

**Constructing South African Feminism(s):
A case study of *Agenda* (1987-2007)**

Nitasha Moothoo-Padayachie

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Supervisor: Professor Vasu Reddy, PhD

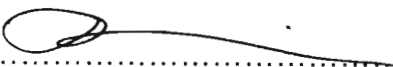
DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfilment/partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, in the Graduate Programme in Gender Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts, Gender Studies in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other university.

N. MOOTHOU - PRADYAKHIE

Student Name



Student Signature

24/03/05

Date

ABSTRACT

This dissertation provides an analysis of the *Agenda* construction of South African Feminism(s). *Agenda* is a feminist, peer-reviewed SAPSE journal that was launched as a publication in 1987 in South Africa. The Journal provides a forum for a number of issues: the most important being the representation of women's voices towards transforming unequal gender relations; and women's unequal position in society, their visibility, struggles and problems in relation to gender inequalities. The Journal also uses a format that encompasses creative writing and original research that is intended to be accessible to a broad readership. Over the years, the Journal has published broadly on issues ranging from health, violence, sexuality, the media, poverty, labour, HIV/AIDS, rights, sustainable development, citizenship, etc. This dissertation analyses how some of these themes have been addressed by *Agenda* in terms of editorial content and the subsequent impact these choices have had on creating a uniquely South African Feminism. To determine the 'impact', the study adopts a content analysis of the Journal, (Neuman, 1997). The content of the Journals, especially during Apartheid (pre-1994) reflects a focus on the lived experiences of South African women. It is hypothesised that *Agenda* has shifted its focus since Issue 20 (the first Issue of 1994 aptly titled "Politics, Power and Democracy"). The argument in the dissertation demonstrates that with the inclusion of South African women, *Agenda* has steadily and consistently developed a discourse that is collaborative and participatory, reflecting a hybrid of various earlier strands of Western-originating feminisms (such as radical, liberal, Marxist, socialist). This new discourse could be labelled South African Feminism(s), and such a conclusion is investigated through close analyses of selected themes and issues covered by the Journal copy.

Keywords: gender, women, media, publishing, activism, African Feminism, feminist media

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At both personal and objective levels, the writing of this dissertation has produced a complex tapestry of feminism in South Africa. I do not think that I fully understood the complexity of *Agenda* until I wrote this dissertation. Through careful immersion into these ground-breaking publications, I have come to personally understand the rich feminist insights that South African researchers and activists have brought to our conceptual lenses with respect to gender. And writing this dissertation reminds me of the many people who form part of the tapestry of critical work. I would like to thank my family for their support, (my mother in particular) for it is the generational lessons of womanhood and true feminist teachings from her that has made me the woman I am today. I would also like to thank my supervisor and friend, Professor Vasu Reddy for his patience and steady hand in guiding this dissertation. I also thank the editors, Editorial Board members and founding members of *Agenda* for their contribution to capturing *Agenda's* herstory. I would also like to thank Christine Davis for her skilful editing and proofreading of this dissertation. Overall, writing this study has been a truly enriching and inspirational experience for me.

LIST OF JOURNALS

Issue	Theme	Year of Publication
1-9	General and unthemed Issues	1987-1991
10	Emancipation and Liberation	1991
11	Sexual politics	1991
12	Rural politics	1992
13	Culture and Tradition	1992
14	Southern Africa	1992
15	Health	1992
16	Violence in Focus	1993
17	Recreation and Leisure	1993
18	The Economy	1993
19	Difference	1993
20	Politics, Power and Democracy	1994
21	Focus on Education	1994
22	The Family in Question	1994
23	Body Politics	1994
24	Monitoring Change	1995
25	Religion	1995
26	Local Government	1995
27	Reproductive Rights	1995
28	Sexuality	1996
29	The Environment	1996
30	Provinces in Focus	1996
31	The Media	1996
32	Race, Identity and Change	1997
33	The Poverty Issue	1997
34	Celebrating 10 years	1997
35	The Labour Market	1997
36	Violence	1998
37	The New Men	1998
38	Techno-Innovation	1998
39	AIDS: Counting the Costs	1998
40	Citizenship	1999
41	Gender and Education	1999

42	Women, Land and Housing	1999
43	Women and the Aftermath	2000
44	AIDS: Global Concerns for Women	2000
45	Local Government: Bringing Democracy Home	2000
46	Politics of Writing	2000
47	Realising Rights?	2001
48	Globalisation	2001
49	Culture	2001
50	African Feminisms: part one	2001
51	Food: needs, wants and desires	2002
52	Sustainable Development: an oxymoron	2002
53	Education, youth and HIV/AIDS	2002
54	African Feminisms: part two	2002
55	Women: the invisible refugee	2003
56	Gendering Childhood	2003
57	Urban Culture	2003
58	African Feminism: part three	2003
59	Women in War	2004
60	Contemporary Activism?	2004
61	Religion and Spirituality	2004
62	African Feminism: Volume 2: Sexuality in Africa	2004
63	African Feminism: Volume 2: Sexuality and Body Image	2005
64	Beyond Beijing	2005
65	Women and Leadership	2005
66	Domestic Violence	2005
67	African Feminism: Volume 2: Homosexuality	2006
68	Culture	2006
69	Nairobi +21	2006
70	Trafficking	2007
71	ICT's – Women take a byte	2007
72	Two Decades of African Feminist Publishing	2007
73	Bio Politics	2007

ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
ANCWL	African National Congress Women's League
EAB	Editorial Advisory Board
CBO	Community-Based Organisations
CCMA	Council for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration
CODESA	Congress for a Democratic South Africa
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
FEDTRAW	Federation of Transvaal Women
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
NGO	Non-Government Organisations
NOW	Natal Organisation of Women
PAC	Pan African Congress
SACP	South African Communist Party
SAPSE	South African Post Secondary Education
UDF	United Democratic Front
UWCO	United Women's Congress

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INTRODUCTION

Agenda has been an influential journal locally (South Africa), within the continent (Africa) and internationally over the last 20 years. The Journal demonstrates significant original research that shaped and continues to shape debates on gender, with a strong focus on Africa. The Journal content has had an important impact on academia (given its status as a well-established peer-reviewed¹ publication), as well as on advocacy work both locally and internationally (see interviews with previous editors). *Agenda*, as a feminist journal, has not been rigorously critiqued in any extensive studies before. The objective of this dissertation is to interrogate *Agenda* as a space for feminism in South Africa and to assess the extent to which it allows the voices of South African women to be heard. Many analyses exist about feminist discourse; however, there is no formal documented review and assessment of *Agenda* as a journal. This dissertation will provide, in part, a historical review and analysis of the creation of a unique South African Feminism that is distinct from, but inclusive of, Western feminist schools of thought. The argument will be shaped by engaging themes, issues and problems covered in the Journal that show a developing conceptual understanding of South African Feminism(s). This study of *Agenda* as representative of South African feminist literature will offer insight into the role of the Journal in transforming intellectual production in connection with unequal gender relations in South Africa and Africa.

The dissertation conceives of South African Feminisms as feminisms unique to South Africa, given the rich political history that brought many women from diverse backgrounds together in a form of 'common sisterhood'. The notion of sisterhood is also explored in relation to the various factors that contribute to

¹ Not only is the Journal SAPSE (South African Post Secondary Education) systems accredited, reflecting that the Journal is recognised as a research journal; it is also IBSS (International Bibliography of the Social Sciences) accredited, reflecting that the Journal is recognised internationally as a research journal.

difference. Difference is explored in relation to race, gender and class, and the interrelationship of these factors. The discussions in Chapter Five and Six also centre on the influence of these differences in the creation of South African Feminisms. The analysis of the Journal is focused on the emergence of selected themes and the subsequent influences of these recurring themes in creating South African Feminism(s). A key theme related to the emergence of difference is the theme of representation, i.e. "Can White women represent Black?" as depicted on the cover of *Agenda* Issue 19. De le Ray (1997:9-10) argues:

It is important that we talk about difference, that Black women and White women talk to one another about these issues – these are sentiments that I have heard after many workshops and meetings. What is the fantasy behind these seemingly simplistic sentiments, I wonder? Is it that race will disappear, that we will reach consensus, that we will return to an unproblematic notion of sisterhood instead of hoping for a false unity, we may have to accept that there are times when no common ground exists whatsoever (just as there are times when commonalities exist), but these moments should not be encountered with regret, but rather should be accepted as the starting point.

Given that South African society has been long divided along racial lines, race and racism feature strongly in the formulation of South African Feminism(s). De La Rey's argument about the contestation of a 'common sisterhood' equally alludes to the possibility that feminism is diverse and multifaceted.

The dissertation also captures the transition of *Agenda* from what I term a woman-centred journal, to its current gender-centred focus. This is prominent when looking at the creation of South African Feminisms through the Journal's growth. Similarly, Allen (1973) argues:

Many would agree that as a method, consciousness raising, was at the heart of this women's movement. In various settings, small groups of women began to talk together, analyse, and act. The method of consciousness raising was fundamentally empirical; it provided a systematic mode of inquiry that challenged received knowledge and allowed women to learn from one another.

Allen's analysis can be applied to the *Agenda* journal in the sense that the Journal became a space of inquiry and debate. The Journal provided a space for voices that became part of the fabric that wove crucial debates. These debates were to shape South Africa's transition to democracy by reinforcing and strengthening seldom-heard dialogues between feminist academics and researchers, and within women's organisations. The application of a business model and the influence on barriers to women will also be discussed in the course of the study. A critique is offered on the relevance and validity of 'space'; and the barriers that face women in publishing (see Chapter Five). I worked as the Journal intern in 2004, and my experience also informs the argument in this dissertation. The interconnectedness of the themes, the editorial staff and Editorial Board members and, more importantly, the writers that submit research to the Journal, play a major role of the gatekeeping process (see Chapter Five).

Agenda's target audience was first defined as activists, politicians and women interested in the facilitation of debate during the final years of Apartheid. As indicated by the Editorial Collective, (1987:1):

We hope that AGENDA will enable women to discuss, analyse and debate their position in society, their vision of a more hopeful future for women; and strategies for coping now as well as for organising towards that future.

This audience was largely woman-centred. However, the audience has changed significantly over the years and now appears to be more reflective of an academic readership (that includes men), with the Journal aimed at those

involved in research. The Journal retains strong elements of activism and, as such, is targeted at gender activists (see interviews with some former editors). The impact of this will be explored in terms of the changing target audience and the possible 'marginalisation' of key sectors of the market (see Chapter One). The *Agenda* journal's Mission Statement also changed in Issue 14. The original Mission Statement indicated a strong focus on analysing women's position in South African society in relation to race, class and gender but subsequently became focussed on providing women with a forum for debate on issues affecting women with a broader spectrum of topics. This will be further analysed in Chapter Three. The discussions, themes and content have changed significantly and I hypothesise, this is primarily due to the change in the political strata of South Africa.

The overall argument focuses on documenting, describing, reviewing, and providing a critical analysis of selected Issues from 73 editions of the Journal. This is undertaken by primarily drawing on a selection of key writers in the Journals and, in part, informing the writing format through an analysis of the writings (i.e. writers of main pieces, *articles*, *briefings*, *focuses* and *reportbacks*).²

This study adopts a feminist method. A feminist research method emphasises that women be given a space to make sense of their lives and experiences. There is no single meaning of what feminism is; hence we talk of feminisms because of differences within feminists discourses. *Agenda* explores a feminist method by engaging different types of feminism(s) over its life span and allows different feminist discourses to represent the voices in the Journal's pages. I maintain that the Journal has created a space to allow the emergence of a type of feminism unique to South Africa. This is examined in an extended discussion

² *Articles* are defined as academic papers that are heavily dependent on the use of existing theories to form new ones; a *Briefing* is an overview of an organisation or information on a particular topic; a *Reportback* is a journalistically styled piece detailing an event; a *Focus* is an information piece on a particular organisation or occurrence; a *Perspective* is an opinion piece on an issue.

in Chapter five. The dissertation also offers a critique of the notion of gatekeeping and the subsequent marginalising of Black women's voices.

Agenda intends making available news and information as well as ideas and comment and provides a forum for discussion and debate for all those who share a desire to understand the position of *women* vs. *men* within South African society. *Agenda* encourages "gender sensitive thinking" (*Editorial in Agenda*, 1987:1) on the part of men and women to demonstrate its importance for a better understanding of the broader social processes.

Over the years, the Journal has published broadly on issues ranging from health, violence, sexuality, the media, poverty, labour, HIV/AIDS, human rights, sustainable development, citizenship, etc. I will investigate how some of these themes have been addressed by *Agenda* in terms of editorial content and the subsequent impact these choices have had on creating South African Feminism(s). To determine the 'impact', the study adopts a content analysis of the Journal. The content of the Journals, especially during Apartheid (pre-1994) indicates a focus on the lived experiences of South African women. *Agenda*, it could be argued, has shifted its focus since Issue 20 (the first Issue of 1994 is aptly titled: "Politics, Power and Democracy"). *Agenda* has provided social commentary on Issues such as Beijing+10³ and Women in War and in so doing, encourages South African women to contribute toward the discussion on global issues. The first underlying hypothesis is that in the inclusion of South African women, *Agenda* has steadily and consistently developed a discourse that we could label South African Feminisms. This new discourse is collaborative and is a unique combination of various earlier strands of feminism (such as radical, liberal, Marxist, socialist). That said, my hypothesis claims that since Issue 58, the Journal attempts to configure what it terms "African Feminism" (see *editorial of African Feminisms* trilogies issues 50, 58 and 62). This change is also featured

³ Beijing +10 is an international convention that reflected on the agreements of countries to commit to gender developments on a multi-level scale in their respective countries.

strongly through the fulfilment of the Mission Statements that *Agenda* has subscribed to during its lifespan.

This dissertation explores the extent to which *Agenda's* unique exploration of gender issues in relation to African women could be interpreted in terms of a developing construction of a South African Feminism. The study unpacks, assesses and reviews what a South African Feminism or Feminism(s) may be, as it is represented in the Journal's copy over the years. The plural form of feminism indicates the heterogeneous nature of a developing discourse of feminism as represented in the Journal's copy since its first publication. As stated earlier, broad issues covered over the years focus on, for example, identity, politics, culture, body, sexuality, labour and economics in Apartheid and post-Apartheid South Africa.

More specifically, this study also examines the issues (such as tradition, working-class women, religion and human rights) that have developed a critical and theoretical discourse described as *African Feminisms*. The Journals are discussed within pre-1994 and post-1994 context. This is done in order to indicate the change in style as well as content of the Journals due to the change in the South African political climate (see Chapter One). Resistance against Apartheid⁴ was at its height in the 1980s and early 1990s. The South African political climate has played a major role in the development of the content of the Journals. The pre-1994 journals reflect content that is inextricably linked to the influence of politics on the South African social strata. This is shaped by *Agenda's* inclusion of contributions from different schools of thought whilst keeping a particular South African view embodied by the editorial content and the editorials by the editors. Various feminist schools of thought are explored by editors and writers in the context of South Africa's unique political history. The second hypothesis is that *Agenda* began with a broad liberal humanist conception of feminism in the early years of the Journal, but has subsequently

⁴ A political system that emphasised governance by applying separatism based on race.

developed and sustained a South African Feminist conception of gender in the Journal's focus. Such a conception is a hybrid of largely socialist and third world feminism where factors of race, class, ethnicity and culture become key to understanding women and gender. The latter is the central theme in the argument of this dissertation.

As indicated, the study offers a textual and content analysis by which an interpretative analysis focused on reading, examining, analysing and contrasting editions of the Journal is understood. This analysis will, in part, be based on Neuman's (1997:138) view that, "Content analysis is a technique for gathering and analysing the content of text". This method is supported by Woodrum (1984) who motivates that content analysis remains an under-utilised research method. This methodology speaks to the central theme of this dissertation in that it will provide a motivated argument to determine and analyse the South African Feminisms that *Agenda* subscribes to.

This study also captures some of the voices of former editors, Gillian Harper and Editorial Board Members Lliane Loots, Asha Moodley. These voices are testament to the fundamental changes this journal has undergone and also speaks to structures that are key to the Journal, such as the role of the Editorial Board and other changes that have shaped *Agenda* over the past 20 years.

The IBSS and resulting SAPSE accreditation (see footnote 1) saw the birth of a new type of publishing for *Agenda*, one that was scholarly and encouraged those whose work involved research and writing to be committed to making their work more widely available and accessible. The change in this status will also be analysed in terms of its impact on the space that *Agenda* provides. These accreditations invariably have a large role to play in gatekeeping as the requirements of retaining this status prescribe a peer review system that must be enforced.

This excluded a number of women as academic discourse began to dominate and the Journal became 'text heavy' with academic *articles*. The result of this is that fewer pieces on women's lived experiences were published by non-academic authors. Those who were unable to write at this level were excluded. *Agenda* quickly realised this gap and limitation and found other strategies to ensure inclusivity. *Agenda* opened the publishing space of the Journal further to include *interviews*, *book reviews*, *perspectives*, *profiles*, *reportbacks*, biographical stories, *briefings*, *poetry*, *cartoons*, *artwork* and *photographs*. The organisation has developed over the years to include four additional programmes and a website. These aspects will be discussed in terms of providing spaces for and empowerment of women.

The role of the Editorial Board pre-1994 as well as the role of the staff of *Agenda* is also explored in terms of their relationship to shaping each Issue. The discussion distinctly includes the role of academia in shaping *Agenda*.

The overall publishing of the Journal has also been shaped by the staff who were responsible for its content. The relationship between the staff and the Journal is an integral one that is explored through select interviews with the editors, Editorial Board members and a founding member. This relationship is critical in the formation of South African Feminisms. The dissertation thus frames the work of *Agenda* over 20 years of publishing and provides an interpretation and analysis of the creation of South African Feminisms. This discussion takes the following form: *Chapter One* frames the historical context and background of *Agenda*. *Chapter Two* discusses the theoretical frameworks that are applied to the argument. *Chapter Three* provides a synopsis of key themes covered by the Journal pre-1994 i.e. pre-democracy. *Chapter Four* provides a synopsis of key themes covered by the Journal post-1994 i.e. Post-democracy. *Chapter Five* provides a critical comparative review of *Chapter Three* and *Four*. *Chapter Six* provides an analysis and summary evaluation of the Journal and recommendations.

Feminist publishing underpins the overall research in respect of publications in the Journal that voice, represent and shape debates on South African feminist issues. Women researchers in a feminist publication have the precarious task of choosing who speaks for whom and more specifically, of who produces knowledge about whom (Stacey, 1988). Feminist researchers often find women who are willing to talk of their experiences (McRobbie, 1982). Kenyon (1991) claims that feminist thought and women's writing have often "cross-pollinated" one another. Women became more experimental and politicised in their writing. This is particularly interesting in terms of the ways in which South African women reflect themselves (and issues) in *Agenda* in light of the fact that this journal was born out of a need to 'insert' women's voices into the political debates of the turbulent Apartheid years. Walker (1991) supports this notion.

Women's work has been valued as being specific to the private domain, informal economy and the lower paying ends of the private and public sectors. *Agenda* provided a vehicle for women's opinions and debates to enter the public domain with commentary on many social, political and economic issues. Feminist publishing, as well as publishing in general, during Apartheid facilitated and perpetuated norms and standards. The media has played a major role in many countries in the liberation of many nations and in South Africa, with a harsh penalty for those against Apartheid. *Agenda* was a brave forerunner at the height of political tension in South Africa. This was also a coup for women of colour as most Black women at that stage had gone through a sub-standard quality of education due to the nature of policies and Acts that prevented South African men and women of colour from receiving the same level of education as those of their White counterparts. *Agenda* placed the concerns of South African women, regardless of race, in its pages and provided a space for the 'voiceless'.

This 'voicelessness' must be noted as extending to men of colour as men were also subjected to oppression in terms of race and class. Issues of masculinity and the obscuring of African masculinity in the face of Apartheid meant that

Agenda also awarded men the opportunity to make their concerns heard. These can be seen in various issues of early editions of *Agenda*, especially in terms of migrant labour and exploitative conditions that men and women of colour were subjected to.

I now turn to *Chapter One*, the history and background of *Agenda* to provide a contextual history of the Journal.

CHAPTER ONE

Agenda Feminist Media Project: Historical Context, Background and Focus

This chapter sketches a brief history of *Agenda* (the Journal) as part of a feminist media project, and outlines the aims and objectives of the organisation, profiles the Journal briefly, the Editorial Collective and editorial policy. This chapter also reflects on the context of the 1980s during which the Journal was first published and frames an analysis from a perspective of 2008.

The *Agenda Feminist Media Project* was founded in 1987. It began as a journal, the project of a small group of women activists and academics (Shamim Meer, Michelle Friedman, Jo Metelerkamp and Debby Bonnin) working in and around Durban, South Africa. They wanted to include and amplify women's voices in the crucial debates which were to shape South Africa's transition to democracy by strengthening a dialogue between feminist academic research and the debates within women's organisations which were not being widely heard. The specific concern of the group that started this journal was to attempt to understand the position of women within a highly polarised South African society of the 1980s. They believed that women in South Africa experienced exploitation and oppression on the basis of their class, race and gender (*Agenda*, Issue 1, 1987). In order to eradicate women's oppression they believed that *Agenda* would enable women to discuss, analyse and debate their position in society; their vision of a more hopeful future for women; and strategies for coping then (1987) as well as for organising towards that future. *Agenda's* first Issue was published because it was felt there was a gap in South African publications that addressed women's issues from a feminist perspective. There was no (or very little) debate on gender and women's issues.

There are many writers in NGOs, CBOs, organisations and in tertiary institutions who have wanted to publish on feminist issues. *Agenda* is one of the few journals that is able to offer women an opportunity to publish in a forum which is also read

by many other women. The Journal attempts to nurture the spirit of enquiry and debate to advance gender equality, and to bridge the gap between women in tertiary institutions and those working in organisations, NGOs, CBOs and women's structures. *Agenda* believes that it is important that academic research and the debates within the women's movement and organisations are given a voice.

The Journal creates an important space for women to publish their own work. From this, *Agenda* interrogates understandings of gender through the material published. As such, the Journal provides the space for long-term 'political struggle' and discussion on strategies to address unequal gender power relations. Here 'political struggle' refers to the South African socio-political climate of the 1980s and the subsequent influence of this on the nature of the issues raised by *Agenda*.

Agenda's target audience is academic professionals, educators, community workers, students and members of women's organisations and organisations concerned with gender issues. It is non-sectarian, anti-racism and guards against all forms of discrimination. (See Mission Statement, appendix 2)

Both the current and original Editorial Advisory Board shape editorial policy, themes of the Journal and are involved in editorial processes. The current board is made up of a group of esteemed academics, gender activists, sociologists and has one member of the original *Agenda* team who has a legal background. This was enforced when *Agenda* became a SAPSE and IBSS accredited journal. Previously, all editorial content was screened by the editorial staff.

The board has changed over the years due to a number of factors. The change of the Editorial Board has resulted in a greater richness in the pages of the Journal. The inclusion of different perspectives meant that gatekeeping was not as narrow as in former years. A change in the nature of politics in South Africa also had a profound impact on the Journal content. I believe the latter has made

the greatest impact. *Agenda* was borne out of political upheaval i.e. because of the political unrest during the 1980s and the lack of space for women to air their views. *Agenda* provided a space for women's voices to not only be included, but to be amplified in the debates against Apartheid. Apartheid was not only a system of oppression based on race, but was also based on gender that asserted patriarchal power. The fall of Apartheid and the subsequent birth of democracy saw the Journal content become more research-orientated and less focused on the daily, lived experiences of Black women.

The inclusion of a more academic content, rather than 'ordinary voices', was largely influenced by SAPSE accreditation. The submissions to SAPSE-accredited journals are generally commissioned from tertiary institutions. Ochalla and Dube (2005:11) claim that South African scholars are "supposed to publish in South African Post Secondary Approved Journals (SAPSE) if they are to get any research incentives from the Department of Education." In my opinion, this accounts for the shift away from the women-centered focus of the earlier journals, characterised by the inclusion of lay testimonies and editorials on activist groups. Similarly, the Journal became more gender-centred from Issue 20. This, in my view, came in response to the birth of democracy as dealt with in Issue 20, aptly named "Politics, Power and Democracy". Pressure is placed on academics, feminists, activists and socialists to publish in a SAPSE accredited journal. As a result, submissions to the Journal tend towards theoretically-based analyses and less on 'grassroots' information.

Editorial Peer Review Process:

The peer review process is quite rigorous and can often take up to six months for a decision to be made about the publication of an *article*. A call for papers is sent out by the editorial staff to networks with a request to extend this invite to interested parties. Once submissions are received, the Editor 'shortlists' possible inclusions and presents these at a meeting with the Editorial Board. A business model is also applied in the selection process in terms of what issues will 'sell'

the Journal as *Agenda* is a commodity and marketing considerations play a crucial role in the selection of material for publication. (See interviews with previous editor and Editorial Board members.) The Editorial Board then recommends people with specialised knowledge of the subject areas of each paper to peer review the paper. At least two peer reviewers are allocated to each manuscript. Once comments are received by the external reviewers, the comments are collated and sent back to the Editorial Board for further comment via email or fax. The Editorial Board assessed the peer-reviewed comments and identifies manuscripts, which can feasibly be published in the Journal. The editorial team then sends the approved manuscripts to the relevant writers for revision. Once the editorial team receives the revisions, the submissions are sent back to the Editorial Board for final comment and approval. Upon final selection by the Editorial Board, the writer is informed that their submission has been accepted for publication. Peer review assists in the development of the writer's capacity and helps writers develop their work for publication.

Agenda attempts to make feminist ideas and gender-sensitive thinking as accessible to as wide an audience as possible. The Journal intends making available news and information as well as ideas and comment and provides a forum for discussion and debate for all those who share a concern to understand the position of women vs. men within South African society. This position is informed by feminism as a body of thought that foregrounds the social, political and economic equality of the genders. (The feminist movement organised itself around debate. *Agenda* included racial equality in this equation in the publication of its earlier issues.)

By encouraging 'gender sensitive thinking' on the part of men and women, *Agenda* demonstrated its importance for a better understanding of the broader social processes in the public sphere and the structures of our lives in the private sphere. *Agenda* motivates its readers to question and make sense of the ways in which the public and private spheres influence the creation of their own gendered identity. The public sphere extends – but is not limited to – social, political and

economic influences. Public influences can also be related to aspects of public life, for example, entertainment, movies, music, etc. In the private sphere, *Agenda* encourages people to think about the assignment of roles and how these roles influence, the ways in which we think about the world and how we shape our own gendered identity. Over the years, *Agenda* has published extensively on the influence of both spheres on the ways in which people define themselves. Initially this focus was on the position of men and women in a politically turbulent South Africa, but then later moved into a more politically stable South Africa with a focus on gender rather than on women. The Journal also acts as a tool for gender mainstreaming by disseminating knowledge (through publication and later its website) and creating awareness of gender in many academic disciplines. Many South African tertiary institutions subscribe to *Agenda* as a tool to infuse gender-sensitive thinking in many disciplines. The Journal is also used by many activist organisations such as the Gender Aids Forum, Children First, and the Legal Resource Centre to name a few. By the dissemination of knowledge and the incorporation of many *articles* as prescribed readings at tertiary level, *Agenda* appears to make strides in the mainstreaming of gender in South African society.

Gender Mainstreaming:

Gender mainstreaming however, is not only about the inclusion of women. Gender mainstreaming is defined by Thege and Welpé (2000:32) as:

Specific ways of *methodical acting* on certain issues to get standards, outcomes, and patterns of behaviour and interaction, which will *promote gender equality in public & private organisations*.

Thege and Welpé (2007:32) also speak of the 3R's method of gender mainstreaming:

- **representation** of women and men in positions, decision-making bodies, etc.;

- the distribution and use of **resources** (money, time, space) for the benefit of women and men;
- the **realities** of conditions with regard to services, life situations, etc., and of the standards and moral concepts which shape these realities.

These methods are appropriately suggested and motivated by *Agenda* in terms of the content of each journal. Although the Journals took on a themed focus from Issue 11, from Issue 1 discussions on representation, the distribution of resources and the realities of South African women and men of colour have enriched *Agenda's* pages.

The instruments used in the "3R-Method" as explained by Thege and Welpé, (2000:32) are:

- analytical instruments: statistics, surveys, prognoses, scientific results, checklists with examination criteria for the ex ante and the ex post assessment, etc.:
- instruments for sensitisation, qualification and support: seminars, manuals, info pools, female commissioners for gender mainstreaming;
- instruments for institutional incorporation: resolutions, guidelines, procedural rules, control groups, pilot projects, institutionalised accompaniment of these projects, etc.

Agenda acts as an instrument for sensitisation because the Journal creates a space for debate and discussion. *Agenda* also acts as an analytical tool in terms of the extensive research that goes into each *article*. *Agenda* also includes papers which are not *articles*, and these include *perspectives*, *reportbacks*, *briefings* and the news section called '*In Briefs*'. (see footnote 2) These submissions almost always include information on guidelines, best practices, pilot projects and perspectives on organisational development, to name a few.

The overall development of *Agenda* as a journal over the years saw a new type of feminism unique to South Africa being developed. It is hypothesised that this

feminism is a hybrid of existing feminisms encompassing a shift from a grassroots publication, focused on living testimonies and reports i.e. women-centered or womanist to an academic journal that is more gender-centered. Askamy, (2006) argues:

Womanism brings a racialised and often class-located experience to the gendered experience suggested by feminism. It also reflects a link with history that includes African cultural heritage, enslavement, women's culture, and a kinship with other women, especially women of colour. As Walker also told the Times, 'Feminism (all colours) definitely teaches women they are capable, one reason for its universal appeal. In addition to this, womanist (i.e. Black feminist) tradition assumes, because of our experiences during slavery, that Black women are capable.' Her original definition made clear that a womanist included any, 'feminist of colour... Also: A woman who loves other women, sexually and/or non-sexually. Appreciates and prefers women's culture, women's emotional flexibility (values tears as natural counterbalance of laughter), and women's strength. Sometimes loves individual men, sexually and/or non-sexually. Committed to survival and wholeness of entire people, male and female. Not a separatist, except periodically, for health. Traditionally universalist... Loves music. Loves dance. Loves the moon. Loves the Spirit. Loves love and food and roundness. Loves struggle. Loves the Folk. Loves herself. Regardless.

Womanism is focused on the struggles of women of colour. This theme characterised the pages of *Agenda's* early editions. Many articles discussed Black working-class women, mine workers, unions and so forth. The early editions also had a strong focus on the biographies of Black women with a strong focus on 'telling the stories' of ordinary women and is characteristic of Alice Walker's definition of womanist, Walker (1987): 'Womanist is to feminist as purple to lavender...'

Womanism was a key element of the earlier editions of the Journal. These early editions describe the plight of migrant labourers, the working-class man, trade unions, politics and the role of women in a male-dominated sphere. A holistic

view of African women and the effects of the political climate at the time on all aspects of their lives, including men and children, are provided.

The shift to the 'gender-centered' approach is suggested to have taken place as a response to both the fall of Apartheid and the Journal's subsequent SAPSE accreditation. By 'gender centered' I mean, the pages of the Journal became less focused on the voices of ordinary women (as suggested by Walker earlier) and more focused on debating the notion of gender and the meaning of this in the 'new' South Africa. The shift saw more scholarly *articles* being published as well as space being dedicated to testimonies and perspectives. In addition, other forms of expression were also allocated space e.g. *poetry*, *photographic essays*, *perspectives*, *briefings* and *reportbacks*. The main pages of the Journal began to be dedicated to *articles* from tertiary institutions through a rigorous external peer-review system. The shift to a gender-centred journal was characterised by the Journal dealing with what gender meant in the context of the new South Africa and its implications for all facets of society. (See interviews with Asha Moodley).

The concept of bringing gender issues into the mainstream of society has some global impetus. It was clearly established as a global strategy for promoting gender equality in the Platform for Action adopted at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing (China) in 1995. Coincidentally, this platform came at a time when South Africa's democracy was in its infancy and also saw a change in the nature of issues raised by *Agenda*.

In July 1997, the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) defined the concept of gender mainstreaming as follows:

Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in any area and at all levels. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women as well as of men an integral part of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres, so that women and men benefit

equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal of mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality.

Agenda, I maintain, responds to this challenge by providing a platform for South African women of colour, who were then recently given equal rights (1994), to express their views of the new-found democracy and to articulate their expectations of what this meant in the context of their own lives. *Agenda* thus began to locate itself within the global arena.

Agenda's change in focus has been unpacked and the relationship of race, class and gender are critiqued as critical factors in the determining of South African Feminisms that are more closely linked to third world feminism than to Western feminism. This chapter provided the background to the formation of *Agenda* and its subsequent themes and issues covered over the last 20 years. Chapter Two foregrounds the theories that underpin the analysis of this journal.

CHAPTER TWO

Mapping a Conceptual and Theoretical Framework to Interpret *Agenda*

The historical background to the Journal has been briefly explored in Chapter One. Chapter Two, however, focuses on the implications (and relevance) of existing theoretical knowledge in motivating the hypothesis that a hybrid of Third World and socialist feminism emerged from *Agenda* in its evolution as an African feminist journal. This section motivates the interpretative framework of the study by focusing on the conceptual basis of the study. The Journal content also informs the theory that is engaged in this chapter. Theory from leading writers in the *Agenda* journals is used as a basis for informing the analysis.

A feminist research method is adopted in this study. Feminism, according to Beasley (1999) is a contested term, which lacks clarity and is one of those terms that inconveniently defies simple explanation. Beasley (1999) claims feminism's complexity and diversity provides obstacles to those wishing to gain a satisfactory grasp of its meanings. According to Beasley (1999) feminism is innovative, inventive, and rebellious. The Journal ascribes to this notion and constantly reinvented itself over the years by ascribing first to a 'women-centred' approach and then gradually moving towards a 'gender-centred' approach; all the while employing different schools of thought. More importantly, the inclusion of women regardless of race, gender and class saw the emergence of South African Feminism(s) i.e. a hybrid of Third World and socialist feminism due to the emphasis on race, class and ethnicity. Many feminism(s) abound, such as *liberal feminism* (which draws on the idea of political liberalism) and is elucidated in works by Bird and Briller (1969), Friedan (1963) and Steinem (1983) which sees the oppression of women primarily in terms of the inequality between the sexes. Okin (1999) propagates that these inequalities are rooted in the gendered construction of marriage. Sterba (1999:312) proposes that men and women must change their attitudes in order to embrace a 'gender-free' society. Liberals often

formulate an understanding of the genders in terms of a separation of private life (relationships and family life, for example) from public issues (such as the law, politics, and religion). The approach to the analysis of gender inequality postulated by liberal feminist thinkers has some influence on my study in order to capture the interconnectedness of different aspects of women's subordination.

Radical feminism, views the oppression of women in respect of patriarchy (a system that valorises men over women) and this is manifested in sexuality, personal relationships and the family. For such feminists, male power is manifested in male dominated institutions such as work, religion, home and culture as motivated by Friedman and Metelerkamp (1987). *Socialist feminism* primarily sees the oppression of women in terms of the subordinate position women hold in relation to patriarchy and capitalism (for examples, see Eisenstein, 1979; Mitchell, 1990; Roberts and Mizuta, 1993). Capitalism, for these feminists, is an extension of a mode of production that reinforces patriarchal power and creates the sexual division of labour between women and men. Eisenstein (1979:47), for example, argues that "instead of seeing sex or class, or race or class, or sex, or race, we need to see the process and relations of power". Eisenstein (1979) further states that feminism leads us to oppose patriarchy and to focus on the transformation of society by creating a more egalitarian society.

In contrast, *Third World Feminism* is important in that in the 1970s and 1980s many women of colour criticised scholarship in feminism that underemphasised race, class, and culture (see for example, Collins (1990); hooks (1984); Smith (1983)). Mohanty (1991) for example, contends that the histories of colonialism, capitalism, race and gender are inextricably interrelated. Feminists have used gender as the central organising category of analysis to understand and explain the unequal distribution of power between men and women. Gender refers, for example, to the process of socialisation of boys into men, and girls into women. Gender is, therefore, a social category that refers to the social, political and

cultural factors that organise the relations between men and women. Feminists claim that gender is the cultural interpretation of sex and that gender is culturally constructed (Butler, 1999). According to Connell (1995), gender is also produced within social relations. He suggests that gender exists precisely to the extent that biology does not determine the social. Simone de Beauvoir (cited in Butler, 1999) motivates that one is not born a woman, but, rather, *becomes* a woman. The idea of 'becoming' implies that gender is constructed via social and cultural processes. This is explained by Hall et al. (1999:35):

To become aware of the effects of male domination women had to undergo a process of education, or reconceptualisation, known as 'consciousness-raising'...consciousness raising was a means of sharing reliable information about female experience.

Similarly, Hall and Boston's theory can be applied to the South African context. The Journal provides a means of consciousness-raising by bringing 'ordinary' voices to the fore. The 'reliability' of these experiences was vested in the biographies of the earlier editions of the Journal and later in the *perspectives*, *briefings*, *reportbacks* and *interviews* (see footnote 2).

It is this theory of consciousness-raising, modelled on a practice by what the Chinese called 'speaking bitterness' (Hall and Boston, 1999) that informed the Apartheid Issues of *Agenda*. The Journal's main aims and objectives of this time were to educate both men and women in South African society on the ways in which the ills of Apartheid affected South African women in a unique way. Unlike societies of the West, South African women of colour were uniquely plagued through triple oppression along race, class and gender lines. The male domination described by Hall and Boston (1999) was experienced in a unique way by South African women as the issues of race and class were also amalgamated into the consciousness-raising medium that *Agenda* provided. Hall and Boston, (1999:35), further explain:

[...] consciousness-raising was a way of learning to see and to feel the previously invisible effects of patriarchy. Raising one's consciousness meant heightening one's awareness, becoming attuned to the evidence of male domination to which previously one paid little attention, or ignored altogether.

Many South African women were, as Hall et al. (1999) describes, "attuned to the evidence of male domination". This awareness was intrinsically linked to the issue of race and class. *Agenda* has the ability to bring writers together and share stories of the grassroots experience; even though in latter years this also became infused with scholarly *articles*.

In a similar way, *Agenda* acted as a consciousness-raising tool in the sense that women's struggles with Apartheid were not being adequately heard in other media. The Journal allowed for the articulation of a woman's place in the struggle and, in the earlier editions, also added the further marginalised voices of women of colour. Women of colour, especially from rural areas, had little or no forum to voice their needs and/or views. *Agenda* allowed South African women, albeit a few, in the then Natal region, to break the silence on their experiences of Apartheid and more, notably the importance of their contribution to the struggle of breaking down this regime. These were documented as ordinary voices; grassroots women were allowed to speak in a safe space and were acknowledged as having contributed well to the knowledge pool. The Chinese model can be likened to that of South African women.

The experiences of anger, anxiety, pain, and eventually joy and affirmation; documented by South African women in the early editions of *Agenda*, were characterised by: details of South African women's daily lives; the lives of working-class women; information on the effects of migrant labour on the family; and personal histories. These everyday stories were seen as having significance and validity because of their connection to the realness of women's experience. "Rather than being the objects of study by psychologists and social scientists,

women were the experts, the authorities, the sources of knowledge about themselves” (Hall and Boston, 1999:37).

This relevance is what catapulted *Agenda* to the sold-out status of their first Issue (Meer, 1997). The brutal honesty and emphasis of what gender and feminism is in the context of South Africa was appreciated by its readers. (See Editorial, 2, 1987:2). The Journal was released in 1987 during an extremely charged political climate. The Journal sought to add more resistance to the Apartheid regime and thus was viewed as a politically motivated tool (See interview with A. Moodley in Appendix 1). From its first edition, *Agenda* established itself as “A Journal about Women and Gender” (Cover of first edition, 1987). The Journal’s content immediately began interrogating definitions of feminism. The pages continued with a strong emphasis on South African families, working women and the stories of people such as “Dombi Khumalo’s story”. Khumalo’s story emphasised the plight of the Black working-class woman and the struggles that she endured in dealing with the intersection of race, class and gender under Apartheid. The story also reflected the impact of the migrant labour system on the nuclear family. The Journal was uniquely African with a strong emphasis on the political effects of the public arena on the personal domain. Many who came forward to share their everyday powerful stories, revealed the havoc that the Apartheid regime wreaked on the lives of women of colour. These stories reflected the triple oppression affecting women in the global south. These women were not interested in being aligned to a feminist publication but rather reinvented the feminist definitions of the West to include a significant emphasis on political activism in the ‘sisterhood’.

Arndt (2002:31) reflects on African women:

A feminist organisation is more than a mere assembly of women, a feminist organisation questions and challenges gender inequalities that oppress and discriminate against women. Not all women’s organisations in Africa pursued and defended women’s rights. Moreover, these organisations did not have the program of transforming gender relationships. Hence it can be argued that

women's movements have a long tradition in Africa and that some of these organisations pursued aims one could label feminist.

In a similar manner, *Agenda* acted as one such organisation where the concerns raised were not always focused on the *experiences* of women *per se*, but rather on the *effects* of Apartheid on South African society and the effects of this on women as mothers, daughters, wives, nieces, friends, neighbours, workers etc. These experiences also reflected strongly on the role of men in South African society and their triple oppression of gender, race and class. The emphasis of the early editions was indeed very womanist and very centred on the effects of Apartheid on marginalised groups in South Africa.

Many African women and, indeed, women globally, do not consider themselves feminists. The word is viewed with animosity. Arndt (2002:30) describes common images as those of women trying to be like men, the abandoning of feminine attributes:

In fact feminism is often equated with radical feminism and this in turn with hatred of men, penis envy, the non-acceptance of African traditions, the fundamental rejection of marriage and motherhood, the favouring of lesbian love and the endeavour to invert the relationship of the genders.

These anxieties posed by Arndt (2002) were addressed by Friedman et al. (1987). The fifteen year gap between Arndt and Friedman et al. emphasises that with the introduction of *Agenda*, the Editorial Collective, attempted to address these anxieties and fears. Friedman et al. (1987:3) defend the 'feminism and gender' brand of *Agenda* offering an insightful introduction to the first *article* published, 'What is feminism?':

Feminism as we understand it today, arose initially in the west. However, it has been influenced by socialist thought and practice, anti-imperialist and nationalist struggles in the third world.

This was a brave stance on the part of The Collective as I have discussed that many African women viewed feminism as a Western ideology that sought to judge and oppress women of colour, and also to judge and oppress the traditions and ideals of African people. *Agenda* overcame this barrier by employing an operational strategy that saw the inclusion of voices from the margins of South Africa, through biographies and grassroots stories in its earlier editions.

The Journal has always been inclusive of writers from various schools of thought. The editorial of *Agenda Issue 1, (1987:2)*, concerned itself with defining the Journal's aims and objectives:

...AGENDA aims to make feminist ideas and gender-sensitive thinking and doing, accessible to as wide an audience as possible. It intends making available news and information as well as ideas and comment and hopes to provide a forum for discussion and debate for all those who share with us, a concern to understand the position of women and men within South African society.

Liberal Feminism:

As stated earlier, *Agenda* employed various schools of thought and began as a neo-liberalist publication. Liberal feminists believe that women need to be able to compete with men on equal terms in the professional and political worlds. The barriers to entering these realms are deemed both to be the laws of a country and the widely-held beliefs that women are not suited to certain professions. It is important to note the context of the liberal feminist school of thought. Friedman et al. (1987:6) state:

Firstly they do not reject the capitalist system; indeed they believe it provides the opportunity for the realisation of the choice of any person who makes the necessary effort, although admittedly, women have to try that much harder than men. In encouraging each woman to challenge the man's world for acceptance

as equal, liberal feminists do not mean that everyone has the same ability, and that everyone ought to have an equal share of the resources of society. Equality for them means equality of opportunity and then it is up to individual effort.

Agenda's early publications saw a strong emphasis on equality and opportunity. *Liberal feminism* has featured in many Issues of *Agenda*, reflecting very strongly on the public sphere. This group believe that women are responsible for their position in society and place education and the creation of opportunities squarely on the shoulders of each woman i.e. each woman is responsible for their position and they are able to change this with application. If they are able to supersede their male counterparts then this is considered a coup with all credit going to "sheer application" (*Agenda*, Issue 1, 1987:7). The plight of South African women of colour whilst under the Apartheid regime was, in fact, very difficult to supersede by 'sheer application' alone. The tools needed for this 'application' were not available to South African women of colour, more especially, and not to a very great extent to South African White women. The reflection of Liberal feminism in *Agenda* had a strong emphasis on the need for the tools to implement an individual struggle against patriarchy; education, health care, employment opportunities and equal rights were published over the years and are still published in post-Apartheid editions of the Journal.

The liberal feminism *articles* of *Agenda* also included appeals for laws that would aid women in their struggle to be equal in South African society, for example, the support for a law enforcing compulsory maternity leave. Liberal feminists also aim to mobilise around schemes devoted to bettering the opportunities for women. Liberal feminists believe that greater participation of women in society will change the role of men because the family structure will be influenced by the 'new' role of women as providers. The acknowledgement of the role of working-class women featured prominently in the early editions of *Agenda* and continues to be an aspect of continued debate as the changing roles of women become more evident.

Radical Feminism:

Another theory that informs my approach to this study is that of radical feminism. Radical feminism believes that the oppression of women is central to all other forms of oppression. It focuses on patriarchy as the social system that subordinates women. Friedman et al. (1987:8) explain:

It is a society, for example, that operates according to male defined values; that organises its economic system in the way those benefits and favours men primarily; that does not value women's labour. In short, it is patriarchy and its male-centeredness which perpetrates all other forms of oppression such as racism or economic exploitation.

Radical feminism argues that the 'personal is political'. This was a central theme in issues covered by *Agenda* in its debut Issue. Many *articles* profiled the role of South Africa's political climate and its subsequent effect on women's oppression. The Journal highlighted many concerns from women reflecting on the factors causing the marginalisation of women of colour.

Friedman et al. (1987) argue that some radical feminists are not interested in men at all:

Men have denied women a space or freedom (economic, sexual and political) for too long and these feminists are tired of supporting them emotionally and servicing them...Other radical feminists would, however, argue that while there is no room for men in their own organisations (specifically those opposing violence against women, for example), their feminist conferences, journals, publishing companies and so on, men as individuals can and should take responsibility for confronting their own sexist power.

The Journal made a brave stance as a newly-formed feminist journal and immediately acknowledged and encouraged men as agents of change. (See invitation to writers, Issue 1, Appendix 5) *Agenda* allows many contributions from men that challenge the patriarchal ideals of South Africa. This, to some extent, was embraced after the fall of the Apartheid regime. Given that women's voices were now 'freed' through the birth of democracy, there was a marked shift from documenting of grassroots issues and a move towards an interrogation of gender in post-Apartheid South Africa. The creation of a journal such as this in the turbulent eighties could be viewed as a radical feminist move to include women's voices in the debates of the time and to counteract a divisive climate that also subjected women to exclusion from these debates. The content of the Journals has also included radical stances from various voices in Natal, South Africa and also globally. These critiques, *articles*, *reportbacks* and *perspectives* were included with the view that critical debate and discussion must be engaged from various schools of thought. At the start of the themed Issues, (Issue 11: Sexual Politics), there was a greater emphasis on issues of the 'personal' being 'political'. Many *articles* in later years and in subsequent editions also covered issues focused on the politics of the body, including *opinion pieces* on women's health. *Agenda* also systematically challenged notions of the ways in which women's bodies were treated not only by medical science but also through the objectification of women's bodies in the patriarchal system.

Marxist Feminism:

Another school of thought that features strongly in *Agenda* is Marxist feminism. This school of thought emphasises a capitalist evil that is rebuked by the working-class. Marxist feminism was made a central theme to the Journal with the inclusion of many pieces of writing on the working-class, as motivated by Rubin (1975:160):

Marxism, as a theory of social life, is relatively unconcerned with sex. In Marx's map of the social world, human beings are workers, peasants or capitalists; that they are also men and women are not seen as very significant.

Marx looked at the world in terms of the role of the worker in the capitalist regime. Within a capitalist society, Marxism held that women were subjected to a "special form of oppression". Friedman, Melterkamp and Posel, (1987) believe that this oppression was rooted in the sexual division of labour with a specific focus on the private realm. Women were primarily responsible for the household and childcare, and were condemned to seclusion in the home. *Agenda* published and continues to publish on this topic with a specific emphasis on the roles of men and women. This discussion, however, has not only been relegated to the private sphere but also confronts the challenges of the public sphere. In the early editions of *Agenda* (Issues 1-8) the role of working-class women in the struggles against Apartheid were celebrated.

Engels (1975) wrote more extensively on the institution of the family, arguing that the inferior position of women was distinctly connected to that of the family. He argued that middle-class women were not allowed to work and would often stay with their partners because of their economic dependency and to ensure their children remained heirs to their father's fortunes. The nuclear family was constantly addressed in the early editions of *Agenda* (Issues 1-5) with a strong emphasis on the role of migrant labour on the family unit. The issue of class also featured strongly in the Journal as motivated by Engels (1975:29):

Working-class women, Engels argues, were less oppressed because their participation in the labour force was the key to their emancipation, as they were potentially free from economic dependence on a man and could participate in the class struggles of workers.

Stories of the working-class were covered in many *Agenda* Issues. Women had a significant role to play in strike action and the greater political struggle through

their activities in the public and private spheres. As explained by Friedman et al. (1987:14):

Thus in Marxist feminism, women were only analysed as they experienced life under capitalism and there was consistent rejection of the radical feminist position that women's enemy was male domination or patriarchy rather than capitalism.

There was a significant focus from this school of thought that society would be much better served by a struggle against capitalism rather than against men and the power of politics. *Agenda*, rather than aligning itself to either the struggle against capitalism or the struggle against patriarchy, chose instead to publish in its pages commentary and analyses on both systems of struggle. These included many *articles* on the effects of race, culture, class and patriarchy on the lives of South African women, with a specific focus on women of colour. These debates were further expanded into the sociological writings by scholars and sought to include various topics over the last 20 years. Friedman et al. (1987:15) foreground the need for social awareness:

In an attempt to confront not only women's role in production but to confront sexual inequality between women and men as well, socialist feminism as a theory and practice has emerged – not just a hybrid of socialism and feminism but something which has developed organically from the women's movement.

Socialist Feminism:

Socialist feminism also features strongly in *Agenda*. This type of feminism believes that for women to gain equality they do not only need to be amalgamated into the workforce for their economic freedom but also need rights and power in the private sphere. Socialist feminists advocate for decision-making freedom over the body. This school of thought places a large emphasis on sexual freedom, as stated by Friedman et al. (1987:16):

Just as for workers to be free in the productive sphere they must no longer be exploited by the capitalist, so for women to be free in the sexual and procreative sphere there must be no coercion such as rape or sexual harassment.

Rape, sexual harassment, women's health and the ways in which gender is used to socialise girls and boys and, in turn, men and women have been greatly emphasised in editions 1-43 over the last 20 years. Many of the Issues have also seen a monitoring and evaluation of women's health systems with the inclusion of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered communities. The developments in the world of health, especially that of the treatment of HIV/AIDS, has in recent years become the focus of many *articles*:

Women's struggles in the Third World are very often centred on national liberation. This was especially true of South Africa during the Apartheid era. Many African women are ambivalent and rejecting of being labelled 'feminist'. "In fact many Africans view feminism with anxiety. They fear, not without reason, that feminism could challenge and transform existing gender relationships." (Arndt, 2002:27) This was not the case in South Africa as many testimonies were documented, reflecting that many women of colour were eager to make their voices heard.

Agenda began to interrogate the concept of African Feminism in Issue 50. The theory of African Feminism is vital to the conceptual force of this dissertation. Interestingly, no single definition of African Feminism exists, but there are unfolding ideas that emphasise such a feminism as a counter-discourse to western feminisms (such as the types elucidated above). African Feminisms may be described as a social, political and cultural response to counter the supposed homogenising focus of western discourse (see for example: Amadiume, 1987, 1997 & 2000; Arndt, 2002; Kolawole, 1997; Mikell, 1997; Mohanty, 2003; Narayan, 1997; Oyewumi, 1997; and Reddy, 2004). Lockett (1996) also offers

the argument that women's experiences in South Africa cannot be based on models used by the West. This is important to note as the Journal began as a forum to afford a space for women to provide social commentary on the turbulent political climate in South Africa. The ideas described by this study are read against the grain of the issues published in the Journal, such as human rights, rural women, religion, citizenship etc.

Arndt (2002:43) argues that most African writers combine their criticism of gender relationships with the issue of 'race'. Arndt claims that African Feminisms are a challenge to White western feminism:

African-feminist literatures have proved flexible enough to take into account and provide a forum for differing perceptions and visions of a (new) coexistence of men and women. It is this chameleon-like gift which has enabled African Feminism to gain a foothold in all African societies – albeit with differing degrees of influence and impact.

Agenda has provided the chameleon-like ability described by Arndt to a great extent over the years. The influence of African Feminism in South Africa has specifically seen the inclusion of men in its struggle to be defined and for women and men of colour to be heard in the Apartheid regime. African Feminism operates with a deep respect for the family institution and an appreciation for the mother role assigned to women, often rejected by many western schools of thought. Habasonda (2002) argues that gender campaigns have alienated African women and men. Since inception, *Agenda* defined itself as a feminist publication about gender. Importantly, this was not defined with submission to any one school of feminist thought. This may have been in response to a perceived notion that an alignment to a particular school of thought may have alienated South Africans interested in gender and the ever-present and tormenting reality of Apartheid in South Africa. See Habasonda (2002:103):

Feminism, through its presentation by African women's movements, has become seen as anti-family, anti-marriage, anti-children and perhaps anti-religion, not to mention anti-men.

Habasonda (2002) can be applied to the South African context given that women in South Africa were divided by race, class and ethnicity.

These campaigns by the West have been perceived to regard marriage as a burdensome institution that oppresses women. The family, Habasonda argues, is presented as a 'kind of prison'. This, however, does not take into account African traditions and ideals. The African continent views the institution of the family as the highest level of social and religious honour. These issues were extensively featured in *Agenda* Issues over the years with a strong emphasis on the changing roles of women in South African society. This is evident from the early years, when women, especially women of colour, were portrayed and defined as strong figures of the family and the working world. *Agenda*, although not having being aligned to a single school of thought, has, in many instances, celebrated the African woman and has given voice to her struggles. "Feminism is, especially, but not only, about women, but it is primarily the activity of giving them a voice, an access to power hitherto denied." (Habasonda in *Agenda*, Issue 54, 2002:104). Habasonda (2002:104) reflects further on this issue:

There is a fundamental need for the champions of gender to indigenise the crafting of rules and establish institutions that will be locally responsive.

Agenda provided and continues to provide a space where women and men can publish without fear of being branded as participating in Western ideology. Harding (1994) defines feminism as "a political movement for the emancipation of women". *Agenda* provided a space for political commentary and debate at a time when voices of women and men of colour were silenced.

African Feminism has long been practised by *Agenda* with a number of Issues being themed, 'African Feminism'. There have been many attempts to define this concept with a trilogy being launched in 2004 in the context of South Africa and the global south. This is linked to the need to identify the Journal as one that is a product of African Feminism but that which is infused with other schools of feminism and most importantly womanism. There was a clear shift from a women-centred approach to a gender-centred approach. *Agenda*, by their own admission in Issue 3, reflected that there was some confusion about what the Journal was trying to achieve. See Editorial (1988:3):

We have received lots of feedback. Much of it has been positive but other people say that they 'don't know what to expect next'- is AGENDA about organisational issues or is it about intellectual debates? It is both. In our view, the questions of theory and practice cannot be completely separated...We want AGENDA to be a forum where women and men can raise theoretical questions which will inform organisational issues, or show their implications for organisation.

The feedback received by the editorial staff will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five but it must be noted that *Agenda* rose above its circumstances with the inclusion of men, despite a politically turbulent and violently oppressive society. See Editorial (1988:3):

The making of AGENDA no, 3 has been both difficult and exciting. The media champs and the continued State of Emergency and the repression make it difficult for AGENDA to report on women's organisation, while unknown forces take the opportunity to undermine attempts to organise women.

Theories informing this dissertation:

Class, gender and the capitalist transformation in Africa are also theories that are integral to the development of this dissertation. *Agenda* documents the migrant labour force that still continues to dominate many household structures. As the

years have progressed, issues of women's health and sexuality have also come under the spotlight. The issue of migrant labour is a central concern for South Africa. Women in Africa are traditionally associated with agriculture and subsistence farming. Robertson and Berger, (1986:124) argue that in most of Africa, capitalism confronted a pre-capitalist sexual division of labour in agricultural production:

Demands for wage labour therefore drew initially on men rather than on women, setting up symbiotic relationship in which some areas of Africa became, in effect, labour reserves for capitalist or semi capitalist production. Male labour was drawn off from the subsistence economy to work at low wages in urban areas, in mines or on plantations or settler farms.

Absence of men on their own land made the burden on women greater. However, this also led to greater decision-making power on the part of women. Women also took up textile and craft-making to supplement their income. Producing these items would not take up too much time, thereby enabling them to raise their children. As explained by Robertson et al. (1986:126):

In areas where the colonial pattern of male migration continues to be the norm, there is considerable pressure on the family.

South Africa's socio-political climate of the time subscribes to Robertson et al. (1986). South African women were forced to supplement their income because of the formalisation of migrant labour. See *Agenda* editions 1-8.

There has been significant debate on the issue of migrant labour in the *Agenda* journals. These debates have emphasised the effects of this system on the nuclear family and the added pressure on women in rural areas. See *Agenda* editions 1-8. These conditions were particularly overt in South African societies, especially with the forced removal of people through the Group Areas Act. The forced removal of people from seemingly good agricultural land also added to the

need for men in South Africa to become migrant labourers to survive. In the early years of South Africa's diamond rush, many men became commuter labourers, the effects of which can still be seen today. The institution of Apartheid, and the subsequent injustices that came with this regime, also influenced the wage market by forcing many men of colour into low paying employment. Interestingly enough, the testimonies by Black South African rural and urban women in *Agenda's* pages do not speak of resentment towards the men who had to leave their respective villages and areas to work in the wage labour market. This is testament to the South African Feminism created by *Agenda*. As argued by Robertson et al. (1986:127):

Whereas women in the West have identified the family as a site of women's oppression, women in South Africa point to the destruction of 'normal family life' as one of the most grievous crimes of Apartheid.

Again, *Agenda* has held true to its ideals of African Feminism. South African voices cherished the institution of the family and celebrated this aspect of societal life.

The reality that many Black women have used subsistence farming and the wage market in later years, allows for the construction of gender roles heavily influenced by race.

The concept of race as a factor of gender oppression is a reality, especially in the context of Apartheid in South Africa. As discussed by Chow et al. (1997:34):

The argument that the differential location of women in the systems of production and reproduction creates distinct life experiences and, hence, distinct forms of attitudes toward gender roles suggests a wide gap between Black and White women.

The ways in which Black women conceptualised gender and their own oppression was significantly different to the ways in which White women wrote about Black women in early editions. The early editions (see editions 1-5) of *Agenda* were characterised by the many testimonies of working-class Black women with a specific focus on township life and the struggles endured by women of colour. The *articles* written by White women tended to be more discursive and theoretical rather than reflecting lived experiences of oppression (see post-apartheid editions of *Agenda*).

Race in South Africa can be seen as the primary factor catapulting *Agenda* into existence. It is because of racial oppression and the need to publicise the contribution of women and the effects of this regime on women that made this journal a reality. Race, as published in *Agenda*, has a significant impact on the ways in which women and men form their gendered identity. This is reflected in *Agenda's* early *articles* about working-class women and importantly the inclusion of working-class men. Issues of migrant labour and the effects of politics, legislation and social issues in South Africa were distinctly influenced by the issue of race. The marginalisation of women and men of colour in South Africa was directly influenced by the issue of race; as motivated by Aziz (1996:296):

I do not propose that White feminism is a clearly defined, coherent and internally consistent body of thought that feeds off conscious racist intentions. It is, rather a way of seeing which, however inadvertent, leaves identifiable traces. It subsists through a failure to consider both the wider social and political context of power in which feminist utterances and actions, take place, and the ability of feminism to influence that context.

This is not an attack on White feminists, but rather an acknowledgement that any feminism that claims to be universal and 'all knowing' is, in fact, a tool of marginalisation. In South Africa the experiences of Black and White are inextricably linked as it can be argued that both groups have had an integral impact on each other's experiences of life and in the creation of gendered-

identity. The experiences of Black women, as reflected in *Agenda*, have raised awareness of the undermining of Black masculinity in South Africa through the structure of the economical, political and social structure. The triple oppression of Black women in South Africa was also directly influenced by the double oppression of race and class on their male counterparts. *Agenda* provided a platform to debate and discuss the issue of Black masculinity in Apartheid South Africa. The experiences of women of colour in South Africa should equally not be looked at with a homogeneous lens. The experiences in *Agenda* reflect many schools of thought and raise many questions about the position of men and women in South Africa. These 'voices' in *Agenda* have been from varied positions and in no way reflect a tunnel vision of South Africa both during and after Apartheid.

The concept of representation foregrounds a key word in the title of the study. Critical studies abound on the term (see for example, Freadman in: Bennett *et al.* 2005: 306-309; Hall, 2000). Hall (2000: 15) claims that "representation has come to occupy a new and important place in the study of culture. Representation connects meaning and language to culture". In exploring this, Hall investigates three different theories on representation: the reflective, the intentional and the constructionist. Some of these ideas will be utilised in order to determine the reflection, intention and construction of South African Feminism. These feminist schools of thought will be analysed in terms of their contribution to the development of South African Feminism(s) through *Agenda*. Aziz (1996:303) explains:

A focus on representation as social *act* allows us to understand the ways in which the historical, the biological and the material are given a reality and meaning through language. It offers us a more complex conception of power as exercised in all manner of social interactions.

Aziz (1996) can be applied to the South African context and especially to the Journal as the Journal provides the 'meaning through language' as described.

Agenda provides readers with self-representations of Black women and debates on subjects of historical significance to the shaping of South Africa's political revolution. This representation has seen a vast number of *articles* exploring the various experiences of Black men and women in South Africa. The Journal, although with a strong focus on women and men of colour, has also included many debates and discussions on issues affecting the White community. This unique representation also speaks to *Agenda* developing a feminism unique to the global South. This inclusion was highlighted to a greater extent post-1994 which saw the grassroots stories around race, gender and class become subverted to embrace a more scholarly approach that is gender-centred.

The representation of African women has been varied, with a focus on the experiences of rural and urban women, with analyses on the social, political and economic aspects of both areas. The theory of womanism was infused in representation of women during Apartheid i.e. pre-1994. Womanism as defined by Alice Walker (1983):

Womanist and womanism are populist and poetic synonyms for Black feminist and Black feminism.

Although Walker speaks mainly of African-American women, this theory is applicable to the African context. Walker argues that womanism is concerned with the unique experiences of African women. This theory, in essence, underpinned the early editions of *Agenda*, in that the Journal proclaimed itself as a publication concerned with women's issues in the context of South Africa.

This theory though is exclusive to women by its very definition. Due to *Agenda* also including the voices of men and the subsequent effects of Apartheid and societal constructs on the masculinity of men, this theory underpins the beginnings of this journal as the Journal was, from the outset, a self-proclaimed journal about 'women and gender.' This is motivated by Walker (1983):

Womanism brings a racialised and often class-located experience to the gendered experience suggested by feminism. It also reflects a link with history that includes African cultural heritage, enslavement, women's culture, and a kinship with other women, especially women of colour.

The class-located experience defined by Walker is an issue that has been debated and discussed over the years in *Agenda's* pages (See Issues 1-14, 18-22). Womanism essentially informed the kinds of issues that were covered in *Agenda* in its former years (Issues 1987-1993). The link with history and women's culture as well as the concept of *Ubuntu* can all be seen as womanist in the context of South Africa. *Ubuntu* is defined as an 'African togetherness' and is often defined as the spirit of family with a strong emphasis being placed on the role of the African women as mothers and nurturers. The nurturing role played by women is extended to the larger community and understandings of family are not limited to the nuclear family. This notion is underpinned by a common understanding that all Africans belong to a family. This aspect proved to be a feature of the *articles* in the Journal, with many women's stories being documented. These showed a strong focus on balancing work and family life in relation to the effects of migrant labour and the informal economy on both men and women. Women and men of colour were often represented as labourers in media pre-1994, and this representation has become strongly synonymous with the theory of class. This representation was explored by the Journal in editions 1-8.

Class has had a major impact on the formulation of *Agenda*. The Journal sought to define and amplify the experiences of South African women. Class has been an integral theme in the Journal from its inception to present day themed Issues. The kinds of issues covered in the Journal specifically focused on elements such as the working-class and the effects of legislation on the working-class. The shift then moved to a more analytical approach where everyday stories and autobiographies were debated and discussed for deeper social meaning. This

analysis was always present but became more evident with the birth of democracy and the subsequent shift to a gender-centred approach.

Women's organisations in the 1980s were not celebrated for the contributions they made to the political struggle of the time and the personal sacrifices they experienced in private spaces (the impact of migrant labour as explored in editions 1-8). *Agenda* began as an activist publication that sought to create a space for the advocacy of women's rights, specifically women of colour. Men were included in discussions on the effects of Apartheid and issues of masculinity as they pertained to Black men. As described by Patel (1989:30):

Women are affected in a particular way by repression. They are the ones who have to see to the home and children if a husband is detained or in hiding. Women themselves face severe pressure from families and husbands if they are involved and risk detention or are forced into hiding.

These issues, especially of random detention and the effects of the secret police, were South African instruments of oppression and repression. These elements play a key role in present day publication of the Journal as people grapple with 'post-Apartheid' life. The effects of Apartheid have been severe on the South African population in social, political and economic arenas. This has been particularly hard-hitting on people of colour and the vast majority of poor people in South Africa. Women, in particular, are represented as the cornerstone of the home and are not allowed, in many instances, to deal with this issue because of familial obligations and the preconceived roles assigned to women in traditional societies. These again are representations that are questioned by *Agenda*.

The Apartheid era saw the challenging of traditional roles assigned to women of colour. These women have in many instances, redefined their social status by defying traditional roles and circumventing the toils that faced them. These women, especially those whose husbands were detained and who were detained

themselves, proved that the African woman was indeed able to play a major role in fall of Apartheid. Patel (1989:32) motivates that:

Women's political involvement often presents its own contradictions. Age-old customs and mores are brought into question through women taking leadership roles. Among Indian and African women, speaking in public or campaigning door-to-door in the evenings may challenge women's traditional roles.

This leadership was not always met with positive inclusion, hence the struggle of the Journal in the earlier years. Many people were opposed to the inclusion of women in the public domain, especially as politics was viewed as existing within the male domain. Apartheid laws actively opposed the inclusion of women in politics because of a need to place women in their predefined social roles and confine women to the private (home) domain. There may have also been a concern that should the men be detained, a care-giver was already assigned to the children of the home. In some cases, Patel (1989) argues, the inclusion of women in politics led to the greater sharing of duties in the home. A break in predefined roles was initiated as women were becoming more involved in the public sphere. On the other hand, women also withdrew from politics in order to fulfil the obligations of the household as the men in their lives were not amenable to sharing the duties. The representation of women as leaders has been a strong image in the early editions of the Journal.

Agenda also challenged this notion of socialisation and shed light on the changing roles of men and women in Apartheid and then post-Apartheid South Africa. The work of women in the home has often been classified as unpaid labour. Nelson (1981) discusses women's work as such. Women's work has traditionally been undervalued and has been viewed with expectancy rather than appreciation. Waruhiu (1995:136) explains:

Early images of the African woman south of the Sahara depict her with a heavy load on her back, a baby straddled on top and hands left free to weave a kiondo or shell maize as she walks.

These images, however traditional, still prevail today. Although the changing role of women has seen more women in the inclusion of the workplace, the 'load' referred to by Waruhiu is as present today as ever has been. The idea of the 'load' borne by women, especially women of colour and working-class women who experience the triple oppression of gender, race and class, is debated and discussed in *Agenda* since inception. These debates and discussions have looked at women's access to education, equal rights, roles in the struggle for equality, roles in the environment and health. Waruhiu (1995:138) describes a similar context of the United States that can be applied to the South Africa context:

Women face many constraints which are partly the result of their low socio-economic status, and partly institutional. Their needs and priorities arise from a long list of grievances now all too familiar: unequal access to education and training, poor working conditions, arduous repetitive work, and poor entitlement to productive assets such as credit, land and technology and health and other welfare services.

These images again represent women. One generic image does not exist nor will one generic image ever be applicable to an entire country. These ways of representing women have been dominant in many publications during the 1980s and *Agenda* continues to question the representation of women in all aspects of society. This theory of representation is not limited to women in the media; it extends to women's representation in all aspects of society and will be considered in much more detail in Chapter Four. Essentially *Agenda* has provided social commentary on the ways women are represented in print, visual and audio media as well as the representation of women in management, academia and industries to name a few.

In summary, Chapter Two serves to interrogate African Feminism, liberal feminism, radical feminism, socialist feminism, Marxist feminism as well as ideas about womanism. These theories have been interrogated in the Journal.

The next two chapters offer detailed synopses of the Journals focusing on over 20 years of publishing, and addresses the following themes in defining the shift from a women-centred to gender-centred approach, and the subsequent creation of South African Feminisms: identity, politics, culture, body, sexuality, labour, economics, rights, the environment, the family, and representation.

CHAPTER THREE

Synopses: Pre-1994 editions of *Agenda*

This chapter provides a synopsis, critical review and analysis of selected contributions to the Journal. It offers an examination of themes published in the context of Apartheid in South Africa and how this influences the construction of South African Feminism(s). Content analysis is applied to the issues of *Agenda*. The significance for the separation of the Journals into pre-1994 and post-1994 is to reflect the change in style as well as content of the Journals due to the change in the South African political climate. Resistance against Apartheid was at its height in the 1980s and early 1990s. The South African political climate has played a major role in the development of the content of the Journals. The pre-1994 journals reflect content that is inextricably linked to the influence of politics on the South African social strata. As explained by Meer (1997:6-7) as she reflects on the early years of the Journal:

Agenda over this time carried a strong emphasis on the struggles of the day-national liberation and worker struggles. There was emphasis on bringing feminist and gender perspective to these struggles. In addition to offering a feminist critique, *Agenda* provided information on key political events: strikes and victories of women workers.

The Journals represent a women-centered approach in the pre-1994 editions. The emphasis in editions 1-14 was placed on the stories of grassroots women. More significantly, this focus is on the position of Black women in South Africa. The following themes will be examined in defining the shift from a women-centred approach to a gender-centred approach: identity, politics, culture, body, sexuality, labour, economics, rights, the environment, the family, power and representation. The influence of politics will also be reflected upon as a significant factor in the choice of content and style. The analysis also seeks to

understand the meanings of images represented on the covers of *Agenda*, as the 'identity' of each Issue is shaped by the content therein.

Issue 1 sought to frame the Journal within the politically turbulent times experienced in South Africa. The editorial team advocated that, "[t]his requires an understanding of the ways in which class, race and gender shape women's lives and women's struggles – past and present." (*Agenda 1*, 1989:1).

Three *articles* addressed; "What is Feminism?"; "The O.K. Strike"; and "Androcentric Knowledge". Friedman, Metlerkamp and Posel frame the concept of feminism with a discursive analysis of various feminist schools of thought. The inclusion of this submission as the first *article* indicates an identified need for readers to gain an understanding of the feminist schools of thought that exist as well as to critically analyse these feminist schools of thought in the context of South Africa. Another *article* was focused on the O.K. Strike of 1987. Again this reflects the focus on the Black working-class woman and the Commercial Catering and Allied Worker's Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA). This *article* reflects the voices of ordinary women with interviews conducted with 40 participants of the nine week strike. "Androcentric Knowledge" challenges women to look at how knowledge is constructed and to question the 'gendered' thinking advocated by most knowledge sources. These *articles* reflect the themes of politics, identity and representation. The *book reviews* on "From margin to Centre"; "What a Man's Gotta Do"; and "Only the Rivers Run Free, Northern Ireland: The Women's War", support these themes.

Briefings were also included namely *Parental Rights Proposal*; *International Women's Day on Chile*; *the SAPEKOW Women Farm Workers*; *SADWU music festival*; *the Rape Crisis Conference*; *Launching of the UDF Women's Congress*; and *Re-launching FEDTRAW*.

As stated earlier (see footnote 2 in the 'Introduction'), a *briefing*, by *Agenda's* definition is defined as a piece of writing that is written more to inform than to engage people on an academic level about a particular topic. The Parental Rights Proposal examines the effects of parental leave and places an emphasis on the responsibilities of both mothers and fathers, thus challenging traditional gendered notions of child-rearing being assigned to women. The inclusion of these topics shows a clear allegiance towards women's rights as it relates to the family and the workplace and also provides a space for women to learn of other women's political initiatives. *International Women's Day* in Chile by Friedman describes political action abroad as a parallel to political action in South Africa. The *briefing* focuses on the action of Chilean police to what began as a peaceful demonstration; such events were a frequent occurrence in South Africa at the time. Such informative pieces sought to allow South African women to realise that their plight was one that was shared by others around the world. This *briefing* is part of the political theme that started the Journal; it focuses on women in politics at a global level and compares these experiences abroad, to the South African context. *SAPEKOE Women Farm Workers* focuses on informing the reader about working women in the Richmond area of the then 'Natal' province. The *briefing* explains how working women who belonged to this union were being marginalised and exploited. Many were working without pay and under hazardous conditions. This *briefing* looks at the effects of unfair labour practices and the economic plight of women working on farms, as well as the challenging roles of women in shop steward positions. These issues are also covered in the *Launching of the UDF Women's Congress*; and *Re-launching FEDTRAW*.

As explained by Meer (1997:7) as she reflects on the early years of *Agenda*, the editorial staff had a great impact on the shaping of the Journal's pages:

Feminism was in these times, a dirty word within organisations in the liberation movement and hence we did not openly identify ourselves as

feminist at this stage. *Article* content also seemed to fit with *Agenda's* desire to bring in activists and academics as readers and writers of the publication.

In its early formulation, the editorial staff made a conscious decision to play into the patriarchal reception to feminism. This admission means that the editorial staff had a major role to play in gatekeeping.

Issues from 1987 – 1994 are now discussed.

1987

Agenda Issue 1, reflects a strong alignment to Black, working-class women and sought to mobilise these women in the politically turbulent times. As the cover is represented by a Black female dancer, the first Issue is an indication that the birth of the Journal is a celebration. Her face is expressionless as if she is undertaking an intense dance. The Rape Crisis Conference *briefing* sought to inform and inspire women to understand and see the “link between sexual violence against women to broader oppression within the context of South Africa” (*Agenda* 1, 1987:57). The debate on “Women Face the Challenge” by Marie examines the role of the working-class woman in the broader political struggle. The themes reflected in the *briefings* cuts across the identified themes for discussion, namely identity, the family, politics and rights.

Issue 1 also includes a life story of a woman named Dombi Khumalo, again reflecting the themes of the family and economics. This ‘story’ sought to establish *Agenda* as a champion of the ordinary working-class women focusing on the intersection of the triple oppression of most South African, namely race, class and gender. The Journal focuses on the triumphs of an ordinary woman as well as on unpacking the challenges that faced Dombi Khumalo. The Photo Essay, “Women Celebrate” and the interview with the Sydenham Women’s Dance

Group, also speak to these triumphs by focusing on the initiatives of small groups of Natalian women in trying to overcome their hardships under Apartheid.

Issue 1 frames *Agenda* as a political 'magazine' with a strong focus on the 'stories' of Black women. This Journal is concerned with the rights of workers and also looks at the impact of violence on women. Issue 1 contains strong visual focus with the inclusion of a photo essay and highlights the triumphs of 'ordinary' women in the face of oppression.

1988

Issue 2, published in 1988, depicts a rural setting on the cover: a mother and daughter are pictured crushing maize in a rural area. A reed fence surrounds their hut and a chicken is seen standing beside the mother and daughter in the cover photograph. Both are shabbily clad and shoeless in the photograph. The focus on the struggling South African woman of colour is therefore carried over into the second edition. Issue 2 explores the political and economic oppression of women in South Africa with a strong focus on women of colour.

Hassim and Patel tap into the political theme by discussing the position of women in the Inkatha Freedom Party as well as analysing women's struggles in the 1980s as it relates to the socio-political climate of South Africa. The COSATU women's international trade conference reflects on the position of Black working-class women. Coetzer also reflects on women as political prisoners and the invisibility of this issue. Writings on health also emerge in Issue 2 with a *briefing* on the International day of health and the implications for women's reproductive health. The theme of bodily rights is also questioned by the Garment and Allied Workers Union in their *briefing* on strip searches. Economic rights of women are also explored by Collins on the impact of tax on women. Eagle explores the socialisation of women and the creation of gendered roles. Issue 2 focused mainly on the plight of working-class women and the struggles for representation in the politically turbulent 1980s in South Africa.

Issue 3 continues the themes of the working-class woman with regard to strikes and the debate on rape raised in issue 2. The cover is characterised by a dancing Black woman wearing activist t-shirts with working-class slogans. Her expression is of joy and excitement. In Issue 3, *Agenda* established its identity as a journal about organisational issues as well as intellectual debates. "In our view the question of theory and practice cannot be completely separated." (*Agenda*, 3, 1988:1)

Issue 3 focuses on women as entrepreneurs, and specifically reflects on the shebeens⁵ in townships. The Journal also makes a bold step in discussing sex workers, their rights and the awareness of the public contributing to the existence of sex workers. During this time, sex workers rights were not considered valid by the government and creating an awareness about the lack of rights for sex workers questioned the existing social fabric of South African society.

A dominant theme of the working-class woman undertaking 'double shifts' emerges in this journal. This concept is defined as the working-class woman having to fulfil roles as both a mother and an employee; and categorises both types of work as labour. This questioning of the roles of women speaks to the theme of identity and the challenging of traditional notions about women's roles. Jaffee's *article* speaks to this theme; she describes the impact of the new independence of work for woman on the traditional family. Jaffee concludes that although women were entering the labour force, many were delaying marriage and living in their parents' homes for longer. "Escaping patriarchy – Magdalene and her household", reflects, more specifically, on the impact working women have on the home. Kotze's *article* on "Women Workers and the Struggle for Cultural Transformation" further unpacks these concepts. The "Sexual Harassment" photo essay also makes women aware of the various instances of

⁵ Shebeens are licensed and unlicensed informal pubs that mainly existed in areas known as townships.

this demeanour and encourages women to think about this theme in relation to rights over their own bodies. During the 1980s, sexual harassment was ignored by the government. This was only legislated in the early 1990s and was infused into CCMA proceedings.

Adler's *article*, "Women and Shiftwork in South Africa", unpacks the relationship of shiftwork to education, child care, personal relationships and employment. This *article* also speaks to the theme of economics, the family and identity. Anderson's *briefing* on "Cape Town rape crisis shelter for battered women" builds on the covering of the Rape Crisis Centre from Issue 1. This *briefing* discusses domestic violence and the assistance offered to women in the Cape Town area. "Two Women", a poem by Horn, reflects on the working-class woman and the middle-class woman's battles; and the similarities that exist in both social classes. "Institutions" by Coetzee questions the ideals of marriage and explores the concepts of economics, the family and identity in the form of poetry.

Agenda maintains its political focus in two *briefings* that discuss the role of the Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa and Garment and Allied Workers Unions' action in bringing to light the gendered relations in working-class families. Both forms of action focused on attaining more rights for South African working women.

Friedman's *briefing* on "Craft Workshop" focuses on the woman entrepreneur. This *briefing* features women from across the country attended a craft workshop (most craft producers were identified as rural women); who shared their experiences of their successes and challenges and found opportunities to assist each other. This *briefing* also shared information on the Self Help Associates for Development Economics and the Natal Organisation of Women. The inclusion of this *briefing* highlighted a new angle for *Agenda's* content by enabling women to view the possibilities available in the politically turbulent time and also served to highlight the 'sisterhood' that existed. This *briefing* speaks to the theme of

economics and reveals the strength of disadvantaged women, most of whom suffered the triple oppression of race, class and gender; women who overcome these obstacles with a sense of pride and dignity. Collins' *briefing* on "Women and tax – an update" provides information on the implications of tax for women in South Africa. This is specifically notable for working women who are economically active, be it in the formal or informal economy⁶ and the implications of tax. Another angle of entrepreneurship is explored in the *article* by Edwards "Shebeen Queens: Illicit Liquor and the Social Structure of Drinking Dens in Cato Manor". The *article* explores the roles of shebeen queens in relation to profit and the community needs. The *article* also unveils the shebeen queen in relation to power. This *article* speaks to the themes of identity economics.

A books review was included in Issue 3, and reveals the parallel lives of three South African women. This book review enabled readers to understand the socio-economic similarities and differences in the lives of three different South African women. "Male daughters, female husbands. (gender and sex in African society)" also encouraged readers to assess the extent to which they ascribe to gendered ideals of the body, identity and sexuality. "Bittersweet: Facing up to feelings of love, envy and competition in women's friendships", encourages a woman to talk about these issues in a more relaxed style. This book review assists women to explore the true meaning of 'sisterhood' and the need to identify the shortcomings of this term.

Issue 3 saw the inclusion of an 'International' section. "Brazilian Prostitutes organise", by Swift explored sex workers rights and the relationship between the sex worker and the creation of this market by society.

⁶ Formal economies are registered legal business entities and informal economies constitute vendors as well as illegal businesses.

1989

Agenda continues the culture of 'telling stories'. The Issue does have some academic debate; however, this is also greatly interspersed with the 'real' stories of ordinary South African women, with a specific focus on women of colour.

A strong theme of Issue 4 was that of politics, with an emphasis on the ANC and the ANC Women's League. Other key themes featured the family, power and representation. By the latter I mean that the representation of women in both the public and private sphere was discussed. The cover is represented by gatherings of women and women reading SPEAK magazine. Their expressions reflect seriousness as if they are paying attention to an important speech or reading an *article* of great interest.

The *briefing* "The launch of the women's league" by Annecke looked at the return of the African National Congress' Women's League. The inclusion of the *briefing* was to inform the public that this movement was, indeed, alive and well and was a call to women to mobilise under this banner. "Women and the war in Natal – an update" builds on the ANC Women's League *briefing* and provides commentary on the challenges facing women in Natal. "Women against Repression", by Fouche elaborates on this conference organised by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA). Issues of violence and poverty were discussed in relation to Apartheid; mobilising women to fight repression. The conference had a strong racial and political agenda with many speakers from various parties voicing their opinions. The emphasis however was on "educating, informing, promoting dialogue, bringing about inter-personal understanding." (Fouche in *Agenda* 4, 1989: 33).

Other *briefings* linked to the themes of family and power included: "Educare", by Annecke, which looked at children's rights to knowledge in the context of the "All our children conference,"; "Another drop in the Ocean" by Anderson looked at the work of Rape Crisis in assisting rape survivors by coordinating organisations

working in this area under the umbrella of “Coordinated action for battered women.”; “International literacy year” by Annecke encourages women to take up the gauntlet of studying and highlights the importance of literacy.

The debate, “‘Picking up the gauntlet’, Women discuss ANC statement.” looks at ordinary women’s responses to the ANC statement on “The Emancipation of Women in South Africa.” Another debate was also included regarding “A Response to Albie Sachs’, “What is the family?” The latter debate centres on ideas about the family, the roles of women and the factors that disadvantage women at a public level as well as the private level.

Newsnips began as a news section in *Agenda* in Issue 4. This section covered topical issues relating to newsworthy events. This new section of the Journal was characterised by shorter, newspaper-style *articles*. The topics covered in Issue 4 were “Does religion oppress women?”; “The status of women teachers”; “Women’s studies courses”; “Pre-school plan”; “Conference on women and gender in Southern Africa”; and “Women’s images of men”.

Sachs’ *article* on “The family in a democratic South Africa- its constitutional position”, unpacks the notions of the family as a concept as well as gendered identities and the implications of Apartheid on the family unit. Sachs explains the application of the ‘new’ family law in transforming family with specific reference to the various marriages allowed in South Africa. This is motivated by Sachs (1989:49):

The problem in a democratic South Africa will be how the law and the constitution should regard this variety of marriage systems. The registered marriages are non-racial but not all that democratic. The traditional marriages are popular but certainly not non-racial. Millions of people are living in families that the law does not even regard as families.

"Women and the African National Congress", is a second *article* by Ginwala that unpacks the history of this movement from 1912-1943.

Poetry was also included in Issue 4 with an emphasis on women's gendered roles: "Independence yes but not for women", taken from SPEAK.⁷ A book review was also included, "Beyond all Pity: The diaries of Carolina Maria De Jesus". This book review again allows readers to see the parallel lives of other oppressed women. A competition was also included under the *newsips* section. This was the first competition run in *Agenda*, encouraging women to submit photographs of the ways in which they see men.

Agenda 5 was also released in 1989 and reflects themes of identity, politics, the family and economic rights. The cover is represented by Black and White women. The focal point on the cover is a Black woman wearing a t-shirt about June 16th.⁸ The expressions on the faces of the women are of joy and excitement.

Two *articles* feature in Issue 5: "What is Progressive feminism? Questions raised by the life of Jane Waterston (1843-1932)" by Cock and "To Raise a hornet's nest: The effect of early resistance to passes for women in South African on pass laws in colonial Zimbabwe" by Barnes. These two *articles* speak to the themes of politics, power and identity by exploring the parallels between South Africa's struggle under Apartheid with similar struggles abroad. Cock's *article* looks at the power relations between Black and White women with a reflection on how politics can influence the relationship between Black and White women. "Political work has to be grounded in the diversity of these experiences." (Cock in *Agenda 5* 1989:3) The mobilisation of women through the lens of diversity is introduced as a solution to existing differences in South African society.

⁷ A South African publication of the time with a similar content to *Agenda*.

⁸ June 16th marks the anniversary of a massacre that took place in South Africa in 1976 where hundreds of school children were killed whilst protesting to be taught in their tongue as opposed to being taught in Afrikaans.

Cock also puts forward recommendations on how to supersede these differences in establishing a 'progressive feminism'. Barnes' *article* reflects on the effect of South African women's mobilisation on the pass laws in Zimbabwe. In essence, the *article* captures the fact that Zimbabwe began to fear the passing of a registration Act which sought to regulate the flow of women in and out of towns forcing these women to carry a pass in order to enter the town. The fact that this did not succeed in South Africa had an affect on Zimbabwe to the extent that these provisions were not carried out. Issues of power and identity are exerted through the inclusion of these two *articles*.

Bonnin's *briefing* identifies the question of 'women' in the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Bonnin debates the role of women in trade unions and the need for more women leaders to push women's issues tabled by the congress. Women were pushing for more women leaders in the congress rather than the organisation of women within unions. Economic rights of women were viewed as a key instrument in alleviating social evils. Collins' article, "Social stereotypes and the likelihood of criminal conviction in cases of child sexual abuse: a research note", unpacks 'incest 'myths'. This *article* focuses on the family and violence towards children in relation to feminist bodies of thought. It provides the reader with research findings on the criminal convictions of child abuse perpetrators. Naidoo's *briefing* "Women artists make their mark" sheds light on the positive strides women were making in the arts and covers the art exhibition held at the University of Durban-Westville. The art reflects a deep sense of identity within the South African context with pictures depicting women "picking up the pieces"; women outside a prison, women marchers as well as women as mothers. These pictures serve to highlight the plight facing women in South Africa in 1989. Bonnin's additional *article* on the Natal Organisation of Women's regional conference is an informative piece emphasising the need for mobilisation and for women leaders. The conference spoke to key themes of power and identity. Britton's *briefing* "Anglican's vote against women" links with

the theme of power and identity. The *briefing* unpacks the objections of the Anglican Church to women leaders within the diocese. Women were challenging the gendered roles assigned by the Anglican Church. Readers were encouraged to reflect on the manner in which religion shapes identity, spirituality and the family.

The National Union of Metal workers of South Africa (NUMSA) features in Issue 5 as a book review title. The inclusion of this book review alludes to the themes of power and economic rights. This is motivated by Forrest (1989:24):

Numsa Women organise –is a carefully constructed and well thought out book. Its aim is to build women's organisation in the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa (NUMSA) by mobilising women workers to take part in a non-sexist socialist struggle, to educate these women to assert their rights and take their rightful place in leadership, and finally to build women's solidarity by sharing experiences with other women.

Nervous Conditions, another book review covered by Harris honours and recognises the Zimbabwean struggles. The inclusion of this book review allows women to understand parallel experiences of oppression in other parts of the world. The article "Patriarchy and accumulation on a world scale: women in the international division of labour", again is discussed by *Agenda* encouraging women to read about the worldwide problem of women's oppression and the ways it manifests in different social settings.

Beall's interview with Nawal Al Saadawi, a well-known Egyptian feminist writer and activist who attended a conference in London on Islam in Africa, discusses ideas of liberation in Africa and the need to organise women by creating awareness of a common struggle. "We should unite women in South Africa with Egyptian women, Palestinian women, African and Arab women – because women all over the world should be fighting the same cause." (Beall in *Agenda* 5 1989:39)

A photo essay is included in Issue 5 with a celebratory piece on Women's Day at a national level. The photo essay features women coming together across colour and class lines to celebrate women's day in a manner that exudes leadership. The photo essay speaks to the theme of identity.

"Stopping the traffic" is a piece focused on the global trafficking of women. This *article* was a reprint from the *Women's Health Journal* of 1989. The inclusion of this *article* encourages women to reflect on the trafficking of women as a social ill that faces women worldwide. Maconachie's commentary on the 1985 consensus provides a discussion on patterns of women's employment unpacking the specifics of race, class and gender. She looks at differences between women and the differences between women and men. Her conclusion and the conclusion of Issue 5 as described by Moconachie (1989:92):

In recognising our differences, women need to pay attention to both discrimination and privilege. Whether accorded to men only or to some women and not to others, privileges need to be fully explored and confronted.

Meer (1997:7) explains that politics had a major impact on the formulation of the Journal content in her reflection on the period 1990-1993:

Articles on national liberation and organisation continued to feature strongly in *Agenda* during these years, but with a stronger focus on questions relating to post-Apartheid policy.

Agenda began to focus on the effects of post-Apartheid policy on the status of women. This will be discussed later when looking at Issue 10.

1990

Agenda, Issue 6, includes themes of health, identity, leadership, economic rights and activism. Campbell's *article* on "The Township Family and Women's

struggles” highlights the plight of the working-class mother. The *article* reflects on the limitations of women’s power and unpacks notions of gender ideology vs. gender reality. Interestingly the *article* reveals that many township women do not see themselves as oppressed. “Many women do not regard themselves as oppressed; neither do they feel that their roles need redefinition” (Campbell in *Agenda* 6, 1990: 16). The *article* discusses ideas about the family, culture and tradition and reveals the manner in which women lead during Apartheid. The cover is represented by a Black mother with a baby on her back and another in her arms. Her facial expression indicates one of burden. The background is populated with many people.

Agenda included ‘news flashes’ in Issue 6, where topical issues appear below an *article*, *briefing* or interview. The ‘news flashes’, (later known as ‘*In Brief*’) took on a strong theme of health and focused on Abortion legislation in South Africa.

Singh’s *briefing* on the Malibongwe⁹ Conference allowed readers to understand that women were mobilising with international partners to overthrow the Apartheid system. “Launch of COSWA Women’s Forum” by Phipson also served to inform readers of the Congress of South African Writers. The launch of the women’s forum meant that writers were creating a space for women to air their views. The conference and the launch of the COSWA women’s forum, links to the themes of rights, identity and representation.

Bonnin’s “1st regional meeting of women and health in Africa”, discusses the international concerns of women in Africa concerning health. It encourages women to reflect on the health concerns of women across Africa in terms of traditional practices and their effects on women; women’s morals and the problem of teenage pregnancies; smoking, and alcohol and drug abuse; rape and violence; and the equality of women and women’s rights over their children

⁹ A conference organised to address Apartheid by the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement.

in relation to men. These issues were discussed in a manner that allows the reader to see the parallel lives of others who are struggling with similar issues.

A book review by Walker examines a woman's role in relation to the nation and the state. "Woman-Nation-State" explores "some of the ways women affect and are affected by national and ethnic processes and how these relate to the state." (Walker in *Agenda* 6, 1990:40). This book inspires readers of *Agenda* to look at the relationship between the nation and the state in forming their identity and the effects of this on power. Sterling's book review on "The Sexual face of violence: rapists on rape" recognises that rape, as a form of violence needs to be explored and discussed in terms of definitions of rape as well as the myths associated with this violent crime. Awareness is being created in readers establishing a common ground of what rape, and also by giving insight into the minds of the rapists. The review essay discussing gender and development addresses these concerns to a greater extent. The review essay are *book reviews* of three books namely, *Development, crises and alternative visions, third world women's perspectives*; *Confronting the crisis of Latin America: Women organising for Change and Hopeful opening*; and *A study of five women's development organisations in Latin America and the Caribbean*. The inclusion of these books is to draw attention to the need to analyse and create awareness of initiatives by other Third World women; and possibly mobilise readers to develop their own initiatives. The inclusion of these books also provides a platform for learning as organisations can learn from similar experiences elsewhere.

An interview by *Agenda* with detainees' wives allows a fresh perspective that is real, enabling the reader to relate to 'ordinary' voices. Musaveni's¹⁰ speech to women at the first regional health meeting has also been included. This document allows readers to reflect on the speech and think about the relevance. A debate by Klugman (1990:62) proceeds the document and looks at women in Uganda. "How are Women incorporated into political struggle? Ideas from

¹⁰ A previous President of the Republic of Uganda.

Uganda.” The inclusion of this debate can be likened to South Africa's struggle to place women within the political struggle:

The problem of the absence of women in the membership and leadership of most working-class organisations is generally recognised within the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). But such organisations seldom take on the problem within their own structures.

A similar situation, as described by Klugman (1990), was unfolding in South Africa at the time; however, the ANC Women's League reflected on the participation of women in politics and tried to address the problem of representation and power.

Issue 6 ends with a *focus* on the Black labour force and the differentiation between men and women's labour. “The spatial and gender differentiation of KwaZulu's Black labour force”, by May and Rankin explores the segmented labour market theory and the differentiation of the labour force. The *article* looks specifically at the various regions of Natal and the income levels in sample areas. Gender stratification and differentiation play a key role in this analysis. The *article* establishes that, “Rural women are especially disadvantaged in the job market” (May and Rankin in *Agenda* 6, 1990:86). This *article* links to themes of economic rights, identity and power.

Issue 7 of 1990 features a red cover with several Black women holding placards saying “Stop Rape: people opposing women abuse”, This is the first edition that features *article* titles on the cover. “Albie Sachs: Judges and Gender”, “Ann Levett: Child Sexual Abuse” reflects *Agenda's* commitment to the gendered themes of violence against women and children with specific reference to sexual violations. Another *article* featured in Issue 7, “Women and the War in Natal”, continues the cover theme of violence by looking at the role of women in the Natal townships, where ongoing violence was characterised by the African

National Congress/Inkatha Freedom Party clash. "Making Women Fit the Plan: Commentary on the role of women in South Africa's population development programme" controversially looks at the role of the State in regulating population growth by identifying women as the cause for population growth. These ideals are entrenched in patriarchy and are flawed. Women cannot be held solely responsible for population growth and the debate on this given the time of publication meant that the Journal was indeed providing a platform for women to air their views. This *article* straddles themes of power, sexuality and rights. The growth of South African Feminism(s) continued to develop in *Agenda* with The Collective focusing on topical issues mainly aimed at state activities and the subsequent response(s) by political parties.

1990 saw the unbanning of the African National Congress and is duly noted by The Collective. A *briefing* is included in Issue 9 that unpacks the role(s) of the African National Congress' Women's League. The conference proceedings covered by Ramgobin highlights the discussions in Lusaka around the ANC's role in bringing about democracy in South Africa. The resolutions have a distinctly political focus, with the ANC Women's League firmly set on assisting the process towards democracy. Issue 9 also includes a *Briefing* on "The Unmarried Father's fight", debating the rights of men. This again, reflects *Agenda's* Mission Statement in providing a space for debate and discussion and reflects the gradual move towards a gender-centred approach, no longer only focused solely on the stories of grassroots women (although this still remained a priority). In the construction of South African Feminism(s) this inclusion reflects an African feminist perspective where the family unit is highly valued as an integral part of society. *Agenda* reflects, its ability to see men as agents of change. Wittenberg's *briefing* on the role of gender, age and education reflects again, another strand of South African Feminism that of liberal feminism, holding education as the key to deracialising cities. Notions about race and class are evident and influence understanding(s) of the people reported in Wittenberg's study.

Issue 7 continues the theme of working-class women and reflects the struggles of

Black working-class women. This visual reminder reflects human rights violations. *Newsnips* of Issue 9 feature politics, international feminist movements and a strong emphasis on AIDS. *Agenda's* content continuously reveals the 'ordinary' voice and allows the ordinary to reflect on other women's struggles across the globe. The book review, "And still they dance" reflects on the plights of Mozambican women; "Feminist in the Dark" looks at popular media and the hidden messages in American film; "Women in South Africa, from the heart- an anthology" builds a camaraderie amongst feminist activists in South Africa, enabling readers to see their own realities as well as those of their sisters. This kind of feminist publishing reflects a South African Feminism that is inclusive of the stories of global sisters and brothers. Issue 7 had a strong focus on violence and politics, showing how the body, rights and economics coloured the South African socio-political landscape and created a space for liberal, social, Marxist and African Feminism to be published in the same space.

Issue 8: is currently out of print and archival sources at Agenda do not have any copies available.

1991

Issue 9 sees the first depiction of men on the cover of *Agenda*. The inclusions of Black and White men in the first gay pride march in South Africa in 1991, reflects a gendered message. It visually shows the gradual shift towards gendered debates and move away from the stories of grassroots women. Homosexuality, as represented in the media at the time, indicated a rejection of homosexuality and homosexuals. This was reinforced by laws which rendered gay (male or homosexual) relationships and marriages illegal. We do not see any women in the gay pride march. Auerbach's *briefing* is the first to be featured in Issue 10's pages. Women's rights were raised by revealing that Gay and Lesbians

Organisation of the Witwatersrand (GLOW) had started a women's forum. By default, women, were silenced and were being encouraged by GLOW to join the movement as motivated by Auerbach (1991:3):

[...] hopefully through this and other channels, a lesbian-feminist movement will develop that will challenge and change this heterosexual-patriarchal society.

Articles featured in Issue 9 are politically focused with an emphasis on working-class women. Of particular note is the *article* showing the intersection of race, gender and class, “‘Sy is die baas van die huis’ (she is the boss of the home): Women’s position in the Coloured working-class family”. This *article* speaks strongly to the theme of the working-class women but Issue 9 reflects the first inclusion of an *article* on these issues. Issue 9 also reflects the AIDS epidemic and includes a *briefing* on what this disease means for women. Issue 9 is inextricably linked to Issue 1’s *article* on “What is feminism” by a *briefing* that debates the issue of women’s rights in South Africa, “Putting women on the Agenda: some issues and debates”. The latter *article* reveals a more conversational approach to the unpacking of Issue 1’s theoretical debates. This *article* is further supported by the book review “Reconstructing Babylon – Essays on women and technology”, allowing women to question access to languages of the working world and the impact that this had on rights.

Issue 9 is dominated by information that relates to children, motherhood, and reproductive health. A *briefing* is included, “Childcare on the Agenda”; *poetry* on rape, mothers and daughter relationships as well as an international piece on women and health highlights issues of the body and families. The first African Conference on Gender is also featured as a *briefing*, highlighting *Agenda’s* efforts to locate South Africa within a global context. A photo essay is also included, reflecting a strong emphasis on the African National Congress and a stand against sexual abuse.

Issue 10 returns to the use of images of women on the cover. This is the first in the 'new look' and style of *Agenda*, that themed journals would now be published rather than general discussions on topical issues. The decision to adopt this kind of style stems from a need to cluster issues for discussion, whilst keeping abreast with current issues (validation from interviews with editorial staff, see Appendices 1-3). The cover features a woman with a scarf on her head, with waves around her indicating that she is 'twirling', and a sun is depicted above her head with a smiling face. Meer (1997:8) explains the significance of this Issue pre-empting the gradual shift in the Journal's content:

Agenda tackled the issue of the links between national liberation and women's liberation. Its theme for *Agenda* 10 was 'Women's emancipation and national liberation'. The editorial [Agenda Collective] noted that this was one of the most crucial issues facing feminists, that while it was acceptable to talk of feminism in some forums, there was still a long struggle ahead.

Agenda began to interrogate the need to recognise feminist debates and feminism and the Journal began to concern itself with the meanings of 'liberation'. There is a marked shift in the manner in which 'feminist' and 'feminism' is received by the broader public and, as explained by Meer (1997), earlier in this chapter, feminism was previously considered to have negative connotations.

Seekings speaks of the notions of gender ideology in township politics in the 1980s. Issue 10 was released in 1991; therefore this *article* is critical in analysing gender as it unfolded in a decade that highlighted the height of political upheaval in South Africa. Horn's *article* on the emancipation of women continues the political theme in that she cites political equality as a means of emancipating women. Gwagwa's *article* on women in local government validates women as key role-players in local government with a focus as to how local government can mirror the principles of the African National Congress. Molyneux's *article* on the emergence of feminism in communist Russia reflects on how Russia rose to

communist status and the role(s) of women in this struggle. Thus the *articles* are biased towards the interrelationship between gender and politics. The *briefings*, *newsnips* and *book reviews* also carry this theme. This Issue of *Agenda* looks at mobilising women to identify their role(s) in the path to democracy.

Issue 11: "Sexual Politics", features subliminal drawings of a man and woman with sexual organs of both sexes subliminal since these are almost stick figures. The imaging appears in green and Black. The theme of sexual politics in terms of the body and sexuality is carried forward from the cover into the *articles*. Mina's *article* on heterosexism unpacks whether this is a valid debate or one that is dead. White looks at the oppression of women in township households. Here the role(s) of women are debated in the reality of the Black working-class woman. Van Zyl looks at violence against women in the South African context, reflecting on Rape Crisis and the empirical evidence gathered from the national branches of Rape Crisis in South Africa. The *briefings*, debates, regulars and reviews all support this theme. These includes the following encompassing conversations: masculinity as it relates to feminism; gay and lesbian activists; contraceptives with an emphasis on a women's choice; sexual abuse; the social construction of lesbianism; struggles in heterosexual relationships; gender stereotyping in education; women as leaders in the African National Congress (this alludes to the issue of power). The latter is supported by the Communist Party of South Africa's *briefing* which emphasised a motion to appoint a gender coordinator. Issue 11 is thus characterised by the notions of power, identity and sexuality.

1992

Issue 12: "Rural Women – Development", is characterised by an orange cover with a woman wearing a traditional hat and cloak; and a baby boy on her hip. She is adorned with jewellery, as is her son. The picture appears in brown and White. Small and Kompe's *article* on the Transvaal Rural Action Committee focuses on the mobilisation of rural women and the problems encountered by this group, in particular, as regards forced removals. The theme of identity, politics

and economics features strongly in this Issue. Budlender elaborates on these themes by discussing the starkly different realities of rural women as compared to rural men as well as urban men and women. The need to address this vast divide is captured in Budlender (in *Agenda*, 1992:27):

On virtually all indicators of wellbeing the gap between rural men and rural women is greater than that between urban men and women. If this is not acknowledged, 'non-racist, non-sexist programmes can all too easily advance urban women and rural men and leave those at the bottom of the pile – Black, rural women – exactly where they are now.

There is a strong use of Black and White two dimensional figures of women that accompanied most pieces in Issue 12. This is indicative of an emphasis on the Black women and the struggles experienced in her reality. AIDS is raised again in Issue 12 with the relationship of poverty to AIDS being explored by Strebel. Abortion and sexual abuse are also debated in Issue 12. The *briefings* are also focused on the core theme of Issue 12 with Kingwell and Middleton's *briefing* on the Grahamstown Rural Committee. The theme of identity is raised with a submission to Congress for a Democratic South Africa about the need for women's participation in a democracy. Issue 12 concerns itself with lobbying for change; this is reflected in the *articles*, *briefings*, reviews and debates. The concerns that are highlighted are reflected upon in terms of how these are felt by rural women as well as the larger South African society. This theme of 'change' can be attributed to progress towards democracy as Issue 12 was released in 1992.

Issue 13: "Afrikanerdom revisited", features a yellow cover and for the first time since *Agenda's* inception, features a photograph of a White woman with two children. The cover picture has very gendered connotations in that the daughter is positioned close to the mother, wearing a hat and dress, and oddly she is the only person in the picture who is barefoot. The son is dressed in a cowboy outfit and sports a gun in both hands pointed at the sky in an almost military position,

but his face looks straight at the reader. Stereotyping is reflected but the representation on the cover is debated within the Journal's pages.

Cloete's *article* further unpacks the concept of Afrikanerdom in terms of culture, tradition and gender. De Le Ray compares gendered identities from the perspectives of women from different racial groups. Nhlapo's *article* on women and abuse also explores the dynamics of race in relation to the incidence of violence against women. There is thus a strong theme of identity, culture and race. This deduction is further supported by the *briefings* on sexual harassment, the role of female traditional leaders and lobola.¹¹ Hansson provides a new angle on the oppression so often debated and explored in *Agenda's* pages by providing an analysis of the divisions amongst women. The reviews on motherland, ethnicity and the role(s) of women in the 1913 pass-campaign forces the reader to reflect on the realities of the contributions of women from various cultures and traditions. This edition of *Agenda* challenged the existing formula of the Journal i.e. the Journal had consistently been concerned with issues facing Black, working-class women, with a strong political focus. To produce a Journal comparing and debating the roles of White Afrikanerdom allows readers to reflect on the similarities and differences in the experiences of the sisterhood and to redefine stereotypical perspectives.

Issue 14 is symbolised by a red cover with a Black woman looking towards the camera, a large scarf wrapped around her upper body. The woman sports an earring and necklace. Issue 14 is titled 'Southern Africa', debating various issues affecting this part of the continent. Themes of working-class women as well as women's political role(s) resurface. Cliff's *article* focuses on the destabilisation of the Mozambican economy and the impact on women. This *article* not only reflects the themes of economics and power, but also an African feminist notion of the valuing of the family unit and the associated role(s) thereof. Filmao reflects

¹¹ Traditional practice of the payment of a dowry for a bride.

on popular culture and its ability to reflect women in Southern Africa in an accurate manner. The latter links to the themes of identity and representation.

Gawana's *briefing* explores affirmative action in Namibia and the imbalances of power, speaking to the themes of rights, identity and power. Zwart's *briefing* is the first that debates the move from women and development to that of gender and development. This is the underlying hypothesis of the dissertation. Although *Agenda* has created South African Feminism(s); it has, to a large extent moved from a women-centered to a gender-centered approach in doing this. Zwart (1992:16) explains the women and development approach as the following:

This perspective emphasises the economic role played by women both inside and outside the home and considers these activities essential for the survival of the family unit. It tends to analyse women as a homogenous group taking little notice of important differences of class, race or ethnicity.

Zwart (1992:17) further analyses the gender and development approach:

This school of thought argues that the basis of the social assignment of gender roles that contribute to the exploitation of women (and men) must first be questioned.

Thus the reader is brought to question notions of women-centred vs. gender-centred. Schlacmuidder sheds light on the continued activism of women in the African National Congress and challenges ideas about women's role(s) in politics; unpacking the effect of this on the home as well as the fear associated with activism in terms of security forces. This *briefing* speaks to the key themes of politics and identity that has characterised the pre-1994 editions of *Agenda*. The Journal was primarily focused on politics, because of the political strife in pre-democratic South Africa. The issue of identity has been closely connected to race, given the Apartheid regime with many laws being legislated based on race.

Kapp's debate, "Reggae against racism. But what about sexism?", also speaks to these themes.

Women's leadership is also discussed in the context of churches in Swaziland. There is thus an added urgency to determine where women feature in terms of power and leadership. The issue of leadership is further debated by Maboe regarding the relationship between popular education and the creation of ideas around gender. The reviews included in Issue 14 also provide support to the themes of leadership, identity and politics.

Issue 15 is represented by a purple cover reflecting a stick-like figure of a woman looking up at a number of pills and tablets floating around her. The race of the woman is unknown. Issue 15, themed, "Health", as described by Agenda Collective (1992:3):

[...] two broad themes: women's access to resources, and women's experience of themselves in relation to men, their partners and society at large.

Miles discusses power in terms of heterosexual relationships with a focus on the social construction of AIDS through the manner in which sex is negotiated in heterosexual couples. This *article* speaks strongly to the theme of power and emphasises the paralysis that women felt in this area of their lives in 1992. Many women in the *article* expressed that condom usage could not be negotiated. Mina and Sampson's *article* on feminist psychotherapy reflects on case studies of women in psychotherapy. The authors put forward their views on how to administer psychotherapy infused with a feminist slant. The kind of feminism the authors speak of is not overtly defined; however, they draw on issues of identity i.e. looking at the current position of women in relation to their problems as discussed by Mina et al. (1992:57):

Successful therapy involves a perspective which is sensitive to the current position of women. This is more than an understanding of women's oppression

as it includes an empathy with the feelings and ambivalence that women experience as a result of this oppression.

Women as leaders emerge again in Issue 15 with Bengu's *article*, "The role of a community nutritionist in a rural poor community: Is it to feed and empower or to simply teach?". This *article* fits in with the overarching theme of health and its photographs, positions Black women as both teachers and leaders. This *article* also includes the theme of identity with regard to the gendered roles assigned to women. The section from "Need to move beyond teaching" by Bengu (1992:77) states:

To restate what has been emphasised above: traditional nutrition programmes assume that is it the mothers' ignorance which contributes to malnutrition [...] The programme had to help people afford a balanced diet of sufficient quality within available resources.

The empowerment of women is larger than an intervention – it is also about power. Access to resources or the maladministration of available resources also affects the nutritional problems cited by Bengu in her intervention through the Valley Trust.¹²

Issues of power are revisited, with the inclusion of vaginal potions as an alternate method of prevention. Issue 14 revealed the inadequacies of condom negotiation in heterosexual relationships; a new avenue is explored by Boikanyo in her *briefing*. Women's experiences of public health facilities and AIDS is further debated in Issue 15 through Cooper, Nguni and Harrison's *briefing* "Women's experiences of the state Health services in Khayelitsha". Tallis reflects on AIDS and the effect this had on lesbians. This is the first time the theme of health has been related to lesbians as a separate group. This *briefing* again speaks to the themes of power, representation and rights as motivated by Tallis (1992:69):

¹² The Valley Trust is an organisation based in the greater Durban area. The organisation undertakes various projects to uplift poor communities.

More and more AIDS workers who are sensitive to lesbian issues are realising that lesbian and bisexual women are being left out in both education and counselling and that this needs to be addressed.

The theme of rights is reiterated by Mayosi, who unpacks women's access to money and power as being linked to socialisation. She claims political processes have to be accessed in order to change women's status in South Africa. The reviews by Mcdowell, the Battered Women's Working group, COSATU and Mackenzie support the theme of politics and identity. There is a great push in Issue 15 for women to access spaces that will enable their societal status to be improved.

In her reflections on the early years of the Journal, Meer (1997:9) describes the shift in focus of the Journal from a woman-centred journal to that of gender-centred and an overt admission of a feminist agenda:

The era of negotiations seems to have opened up space for new forms of organisations in the country and for discussion on a range of issues not seen in the pages of *Agenda* previously.

1993

Issue 16, Violence in Focus is characterised by a blue cover and the clear features a Black woman. Her head is turned to the left but she has a look of pain on her face. Her body is facing forward, her right hand clutches her impregnated stomach and the left hand is in a fist, resting on her right arm. There are lines around her body, indicating movement. Violence has been alluded to in other Issues of *Agenda*. According to the *editorial*, the reasoning behind the inclusion of this theme was to ensure that violence is addressed in legislation in order to protect women, as described by the Agenda Collective (1993:4):

As South African women we need legal protection from violence and we need measures to ensure the creation of an anti-violence culture. Yet we also need to take into account the diversity of needs and the differences of race and class.

Mayne's *article* focuses on violence against women from the perspective of a Rape Crisis employee. Her *article* is a discussion with Kelly, a British feminist academic. The themes of power and difference are explored with a focus on the role of masculinity in violence against women. Mayne's *article* also speaks to the theme of the 'body'. Cock explores masculinity in "The place of gender in a demilitarisation agenda". Cock (Cock in Agenda 16, 1993:49) raises an interesting point about the possible causes of violence from previously employed military staff:

Much of the current violence in South Africa reflects the pervasiveness of an ideology of militarism. The core of this set of ideas is the notion that violence is a legitimate solution to conflict.

Scully's review "Understanding Sexual Violence: A study of convicted rapists", supports this theme. *Agenda* reflects on the need to be sensitive to the issues of the body and power as oppressive barriers to women who experience violence against them. Russell's conversational *article* with Lulu Diba forces the reader to view the theoretical debates as real by reflecting on Diba's story.

Irish explores the political aspects that build on Diba's story. The effects of political violence on women are unpacked with particular reference to the death and injuries that women and children suffer through unrest. Hansson's *briefing* on rape as a form of violence against women explores the treatment of this by legal authorities. Govender, Moodley, Majiet and Motsei's *briefings* support the themes of identity, the politics of the body, culture and rights. *Reviews* by The Black Sash and Berger support the latter.

Issue 17 is characterised by a green cover featuring a smiling Black woman in a suit. This Issue is themed, "Recreation and Leisure". This is the first journal in the series being reviewed that reflects an overtly positive theme. Many of the Issues before this represented suffering and angst on the covers. Other Issues allude to the positivism that can come from social action but, for the first time, this Journal has an overtly positive theme. Issue 17 unpacks the kinds of leisure South African women engage in and look at how this leisure time is defined:

[...] many women experience a 'leisure gap' in their lives. Furthermore, not only is such leisure time absent in many women's lives, we know that the leisure enjoyed by men is often dependent on the work of women!

(*Agenda* editorial, Issue 17, 1993:3)

Roberts' *article* on Black women and recreation explores the cultural aspects imposed on sport. Roberts argues on the gender-biased nature of sport and in essence speaks to the themes of culture, identity and the entrenchment of gendered roles. This *article* is supported by Paruk and de la Rey's *briefing* on road running. Cassim's review: "Against the grain: women and sport in South Africa", reflects this theme. All these pieces reflect themes of identity, race and culture. Henderson's *article* builds on Roberts's by also analysing the relationships between leisure, culture and race. The reader reflects on this intersection in Rulashe's interview with Shadow Twala.¹³ Lewis and Salo's *article* looks at a case study of Cape Town with regards to issues of contraception. The latter reflects the theme of the politics of the body. Makitini's *briefing* links with this by looking at abortion as a human rights issue.

The theme of sexual politics from Issue 11 is continued in Issue 17. Miller's *article* on the sexual peak of women is testament to this theme. The theme of sexual politics is further unpacked by Fouche's, "Debating porn, a response". Driver's *briefing* on local government and the gender strategy is an important factor as the national strategies of any country can only be made visible by an

¹³ Shadow Twala is a local South African celebrity who is popular as a radio disk jockey.

active provincial and local government. *Agenda* began the shift from women-centered to gender-centered by its inclusion of gender strategies as opposed to its previous, women-only, perspective. The construction of patriarchy is reflected upon in Morgan's review, "Discovering Men". This *review* looks at social construction and the role this plays in the construction of masculinities.

The idea of leisure is thus defined as an aspect of a woman's life loaded with meaning(s) that are influenced by age, race, gender, culture and tradition. The underlying patriarchy is revealed in each aspect of a South African woman's life through various comparisons with 'real life' case studies. A woman's right to leisure is thus viewed as not only important but vital in the transformation process.¹⁴

Issue 18, "Women and the Economy" sees *Agenda* return to a political theme. The Journal is characterised by a Black woman on a purple cover. She is facing the reader with a microphone in hand and is sporting a 'COSATU Summer School' logo on her t-shirt. The reader is only able to view the top half of the woman's body. However, from the expression on her face, she has been captured on camera mid-way in speech. There is a strong focus on the participation of women in the economy in Issue 18 and their contribution is valued as a great and powerful force in the South African economy. The intersection of race, class and gender is revisited in Issue 18. The rights of employed women are also discussed, with a strong focus on the right to equality with employed men:

The economic discrimination of women is most acute among rural women and domestic workers, who until recently have been denied any protection against unfair labour practices by employers.

(*Agenda* editorial, 18, 1993: 3)

¹⁴ Transformation refers to South Africa's transition into democracy.

This is a significant journal in *Agenda's* herstory. Meer (1997:8) in her reflections on the early editions of the Journal explains:

For the first time with *Agenda* 18, The Collective was overtly feminist, with the inside front cover describing its aims as follows:

Agenda, as a feminist project, is committed to giving women a forum, a voice and skills to articulate their needs and interests towards transforming unequal gender relations in South Africa

This marked shift reflected that the Journal was becoming a space for feminism(s) to be overtly shared and celebrated and was no longer concerned with possible stigmas as explained earlier in this chapter.

The consequences of these laws are reflected upon in greater detail again showing a move towards transformation of gendered ideals rather than only the equality of women. Gendered roles are challenged with regard to women as economic players. Barrett, Gordan and Tshatsinde's *articles* discuss themes of economics and politics, women and work in rural and peri-urban areas. Maconachie and Lolwana's *briefings* and Budlender's *review* support these themes.

Identity is explored by Maforah around the conflicts facing Black professional women. Ndziba-Whitehead's *briefing* explores women's entrepreneurship and builds on Maforah's *briefing*. Dove and Slachmuisder pose key theories in their debates around gender in the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the different faces of affirmative action. *Profiles* also included reflecting on the theme of leadership. Jacques and Beecham profile a communist-based development programme and South African business women.

The positioning of women in the economy is a significantly themed issue as this pre-empts the transition into democracy. There is a clear shift towards positioning

women in the economy as the economy was preparing itself for a radical change in the positioning of Black as well as White women.

Issue 19 and is characterised by a picture of Audre Lorde, a famous feminist, and is titled, *Women and difference*. Lorde is positioned against a grey background with her hands raised towards the sky, almost in surrender and is smiling in the photograph. The cover poignantly asks the question in red lettering, “Can White women represent Black women?”, Kemp’s and Gouws’ *open forum* speaks to this question. This piece fits in with the theme of identity and questions representation. By the latter I mean the debate on how Black women are represented in the media and especially in the Journal. The question of who speaks for who is raised. ‘*Open forum*’ replaces the previously named ‘debates’ section. “*Women and difference*” is the first Issue in the Journal series to pilot this new section.

Meintjes *Open forum* on “Dilemma’s of Difference” reflects on identity and race. These two themes have been an integral part of the pre-1994 editions of *Agenda*. Sunde and Bozalek explore (re)searching difference and support Meintjes *Open forum*. Campbell explores the themes of identity and difference. Again, this overarching theme exacerbates the need to shed light on the identity of women but also to acknowledge difference. Reviews by Tomaselli et al. discuss the need to celebrate difference; Posel and Gool support the need to discuss difference. These views are testament to the transition period in the Journal’s herstory as the Journal recognises that the shift will be experienced by women in different capacities based on race, gender and class. There is a battle to distinguish between celebrating difference and viewing difference as a divisive factor.

With the transition into democracy, the need to discuss difference as a core theme of *Agenda* is very appropriate as this reflects knowledge that the transition will be different for women based on race, gender and class (to name a few factors).

1994

In Issue 20 a Black and White cartoon is depicted on the grey over. The reader is able to view the shoes, arms and legs of what seems to be men's bodies carrying briefcases with the letters MP¹⁵ on each. There are two cartoon figures, one of a Black woman and another of a White woman both surrounded by tall figures. The looks on these women's faces is that of fear and confusion. The title, depicted in orange, "Politics, power and democracy" is displayed above the cover picture. The question posed below the cover picture is: "How should women be represented in the new political structures?"

Issue 20 introduces a new method of presenting information by introducing new terminology representing the content. *Agenda* has redefined the 'Contents' page to include a focus section and a general section. The division of the page indicates that *Agenda* is creating a space for women to voice their opinions and that this space is not directly dependent on the theme of the Journal. Newton is reflected on the editorial page as the first officially named editor. Until this Issue a formal editor was never referred to; indicating that The Collective was given oversight and managed the editorials. Mabandla's *article* on choices for South African women is a poignant *article* as she tries to locate South African women within political structures. Philpott's *article* reflects on gender and disability and unpacks the role of care-givers to people living with disabilities. The case study used by Philpott reflects the struggles of Black working-class women who are very poor and the burdens facing these women with regard to paid and unpaid work as well as the gendered division of labour. Hendricks and Lewis explore racism within feminism. These *articles* link to the themes of identity and leadership.

The *Agenda* Collective begins Issue 20 by framing key questions to election candidates about the role(s) of women in governance. Leadership, and more

¹⁵ Member of Parliament.

significantly, who has the *ability* to lead is the dominant question of Issue 20. Finnemore speaks of negotiating power in her *briefing*; Potgieter reflects on the voice of young women in the new democracy; the organising of rural women is unpacked by Yako; Pillay reflects on customary law and equality as well as customs and rights; and Zondo's, reflection on women and the vote support the notion of locating women within the new political climate. The *interview* included by Thabethe also reflects on the question of accountability with regards to leadership. Posing the question of leadership and speculating about who has the opportunity to lead ultimately links to the themes of power and patriarchy.

Fester reflects on the issue of women's rights as human rights, a recurring theme in most journals leading up to Issue 20. This reflects that women are inherently questioning their human rights status in South Africa as a major factor preventing them from active citizenship i.e. access to the political arenas where changes to the status of women can be implemented. Schneider looks at sexually transmitted diseases in the general section and the devastating effects on women. Friedman's *reportback* on rural women builds upon Yako's *article* cited earlier in Issue 20. Van Wyk's *reportback* reflects a unique position of the role of religion in the South African women's struggle, and for the first time, religious ideology is questioned in *Agenda* as having gendered connotations. This 'questioning' however is not direct and relies heavily on the experience of Van Wyk at the University of Port Elizabeth's symposium on religion. The *reportback*, however; reveals strongly that women at the conference were questioning religious fundamentalism and paving the way forward for ordinary Christians to reflect on the role(s) of Christianity in prescribing gendered roles. Issue 20 sees *Agenda* reiterate its underlying purpose which is to place women on the agenda in a manner that sees women not only represented by other women but also by those who wield the most power, namely men.

Issue 21, 'Focus on Education', title is embellished in green with the caption reading "Education for domestication?" An Indian woman is featured on the

White cover adorned in a graduation gown with a young daughter on her right hip. In her left hand she is holding two packets, seemingly filled with groceries and is positioned next to a vacuum cleaner and laundry basket sporting a mop in the centre of it. Beneath the cover picture reads a second caption: AnnMarie Wolpe critiques the ANC's draft education policy. Wolpe's framework for gender sensitivity in the education and training policy of the ANC. Wolpe's *briefing* unpacks the need to address issues affecting women and regards women as a vulnerable group. The link to human rights, education and economic participation is highlighted in Issue 21.

Two *articles* are featured in this issue: Kotecha looks at the position of female teachers in South Africa whilst Kumar reflects on women globally by focusing on feminism in India. Both *articles* link to the themes of women's cultural and gendered roles as leaders. The role of women in educate¹⁶ is explored by Cousins and Maart; tapping into the role(s) that women can play in education with a particular focus on pre-primary education.

Access to tertiary education is unpacked by Badsha and Kotecha with a focus on access of Black women to tertiary institutions in South Africa. Women's access and their rights to education are brought into question. This *briefing* ties in with the South African Democratic Teachers Union's *reportback* on gender and the school curriculum. The construction of gendered roles is discussed with a particular emphasis on the propaganda in the school curriculum. Clarke further explores teacher strikes and the various contributing factors that caused the 1994 strike.

The general section also unpacks some issues relating to education but mainly creates a space for issues that may not be aligned with the theme of Issue 21. Fedler discusses notions of identity with regard to educated women and their

¹⁶ Educare offers an additional benefit to learners' experiences in the classroom. Namely primary health care; feeding schemes, access to social peers, support for language development and access to scarce resources.

gendered roles as well as their transition into 'womanhood'. Brown and Reynolds discuss new laws for domestic workers and their impact on Black working-class women. Bonnin and Moodley explore South Africa's role in the Beijing proclamation¹⁷ and the role that South Africa should play at the fourth conference. Baker reflects on the Women's National Coalition in South Africa and provides information to mobilise women to join this body. Pillay and Klugman provide a report on reproductive rights of women, reflecting on the case study of Nigeria. These *briefings* fit in with the themes of representation and the economic and health rights of women.

Issue 22: "The family in question", is characterised by a purple cover featuring two dimensional representations of various circles of mothers, fathers, and children. These figures are depicted in Black and White and the subtitles depicted on the cover in purple include "Should polygamy be outlawed?" and "The works and wonders of Toni Morrison". Burman explores the role of gender ideology in childhood. The construction of gender is debated with the notion that socialisation plays a crucial role in the development of gendered identities. Neophytou explores lesbian mothers and the marginalisation experienced in South African society. This further emphasises the themes of gendered identities and the impact of heterosexism on lesbians. Neophytou (1994:26) argues:

When a lesbian first verbalises an interest in having a child, she is likely to face negative reactions, ranging from confusion to hostility, from those people important to her such as her parents, siblings and heterosexual friends.

Khan unpacks parental policies by looking at maintenance¹⁸ and the role of the state in this debate. Patriarchy is cited as a key barrier to the essential intervention required in the area of maintenance. Murray reflects on polygamy and the gendered construction of the family in relation to culture. Ziehl unpacks

¹⁷ Many countries around the world took part in the signing of the Beijing proclamation that emphasizes gender mainstreaming in all aspects of governance.

¹⁸ Grant to be paid for biological children's welfare.

single-parent families and reinforces the theme of the roles of males and females in the construction and sustenance of a family. Bozalek questions whether the family is a site of democracy. This *briefing* ties in with the theme of patriarchy and the power related to gendered roles in the family. The Simpsons is explored as a site of gender propaganda and the reinforcement of stereotypical gendered roles. Issue 22 attempts to address the various types of families that exist and reflect the constraints on each with a particular focus on issues of identity, sexuality, culture, popular media, and women's rights.

The 'General' section builds on Issue 21 with a focus on men and condom usage in terms of health. An update on the 'road' to Beijing has also been included once again urging South African women to mobilise and be part of this process. Macquene reflects on women workers in the world economy in her *briefing* and Ghandi reflects on the difficulties encountered by women in accessing public arenas and being part of key political processes. The general section ties in with the themes of representation, power and economics.

Bennett introduces the reader to Tony Morrison, winner of the 1994 Nobel Prize for Literature. The emphasis on Morrison comes from her focus on Black American women and can be likened to South Africa's struggle to enable the voices of Black women to be heard. This is argued by Bennet (1994:69):

Toni Morrison's fiction has reclaimed the history of Black American women and given them a resonant voice – but their voices resonate in our lives, too.

Agenda thus reiterates the link to other women globally and the similar struggles faced. This link is of pivotal importance as women realise that the gendered oppression they suffer may not be the same for every woman, but that the gendered barriers facing women remain the same.

Issue 23 concludes the pre-1994, i.e. pre-Apartheid era and is titled "Body Politics". The cover is grey and is characterised by a two dimensional figure of a

Black woman breastfeeding her baby. The title and subtitles are depicted in red and read, “Is feminism funny?”, “We review Alice Walker on female circumcision” and “Do you know your vulva from your vagina?”. Issue 23 is thus loaded with themes of sexuality and culture, and challenges notions of the body as a political.

Connell explores bodies and genders in his *article* and reflects on sexuality, men’s and women’s bodies and notions of masculinity and femininity in relation to the body. Zikalala explores the impact of culture on the notion of the body. Lerner reflects on the sexuality of children and the gendered construction of bodies, and Xaba explores this in terms of the impact of Zulu culture on girls bodies. These *articles* and *briefings* speak to themes of culture, gendered identities and sexuality.

Holmes unpacks sex workers as a marginalised group and the stereotypes associated with the selling of sex. Holmes’ piece speaks to the theme of identity, sexuality and economic rights. An insert on skin cancer has been placed in the themed section as it relates to the theme of the body.

The ‘General’ section of the Journal builds on Issue 22 and looks at the politics of gender training. Sexwale specifically focuses on the resistance to gender. Horn reflects on the Women’s National Coalition and whether this movement is ‘withering’. The ‘road’ to Beijing is further discussed by Manzini in Issue 22, reflecting urgency for South Africa to be involved in global initiatives around gender. Nyman looks at legislation as a tool to creating equal opportunities for women. These *briefings* tie in with the themes of identity, gendered roles and patriarchy.

Wilhelm and Verwoerd’s *article* looks at sexist jokes and debates the humour of these jokes as a possible tool for entrenching gender stereotypes. Grant and Jagwanth return to the theme of violence and look at how the phenomenon is regulated in the home.

In surveying the content of Issues 1-23, it would seem that the pre-1994 journals are initially centralised on 'telling' the stories of ordinary women, more specifically Black working-class women. As the Journals progress from 1987 to the early 1990s there is a marked shift in the manner in which these journals are developed. The *Agenda* collective appoints an Editor to oversee the editorial processes and The Collective assist in the process in an advisory capacity (see interview with original collective member). The Journals begin as generalist and then take on a themed identity from Issue 10 and then from Issue 20, *Agenda* introduces a new method of publishing which is evident as a hybrid of themed and general pieces.¹⁹ This was done to ensure that *Agenda* still had the space to discuss current, non-thematic, issues. The Journal's transition into this new style is also marked by the birth of democracy in South Africa. This is a significant factor as the 1994 Issues see a definite shift in the way they place women in the social landscape. There is urgency for women to mobilise in order to solidify their position in public forums by lobbying for adequate legislation that addresses gender equity, and the inclusion of women in decision-making processes.

During this period, certain themes were approached in a different manner. As explained by Meer (1997:9) in her reflections on the early years of the Journal:

But the issue most hotly debated and responded to during these years was in a new theme – race and identity.

These themes play a major role in the construction of South African Feminism(s) as the formulation thereof was greatly influenced by the factor of race and its inextricable links to class, ethnicity and gender.

I now turn to Chapter Four where synopses of the post-Apartheid editions of the Journal are analysed. The shift in focus from a women-centred to a gender-

¹⁹ Pieces refers to articles, *briefings*, *photo essays*, *poetry*, *book reviews* and *newsnips*.

centred approach is explored. In addition, specific reference is made to the interplay of editorship to gatekeeping.

CHAPTER FOUR

Synopses: Post-1994 editions of *Agenda*

This chapter provides a synopsis of select themes of editorial copy published in the context of post-Apartheid South Africa and its implications for constructing South African Feminism(s). As indicated in the previous chapter, the reason for this separation, as motivated in Chapter Three, links to the birth of the Journal and its emergence as a woman-centered then a gender-centered journal and, in so doing, the creation of South African Feminism(s). The noticeable stark shift that is made in Issue 20 (the beginning of 1994), characterised by the new method of reflecting a hybrid of themed and general Issues, speaks to this separation. With South Africa's newly found democracy in 1994, *Agenda* begins to lobby South African women to find a space within the new socio-economic climate. There is a strong emphasis on the changing roles of women and a push for women to be placed in forums where decision-making powers are afforded to them. There is also a strong push in the late editions of 1994 that reflects an emphasis on legislation as the key to the transformation of women's subordinate position in South African society; politically those who face the triple oppression of race, class and gender.

Meer (1997:9) reflects on the themes most clearly defined post-1994:

Issues relating to transformation- women and the state; gender and policy- make up the largest grouping of *articles*, themes and *briefings* in *Agenda* over these years... Critical questions relating to the major debates of the day- women, gender and state transformation- were raised.

Meer's analysis is critical to the overall analysis in this dissertation as it builds on the hypothesis that the Journal moved from a women-centred journal to that of a gender-centred journal. The Journal also provided a forum for different strands of

feminism to come together in one space which is a unique victory, given South Africa's political history and the impact of race, class and gender on the vast majority of South African women. Again, the power relationship between the editorial staff and the Journal content is raised as a major contributor to the final product that *Agenda* offered during this period. The staff were aware of the newfound acceptance in the post-Apartheid period as explained by Meer (1997:8):

Agenda reported on gay issues – with a report on the gay pride march and *briefings* on gay and lesbian organisation and on lesbians and AIDS. Sexuality was presented for the first time not as problem (as with rape and abuse) but as pleasurable.

The chapter provides a brief content analysis of editions during each year, post-1994.

1995

Issue 24 is aptly titled, "Monitoring the changes". The cover is characterised by a Black woman featured in a Black and White photograph. The subtitles and title are printed in blue and reflect the following: "Women and the economy: slow pace of change"; "Masculinity in crisis?"; and "Beyond putting women on the agenda". This theme speaks to the increasing need for South African women to place themselves within the newfound democracy and to actively monitor their own inclusion into decision-making spaces. Significantly, the editorship changes in Issue 24 with Gillian Harper taking the helm. Harper's editorial explains the motivation behind the title, Harper (1995:2):

At the time of the new government's 100-day honeymoon period, the *Agenda* collective decided to produce an issue which would critically assess changes for women after the elections. It was too early then to identify any real change and perhaps it is too early even now to be able to access the changes as many policies are still in draft form. But soon it will be too late to monitor the changes –

we would have lost out on a valuable way of putting pressure on policy-makers by challenging them to be more gender sensitive and offering suggestions for change.

It is with this hypothesis in mind that Issue 24 reflects on the slow pace of change with regards to women and the economy. Madonsela reflects on, "Beyond putting women on the agenda", and debates the role of governance in placing women's rights as a priority. Manzini and Mthembi-Nkondo build on this by unpacking the vision of women in the newly found democracy. The Agenda Collective aptly scrutinise the reconstruction and development programme through a gendered lens. These *briefings* and *articles* reflect the theme of representation through interrogating the concepts of gender equality.

Witherspoon's interview focuses on health services and discusses the improvements that are foreseen for women's health. Thomas' piece ties into the health theme by reflecting on the gendered construction of roles for women and the subsequent realities facing women who cannot bear children. Gender gaps in education are addressed by Daniels whilst Meer and Cele reflect on access to land and issues of tax. *Agenda's* themed section is thus concerned with women's access to resources, the economy and land rights, and the right to representation.

These themes are carried over into Lemmon's *article* on the crisis of masculinity in the face of South Africa's new democracy and the formation of the South African Association of Men. Jean-Pierre builds on Witherspoon's interview by providing a *reportback* on the issue of health within the context of the first women's health forum. Madlala-Routledge and Serote further explore the 'road' to Beijing and the involvement of South Africa in international gender initiatives.

Daphne introduces a critical angle of gender in South African trade unions and the role of working-class women in their own emancipation. Brown provides

insight into the role of women in business and provides an analysis of the role women will play in the formal economy in the new democracy. Friedman supports this with her *reportback* on the action that women are taking in order to facilitate their own development. Klugman explores the challenge in Cairo and provides a *reportback* on the United Nations proceedings with regard to women's rights. An evaluation of *Agenda* was carried out in Issue 24 reflecting an important step in the creation of South African Feminism(s): one of introspection.²⁰ These *reportbacks* link to the theme of representation and economics. *Agenda's* focus is on accessing platforms to make the voices of ordinary women heard; the monitoring of this process is viewed as a crucial element in the fight for equality.

Issue 25 is titled "Women and Religion" and features a grey cover with a two dimensional drawing of a Black woman juggling different symbols representing different religions. The title is printed in orange and the sub-titles read, "Spiritual liberation or spiritual oppression?" Religion as a site of oppression speaks to the private aspects of women's lives. This aspect needs to be explored in order to move through a holistic transformation process i.e. a transformation process that addresses the private and public spaces of a woman's life, as motivated by Harper (1995:2):

As religious institutions are historically intertwined with social and political conditions, separating our public and private religious lives has serious implications. By not challenging a male-dominated religious paradigm, we are further entrenching patriarchal control.

Issue 25 also sees the growth of *Agenda* as an organisation. The organisation appoints another member of staff to coordinate marketing and finances. This reflects a positive reception by readers as *Agenda* is a product sold by the

²⁰ This is explored further in Chapter 5.

organisation and thus increased revenue has allowed for the appointment of more staff.

Gcabashe explores the constitutional involvement in women's religious experiences. This is of particular significance as the new found Constitution reflects rights and equality for all and thus a parallel needed to be drawn about the intersection of this document with the private spaces of women. Shabodien debates the issue of Muslim personal law regarding the disadvantages facing South African women and the conservative nature in which the oppression of women by Sharia law is tolerated. Sisulu's interview with Bam reflects the life of a woman leader as the newly appointed General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches. Desai and Goodall reflect on Hindu women's experiences of Hinduism as oppressive. Rath's interview with Nasrin, a famous writer who spoke out against the oppressive forces of Islam, is critical in Issue 25 as it reflects that women globally are challenging the notions of religious fundamentalism. This is supported by Rasool's *article* on fundamentalist faith. Soobrayan reflects on the rights of women in relation to their customs. Mmbatho's *briefing* focuses on women's involvement in the World Wide Churches General Committee on Women. Mmbatho reflects on the barriers that religious institutions pose to women. These *briefings* explore the themes of rights, religion and power.

Muter's piece in the general section reflects the theme of representation and the need to recognise racial differences in the South African women's movement. Moodliar explores the issue of labour law as it affects women. Altman and Kumalo reflect on the issue of the body as a political site and speak out against sexual harassment. Kadalie reflects on feminism as a sphere of thought and reveals the misunderstandings that exist. The theme of health is raised and Tallis reflects on women's need for control with regard to HIV/AIDS. Tallis' piece is tied to the theme of power and the need for women to have tools to be able to negotiate power in heterosexual relationships. Africa and Mberere include an

update on the 'road' to Beijing as they reflect on the progress that South Africa has made. Wilkinson builds on Issue 24 and reflects on women as 'bosses' and reflects the changing roles of women in the new democracy. Neuman raises the issue of creating spaces in public forums for women to share their experiences. Issue 25 builds on Issue 24 by creating a link between the public spaces and private spaces of women. Issue 24 creates an emphasis on the need to emancipate women in their private spaces.

Issue 26 titled: "Women in local government", depicts a White cover with a green block encompassing two dimensional drawings of women. These women are White, Black and Indian; and can be distinguished by their apparel. Interestingly enough, these women are surrounded by images reflecting basic services of water, health and electricity. In the right hand corner on the bottom of the cover there is a child depicted on a swing. The title is printed in bold green. Issue 26 sees *Agenda* address the issue of a lack of women representation at government levels and an expression that women's rights and gender issues have been shelved. This is motivated by Harper (1995:2):

Much priority was given to gender issues in the run-up to the general elections, when every party had at least something to say about gender issues for these elections.

Robinson's *article* reiterates these sentiments by providing an *article* on the omission of women at local government level. Marks supports this view with her reflection on the contested terrain of local government and the barriers affecting women. Zondo reveals the pessimism of rural women with regard to the betterment of their lives. Harper interviews Noel, a local councillor, to reflect "on the ground experiences". Noel expresses a frustration during the interim phase but also reflects a commitment to basic services for women in her ward. Smith argues that women are better placed for local government given the insight gained through the gendered division of labour in the home. Kunene explores traditional leadership and the intersection of this phenomenon with local

government. Harper and Jean-Pierre interview local women to gain insight into what the average women feels about the local elections. The interviews reveal a stark belief that the local elections will not further the rights of ordinary women.

Tee explores ideas around recognising difference in the feminist debates. Health is also raised in Issue 26 with a focus on abortion. Neohpytou reflects on the development of the Commission for Gender Equality and the roles and responsibilities of this body. Van der Walt reflects on gender equality in the absence of a formal body. Radloff and Platsky's review and *reportback* further unpack the theme of gender equality and the notions of African gender links; and enabling spaces. Msizi and Zanda explore the need to network against violence. These pieces, although appearing in the general section of the Journal, have inextricable links to representation, identity, power and the body.

Issue 27 titled: "Reproductive rights", is characterised by a grey cover featuring several grey and White newspaper *articles* strewn together in a collage. The title is in red and White and appears as a 'stamp'. Moodley begins Issue 27 by defining reproductive rights and what this means in the context of women's rights. Salie and Gwagwa unpack occupational hazards and the effect this may have on the reproductive abilities of women. Fortuin puts forward a framework for the transformation of primary health. Rees explores the issue of contraception and the need for women to be aware of the various methods that are available. Aticc speaks of the need for education as a form of protection against AIDS. Wild and Kunst explore women's rights to abortion and Downs provides a counter argument opposing abortion. The themed section is thus concerned with issues of the body, power, sexuality and labour rights.

Russell explores justice for incest survivors in her *article* in the general section. Bonnin reports on the 'road' to Beijing by providing an update. Vetten looks at the issue of femicide. Ngaba reflects on a key occurrence, the Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. The latter includes South Africa in

global gender initiatives to oust the injustices that face women globally. Benjamin counteracts this by debating the issue of the title 'feminist' and the associated meanings with this term. Mbhele provides insight into economics by providing advice on saving money. These *briefings* and *reportbacks* explore core themes of *Agenda* including economics, representation, the body and power.

1996

Issue 28: "Women's Sexuality", is characterised by a pink and White cover reflecting photographs of women's breasts, some bare, others in bikinis and brassieres. Mager looks at the issue of male power in sexuality and reflects on issues of fertility in her *article*. Varga and Makubalo explore sexual non-negotiation in heterosexual relationships. Nkopane's *reportback* from the general section reflects ideas of empowering rural women around their sexuality. Freidman and Potgieter explore the notion of sexuality and the interrelationships between power and sexuality. Finnemore provides insight into sexuality in the workplace and Wasserman reflects on the positive side of pornography. Hughes explores the powers of the internet to perform "sex tours". These *articles* and *briefings* link to the themes of power, representation, sexuality and patriarchy.

Webster puts forward a motion to eliminate the Sexual Offences Act. Webster's reflection reveals a need for legislation to be revised and accessible, as a means to protecting women. Verwoerd reveals the tension between fatherhood and feminism in the general section of the Issue 28. Sanders explores this notion from the alternate extreme, reflecting on the roles of men in sexuality and identity. Gruver unpacks the notion of giving girls a voice. Pillay reports on the first Southern African Gay and Lesbian Studies Colloquium. White looks at the intersection of race, class and gender as factors in the OJ Simpson trial.²¹ These *briefings* and *reportbacks* explore the notions of homosexuality, race, class and the issue of power.

²¹The OJ Simpson Trial was a famous trial wherein a popular African American actor and sports celebrity was found innocent of murdering his former wife.

Issue 29 titled: “Women and the environment”, reflects a White cover. The title is wound around many cartoon figures of women playing, watering plants, swimming, and sitting in trees. The manner in which the picture is constructed also reflects a globe-like figure and the movement of the women expresses the world as a set of systems. Issue 29 sees the introduction of a new position at *Agenda*: journalist intern.²² This experience informs the manner in which I reflect on the Journal and its processes as I worked closely with all editorial processes. In a sense this analysis fuses my editorial experience with that of a feminist researcher interested in the mutual relationship of editorial processes and the creation of perceptions about the Journal. James asks a pivotal question of whether ecofeminism is relevant. Van Kotze unpacks the reasons that disasters are a gender issue. Derwent explores patriarchy in the Wildlife society. Martin reflects on environmental literacy and the need to explore this as an educational avenue. Goudie and Killian look at gender and the environmental impact. Patel builds on this with a discussion on women and environmental management. Small and Mhaga reflect on access to land and the link to the environment. The fundamental message from the key themed *articles* and *briefings* that have been highlighted is that the environment is a gendered issue and that women are directly affected by changes to their environment. The section also advocates for the inclusion of women in decision-making processes around the environment. Key themes of power and representation are reflected in this section.

The general section of Issue 29 looks at the intersection of race and sexuality with a specific focus on lesbian women. Burns reflects on lessons from Southern African sexual history and how these lessons can be incorporated into contemporary South Africa. Menopause has also been included by Orner, revealing a focus on the body. Rustin explains the constraints and challenges associated with being a Black feminist. Naidoo reflects on contributions to gender sensitivity in credit processes and an emphasis is placed on the noting of these

²² This position entailed working at the Journal to gain practical experience on media operations.

official inclusions. These key pieces in the general section speak to the themes of the body, economics, sexuality, race, class and gender.

Issue 30: "Provinces in Focus", is characterised by a half green cover that reflects the new provinces as a sub-divided map. A photograph of a Black woman dressed in scarf, shirt and skirt is placed in a small globe that 'bursts' through the map. There is a shift in editorship to Lou Haysom. Albertyn discusses the issue of gender equality in the provinces and in the structures that will govern the provinces. Hargreaves questions land reform and the implications for rural women. Mjoli-Mncube looks at the women in Soshanguve and the implications of the new programme of employment on the dignity of these women. Gwagwa reflects on the new public works programme and critiques this in terms of its benefit to women. Gouws explores the rise of the femocrat²³ and their integration into gender desks.²⁴ Rameswak explores the need for civil society organisations to have access to provincial structures. These key issues speak to *Agenda's* core themes of class, race, power and representation.

Wilbraham's *article* in the general section of Issue 30 reflects a feminist analysis of an advice column. Owns looks at the stories of ordinary women regarding the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the effectiveness of the ideologies by which this commission governs itself. Padayachee and Manjoo reflect on domestic violence and the need for networking amongst support services. Neohpytou reflects on a puppet show that tries to educate people about domestic violence. O'Sullivan explores the issue of health and the Termination of Pregnancy Bill. Haysom looks at housing, whilst reflecting on the commitment by the United Nations to provide housing for disadvantaged people globally. Mbhele looks at the plight of self-employed women and the barrier that childcare creates for this group. These key pieces are linked to issues of the body, race and class. Issue 30 tries to locate women within the new provincial system and asks critical

²³ Feminist within a democratic government who furthers the rights of women.

²⁴ Government units responsible for gender mainstreaming at provincial level.

questions as to women's access to basic resources, childcare support and the representation of women in key decision-making processes.

Issue 31 is titled, "Womenspeak!", and the subtitle is "Women and the Media". The cover is characterised by various depictions of Black women in studios, on radio and people striking against the SABC.²⁵ The use of photographs is very pivotal on the cover as it shows real-life depictions of women in the media. The Journal also utilises the silhouettes of two faces in profile, seemingly the profile of women's faces. The Beijing Platform of Action is reviewed. Thorne, Pillay and Newman explores the challenges faced by South Africa in fulfilling the Beijing call to gender action in the media. Naughton profiles community radio as a space for women to raise awareness of the plight affecting them. Haysom explores gender regulations and the media airwaves. Du Toit challenges oppressive conventions stopping women from accessing media as a tool to articulate their needs. Smith explores the popular medium of "Madam and Eve",²⁶ reflecting on the subjectivity of Black women in South Africa. Teer-Tomaselli looks at media operations in Mozambique. Prinsloo reflects on a study conducted by CASE²⁷ reflecting women's representation in the media. Nkamba-Van Wyk explores the ancient craft of beadwork as an expression for Black women. These *articles* and *briefings* speak to the key themes of representation and power.

Telela's *reportback* in the general section speaks about women on farms and the challenge of servitude faced by these women. Strong adds to the commentary on marginalised women by discussing the feminisation of poverty. Loots reflects on women's bodies in relation to pornography. Olckers returns to earlier discussions in previous post-1994 editions around the role of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission with regards to the impact of gender on truth. These key discussions link to themes of power, identity, race and class.

²⁵ South African Broadcasting Commission.

²⁶ Popular cartoon and then later sitcom that expresses the interrelationships between gender, race and class in South Africa.

²⁷ Community Agency for Social Enquiry.

1997

Issue 32 titled: "Race, identity and Change", is characterised by a White cover with a red border and Black and White abstract art reflecting faces. These faces are drawn in White against a Black background. It is difficult to decipher whether these faces are of women or of men. This is deliberate in keeping with the overall theme. De la Rey reflects on South African Feminism and the influences of race and racism. Identity as a feminist is explored by De la Rey (1997:6) with a particular emphasis on the role of race and racism in the feminist movement:

The emergence of the difference debate ruptured many of the ideal notions of the times- the ideal called non-racialism and the ideal of a shared universal sisterhood.

The theme of culture and identity is explored by Erasmus with regard to the role of hairstyling in Black African women. Walaza returns to the theme of violence and discusses the need to understand survivors of violence. Abrahams reflects on the Khoisan and their connection to 'African' sexuality. Bennett and Friedman provide an autobiography on White women from a racial point of view. Edross reflects on the identity of Muslim women and the impact of religion on identity. The themed section is loaded with links to core themes such as violence, identity, race, gender, class and transformation.

The general section reflects an investigation into trade unions and women's rights. Mogale and Poshoko also explore women's rights to land. Health remains on the agenda with Teague providing information on gynaecology. Moolman provides a discussion on the role of the Commission for Gender Equality and the ability of this body to meet its objectives. Davey and Winship provide a profile on the unlocking of potential for technical skills in women. Vitacchi looks at the role of the internet in the formulation of identity and ideas around race and class. Pharoah and Bright reflect on feminism and language in the media that further

entrench gender stereotypes. These key issues link to the themes of race, class, gender, governance and economic rights.

Issue 33: “The Poverty Issue”, reflects a White cover characterised by a photograph of an informal settlement and a woman standing outside her hut and washing her clothes in a large bowl. The border of the photograph is in green, uneven waves. Taylor describes the macroeconomics and the gender injustices suffered by women. Naidoo and Bezelek reflect on maintenance and the grant disparity. This *article* reflects on the gendered roles assigned to women as caregivers. Edwards looks at the issue of poverty and the effect on women as bearing the brunt of poverty. Budlender reflects on women’s budgets and the gendered division of money as it pertains to the family unit. Posel further explores Budlender’s *focus* and reflects on the gendered manner in which households operate. Bonnin explores political violence and poverty in KwaZulu-Natal and reflects on the implications for women. The themed section of Issue 33 is populated with discussions on violence, identity, economics and the family.

Nolte looks at effective strategies for gender equality in the general section of Issue 33. Horowitz explores the question of sexism and the manner in which it affects people of all genders. Bailey reflects on the impact of the South African social climate on social workers. The Unemployment Insurance Act is highlighted as a penalty on motherhood by Purshotham. These key *reportbacks* and *briefings* speak to the themes of sexuality and power.

Issue 34 is a special Issue titled “Celebrating 10 years”. This Issue marks the 10th anniversary of *Agenda*, and is characterised by Black women and men marching towards the reader carrying posters with *Agenda*’s logo. The expressions of the marchers are one of happiness. Meer reflects on the challenge of activism and academia in *Agenda*. Friedman provides an organisational analysis of *Agenda*. The first Collective provides a response from themselves as well as writers and subscribers on the theme of activism. Primo reflects on women’s emancipation

and empowerment. Fester discusses women's organisations in the Western Cape. Madlala-Routledge reflects on women's organisations in KZN. These key pieces reflect themes of identity, leadership and family.

Ntone and Meth look at new forms of racism in the Western Cape and what this means for the South African women's movement. Makan reflects on women in Africa and the role they play. Watson reflects on the role of the Commission for Gender Equality in prioritising the rights of women. Williams looks at the link between the World Bank and ordinary women. These inclusions reflect a link to the themes of race and class.

Issue 35, "The Labour Market", reflects a pink and White cover with a strong emphasis on the Black working-class woman. Three women are depicted as paper cut outs, with faces superimposed on the cartoon bodies. Within the Journal, Nyman discusses whether labour reform addresses women's needs. Jarvis explores the textile industry and the impact of poor pay and "short time".²⁸ Orr, Daphne and Horton reflect on the gender quota introduced by COSATU.²⁹ Moahloli reflects on the corporate ethos of 1997 and the intersection of race and gender in this space. Erasmus discusses women and power with regard to aspects of their work lives. Van der Walt focuses on equal pay proposals to reposition the gender divide with regard to salaries. The Self Employed Women's Union discuss a labour policy for all. Ngidi reflects on the oppression of women by other women and the reality of this phenomenon. Moolman debates maternity benefits for working women and the impact this has on the family unit. These key *articles* and *reportbacks* link to the themes of identity, the family, representation, patriarchy and class.

The general section reflects issues of masculinity and schooling. Thompson's *reportback* supports the notions of a gendered masculinity that is socially

²⁸ Short time refers to a reduced shift time due to low profit margins.

²⁹ See previous note.

constructed. The issue of masculinity, with discussions of women's oppression and the role(s) of men in this oppression, has been a core theme comma to some extent in all journals

1998

Issue 36 titled: "Gender and Violence" features a Black and brown cover. With a photograph of various women of different races and cultures in front of a wall with the words "no to violence" spray-painted on it. Along the left side of the picture are graffiti style by-lines reading "TRC: Dealing with the Aftermath", "Sex workers talk back", "The fight for a conviction", and Directory.' There is a change in style of the contents page of the Journal, with only themed information being published meaning that the 'general' section has been eliminated. Gender and violence has been covered before by *Agenda* however, this was completed in the pre-1994 editions, during the Apartheid era with a strong focus on the effect that Apartheid had on the violence in South Africa. Issue 36 is set in the post-Apartheid era, approximately three years into democracy. Goldblatt and Meintjies explore the role of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in assisting with the aftermath of sexual violence. Kumalo describes sexual harassment as a key failure of the Employment Equity Bill. Shifman, Madla-Routledge and Smith discuss the need for women to caucus in parliament for action to end violence in South Africa. Pauw and Brener build on this by discussing the dangers of working on South African streets. Cock looks at the feminist challenges to militarism. Ramagoshi lobbies for a national network to bridge the gap of violence against women. Vetten and Ewing look at rape and abuse. Stevens urges for sexual rights to be placed on the agenda. Wint reflects on the struggles of women in the Caribbean. Breslin focuses on a programme for 'batterers'. An interview with sex workers reveals this group to be marginalised and abused. Kwesi and Webster look at violence against lesbians. These *briefings*, *articles* and *reportbacks* reveal a strong link to the themes of identity, class, sexuality and race and their relationship to violence.

Issue 37: "The new men", looked at the changing South African masculinities. Oyegun reflects on working masculinities back into gender. Daphne builds on this *article* with her *reportback* on the new masculine identity. Nkosi speaks of young men taking a stand and identifies men as agents of change. Masuku discusses the gendered response to teenage pregnancies and the marginalisation of girls without reflecting the same treatment for the boys who were involved. Shefer and Ruiters debate the construction of masculinity in a heterosexual society. Parenzee reports on a men and women project that confronts abuse, revealing men again as agents of change. Epstein reflects on the role of race and masculinity when looking specifically at White men. Ratele describes and debates "The end of the Black man". Reddy discusses the issue of negotiating gay masculinities in a heterosexual society. Appolis reflects on workers as fathers and de Villiers looks at the parental status of unmarried fathers. These pieces speak to *Agenda's* core themes of masculinity, power and the family. Issue 37 re-introduces the 'general' section and reports on the first African womanist workshop. This inclusion is of major significance as it is the first time since the post-1994 editions that the idea of womanism is being revisited.

Issue 38: "Techno-innovation", shows a Black cover with an abstract drawing of a woman using a computer. The subtitles read "Hands on the internet", "Capturing the airwaves", "Making technology accessible"; and "Building houses and people." Nkomo begins the Journal by questioning women's access to science and technology. Martineau builds on this *briefing* by trying to locate the women in the technological landscape. Ochieng, Radloff and Smith discuss women's access to electronic information and the World Wide Web. Sibanda builds on this with the discussion of telecentres.³⁰ Marcelle reflects on policies for gender empowerment. Mthsali looks at using technology to build women's economic base. Ismail looks at the role of women in the building of houses. These key pieces speak to themes of representation, power and identity.

³⁰ Telephone centres provide the public with assistance regarding the use of technology. The case study is based on Women's Net, a non-government organisation committed to breaching the gap in technology that women face.

The general section includes a discussion by Badat on pornography. Marks reflects on organisational change in the face of the changing roles of men and women. Strauss reflects on motherhood in her poem “Mother and daughter crossing the yard.”

Issue 39: “AIDS Counting the Cost”, is characterised by several AIDS ribbons in red and pink scattered on a Black background. Tallis reflects on AIDS as a crisis for women. Abool-Karim advocates for a gendered prognosis and prevention plan for women. Mthembu reflects on the rights of HIV positive women. Pendry explores the link between gender violence and HIV and AIDS. Sewpaul and Mahlalela relate the plight of HIV-positive mothers and babies and describe their fears around disclosure.³¹ Campbell, Mzaidume and Williams look at the negotiation of power with regard to condom usage and the effect of this relationship on HIV and AIDS. Barret discusses AIDS vaccine testing and the ethics around the practice of testing. Seldel unpacks the relationship of breastfeeding on HIV and AIDS. These *articles* and *briefings* reflect key themes of power and the body in *Agenda*. The body is discussed as a political space and how the politics thereof have an impact on the transmission of HIV and AIDS.

The *Agenda* collective discuss HIV and AIDS with the KwaZulu-Natal Youth Council to gain an understanding of the youth’s views on this health crisis. Adams and Marshall explore the relationship of poverty to HIV and AIDS. Makhaye looks at soccer as a means of educating men on the pandemic. Benjamin and Einloth explore the issue of HIV and AIDS in unions. The latter pieces reflect the impact of HIV and AIDS on the South African social, political and economic context. The themes of the family and patriarchy are explored in this section.

³¹ Disclosure refers to the disclosure of their HIV status.

1999

Issue 40: "Citizenship" reflects a cartoon picture set against a White and red background of Black women overlooking the union buildings holding up voting cards. The subheadings read, "Women in the new democracy"; "Elections checklist"; and "Liberation from minority status". Hassim explores women's citizenship in the new democracy and the key relationship of power to women's political participation. Van Donk and Maceba build on this topic by discussing the need for women in parliament and women in civil society to work together to make sure that women gain better representation. Watson debates the role of gender in policy-making. Lewis discusses the role of gender myths in citizenship. Prinsloo discusses the manner in which citizenship is represented by the media. Fick advocates for a gender sensitive 'check list' for free and fair elections. Roopnarain looks at the role of the Kenyan Green Belt³² in furthering women's citizenship. These pieces reflect themes of power, rights, identity, class and patriarchy.

Samuel discusses the private space of the family and unpacks customary marriages and the rights of Black women whose marriages are not recognised by law. Gouws unpacks the politics of women's citizenships and the barriers that face women. Liebenberg reflects on the need for socio-economic rights as a pre-requisite for women to gain complete citizenship in a democracy. The latter pieces speak to themes of race, class, rights and identity.

The general section returns in Issue 40 with discussions on occupational mobility of female union officials. Lazarus and Taylor explore women's roles in the peace building process. Maharaj alludes to Issue 39 with a follow-up *report* on the mounting cost of AIDS to women. *Agenda* reflects on interpretations of the law as a barrier to women's citizenship. Everatt and Budlender return to the themes of health and body, and discuss the issue of abortion. The general section is littered with themes of power, the body as political, and patriarchy in governance.

³² The Green Belt is an environmental organisation.

Issue 41: "Education", features a blue cover with dark blue pencil-like drawings of women graduates in profile. The subtitle reads, "The three R's: Redeployment, Reskilling and Retrenchment". Samson looks at training for transformation. Pandey explores the issue of lifelong learning and the barriers against women. Chisholm and Napo explore the bureaucracy of the South African state and the symbolism attached to accessing education. Edigheji focuses on the identity of the teacher being reflected as a low paid migrant worker. Mthethwa-Sommers reflects on the sexism exercised at schools in the reinforcement of gender stereotypes. Sutherland looks at learner assessments and the oppressive practices of this process. Maharaj follows up on Issue 39 with regard to provincial gender desks and the impact of these desks in mainstreaming gender. Mukasa reflects on sexual harassment in schools. Walker reflects on the gendered treatment women receive at South African universities. Narismulu challenges the construction of gender and HIV/AIDS in classrooms. Primo explores the need to develop women's research capacity and networks in transforming education. Moletsane provides an international perspective on the gendered factors reflected in school drop-out rates in Ghana. The themed section shows inextricable links to previous Issues of *Agenda*. Themes of identity, the body, rights, economics and race feature strongly in Issue 41.

The general section of Issue 41 links to themes of health and the body with an emphasis on medical issues and virginity testing. The general section also provides an audit of legislative compliance to gender and reveals a distinct discrimination on the basis of sex and gender.

Issue 42: "Land and Housing: women speak out" reflects a photograph of women farm workers dressed in overalls and boots. The women are carrying hoes and are pictured in a field. Mjoli-Mncube frames the need for women to see tangible gains in the areas of land and housing. Ngubane debates the issue of who has the right to land. Hargreaves builds on Ngubane's discussion by debating the

issue of land reform and the need to place gender on the agenda. Govender-Van Wyk supports this with a discussion on gender policy in land reform. Cross explores the crisis of rural women. Fast discusses the issue of gender in share-equity schemes and the validity of these schemes. Sunde and Gernholtz discuss women farm workers' rights. Mokone looks at subsidies available to women. Artz explores the manner in which gender violence undermines development. Lund explains the need to understand households as a key factor in the land reform process. Mjoli explores the need for women's participation in water resource processes. Mapetha brings in a global perspective by critiquing land and housing in Lesotho. Whitcutt explains the need for women's labour quotas and Maharaj and Edigheji explore women in construction. Kallman builds on this discussion by discussing the division of labour in housing construction. The themed section thus explores themes of race, class, identity, participation, representation and patriarchy.

The general section explores the issue of race, class and sex in relation to the discrimination of sex work. Parnell sums up Issue 41 with a review on the gendered aspects of everyday life.

2000

Issue 43: "Women and the Aftermath" reflects a yellow cover with a painted figure of a Black woman carrying her belongings on her head and in her hands across a lonely dirt road. Her expression is one of sadness and the lines on her face indicate that she is old. Ducados reflects on women's survival of the 30-year war in Angola. Farr explores the need to analyse whether women from war-torn countries are at peace. Pillay advocates for coalition-building in Africa. Curnow explores the role of the South African military as a determining factor in the identities of women in the military. Sideris reflects on the personal and social effects of sexual violence during and after war. Muthien explores security paradigms through a gendered lens. Idriss discusses genocide in Burundi. The

themed section is thus concerned with violence as it is related to the aftermath of war.

The general section is concerned with an update on the Beijing developments and South Africa's preparations. Skinner looks at the effect of feminism on governance in Africa. Dlamini builds on Issue 42 in her discussion of land and housing. Mhlope reflects on the positive aspects of life for African women in her poem, "A brighter dawn for African women". Moodley builds on the themed section and analyses the role(s) of women in war time and the tendency for women to step out of gender assigned roles. The themes that emerge from this section concern, governance, politics and gendered roles.

Issue 44: "AIDS: global concerns for women" features a photograph of a Black woman with a drum. The Journal writes an open letter to Thabo Mbeki concerning the theme. Bujra's *article* focuses on men as agents of change in HIV/AIDS activism. O'Sullivan's *perspective* supports this notion with a focus on uniting across global boundaries. Gottemoeller builds on the need for microbicides to be developed to implement female-controlled methods of prevention. Hunter and Bianco develop this further by focusing on lobbying for global women. Maharaj purports that male involvement must be promoted in reproductive health. Meerkotter et al. reflects on campaigning for access to treatment. Tallis speaks of a gendered response to HIV/AIDS, challenging gender inequality.

The 'General' section is concerned with African renaissance motivated by Msimang and the Agenda Collective. Wylie explores the judiciary's failure towards working mothers. The Agenda Collective - maintains the *Status of Women* column, keeping the dialogue open on the changing status of women in the new South African democracy. Slachmuislder and Richards write on representations in advertising and the body.

Issue 45: "Local Government – bringing democracy home", links to the Local Government Journal from the early nineties. The cover is characterised by a photograph of a mural, featuring a Black woman painted much larger in the sky with a symbolic goddess status. She is painted looking over the city depicted by men, women and children who are seemingly happy and enjoying their city life. The people are depicted as vendors, musicians, children playing, and people on holiday at the sea side. Van Donk discusses local government as a site of struggle for gender equity. The Gender Advocacy Programme,³³ provides a *reportback* on the gender politics at local government level. Motala explores the need for the representation of rural women in local government. Fick emphasises the importance of equality in local governance. Telela explores tools for women to advance their own power. Naidoo explores the integrated development plan³⁴ and the need for women to mobilise around service delivery. Pandy and Paulus explore the need for basic services for all. Vetton and Dladla discuss the fear that women face in the Johannesburg inner city and the implications of this phenomenon for local government. The themed section is thus concerned with themes of representation, class, race and identity.

The general section of the Journal reflects on bride abduction as an occurrence that needs to be addressed. Scott explains feminism's relationship to firearms. Boezak provides an update on South Africa's compliance to the Beijing Declaration. Reddy and Wylie review the South African Women's Art Festival and the role of art in shaping women's identity. The themes that emerge from this section concern identity and governance.

Issue 46: "The politics of writing" is characterised by a Black and White picture of a stone tablet with hieroglyphics. Issue 46 takes on a new look by providing a 'Featuring' and; *Status of Women* column. This reflects the developing nature of

³³ The Gender Advocacy Programme is a non-governmental organisation that advocates for the mainstreaming of Gender in South Africa.

³⁴ The integrated development plan is a plan that looks at connecting development to different service sectors of an area.

the Journal's identity. Mama's *article* debates the question of "Why must we write". Heugh explores the need to identify multilingualism as a barrier to women's spaces. Smith's, *Focus* debates the need for young women to have mentors, not role models. Fester explores women writing for their rights with an emphasis on the role of writing in giving privileged women a voice. Madlala explores the politics of printing women's writing. Prinsloo reports on discussions with women writing for publication. Themes of representation, identity and patriarchy emerge from this section.

The Features column explores girls writing about violence and the need to validate the experiences of young women. Abrahams builds on the theme of violence by reflecting on rape survivors and the gender insensitive analysis applied to their experiences. Guzana explores the role of culture on oral literature. Mokgope discusses the mismatch between land policy and the improved opportunities for women. This section reflects the themes of violence and culture.

The Status of Women column provides a *reportback* on women councillors and builds on Issue 46. Motau's photographic essay speaks to this by providing a selection of photographs reflecting women in municipal delivery. This section also reviews the roles of men as agents of change. Issue 46, thus sees a combination of the politics of writing as it relates to themes of violence, identity, culture and patriarchy.

2001

Issue 47: "Realising Rights", is characterised by a pink and White cover with a superimposed page of the constitution that deals with gender. A scale is also featured on the cover. The sub titles read, "The equality clause"; "Muslim Personal Law"; "The Sexual Rights Campaign"; and "Decriminalising sex work." The *Features* column has been removed from Issue 47, but the *Status of Women* column remains. Artz explores the effectiveness of the Domestic Violence Act.

Hlatshwayo and Klugman discuss sexual rights and its relationship to HIV/AIDS. Samuel debates the extent to which equality can be seen in the lives of South African women. Distiller advocates the rights of sex workers.

Richardson discusses the exclusionary nature that sport exerts on women. Mcewan frames South Africa as an example of gender and citizenship; as an example that the West can learn from. Mpetsheni reflects on unpaid work and the gendered division of leisure time. Sadie provides an update on post-Beijing initiatives and explores a comparative assessment of South Africa. O'Sullivan looks at the rights of Muslim women in personal law marriages. The themed section thus reflects a strong emphasis on rights, the body, violence, identity and religion.

The *Status of Women Column* explores gender-based tax reform; the need to recognise disabled women in gender debates and Loots reflects on the need for South African women to know their rights. Whitton reviews masculinities in the popular medium of *Men's Health*.³⁵ The *General* section thus builds on the themes of identity, power and adds a new dimension of economics and the gendered construction of men's identities.

Issue 48: "Globalisation: Challenging dominant discourses", is characterised by a cartoon figure of a man playing golf. The golf ball, however, is symbolised by a globe-like Earth with a distinct depiction of Africa on the globe. Issue 48, sees the removal of the *Status of Women*, column and a reversion to themed-only content. Manicom explores the globalising of gender in governance and the manner in which this is translated in local terms. Kuumba discusses reproductive imperialism and the effects on race and culture. Orr debates women's work and the effects of global trends on South Africa. Skinner and Valodia support Orr and look at national and local approaches to economic transformation. Smith reflects

³⁵ *Men's Health* is a South African magazine that is targeted at invoking interest in men to pay attention to their health.

on the retrenchment of women in the Western Cape. *Agenda* speaks to Horn on the interests of the informal sector. Taylor discusses the plight of poor women in a disappearing state. Naidoo provides a global outlook by discussing the experience of Mauritian women. Benjamin reflects on the feminisation of poverty and builds on Taylor's discussion. The themes that emerge from Issue 48 reflect representation, workers rights, masculinity and patriarchy.

Issue 49: "Culture", reflects a purple cover with abstract 'broken' faces displayed in windows. The Issue is subtitled, "Transgressing Boundaries". Loots is the guest editor for Issue 49. She frames the notions of re-situating culture in the body politic. Mackenny reviews post-Apartheid performance art as a site for gender resistance. Magwaza reflects on oral literature and the voice of Zulu women. Govender reflects on the South African Indian woman's identity and the challenges and triumph of being a playwright. Impey reflects on women in Kwaito³⁶ whilst Olsen looks at the construction of masculinity in Maskanda.³⁷ Pillay debates the issue of representation with regard to the telling of Black women's stories. Emmett explores the role of women in the renewed vision for humanity and Burnett provides an analysis of the interrelationships between power and sport. Issue 49, is concerned with the relationships of rights, the body and popular mediums in relation the construction of culture.

Issue 50 marks the first themed series in *Agenda's* history and is aptly themed African Feminisms, One. Haysom (2001:2) motivates this Journal to be:

African women have already and continue to make a very significant contribution to the theory and understanding of women's social, economic and political oppression. This Issue invites inquiry into an exploration of the diverse meanings African Feminism holds. It aims to engage not just those who are self-defined as African but also those who are interested in African women and men's gender activism.

³⁶ Kwaito is defined as a fusion between African and pop music

³⁷ Maskanda is defined as a fusion between traditional and pop music

The cover features a White background with a decorated piece of material neatly boxed in Black. Gqola discusses Black women feminists and the relationship to post-colonialism in South Africa. Latha reflects on feminism in an African context and the associated meaning of this reality. Badran explores the location of feminism in Muslim Mashriq. Salo speaks to Amina Mama about African Feminism. Koyana explores the notion of womanism and nation-building. Abrahams looks at the implementation of womanist principles in the 'new' South Africa. Ratele reflects on the anxieties around the notion of belonging. Reddy discusses homophobia and the equality of gay and lesbians in Africa. Bennet unpacks the notions of post-colonial abuse and conflict. Tamale provides the global perspective by discussing the use of international treaties in East Africa. Essof explores African Feminisms, histories and prospects. Issue 50, clearly places an emphasis on trying to locate African Feminism in South Africa and reflects themes of identity, patriarchy, power and sexuality. *Agenda* tries to locate the Journal's identity within in the new political context and interrogates African Feminism. This intersection ultimately speaks to the themes of representation and race. As explained by Essof (2001:127) in her analysis of a workshop held by the African Gender Institute:

Tensions and contradictions that arise in feminist organising require that we are self-reflective and honest about recognising difference and our social location.

The inclusion of social location is significant as it indicates that the Journal is questioning the kinds of feminism(s) its pages subscribe to and in identifying difference is able to establish that a hybrid exists however, this is embraced and interrogated by Clark (2006) later in this chapter.

2002

Issue 51: "Food: needs, wants and desires" reflects a White cover with a two dimensional drawing of a table laden with food in the middle of a farm. The *Status of Women* column has been reintroduced in this issue but has been

reduced to an insert on topical issues affecting South Africa women. This Issue also reflects a new editorship, Janine Moolman. Baderoon explores the gendered roles associated with food in the context of a Muslim family. Bob discusses rural women in Ekurhuleni and their access to food. Coutsoodis explores women's body as a source of nourishment to their children and reflects on the changes with the regard to breastfeeding when HIV positive. Kent discusses a gendered perspective on nutrition. Hendricks debates the role of women with regard to food in the family structure and the vulnerability of women to food in security. Subramoney builds on Hendricks' piece by exploring the dilemma of food security from a youth's perspective. These inclusions reflect themes of culture, identity, gender roles, religion and the body.

Wylie explores food in consumer culture. Microbicides are discussed by the *Agenda* collective and speaks of alternate forms of prevention thus mitigating power relations in sexual relationships. Chobokoane and Budlender discuss the issue of childcare in South Africa and reveal the gendered nature of childcare. Perumal and Pillay explore the ability of researchers to mitigate their own race in the researching of those from other racial groups. Dixon debates the intersection of race and culture in the development of 'sisterhood'. Molefe explores gender violence and the implications of this in South Africa. Richards reviews the reclaiming of woman's spaces. These pieces speak to key themes of race, violence, identity, culture, power and the body.

Issue 52: "Sustainable development", and features a yellow cover and image of a sunflower. Annecke reflects on the World Summit for Sustainable Development and disparity between rich and poor people; more specifically the gendered implications of this existing disparity. Khosla explores women's activism in environmental governance. Hemson discusses women's participation in water committees. Kasim and Hendricks debate the role of micro-enterprises and the effects on women. Pole and Reda debate the role of the genetic modification of

seeds and the impact on women. Green discusses solar cookers³⁸ as a potential medium for altering gender stereotypes. Batshari looks at the role of the community in sustainable development. Issue 52 also includes a declaration by the South African National Women's Coalition to adhere to the priorities of the World Summit on Sustainable Development. The *Status of Women* column concerns itself with the informal economy and women's status in this sector. Tallis builds on Issue 51 by reflecting on the viability of Microbicides. The Issue also includes a farewell speech by Pregs Govender, the Chairperson of the Joint Committee on the Improvement of Life and the Status of Women. Issue 52 thus links to themes of health, gender roles, participation, representation, leadership and the body.

Issue 53: "Education, Youth and HIV/AIDS", reflects a green cover with various two dimensional cartoon like faces of children in Black ink. The reader also sees newspapers in the background and an AIDS ribbon has been superimposed against the green and Black background. Burns reflects on the location of HIV/AIDS in schools and the need for gender equality in schools. Moletsane, Morrell, Abdool-Karim, Epstein and Unterhalter discuss the role of the school in integrating gender equality and HIV risk reduction interventions. Selikow, Zului and Cedras look at urban youth culture and its relationship to HIV/AIDS. Harrison's *article* continues this debate by reflecting on the social dynamics of adolescent at risk of contracting HIV. Pattman reflects on masculinities at the University of Botswana and the construction of gendered identities. Thorpe builds on Pattman by discussing masculinity as a tool to prevent HIV transmission. Vithal reflects on gendered education around mathematics in schools. Wellbourn discusses the need to place gender in the forefront of combating HIV. Taylor, Dlamini, Kagoro, Jinabhai, Sathipersad and De Vries analyse the self-reported risk behaviour amongst high school learners in KwaZulu-Natal. Khoza debates schools as sites of violence. Reddy and Louw explore the intersection of race, gender and sexuality and the perceptions and interventions around HIV. *Agenda*

³⁸ A type of oven.

reviews the Department of Education's sexuality and HIV/AIDS programme. Gerntholz and Richter discuss young women's access to reproductive health care services in the context of HIV. Walsh, Mitchell and Smith reflect on the participation of youth in HIV prevention strategies. These pieces are mainly concerned with issues of the body, representation, masculinity, sexuality and health. Issue 53 reveals a stark focus on formal and informal education around HIV/AIDS and the contributing factors that make HIV/AIDS a gendered crisis.

Issue 54: "African Feminisms – Two", is characterised by a White cover featuring a piece of cloth framed in Black against a White background. This cover continues the themed look of the African Feminism series that began in Issue 50. Ssewakiryanga challenges transformational feminisms in Kapala, Uganda. Family law in Uganda is discussed by Asimmwe-Mwesige. Arndt scrutinises African literatures and debates the role of African Feminism in literature. Andrade discusses the 'public sphere', in Africa and the role of class in representation. El Naga looks at the role of language in articulating the needs of women. Bohler-Muller reflects on the gendered ethics of care in post-colonial Africa. Kolowale explores the notions of identity in Africa. Habasonda critiques gender activism in Africa by identifying the pitfalls. Smit looks at the use of feminism in the formulation of identities. Dryden, Erlank, Haffejee, Hardy, Nhlapo, Tokin and Tshamano provide 'real' women's voices in exploring the many voices of feminism. This *perspective* is built upon by Tegomoh who reflects on 'experiencing' African Feminism. Issue 54 thus links to the themes of representation, identity, class and race.

2003

Issue 55: "Women the invisible refugees", is characterised by a brown and White cover. The cover features the photograph of a barbed wire fence in a field and it can be clearly seen that people have dug beneath the fence and come across to the other side. The picture describes people moving through a border crossing. Palmary explores nationalism and asylum and the implications for women.

Magwaza and Khumalo reflect on the struggles of Mozambiquian women in a Stanger³⁹ refugee village. Wambugu discusses the search for sanctuary by female refugees in South Africa. Warner and Finchelescu report on xenophobia and race. Lay and Garcia profile the psychological and moral support work with refugee women. Valji, de la Hunt and Moffett explore gender discrimination in refugee policies and practices. Olaniyi focus on the trafficking of women in Nigeria. Mulugeta looks at the slow progress of reproductive health rights. Magardie reflects on the legal responses to requests for asylum based on claims of persecution because of sexual orientation. Hawthorne discusses farming and feminism in Australia. Young-Jahangeer discusses the impact of resisting patriarchy in Westville Prison⁴⁰ by female inmates. Issue 55 links to core themes of culture, race, patriarchy, representation and the body.

Issue 56: "Gendering Childhood", is characterised by a purple cover with the photograph of a child's face on the cover, the sex of the child is unknown. The cover is also characterised by a child like crayon drawing of a seemingly happy family enjoying a day in the sunshine. Garrow and Kirk discuss the inclusion of girls in education policies. Leclerc-Madlala debates the practise of virginity testing in the era of AIDS. Prinsloo looks at the gendered depictions of childhood in popular magazines. Kehler provides a gendered analysis of the Draft Children's Bill. Eging critiques the relationships of rape, gender and the justice system. Motala and Smith explore the vulnerability of street children. Thomson explores the relationship of race and gender to the notions of motherhood and adoption. Goldblatt addressed the myths and stereotypes regarding teenage pregnancy and the abuse of the child support grant. Limitations of the child support grant are discussed by Manicom and Pillay. Bower explores the relationship between child abuse and poverty. Hermanus and Biersteker reflect on the effects of gender bias on pre-school children. Thumboo analyses sex work in communities. Issue 56 links to core themes of identity, race, culture and age.

³⁹ Suburb on the North Coast of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

⁴⁰ Westville Prison is in KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.

Issue 57: "Urban Culture", reflects a grey cover featuring photographs of singers, dancers, murals and a drum. The title is printed in graffiti style. Clark provides insight into the representations and experiences of urban space and/or culture. Motsemme reflects on the politics of dress codes amongst Black women. Haupt discusses the effect of hip-hop on urban culture. Callaghan reflects on the identity in townships in relation to professional training. Dlamini reflects on the imperialist nature of publishing and the role of language in creating barriers for women who are non-English speakers. Makhanya and Dlamini reflect on cultural production through visual art. Veleko's photo essay reflects the realities of people and communities in South Africa. Loots looks at the effects of globalisation on post-Apartheid South Africa. Julien explores the Rastafarian women's movement. Thumboo reports on a conference by the Office on the Status of Women and the conversations that emerged around the changes in post-Apartheid South Africa. Issue 57 links to themes of race, identity, class, culture and religion.

Issue 58: "African Feminism – Three", continues the aesthetic look of the previous journals in this series. A decorated piece of cloth is framed in a box against a White background. Kumba explores the notion of African Feminism in exile. Abrahams examines the interrelationships between colonialism, dysfunction and disjuncture. Guy-Sheftall explores the complexity of African feminist politics. Roth reflects on the second wave of Black feminism. Philips explores the costs of belonging at a global Black feminist seminar in Georgia, USA. Moodley critiques the construction of Indian women's identities through Indian cinema. Wright reflects on the emancipation of Jamaican women. Brooks reflects on the similarities between the uprisings in Montgomery to the uprisings in Johannesburg in the 1950s. Brooks taps into a critical exposure of women undermining the gendered position of men as well as the state. Mangena looks at African Feminism vs. African Diaspora. Elabor-Idemudia debate the migration and trafficking of African women. Issue 58, is closely linked to the themes of identity, race, class, representation and culture.

2004

Issue 59: "Women in War", is characterised by a brown cover featuring a Black woman with a baby on her hip whilst singing with her eyes closed. The woman is at a prayer gathering. Issue 59 sees the first publication of *articles* from the Agenda Writing Programme. A section titled "Writing Programme" has been included for this purpose. Sajjad explores guerrilla warfare and women's experiences on the frontline. Win reflects on violence against women in the Zimbabwean conflict. Sesay explores the human rights abuses against Sierra Leonean women. Chetty reflects on images of women in war and the gendered implications thereof. Hudson explores the globalisation of violence whilst Moothoo-Padayachie reports on women at the peace table. Maston and Dyke look at the women in peacemaking initiatives. Taylor debates the relationships between state security, human security and gender justice. Benjamin discusses the split in the women's movement along religious lines. Rankhotha explores traditional values in the entrenchment of male supremacy. Segwai reflects on the symbolism associated with peace. Muthien reports on the intersections between gender-based violence and HIV/AIDS. The themed section reflects links to power, identity, family and religion.

The Writing Programme section includes Sheldon's reflection on South African women in local government politics. Louw discusses the effects of technology on women. Tembe reflects on urban influences on identity. Cassimjee discusses the gendered implications of a mother's death. Levendal explores the construction of her own identity. These pieces are mentored by key academics working the sector of gender, sociology and anthropology. The Writing Programme section reflects clear links to themes of race, identity, politics and class.

Issue 61: "Religion and Spirituality", builds on a previous edition of *Agenda* launched in 1995. The cover reflects a Black female on a cross with a crown of thorns making a direct reference to Christianity. The Writing Programme does not

feature in this edition. Haddad reflects on the Manyano movement and the struggle for survival in South Africa. Gasas looks at dance as a form of spiritual expression. Phiri discusses African women's theologies in the new millennium. Garman reviews Motsei's, "Hearing visions, seeing voices". Rakoczy debates the relationship between religion and gendered violence. West, Xondi-Mabizela, Malueke, Khumalo, Matsepe and Naidoo reflect on the Bible as a site for religious lessons on rape and gender violence. Mayson explores a new reformation regarding religion, the state and gender. Moothoo-Padayachie interviews various spiritual and religious leaders on religious understandings of gender. Ndlazi debates the role of Christian men in ensuring gender equality. Holness reflects on motherhood and spirituality. Moyo discusses women in Africa and gender construction within the African religio-cultural experiences. Mokwena builds on Moyo's *briefing* by interrogating traditional African spirituality. Wallace looks at religion in parliament. Issue 61 is linked to themes of representation, leadership, culture, violence and identity.

Issue 62 sees the reintroduction of a second volume of African Feminisms: African Feminisms, Vol 2,1, is titled, "Sexuality in Africa". The cover is characterised by a women's belly, she is wearing a beaded skirt, only the top of the skirt is visible. A navel ring adorns her stomach. The Writing Programme does not feature in this edition of *Agenda*. Vasu Reddy is the guest editor for this edition and frames the theme of African Feminism within trends, transgressions and tirades around sexuality in Africa. Parikh discusses condom usage in Uganda. Altman explores sexuality and globalisation and the effects on gender and identity. Thomas critiques the LoveLife⁴¹ campaign. Morrell and Richter reflect on the fatherhood project and confront issues of masculinity and sexuality. Vetten and Motelow discuss the treatment of rape survivors. Posel reflects on the barriers people face when talking about sex. A photo-essay reflects various depictions of sexuality and the associated meanings of andocentric sexuality, homosexuality and heterosexuality. Isaak and Judge debate the validity and

⁴¹ The Lovelife campaign is an HIV/AIDS campaign

need for gay marriages to be legalised. Erlank explores sex education in South Africa. Koen reflects on trafficking. Osha unravels the silences of Black sexuality. Moothoo-Padayachie explores alternate mediums for sexual expression. Mbali discusses sexuality in contemporary AIDS activism. Reddy interviews Judith Butler on identities. Issue 62 concerns itself with themes of the body, sexuality, rights, masculinity and identity.

2005

Issue 63 sees the continuation of the African Feminisms series with volume 2 Issue 2: "Sexuality and Body Image". The Writing Programme does not feature in this edition of *Agenda*. Lewis explores Black women, sexuality and the implications for sexual expression of this group. Sesay reflects on menstruation as a tool for women defining themselves. Burdette explores race in the context of feminist spaces for expressions. Ratele debates the definitions of "proper sex, bodies, culture and objectification". Distiller reflects on lesbian desire and the politics associated with lesbian sexuality. Yates explores the politics of partying, pleasure and politics. Manyaki and Shefer explore masculinity in the military and the impact of this relationship on sexuality. Dankwa explores the construction of gendered identities for females through a study on Akuapem. Issue 63 reflects strong links to themes of the body, identity, sexuality and masculinity.

Issue 64: "Beyond Beijing a decade of women's rights – where to now?", is characterised by a blue cover with a picture of the globe and various women's faces appear in 'windows' on the globe. The Writing Programme returns in Issue 64. Moolman reviews South Africa's response to the Beijing platform for action. Cavanagh reflects on the 'new solutions' to HIV/AIDS. Casle and Posel discuss women and the economy in relation to how far South African women have come. Primo debates the issue of digital solidarity. Kee probes the silence about women in the media at the Beijing + 10 conferences. Loots and Witt explore women and environment and the gendered relationship to earth democracy. Wilson places a perspective on young African women's mobilisation Julien and Majake reflect on

the National Gender Opinion Survey conducted by the Commission on Gender Equality. Moletsane provides a review of the gender struggles that South African women have faced and plots a way forward as to what the future gender pressures may exist. Grant reflects on women's rights in the workplace. Van der Westhuizen discusses women's advancement in Africa and the impact of tradition. Rotmann builds on previous editions of *Agenda* with a *perspective* on trafficking legislation in South Africa. The themed section of Issue 64 is inextricably linked to the themes of identity, culture, race, technology, class and tradition.

The Writing Programme section concerns itself with providing prospective writers with tips for writing by the programme coordinator, Christine Davis. Haffejee explores capacity building to strengthen the gender-based violence sector. Zakwe discusses masculinity and culture in relation to Zulu men. Rammutla questions identity and sisterhood. Balan explores identity and the construction thereof. This section concerns itself with themes of identity, masculinity, culture and race.

Issue 65: "Women and Leadership", is characterised by a orange cover and features the photograph of Nobel Peace Prize winner, Wangari Maathai.⁴² De La Rey explores gender, women and leadership. Maathai reflects on embracing democratic governance, human rights and the environment. Sadie discusses women in political decision-making in SADC. Leclerc-Madlala debates the role of women caregivers and leaders in the second phase of HIV/AIDS. Mthethwa-Sommers focuses on women leaders' contributions to the fight against HIV/AIDS. Sader, Odendaal and Searle reflect on women in higher education and debate the manner in which women in leadership are viewed. Kelleher builds on this with his *briefing* on equality in institutions and leadership. Malinga discusses *perspectives* on women in leadership. Ojang and Moodley explore leadership issues affecting the productivity of women entrepreneurs in KwaZulu-Natal.

⁴² Maathai won the Nobel Prize for her role in environmental activism.

Suraj-Narayan explores women in management and occupational stresses. The themed section thus draws links to themes of identity, representation, the environment, leadership and health.

The Writing Programme section features Mkhize's reflection on the meaning of transformation to a young Black woman. Ruiters looks at the issue of power in institutions and broader social circles. Du Plooy reflects on the use of the cyborg to further African Feminism. Manzi reflects on the construction of her own identity. Trotter reflects on the "Reclaiming Spaces" campaign being run by *Agenda*. This section draws links to the themes of identity, race, age, leadership and power.

Issue 66: "Domestic Violence", builds on an earlier Issue of *Agenda* that looks at this theme. The cover is characterised by a hand removing flower petals from a red daisy. The petals are strewn on a cloth. The subtitle reads "he loves me, he loves me not". Basodien and Hochfield explore the contextualising of domestic violence in South Africa. Nadar looks at religion, culture and gender in the propagation of gender violence. Smythe and Artz debate the structural issues affecting the implementation of the Domestic Violence Act in South Africa. Naidu and Mkhize reflect on gender violence in the gay and lesbian community. Haffejee, Vetten and Greyling analyse violence in prisons against young girls and women. Hargovan explores restorative justice as a framework for South Africa. Nisha looks at incest as a form of gendered violence in Indian families. Sathipersad analyse male youth identities in rural KwaZulu-Natal in the facilitation of gendered violence. Harries and Bird reflect on the 16 Days of Activism Campaign run annually in South Africa to combat violence against women. The themed section of the Journal reflects themes of the body, the family, identity, patriarchy, religion, culture and violence.

The Writing Programme section reflects on domestic violence and the story of power and identity. These stories are told by Manyapeló, Edwards, Darkin and

Moodley. Issue 66 sees the first alignment of the Journal's theme with the *articles* published in the Writing Programme section.

2006

Issue 67, is the third in the African Feminisms volume 2 series. It is titled "Homosexuality". The cover features an abstract painting against a grey background. Issue 67 is guest edited by Vasu Reddy and is dedicated to Ronald Louw,⁴³ a Durban activist. Nkabinde and Morgan debate same-sex relationships in Africa and reflect on female sangomas as case studies. Manion and Morgan build on this discussion with their analysis of same-sexuality in the African context. Dlamini further unpacks this discussion with a debate on homosexuality in the African context. Wells and Polders explore hate crimes committed against homosexuals in South Africa. Sanger and Clowes look at the marginalisation of lesbians in the Western Cape.⁴⁴ Crous analyses homosexuality in the Afrikaans community. Kowen and Davis reflect on the lives of lesbian youth. Rudwick, Nkomo and Shange look at linguistics as a key role player in homosexual identities in townships. Bennett looks at the inclusion of sexuality into curriculums. Reddy explores the intersection between race, culture and identity in his interview with Baduza. Fester reflects on the rights of homosexuals in South Africa. Reddy builds on this discussion with a legal case history on the decriminalisation of same sex conduct in the lead up to gay marriages in South Africa. Potgieter challenges the "compulsory femininity" prescribed to women in the construction of gendered identities. Reid reflects on the lives of homosexuals in small towns. Issue 67 is linked to themes of the body, violence, identity, sexuality, culture and tradition.

Issue 68: "Culture" reflects Indian identity. The cover reflects a hand painted with henna against a brown background. A women's shadow is pictured in profile with the stance of an Indian female traditional dancer. Issue 68 is guest edited by Thenjiwe Magwaza. Clark reflects on gender, culture and the transition in South

⁴³ Ronald Louw was an academic activist for gay and lesbian rights.

⁴⁴ The Western Cape is a province in South Africa.

Africa. Angay looks at dance through a culture and gender lens. Scorgie reflects on bodily rights with her discussion on the Children's Bill. Esterhuizen reflects on gendered roles and the construction thereof for women. Ssali reflects on privatised healthcare in Uganda and the interrelationships with gender and culture, Gordon-Chipembere analyses Sarah Baartman's life by critiquing African American writers. Shope looks at the role of labola in post-Apartheid South Africa. Mugambe reflects on HIV/AIDS and culture in East Africa. Smuts discusses the changing roles of women and the destabilising of masculinity. Diko analyses the production of culture in rural schools. Compion and Cook discuss the strategies for the survival of young women in Phokeng.⁴⁵ Palitza discusses the abuse of culture to avoid addressing women's rights. Kuumba discusses African women and the resistance to culture. Kifetew reflects on gender and cross cultural dynamics in Ethiopia. The themed section thus reflects identity, culture, race, tradition, patriarchy, rights, children, the family and the body. Issue 68 provides a key analysis in the recognition of difference in ethnicity as a factor in issues of representation. As explained by Clark (2006:10):

It is important to explore the ways in which notions of 'the past' (and by implication, the present and the future) impact on gendered politics of identity, shaping women's collective and individual experiences of both subordination and activism.

These differences in the experience of South African women are notably celebrated and embraced as integral to the development of South African Feminism(s) with a strong emphasis on the factors of race, class and gender in the formulation of representation.

The Writing Programme section introduces a new style in Issue 68 with a one page contribution by previous writers, Balan, Louw, Hlapa and Magudu reflecting on the fears of writing and the right to claim a space to articulate their voices.

⁴⁵ Area in the North-West province of South Africa.

This section ties into themes of identity, race, culture, masculinity and technology.

Issue 69: "Nairobi +21", is characterised by a photograph of a Black female activist wearing a purple t-shirt reflecting the words – "women demand peace and equality." The woman's hand is raised into the air and her face reflects an expression of concern. The photograph is superimposed against grey and White photographs of other women activists. Issue 69 sees the introduction of a new editor, Kristin Palitza. This Issue looks at the manner in which Africa needs to address gender justice after 21 years of the Nairobi conference that put forward strategies for gender interventions. Ramtohul discusses political power and decision making. Chigudu reflects on strategies used by women's organisations since 1985. Msimang analyses female suicide bombers. Okello-Orlale reflects on the media and the struggle for gender equality. Moorosi looks at gender in education. Peacock. Khumalo and McNab look at men and gender activism in South Africa. Muthuki reflects on challenging patriarchal structures. Ichou debates sex roles and stereotyping. Motalingoane-Khau discusses the role of gender strategies in HIV/AIDS. Sanpath looks at the role of the youth in increasing women's participation. Issue 69 is thus concerned with themes of identity, representation, the body, and power. The Writing Programme section has been omitted from this Issue.

2007

Issue 70: "Trafficking", features a photograph of a Black girl crouched in the corner of a room with her hands on her face. The reader does not see her face but is aware that the girl is sad. There are superimposed newspaper headlines and *articles* on the walls speaking of slavery and people being arrested and forced into human trafficking. Tallis reflects on the relationship between trafficking, HIV and AIDS in East Asia. Kiremire looks at the relationship of gendered poverty and trafficking. Weekes critiques South African anti-trafficking legislation. Lansink looks at international laws against trafficking and feminism.

Boyce analyses the potential gender dimensions of organ trafficking. Brown analyses media as a propagating tool of slavery. Farka looks at commoditisation of children in Albania. Watson and Silkstone discuss trafficking as a form of gender violence. Sanpath explores the 2010 Soccer World cup and the potential for trafficking of women and girls. Salo looks at the role of women's organisations in South Africa with regard to the contestation of democracy. The themed section is linked to identity, the body and representation.

The Writing Programme section reflects on themes of the body and rape by Horner. Frescura discusses gender violence. Moodley analyses inter-country adoptions and child trafficking. These pieces tie in with themes of violence, identity, culture and the body.

Issue 71 looks at women in the information age and is titled "ICTs- Women Take a Byte". The cover is characterised by an older Black women in a traditional blue outfit with a blue and White scarf looking through the lens of a Sony video camera. Her photograph is set against a light blue and White background that reflects digital blocks. Moolman, Primo and Shackleton reflect on women in information and communication technologies. Kiondo reflects on the promotion of gender in ICTs. Zirima builds on this argument with her discussion on engendering ICTs in Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Madanda, Kabonesa and Batebya-Kyomuhendo discuss the challenges of women's empowerment through ICTs in Makerere University. Shresta analyses the identity crisis faced by Nepali women. Yusus-Khalil, Bozalek, Staking, Tuval-Mashiach and Bantebya-Kyomuhendo reflect on the collaborative experience of ICT in a trans-cultural women's health. These key pieces reflect themes of identity, patriarchy and rights. The Writing Programme discusses gender-based violence; the legal implications of family law in South Africa; religion and the effect of culture on the construction of identity.

Issue 72: "Two decades of African Feminist publishing", is characterised by a gold cover with the number 20 outlined in Black. The numbers are 'filled' with the covers of previous Issues of *Agenda*. Madlala-Routledge discusses the need for dialogue and participation of women. Lewis reflects on feminist identity. Zuma looks at the intersection of race and gender. Kameri-Mbote analyses the role of women in environmental control whilst Ward explores the role of organic gardening in the upliftment of poor communities. Bennet and Avis discuss gender-based violence in South Africa. Ratele and Mseleku analyse culture in the creation of gendered identities. Karrison, Maphumulo and Kunene reflect on gendered education. Wambui and Molefe discuss the role of the media in the (de)stabilising of gender. Additional themes of globalisation, reproductive rights and HIV/AIDS, migration, girlhood and citizenship are discussed and debated.

Issue 73 is the last journal of 2007. It is titled, "Biopolitics" and forms the first of a trilogy. The cover is characterised by a young Black youth whose sex is unknown carrying a hoe on his/her shoulder. The photograph reflects the youth looking at the camera. There is a marked change in the manner in which the logo is displayed, it has been severely reduced and boxed into a green coloured box with Black lettering. The first letter is displayed in White. Tandon explores the vulnerability of women to climate change and water security. Khumalo builds on this discussion with her analysis of the Umgeni river. Siqwana reflects on poor women farmers. Croeser analyses genetically engineered crops and the impact on women. Anugworm analyses the displacement of women in the Niger Delta. Reddy looks at the role of poverty in biopolitics. The themes surfacing from Issue 73 are identity, representation and participation.

In surveying the content of Issue 24-73, Chapter Four thus reflects on the post-Apartheid Issues of *Agenda* and reflect a marked difference to the Journals of pre-1994. Post-1994 is characterised not only by a change in Mission Statement but a significant change in the market of the Journal. The Journal progressively covers less and less 'stories' of its former years that were so handsomely

admired. The Journal develops into a space for academic debate and rigour and pitches itself at an audience whose demographics are significantly different to those of the pre-1994 editions. The Journal's journey sees a marked emphasis on trying to place women in leadership positions where decision-making powers can thus be in the hands of women. This is of particular note in the Journals leading up to 2000. Post-2000, the Journals become centred on gender. This may be linked to the development of two additional programmes, mainly the Writing and Radio Programmes that sought to address the gap that the Journal began to create i.e. the gap of unintentionally marginalising less educated women but still wanting these women to be part of the debates and discussions. The shifts, as well as a comparative assessment of the pre-1994 and post-1994 editions will form the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

Comparative Analysis: Toward South African Feminism(s)

This chapter offers an analysis of some of the core issues raised in pre-1994 and post-1994 editions by providing a comparative reading of how issues, themes and problems formulate and sustain an understanding and construction of South African Feminism(s). More specifically, this chapter examines issues such as tradition, working-class women, religion, human rights etc over the years that are underpinned by a developing critical and theoretical discourse described as African Feminisms. This is constructed by *Agenda's* inclusion of contributions from different schools of thought whilst keeping a particular South African outlook embodied by the editorial content and the editorials by the editors. From the synopsis reflected in Chapters Three and Four; *Agenda* locates most debates and discussions as is related to the South African context. The balance of discussions focuses on allowing readers to view the similar struggles of women globally and more specifically, the global south. Editions from the pre-1994 era reflect an emphasis on the "telling of stories". These editions feature many *articles*, *reportbacks* and *briefings* reflecting the (dis)placement in the South African political initiatives. These editions also reflect a strong emphasis on the recognition of social issues affecting women.

The pre-1994 editions of *Agenda* are focused on the position of working-class Black women in terms of the following: the construction of Black women's identities; the bodily rights of Black women; the access of Black women to basic services; the representation of Black women in political arenas; the participation of Black women in the economy. All of these themes are reflected against the background of a common South African sisterhood. Asha Moodley describes this in her interview (27 June 2006, 14:00, Durban) with me:

I think its origins are embedded in the politics of the mid-1980s: primarily male-centric discourses dominated the broader political, social, and economic South African landscape; outside of South Africa other African states closer home, such as Zimbabwe and Mozambique had achieved political liberation and already, women were disillusioned with being restored to the status quo (subordinate position), despite their participation in the liberation struggles.

The liberal feminist school of thought is emphasised predominantly in the pre-1994 editions. Themes of power and politics dominate these Issues as women were trying to locate themselves in the political debates and discussions of the political turbulent 1980s and early 1990s. Liberal feminism (which draws on the idea of political liberalism) is elucidated in works by Bird and Briller (1969), Friedan (1963) and Steinem (1983). These works sees the oppression of women primarily in terms of the inequality between the sexes. Sterba (1999) and Okin (1999) propagate that inequality lies in the gendered construction of marriage. Einstein (1979) discusses the relationship of power to gender. These intellectual debates were taking place at a conversational level in the early editions of *Agenda*. *Agenda* acted as a consciousness-raising tool in the sense that women's struggles with Apartheid were not being adequately heard elsewhere. (Hall and Boston, 1999) Barnes (1989), positions South African Black women as being a leading example to Black Zimbabwean women. Women's participation in the national political struggle is further supported by Fouche (1989) and , Anderson (1989).

Radical feminism has also featured strongly in *Agenda* with many *articles*, *briefings* and *focuses* reflecting the relationship of patriarchy on the South African social system and the body as a political space. The editions have had an emphasis on sexual politics, bodily rights and gendered healthcare are discussed by Collins (1989); Auerbach (1991); Mina (1991); Van Zyl (1991); Strebel (1992); Kapp (1992); Miles (1992); Bengu (1992); Boikanyo (1992); Cooper, Nguni and Harrison (1992); Tallis (1992); Mayosi (1992); Mayne (1993); Cock (1993); Govender, Moodley, Majiet and Motsei (1993); and Philpott (1993).

Marxist feminism has also been located in *Agenda* with a strong emphasis on the rights and roles of working-class women in the South African formal and informal economies. Robertson and Berger (1986), argue that African capitalism confronted a pre-capitalist sexual division of labour in agricultural production. Bonnin (1989); Forrest (1989); Zwart (1992); Barrett, Gordan and Tshatsinde, (1993); Ndziba-Whitehead (1993); Jacques and Beecham (1993); return to the debate of women's economic position in *Agenda*. These experiences are reflected by Marie 1987; and the inclusions of *focuses* on women farm workers and the O.K. Strike of 1987 in *Agenda's* first edition. There is a clear link between women's voice and economic inequality. The discussions elaborate further on participation by reflecting on women's political participation in South Africa, discussed for example by (Hassim and Patel (1988); Coetzer (1988); Collins (1988); Klugman (1990); May and Rankin (1990); and Wittenberg (1990)). Discussions around Black women's work and the shifting gender identity of women in South Africa is debated and discussed by Kotze (1988); Adler (1988); Anderson (1988); Horn (1988); Friedman (1988); and Collins (1988). Socialist feminism is concerned with bodily rights (Friedman, Melterkamp and Posel, 1987) is therefore also discussed in *articles*, *briefings* and *focuses* on the body.

The question of voice comes strongly into play as the 'stories' of South African Black women were captured and printed by White women. The implication of this dynamic is key in the critique of the creation of South African Feminism(s).

Fester (2000) asserts that inequality continues to privilege White women's writing. The overwhelming dearth of White writers in *Agenda* is critiqued by Budlender in her 1995 evaluation of *Agenda*. Budlender (1995:106):

Budlender notes –that an ongoing criticism of *Agenda* and concern of Collective members has been its White, academic image... She gives two explanations for the difficulties *Agenda* experiences in finding Black women writers. Firstly, she

says this difficulty must be understood against the racially skewed education situation in the country. Secondly, she notes The Collective's comments that Black women are generally more busy, more mobile, and have more demands on their time. Also a number of *Agenda's* former contacts are now in Parliament and have even less time to contribute.

Budlender's evaluation speaks to the theme of gatekeeping mentioned earlier. The argument presented does not fully unpack the absence of Black women voices. It is callous to assume that Black women are a homogeneous group and that they do not 'have time' to write as mentioned earlier. Within the realms of consciousness raising (Hall and Boston, 1999) there is a need to focus on the notion of difference in South African women's experiences. The acknowledgement of difference links to the understanding that South African women's experiences are heterogeneous in nature. Women cannot be grouped under a common sisterhood whilst the triple oppression of race, class and gender pervade the lives of Black South African women. The attributing factors as to why Black women do not participate as much in the writing of the Journal copy cannot be simplified to the extent that Budlender is advocating. It is not enough to conclude that Black women are 'busier' or that former implied 'educated' Black writers are not available due to their new commitments to public governance. Fester (2000:43) argues:

There are numerous reasons why very few Black South African women write [or] even think of themselves as being able to write. Apart from our class and race position, our socialisation was patriarchal.

It is interesting to note that Fester (2007) continues the discussion of difference and the recognition thereof three years later. Fester (2007) reflects on the heterogeneous nature of South African women. Fester (2007:188) goes on to discuss:

By now, it is almost trite to say that South African women are divided by race, socio-economic, and educational statuses, geographic location, ethnicity and languages, sexual orientation, age and ability. And each aspect of difference has its own, unique relationship to the distribution of power.

The division referred to by Fester links to the realisation that difference exists and such must be recognised in the construction of South African Feminisms. The politics of writing is largely influenced by the impact of language as a barrier to communication. Black South African women are in the majority of instances not first language English speakers. This, in essence, marginalises the vast majority of Black women and limits the ability of Black women to articulate their needs as explained by Heugh (2000:21):

A closer examination of the middle-class will show that its membership has been expanding, predominantly with the inclusion of Black men, and to much lesser extent Black women, who have a proficiency in English.

Heugh (2000:23) examines the linguistic impact that languages have in South Africa and the subsequent marginalisation of spaces for Black women:

...This in turn had several results, which from the perspective of language, include a loss of status of African languages; a growing resentment toward Afrikaans as a language of vertical control; and a growing misconception that English would facilitate the passage to nirvana beyond Apartheid.

These linguistic barriers become the gatekeeping⁴⁶ mechanisms – but are not the only gatekeeping mechanisms of *Agenda* and reflect therefore the voices that articulate well in English. This occurrence marginalises the vast majority of voices. In the African context there is a dominance of oral history.⁴⁷ This common

⁴⁶ Method of control deciding on the submissions that will be published.

⁴⁷ Historical data that is reflected through stories that are told; often by women.

cultural practice needs to be acknowledged as a key role in the gender debates. The notion of race and class resurfaces itself as a key debate as many White writers in *Agenda* have written about Black issues. The acknowledgement of the heterogeneous nature of the experiences of women and the denouncement of a common sisterhood is fundamental in allowing gatekeeping to be lessened in *Agenda* as motivated by Madlala (2000:48):

Women use many genres to express themselves, and that they write, share and exchange their ideas in many forms, suggests that as writing women we need to nurture women-friendly and supportive spaces for the diverse work that we produce.

The earlier editions were characterised by a content that reflected a more 'ordinary' world view from a Black South African woman's perspective and the struggles that she fought with. These 'ordinary' stories have since been silenced to some extent allowing stronger White voices to overpower *Agenda's* pages. As explained by Asha Moodley (27 June 2006, 14:00, Durban):

Although the majority of writers in *Agenda* continue to be women, and despite the important addition of other African women's voices, I think there has been a qualitative change in the more recent issues of *Agenda*. Writers have tended to be the usual well-known voices. This does suggest a form of "class" element in the overall content reflected, with voices of researchers for example, rather than that of the researched, predominating. (I am by no means implying that researchers are to be excluded!!!). The diversity of women's voices from different walks of life and the feistiness of this diversity are missing.

Further to Moodley's testimony (see interview with Asha Moodley) the Journal has become increasingly concerned with the voice of the researcher and the voice of the researched has become silenced. Moodley qualifies this by adding that there needs to be enough of each 'voice' to reflect the Mission Statement of *Agenda*. It is ironic that with the birth of democracy ordinary women's

experiences have been explained away in a manner such as this. The researched now become secondary to the purpose of *Agenda*. Habasonda's (2002:99) deduction supports this view when she argues:

The reality in many African countries would appear to be that democratic structures have only managed to spur an elitist approach to gender which is shallow and artificial at best and at worst, self-serving for its champions.

In the move from woman-centered to gender-centered *Agenda* began to lose the voice of the 'ordinary' South African woman. The outlook of *Agenda* remained South African but its approach became largely concerned with academic debate as explained by Asha Moodley in her interview (27 June 2006, 14:00, Durban):

Earlier issues of *Agenda* speak of writers from very different walks of life i.e. activists within trade unions, community organisations, rural-based women's organisations, researchers, academics, etc. There was a real effort to canvass the voice of as diverse a range of women writers as possible, to promote new writers, in particular to ensure that Black women were included in *Agenda*, to inspire hesitant aspiring writers with confidence – to build as far as was possible, a collective critical women's voice.

The inclusion of the 'voices' referred to by Moodley are crucial to the debates in South Africa's newfound democracy especially since the post-Apartheid journals are concerned with the positioning of women in the new social climate. The recognition of difference is integral in diversifying women's realities in South Africa. There needs to be an astute understanding that there is no common sisterhood rather different realities for women in the struggle for equality as motivated by Tee (1995:44):

While the global sisterhood advocated predominantly by White women is an ideal to be attained, it will not be attained as long as White women do not take into account the reality of Black women.

The second hypothesis is that *Agenda* began with a broad liberal humanist conception of feminism in the early years of the Journal, but has subsequently developed and sustained a South African Feminist conception of gender in the Journal's focus. Such a conception is a hybrid of largely socialist and third world feminism (where factors of race, class, ethnicity and culture) become key to understanding women and gender. The latter is the central theme in the argument of the dissertation. From the earliest Issues to the latest Issues of *Agenda* the Journal begins to establish itself as a hybrid of third world feminism and socialist feminism. South Africa's political history has had a significant impact on this phenomenon as can be seen from the kinds of themes raised in the Journal building up to the fall of Apartheid and the subsequent years post-Apartheid that sought to define women's position in the 'democratic'⁴⁸ South African society.

Post-1994 Issues are centred on trying to position women in the new-found democracy. *Agenda* raises debates of previous Issues for example, the resurfacing of local government, religion, culture, violence and sexuality; mean that women are still lobbying around the same issues implying that although change is rife not enough change is occurring in the sphere of women's empowerment post-1994. Third World feminism, as another strand of feminism, is important in that in the 1970s and 1980s many women of colour criticised scholarship in feminism that underemphasised race, class, and culture (see for example: Collins (1990); hooks (1984); Smith, (1983)). Mohanty (1991) for example contends that the histories of colonialism, capitalism, race and gender are inextricably interrelated. Women's struggles in the third world are very often centred on national liberation. (Arndt, 2002)

Editions 1-19 reflect the lived experiences of 'ordinary' South African women with a specific emphasis on the marginalisation of the ordinary South African woman.

⁴⁸ The validity of democracy is debated by many writers in the post-Apartheid era.

The following discussions see the beginnings of the construction of a hybrid of Third-world and socialist feminism in South Africa. The Black family unit is analysed by Sach's, (1989) reflecting a concern for the personal sphere of Black women's lives in addition to their political participation.⁴⁹

African Feminism and womanism (Walker, 1983; 1991; 2002) feature strongly in *Agenda*. Chow, Wilkinson and Zinn, (1997) and Aziz in Crowley and Himmelwell, (1996), reflect on the impact differential positions of women have in the productive and reproductive systems in the construction of realities. Representation is also a key theory that surfaces in *Agenda's* pages. The concept of representation foregrounds a key word in the title of the study. Critical studies abound on the term (for example Freadman in: Bennett *et al.* 2005: 306-309; Hall, 2000). Waruhiu (1995) describes the differentiated positions of African women.

The post-1994 editions of *Agenda* reflect the focus on positioning women in public spaces where the plights of women can be discussed and addressed. Many themes have been reflected in the post-1994 editions that reflect a third world socialist feminism. The intersection of race, class, ethnicity and culture, is reflected in the themes of identity, economy, sexuality, culture, religion, the body

⁴⁹ The emergence of difference is explored by Cock (1989) in the representation of experiences and the role of the researcher versus the researched. Monachie (1989); Campbell (1990); Cloete (1992); and Hansson (1992) further discuss this theme.

A book review on Walker (1990) looks at the relationship of ethnic processes to the state. This position is further reiterated by Cliff (1992); Gawana (1992); Mayosi (1993); and Beall (1989). Women's representation and identity in the transition into democracy is questioned by Gwagwa (1991); Molyneux (1991); Budlender (1992); Maboe (1992); Mina and Sampson (1992); Russell (1993); Maforah (1993); Kemp and Gouws, (1993); Meintjes (1993); and Hendricks and Lewis (1993). Culture and gender is explored by Roberts (1993); Paruk and De La Rey (1993); and Morgan (1993).

and power and shows a dominant emphasis on women's leadership participation and role(s) in governance.

African Feminisms may be described as a social, political and cultural response to counter the supposed homogenising focus of western discourse (see for example: Amadiume (1987, 1997 & 2000); Arndt (2002); Kolawole (1997); Mikell (1997); Mohanty (2003); Narayan (1997); Oyewumi (1997)). *Agenda* reflects a strong African feminist and third world feminist focus. In the post-1994 editions there is a strong emphasis on the notions of difference, identity and race. See for example, the following *articles* appearing in *Agenda*.⁵⁰

Socialist feminism believes that for women to gain equality they do not only need to be amalgamated into the workforce for their economic freedom but also need rights and power in the private sphere. Friedman, Melterkamp and Posel (1987)

⁵⁰ (Kemp and Gouws (1994); Meintjies (1994); Sunde and Bozalek (1994); Tomaselli, Skinner and Kane (1994); Posel and Gool (1994); Hendricks and Lewis (1994); Fedler (1994); Burman (1994); Muter (1995); Kadalie (1995); Tee (1995); Naughton (1996); Haysom (1996); Du Toit (1996); Smith (1996); Teer-Tomaselli (1996); Nkamba-Van Wyk (1996); De La Rey (1997); Abrahams (1997); Pharoah and Bright (1997); Ntone and Meth (1997); Daphne (1998); Nkosi (1998); Epstein (1998); Ratele (1998); Edigheji (1999); Mthethwa-Sommers (1999); Sutherland (1999); Mhlope (2000); Reddy and Wylie (2000); Heugh (2000); Mama (2000); Smith (2000); Fester (2000); Madlala (2000); Prinsloo (2000); Gqola (2001); Latha (2001); Chobokoane and Budlender (2002); Perumal and Pillay (2002); Dixon (2002); Andrade (2002); Arndt (2002); El Naga (2002); Kolowale (2002); Habasonda (2002); Smit (2002); Dryden, Erlank, Haffejee, Hardy, Nhlapo, Tokin and Tshamano (2002); Tegomoh (2002); Garrow and Kirk (2003); Thomson (2003); Callaghan (2003); Segwai (2004); Muthien (2004); Levendal (2004); Haddad (2004); Garman (2004); Moyo (2004); Mokwena (2004); Reddy (2004); Rammutla (2005); Leclerc-Madlal (2005); Mkhize (2005); Manyapelo (2005); Edwards (2005); Darkin (2005); and Moodley (2005); Reddy (2006); Potgieter (2006); Esterhuizen (2006); Gordon-Chipembere (2006); Compion and Cook (2006); Peacock. Khumalo and McNab (2006); and Zuma (2007)).

Agenda reflects strongly on the participation of Black women in the South African formal and informal economies. See for example, the following *Agenda articles*.⁵¹ The personal spaces and the manner in which women negotiate these spaces remains in line with the socialist school of thought. See for example the following *Agenda articles* that debate and discuss culture and religion.⁵²

⁵¹ (Yako (1994); Friedman (1994); Zondo (1995); Nkopane (1995); Telela (1996); Cross (1999); Khumalo (2007); Philpott (1994); Macquene (1994); Meer and Cele (1995); Brown (1995); Moodliar (1995); Wilkinson (1995); Mbhele (1995); Mogale and Poshoko (1997); Taylor (1997); Naidoo and Bezelek (1997); Edward (1997); Budlender (1997); Posel (1997); Bailey (1997); Makan (1997); Nyman (1997); Orr, Daphne and Horton (1997); Moahloli (1997); Van der Walt (1997); Ngidi (1997); Moolman (1997); Pauw and Brener (1998); Oyegun (1998); Mthsali (1998); Liebenberg (1999); Pandy (1999); Fast (1999); Sunde and Gernholtz (1999); Lund (1999); Maharaj and Edigheji (1999); Kallman (1999); Mpetsheni (2000); Orr (2001); Skinner and Valodia (2001); Smith (2001); Louw (2004); Casle and Posel (2005); Grant (2005); Croeser (2007); and Anugworm (2007))

⁵² (Pillay (1994); Van Wyk (1994); Murray (1994); Zikalala (1994); Xaba (1994); Wilhelm and Verwoerd (1994); Gcabashe (1995); Shabodien (1995); Sisulu (1995); Desai and Goodall (1995); Rath (1995); Rasool (1995); Soobrayan (1995); Mmbatho (1995); Edross (1997); Parnell (1999); O'Sullivan (2001); Mpetsheni (2001); Mackenny (2001); Magwaza (2001); Impey (2001); Olsen (2001); Pillay (2001); Emmett (2001); Badran (2001); Salo (2001); Koyana (2001); Abrahams (2001); Ratele (2001); Bennet (2001); Tamale (2001); Essof (2001); Clark (2003); Motsemme (2003); Haupt (2003); Dlamini (2003); Makhanya and Dlamini (2003); Veleko (2003); Julien (2003); Moodley (2003); Rankhotha (2004); Cassimjee (2004); Gasa (2004); Phiri (2004); Rakoczy (2004); West, Xondi-Mabizela, Malueke, Khumalo, Matsepe and Naidoo (2004); Mayson (2004); Moothoo-Padayachie (2004); Ndlazi (2004); Wallace (2004); Parikh (2004); Erlank (2004); Burdette (2005); Ratele (2005); Yates (2005); Primo (2005); Du Plooy (2005); Manzi (2005); Nadar (2005); Reid (2006); Clark (2006); Angay (2006); Diko (2006); Palitza (2006); Kuumba (2006); Kifetew (2006); Msimang (2006); Moorosi (2006); Motalingoane-Khau (2006); Sanpath (2006); Madanda, Kabonesa and Batebya-Kyomuhendo (2007); Ratele and Mseleku (2007); and Karrison, Maphumulo and Kunene (2007)). Also reflect on the following *Agenda* articles that look at the role of the family in gendered debates (Ziehl (1994); Bozalek (1994); Verwoerd (1996); Purshotham (1997); Appolis (1998); de Villiers (1998); Samuel (1999); Baderoon (2002); Wylie (2002); Green (2002); Batshar (2002); Selikow Zului and Cedras (2002); Harrison (2002); Ssewakiryanga (2002); Asimmwe-Mwesige (2002); Prinsloo (2003); Kehler

The post-1994 editions also reflect an overwhelming focus on the issue of power, leadership, and women's participation in governance in South Africa. The resurgence of liberal feminism again is recounted within the realms of race, class and ethnicity; thus locating these discussions within Third World feminism. Power is discussed at length in the post-1994 editions with an emphasis on women's access to power and the (ab)use of power.⁵³

(2003); Manicom and Pillay (2003); Hermanus and Biersteker (2003); Holness (2004); Morrell and Richter (2004); Isaak and Judge (2004); Dankwa (2005); and Nisha (2005)).

⁵³ See for example the following *Agenda* articles (Potgieter (1994); Khan (1994); Sexwale (1994); Aticc (1995); Mager (1995); Van Kotze (1996); Derwent (1996); Martin (1996); Goudie and Killian (1995); Patel (1996); Small and Mhaga (1996); Nkomo (1998); Martineau (1998); Ochieng, Radloff and Smith (1998); Sibanda (1998); Marcelle (1998); Campbell, Mzaidume and Williams (1998); Moletsane (1999); Mjoli-Mncube (1999); Ngubane (1999); Hargreaves (1999); Govender-Van Wyk (1999); Curnow (2000); Muthien (2000); Moodley (2000); Telela (2000); Scott (2000); Mokgope (2000); Benjamin (2001); Taylor (2001); Bob (2002); Vithal (2002); Magwaza and Khumalo (2003); Wambugu (2003); Lay and Garcia (2003); Valji, de la Hunt and Moffett (2003); Young-Jahangeer (2003); Motala and Smith (2003); Mangena (2003); Elabor-Idemudia (2003); Sajjad (2004); Chetty (2004); Vetten and Motelow (2004); Koen (2004); Osha (2004); Manyaki and Shefer (2005); Rotmann (2005); Ruiters (2005); Smythe and Artz (2005); Balam (2006); Louw (2006); Hlapa (2006); and Magudu (2006); Watson and Silkstone (2007); Sanpath (2007); Salo (2007); Moolman, Primo and Shackleton (2007); Yusus-Khalil, Bozalek, Staking, Tuval-Mashiach and Bantebya-Kyomuhendo (2007); Wambui and Molefe (2007); Tandon (2007); and Reddy (2007)). Leadership, participation and governance is discussed by many *Agenda* writers, see for example (Kotecha (1994); Cousins and Maart (1994); Clarke (1994); Brown and Reynolds (1994); Bonnin and Moodley (1994); Baker (1994); Zondo (1994); Fester (1994); Ghandi (1994); Bennett (1994); Horn (1994); Manzini (1994); Nyman (1994); Madonsela (1995); Manzini and Mthembi-Nkondo (1995); Daniels (1995); Madlala-Routledge (1995); Serote (1995); Daphne (1995); Klugman (1995); Africa and Mbere (1995); Neuman (1995); Marks (1995); Smith (1995); Kunene (1995); Neohpytu (1995); Van der Walt (1995); Radloff and Platsky (1995); Bonnin (1995); Ngaba (1996); Webster (1996); Gruver (1996); James (1996); Orner (1996); Rustin (1996); Albertyn (1996); Hargreaves (1996); Mjoli-Mncube (1996); Gwagwa (1996); Gouws (1996); Rameswak (1996); Wilbraham (1996); Haysom (1996); Mbhele (1996); Olckers (1996); Moolman (1997); Davey and Winship (1997); Vitacchi (1997); Nolte (1997); Meer (1997); Friedman (1997); Primo (1997); Madlala-Routledge (1997); Watson (1997); Goldblatt and

Sexuality, although a key aspect of radical feminism, is debated and discussed within the Third World feminist school of thought with an emphasis on the interrelationships of race, class, ethnicity and culture.⁵⁴

Body rights in the context of health, sexuality and violence is also discussed with a particular reference to marginalised communities such as rural Black women,

Meintjies (1998); Wint (1998); Marks (1998); Hassim (1999); Van Donk and Maceba (1999); Watson (1999); Lewis (1999); Prinsloo (1999); Fick (1999); Roopnarain (1999); Gouws (1999); Lazarus and Taylor (1999); Chisholm and Napo (1999); Maharaj (1999); Mjoli (1999); Mapetha (1999); Whitcutt (1999); Pillay (2000); Skinner (2000); Dlamini (2000); Van Donk (2000); Motala (2000); Fick (2000); Naidoo (2000); Pandey and Paulus (2000); Vetton and Dladla (2000); Boezak (2000); Motau (2000); Mcewan (2000); Sadie (2000); Manicom (2001); Sadie (2001); Skinner and Valodia (2001); Orr (2001); Naidoo (2001); Annecke (2002); Khosla (2002); Hemson (2002); Kasim and Hendricks (2002); Palmary (2003); Warner and Finchelescu (2003); Thumboo (2003); Kumba (2003); Abrahams (2003); Guy-Sheftall (2003); Philips (2003); Wright (2003); Brooks (2003); Moothoo-Padayachie (2004); Taylor (2004); Benjamin (2004); Moolman (2005); Kee (2005); Loots and Witt (2005); Wilson (2005); Julien and Majake (2005); Moletsane (2005); Van der Westhuizen (2005); De La Rey (2005); Maathai (2005); Mthethwa-Sommers (2005); Sader Odendaal and Searle (2005); Kelleher (2005); Malinga (2005); Ojang and Moodley (2005); Suraj-Narayan (2005); Hargovan (2005); Ramtohul (2006); Chigudu (2006); Okello-Orlale (2006); Lansink (2007); Zirima (2007); Madlala-Routledge (2007); Kameri-Mbote (2007); and Ward (2007)).

⁵⁴ See for example, the following *Agenda* articles (Neophytou (1994); Lerner (1994); Holmes (1994); Lewis (2005); Benjamin (1995); Fredman and Potgieter (1995); Finnemore (1995); Hughes (1995); Sanders (1996); Pillay (1996); Thompson (1997); Shefer and Ruiters (1998); Reddy (1998); Whitton (2001); Pattman (2002); Thorpe (2002); Reddy and Louw (2002); Altman (2004); Posel (2004); Moothoo-Padayachie (2004); Distiller (2005); Zakwe (2005); Naidu and Mkhize (2005); Haffeejee, Vetten and Greyling (2005); Nkabinde and Morgan (2006); Manion and Morgan (2006); Dlamini (2006); Wells and Polders (2006); Sanger and Clowes (2006); Crous (2006); Kowen and Davis (2006); Rudwick, Nkomo and Shange (2006); Bennett (2006); and Smuts (2006)).

urban Black women and Black women from the gay, lesbian and transgendered communities.⁵⁵

The visual aspect of *Agenda* (i.e. the use of visual media in the Journal) is also of importance. There is a marked change in the presentation of each issue. From the earlier Issues (pre-1994) there was a major emphasis on drawings and the use of imagery. As the Journal gains more momentum post-1994 there is a clear indication that the financial position of *Agenda* has changed. The Journal is no longer printed as a paperback copy but has a higher quality paper (i.e. it is no longer printed on poor quality recycled paper but uses bonded White recycled paper) and more colourful covers reflecting photographs and mainstream influences such as positioning key female role players of the time on the covers of the Journal. There is also a move towards the use of photographs to

⁵⁵ See for example the following *Agenda* articles (Schneider (1994); Pillay and Klugman (1994); Connell (1994); Grant and Jagwanth (1994); Witherspoon (1995); Thomas (1995); Jean-Pierre (1995); Altman and Kumalo (1995); Tallis (1995); Msizi and Zanda (1995); Moodley (1995); Salie and Gwagwa (1995); Fortuin (1995); Wild and Kunst (1995); Downs (1995); Russell (1995); Vetten (1995); Varga and Makubalo (1995); Padayachee and Manjoo (1996); Neohpytou (1996); O'Sullivan (1996); Prinsloo (1996); Loots (1996); Walaza (1997); Bonnin (1997); Kumalo (1998); Shifman Madla-Routledge and Smith (1998); Cock (1998); Ramagoshi (1998); Stevens (1998); Breslin (1998); Kwesi and Wesbter (1998); Masuku (1998); Parenzee (1998); Badat (1998); Tallis (1998); Abool-Karim (1998); Mthembu (1998); Pendry (1998) Sewpaul and Mahlalela (1998); Barret (1998); Seldel (1998); Adams and Marshall (1998); Makhaye (1998); Maharaj (1999); Everatt and Budlender (1999); Mukasa (1999); Narismulu (1999); Artz (1999); Ducados (2000); Sideris (2000); Abrahams (2000); Guzana (2000); Artz (2000); Hlatshway and Klugman (2001); Samuel (2001); Distiller (2001); Richardson (2001); Kuumba (2001); Coutoudis (2002); Kent (2002); Hendricks (2002); Subramoney (2002); Molefe (2002); Pole and Reda (2002); Tallis (2002); Burns (2002) Moletsane, Morrelli, Abdool-Karim, Epstein and Unterhalter (2002); Wellbourn (2002); Taylor, Dmalini, Kagoro, Jinabhai, Sathipersad and De Vries (2002); Khoza (2002); Walsh, Mitchell and Smith (2002); Mulugeta (2003); Leclerc-Madlala (2003); Eqing (2003); Goldblatt (2003); Thumboo (2003); Win (2003); Sesay (2004); Hudson (2004); Sesay (2005); Haffejee (2005); Basodien and Hochfield (2005); Sathipersad (2005); Harries and Bird (2005); Scorgie (2006); Ssali (2006); Mugambe (2006); Tallis (2007); Kiremire (2007); and Boyce (2007).

accompany *briefings*, *poetry*, and *focuses*; a privilege that was formerly reserved for key *articles* that reflected on the theme. The inclusion of the Writing Programme also reflects a visual inclusion of photographs and computer generated pictures and photographs to reflect the themes.

In addition, through this study of the central themes and the extraction of key writers; there is an overwhelming racial element that reflects (i.e. the voice of *Agenda*), although reporting on South African issues is extremely White in nature. Similarly the lack of 'ordinary' stories is easily detectable as many voices are now marginalised and make room for the voice of the researcher, a voice that is very theoretical in nature. Bonnin (2002) motivates:

Over the years, *Agenda* has struggled to define a commitment to 'social change'. While one main initial concern was to bridge the gap between the academy and activist sites, it later became equally important to examine issues of representation in terms of the racial differences among authors and the choice of themes for issues.

The shift from woman-centered to gender-centered is clearly articulated by the lack of 'ordinary' stories. The Journal realised this gap to some extent by the inclusion of the Writing and Radio Programmes in 2002 and 2003 respectively. These programmes were created with the understanding that the Journal was a place for academic rigour and debate and that Black women's voices were being marginalised. The creation of these programmes further marginalised Black women from the Journal as these women would have easily accessed the Journal's space prior to 1994. This deduction is ironic as the creation of a democracy inadvertently is supposed to open up further spaces for women. The Writing Programme to a lesser extent attempted to fill this gap by publishing 6 of its writers every 6 months however; this was again completed through mentorship programmes with predominantly White female mentors; mainly positioned in academia. (See profile of Writing Programme) This programme further reiterates the theory of difference and the need to recognise the realities

of women as being heterogeneous in nature. Stacey, (1988); and McRobbie, (1982) explore the notion of feminist researchers.

The Radio Programme works mainly with community radio and one national radio station. The aim of this programme is to advocate for the airing of gender sensitive copy on topical issues. The stark polarisation of difference in this instance seeks to further marginalise Black women by not allowing them space for dialogue. The dialogue is extended to the community radio station as a tool to measure the effectiveness of this is lacking, as there is no clear indication of the development of women through this medium. The academic identity and the gender-centered manner in which the Journal has come to be identified, marginalises the 'ordinary' Black woman's voice by allowing her to be located in a separate space. (See profile of Radio Programme) The recognition of the ordinary voices seems to have been lost in the transition to democracy.

Agenda, to a large extent has moved towards the application of a business model and has exercised its gatekeeping by marginalising ordinary Black women's voices. The closure of the Writing and Radio Programmes reflect a resurgence towards the Journal as a core product of *Agenda* however, recognising the change of style (i.e. the marginalising of ordinary voices), the implications are that ordinary Black women's voices will thus further be marginalised. The Radio and Writing Programmes served to address the elitist nature of the Journal. Given that 'radio' is a relatively inexpensive medium through which to communicate messages, the Journal's use of the radio media to provide valuable gendered soundbites on relevant topics cannot be overemphasised. This is explained by Lliane Loots in her interview:

Personally I feel that AGENDA has lost its way. The organisation has become top heavy with a Board that seeks to run the organisation like a business or a corporate venture rather than its original aims of being a socialist feminist space for dialogue and for equitable feminist governance with all involved. Understanding the financial constraints of the organisation and the need for some

measure of good business acumen, has unfortunately led to appointments within AGENDA that have allowed it to stray from the original vision of a truly feminist organisation - in content and governance.

As explained in Chapter Four, there was a marked shift in the Journal's content through the influences of the political climate of the time and more significantly as explained by Meer (1997), the societal response to 'feminist' and 'feminism'. These key factors combined with the influence of the editorial staff, meant that *Agenda* gradually shifted from a grassroots publication to a scholarly publication. The Journal remained, however, concerned with the positioning of women in South African society through their differences along racial, class and gender lines. These debates are however written in a manner that speaks to the theme of representation and this needs to be interrogated.

Analysing the extent to which *Agenda* has changed and its current focus on women from a hybrid of African feminist, Third World feminist and Socialist feminist schools of thought; it is clear that the Journal is repositioning itself in terms of the voices that it represents, and the manner in which it undertakes this representation. The cross-referencing of journals in Chapters Three and Four, and the drawing on key authors reflects this stance. The spaces for women, however limited; need to be focused on the marginalised and need to reflect a hybrid of voices from the global south in order to fulfil *Agenda's* Mission Statement. Chapter 6 builds on this analysis and provides some tentative conclusions and recommendations as the Journal embarks on its evolution.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion and Recommendations

The underlying hypothesis of this dissertation was that in the inclusion of South African women in *Agenda* the Journal created a space for the birth of a feminist voice unique to South Africa. Given the vast number of voices in the Journal I believe that this hypothesis has been demonstrated and *Agenda* has provided a forum for South African Feminisms to emerge. That said, my deduction is that since Issue 58, the Journal attempts to configure what it terms as 'African Feminism' (see editorial of African Feminisms trilogies). In this configuration *Agenda* recognises that it provides a forum for many strands of feminism and that this forum is uniquely South African given that race and racism have been divisive factors for South Africa. This is explored earlier by De la Rey (1997). Feminist identity is explored by De la Rey (1997:6), with a particular emphasis on the role of race and racism in the feminist movement in South Africa:

The emergence of the difference debate ruptured many of the ideal notions of the times- the ideal called non-racialism and the ideal of a shared universal sisterhood.

The emergence of difference described by De la Rey (1997) demonstrates that *Agenda* as a journal is collaborative.

The second hypothesis was that *Agenda* began with a broad liberal humanist conception of feminism in the early years of the Journal, but is subsequently developing and sustaining a South African Feminist conception of gender in the Journal's focus. Such a conception is a hybrid of largely socialist and third world feminism where factors of race, class, ethnicity and culture become key to understanding women and gender. The latter was the central theme in the argument of the dissertation. The second hypothesis was also clearly motivated

as I believe that the Journal was a hybrid of socialist and third world feminism in its earlier years (i.e. before the birth of democracy in South Africa). The content from 1987-1993 is overwhelmingly concerned with factors of race, class, ethnicity and culture as they relate to Black South African women. There was a marked shift in the Journal's content from 1994 to the present day writings with a focus *now* on the validity of gender and debates around gender as it relates to themes such as bio-politics, globalisation, sexuality, trafficking and ICTs (to name a few).

In addition it can be deduced that *Agenda* facilitates the vacuum created by 'academic' spaces by marginalising the voices of Black women writers. As expressed by Budlender's critique, the Journal does not prioritise the intellectual impact of Black women writers claiming that Black women are 'too busy to write'. The Black voices allowed into the Journal through the gatekeeping editorial processes are distinctly elite as reflected in Chapters Three and Four. This argument is also supported by Dr. Thenjiwe Magwaza, (see full interview, appendix 1):

It shall be a sad loss if *Agenda*, supposing it is still interested in a feminist agenda and the empowerment of marginal women maintaining that identity were to give a blind eye to its current position. *Agenda* should do some introspection and conduct honest research on itself and work towards being a true feminist organisation.

Through the analysis shown in Chapters Three, Four and Five, it may be deduced that *Agenda* has been an influential journal locally, within the continent and internationally in the last 20 years. The Journal demonstrates significant original research that shaped and continues to shape debates on gender. This work has had an important impact on academia (given its status as a well-established peer-reviewed journal), as well as advocacy work both locally and internationally. *Agenda* as a feminist journal itself has not been critiqued and this dissertation provided, in part, a historical review and critique of the creation of a South African Feminisms. These feminisms focused on the third world but were

inclusive of Western feminist schools of thought (by engaging themes, issues and problems covered in the Journal) that show a developing conceptual understanding of South African Feminism. This critique of *Agenda* as South African feminist literature offered a unique insight into the role of *Agenda* in transforming intellectual production on unequal gender relations in South Africa and Africa and offered an understanding of voice in the South African socio-political climate.

The dissertation focused principally on documenting, describing, reviewing, and critically analysing selected editions of the Journal. The study drew on conceptual understandings principally focused on interpreting the central issues in relation to the problem. The dissertation determined how the content in the Journal represents unique meanings about concepts, ideas and issues. The following concepts/issues/critical discourses underpinned the conceptual basis of the study: feminism; African Feminism, feminist publishing; and representation. The overall thinking in this study is underpinned by the importance of *Agenda* as a form of feminist publishing and the extent to which this aspect is embodied in the issues raised in (and by) *Agenda*. This research was primarily qualitative and evaluative focusing on texts (being the 73 editions of *Agenda*). The empirical data reflected upon is provided in the Journals (archival material on the formation of the Journals available from the Journal's archive housed at their offices in Durban). The study offers a textual and content analysis by which is understood an interpretative analysis focused on reading, examining, analysing and contrasting editions of the Journal. This analysis is, in part, based on Neuman's (1997) idea that "content analysis is a technique for gathering and analysing the content of text".

The dissertation argued that a unique South African Feminism emerged from *Agenda*. The Journal has not aligned itself with any one body of thought and still reflects issues that are predominantly from the global south. This is characterised by the themes of identity, the family, culture and tradition that dominate the latter

editions of *Agenda*. The Journals however, do not discount the contributions of Western feminism; rather it locates Western feminism within an African context. The Journal's mission and vision of being a space for women to articulate their needs can be debated as a space hotly contested to push sales of the Journal. In latter years the editorship has played a major role in shaping the Journal and key recommendations solicited from previous editors and board members reflect this in their interviews.

From the comparative reading of the 73 editions of the Journals it can be deduced that *Agenda* has shifted in conceptual focus and is now gender centered in its approach:

Sometime in 2005 I think, there was agreement that we had to look into meanings of what a gender-centred approach (as opposed to a feminist one) implied for women. In a nutshell, there was concern that a gender-centred approach ultimately did very little to shift patriarchal relations.

(Interview with Asha Moodley, Editorial Board Member)

The pre-1994 editions reflected an overt focus on ordinary women's voices with key themes from radical feminist, liberal feminist and socialist feminist schools of thought. These editions were concerned with women's position within the political debates of the time, as well as the impact of the Apartheid system on the social aspects of Black women's lives. There was a significant shift with the birth of democracy, which saw the Journal's debates now located within discussions of representation, leadership and power. As discussed in Chapter Five there is an overwhelming focus on the position of women within the new democracy and many debates centered on women and governance i.e. public and corporate governance. There is a direct correlation between the Journal's writers (admitted through a gatekeeping editorial process) and the application of a business model.

The analysis reveals that post-1994 i.e. the transition into democracy and the subsequent visual changes of the Journal indicate that funding played a major role in the writers allowed into *Agenda's* pages. From Budlender's (1995) evaluation, the key criticism of *Agenda* is its 'White' voice, meaning that the stories of Black women are written by mainly White women. Budlender attributed this to the skewed education system and the move of previous writers into government thus not having time to write. In addition, Budlender sites that Black women lack this time because of the pressures being placed on Black working-class women. There is a need to recognise the multilingual nature of South Africa and the use of oral history by most cultures in South Africa. These stories need to be documented as part of the conversations that need to take place regarding the status of South African women within the young democracy. *Agenda* needs to undertake introspection of how it will go about undertaking the fulfilment of its Mission Statement:

I would say, either (urgently) return to what is expected of a feminist journal and organisation or fully & publicly denounce that you are a feminist organisation! Luckily for *Agenda* there is a lot of institutional memory that a number of people still have [...] and those people are still around (alive). It shall be a sad loss if *Agenda*, supposing it is still interested in a feminist agenda and the empowerment of marginal women plus maintaining that identity was to give a blind eye to its current position. *Agenda* should do some introspection and conduct honest research on itself and work towards being a true feminist organisation. (Interview with Dr Thenjiwe Magwaza, former Editorial Board member)

Recognition of a need for change is reflected in *Agenda's* 20th anniversary edition:

Agenda celebrates its 20th anniversary in 2007- a milestone that heralds the beginning of a new phase of audience engagement, organisation maturity and a serious commitment to increasing the quality and impact of our work.

(*Agenda Collective* in Issue 72, 2007:202)

Many of the former editors of *Agenda* were drawn to the Journal and the project by its activist nature and the need to nurture women's voices in current debates.

As a feminist myself and finding myself working at a university in the business of teaching gender studies, I found that working for an organisation that posited feminist publishing was just up my alley - especially in the belief that I would be party to helping and nurturing young women writers develop their skills as young feminist authors. (Interview with Lliane Loots, former Editorial Board Member)

Agenda has moved from implementing a broad liberalist approach and adopted a hybrid of socialist and third world feminism and has reflected a marked interest in ethnicity, race, class, economics and bodily rights. Given that *Agenda* began within the pre-democratic phase of South African history, it is ironic to note that the birth of democracy has done little to change the demographics of the contributing writers in *Agenda*. Many writers are still White women and motivates Budlender's review of the Journal in 1997. The removal of the Writing and Radio Programmes from *Agenda's* products means that the voices of ordinary women will be further marginalised. This was undertaken in 2006 due to the lack of funding in the organisation as a whole.

In Meer's reflections (1997:13), she motivates that academic writers today "are not as linked to activist organisations and concerns as in former times". This statement still holds true eleven years later as is reflected by the kinds of submissions printed in the post-Apartheid Journals. The post-Apartheid identity of the Journal reflects one that is not mainly concerned with revolutionary change. As explained by Meer (1997:14), the Journal provides a unique space in the global south:

Agenda has found a niche among academic writers not provided [for] elsewhere, allowing feminist academics to raise crucial concerns and debates. Perhaps this should be nurtured and developed.

Agenda, in its current form stimulates thinking in providing a space for activists and/or academics to come together in shaping current thinking on critical issues. Many of the former Editorial Board members and editors have commented that the Journal needs to maintain its unique identity and that this is inextricably linked to the influence of staffing on editorial decisions.

The following is therefore recommended for *Agenda* to reclaim its identity as a developmental journal concerned with women's issues:

- Ensure enough mentorship of the editorship into the role of feminism in South Africa's democracy

The issue of mentorship for new staff members has been sited as a key gap in the continuance of the identity of the Journal. New editors as well as directors need to undergo mentoring in order to understand the impact of feminism on the business aspects of the organisation.

- Provide a space for 'ordinary' stories

An additional criticism has been that the 'voice' of *Agenda* needs to be more inclusive in terms of the kinds of issues raised as well as the representation of writers in the Journal. The overwhelming majority of writers have been White; this begs the questions around the participation of Black women in a space that allows for critical debate on issues facing marginalised communities. *Agenda* conflates academia largely with Whiteness and populist mediums of expressions such as radio, poetry and story telling with Blackness. Gatekeeping through editorial processes therefore needs to make way for more progressive thinking in terms of the representation of voices in the Journal's pages.

Areas for future research:

The subsequent closure of the Writing and Radio Programmes in the broader *Agenda* project needs to be looked at in relation to 'adding' spaces for women's voices and participation. These programmes need to be assessed in terms of their relevance and building on the core business of the Journal. These programmes build on the Journal's aims by allowing women who do not engage in high level academic writing, an opportunity to be part of the discussions and debates. The Radio Programme, in particular, ascribes to this ideal. The Writing Programme provides women, who would like to learn the art of writing reflective academic pieces, a mentoring opportunity with established academic writers. The Writing Programme also builds upon the ideals of the Journal.

Another key area for research is the influence of management paradigms on the NGO sector and the subsequent implications of these paradigms on the survival of a journal such as this. The manner in which the Journal is managed as a publication must be revised with a view to including steps such as succession planning. The failure or mismanagement of the fundamental business principles that the organisation subscribes to, could see the death of a piece of South African herstory.

Agenda should be celebrated as a space, born from political upheaval but one that has come to be respected in the key debates of our time. This journal has shown that the ideas of a few women can sustain two decades of debate and discussion on women in the global south. This legacy however, needs to take the suggested recommendations into account if it is to truly sustain its original basis for existence. The Journal provides a space for women to articulate their needs with an emphasis on a variation of these voices allowing these voices to reflect the demographics of the global south. *Agenda* seems to be firmly on its way to profiling African voices in the development of an African feminist publishing that is firmly rooted in South Africa.

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APPENDIX 1

Interviews with former editors and Editorial Board members were undertaken on a voluntary basis 1-3 June 2007 in Durban:

Lliane Loots: Editorial Board Member and Guest Editor

1. What motivated you to work for a feminist publication?

As a feminist myself and finding myself working at a university in the business of teaching gender studies, I found that working for an organisation that posited feminist publishing was just up my alley - especially in the belief that I would be party to helping and nurturing young women writers develop their skills as young feminist authors.

2. Which Issues of *Agenda* were you in charge of publishing whilst at *Agenda*? Describe this experience.

I was the guest editor for ISSUES 49 in 2001 ("CULTURE: Transgressing Boundaries"). I had a wonderful experience as I was working - then - with an editor and trainee editor who fully supported my ideas and where there to back me up when I needed help.

3. How were the themes for these Issues chosen?

Originally when I joined AGENDA on the EAB, themes and Issues for AGENDA were chosen by a once a year special editorial strategy meeting where the EAB would sit around and talk (in a rather lengthy meeting space) about what were current feminist challenges we were facing and how this might translate into themes and ideas for feminist scholarship for the Journal. The director would be present and she would also in-put as to whether suggestions had the possibility of finding funding. This changed and from 2006/7, it appears the board has most of the say in what themes are explored - this, I believe, has undermined one of the key functions of the arguable socialist mechanisms of the EAB (a group of primarily activists and feminist scholars) to focus and keep the scholarship current.

4. How do you think your own personality as well as the personalities of the Editorial Board at the time, shaped the Issues of *Agenda* that you were in charge of?

Our personalities (by this perhaps one could mean - research interests, activist interests, feminist interests ...) where a HUGE influence on the process as we were selected for the EAB because of the personal and political ideas and process we could bring. We were also able to mediate one another in that suggestions were all listened to but sometimes not supported in the interest of the Journal and further feminist scholarship in SA.

5. To what extent do you think that Agenda is fulfilling its original vision and mission?
What factors do you think are influencing the former?

Personally I feel that AGENDA has lost its way. The organisation has become top heavy with a Board that seeks to run the organisation like a business or a corporate venture rather than its original aims of being a socialist feminist space for dialogue and for equitable feminist governance with all involved. Understanding the financial constraints of the organisation and the need for some measure of good business acumen, has unfortunately led to appointments within AGENDA that have allowed it to stray from the original vision of a truly feminist organisation - in content and governance.

6. What suggestions would you make for Agenda to re-infuse or reinforce its mission and vision?

Begin by re-constituting the Board with more socialist feminist participants who do not buy into corporate top down interference governance. Set up a editor mentor programme such that AGENDA begins to train up the sort of editor that it wants - by now it is clear that they do not simply arrive? This goes with the important position of Director.

Dr. Thenjiwe Magwaza: Editorial Board Member and Guest Editor

1. What motivated you to work for a feminist publication?

I have regarded my involvement with organisations like Agenda and others as part of (responsibility) my work as a feminist, a social justice activist and a responsible citizen. Besides, as an academic and gender scholar I have to be actively involved in such organisations in order to make sense of and contextualise theoretical issues I teach on my courses.

2. Which Issues of *Agenda* were you in charge of publishing whilst at *Agenda*?

Describe this experience.

I served as a guest editor for a cultural Issue in 2006. My specialisation within the feminist/ women's movement (also as an academic) is along the lines of behavioural/ cultural (mis)representation and (ill)expression – and how, patriarchy & its agents are 'active' in the misuse of culture to subordinate and further exploit women and girls

3. How were the themes for these Issues chosen?

Pretty much as usual initially Nitasha, as you know. However, given that we had a new journal editor at the time (who verbally inferred her disassociation with feminists during her induction) - processes that we had gotten used to as the EAB were thrown out of the window. For instance, although we had meetings (physical and virtual) to discuss themes for the Issue – two pieces, to my shock as an editor were part of the final product. However many themes were chosen taking into consideration the then current issues of concern and issues that had not been covered by the Journal in a long time.

4. How do you think your own personality as well as the personalities of the Editorial Board at the time, shaped the Issues of *Agenda* that you were in charge of?

Indeed, personalities have a significant role to play in most matters people deal with. Although I cannot readily and vividly recall any one incident that was acutely shaped by personalities, I found that besides what we as feminists subscribe to; i.e. our backgrounds and the manner in which we were socialised impacted (negatively and positively) on the Issues we published. This trend was only confined to the cultural issue I guest edited.

5. To what extent do you think that *Agenda* is fulfilling its original vision and mission? What factors do you think are influencing the former?

*To be honest with you Nitasha, I do not know exactly as I currently have very little connection with *Agenda*, following my resignation in 2006. In retrospect, one of the reasons that led to my resignation was a realisation that our processes and conversations were slowly becoming strange, different and not fully feminist in*

nature. For me, consultation, sensitivity, respect, appreciation of varied views etc. were dwindling by day – these are essentials characteristics of a feminist agenda.

6. What suggestions would you make for Agenda to re-infuse or reinforce its mission and vision?

I would say, either (urgently) return to what is expected of a feminist journal and organisation or fully & publicly denounce that you are a feminist organisation! Luckily for Agenda there is a lot of institutional memory that a number of people still have ... and those people are still around (alive). It shall be a sad loss if Agenda, supposing it is still interested in a feminist agenda and the empowerment of marginal women + maintaining that identity were to give a blind eye to its current position. Agenda should do some introspection and conduct honest research on itself and work towards being a true feminist organisation.

Asha Moodley: Editorial Board Member

1. *I was not a founding member of Agenda. I joined it either in 1992 or 1993 at the behest of Fayeza Kathree, who was then a member of the editorial advisory group (or whatever this body, so critical to Agenda's overall feminist direction, was then called). So, I hope you have been able to get hold of, amongst others, Debbie, Shamim Meer (who has generally been cited as the "originator" of the Journal!), Asha Mehta (or it could be Usha!) and Michelle Friedman.*

However, on recounting Agenda's herstory, I think its origins are embedded in the politics of the mid-1980s : primarily male-centric discourses dominated the broader political, social, and economic South African landscape; outside of South Africa other African states closer home, such as Zimbabwe and Mozambique had achieved political liberation and already, women were disillusioned with being restored to the status quo (subordinate position), despite their participation in the liberation struggles.

Against this background, I think the founders of Agenda, along with other women who may (or may have not!) regarded themselves as feminists/gender activists, whatever!, felt it was important to infuse the discourses of the day, with (critical and necessary!) women's/feminist perspectives for a more nuanced understanding of the issues of the time. As a journal, Agenda was conceptualised to capture such discourse, and in a sense, provide a central platform where women could "gather together", safely articulate their issues, exchange, discuss, debate, argue ideas, and in the course of doing so, build up their confidence. As a journal for women, women would have a place where they could direct their writings. This was important since women and their writings featured at a very minimal level in most publications.

All I have said in the last para, is captured (very succinctly!) in Agenda's Mission Statement.

2. *I'd say Agenda's early years were "developmental" – in the sense of building a "voice" for women. Its contributors thus came from a range of sectors – trade unions, community-based organisations and NGOs, activists and academics, women's wings of political organisations, etc. Most pieces dealt with women's "institutional" concerns, particularly around lack of "gender sensitivity" or gender blindness; recorded women's activism or participation in broader activism eg marches. There were articles which attempted to provide a herstory and definition/s of feminism – extracted in the main from northern discourses. A big debate ensued around the meaning of "feminism" in the South African context, issues of representation and by implication, the meaning of "sisterhood". Not surprisingly, the intersection of race, class and gender began to take much space around this time. In a sense, the Journal began to capture the tentative defining of a feminism located in South Africa.*
3. *This question is somewhat complex. I'd say that at heart Agenda is a feminist journal. This is patently clear from its Mission Statement, particularly the initial statement which talks about "transforming unequal gender relations". The transformation of unequal gender relations (by implication the upturning of the*

patriarchy that dominates South African society, and the eradication of the unequal power relations that exist between men and women) is key (like the eradication of race and class-based inequities) towards the realisation of the egalitarian society envisaged by feminism/s.

Earlier Issues show that Agenda tended to be a more “woman-centred” journal – ie one that recorded the activities and achievements of women primarily. It has certainly developed into one that is more “reflective”. If it is to be described as one that is gender-centred, then this is a reflection primarily of the trajectory that women’s awareness has taken in South Africa (as reflected in their writings in Agenda), of the influence of the ideological debates that have dominated women’s and other conferences – local, continental and international eg Beijing Conference, etc – of funders’ and government perspectives and imperatives. A constant mantra within a gender-centred approach, has been that men (as products too, of socialisation) are also “disempowered”, have to be taken aboard in programmes and projects directed at transforming gender relations.

The gendered exploration of unequal power relationships between men and women has resulted in a thematic approach to issues mooted via the Journal. The use of themes as the basis for inviting writers, has allowed for more in-depth, analytic examinations of issues by “experts” ie mainly academics and researchers involved in particular areas of concern. Another indicator of a “gender-centred” approach has been the exploration of specific issues, eg masculinities, under the authorship of male editors. Agenda has also featured men writers frequently, although the majority of writers remain women.

The commitment to ensuring that the voice heard in Agenda is primarily that of women, for me, speaks of a feminist ideal. Of course, feminism can only be enriched by listening critically to male voices. It does not follow that all women will speak the same talk-this difference tends to enrich women’s conversations and growth. The different Issues of Agenda demonstrate the diversity of thought on particular issues, amongst women.

Sometime in 2005 I think, there was agreement that we had to look into meaning of what a gender-centred approach (as opposed to a feminist one) implied for women. In a nutshell, there was concern that a gender-centred approach ultimately did very little to shift patriarchal relations.

4. *Earlier Issues of Agenda speak of writers from very different walks of life ie activists within trade unions, community organisations, rural-based women's organisations, researchers, academics, etc. There was a real effort to canvass the voice of as diverse a range of women writers as possible, to promote new writers, in particular to ensure that Black women were included in Agenda, to inspire hesitant aspiring writers with confidence – to build as far as was possible, a collective critical women's voice. This was evident in, eg the Writing Programme instituted by Agenda. The very act of soliciting articles, was thus one that spoke of activism. Key figures in this were the editor of Agenda and the editorial advisory group.*

Another important development was the introduction and linking up with African feminist writers through the African Feminisms Issues.

Although the majority of writers in Agenda continue to be women, and despite the important addition of other African women's voices, I think there has been a qualitative change in the more recent Issues of Agenda. Writers have tended to be the usual well-known voices. This does suggest a form of "class" element in the overall content reflected, with voices of researchers for example, rather than that of the researched, predominating. (I am by no means implying that researchers are to be excluded!!!). The diversity of women's voices from different walks of life and the feistiness of this diversity, is missing.

(Some persons might mention Agenda's SAPSE accreditation-however, we were able to acquire and maintain this notwithstanding that some of our writers were not academics).

5. *I shall be brief here....I think the changes are due crises that have occurred in Agenda, and structural changes that have taken place. Key to keeping alive the mission and vision of Agenda have been editors with a feminist consciousness and understanding, as well as an editorial advisory group with the same attributes (from differing walks of life). The regular interaction between editor and the EAG has been critical in determining the issues covered by Agenda and in finding the range of writers I have referred to in preceding paragraphs. This interaction has been lost. Although there is an EAG, (and its members are well-respected outspoken feminists), its members are scattered throughout southern Africa, and the close meetings between editor and the EAG of the past, are now rather disembodied cyberspace interactions. This approach has to be refined to make it more effective.*
6. *It is important to appoint an editor with a feminist understanding of issues. The importance of collective decision making on issues to be covered, writers, content, etc has been demonstrated in the past. We need to examine how the new EAG can "meet" with the Editor more effectively and regularly using the cybertechnology (and other technologies!) available to us.*

Appendix 2

Mission Statement

Agenda is published by
an editorial collective,
29 Ecumenical Centre
Trust, 20 St Andrews
Street, Durban, 4001.
☎ 031-3054074
Fax 031-3010740

Editorial

Collective:

Debby Bonnin, Cheryl
de la Rey, Michelle
Friedman, Gill
Finchelescu (Cape
Town), Nise Malange,
Asha Moodley, Jo
Beall (London), Sue
Holland-Muter
(co-ordinator),
Isobel Sobey
marketing), Lindiwe
Tshabalala

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Agenda aims to provide a forum for comment, discussion and debate on all aspects of women's lives, particularly those in South Africa.

We believe that women in South Africa experience exploitation and oppression on the basis of their class, race and gender. In order to eradicate women's oppression, we need to struggle on all these fronts. Women also have to take up issues of their specific oppression as part of broader workplace, community and political struggles. This, however, requires an understanding of the ways in which class, race and gender shape women's lives - and also of women's struggles: past and present.

We hope that *Agenda* will enable women to discuss, analyse and debate their position in society: their vision of a more hopeful future for women; and strategies for coping now as well as for organising towards that future.

Notes for Contributors

Contributions of articles, interviews, biographical stories, briefings, poetry, cartoons, artwork or photographs that will enhance an understanding of women's position and gender issues are welcome.

Agenda is regularly listed in the *International Current Awareness Services*. Selected material is indexed in the *International Bibliography of the Social Sciences*. **Note: *Agenda* is a SAPSE-accredited journal.**

Contributions must conform to the following guidelines:

✧ They should be constructive and nonsectarian. Articles must not exceed 6 000 words. Other contributions must not exceed 2 000 words.

✧ Contributions must be in clear, understandable language.

Agenda aims to reach a wide audience: contributors must make their work accessible. We reserve the right to edit contributions to improve accessibility.

✧ All contributions should be typed in double space, if possible. Authors should submit 3 copies of their paper. Articles should be properly footnoted and referenced where applicable. Authors should follow the style used in *Agenda*. Where possible, contributors should supply photographs or other illustrative material.

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Please acknowledge any material used from *Agenda*.

The views expressed in the contributions are not necessarily those of the editorial collective.