loyo dhano mange, ento i ciŋ dhano ma nok kende, akoya koya pa tuŋ tuŋ pa oro mi nyoliri, aloci man adici pi utara wi del kom m'ukoc ku migi; ku mange mapol.

PRINCIPLE 4

The support, nurture and care of other African feminists, along with the care for our own-wellbeing.

"For women, the need and desire to nurture each other is not pathological but redemptive, and it is within that knowledge they our real power is rediscovered. It is this real connection which is so feared by a patriarchal world. Only within a patriarchal structure is maternity the only social power open to women." –Audre Lorde

Oppression has always placed women in line of fire. Women carry both physical and emotional burden. Being a feminist and doing feminist work, exposes feminists and allies to deeply physically and emotionally exhausting situations. It is therefore important for feminists to care for each other and care for themselves, collective healing, sisterhood and self-care. Today, burn out and chronic fatigue are a reality and therefore, feminists must make time in the revolution to care for each other and themselves.

"Caring for myself is not self-indulgence, it is self-preservation, and that is an act of political warfare."

–Audre Lorde

PRINCIPLE 5

The practice of non-violence and the achievement of non-violent societies. Feminism is a non-violent movement.

One of the cardinal principles of feminism is to create a violence free life. Feminism also understands that violence is a tool used for domination and the existence of patriarchy is in itself a form of violence.
In living a feminist life, one must reject the practice of any form of violence in and outside of their life. Violence is not only physical but also emotional and economic.

Table showing some examples of the forms of violence and how they manifest.

PHYSICAL VIOLENCE	EMOTIONAL VIOLENCE	ECONOMIC VIOLENCE
Serious and minor assault	Coercion	Property damage
Deprivation of liberty	Defamation	restricting access to financial resources
Manslaughter	Verbal insults	education or the labour market,
	Harrassment	not complying with economic responsibilities

Note: Participants can be asked to contribute other examples of how the different forms of violence manifest. In particular discussions of sexual harassment and Violence should be introduced in a sensitive manner as it is a common form of violence that is not usually talked about.

PRINCIPLE 6

The rights of all women to live free of patriarchal oppression, discrimination and violence.

Every feminist must live each day identifying the ways in which patriarchy manifests within the spaces they occupy. We must also challenge it openly and actively making our stand known. We must also further use our power and privilege within these spaces to try and create a new order.

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PRINCIPLE 7

The right of all women to have access to sustainable and just livelihoods as well as welfare provision, including quality health care, education, water and sanitation.

Feminists must in no way stand in the way (formally and informally) of women accessing the above-mentioned services. In everyday feminist living and other spaces occupied by feminist, access to these services must be made available.

PRINCIPLE 8

Freedom of choice and autonomy regarding bodily integrity issues including reproductive rights, abortion and sexual identity.

Women's bodies have been weaponized and used against them for ages. Because of the patriarchal and oppressive nature of society women's bodies have been subject to male control. This has happened through laws, policy, false moral campaigns among other. Central to the second wave of feminism, was the demand for bodily autonomy by women. Feminist must always demand for freedom of choice and full control of the women's bodies, reproductive rights, sexual identity and sexual orientation.

PRINCIPLE 9

A critical engagement with discourses of religion, culture, tradition and domesticity with a focus on the centrality of women's rights.

Religion, culture, tradition and domesticity have played a critical role in the oppression of woman and abuse of their rights. These institutions preach the message of male domination and female subordination. Feminist must constantly question, learn and unlearn the teachings of these institutions and push for reforms. Feminist who subscribe to any of these institutions should ideally lead on challenges them.

PRINCIPLE 10

The recognition and presentation of African women as subjects and not objects of our work and as agents in their lives and societies.

African women must be seen and heard. In our work, we must recognize the full humanity of African women with the ability to determine themselves, valid experiences and capable of fully representing themselves. All feminist work on the continent must work towards

PRINCIPLE 11

The right to healthy, mutually respectful and fulfilling personal relationships.

Feminists must guard their person space and set boundaries in all aspects of their lives. The nature of the work we do exposes us to people who will want to access our spaces for various reasons. We must therefore define respect for our personal relationships and be ready to cut off people who drain us.

PRINCIPLE 12

The right to express our spirituality within and outside the organized religion

Spirituality is good for the soul. It is a form of self-care. Feminists must freely practice and allow others to practice their spirituality in a way that enriches them. Studies have shown that spirituality contributes greatly to balance and a fulfilled life.

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THE PERSONAL IS POLITICAL

On a sheet of paper, each participant should write three of their greatest flaws as an individual. How have these traits manifested in their daily life? What are they doing to minimize or rid themselves of these traits?

The personal is political was a slogan adopted in the 1960s as part of the second wave feminist movement. The slogan speaks to the relationship between personal experiences and social and political structures. Because feminism is a response to unfair power structures (patriarchy), feminists must understand how oppression in the private space can translate into the public sphere. The personal is political also seeks to challenge feminists to address how power is used within their personal self.

Because we have interacted with power through patriarchal structures, feminists must constantly check themselves to ensure they are not recreating the power structure, they seek to dismantle. According to the CREA 2014, **"we recognize that it is not enough to critique others' abuses of power but that we must be committed to working towards creating relationships and organization cultures that are inclusive and do not reproduce what we are challenging in the world outside."** Every feminist must therefore seek to reflect on how they view power, interact with it and use it. The ideal use of power is to ensure everyone is comfortable. It is important to note that not everyone is powerful or powerless at all times.

The practice of feminism in our personal space is very important. How we behave in our public spaces is greatly influenced by our private actions and thoughts. It is important for feminists to always check themselves because feminism begins with the self.

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UNDERSTANDING
POWER AND PATRIARCHY

It is often believed that the natural order is that men dominate, while women submit. This untrue.

According to one school of thought, things changed around 12,000 years ago. With the advent of agriculture and homesteading, people began settling down. They acquired resources to defend, and power shifted to the physically stronger males. Fathers, sons, uncles and grandfathers began living near each other, property was passed down the male line, and female autonomy was eroded. As a result, the argument goes, patriarchy emerged.[8]

Patriarchy as an ideology is premised on the following notions;

- The underlying basis that men are superior to women and that women are part of men's property
- Interacting with other systems (economy, class, race, ethnicity, gender) in the construction of social institutions like culture, the state and law
- Establishing male dominance and control in personal relationships, the family and society at large
- Perpetuated through institutional beliefs and structures, which are kept in control through violence

ASK ??

Ask participants to name some institutions that manifest patriarchy today and how they do so. Examples include; media – stereotyping women, misrepresentation, etc. Religious institutions – advocating for the subordination of women, etc.

Gender divides power. Inequalities between men and women are one of the most persistent patterns in the distribution of power. For example, women's lack of influence marks political decision-making the world over. Gender relations are power relations. Often what it means to be a 'woman' is to be powerless (quiet, obedient, accommodating). A 'real man', by contrast, is powerful (outspoken, in control, able to impose his will), particularly in relation to women. These gender roles tend to perpetuate the power inequalities that they are based on. For example, the fact that many men and women think it's not 'natural' for women to speak up in public often poses a key barrier to women's access to decision-making. 'Power equals masculinity' also helps explain why powerful people often demonstrate dominance in gendered ways."[9]

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[8]https://www.newscientist.com/article/mg23831740-400-the-origins-of-sexism-how-men-came-to-rule-12000-years-ago/
[9]http://www.dlprog.org/opinions/gender-and-power-six-links-and-one-big-opportunity.php

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There are different forms of power;

- **Power over-** The ability to control and decide for oneself or on behalf of another person, group or society. Often expressed in its negative form as oppression, discrimination and dominance.

- **Power with-** collective strength, mutual support and solidarity.

- **Power within-** The basis of personal agency; the capacity to believe in oneself, have hope. Often called 'inner strength'.

- **Power to-** the potential of every person to shape their life and world. Also the enabling conditions and resources to express the other forms of power.

Power manifests differently in different realms; public (in institutions of government, military, etc.), private (families and intimate spaces) and finally within ourselves (how we react to power and how we often feel).

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It is power dynamics that determine who is able to head different institutions, who stays at home to raise the kids, who has access to education, property, etc. This is often a manifestation of direct and hidden powers that influence decisions. For example, media's ability to influence based on advertisements and messaging, the ability of religious institutions to set certain agendas, etc. All these work together to be able to influence how we feel about ourselves and the roles we view as ours.

The purpose of understanding the different dynamics of power is instrumental in reimagining an alternative without destructive hierarchies.

ASK

### Ask participants to discuss the following questions;

- What comes to your mind when you think about power?

- What purpose does power serve?

- In what places/ positions is power located?

To analyse how power manifests in these different forms, ask participants to name different institutions that affect how power manifests and link them ultimately to how we feel about ourselves and our own roles in society.

UPENJ

Ask participants to reflect on the first time they became aware of different power between people. Ask them to also reflect on a time where they felt powerless and how they then reacted.
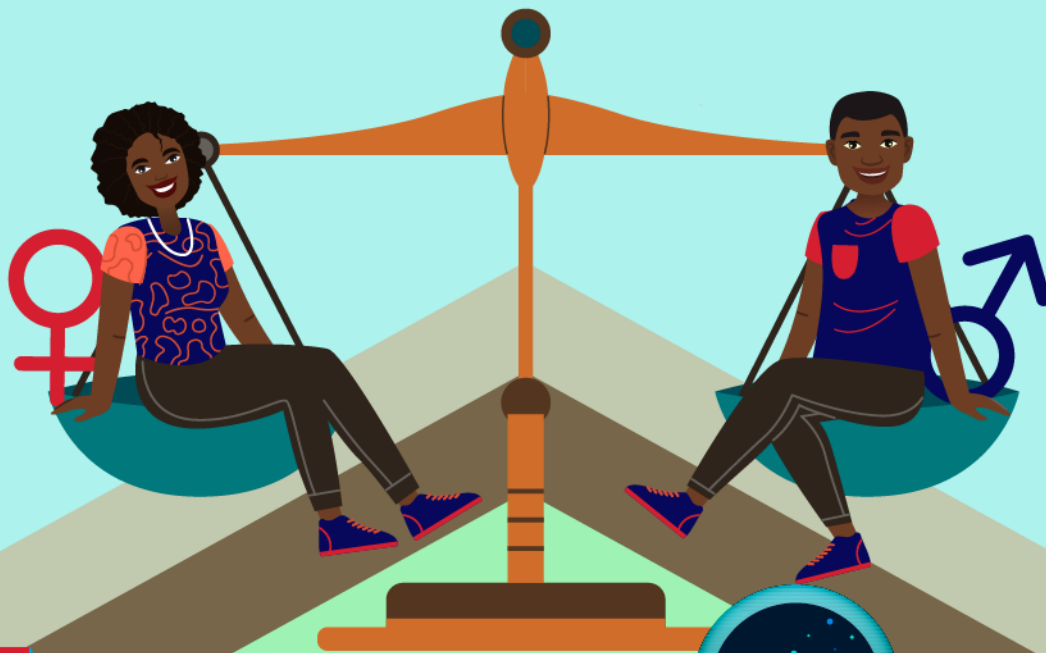
Questions for participants: income poverty vs time poverty

ASK ?

- What is your typical day like?
- Which of your routine/daily activities contribute to the economy?
- Why do you think they contribute or don't contribute?
- Do you participate in any full time or part time employment?
- How often do you participate in domestic labour? i.e. cleaning, washing, cooking
- Do you live alone or with another?
- Do you share the domestic labor in any way?
- What, if any negotiations do you have about this kind of work in your household?
- What time of day do you participate in this work?
- Does your domestic situation address this labor in any way? Are you paid or compensated in material terms?

Defining economics:

The word Economics comes from the Greek *oikonomia* meaning "management of a household." Economics is much of a man's world. Economics is the social science that studies the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services. It is the study of scarcity, the study of how people use resources and respond to incentives, or the study of decision-making. The stated goal in economic studies is to promote development but this [development] is more than improvements in people's well being: it also describes the capacity of the system to provide the circumstances for that continued well being (Bader 2012). The current economic framework is a capitalist one- that aims to maximize profits through increased productivity of labour, increasing unpaid versus paid labour, and the use of technological development as a prerequisite to increasing productivity of labour (Marx 1976). These categories play a role in reproducing and maintaining gender inequality. Capitalist approaches led to the increase of the workday and an increase in intensity of labour. Moreover, technology itself does not necessarily have to create well-paid skilled jobs.

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When Richard Stone wrote the rules for national accounts he developed a framework to define which activities would be recorded in the accounts, known as the production boundary. These are the rules that dictate what is counted when measuring GDP and thus growth. According to the American Economic Association, there are two broad categories in the study of economics: microeconomics; the study of individual decisions, and macroeconomics; the study of the economy as a whole. The Women's Budget Group observes that the typical "economic man" works to earn himself an income, engages in traditional market transactions and spends his money selfishly on consumption goods. This individual does not do any housework or have any caring responsibilities, and he certainly doesn't give birth! As a result, models, which are based on "economic man", cannot be expected to understand or even notice gender inequalities, let alone create policies to alleviate them. Unpaid care work- traditionally carried out by women, is not included in the measures for economic growth. The macroeconomic policy framework is largely devoid of gender consciousness, yet well-documented studies have shown that the erosion of systems of patriarchy not only empowers women economically, but also has demonstrable positive impacts on alleviating poverty and promoting human development (Maria Sagrario Floro and John Willoughby, 2016). A new paradigm is needed to measure what we treasure instead of the current indicators that simply treasure what we measure.

Feminism and economics:

Feminism is a school of thought grounded in the commitment to end the oppression, subordination, abuse and exploitation of women and girls whenever these arise. Thus, feminist economics is an economics that focuses on what is needed to produce a gender equal society although critiques point out the apparent alignment of feminist politics with neoliberalism (Einstein 2009). Feminist theory about development has mostly sought to shift the view that caring

work is exclusively part of the "private domain". Overall, they seem to concur with a redefined meaning of development as "the socially responsible management and use of resources, the elimination of gender subordination and social inequality and the organizational restructuring that can bring these about (Sen and Grown 1987).

Why feminists care about economics:

It has become clear that a sustainable economic system that offers gender equality and decent livelihoods for all must take into account the interdependence of the economy as a whole eco-system (Sagrario and Willoughby 2016). Unlike mainstream economists, feminist economists underline the importance of interactions among the spheres of the economy and the social relations. Knowledge of feminism allows for greater clarity of the vision of social change and has served as a guide for consciousness raising, enabling feminist research to be transformative at all levels.

Feminist studies have contributed to the critique of laissez faire economy especially by providing an aggregate measure of the value of domestic production in the national income thereby making women's unpaid labour visible (Elson, Grown, and Çagatay 1995). They also offer a detailed analysis of gender inequality in the labour market, providing rich evidence of women's segregated position in all stages of export-led growth (Ece Kocabiçak 2013). "From the 1990s onwards, international institutions considerably shifted their approach towards a more gender aware analysis as seen in the Beijing Conference of 1995, The United Nations report on human development 1999, the post-Washington consensus, and the 2001 World Bank report" (Sagrario and Willoughby 2016).

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These developments have sometimes been critiqued for their lack of analysis on the role of capitalism in upholding patriarchy and vice versa through advocacy for a win-win situation where the economy experiences high growth accompanied by low inequality. This implies that women will be able to access paid work, improved working conditions, and a reduced wage gap. The Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) promoted by international organizations in the 1990's promoted export-led growth, currency devaluation, promoted laissez-faire economies, privatization of public services, and pushed for public budget cuts. While this led to a growth of women's employment, autonomy, health, and wellbeing, women were in fact locked into the cheap labor force of home based workers, informal sector employment, and other low-wage, low-skill jobs with limited job security.

Specifically, feminist advocacy revolves around the economy as a whole and its:

- Direct impact on women's independence: women's earning (equal pay for equal work), compensation for care work, (social) protection from exploitation, land and other key resources, taxation and wealth redistribution

- Direct impact on working conditions.

One interesting development in economic statistics is a resolution passed during the nineteenth International Conference of Labour Statisticians. It provides a new definitional framework for all forms of work done by persons aged fifteen and over which includes subsistence work, household work, unpaid training and volunteer work. (Seguino and Willoughby 2016) Feminists also emphasise the role of politics with respect to changing society pointing out the necessity of women's political participation in order to provide sustained support for change. Gender equity is a necessary condition to long-term growth- (Elson 2011)

Questions to ponder:

- Is it possible for women to be liberated within the capitalist mode of production?
- Is it possible for capitalism to survive after the diminishing of the capitalist mode of production?
- Should feminist politics be more critical of its alignment with neo-liberalism?
- How do social practices enable [men's] exploitation of women's labour?
- Is there such a thing as "good capitalism"?

Gender inequality stimulates low cost production for short-term growth, which may exacerbate gender inequality. There is need for a shift from measuring short-term indicators of success and failure e.g. per capita economic growth, inflation, and unemployment. These measures focus exclusively on the market sector of economic activity making it difficult to understand the linkages between non-market economic activity and commodity production (Seguino and Willoughby 2016). In order to better understand the problem of gender inequality in economics, we need to move beyond numerical indicators to analyzing more engrained patterns. This means developing ability to link economic (material) and social relations rather than seeing them as separate considerations.

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Public considerations for feminist economics:

Women live longer than men yet are not adequately catered for in present social security programs. Women are also more likely to use public services because of childbirth and child rearing responsibilities. They also face more challenges in terms of workplace discrimination-employers biased preference to hire women, gender pay gap, gendered division of labour leaving women to engage primarily in care work which is also often unpaid or untimed. There is little importance given to the agricultural sector and women continue to work and trade in the informal sector and through illegal borders.

Unpaid work is reproducing labour on a daily basis and subsidizing the reproduction of labour for capital accumulation. In states that do not take care of social provisioning or that cut back on provisioning, unpaid care work fills the deficit. Unpaid work determines how much time women have available for paid work and it determines what kinds of work they do.

We need to develop an understanding of patriarchal power and entrenched structural causes of gender inequalities in order to systematically address the problem. It is important to systematically integrate the promotion of gender equality in the implementation of appropriate economic stabilization policies (Sagrario Floro and Willoughby 2016). At a global level, the 2015 Sustainable Development goals prioritise gender equality as a key component in achieving the global promises by 2030. A closer analysis however, reveals an inter-linkage between Goal 5 as expressly stated and the other 16 Goals. The United Nations Economic Council points to 169 indicators used to monitor the SDG agenda, one of which measures the percentage of time spent on domestic and care work by sex, age, location (Indicator 5.4.1). It emphasises the importance of care and unpaid labour in household maintenance and social reproduction.

The #GlobalGoals acknowledge Agenda 2063, the African Union initiative that proposes a vision for the socio-economic transformation of the continent in the next fifty (50) years. One of the key aspirations for this period is an Africa whose development is people driven, relying on the potential offered by people, especially for its women and youth and caring for children. It is important to note, however, that no tangible or measurable proposals have been put forward to ensure the inclusion of women nor have systemic policy proposals been put forward to address their economic issues. A gendered analysis of economic issues should take into account the varied experiences of women by class, race, and ethnicity. Uganda was one of the first countries to develop its 2015/16–2019/20 national development plan in line with the SDGs. The Government estimates that 76 per cent of the SDGs targets are reflected in the plan and adapted to the national context (UNDP).

The key take-home points in this guide lead to the development of further training manuals around financial literacy, civic duties and democratic participation, access to resources. There is need for greater attention towards redistributive economic policies and social policies that incentivize an equitable household division of labor; labor should be quantified to individual level and their contribution to the greater good.

ASK??

In working to produce an equal economic world for both men and women, what are the key values that you would advocate for?

Hint::

Care | Cooperation | Respect | Trustworthiness | Competition | empathy | fairness | tenderness | honesty | growth | autonomy | integrity

How the economy impacts me:

I receive benefits; I am a parent; I am an unpaid carer; I am a young person; I need regular care; I am an employee; I am a single parent

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Some of the proposed feminist interventions include:

- ✓ Addressing unpaid care work by quantifying the nurturing work done predominantly by women.

- ✓ Increasing government revenue to hire more women, and provide public health, care, and education support.

- ✓ Increasing accountability for government revenue.

- ✓ Strengthening workers' bargaining position to advocate for better pay and better working conditions e.g. flexi-days, child-care at work, etc.

- ✓ Regulate excessive risk taking in the financial sector

- ✓ Progressive income taxation

- ✓ Changes in measuring short-term economic performance to monitor, track and respond to.

Some feminists also propose that promotion of human rights and women's wellbeing can be ends in themselves without requiring that their labor and productivity potential be viewed mainly as a means to further increase economic growth. A transformative economic agenda...could ultimately entail a substantial change in our production methods and techniques, consumption levels and behavior, and in the way we conduct our day-to-day lives (Saguino and Willoughby 2016). The nature and scope of production should be determined by human needs and social responsibility of the state towards its citizens (Wood 1991). A feminist economic framework ought to take into account the distinctions and linkages between households and markets (Gardiner 2000). Material production of life should not be separated from the social relations examining the nexus between social power and exploitation. It should also develop a definition of capitalism beyond mechanical conception of material production, as well as examining the changing character of patriarchy under capitalism.

Another problem for feminism is its entrapment in gender politics. When feminists speak of gender, they mean women, as seen in the body of work laid out here. There is need to move beyond the binary, to identify human beings as valuable in and of themselves beyond their identity thus creating relations of affinity rather than binaries. "You cannot reduce any person, male or female, to simply reproductive bits or the contributions these parts make. Rather, just how reproductive are they to the general wellbeing of the society, their environment, as well as their own," Severus Owamparo. Emphasis is placed not merely on production capacity, but rather on re-production methods that bring general wellbeing. Reproduction is a thus observed as a collective obligation. This requires a return from individualism (and its attendant capitalism) to an eco-feminist economic model for which preservation of life is the central objective. Places emphasis on community decision making to safeguard the collective interests (Maria Mies 1998).

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A-Z GLOSSARY
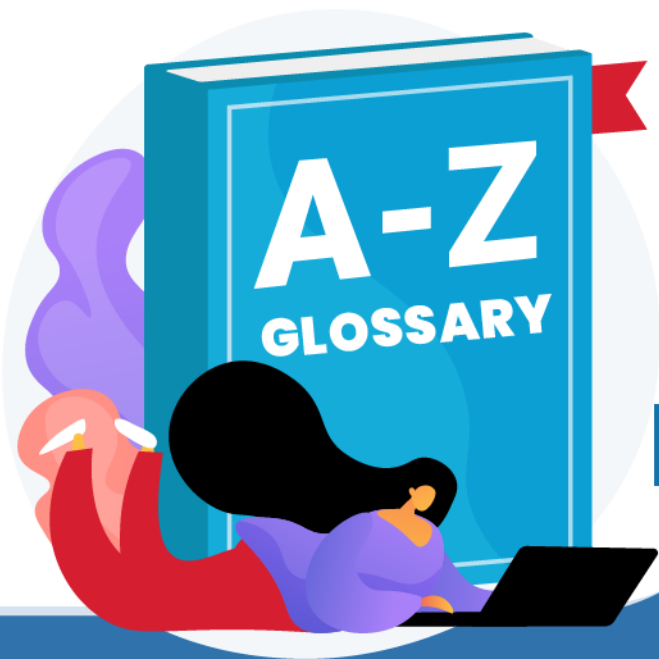
FEMINISM and LANGUAGE

Take 10 – 15 minutes for participants to brainstorm the questions below.

i) How did you know a car is a car?
II) What makes a dog a dog?
III) How do you know someone loves you?

1 Language and feminism

The common dictionary[10] defines language as a body of words and the systems for their use common to a people who are the same community of nation, geographical area, or the same cultural tradition or any system of formalized symbols, signs, sounds, gestures or the like used or conceived as a means of communicating thought, emotion, etc."

Every day and different spaces we use language, formally or casually, consciously or unconsciously to curate the message we want. Language is also how we have come to know a number of things we are. Language is used to name things, people and situations as a way of creating. For example, the only way we know a woman is a woman is because she is named a woman.

What if a woman chooses to not be named woman, would something new be created?

Understanding the importance of language as a tool of creation is the focus of this section. Language can be used to create or erase, empower or disenfranchise, dignify or dehumanize and so much more. It is therefore important for feminists to:

1) Analyze how language is used in a deeply patriarchal society.

2) Be cautious how words are used within and by the movement and,

3) Continuously challenge the use and create language for transformation.

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[10]Language, Cambridge dictionary (2009). Retrieved on 12th May 2019, http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/language

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2 Language as a tool of oppression

As mentioned in the introduction, language can be used as a tool to create or erase people, systems, and conditions among others. Language has been used to create and reinforce systems of oppression for decades. Of concern to feminism is the way language has been used to construct the sub systems that feed patriarchy. These sub systems include, sexism, classism, racism and ageism. Language has also been used to further discount the value of diversity and shine brighter light on difference as a tool of division within and outside of the movement. Audre Lorde challenges us in her writing to reclaim language "that language which has been made to work against us" must be claimed to make it work for us.

3 Sexism

Bell Hooks: **"Simply put, feminism is a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression... I liked this definition because it did not imply that men were the enemy. By naming sexism as the problem it went directly to the heart of the matter. Practically, it is a definition which implies that all sexist thinking and action is the problem, whether those who perpetuate it are female or male, child or adult. It is also broad enough to include an understanding of systemic institutionalized sexism. As a definition it is open-ended. To understand feminism, it implies one has to necessarily understand sexism."**

We live with sexism everyday of our lives; both overt and covert in manner. From television adverts[11] to dictionary definitions of words, the very structure of our work world, social spaces, public services, education, religion, fashion and health care among others.

Sexism has been normalized, institutionalized and formalized through law and language. Although much has been achieved in desexing[12] and engendering of the life, there is still much to do.

Sexism is deeply rooted in language, for example, the use of phrases like, behave like a girl, sit like a woman, men at work, etc present a defined way in which men and women are to act or places they are allowed to be.

Furthermore, in English as a language, we see the use of suffixes like –ress, -rate, -iss and others used to define women in a given sphere. For example, actor (male) actress (female), headmaster (male) headmistress (female), not only are these examples sexist but also reinforce the idea that women draw their identity from men. Lei (2006) states "women have to be dependent on men and are even just some appendages of man."

Lei further expounds on the meanings of words and how they reinforce sexism in language;

1) *The word "master" means "host" while the feminine word "mistress" has the surface meaning "hostess". But actually its connotative meaning is "lover", "woman who depends on man" In the following sentence "He grew tired of his wife and went out for a mistress" Here we will sure know that "mistress "cannot be his wife.*

2) *'The word "governor" refers to "a person appointed to govern a province or state, whereas the word "governess" just means 'nurse maid".*

3) *The word "professional" refers to a person qualified or employed in one of the professions. When we say "he is a professional", he may be thought to be a boxer, whereas when we say "she is a professional", she is likely a prostitute.*

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[11]K. Rosebell (2019)Ads about bus stop harassment and 'bonus wives' normalise sexism. Retrieved on 12 May 2019
https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2019/apr/01/ugandan-ads-bus-stop-harassment-bonus-wives-normalise-sexism
[12]Word created for purpose of this manual.

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4) When "tramp" refers to male, it means that the man is homeless, he goes from place to place and does no regular work. While when it refers to a female, it also indicates that she is a prostitute.

5) The word shrew taken from the name of a small but especially vicious animal is defined in Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary as an "bad-tempered, scolding woman," but the word shrewd taken from the same root is defined as "having, showing, sound judgment and common sense." and illustrated with the phrase "a shrewd businessman."

6) "The man in the street" and "The woman in the street" is in the same situation, yet the former one just shows that the man is an ordinary person, the latter one can indicates that she is a prostitute."

4 Classism

The urban dictionary defines classism as the judgment or stereotype of an individual or group based on their placement in society. Classism goes beyond money or economic status to how people behave, speak and where they come from[13]. There is a deep relation between racism and classism, however we will focus on classism. Classism in its very nature seeks to remind people there are people better or more important than you. In our daily language, classism is reflected in the use of phrases like, women at the grass roots, I cannot reduce myself to the level of a domestic worker, I am a lady and not a woman, ordinary woman, average woman, us and them to mention a few. How we use language is a reflection of how we view people. A woman who says, "I am not at the same level as a domestic worker" communicates the lesser human status of the domestic worker. Within the feminist movement, this school of thought will have great effects on solidarity and sisterhood as seen in history. Another example is the use of the word lady over woman. Lady is a word that was used to distinguish women of a certain class from the "ordinary woman" of the time.

Therefore, it is important that as feminists we critically look at how we use language to ensure we are not further reinforcing the systems we seek to dismantle.

5 Violence

Violence has been normalized through language. Women, girls and people belonging to the sexual minorities' community have for ages been at the fore front of all forms of violence; social, economic, sexual, physical and political. Violence against these groups has been normalized through language in varies ways. For example, defining sexual minorities as abnormal people in a cis gender heterosexual dominant context has exposed them to the corrective violence. The use of expressions like, "women must submit to men – in Christianity, boys will be boys – to justify the wrong behavior of men, my woman is my property, slut, whore, prostitute, loose woman among others makes women targets of violence.

Upon understanding the importance of language, feminist must work towards being deliberate about how they use language. We must be intentional about using language, especially with in the movement that builds and solidarity and enriches sisterhood.

ASK?

Participants should identify a set of words they have been using, that have promoted violence, sexism and classism.

■ **As a team they should identify what makes these words or phrases sexist, classist and violence. enablers.**

Create a list of alternative phrases or words to be used instead of the ones listed above

[13]From Bell Hooks' feminism is for everybody.

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SEXUALITY and IDENTITY

The concept of sexuality encompasses a wide range of sexual behavior and practice, including what is sometimes an 'alternative' to the dominant culture. Forces such as colonialism, capitalism, imperialism, globalization, and fundamentalism have shaped the history of sexualities in the African continent. These forces interrupted the shape of sexualities on the continent- redefining notions of morality through both penal codification and complex alliances with political and religious authority. These forces attempted to standardize global ideas about African sexualities, often erasing questions of diversities and complexities of sexual relations (Tamale 2011). As such, studies of African sexualities ought to be contextualized as a response to colonial, imperialist, capitalist, and patriarchal framings as well as a recovery and re-imagination of what these identities mean.

Sunila Abeysekera, (1999) offers definitions of some of the key terms used in discussing sexuality and identity:

☑ SEXUALITY

Sexuality can be defined by referring to a wide range of anatomical acts and physical behaviors involving one, two, or more people (Phillips 2011). It is "a spectrum of biology, experience, psychology, behaviour, society, ideation. The spectrum starts with the more social, shades into the psychological and lastly becomes biological; gender role, sexual activity, sensuality, sexual orientation, fantasy, pleasure, desire, gender identity, reproduction" (Muriel Dimen 1981, 66)

☑ HETEROSEXUALITY:

A sexual feeling for a person (or persons) of the opposite sex, a feeling experienced and enjoyed by some women and some men. Source: Amazons, Bluestockings and Crones: A Feminist Dictionary, 1992; sexual feeling or behaviour directed toward a person or persons of the opposite sex. Source: Random House Unabridged Dictionary, 1996.

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A brief history of sexuality

Sexuality and gender go hand in hand; both are creatures of culture and society, and both play a central and crucial role in maintaining power relations in our societies. Gender provides the critical lens through which any data on sexuality must be logically interpreted (Tamale 2011). Control of sexuality and in particular female sexuality is a critical element of patriarchy. In primitive societies, once the connection between reproduction and the male was discovered, the need to "own" and "control" the woman's reproductive capacity as well as the fruits of her womb became an integral part of male "being" (Sunila 1999) This control was exerted through cultural norms that were later crystallised into legal norms, for instance marriage as a means to own/control women's sexuality, criminalization of sex work, anti-sodomy laws, among others. This legislation however did not extend to recognition of women's inherent dignity thus their sexuality was policed not protected let alone promoted. Statutes hardly protected women's sexuality as part of her intrinsic worth, but instead tied it to her value in relation to the men in her life i.e. "someone's sister", or "someone's wife" or "someone's daughter".

This created stereotypes for "good women" vis a vis "bad women". The bad woman is usually the one who is free with her sexuality, and sometimes with her "sexual favors"; she is "sexy," while the "good" woman is chaste, virginal, and asexual. Sexual transgression is a heinous crime in most of our societies today and the penalty for expressing one's sexuality is most severe. Because our sexual desires are so well hidden and so cleverly masked by social norms and "acceptable" forms of behaviour, they lie deep in our psyche, emerging only in our dreams. We fantasise about sex but most of us would never admit it, not even to ourselves (Sunila 1999).

Engaging the participants

Sexuality refers to sexual practices, sexual preferences- who you have sex with and how, sexual desire- how you derive pleasure and what your sexual fantasies are, who you find sexy and why. Sexuality has both negative and positive aspect to it. On one hand, sex can be pleasurable, fuelled by mutual consent, exploration. On the other hand, it can be filled with guilt, repression and sanction. The negative side of our sexuality is that which victimises us, which makes us vulnerable to all forms of sexual exploitation and abuse, such as rape and incest and bondage against our will.

ASK

Can you think back to your own life?

Can you identify aspects of your sexuality? Have you been attracted to anyone?

Can you think of the qualities (both physical and metaphysical) that may have attracted you to this person?

Have you had any sexual encounters in your life?

Can you think of your most pleasurable moment, what made it so?

Can you think of an uncomfortable sexual encounter? What made it so?

Do you discuss your sexuality with anyone?

During sex, do you imagine yourself as a 'giver' or 'receiver'?

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Sexual identity:

We have already considered sexual identity in terms of whom one is attracted to as well as one's sexual orientation or identity. The Harvard Center for Primary Care (2017) defines gender identity as one's internal sense of being male, female, neither, both, or another gender. While most people are born prepared to feel comfortable with their body's gender, and to desire sexual contact with members of the opposite sex upon sexual minority, there have always been a history of minorities who did not fit this mould (Dombeck)

The Brooklyn institute highlights that feminist perspectives on sexuality diverge, especially in relation to biology, politics, socialization, idea-construction, and intersectionality. Within the frameworks of identity politics, a person's identity is based in membership in various social groups or categories. This is what Prof. Kimberlé Crenshaw described as intersectionality.

Sources of inaccurate knowledge about sexuality:

Much of the time, people's culturally informed understandings of their problems are reasonably based on their experience, and can lead to actions that stand a reasonable chance of helping to work out the problem. Unfortunately, there are also numerous occasions when people end up with wrong or inaccurate understandings, which lead them to make wrong decisions about how to solve their problems. People get their ideas about what is true and what is false from many sources, including parents, teachers, friends, religious leaders, political figures and the media (which includes television, radio, internet, books and magazines).

Understanding women's perspective on sexuality:

- Have you received any form of sex education/ sex talk/ counseling

- Do you talk about sex?

- Are you comfortable with your sexuality? Are you ever ashamed of yourself or your desires?

While it is tempting to think that all of these sources are trustworthy, it is important to keep in mind that not all of them are. It's not that anyone in particular is trying to mislead you. More often, it is simply the case that some people don't know what they are talking about, and don't have the insight to know that they don't know. Such people will speak and teach as though they know something, when really they don't. An important part of your effective self-help planning, then, is to figure out which information you've learned is trustworthy and can be used as a good basis for planning, and which needs to be regarded suspiciously or thrown out entirely (Dombeck).

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Feminist considerations in sex

- Autonomy and bodily integrity: Autonomy refers to the liberal idea that people have the freedom to choose their own lives without coercion or manipulation from others. This definition usually has underlying standards of competence that exclude young children and people suffering extreme mental illness leading to mental incapacitation. This agency gives these individuals, including women, the right to determine what to do with their own bodies.

- Consent

- Elimination of all forms of violence including sexual violence and exploitation

Sexual rights as human rights:

The term 'sexual rights' has received much contestation since its inception in the past decade. Resistance stems from countries' claims to radically different understandings (and fears) of what "sexual rights" includes and therefore might bind them to. The parameters of sexual rights are defined as the full range of existing human rights that have been applied to public and private aspects of sexuality and sexual health (Miller et al 2015). The law tends to turn sexualities into a space through which instruments of state control and dominance can be deployed e.g. through regulation of how, when, and with whom we can have consensual sex, as well as offences of prostitution, adultery, and abortion.

As a continent, Africa has made significant progress in creating the space at policy level for discussion of sexual and reproductive health and rights. Adopted in 2003, the African Union Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol) is the foremost policy document that addresses the health and reproductive rights of African Women in

Article 14. These efforts have boosted policies on a wide variety of issues including gender-based violence, access to reproductive health care, and a focus on sexualities education (Tamale 2011). Much of current feminist work around this area deals with ending exclusions and improving sexual health and rights.

Some key resources to understand the debate include:

i) The International Commission of Jurists' (ICJ) compilation of cases and laws on sexual orientation and gender identity, which pulls together case law on a sub-set of sexual rights from around the world and at the international level.

ii) The 2014 World Association for Sexual Health (WAS) Declaration on Sexual Rights, which aims to explain sexual rights norms and link sexuality and sexual health with human rights principles and standards.

iii) The Yogyakarta Principles of 2007, which have been elaborated by NGOs and human rights experts as a normative statement of how existing human rights principles and obligations have been and can be progressively applied to specific human rights claims around sexual orientation and gender identity.

iv) The International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF)'s Sexual Rights: A Declaration (2006), which is a compilation dedicated to elaborating how existing rights principles can best be understood to apply to sexuality as an attribute of all persons, young and old, regardless of gender/gender identity and sexual orientation.

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ALLYSHIP

It is important for this discussion to begin by understanding the different intersections of oppression, as well as the definition of privilege.

Ask participants to begin by reading this poem by Audre Lorde:

- https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/42587/who-said-it-was-simple

Ask participants to watch these two videos:
Understanding how privilege works:

- https://youtu.be/4K5fbQ1-zps
- https://youtu.be/hD5f8GuNuGQ

Play a similar game with participants in the room to help them better understand their own privilege. Ask questions related to sexuality, pay, education levels of their families, background, etc.

While privilege and oppression greatly impact how we all navigate and experience the world, this remains one of the more difficult conversations to have. It is normal in conversations such as these to feel highly personal, defensive and resistant, however being able to understand our own privilege and how that might ultimately affect our ability to be better allies is important.

Some of the most common defenses against privilege refer to the validity of personal achievement and personal struggles. People want to have total ownership of their achievements and may resist attributing aspects of their success to unearned advantages. Similarly, people may feel as though privilege somehow invalidates the reality of the challenges they faced. This is not the case. Having privilege does not necessarily mean that someone hasn't struggled; however, those struggles can't be attributed to the oppression of aspects of their identity that are privileged. And often privilege makes an individual's struggles easier to overcome than they would have been otherwise[14].

Acknowledging privilege is further troubled by the fact that, more often than not, privilege attaches itself to norms, and thus becomes invisible through its normalization. This has the effect of making many well-intentioned people view privilege as the goalpost instead of as a core aspect of how oppressive systems and structures operate to benefit some and inhibit others. For example, education as a tool for uplifting people from poverty seeks to extend a path to class privilege to those who have merit but lack resources. While education undoubtedly impacts lifetime earnings, the underlying issue of a class system that leaves some without a liveable wage is left unchallenged until class privilege itself is recognized as a core problem that perpetuates poverty[15].

By understanding the systematic nature of oppression; and how institutions, norms and society work together to exploit certain social groups over others, we are able to better understand how to better allies.

Allyship is a process, and everyone has more to learn. Allyship involves a lot of listening. Sometimes, people say "doing ally work" or "acting in solidarity with" to reference the fact that "ally" is not an identity, it is an ongoing and lifelong process that involves a lot of work[16].

Read full text with participants on how to be an ally if you are a person with privilege.

http://www.scn.org/friends/ally.html

Sisterhood and Solidarity

"I am not free while any woman is unfree, even when her shackles are very different from my own." Audre Lorde.

The "show up" test

Activity 1

Participants to spend 7 – 10mins reflecting on the following question

Name a time you were there for someone who needed you? How did it feel?

Mention a time you needed someone and they showed up? How did it feel?

Mention a time someone needed you and you did not show up. Why and how did it make you feel?

Mention a time you needed someone and they did not show up. How did it make you feel?

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[14]https://sites.lsa.umich.edu/inclusive-teaching/2017/08/29/an-instructors-guide-to-understanding-privilege/
[15]Refer to above citation.
[16]https://guides.tricolib.brynmawr.edu/c.php?g=285382&p=1904757

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Activity 2:

Sisterhood and solidarity

"Without community, there is no liberation." — Audre Lorde

Solidarity and sisterhood are two powerful and political phrases linked to feminism. Because feminism exists to create a much needed force of resistance to respond to sexist oppression and sexist exploitation. It is imperative that feminists build solidarity so grow and sustain the movement.

However, it must be noted that solidarity and support are not the same. Bell Hooks competently states the difference between solidarity and support, **"Solidarity is not the same as support. To experience solidarity, we must have a community of interests, shared beliefs and goals around which to unite, to build Sisterhood. Support can be occasional. It can be given and just as easily withdrawn. Solidarity requires sustained, ongoing commitment."** In building solidarity, we must be consistent in effort, energy and commitment.

Solidarity is also founded on the premise of understanding difference. Women are not homogenous. Women are different and we must acknowledge and appreciate that. One of the arguments against the concept sisterhood has always been the idea of "common oppression[17]" upon which it was founded. The idea of common oppression provided for the erasure of other systems of oppression that women faced such as racism, homophobia, classism and ageism among others.

In the feminist movement today, difference must be acknowledged. The existence of difference is the foundation of intersectionality and if it is not intersectional, it is not feminism. It is in acknowledging difference that feminists are able to analyze power and privilege and use it to build on solidarity. In understanding our power and privilege, we must educate ourselves on the two issues. We must understand our privilege and check it. We must locate our power and use it for the benefit of the collective movement.

Understanding power and privilege:

In understanding power and privilege, we must remember, we are not always powerful and not always powerless. Because power is located within a structure, and structure changes form with context, each person holds power at a certain point and in a certain way. One of the best examples of changing context of power is located within our multiple identities (identify is both personal and social). These identities are located within a structure which either gives them power and privilege or marginalizes them. For example, if the cis gender woman is a Christian located within an Islam dominated society, she then loses a certain amount of power and privilege because of the context. Feminists must in each context – because this changes from society to society, understand how power and privilege work.

POWER WALK:

Participants line up in a straight line facing the front. There should be enough space for each participant to take up to 7 steps to the front in such a way that they will end up at different points after answering the set of questions. For every question asked, if a participant answer yes, they should take one step forward.

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[17]Bell Hooks – Feminist theory: from margin to center.
[18]Missing reference

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SAMPLE QUESTIONS:

- Do you speak fluent English?
- Are both your parents alive and living together?
- Do you belong to a dominant ethnic group?
- Do you have a university degree?
- Do you parents have a pension scheme?
- Do your parents own the house they live in?
- Do you subscribe on any one for the following religious groups catholic, Anglican and Pentecostal?
- Did you study in the city?
- Are you employed?
- Do you own a passport?

At the end of the walk, the people who have taken the most steps to the front, enjoy the most power and privilege in the room.

Understanding of power and privilege must lead us to a place of constantly checking our power and how we exercise in a way that does not bring oppression upon others. Power and privilege must also be devoted to restructuring society to ensure social justice becomes a reality. Solidarity is work and the work needed to be done to build and sustain it must be done by the collective.

Wellness and Self Care

If we are to delve into wellness, we have to explore the concepts within or various aspects of wellness as well as the context in which wellness is required or sought out. Because wellness is such a broad topic, we will center it around feminist conscious and contextual wellness; that is, self-care, health and wellness within the feminist spaces and feminist practice.

Context of Women and Women Human Rights Defenders (WHRDS)

In the fight to defend human rights and make sure justice is accessible and attainable to everyone, we risk our **physical, social** and **psychological(mental)** well-being. Indeed, physical attacks on WHRD's are not a new phenomenon and have increased in recent years, according to the 2012 Global Report on the Situation of WHRDs. Recently published research, 'Brave, Creative, Resilient: The Global State of Young Feminist Organizing', produced jointly by AWID's Young Feminist Program and FRIDA, reports that 44% of young feminists said they felt threatened or unsafe because of the work they do[19].

In Uganda alone there have been several risks to womxn both online and offline. Cases of psychological torture online, unsolved murder, sexual assault in the workplace, and have been documented and published in local newspapers and media houses...(physical abuse, sexual assault, psychological torture online security and offline citations). We cannot completely eliminate the stresses of feminist work and the context in which it occurs, or the continuous wounds and constraints that the heteronormative patriarchal society continues to inflict. However, we can make the efforts and intelligent lifestyle choices to prevent these stressors and horrors faced, from wearing us down.

Infact, it is a feminist's duty to.

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[19]"Making our movements sustainable: practicing holistic security every day." 15 Jun. 2017, https://www.openglobalrights.org/making-our-movements-sustainable-practicing-holistic-security-ev/. Accessed 23 May. 2019.

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Demystifying Stress

Stress is the body's reaction to **any change** that requires an adjustment or response. The body reacts to these changes with **physical, mental, and emotional responses**. Stress is a normal part of life. You can experience stress from your environment, your body, and your thoughts. Even positive life changes such as a promotion, a mortgage, or the birth of a child produce stress[20]. When you feel threatened, your nervous system responds by releasing a flood of stress hormones, including adrenaline and cortisol, which rouse the body for emergency action. Your heart pounds faster, muscles tighten, blood pressure rises, breath quickens, and your senses become sharper.

These physical changes increase your strength and stamina, speed up your reaction time, and enhance your focus—preparing you to either fight or flee from the danger at hand. This is what happens when one is stressed. Not all stress is bad, in fact, stress is a normal reaction to change. However prolonged stress is dangerous and if you tend to get stressed out frequently, like many of us in today's demanding world, your body may exist in a heightened state of stress most of the time, that can lead to serious health problems affecting **physical,- mental,** and **social well-being.**

■ Can stress and affect health?

Absolutely. Stress is linked to 6 of the leading causes of death: heart disease, cancer, lung ailments, accidents, cirrhosis of the liver, and suicide.

Chronic stress disrupts nearly every system in your body. It can suppress your immune system, upset your digestive and reproductive systems, increase the risk of heart attack and stroke, and speed up the aging process. It can even rewire the brain, leaving you more vulnerable to anxiety, depression, and other mental health problems.

Research suggests that stress also can bring on or worsen certain symptoms or diseases.

[20]"Stress - National Institute of Mental Health ...." https://www.nimh.nih.gov/health/publications/stress/index.shtml. Accessed 23 May. 2019.
[21]"WHO | Mental health: a state of well-being." https://www.who.int/features/factfiles/mental_health/en/. Accessed 23 May. 2019.

■ Can stress affect wellness?

Yes, but only to a point, in that it can affect one's perspective or dampen one's energy, negatively influencing one's commitment to self-care and the aim to achieve one's fullest potential.
The environments' that feminist work finds itself engaged in currently, could easily be described as working within high intensity stress situations (HISS) which can be detrimental to health and wellness if not cared for appropriately.

More resources for stress.
https://www.helpguide.org/articles/stress/stress-symptoms-signs-and-causes.htm/

Demystifying Mental Health

Mental health is defined as a state of well-being in which every individual realizes his or her own potential, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to her or his community[21].
Mental health includes our emotional, psychological, and social well-being. It affects how we think, feel, and act. It also helps determine how we handle stress, relate to others, and make choices. Mental health is important at every stage of life, from childhood and adolescence through adulthood. Over the course of your life, if you experience mental health problems, your thinking, mood, and behavior could be affected. Many factors contribute to mental health problems, including:

- ■ Biological factors, such as genes or brain chemistry or changes in brain chemicals

- ■ Life experiences, such as trauma or abuse

- ■ Family history of mental health problems ie heredity: the problem being passed on within a family e.g from father to son.

- ■ Infections and illnesses

- ■ Direct injury to the brain

- ■ Stressful situations e.g loss of a job, a loved one, sudden loss of property etc

- ■ Drug abuse

- ■ Poor nurturing environments, characterized by broken homes, violence in homes and the community etc

- ■ Wars and disasters etc

Mental illnesses are common but help is available. People with mental illness or challenges can get better and many recover completely.

https://www.mentalhealth.gov/basics/what-is-mental-health

Exploring Early Warning Signs

Not sure if you or someone you know is living with mental health problems? Experiencing one or more of the following feelings or behaviors can be an early warning sign of a problem:

- Eating or sleeping too much or too little
- Pulling away from people and usual activities
- Having low or no energy
- Feeling numb or like nothing matters
- Having unexplained aches and pains
- Feeling helpless or hopeless
- Smoking, drinking, or using drugs more than usual
- Feeling unusually confused, forgetful, on edge, angry, upset, worried, or scared
- Yelling or fighting with family and friends
- Experiencing severe mood swings that cause problems in relationships
- Having persistent thoughts and memories you can't get out of your head
- Hearing voices or believing things that are not true
- Thinking of harming yourself or others
- Inability to perform daily tasks like taking care of your kids or getting to work or school

ASK

Questions:

1) Are the environments we are creating aware of the various forces at play, seen and unseen, that are counter-productive to health wellness?
2) Are we conscious and mindful when dealing with each other and do we express this when we show up for those around us.

Health and Wellness

The World Health Organisation, defines health is a state of complete **physical, mental** and **social well-being** and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity.

Although defined variously, depending on context, according to the National Wellness Institute, wellness is considered, "an **active process** through which people **become aware of,** and **make choices toward, a more successful existence"** (8).

This definition is based on 3 tenets:

- Wellness is considered a conscious, self-directed and evolving process of achieving full potential.
- Wellness is multidimensional and holistic, encompassing lifestyle, mental and spiritual well-being, and the environment.
- Wellness is positive and affirming.

The difference between health and wellness, in short, health is a state of being, and wellness is health in motion, or health in action.

So when you are well, you are actively and consciously living in a healthy, holistic and fulfilling state of being.

The two concepts are not opposites, but rather go hand in hand in one's quest toward complete well-being. Wellness is the action while (good) health is the desired outcome.

So if health is the goal, wellness is the way we might achieve it.

Self Care, an Affordable Ticket to Wellness

Self-care is the active participation of enhancing your physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual health and quality of life.

It can alleviate **some of your stress**. It is important to maintain both the **physical and mental components** of self-care in order to achieve an overall state of wellness[22].

Some of the benefits of self care include:

■ Being at your best

■ Maximizing your potential

■ Improving your quality of life

■ Increasing your physical and mental resources to deal with stressors

Benefits of self care?

■ Reduces occupational hazards such as burnout and compassion fatigue

■ Helps build resilience

■ Models healthy behavior for clients

■ Promotes quality of caring

■ Increases the capacity for empathy

■ Fortifies relationships with clients and others

■ Enhances self-esteem and confidence

■ Contributes to realistic goal setting

How to self care?

The same self-care guidance that psychologists offer to clients is useful for the caregivers themselves. Consider the following self-care pointers:

■ Make personal and professional self-care a priority.

■ Honestly assess your psychological and physical health.

■ Focus on prevention rather than simply on remedying problems such as inactivity, over commitment or poor nutrition.

■ Find time for activities that are personally restorative such as brisk walking or other forms of exercise, yoga, pleasure reading, journaling, meditation and massage

■ Pay attention to the need for balance in work, rest and play. If your schedule is packed, be prepared to say "no" to additional demands on your time.

● Take vacations or other appropriate breaks from work. Monitor carefully the substances and/or processes you use for relaxation or entertainment.

● Pursue opportunities for intellectual stimulation, including some outside the profession.

Self Care and Wellness; A Feminist Birth Rite

Wellness and self-care within the realm of feminism is a birth rite which must cater to the diverse intricacies of womxns experiences and needs in a largely patriarchal world. There are powerful new intersections between womxn's empowerment, feminism and wellness. Some argue that wellness and self-care is elitist and even go as far as to say wellness is for well people, whose privilege ignores the fact that self-care is dependent on other social, political and economic factors. However, those analyzing the history of the self-care concept point to its radical roots: invented by oppressed communities that had to create their own wellness clinics when the outside world failed them. In the '70s, for instance, wellness was in-your-face political: Feminists opened wellness centers as alternatives to a medical establishment that they felt had left women nowhere; the Black Panthers started health/wellness clinics to serve their deeply underserved communities.

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[22]"Self-Care | Counseling and Wellness | Wright State University." https://www.wright.edu/student-affairs/health-and-wellness/counseling-and-wellness/workshops-and-self-help/self-care. Accessed 23 May. 2019.

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Audre Lorde, self-described as "black, mother, warrior, poet," is oft-quoted as declaring: "Caring for myself is not self-indulgence, it is self-preservation, and that is an act of political warfare." Then from the '80s to 2000s,in the western context when wellness, fitness and spa went mainstream and commercial, the self-care concept got severed from politics and became narrowly associated with wealthy women. Now, given the charged political and social moment, a more feminist self-care is re-emerging. But more women honestly yearn for a model where caring for oneself and caring about politics and women's rights interweave, and more women want to support wellness businesses and products that tackle that issue and stake that claim[23].

At its core, self-care challenges the patriarchal vision of women as carers of the family and community, at the cost of undermining our own sanity and health. Often, self-care is only related to the individual level. But it cannot be separated from the collective well-being within our organizations, shared efforts, and movements. Collective self-care, as an essential part of integrated security, is a feminist act of resistance and resilience that contributes to transformative social change and strengthens the sustainability of our work.

As young feminist leaders, we must resist falling into the trap of replicating the systems we challenge in organizations and movements. This can lead to exhaustion of members, unequal power dynamics, eventually contributing to an unbalanced and unhealthy work environment. It is important to incorporate comprehensive self-care policies in our organizations, and ensure resources are available for us to be able to promote this culture of feminist collective well-being in our movements.[24]

Wellness, Self-Care and Security – Why this is Important to Feminism[25]

The Personal is Political

Equally linked to the sustainability of our movements is the importance of self-care. Viewing self-care from a liberating perspective challenges the conservative vision that places the responsibility for it simply in personal will. It also challenges the assumption of the "good activist" who dedicates all her energy to others, which frequently leads to exhaustion. Feminists, women's rights activists and women human rights defenders (WHRDs) "must guarantee the reclaiming of self-care, not just as a personal and basic human right to rest, recreate, dance, and laughter, but also as a strategy that is deeply political and subversive".[3]

Sustaining Activism and Integrated Security

The aim is not just to keep WHRDs safe, but ultimately to support social movements in changing the situation that put them at risk (Real). In order to develop a strategy of integrated security it is important to take into account four elements of analysis: spaces that are truly safe; time to reflect, discuss and assess all aspects of our lives, work, safety and well-being; solidarity with each other; and a deeply held belief in our own value – self-worth. This framework "reaffirms and strengthens women human rights defenders' own capacity to uncover and assess the range of challenges they face, and to share and develop the strategies they need to be safe and well – and continue their work."

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[23] "A New Feminist Wellness | 2018 Global Wellness Trends."
https://www.globalwellnesssummit.com/2018-global-wellness-trends/feminist-wellness/. Accessed 23 May. 2019.
[24]"Making our movements sustainable: practicing holistic security every day." 15 Jun. 2017,
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[25]"Wellness, Self-Care and Security – Why this is Important to Feminism ...." 14 Jun. 2012,
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Influencing Our Own Movement

The Wellness Area received a large number of visitors throughout the Forum, and was a much-needed space for participants to meditate, recharge and re energise. Many long-time feminist activists and WHRDs visited the area seeking help with various stress-related illnesses. While many who visited the area said it was their first experience of this kind of space during such an event, they also commented that they felt guilty about taking this "time off" from doing their "real work". This illustrates how women, suffer in silence, under constant pain and mental stress that puts pressure on their lives.

Breaking with Patriarchal Leaderships

A feminist approach to self-care and wellness should incorporate a debate about leadership; a key element to be addressed by the new generation of feminist leaders. It is essential that current and new feminist leaders, women activists and WHRDs engage in the development of a culture of self-care and wellness in both individual lifestyles and the organizational culture, leading to real and transformative change that will permeate and strengthen the sustainability of the women's movement at large.

Donors also share in the responsibility and it is becoming more and more relevant to start advocating for a culture of funding that includes the work on self-care, wellness and security from a feminist perspective, as an integral part of the human rights work that women do.

Empowering Ourselves!

By developing a feminist approach to security, self-care and wellness, the construction and sustainability of our movement will benefit with revitalised, active and positive women, who are not burnt-out or at risk of exhaustion.

Questions

- Are there shared stressors by the feminist collective?
- How can we incorporate wellness and self care into our lives and organisations with intention.
- Is there space for creativity, diversity, in our families, households, organisations?
- What role does intersectionality play?
- How do we solve conflicts and disputes that arise with respect to all parties involved?
- How do we care for ourselves after traumatic events?
- Do you dread therapy or mental health support?

### Self Check In Questions to think about:

- Are you mindfully well?
- What are the stressors in your life?
- How aware are you, of the items in your environment?
- Are you conscious of what stresses you or do you get irritated with yourself more often?
- What do you do when you feel sad? Disappointed? Angry?
- What do you do when feel happy, joyous, excited?
- Do you take time of to be with yourself?
- How often do you unplug from the internet, read a book, try something new, or rekindle a lost passion?
- Do you sleep well? Take time to eat healthy?
- Do you have positive support in your life, be it partners, friends, family?
- How do you account to yourself?
- Are you happy?
- What can you do now, to care for yourself as a whole being?
- Do you express yourself freely and do you ask for support when you need it?
- Do you engage with enriching physical activities ie walking, exercise, hiking, nature gazing?
- What is your food like? Are you feeding your hunger? Or tummy?

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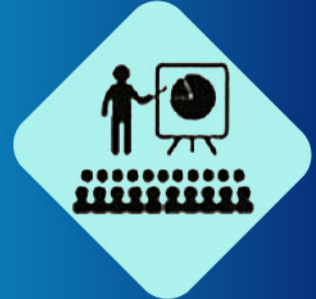
How Not to be Hard on Yourself

Your mistakes are part of your learning
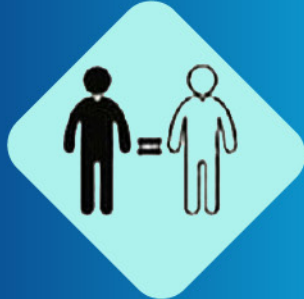
Don't compare yourself to others because you are not them

There is no right way to do anything

Stand up for what you believe, even if it's unpopular

Learn from people who criticize you

Accept your weaknesses as your 'features'

Look at your past as an adventurous biography

Don't underestimate your talent until you apply it 100 times

Every single problem you have is not unique

Intelligence is relative, self-esteem is not

Express your anger in a creative way

Sorround yourself with people who want you to succeed

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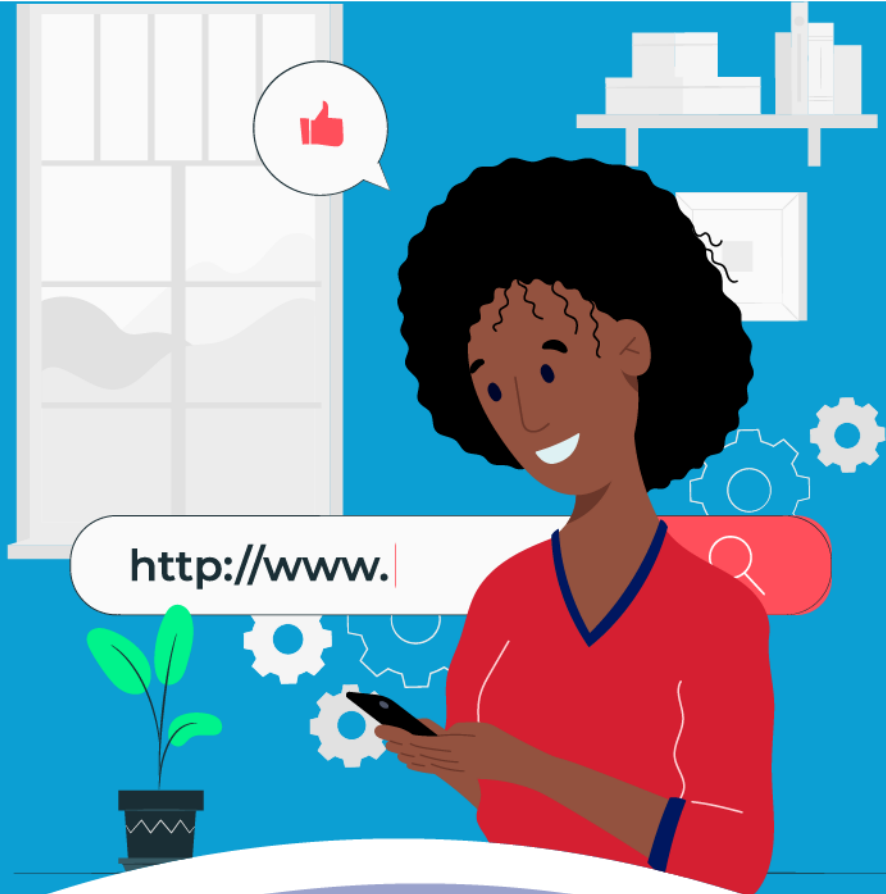
More Links to self care, mental health and wellness resources:

- Using Chakras as a framework for understanding self care and wellness:- A beginners guide to Chakras http://www.hmhscounseling.com/single-post/2017/09/19/A-Beginners-Guide-to-Chakras

- FRIDA, Develop your self care plan: https://youngfeministfund.org/develop-self-care-plan/

- Wright State University, Self Care http://www.wright.edu/student-affairs/health-and-wellness/counseling-and-wellness/workshops-and-self-help/self-care#physical Self care in the workplace:- Strategies for building an organisation with a soul

- http://airforafrica.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Strategies-for-Building-an-Organisation-with-Soul-WEB.pd

- FRIDA, Working style and principles for virtual offices https://youngfeministfund.org/2016/09/fridas-working-style-and-principles/ 10 things you can do for your Mental Health:- https://www.uhs.umich.edu/tenthings

- WHO: 10 facts on mental health https://www.who.int/features/factfiles/mental_health/mental_health_facts/en/

- WHO:Mental Health Strengthening our response https://www.who.int/en/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/mental-health-strengthening-our-response

- What you need to know about Mental Health in Uganda https://www.health.go.ug/sites/default/-files/What_you_need_to_know_about_Mental_Health.pdf

- APA:The Road to resilience https://www.apa.org/helpcenter/road-resilience

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Women's Budget Group, 10 January 2018, available at https://w-bg.org.uk/blog/what-is-feminist-economics/, last accessed 17 May 2019.

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Read Portolés 2004
Gayatri Spivak 1999
Paulson 1998
See Vandana Shiva,
and Bina Agarwal- development is a western colonization strategy
See International Association for Feminist Economics (IAFFE)

Alice M. Miller, Eszter Kismödi, Jane Cottingham & Sofia Gruskin (2015), Sexual Rights as human rights: a guide to authoritative sources and principles for applying human rights to sexuality and sexual health, available at https://tandfonline.com/doi/-full/10.1016/j.rhm.2015.11.007

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