

CHALLENGES WERE MANY: THE ONE IN NINE CAMPAIGN, SOUTH AFRICA

BY JANE BENNETT

FROM CHANGING THEIR WORLD 1ST EDITION
EDITED BY SRILATHA BATLIWALA
SCHOLAR ASSOCIATE, AWID



Building
Feminist
Movements and
Organizations

This case study was produced by AWID's Building Feminist Movements and Organizations (BEFMO) Initiative

These publications can be found on the AWID website: www.awid.org

Changing their World 1st Edition

Contains case studies:

- **Against All Odds: The Building of a Women's Movement in the Islamic Republic of Iran**
By Homa Hoodfar
- **The Dalit Women's Movement in India: Dalit Mahila Samiti**
By Jahnavi Andharia with the ANANDI Collective
- **Domestic Workers Organizing in the United States**
By Andrea Cristina Mercado and Ai-jen Poo
- **Challenges Were Many: The One in Nine Campaign, South Africa**
By Jane Bennett
- **Mothers as Movers and Shakers: The Network of Mother Centres in the Czech Republic**
By Suranjana Gupta
- **The Demobilization of Women's Movements: The Case of Palestine**
By Islah Jad
- **The Piquetera/o Movement of Argentina**
By Andrea D'Atri and Celeste Escati
- **GROOTS Kenya**
By Awino Okech
- **The European Romani Women's Movement—International Roma Women's Network**
By Rita Izsak

Changing their World 2nd Edition

Contains four new case studies:

- **The Seeds of a Movement—Disabled Women and their Struggle to Organize**
By Janet Price
- **GALANG: A Movement in the Making for the Rights of Poor LBTs in the Philippines**
By Anne Lim
- **The VAMP/SANGRAM Sex Worker's Movement in India's Southwest**
By the SANGRAM/VAMP team
- **Women Building Peace: The Sudanese Women Empowerment for Peace (SuWEP) in Sudan**
By Zaynab ElSawi

Strengthening Monitoring and Evaluation for Women's Rights: Twelve Insights for Donors

By Srilatha Batliwala

Capturing Change in Women's Realities: A Critical Overview of Current Monitoring and Evaluation Frameworks and Approaches

By Srilatha Batliwala and Alexandra Pittman

The Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) is an international feminist, membership organization committed to achieving gender equality, sustainable development and women's human rights. AWID's mission is to strengthen the voice, impact and influence of women's rights advocates, organizations and movements internationally to effectively advance the rights of women.

Author: Jane Bennett

Editor: Srilatha Batliwala

Designer: Storm. Diseño + Comunicación



2008 This publication may be redistributed non-commercially in any media, unchanged and in whole, with credit given to AWID and the author.
Published by AWID, Toronto, Mexico City, Cape Town.

This publication is available online at www.awid.org

This publication is also available online in French and Spanish.

Toronto Office

215 Spadina Ave,

Suite 150 Toronto, Ontario

M5T 2C7

Canada

contact@awid.org

AWID gratefully acknowledges the generous support of Cordaid, Hivos, Irish Aid, Levi Strauss Foundation, MDG3 Fund (Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Oxfam Novib, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC).

Challenges Were Many: The One in Nine Campaign, South Africa

By Jane Bennett¹

“Challenges were many, but I think what carried us through was the dream of a better world and the fact that we were creating it together. We debated, we supported each other, we challenged the donor community to join hands with us and not just hand out to us.”

Fatma Alloo, founding member, TAMWA (Tanzanian Media Women’s Organization)²

“People’s demands increased after gender-awareness workshops. They began to ask why we emphasized children’s education when schools were so far away; why we emphasized health and hygiene when they had no access to clean drinking water...we were forced to go back to the drawing board. This is how we began the human rights education component of our work... we knew we would be accused by politicians of being a political party. However, this did not scare us because we would root our advocacy work in the everyday lives of the people, and if challenged we would say, ‘let us go and see what we are talking about.’”

Emily Sikawe, Director, Women for Change, Zambia³

“When we move, we cause ruptures”

Patricia McFadden,⁴ founding member, SAFERE (Southern African Feminist Review) and African feminist activist

Introduction

The strategies employed for political activism through the mobilization of “women” shift dramatically in different historical, social, economic, and cultural contexts (Geisler, 2004; Razavi and Molyneux, 2002; Ferree and Tripp, 2006). Some analyses of such shifts privilege identity politics as a key resource in understanding differences, ten-

sions, and alliances, so that religious “identities”, for example, or racialized ones, become central to the theorization of particular activist agendas or initiatives (Geisler, 2004). Others are more interested in the contextual confluence of economic and political realities through which people gendered as “women” find themselves deprived of access to power, material resources, and/or political representation (Hassim, 2006, Keck and Sikkink, 1998). In the past few years, there have been vi-

1. Jane Bennett African Gender Institute, University of Cape Town

2. “In Conversation: Mobilizing Tanzania’s Women; Joanne Henry speaks with Fatma Alloo,” *Feminist Africa: Women Mobilized*, Issue 4, 2005, p 141

3. Emily Sikazwe, “Women for Change: Working With Rural Communities,” in Hope Chigudu (ed) *Composing a New Song: Stories of Empowerment from Africa* London, Harare, Kampala: The Commonwealth Foundation, Weaver Press, Fountain Publishers, 2002, p 135

4. Patricia McFadden, quoted in ‘Transformation: An Informal Journal about Yari Yari Pamberi 2004’, Felicia Pride, November 2004, www.thebacklist.net

brant, critical discussions on the nature, shape and direction of “women’s movement” organizing, and in African contexts, I would suggest there are four overarching debates which have circled continually through intellectual writing on “women’s movements”, activist organization at several levels, and within numerous fora – workshops, conferences, WSF tents, small rooms and patches of shade in which planning, arguing, and celebrations have been undertaken.

The first debate concerns the meaning of the state. Over the past four decades, considerable energy has been vested in the struggle to hold post ‘flag-democracy’ states accountable to ideals of “gender equality” within political representation, state-based budget processes, and the delivery of resources and services.⁵ However, where “states” themselves are corrupt, fragmented, in rapid transition, or organized through military rule, there has been debate about the value of this work, and its vulnerability to co-optation by interests far from feminist (Mama, 2003).

This debate is interlinked with a second: the meaning of the interaction between the North and diverse initiatives concerned with “women’s human rights,” “South-based feminisms,” and “gender-alert social justice”. As Aili Tripp suggests, “The term ‘transnational feminism’ is sometimes used as shorthand for Western involvement in and influence on feminist movements globally”⁶ and although (as she points out) this “shorthand” expresses only one dynamic of transnational feminist organizing, it is the dynamic which provokes difficult questions concerning integrity, sustainability, control, and long-term strategy.

A third debate concerns the fact that since 1994 (and in some contexts, earlier), concerns long animating women’s organizing – access to reproductive health and freedom from gender-based violence – became embedded into new articulations which linked ideas about sexual health and rights to language addressing reproduction. The link between gender, culture, and sexuality is so intricate and so deeply naturalized within discourses of nationalism, the family, and – indeed – “being human” that women’s organizing through recognition of sexuality as a political force has been challenging.⁷ Nonetheless, Africa-based debate on theoretical – and activist – engagement with local and continental struggles to understand the links between sexualities, gender, and socio-economic space is vigorous, nuanced, and valuable.

The fourth debate concerns the very existence of a “women’s movement” (Essof, 2005). In an era in which WTO policies, the U.S. war on Iraq, and increasing gaps between the world’s wealthy and its poor, belie notions of “progress” or “democracy”, there has been a powerful escalation of political protest, demanding alternatives. The place of gender justice within these protests, alongside the seeming intransigence of local gender oppressions, have led to serious reflection, analysis, and a desire for new beginnings, new strategies.⁸ Some voices have approached current political and economic contexts of complex gender injustices with renewed vigour, theoretical analysis which seeks to engage a wide array of local and transnational activists, and strategy which encompasses the streets and the screen. The One in Nine Campaign (hereafter, OINC) of South Africa is a young organization which fits into this category.

5. There are, of course, continental contexts in which the concept of a coherent “state” is not useful.

6. Aili Mari Tripp, “Regional Networking as Transnational Feminism: African Experiences,” in *Feminist Africa 4*, 2005, 46 -63, p 46

7. As Professor Amina Mama notes: “On the global front, too, it has become clear that in the post-9/11 world, sexual politics – and the morality that underpins dominant discourses on sexuality – can no longer be relegated to the periphery of feminist analysis.” (Mama, 2005:3) However, the terms in which “sexualities” become introduced into legal and political terrain remain contested – it is easier to insert conceptions of “sexuality” into frameworks of health than it is to discuss sexualities as sources of empowerment; constraint and “management” are often more audible as political approaches to sexuality than exploration or alliance-building across diverse “sexual” constituencies.

8. Some of this discussion has been accompanied by a sense of despair (Chigudu, 2007), challenges to “older feminists” (Wilson, Sengupta, and Evans, 2006), and a search for new alliances.

Women's Movement Organizing in South Africa

The history of the women's movement in South Africa is usually described as one that is interlinked, in complex ways, with the narratives of resistance to colonialism (and after 1948, apartheid) throughout the twentieth century.⁹ While it is true that prior to 1990, feminist analysis of political, cultural, and economic spaces tended to be embedded within different orientations that were struggling to end apartheid (socialist, liberal, the then-underground ANC policy, worker-based, and so on), it is also true that in the years immediately preceding 1994 (when the apartheid state was formally dismantled), there was sufficient consensus between different activists and organizations to create a powerful National Women's Charter as a platform from which to lobby the new government for concrete provisions towards gender justice (Hassim, 2006; Govender, 2007).

Given the tensions of race, class, and political orientation among the women working on the National Women's Charter, its completion was a remarkable achievement, and led directly to a number of key "gender recognitions". Access to political power was formally opened to women through a quota system on the ruling party's lists; a battery of legal reforms concerning sexual harassment, access to the termination of pregnancy, and

domestic violence was initiated; financial reform was initiated through the Women's Budget; specific attention was paid to improving child support grants and to giving women free ante-natal care; and a range of offices were established to support and monitor national gender equality, such as the Commission on Gender Equality.

Between 1994 and 2007, however, conditions for South African women have become steadily more fraught.¹⁰ Four issues have intersected in a way that have profoundly affected women's (and men's) quality of life, creating zones of political and economic injustice which bear some similarity to what was experienced under the apartheid regime (in that there is little evidence of state commitment to protecting the lives of the most vulnerable) but bear the hallmarks of "new" brutalities. The first of these issues is the escalation of poverty. Poverty is pervasive, and according to a recent study of the Department of Social Welfare, stands at an astounding 45 – 50%. The unemployment rate is 36 percent for the whole population, and higher for black women.¹¹ Secondly, HIV and AIDS have hit South Africa hard. Methods of quantification in this area are complex, but the South African Department of Health Study for 2006 estimates that 29.1% of pregnant women surveyed through ante-natal clinic attendance were HIV positive. Average life expectancy is 54 (without AIDS, it would be 64), and 50% of current South African under 15 will not reach the age of 50.¹²

-
9. There are debates about the terms through which different women fought oppression - as "military operatives" against the British during the Anglo-Boer war of 1900; as part of the underground war against the apartheid state, waged by Umkhonto we Sizwe, and other national liberation movements, from the 1960's on; as "mothers" organizing in the Western Cape against state land and housing policies in the 1980s; or as "women" under the banner of various organizations positioned at different historical points in opposition to the apartheid state such as FEDSAW (Federation of South African Women) in the 1950's, Black Sash from the 1960s to the 1990s, the UWO (United Women's Organization) of the 1980s, or the National Women's Coalition, active between 1990 and 1992. These debates arise in relation to the relationship between the different women's political activity, the articulation of their struggle, their identities, alliances, and strategies.
 10. To say this is not to deny the achievements of legislative reform and the constitutional commitment to prevent discrimination on the basis of "sex, gender, sexual orientation, race"; these have created invaluable discursive space through which to continue to fight for access to land, health treatment, and so on. They have also created concrete opportunities, such as access to interdicts to curtail the violence of domestic partners.
 11. It has been argued that South Africa is a "text book example of how globalization plays itself out in the semi-industrialized world...the net effect of this simultaneous coupling of economic globalization with the democratic transition has been devastating..." (Ballard, Habib and Valodia, 2006: 16) A longer piece could delineate the multiple implications of this, but even a superficial gender analysis of this poverty illuminates women's vulnerability.
 12. The Centre for Actuarial Research, Medical Research Council, and Actuarial Society of South Africa, *The demographic impact of HIV and AIDS in South Africa: National and Provincial Indicators* (2006).

The third issue concerns the fact that the gap between the “first” and the “third” worlds of South Africa is widening. When this is added to the classic gap between policy formalization and policy implementation, South Africans find themselves in an almost schizophrenic environment: there are, for example, powerful legal instruments concerning the provision of equal opportunity and preventing discrimination, but daily realities of unemployment, increasing casualization of labour, and closing factories make “lies” of the discourse of democracy.¹³ This places particular burdens on women, largely because of their continued positioning as primary care-takers within both the community and the family.

The fourth issue is gender-based violence. While some argue that the increased statistics concerning rape (including the rape and sexual abuse of children and babies) are an effect of more efficient policing procedures and more confidence in the state, others contend that the past few years have seen a dramatic escalation in both the prevalence of gender-based violence and an increase in the levels of brutality involved (Vetten, 2006).

Contemporary discussions of women's movement organizing in South Africa struggle to come to terms with the genuine political achievements of activists in negotiating state recognition of the need for gender equality in the light of the current serious challenges faced by women, in different locations. Between 1999 (after the first five year wave of enthusiasm about the new state, and willingness to engage with its work in relatively uncritical ways) and 2005, it has been argued that women's movement organizing suffered, struggling for coherence and connection in the rapids of escalating poverty, lost momentum, and increasing concern (even disillusionment) about both state capacity and state will to transform the social and economic axes of power in a way which could realize gender equality “on the ground” (Salo, 2005). The national machinery on gender became increasingly ineffectual in this period (Seidman, 2006); well-established or-

ganizations (such as the National Network on Violence Against Women) lost focus; and numerous small organizations struggled for funding, sustainability, and engagement with one another across agendas.

Overall, this had led to a very interesting situation for women's movement organizing. All across the country there are “organized women”, many of whom are explicitly or implicitly working with core feminist principles on gender justice. The most visible (but arguably least influential) are constrained within the national gender machinery; at a less “visible” level, there are hundreds of small organizations connected to “women's issues” (which range from welfarist engagement with enhancing service delivery to women through to NGOs working on women's participation in local government); there are networks with both national and international alliances between organizations; there are active and often university-based feminist writers, researchers, and consultants; and there are, perhaps most importantly, grassroots members of new social movements who describe themselves as ‘women activists’, think and strategize in ways which include gender oppression as something against which to fight, and who form the bedrock of emerging political protest against state positions and policies.¹⁴

Before locating The One in Nine Campaign within this profile, a final issue needs integration. In the past five years, the connection between the politics of sexuality and those of gender have become increasingly foregrounded in the kinds of challenges faced by women activists, both those explicitly working within a discourse of feminism and those working within (for example) the Treatment Action campaign, which fights for access to treatment and progressive policies on HIV and AIDS. Across the continent, the need to combat the transmission of HIV, to curtail sexual violence, and to ensure that women and girls have access to education, healthcare, and political rights as basic conditions of democracy has increasingly placed

13. This is a volatile environment in which to live – certain opportunities open up, but simultaneously there is a pervasive sense of insecurity, and of civil society fragmentation into islands of identity.

14. Two organizations in South Africa (ILRIG, in Cape Town and Khanya College, in Johannesburg) have taken specific steps to organize with these women, through targeted educational and strategy workshops, on, for example, feminism and globalization.

issues of sexuality at the forefront of theoretical and activist engagements with the state. The terms in which “sexuality” becomes foregrounded as legal and political terrain remain contested – it is easier to insert conceptions of “sexuality” into frameworks of health than it is to discuss sexualities as sources of empowerment; constraint and “management” are often more audible as political approaches to sexuality than exploration or alliance-building across diverse “sexual” constituencies.

Within South Africa, this debate currently cuts across several different political issues: the failure of the State to implement its ARV programme in the face of an HIV and AIDS epidemic that is devastating the whole Southern African region; the integration of HIV and AIDS as an issue in the succession question for the ANC, in ways that are both vicious and complex; the validity of the Termination of Pregnancy Act (recently referred back to Parliament on the grounds that, in 1996, there had not been enough popular participation in debates around certain clauses); the changing legislation on marriage – which is (differently) impacting upon Muslim Personal law, customary rights, and the rights of gay and lesbian people to marry; the outlawing of surrogate motherhood as a paid contractual arrangement; the processes of a new Sexual Offences Bill; the significance of the trial of Jacob Zuma, charged with rape in 2005 and acquitted in 2006 in a verdict that split the nation around the meaning of rape; the attempts to change legislation on trafficking; the attempts to subject the media to pre-publication government censorship on the grounds that this will decrease child pornography; the fact that 54,000 secondary school girls “dropped out” in 2006 due to pregnancy. Within this national context, sexualities constitute a live zone of continuous negotiation for rights, where masculinities and femininities are deployed both as points of access and as barriers to social justice.

The initiation of the [One in Nine Campaign](#) needs to be understood as rooted in a very specific national context – one in which there is a complex history of women’s activism, deeply enmeshed in

the politics of the national liberation movement, which is “present” discursively but feels disconnected to the current moment of young activists; a period of “honeymoon” where women’s movement leaders largely co-operated with state-driven initiatives; an increasingly difficult economic, political, and social environment in which women’s movement organizing has been challenged by issues of direction, alliance, and sustainability; and the option of new (for South Africa) frameworks for political activism which link issues of social justice through questions of gender equality and sexual rights.

The One in Nine Campaign

“Our core mandate is activist, and is feminist, and emerges right out of the crisis women are facing in terms of HIV and in terms of violence, in a context in which at the one level there are laws, and “rights”, and we are working in different organizations with those laws, and with those rights, making them real, but at another level, there is a sense that women are in so much danger, especially black women, but we needed a think-tank, for strategy, and a think-tank to direct action in a way we hadn’t done for a few years, and that was where we started”

Dawn Cavanagh, co-founder of One-in-Nine Campaign¹⁵

It is difficult to adequately describe the degree of intensity which characterized the processes of the “rape trial” against Jacob Zuma (Deputy-President of the country until temporarily relieved of the position in 2005 in connection with another trial). The charge was made in November, 2005, by a young HIV+ woman, who was a friend of the Zuma family and had been staying in Zuma’s house on the evening of her experience. The contested, but powerful political popularity of Jacob Zuma, coupled with his embattled relation with the State due to other (financial) concerns, led to both a very public trial and one in which Zuma’s defenders were extremely hostile to the woman alleging rape, vilifying her in numerous public fora and threatening her life. It was within this climate that a number

15. Interview with Dawn Cavanagh, October 14th, 2007

of organizations, driven by feminist principles on gender-based violence (such as the need to hear the story of the survivor without prejudice, and the importance of understanding the in-built “secondary victimization” typical of legal procedures), organized to challenge the overwhelming public characterization of “Khwezi” (the name given to the woman bringing the charge) as a “duped conspirator”, “loose woman,” “evil bitch,” “disgrace.”¹⁶ This was The One in Nine Campaign (OINC).

The terms of reference for The One in Nine Campaign state that it was established in February, 2006, at the start of the Jacob Zuma rape trial, “to ensure the expression of solidarity with the woman in that trial as well as other women who speak out about rape and sexual violence.” The document describes that the name of the campaign is based on a Medical Research Council (MRC) study on sexual violence conducted in 2005 which indicated that only one out of every nine rape survivors report the attack to the police. This statistic prompted the name “One In Nine”. It further notes that statistics indicate that of the cases that do reach the courts, less than 5 % of the rapists are convicted. This “highlights the serious need for reform of the institutional framework for responding to women who speak out.”

As the document notes, the mission of the OINC is to work with organizations and institutions involved in the issues of HIV/AIDS, violence against women, women’s rights, human rights, and lesbian, gay and bisexual activism “to ensure that the issue of the sexual rights of all women is addressed.” This is to be done through solidarity building, research, media, legal transformation and direct action. Thus the objectives are outlined as follows:

Objectives

- **Building solidarity:** To popularize sexual rights with a focus on women’s right to sexual autonomy and safe consensual sex

- **Research:** to develop a research agenda to effectively monitor and research social and legal aspects of sexual violence and their implications for policy and practice.
- **Media:** to harness the power of print and electronic media to educate and inform key institutions and the public about legal and social dimensions of sexual violence
- **Legal transformation:** to lobby for the transformation of the justice system and the legal framework so that women who speak out are able to access justice in all stages of the chain
- **Direct action:** to demonstrate direct support and solidarity with women who speak out against sexual violence

There is a consortium of organizations which manage the leadership of the Campaign: People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA), Gender AIDS Forum (GAF), Positive Women’s Network (PWN), Forum for the Empowerment of Women (FEW), OUT LGBT Well-being (OUT), Rhodes University Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), Men as Partners/Engender Health, AIDS Legal Network, AIDS Consortium, Treatment Action Campaign, and Masimanyane Women’s Support Centre. Most of these organizations are based in Gauteng, a central province in South Africa (except for Masimanyane Women’s Centre and the Rhodes University TAC, which are based in the Eastern Cape). The management of the leadership is participative, formally requiring consensus from all participants for the take-up of particular issues and strategies, but simultaneously drawing on the available energy and programmatic availability of different organizations.

The Forum for Women’s Empowerment, POWA, and PWN have played a particularly strong role in ensuring that the OINC becomes “live” with relation to movement building activism. Meetings between the different organizations are frequent, and attached to the nitty-gritty of activist planning. What is significant about these organizations is their braided relationship – as a collective – to the core issues as the heart of oppression against

16. All citations visible on www.friendsofjz.org.za, a website dedicated to the support of Jacob Zuma.

women in South Africa in 2006: gender-based violence, patriarchal masculinities, HIV and AIDs, and the politics of sexuality. Underlying the work of all these organizations is the recognition of the damage done to lives by poverty, and the on-going connections between race and the conditions of working class and rural life in the country.¹⁷

The OINC is led by diverse women, with backgrounds in law, conflict negotiation, sexuality and reproductive rights, HIV, gender-based violence, and most with personal backgrounds of economic struggle (of different kinds). Most of them are black, and this, in itself, is a “leadership innovation” in women’s movement organization in South Africa.¹⁸

From its initiation, The One in Nine Project was consciously building a movement, drawing on the political strengths and areas of expertise of different organizations which had never before been drawn, formally, into a coalition of action. According to the OINC’s mission statement, there is also a Provincial Team comprised of AIDS Legal Network (Western Cape), Gender AIDS Forum (KwaZulu/Natal), Thohoyandou Victim Empowerment Trust (Limpopo) and Greater Nelspruit Rape Intervention Project (GRIP) Mpumalanga. This team consists of a group of activists, committed to the OINC vision of proactive advocacy, especially in the arenas of poverty, HIV/AIDS, gender-based violence and sexuality. Each activist is located within an NGO, doing a range of programmatically-based interventions, and participates in OINC conversations (on e-mail) or in actions (supporting survivors within court cases, under the OINC banner) where possible.

When the Campaign began, there was no special funding driving the coalition, nor a dedicated “actual” space from which to work as a coalition. Three organizations took the lead in focusing direction (The Positive Women’s Network, the Gender AIDS Forum, and the Forum for Women’s Empowerment), and in the months of the trial, the

activism was a day-to-day business of ongoing strategic arrangement of public protest, and media creation through interaction with journalism, and the design and maintenance of a website¹⁹ which run daily updates on diverse aspects of the trial.

Initially, the pressure to act, within the media-dense context of the trial processes, did not permit careful attention to the internal structure of the Campaign. As Dawn Cavanagh, co-founder of the OINC, notes,

“We were running on pure energy, and it was very untidy, it was messy at first; those who were willing and able to do the work, they were the ones doing it, and decisions got made by whoever was able to just be there, and everyone accepted that, it wasn’t until later that we got to sit down and design proper terms of reference and map out a more long-term strategy, we weren’t responding to a pre-planned anything, with a budget, and so on, we were just building as powerfully as we could, it was a totally new way of organizing for us”

The OINC’s terms of reference, mentioned above, which were developed in the months after the Jacob Zuma rape trial came to a formal close (in May, 2006) as a platform to build a movement based on the coalition and organizational synergies harnessed, are explicit about the core feminism of the Project. The principles found in the document include the following statements to this effect:

- **The campaign shall be driven and sustained by women’s leadership**
- **Women’s leadership aims to create equal power relations within the** campaign, through good and democratic governance practices, based on feminist principles of shared leadership and joint decision-making. The 1 in 9 campaign is part of the global women’s movement and as such, is a vehicle for building women’s leadership by providing a platform for women’s voices to be heard and for women activists to gain leadership experience.

17. Their separate statements of mission are found at www.powa.org.za, or www.tac.org.za.

18. There have certainly been many black leaders within the women’s movement, but not as dominant within the NGO sector – more in the unions, and in association with political parties.

19. www.oneinnine.org.za. The site was hacked several times during this, and certain portions of it have been repeatedly hacked.

- **The ideological premise for all campaign actions and governance shall be feminism** - The 1 in 9 campaign's ideological stance reflects the basic tenet of feminism that the personal is political. Recognising that fundamental truth, the campaign acknowledges that in order to eradicate sexual violence against women, it must actively combat all forms of oppression, including, but not limited to racism and classism as all of these impact women's access to equality and justice.
- **Campaign actions will be informed by recognizing the intersectionality of various forms of oppression** - The Campaign recognises that manifold forms of oppression, including but not limited to, sexism, racism, classism and homophobia converge to deny women access to equality and justice. The campaign will incorporate this consciousness into its policy and practice such that it will shape the manner in which we understand and respond to sexual violence against women.

The Terms of Reference note that all organisations wishing to be a part of the campaign should commit to these and several other basic principles outlined in the document.

Put into action, these principles seem to work very well at some levels - they flatten conventional hierarchically-based processes of communication and decision-making (usual even in NGO's with radical visions of equality, and certainly part and parcel of all academic, governmental, and large development organizations). Because the OINC is a young collective, based as much on individuals' capacity and willingness to spearhead advocacy as on pre-determined interventions, decision-making can be relatively fast and deeply reliant on experience of, and faith in, individual activists' capacities, rather than upon inter-organizational experience alone. At other levels, it is possible that such principles sketch a vision, rather than a day-to-day reality, given the on-going challenges of deep prejudice at many levels within South African society. In other words, commitment alone to "non-racism" (there are black and white women involved in the OINC, and a strong, lived, commitment to black leadership) may not ensure that all advocacy against gender-based violence carries within its terms of action the need to prioritize leadership "against"

whiteness, which should be understood as a constellation of ideas and interests rather than a set of individuals.

The recognition of the importance of gender-based violence as a lens through which to forge connections to work against homophobia and towards the empowerment of those with HIV and AIDS is a way of both rooting the Campaign's work in contemporary realities of South Africa and moving beyond the positions of earlier women's organizations focused on sexual violence (some of whom have struggled to broaden their platforms to accommodate issues of HIV and/or homophobia).

In the time since the Jacob Zuma trial, the OINC has undertaken on-going public and media activism which highlights the intransigence of the court system when it comes to processing the hearings of rape victims, protesting outside courts, creating petitions, supporting legal interventions, organizing "bus campaigns" of publicity, and focusing on particular cases to develop strategic focus. The activism has brought new energy to the meaning of "fighting against sexual violence" in a terrain where the battles had become (since 1994) very embedded into liberal moves towards (necessary) legal reform, where only those with particular professional qualifications could play key roles. Within FEW, the need to create spaces in which survivors of "corrective rape" (rape deliberately targeted at lesbian women in order to 'turn them back into heterosexuals') has been part of the organization's work since 2005, and this work has involved new models of counselling, engagement with housing officials and police precincts at a micro-level, and creativity (working with writing, digital story-telling, and poetry). These approaches have been integrated into OINC's approach to tackling the environment in which gender-based violence is endemic at a very local level.

Vital as this work was (and is), the meaning of "the battle" in this terrain became distanced from the kinds of public activism (analogous to the protests of the new social movements and the unions) necessary to keep the idea of a "women's movement" in the forefront of political consciousness.

On July 7th, 2007, two women, Sizakele Sigasa and Salome Massoa, were assassinated in Johannesburg. Both were lesbian, returning from a cele-

bratory function, and Sigasa had been an outreach worker for the Positive Women's Network, one of the OINC leaders. With some new organizational partners (Behind the Mask, and the Joint Working Group on LGBTI rights and issues), the OINC took on the primary organization of the 07-07-07 protest, organizing public activism, building solidarity, monitoring the legal case, and creating a range of resources (including virtual resources) to support the movement to protest the murders.

The effects of this work have been powerful; public protests have been organized in 4 major cities, and integrated into the platforms of a range of different organizations' work. The combination of the experience of the activism during the Jacob Zuma trial and the outrage at the deaths (not the first in South Africa as a result of homophobia targeting black lesbians in particular) have both invigorated the coalition, but also led to new demands on coalition members for "holding" the direction of the movement-building. Such a demand comes from requests from other women activists (both as individuals and through organizations) to be brought on board, and has opened up spaces for the discussion of the way in which "new left" movement organizing has sparked the re-energization of feminism with South Africa.

The OINC is not the only collective through which this is happening. The International Labour Resource and Information Group, ILRIG, in Cape Town, has over the past few years run very powerful community and educational fora, bringing activist women from diverse sectors of the working class together to locate the relevance of feminist ideas to their own work; Khanya College in Johannesburg has been responsible for a similar insistence that gender politics are part and parcel of a lens on justice in South Africa. In both these cases, the "re-energization" has met with challenges, but there is clear indication that the meanings of "women's movements" and "women activists" is being addressed across South Africa in new conversations, angers, and actions. The OINC has informal links with many of the other initiatives; as Dawn Cavanagh puts it, *"the new campaign for us is powerful, it helps us connect better with activists in other places, and we feel we are strengthening the movement, and the vision of where we can take this organizing – into the communities, talking about women and action in a new way...we also*

each as an organization still have the responsibility to continue our other projects, like POWA (People Organizing Against Women Abuse) and the services it offers and the other work; this thing is becoming huge, and we are going to need to think about a structure beyond what we've been able to do so far."

This stage of the Campaign's growth is a very difficult one, which also highlights a particular challenge of women's movement work worldwide. There is tension between addressing the actual daily priorities arising from women's oppression and creating public advocacy and activist projects which do not have "service delivery" as their principle form of "output." Many women's organizations in South Africa have historically been drawn into service delivery and into a very particular relation to the state (one of lobbying, seeking legal reform or action, and creating alliances with actors such as police, housing departments, educationalists, and so on). This is essential, but leaves little time for the vital conceptual and strategic work of building a movement across political constituencies and issues, while still retaining a feminist platform.

The OINC's vision of movement building is summed up by Cavanagh, when she says, *"What is making this movement a success is the way feminism is being retaken up by organizations such as Behind the Mask, while still reaching into the older, you know what I mean, gender based violence principles. Women activists are becoming very strong, even though what we face with the killings is traumatizing sometimes. What we are actually doing with this movement is healing, it works differently for different individuals, and sometimes, it's not so easy, but this is an activism about healing ourselves as organizations, and healing this country, through anger and action, where things are actually going so wrong for women."*

Conclusion

The OINC is a movement-building organization working in a post-1994 South Africa, where the importance of acknowledging the failure of the triumph over apartheid for women (especially poor black women) is traumatizing, especially to those who worked hard to establish the National Gen-

TIMELINE

der machinery, or to reform different laws. The OINC discourse and activism have had a powerful impact on the meaning of feminist organizing in South Africa, taking the leadership around definitions of feminist strategy in a way that is influencing the understanding of the visibility and range of a women's movement.

Excitingly, the OINC partnership is hosting a "Feminist Space" conference in December, 2007, inviting a range of organizations and individuals to reflect upon the priorities for strategy and to critique the past few years' work of "movement building." There are expectations for fundraising, and different organizations (especially FEW, POWA and Behind the Mask) have started the process of including OINC work in their organizational fundraising strategies. The way forward will be charted by the "Feminist Space" meeting, but it will entail a commitment to capitalizing on the proven strengths and workable agendas of the member organizations while simultaneously drawing organizations together in targeted protest and advocacy initiatives.

The case study of the OINC suggests that when exploring the shape and processes of women's movement organizing, while historical perspective on what has been retrospectively corralled as "the women's movement" in a national context is valuable, it is also vital to recognize for South Africa that contemporary contexts of rapid political transition, without accompanying shifts in access to economic and social transformation, has created a situation in which feminist work both has to be "re-begun", and simultaneously "re-imagined". This places a heavy responsibility on activists, both those with roots in past organizational initiatives and those who feel that, because of what they see and experience, that "nothing has been done for women". The OINC leadership is, however, *"passionate about our work; we see it as the most important thing we can do for the country, but also for ourselves. It is possible to feel completely devastated by the news of the rapes, the poverty, and the murders; what we insist on is that no-one in the end can kill the women's agenda's and movement in South Africa. We will ensure that."* (Dawn Cavanagh).

Timeline

- October - November, 2005** Informal meetings between members of FEW, PWN, POWA and CALS to discuss implications of gender-based violence in the country, in the light of the charge of rape laid against Jacob Zuma, ex Deputy-President
- January - February, 2006** Formation of the One-in-Nine Campaign, design and launch of website, outreach to partners
- February - May, 2006** Design and implementation of activist and advocacy programme, focused on the Jacob Zuma trial; intensive media outreach, street level activism, outreach to new partners
- July - January, 2007** Development of media and advocacy activism focusing on rape trials of survivors in different South African cities; building of partner memberships
- July, 2007** Development of 07-07-07 protest, and campaign, in response to murders of Sizakele Sigasa and Salome Massoa; new partners on board (Behind the Mask; Joint Working Group)
- April - August, 2007** Drafting, discussing, formalization of core strategic principles for OINC as a women's movement building organization
- December, 2007** Hosting of "Feminist Space" conference --- the objective is to strategize in terms of developing OINC movement building in South Africa



Bibliography

- Essof, S. 2005 "She-murenga: Challenges, Opportunities and Setbacks of the Women's Movement in Zimbabwe," *Feminist Africa* 4
- Geisler, G. 2004 Women and the Remaking of Politics in Southern Africa: Negotiating Autonomy, Incorporation and Representation Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutit
- Hassim, S. 1999 "From Presence to Power: Women's Citizenship in a New Democracy" *Agenda* 40
- Hassim, S. 2006 Women's Organizations and Democracy in South Africa: Contesting Authority Pietermaritzburg University of KwaZulu/Natal Press
- Keck, M. E. and Sikkink, K. 1998 Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- Mama, A. 2005 "Women Mobilized" *Feminist Africa* 4
- Salo, E. 2005 "Multiple Targets, Mixing Strategies: Complicating Feminist Analysis of Contemporary South African Women's Movements" *Feminist Africa* 4
- Tripp, A. 2006 "Consensus, Conflict and New Challenges in Transnational Feminisms," in Freere, M. and A. Tripp, Transnational Feminisms: Women's Global Activism and Human Rights New York: New York University Press

Websites:

www.genderstats.org.za
www.csvr.org.za
www.oneinnine.org.za
www.few.org.za
www.powa.org.za
www.gwsafrica.org
www.feministafrica.org
www.pwn.org.za
www.awid.org

Interviews:

Dawn Cavanagh (Forum for Women's Empowerment)