

WOMEN AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS IN A COMPARATIVE
CONTEXT

USHA ROOPNARAIN

(Reg no: 8934213)

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Promoter: Professor Gisela Geisler

Joint -Promoter: Dr L-H Stears

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Abstract

Over the last few years there has been an escalation of interest in the study of femineity and women. The term "men" is used as an unmarked omnipresent category to symbolise humanity in general. Over the last two decades feminists have challenged the ideological and material requirements of such definite male bias. Feminists have built their position on the notion of "the personal is political", feminists have raised a number of questions regarding the status quo in society. In this dissertation, the researcher does not aim to fill a descriptive void, but to demonstrate the theories and approaches to gender as well as suggest further areas for research.

In the introduction, the researcher examines the wider academic background to the study as well as raising intellectual and political issues raised by feminists and postmodern theory.

A basic axiom is that new intuition into social relations follow the investigation of cultural categories that have previously been taken for granted.

The chapter on India draws attention to the ways in which femineity produced within the Chipko movement impinged on the relations between colonizer and colonized. The indigenous notions of gendered difference are constantly created and transformed in everyday interactions. Relations of power are constituent parts of these interactions. This experience is never comprehensive, hence it changes over time and space.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE STUDY

ANC	African National Congress
ANCWL	African National Congress Women's League
ERA	Equal Rights Amendment Act
CDMB	Centre for the Development of Brazilian Women
CECF	State Council on Feminine Condition
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women
CPSA	Communist Party of South Africa
DAWN	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
FSAW	Federation of South African Women
IWD	International Women's Day
NCAW	National Council of African Women
NCW	National Council of Women
NOW	National Organization of Women
NORAD	Norwegian Royal Ministry of Development Cooperation
PCB	Brazilian Communist Party
PTB	Brazilian Labour Party
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
USAID	US Agency for International Development
UNICEF	United Nations children's Fund
UNIFEM	UN Development Fund For Women
WED	Women and Environment
WEDO	Women's Environment and Development Organization
WID	Women in Development

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	i
Abstract	ii
List of Abbreviations used in the Study	iii
List of Tables	v

CHAPTER ONE : GENDER AND GENDER RELATED CONCEPTS

1.1. Introduction	1
1.2. Discrimination and Subordination	2
1.3. Ideology and Socialization	7
1.4. Gender Difference and Power	14
1.4.1. Feminism and Political Analysis	22
1.5. The Nature of the Present Study	28
1.6. Rationale of the Study	29
1.7. Goals of the study	31
1.8. Working Hypotheses	31
1.9. Terms and Terminology	32
1.9.1. Gender	32
1.9.2. Motherism	33
1.9.3. Ecofeminism	35
1.9.4. Private and Public Sphere	37
1.9.5. Work	37
1.9.6. The Identification of Gender Needs	38
1.9.7. Women's Interests and Gender Needs	38
1.9.8. Gender Needs	39
1.9.9. Strategic Gender Needs	39
1.9.10. Practical Gender Needs	40
1.9.11. The State and its Control over Women's Strategic Gender Needs	41
1.9.12. Defining Patriarchy	43
1.9.13. The Patriarchal State	31
1.10. The Triple Role of Women	46
1.10.1. Reproductive Role	47
1.10.2. Productive Role	49
1.10.3. Community Politics	51
1.11. Conclusion	53
1.12. Summary	54
1.13. Organisation of Chapters	54

CHAPTER TWO: SOUTH AFRICA

2.1.	Introduction	56
2.2.	Women's Political Activism in South Africa	60
2.3.	The Limits of Women's Political Power	62
2.4.	Women's Conservatism	66
2.4.1	The Church	67
2.5.	The Concept of Patriarchy and Patriarchal Values in South Africa	69
2.6.	The Extent of Women's Organisations	73
2.7.	Background to the Formation of the FSAW	76
2.7.1.	The African National Council Women's League	80
2.7.2.	The Bantu Women's League	80
2.7.3.	National Council of African Women	81
2.7.4.	Federation of South African Women	82
2.8.	The Relationship Between FSAW and the Congress Alliance	83
2.8.1.	Regrouping in FSAW	85
2.9.	The Content In Which These Organisations Arose	86
2.10.	The Content and Meaning of Motherhood	87
2.10.1.	Motherhood Within the Liberation Period	91
2.10.2.	Motherhood and Politics: A Contradiction?	93
2.11.	Beer Brewing	94
2.12.	Theory	97
2.12.1.	The Concept of Domestic Struggle	98
2.13.	The Dichotomy Between the Public and the Private	103
2.14.	Conclusion	108

CHAPTER THREE: THE CHIPKO MOVEMENT

3.1.	Introduction	109
3.2.	Before the Chipko Movement	110
3.3.	Women and the Environment	115
3.3.1.	Is the Chipko a Feminist Movement?	120
3.4.	The GreenBelt Movement	123
3.4.1.	Not Quite Hugging the Trees	126
3.5.	The Masculine and Feminine Dichotomy	127
3.6.	The Anti-Alcohol Movement	131
3.7.	The Shahada Movement: Breaking the Silence	132
3.8.	The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA)	135
3.9.	Gender, Nature and the Capitalist Economy	138

3.9.1. The Capitalist Economy	140
3.10. Development, Imperialism and Patriarchy	141
3.11. Domestification of Women	143
3.12. Development Alternatives with Women For a New Era	151
3.13. Swedish International Development Agency	152
3.14. Norwegian Royal Ministry of Development Cooperation	152
3.15. An Overview of Agency policies Concerning Gender and Development .	154
3.16. The "World" of Development Agencies and Multinational Corporations	155
3.17. Conclusion	162

CHAPTER FOUR: WOMEN IN BRAZIL: FORGING NEW PATHS

4.1. Introduction	167
4.1.1. An Overview of Latin American Politics	168
4.2. Paths of Entry: Civil Society	174
4.3. Factors Affecting Women's Participation	177
4.3.1. The Church	178
4.3.2. <i>Machismo</i> : A Locus of Power	179
4.3.3. The Christian Based Communities (CEBs)	181
4.3.3. The Mother's Clubs	182
4.3.4. A Separate World For Children: The Day-Care Movement	183
4.3.5. The Health Movement	185
4.4. Conclusion: The Popular Movements	186
4.5. Institutional Politics	187
4.6. The Councils	188
4.6.1. Council on the Feminine Condition (CECF)	189
4.6.2. The National Council on Women's Rights (CNDM)	195
4.6.3. The Sao Paulo Municipal Council on the Status of Women	198
4.6.4. Program for Integral Assistance to Women's Health (PAISM)	199
4.7. Political Parties	200
4.8. The Trade Union Movement: The Worker's Party (PT)	202
4.9. Bureaucracy and the Relationship to Gender	205
4.10. The Difficulties	206
4.11.1. Incorporation or Institutional Change	206
4.11.2. Decline or Disappearance of Gender Conscious Political Pressure ...	208
4.11.3. The Manipulation of Women's Politics	209
4.11.4. Partisan Rivalries: Taking Sides	209
4.11.5. Mistrust of Government Rhetoric	210
4.11.6. How to Change the World Without Losing Ourselves	212
4.12. The Australian Scenario	213

4.13. Not so Feminist: Women in Bureaucracies	217
4.14. Conclusion	218

CHAPTER FIVE: A COMPARATIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE CASE STUDIES

5.1.1. Diverging Goals, Converging Strategies	222
5.2. Productive and Reproductive Spheres	225
5.3. The Chipko Movement	227
5.4. South Africa	230
5.5. Brazil	233
5.5.1. The State	234
5.6. Some Concluding Thoughts	234

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1. General Conclusions	237
6.2. Gender Dynamics	241
6.3. "Ungendering" Power and Politics	242
6.4. "Ungendering" Labour	243
6.5. "Ungendering" Resources	244
6.6. Addressing the Working Hypotheses	245
6.7. Future Areas of Study	247
6.8. Summary	247

PUBLISHED SOURCES

a) Books	250
b) Articles	284
c) Papers, Theses, and Unpublished Manuscripts	293
d) Newspapers/Periodicals	294

Appendices	295
Appendix A	296
Appendix B	297
Appendix C	298
Appendix D	299
Appendix E	300
Appendix F	301

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 :	The Chronological Emergence of South Africa's Women's Organisation	75
Table 2 :	Time Taken and Distance Travelled for Fuelwood	144
Table 3 :	Date of Women's Suffrage in Latin America	167
Table 4 :	Party Affiliation of Women Candidates,	214
Table 5 :	Pass Convictions 1921-1957	296
Table 7 :	Achievement of Women's Right to Vote	299
Table 8 :	Percentage of Illiterates Per Population By Sex	300

One is not born a woman, but rather becomes one.

-Simone de Beauvoir

strictly Speaking, "women" cannot be said to exist.

-Julia Kristeva

Woman does not have a sex.

-Luce Irigaray

The deployment of sexuality..established this notion of no sex.

-Michael Foucault


The category of sex is the political category that founds
society as heterosexual.

-Monique Wittig

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: GENDER AND GENDER RELATED CONCEPTS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Women's experience in politics has often been portrayed as one of exclusion, inequality or neglect. The near absence of women from state institutions/ decision-making sheds light on the prevalence of gender inequality. Mary O' Brien (1981) dubs this exclusion as "male stream" theory. The relationship between state and gender opens up a host of questions: the most important one is: what constitutes gender inequality? The case studies in this thesis emphasise the neglect of women's interests in policy considerations. The first part of this chapter traces gender inequalities and it argues that gender is an important component. In the course of this thesis, the importance of women becomes distinct, and the relevance of gender becomes indispensable. In a recent article West and Zimmerman (1987: 1) advances an approach to understanding gendered relationships, they describe as "doing gender" .

"Doing gender involves a complex of socially guided perceptual interactions, and micro political activities that cast particular pursuits as expressive of masculine and feminine "natures." [Gender] is an emergent feature of social situations: both as an outcome of and a rationale for various social arrangements and as a means of legitimising [those arrangements].

1.2 DISCRIMINATION AND SUBORDINATION

The feminist wave started in the 1960s with the main loci being the lack of equal opportunities, hence women had to compete with men for jobs, power and status in the public domain. Betty Friedan set up the National Organisation of Women (NOW) to campaign equal rights for women, by which was meant primarily legislative change to prevent women being discriminated against in the public world of work and politics. A significant move by NOW was the ERA (Equal Rights Amendment Act) to be appended to the US constitution. This manoeuvre was finally defeated by the changing political tide which moved against feminism and other progressive movements in the 1980s. Friedan and NOW became known as the 'liberal feminists, in the sense that they worked within the contours of liberal democratic societies, with the common belief that society could be improved by safeguarding the rights of individuals. This position argued that the problem was discrimination against women, excluding them from male jobs and positions of power. In 1971, Betty Friedan visited Brazil at the invitation of Rose Marie Muraro, the managing editor of "The Feminine Mystique" (in translation). Friedan was labelled an "ugly, bourgeois, manhater", whilst Muraro criticized Friedan's feminism, arguing that there are:

"two types of feminism: an older one, [which is] within the system and favours the system and which pits woman against man, is a neurotic expression of resentment by the dominated that one merely increase the existing antagonism [against feminism]. More schizophrenia! But there is another which sees women's oppression within a more global social struggle and dialectically synthesizes that struggle for justice. And it is in that sense that I position myself [as a feminist] (Goldberg, cited in Alvarez, 1989: 6).

Muraro's notion of the "two feminisms" developed among intellectual and political classes in the 70s. Goldberg further (Goldberg cited in Alvarez, 1989: 6) argues

that "the idea that there existed two feminisms began to take shape among intellectuals: one acceptable, which could be invited to take its seat among the forces of the left which attempted to reorganise the country; another totally unacceptable, alien, the struggle of bourgeois lesbians against men."

In a similar light Paul Singer stated :

"it is necessary that...we not merely transplant the feminist problematic developed in industrialized countries in our context...The great majority of Brazilian women do not have the conditions with which to free themselves from economic subjection to their husbands...until those conditions are radically altered (and in this men and women are equally interested), the feminist movement in Brazil will have to present itself with the vital problem of women's work, if it does not want to speak in the name of a limited group who, under current circumstances, enjoys a privileged situation" (Singer, cited in Alvarez, 1989: 27)

Liberal feminists argued that once discrimination is eliminated, it will be possible for women and men to be treated as individual human beings, with their own personal talents and preferences, no longer restricted in the opportunities available to them by their stereotypical views of the capabilities and appropriate roles for each sex. In addition this group moved on to argue that on average women are more likely to opt for certain roles or to be predominant in certain roles and men in others. However this would not be problematic since the opportunities open to members of both sexes are the same and that all activities were equally valued. However a number of images and caricatures are attributed to the female gender.

A conventional social attitude regards women as "the weaker sex" both physically and mentally. Societal indoctrination and psychological conditioning have led women to accept inferior and subordinate status accorded to them will be discussed further in the course of the study.

The representation of liberal feminism was instrumental in the United States in the 1970s where it tended to dominate the women's movement and influence the direction of feminist research as well as having an effect on the national political scene. In reality the growth of the 'New Right' in the 1980s, with its stress on traditional family values and sex roles can be seen as a reaction against this type of feminism and the transformation that was taking place in women's lives. In the late 1960s a new strand of feminism emerged which involved women in other types of nonconformist politics in particular working class and community politics. They were different from their US counterparts in that they were more dubious of those who argued that women's position could be ameliorated just by changing the law. In addition, they argued that a more fundamental overhaul of society was required because the gesture of providing women the opportunity to take on high status roles that men traditionally held would not abrogate status hierarchies themselves, nor would it improve the situation of the majority of women.

This contention is inferred from a similar one about the division between classes. It becomes obvious that if women as a whole are to be liberated, a fundamental transformation of society is required, not just a different distribution of who does what. Such a restructuring would comprise liberating women from their domestic and nurturing roles as well as changing the goals of the public world of work and politics too. Structuralists highlight the institutions of society and the effects

on people within them and argued for the problem for women is not just that as individuals. They are packaged in and oppressed by the very structure of society which subordinates them.

The structuralists view solicits more questions than answers such as what are the structures of oppression based on? How did they originate? And how can they be changed? In the United Kingdom, two main schools of feminism developed which started this structural view of women's position, and thus spoke of women as oppressed and/or subordinated. They differed on what lay behind women's oppression and therefore in their strategies to overcome it. Socialist feminists saw the liberation of women as closely tied to that of the working class. They argued that the capitalist structures of society which exploited the working class also oppressed women. Radical feminists, on the other hand, were of the opinion that women's oppression had its own dynamic and was based primarily on patriarchal relations of power between women as a group and men as distinct groups. These two feminist approaches differed from the liberal feminists in their strategies for change. They were sceptical about the extent to which legislation could improve the position of women, since discrimination was only a manifestation of the underlying problem. Subsequently the structuralist view of women's subordination meant that all aspects of society were to be viewed as part of the same system and could not be seen as neutral instruments to be used by feminism. An example to illustrate this point, the state, as part of the same system of oppression, was unlikely to produce legislation which really benefited women.

The socialist view postulated that inequality between women and men began with private ownership of the means of production and sexual division of labour. Hence

women's subordination could only be overcome through anticapitalist struggle and socialist transformation (Molyneux, 1982). Maxine Molyneux found exceptional uniformity in official ideology regarding the women question. She asserted the following:

"the uniformity in these theories of women's emancipation is to be found in the historical formation and subsequent reproduction of the orthodox communist position on women. This position was not a simple transposition from Marxist classics: the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin on women were fragmentary and in some ways inconsistent. What has been created is a selective canonization of their observations to produce an apparently coherent theory. Just as in the aftermath of Lenin's death an orthodox corpus called 'Marxism Leninism' was created in Moscow and disseminated throughout the international Communist movement, so an orthodox position on women was developed, based on an instrumental reading of the classical texts and on the official codification of the early period of the Third International" (Molyneux, 1982: 66-67).

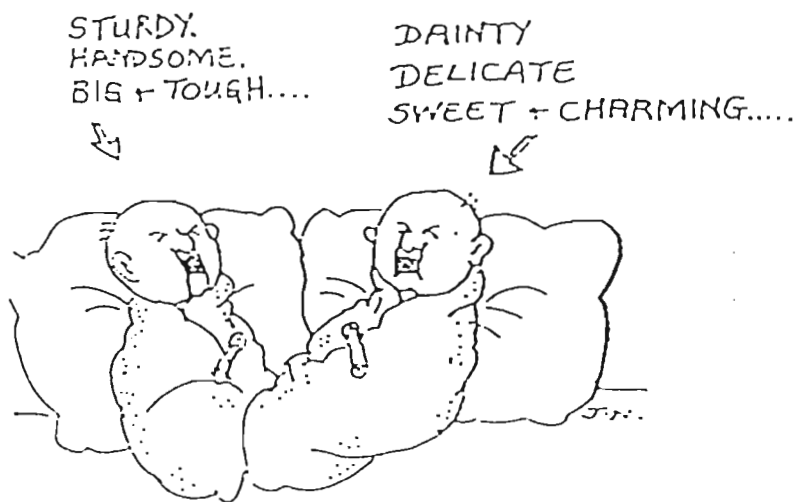
The pragmatic connotations of this view can be identified as "integrationist" i.e. women must be integrated into the work force so they can augment class consciousness and hence become affiliated to the revolutionary struggle which would eventually lead to their liberation. The work of Singer and Muraro (Alvarez, 1990a: 27) emphasised the need for women to organise "within a more global social struggle", thus neglecting the need to organize around practical and gender interests.

The integrationist policy is echoed in Nicaragua (this will be fully developed in chapter four), where AMNLAE (Association of Nicaraguan Women Luisa Amanda Espinoza) adopted an orthodox position in its analysis of women's oppression,

regarding women's insertion into waged work as a key to full equality. In AMNLAE's terms:

"The struggle for equality isn't AMNLAE's problem, it is a problem for the whole society...It isn't a case of our having to struggle for equality. We're struggling to create the conditions that will allow this equality, which the government and the FSNL (Sandinista National Liberation Front) recognise, to be fully exercised" (Doris, Tijerino, the President of AMNLAE in 1982, cited in Deighton et al, 1983: 2).

1.3 IDEOLOGY AND SOCIALIZATION



source: Giddens, 1996

Due to women's reproductive capacity, they are seen as transmitters of group values and traditions, or as agents of socialization.

"Women are socialised to respond to the wishes of others, not to define clearly their own desires. They are socialised to think of themselves as less worthy than men. Even in rural areas...a midwife is paid more if the baby she delivers is a boy" (Figueroa & Anderson, 1981 cited in Momsen, 1993: 234).

According to the structuralist views of women's oppression, ideology has a particularly important contribution to make. An ideology is "a set of beliefs and values which express the interests of a particular social group" (Haralambos, 1988: 22). There are a number of ideologies concerning men's and women's place in society: for example domestic ideology which identifies women particularly with the home and men as 'breadwinners', since they are supposed to provide financially for their families. While work based gender ideologies specify :

"What a man 'is', what a woman 'is', what is right and proper, what is possible and impossible, what should be hoped and what should be feared. The hegemonic ideology of masculinism involves a definition of men and women as different, contrasted, complementary and unequal. It is powerful and it deforms both men and women (Cockburn, 1986: 85).

These ideologies are different but noticeably linked. Ideologies are part of society, they exist in society, they tend to be supportive of the status quo and make existing relations seem predetermined, serving those with power. Hence feminists always speak of a dominant patriarchal ideology (in singular) to signify the particular combination of linked ideas that seem to support women's subordination and make it seem natural. It is evident that women were conditioned and coerced into accepting a secondary status by the process of sex role

stereotyping. "From early childhood, women were trained to accept a system which divided society into male and female spheres, with appropriate roles for each, and which allocated public power exclusively to the male sphere" (Eisenstein, 1984 : 6).

In short, the sense of one's gender was arrived at in response to the environment of the family, that is the interaction between parents and child. It was produced psychologically and socially, rather than physiologically, in an automatic response triggered by mechanical or physical means. Conceptually, then, it was possible to make a distinction between sex and gender. Sex meant the biological sex of the child. It was born anatomically a male or a female member of the human species. Gender was culturally and socially shaped cluster of expectations, attributes, and behaviours assigned to that category of human being by the society into which the child was born (Eisenstein, 1984: 7).

The concept of power is an important aspect of gender since gender relations are relations of inequality and are therefore based on power. According to Kate Millet (1970), power is the essence of politics and patriarchal government as "the institution whereby that half of the populace which is female is controlled by the half which is male" (Millet, 1970: 22). Millet terms this "sexual politics", which is the essential maxim of radical feminism. "The personal is political", suggests that everything that happens in the personal lives of women happens to them as a sex, class and is therefore political.

Alison Jaggar (cited in Pearsall, 1993: 13) recapitulates:

"On this view, there is no distinction between the 'political' and the 'personal' realms: every area of life is the sphere of 'sexual politics.' All relations between women and men are institutionalized relationships of power and so constitute appropriate subjects for political analysis."

In elevating women's consciousness, women share their individual experiences and collectively analyze their political position. Ideologies persuade men and women to conform to the structures of society and any specific positions allocated to each sex in any given society. Anthropological studies substantiate a wide variety of interpretations that different societies have of what it means to be a woman or a man. The following quotation from Bouatta and Merabtine (1994) confirms my

point: "...the biological and psychological characteristics intermingle to define her status and forbid her to earn a living, especially if the work require force and/ or authority. A woman cannot wish nor claim tasks or activities which might alter her femininity, keep her away from her original function and eventually disturb the social order. The social order establishes the dichotomy and the hierarchy between the sexes. It gives them differentiated status and roles. This order is legitimated, it complies with divine prescriptions" (Bouatta & Merabtine, 1994: 191).

There is also significant variation in sex roles, the conventional roles assigned, to women and men in different societies. Essentially all societies have, for example, some sexual division of labour so that specific tasks are assigned to a specific sex.

For example in a study of middle-class women in Iran, Gerami (1994) points to the following: "Women's reproductive power has been used to justify her confinement to the private domain. Islamic jurists sometimes influenced by Greek philosophers-have claimed that women are physically weaker, emotionally unstable, and intellectually inferior to men. Thus they belong in the domestic sphere engaged in home-making and child-rearing" (Gerami, 1994: 331).

Studies in psychology depict that children are nurtured to fulfil the expectations made of their sex and their socialization into sex roles. This rearing is important but feminism gave it a new focus, by examining the roles thus transmitted. It then was able to demonstrate that extensive efforts needed to be made to ensure that boys and girls grew up to take on sexually-differentiated characteristics of women and men in society. According to Haider (quoted in Heptulla:

"...a woman was arbitrarily expected to be humble and modest from reason and correction, submissive by choice, and obedient from inclination, preserving by prudence her delight to please her husband being confident that everything that promotes his happiness must in the end contribute to her own (Heptulla. 1992: 57).

The anticipations were based on the notion that women were not "equal" but completely different from men "both mentally and intellectually." Socialization was supposed to have been a natural healthy process by which a natural state was achieved, but it was shown to be replete with difficulties and sometimes resistance in the quest for a socially constructed outcome. Jean Baker Miller (1978) presents the processes of socialization and its effects on subordinate and dominant roles.

The following explicates my point:

"...the processes of socialization form part of the structure of society. Just as there are specific expectations made of women and men in every society. There are social institutions like the family, schools and culture more generally- through which these expectations are learned and shown to be appropriate. In a male dominated society, men will be encouraged to develop the characteristics appropriate to a dominant group, women those appropriate to a subordinate group" (Crowley & Himmelweit, 1994:19).

Socialization theory enables one to explain the manner in which women come to surrender to their own oppression and show thereby why equal opportunities cannot

be enough to create an equal society. Hence if men and women are socialized differently, they cannot be expected to behave in the same way when offered the same opportunities. It suffices to say that women cannot fit into the roles allocated to men even if their material impediments are removed. For example:

"Because of their reproductive capacity, women are seen as the transmitters of group values and traditions and as agents of socialization of the young. When group identity becomes intensified, women are elevated to the status of symbol of the community and are compelled to assume the burden of reproduction of the group. Their roles as wives and especially mothers is exalted, indeed fetishized. Women's 'place' in the home and family is lauded. It is the Woman as Wife or Mother not women as workers, students, citizens who is ideologically constructed in the discourse and program of the movement" (Mogahadam, 1994: 18).

The acknowledgment that women's and men's lives are formed by different experiences and expectations made because of them allows for the possibility that current differences rather than being assumed to be biological, can be shown to be due to socialization. Within this framework, understanding the different processes of socialization of women and men becomes an important task of feminist research. The process of socialization forms part of the structure of society. Just as there are specific expectations made of women and men in every society, there are also social institutions like the family, schools and culture more generally-through which these expectations are learned and shown to be appropriate. In a male dominated society, men will be encouraged to develop the characteristics of the dominant group, women characteristics pertinent to a subordinate group.

Psychoanalyst Jean Baker Miller expounded the following:

"Once a group is defined as inferior, the superiors tend to label it as defective or substandard in various ways. These labels accrete rapidly. Thus blacks are described as less intelligent than whites, women are supposed to be ruled by emotion, and so. In addition, the actions and words of the dominant group tend to be destructive of the subordinates. All historical evidence confirms this tendency" (Miller, 1978: 6).

She then goes on to argue that

"Dominant groups usually define one or more acceptable roles for the subordinate. Acceptable roles typically involve providing services that no dominant group wants to perform, on the other hand, are carefully close guarded and closed to subordinates. ...Subordinates are usually said to be unable to perform the preferred roles. Their incapacities are ascribed to innate defects or deficiencies of mind or body " (Miller, 1978: 8).

This proposes an additional problem in transforming the position of women: socialization prepares women for their roles in society, rather than encouraging them to challenge it. How is change to happen if women are socialized into subordinate roles and are thus unlikely to believe in their own power to effect these changes ? It can be argued that socialization prepares us for existing sex roles so effectively as to thwart the possibility of change. However, change is occurring since norms "specific guides to action which defines acceptable and appropriate behaviour,"(Haralambos. 1988: 5) are powerful in directing people. We are living in a period of rigid gender norms, norms are old, new, complementary and contradictory yet they are changing. We are forced to examine and analyze how they affect us. Some of the questions, we need to ask ourselves are: What is feminine or masculine ? What are the effects of physiological gender ? How alike are the sexes. According to Bruzy and Segal (1995: 146) women are not socialised

to think about or participate in politics. According to Clark and Clark (1986) women may be limited in political activities because of childhood socialization. Owen and Dennis(1988) revealed through interviews with children and adolescents that socialization still had an impact on politicisation. Females demonstrated less interests and understanding of the political process than male children. They conclude that this resulted from early socialization toward politics.

1.4 GENDER DIFFERENCES AND POWER



source: Afshar & Dennis, 1992: 47

Perhaps the Chinese models of development make this quite explicit. The "ideology of male superiority has been revived among the (Chinese) people, giving rise to ugly practices and crimes such as female infanticide, abuse of women and maltreatment of mothers who give birth to girl babies (Kelkar, 1988: 136). The preceding picture illustrates the depth of cultural preferences for males. The Chinese is a particularly painful example of ingrained cultural preferences for males. It also requires us to investigate gender differences.

Since the late 1970s, the second wave feminism underwent a noticeable re-orientation: namely a shift away from its earlier demands to minimise distinctions between male and female. This shift, instead, moved towards a celebratory emphasis on women's difference from men.

The fundamental defining character of the relationship between women and men is one of unequal power. Catharine MacKinnon (quoted in Crowley, 1994 : 37) asserts "the social relation between the sexes is organised so that men may dominate and women must submit and this relation is sexual in fact is sex. Men in particular, if not men alone, sexualize inequality, especially the inequality of the sexes." Hence for MacKinnon, inequality is maintained through sexuality or their biological differences. Arguments surrounding biological differences abound. For example, David Brash argued:

"women have almost universally found themselves relegated to the nursery while men derive their greatest satisfaction from their jobs...such differences in male female detachment to family versus vocation could derive in part from hormonal differences between the sexes" (Barash, 1977: 301)

A similar argument is made by Goldberg (quoted in Alvarez, 1989: 27) who argued that patriarchy was inevitable because men's dominance was biologically ordained. While biologist E.O Wilson (1978) argued that even with identical education, there would be a disproportionate representation in political life, business and science, namely the basic biological imperatives would ensure that men predominate the public domain (1978). Jaggar (1994) adopts the Westernized view that women are associated with nature and men with culture, as can be seen in following:

"this identification of men with the mind (and especially with reason, which holds a particularly exalted place in the Western philosophical tradition) has been used to justify male political dominance over women. Simultaneously, the identification of women with the body has been used as evidence that women are deficient in their ability to reason and consequently are not worthy of social and political equality with men" (Jaggar, 1994: 79).

During the late 1960s and 70s several radical feminists also located the source of women's subordination in female biology. The most plausible accounts were put forward by Shulamith Firestone in "The Dialectic of Sex" (1970). Firestone (1970) argued that the human reproductive biology has prescribed a form of social organisation called "the biological family." This family is characterised by a child dependent on the mother and a woman dependent on a man. According to Firestone this biological family is the basic reproductive unit that has persevered in every society...the endurance of this unit is the result of the unique features of the human biological constitution, namely that women are physically weaker than men as a result of their reproductive physiology and infants are physically helpless relative to adults. These biological relationships necessitate certain social relationships if women and infants are to survive. At this point it is important to note that although Firestone recognises that biological imperatives are overlaid by

institutions that reinforce male dominance, she believes that the ultimate source of male dominance is human reproductive biology. Consequently, she argues that women can only be liberated by overpowering human biology. Firestone alleges that this requires the development of, on the one hand, reliable contraceptive technology and, on the other hand, extra-uterine gestation or more commonly known as test-tube babies. This will make viable :

" The freeing of women from the tyranny of their reproductive biology by every means available, and the diffusion of the childbearing and child-rearing role to the society as a whole, men as well as women" (Firestone, 1970: 206).

Attempts to operationalize these technological developments would constitute the imposition of a set of consciously designed and deliberately chosen cultural practices onto a sphere of human life which until now, has been determined by human biology. Firestone's work typifies this:

"(T)he 'natural' is not necessarily a 'human' value. Humanity has begun to outgrow nature: we can no longer justify the maintenance of a discriminatory sex class system on grounds of its origins in Nature" (Firestone, 1970: 9-10).

It is apparent that many theories have been elaborated in every culture into a gender system that restricts or retards developments in every facet of women's lives. Feminist theory asserts that biological facts are unalterable. For women to achieve their equality, there has to be a transformation of the gender roles, gender norms as well as biological aspects or in Firestone's words "the sex distinction itself."

Literature has stressed the fact that women are linked to political power in weaker ways than men (Kaplan, 1982; Molyneux, 1985; Shiva, 1987). This lack of effective

power for women has been associated with a combination of two important factors: women's reduced access to political power and the domestic nature of these demands that limit the ways that these demands can be transformed into political factors. Men are constantly involved in production for exchange (rather than immediate consumption), women's work is increasingly confined to the domestic sphere. As Sacks (1974: 221) explains:

"Once such a dichotomy is made women do domestic work for family use, men in social production for exchange. There is an organisational basis for sexual divide and rule policy."

The notion of this dichotomy has drawn increasing attention as an analytic focus for explaining the gap between political influence of men and women. Rosaldo (1974: 36) maintains that women's status is the lowest when the private sphere and the public spheres of activity are strongly differentiated. Lourdes Beneria (1979: 203ff) this dichotomy and incumbent subordination of women can be traced to female reproductive activities, social as well as biological. When appropriated by men these demands are redefined as political. Excluded from power in the public sphere, women still have the domestic domain, this domestic role of women implies specific forms of social relations:

"Oppression has only meant a lack of rights and subjectivity but also a filling up with other rights and identities...capable of forming a complicated network of relationships" (Jelin, 1990: 186).

Whilst housework is often viewed as menial, socially unrecognised but also:

"it produces use values, in exchange for which it receives greater or lesser degrees of power in the interpersonal field of the family and the couple. women are experts in this type of power, based on the idea of love, affection, seduction. The institutional value of all this is worth nothing, but its social value, its value in terms of life, is enormous ()

A focus on wage labour results in the devaluation of work women do. Lenin quoted in Rogers (1980: 21) has openly expressed this devaluation:

"Housework is the most unproductive, the most barbarous and the most arduous work a woman can do. It is exceptionally petty and does not include anything that would in any way promote the development of women."

Men's work is equated with productivity and women's work is, by implication, unimportant. Most of women's work is unpaid, unacknowledged and private, thus they are made to feel inadequate. The effectiveness of this identification with the domestic domain is immense. Rossanda (1985) goes on to state that:

"Women have enormous social power based on the immediacy of affections but they adapt badly to institutionalized politics based on the masculine logic of power. Capable of political passion, they only act in moments of extreme tension. Their long history of oppression has converted them into brilliant conservatives or ardent anarchists, never into administrators of civil peace" (cited in Jelin, 1990: 186).

One cannot deny that domestic work in Third World countries tends to be extremely demanding. As to being "petty" and "unproductive" is highly questionable. The position taken by Alice Kessler-Harris (1981: 45) echoes my sentiments:

"To describe women's household work as merely auxiliary to paid work in their labour force, or to talk about some women as 'not working' ignores both the value of housework in sustaining the labour force, and its relationship to the wage-working lives of women. Wage work and household work are two sides of the same coin. Scratch one side deeply enough and the other will be blemished."

Moreover, the National Commission of Self-Employed Women (India) found that "an alarming number of families survive solely on women's earnings. The numbers ranged from 20 per cent to 60 per cent in every group that the Commission

interviewed" (Snyder, 1995: 85). It is quite definite that the organisation of the family and the sexual division of labour hampers women's public participation, due to their domestic responsibilities and the ideological burden of being female.

Feminism has come to mean a narrowly defined form of social change, most notably, the recruitment of women into some areas of power and privilege from which they had been previously excluded (Eisenstein, 1984: 136). The central focus of feminism then is the idea of woman-centred values. Feminism as a political movement has, at every level, exhibited a complimentary academic concern in the study of women. Within the context of a sociological paradigm, the thesis focuses on the impact of transitional and transformational changes that appertain to important concepts of politics, feminism, gender, culture, identity, modernity and so forth.

Simone de Beauvoir's analysis of women's subordination advanced from the notion that men viewed women as fundamentally different from themselves. It suffices to say that women were reduced to the status of second sex, as is reiterated in the following:

..."just as for the ancients there was an absolute vertical with reference to which oblique was defined, so there is an absolute human type, the masculine...Thus humanity is male and man defines woman not in herself but as relative to him; she is not regarded as an autonomous being...She is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not she reference to her; she is the incidental, the unessential opposed to the essential. He is the Subject, he is the Absolute she is the Other" (1949: 16).

Simone de Beauvoir has centralized her analysis of the oppression of women based upon the biological difference between the male and female bodies. Thus:

"...to go for a walk with one's eyes open is enough to demonstrate that humanity is divided into two classes of individuals whose clothes, faces, bodies, smiles, gaits, interests and occupations are manifestly different. Perhaps these differences are superficial, perhaps they are destined to disappear. What is certain is that they do most obviously exist" (Simone de Beauvoir, 1949: 742).

For Beauvoir, gender inequality is built and legitimised on biology, thus the idea that women are inferior to men is naturalized and, thus, legitimized by reference to biology. This is achieved through a twofold movement: women's bodies are marked as inferior when compare to male bodies, according to male standards (homme manque') and biological functions are associated with social characteristics. In many ways then, masculine characteristics are connected to dominant perceptions of the male body ie aggression, strength etc. However man is able to surpass being defined in biological categories by means of his rational faculties.

There is no doubt that Beauvoir's analysis has made a stimulating contribution to the feminist analysis of subordination of women. Whilst feminists recognize that an idea of the body is central to women's oppression, there exists theoretical difficulties. Beauvoir's fixation of biology leads to the derogation of the female body. The debate about women rests upon their exclusion as actors in their own right, commonly known as inequality. As the Human Development Report 1993 states:

"Women are the world's largest excluded group. Even though they make up half the adult population, and often contribute more than their share to society, inside and outside the home, they are frequently excluded from positions of power" (cited in Karl, 1995: 5).

This exclusion is neither accidental nor inadvertent. In attempting to bring about women's experiences to the fore of sociological analysis, theorists have emphasised the differences between men and women. This notion of difference is equivocal, this could imply women's uniqueness or "the imposition of difference i.e. gender as a squeezing possibility, and protesting the exclusion and subordination of women in the name of (their) uniqueness. Different but equal may be the gender version of separate but equal. Indeed the very notion of difference can function to obscure domination, to imply a neutral asymmetry" (Crowley and Himmelweit, 1994: 39). In this study, the view is taken that household tasks are "necessary labour" spent in the reproduction of commodities, i.e. "wage labour."

1.4.1 FEMINISM AND POLITICAL ANALYSIS

"Though not a unified body of thought, feminism insists on the importance of women and the need to combat their oppression. This agenda has underlain feminists' attempts to identify an appropriate research method and their criticisms of traditional social science methodology. In some cases it has led to the repudiation of 'male' science and epistemology altogether. Feminist political scientists to date have shown less interest in methodological issues. Instead they have concentrated on questioning their discipline's understanding of the nature, behavioural forms and location of politics. While not amounting to a 'revolution', taken together these feminist criticisms do expose both the frequent scientific pretensions and the conceptual narrowness of political science" (Randall, 1991: 513).

Political scientists often view feminism as having little intellectual importance. The first wave of contemporary American feminism of social and political equality for women, while the second wave centred on women's experience, rejecting the abstract individualism that underlies liberal political theory and accentuating the significance of human relationships and human position in the specific social and

personal conditions from which the self takes identity. Given this focus, in the mid 1960s and 1970s. As a result these studies it became indisputable that women as a gender were invisible. Hence the feminists or feminist movements sought to make women visible.

During the 1970s the focus moved towards women's lives as well as an understanding of the manner in which gender became organised in society. This stirred up new issues (previously not theorized). Issues such as family and sexuality were studied outside the masculine/public domain. Since the late 1970s, second-wave feminism has undergone a reorientation : i.e. a shift away from their earlier demands to minimise differentiation between women and men, instead towards an emphasis on women's differences from men. More recently feminist theory shifted towards a celebration of female difference or a so called women-centred perspective. The critique of patriarchy transcended into an argument for androgyny, for the consolidation of "female" and "male" traits into a monogendered personality. This brings us to the question of feminist theory. According to Tong (1989, 1)

"...feminist theory is not one, but many, theories or perspectives and ... each feminist theory or perspective attempts to describe women's oppression, to explain its causes and consequences, and to prescribe strategies for women's liberation."

In short, a feminist is one who recognises that women are suppressed and attempts to change this. Mani (1990) suggests that there is no simple morality or political prescription from which we can understand women, only the imperative that we are aware of the position from which we speak and the need to recognise the politics of difference that constitute the voices of women. Hence whatever is said requires a commitment to analysing the specificity of relations between women.

Thus one can argue that women are diverse and intersected by historical and political lines of difference. Feminists would argue that we have to acknowledge the configuration of forces that outline women in their specificity.

The specific orientation of the study is to draw links between Brazil and South Africa, and India and South Africa. One of the fundamental goals of the thesis is an analysis of the state institutions and how these institutions reinforce or weaken the women's movement, their status and their family. The question then arises whether the political institutions of the capitalist patriarchal state can become a conceivable realm for the advancement of gender-based social change in 'liberalised' political systems? For feminists concerned with obliterating patterns of inequality, there needs to be an understanding of the male dominant dimensions of the state. Hence feminist theories are essential since "different views of the state imply different politics of social change, in both their means and ends" (Carnoy, 1984: 4).

An examination of most of the gender literature seems to indicate that there is "little understanding of how the institutional and organisational contexts within which women's political participation takes place constrain or facilitate the 'representation' of 'women's interests' and even fewer studies of how those contexts help to determine gender specific policy outcomes" (Alvarez, 1990a: 270). Hence this thesis would seek to fill the void in our understanding. It can be contended that male orientation influences the organisation of the social sciences to the extent that the "invisibility" of women appears as a structural weakness. It becomes apparent then, that the task of social science is to reevaluate existing

theory and consolidate gender into social science. Stanley (1983) asserts that the integration of female experience is a means of achieving a true science.

According to Rendel (1981: 15): "the most serious mission of political science in its treatment of women has been its failure to deal with women in the political system as a whole." The fact that basic political science texts have generally excluded women's community, volunteer and protest activities from political analysis, contributes to the perpetuation of women's political invisibility and powerlessness (Clark and Clark, 1986: 9ff). The history of Latin American women has been approached in two ways, women have been defined according to sources that reflect cultural norms, these include educational or legislative material. Secondly women are seen in terms of biographies. The work of David Slater (1985) is important. In 1985 "New Social Movements and State in latin America set the agenda for the analysis of non-institutional politics. Slater attempted to identify and illustrate the "new" social movements as well as consider their role in the class struggle. The book covers the entire spectrum of social movements. But the major drawback is the ignorance of gender as one of the keys to the understanding of politics in Latin America. Women's political participation is afforded a separate section at the end of the book entitled "women's movements." This creates a form of marginalization something inherent in malestream politics. Researchers need to amplify the limited picture by seeking important areas for analysis. These areas usually take the form of women and politics, women and the work force, feminism and women's associations. Strategic gender issues and issues that are important to women need to be part of the political agenda and need not be peripheral to it. Given this scenario the researcher attempts to investigate the abertura process and the development of a new form of feminism.

The transition from authoritarian to democratic rule is one of the most important trends in the Latin American political history. This dynamic period witnessed "the emergence and development of what is arguably the largest, most diverse, most radical, and most successful women's movement in contemporary Latin America (Alvarez, 1990a: 1). The case of Brazil is also of importance, since in the mid-1980's a number of women had been politicised by the women's movement. Yet few are aware of the fact that from Mexico to Argentina women's movements are flourishing and are explicating the parameters of the struggle against oppression and exploitation in Latin America (Alvarez, 1990a: 4). A review of the relevant research indicates that most studies on women and Latin America have greatly neglected to provide an in-depth investigation. Hence the chapter on Brazil documents the emergence of the women's movement to show how and why feminists (in Brazil) were able to redefine the political agenda so as to include a number of women's issues.

Feminist historiography indicates a move towards 'the integrated domain of cultural history' (Sangari & Vaid, 1989). Such a historiography recognizes that each aspect of reality is gendered, and is involved in questioning all that we think we know, in a sustained examination of analytical and epistemological apparatus, and in a dismantling of the ideological presuppositions of so called gender neutral methodology (Sangari, Vaid, 1989: 2). With this objective of a gender-neutral method of enquiry, the researcher examines the changing position of women in their social status and material specificity. It is within such a context that the researcher seeks to analyze the suppositions and parameters of the Chipko movement.

The environmental crisis has heightened interest in the field of women's studies. This is an area where feminists incorporate gender and development and thereby contribute towards development research. Current research initiatives such as (WEDO, DAWN etc) enable one to draw conceptual frameworks and methodologies for studying women and the environment. The critical role of environmental factors such as degradation etc are examined in terms of gender concepts and criteria. This approach will help identify the appropriate empowerment tools as well as tools for promoting further emancipation. The analysis of the chipko movement provides insights into how gender interests are shaped and articulated in the patriarchal social formations. It becomes necessary in the study to investigate its influence on our systematic knowledge of tradition, culture, identity and modernity.

In South Africa, black resistance has emerged strongly in confrontation to the apartheid state and its representatives: over discrimination controls and procedures that have explicitly institutionalised racism as well as the fostering of segregation among different races, in combination with disenfranchisement of the black people. Black resistance is not only interested in state power and material goals but moves further to identity and culture. The culture of resistance is conciliated to the goals of liberation. An appropriation of history can establish black people as subjects of history, contemporary and past, to the extent that language, culture and discourse constitute reality. This process is central since the denial of history is a hallmark of racism as demonstrated, for instance, by the curious synonyms of 'black' and 'immigrant', and the portrayal of immigration as a national threat). The elements of black is not defined by common oppression so much as a common context of struggle and resistance (Mohanty, 1988:67). This

context of struggle and resistance is permeated with a historically specific blend of economic exploitation, cultural oppression and social subordination in which the state is prominent, and needs, furthermore, to be seen in an international perspective. These arguments and observations are blended into feminist theory.

1.5 THE NATURE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study is comparative in nature. Unlike the experimental method, the comparative method is based upon an analysis of what has happened, or what is happening in society, rather than conditions feigned by the researcher. Using the comparative method, the researcher systematically compares women's roles as mothers and wives in South Africa, India and Brazil. The comparative method overcomes some of the problems involved with experimentation in 'social sciences.' The comparative method has been widely used by theorists such as Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber. Marx developed his theory of social change by comparing a wide variety of societies (Haralambos, 1988). Durkheim also adopted the comparative method when studying the division of labour and the change from mechanical to organic solidarity. Durkheim used different societies, groups and time periods to isolate variables which cause social phenomenon. Weber systematically compared early capitalist countries in Europe and North America to countries such as India and China to show a relationship between early capitalism and Calvinism.

1.6

RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

In this study, the researcher attempts an interpretative history of women's movements in South Africa, India and Brazil. Each of these three strands of the women's movements had different origins, different strategies, goals yet their mobilisational referent remains the same. The researcher has selectively presented major campaigns, concentrating on the terms in which issues were defined and fought for and the kinds of movements which developed. This thesis also analyzed a significant but neglected theme: motherhood and the emergence of women's organisations. Contemporary feminist movements has concentrated mainly on documenting women's movements without linking the issues of motherhood and gender needs. This leads to a partial view of the movements they were or are engaged in. Hence the reader will constantly be reminded of the correlation between protest movements and motherhood. This special category of "women's activism" linking the three countries has not been researched. The researcher argues that it is precisely this difference which made women socially and politically useful (women as mothers). As women themselves joined campaigns and also formed their own organisations, this point of being a mother is continually stressed. Initially many of the women did not see themselves as feminists, on the contrary, their solidarity and their political strategies were an extension of their traditional family roles. The thesis also shows that in practically all women's movements, anti-patriarchal issue inevitably develop. The study compares the mobilisation of women and discusses the impact of politicisation on women. Parallels between the three countries can also be found, especially when dealing with practical gender interests. Each of these studies also reflects the distinct historical and cultural contexts in which women's mobilisation has occurred. The three case studies provides an important perspective on important issues that are

at the heart of an increasingly international mobilization of women: what are the strategies available to women to gain entry into politics? The case studies also gives a opportunity to describe individual initiatives and assess their effectiveness. This study also attempts to fill a void in the understanding of women's movements since "most conventional approaches to the study of women and politics provide few insights into the critical dilemmas confronting Latin American women's movements in the 1980s and 1990s" (Alvarez, 1990a: 19). "While during the last decade feminist political scientists, sociologists, and historians have produced an extensive literature on female political participation, women's political attitudes and behaviour, and female political elites in Latin America and elsewhere, this literature does not explain adequately the impact of women's organised political activity on institutional arenas or vice-versa" (Alvarez, 1990a: 22).

The "analytical neglect of the linkages between women's movements and government policy has resulted in both 'selective omission' and 'theoretical distortion' in our present understanding of women and politics in Latin America (Blachman, 1976). "Gender is an indispensable concept in the analysis of political and cultural movements, of transition, and of social change" (Mogahadam, 1994: 16). It is within this context i.e. religious, cultural, ethnic, and national identity that the politicisation of gender occurred. "Women's absence from central societal institutions and decision-making forums has until a short time ago been characteristic of all Western democracies" (Hernes, 1987a: 9).

1.7 GOALS OF THE STUDY

To the best of my knowledge, an in depth comparative study on women in South Africa, India and Brazil has not yet been researched. The necessity to conduct the present study was felt to be appropriate with the following aims in mind:

- a) To establish a theoretical basis and framework compatible to the study of gender.
- b) To evaluate the link between non-revolutionary political change and changes in women's consciousness and mobilisation.
- c) To further amplify our understanding of the democratisation process in Brazil and other Latin American countries.
- d) By comparing Brazil to South Africa, the political role of women examined from military authoritarianism to democracy as well as from motherism to militancy.
- g) To investigate how the Chipko Movement has located women's strategic gender interests within an ecological paradigm.
- h) to show that women are agents of change rather than victims, thereby seeking a more sustainable future for humanity.

1.8 WORKING HYPOTHESES

The study will be guided by the following working hypotheses:

- i) Gender differences are attributed to the social and political construction of society.
- ii) Women's movements have a profound effect on gender politics in Latin America.

- iii) Black women's political involvements have been predominantly conservative as far as gender relations are concerned as indicated by their defence of their families and the notion of motherhood.
- iv) Feminist movements, for example the Chipko Movement, have led towards the 'conscientisation' of gender inequities and have introduced gender concerns into the ecology argument.
- v) Women's movements give social and political expression to women's gender interests.

1.9 TERMS AND TERMINOLOGY

1.9.1 GENDER

According to Friedman (1987), the theoretical clarification of terms is an important exercise because it has paved the way to question the 'naturalness' and 'essentialness' of a social hierarchy based on biological distinction. The word "gender" was originally introduced into the discourse on differences between women and men to complement the word "sex." Eichler (1980: 12) notes that this distinction did not succeed, and many authors use the terms interchangeably. In addition Eichler further contends that this distinction lies not in the inadequacy of the two terms, but in the link between the social and biological self. In the literary survey undertaken few authors make the distinction between social and biological. Siltanen (1986: 118) argues that gender and sexual divisions are issues to be addressed, not assumed. For these reasons the term gender is used throughout the thesis because as O'Brien explains, "the word 'sex' is (averted) simply because it has too many levels of meaning. Sex can be an instinct, drive, an

act in response to that drive, a gender, a role, an emotional bomb or a causal variable.... For the social relations between men and women and for the differentiation of male and female the word gender is preferred." (Mary O' Brien, 1981: 13). This is also reiterated in the following ..."the term gender would be used rather than sex, since the latter only describes biological characteristics, whereas the former encompasses socially constructed categories of gender" (Mackintosh, 1981, cited in Chant, 1989:2).

1.9.2 MOTHERISM

Motherhood, women's most positively sanctioned role, has traditionally been characterized as a domestic one. Maternal concerns were considered as ideological commitments to motherhood. Julie Wells (1993) identifies motherism as women's politics of resistance which affirms obligations traditionally assigned to women and calls on the community to respect them. The thesis focuses on the manner in which motherism was perceived in South Africa and utilized by political organisations and the manner in which Black women have organised themselves politically around the concept of motherhood. An important question will be addressed in chapter two: "Why mothers?" and examines the importance of the contradictory role of traditional ideology of motherhood. By using values such as the preservation and defense of the family, women united together and resisted state policies. It is motherhood or women's traditional roles which justifies the entry of black women into the public sphere. Motherhood, in this case, has motivated a politics of resistance to, rather than acceptance of traditional conservative political values.

The call to resistance is described in the following:

"The mothers of the nation, the womenfolk as a whole are the titans of our struggle....Our revolutionary movement has long recognised the fact that an oppressive social order such as ours could not but enslave women in a particularly brutal way. One of the greatest prizes of the democratic movement must therefore be the unshackling of women (quoted in Yuval and Davis, 1989: 72).

Governments have also manipulated motherhood for their own purposes. The effective use of women's bodies as reproductive machines is reflected in the work of Haleh Afshar in a study titled Behind the Veil: The Public and Private Faces of Khomeini's Policies on Iranian Women. According to Afshar (1988b) women are forced into motherhood and domesticity and to serve the country by providing "sons as martyrs."

Thus

"Degraded into sex objects and denoted to mere wives they have no recognised function other than motherhood and no protection other than polygamous marriages (Afshar, 1988b: 244ff).

Concentrating on motherhood, Iranian women abandon public ambition and aspirations. The theme of motherhood links the three chapters in this thesis. In South Africa, mothers sensed an obligation to ameliorate apartheid society. Using this role, Black South African women sought active and direct roles in the public sphere. In an effort to transform the world into a safer place, women in the Chipko Movement began protesting against environmental degradation, tree felling etc. In Brazil women's participation in social protests stemming from their roles as mothers and wives is examined.

Writers such as Ruddick (1983) and Rich (1976) have contributed to the theory of mothering. This theory of maternalism urges women to expand the role of mothering through their social action. The final section of this thesis considers the intersection of feminism and motherhood.

1.9.3 ECOFEMINISM

The term ecofeminism was introduced in the mid-1970s by French feminist writer Francoise d'Eaubonne. The term ecofeminism refers to a range of theoretical positions which rest on the assumption that there are critical connections between the domination of nature and of women. In short, ecofeminism points to the interconnections between feminist and ecological concerns. For some writers this connection is biological (Griffin, 1984b; Daly, 1979; Gray, 1979). others see it as a result of social conditioning. Literature on ecofeminism is growing but this body of thought is rather underdeveloped. When ecofeminism emerged, it promised to expose, challenge and change the meaning of gender relations. These promises are captured in a number of ecofeminist writings: Reclaim the Earth: Women Speak Out for Life on Earth (Caldeott and Leland, 1983); Healing the Wounds, The Promise of Ecofeminism (Plant, 1989); Reweaving the World: On the Emergence of Ecofeminism (Diamond and Orenstain, 1990).

My objective is not to critique ecofeminist discourse in detail, but rather to focus on some of its significant elements, especially how it informs our perspective of gender and the environment. The following statements sum up the important arguments of ecofeminism:

- a) Important connections between the domination and oppression of women and the domination and exploitation of women exist.

- b) Women are seen as closer to nature and men closer to culture. Nature is seen as inferior to culture, hence women are seen as inferior to men.
- c) Since the domination of women and nature is linked, women have a special purpose in ending this domination, in healing the alienated human and non-human nature (Plant, 1989).
- d) The feminist movement and environment stand for egalitarian, non hierarchical systems. These movements have to then work together to formulate eco-peace.

For the rationale of the study, women's organisations that pursue or advance strategic gender interests are conceptualised as feminist. In the field of gender policies, researchers should move away from grand feminist theory, theorizing on the state and micro-level explanations of female political behaviour, and toward "solidly grounded and analytically sharp understandings of the causal regularities that underlie the continued intractability of institutional political arenas to women and their multifold practical and strategic gender interests" (Skopcol, 1985: 28). The multiplicity of gender interests and the vast agglomeration of generic claims evident in feminist movements, induces one to redefine the concepts that inform such a study of the "political representation of women's interests." In exploring the relationship between women's movements, environmental concerns and the state, the researcher will highlight the political articulation of gender interests.

1.9.4 PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SPHERE

The terms private and public have been central to my analyses of women and politics. "Private" in the context of this thesis has been understood as the patriarchal family household. Western feminists have pointed out that for the collective situation of women to change, women must project their experiences of oppression in their private lives into the public sphere (MacKinnon, 1983). Public, in my analysis, refers to outside the home and the state.

1.9.5 WORK

For the purposes of this study, work must be understood as an element of development, not simply as a source of income, but also in terms of the rewarding sense of personal satisfaction that it produces. The social valuation of work is also recognised, transcending the logical dimensions and appearing under a number of guises in the family unit. In this setting, the kinds of work traditionally undertaken by men are done outside the home and have been given much social recognition. In contrast, where women are concerned, their work is primarily within the private sphere. Women have also sought to supplement men's income in a variety of contexts i.e. beer brewing, lacemaking, carpet-weaving. In this way they have progressively contributed to the household, yet this work is deemed unworthy. Consequently, women's social participation in work is dealt with on the basis of two notions. Firstly, women's tasks in the family are deeply embedded in sexual differentiation. The second idea involves the influence of the family unit, the family's allocation and exercise of these roles. Seen in this light, the concept of work is analyzed from two standpoints, its contribution to production and its contribution to well-being. In its contribution to production, analysis rests on labour market considerations, while the latter perspective refers to symbolic

rewards in terms of family welfare (nurturing, caring, housekeeping, cooking). This situation, linked to motherhood, has meant that women's work in the home is different from that in the work force. Hence the distinction between paid and unpaid. These factors "paid" and "unpaid" affects women unequally in various contexts and will be analyzed in the course of the study.

1.9.6 THE IDENTIFICATION OF GENDER NEEDS

Women have an important role to play in planning, during project implementation, monitoring and evaluation. In short, women base their planning on their interests. Following the work of Maxine Molyneux (1985), different interests of women are conceptualised, these interests are contrived into needs. Agencies have used a variety of methods to operationalize these needs. The adequacy of many of these will be evaluated in the course of the study.

1.9.7 WOMEN'S INTERESTS AND GENDER INTERESTS

Gender interests, according to Maxine Molyneux (1985: 283-84), "are those that women (or men, for that matter) may develop by virtue of their social positioning through gender attributes." In the analysis of Nicaragua, Molyneux makes a distinction : "gender interests can either be strategic or practical, each being derived in a different way and each involving differing implications for women's subjectivity" (Molyneux, 1985: 284).

The changing dynamics of transition politics in Brazil and South Africa has influenced the manner in which women began articulating their gender interests. Practical and strategic gender interests are patterned by race, class, culture as well as other social attributes. Hence it can be argued that at a specific historical

conjuncture women's gender interests are shaped. Most feminist groups increasingly couched their political claims in class and gender specific terms. The distinction between the various needs, interests is useful at an analytical level in illuminating women's responses to specific political ideologies and emphasizing the shortcomings of looking at "women" rather than "gender."

1.9.8 GENDER NEEDS

Molyneux (1985) does not define "interests" as such; neither does she make an explicit distinction between "interests" and "needs." Yet elucidation is essential if realistic parameters are to be recognised both as what can be accomplished in the gender planning process, as well as the limitations of different policy interventions (Moser, 1993: 39).

1.9.9 STRATEGIC GENDER NEEDS

Strategic gender interests are

"derived, i.e., from the analysis of women's subordination and from the formulation of an alternative, more satisfactory set of arrangements to those that exist. These ethical and theoretical criteria assist in the formulation of strategic objectives to overcome women's subordination, such as the abolition of the sexual division of labour, the alleviation of the burden of domestic labour and child-care, the removal of institutional forms of discrimination, the attainment of political equality, freedom of choice over childbearing, and the adoption of adequate measures against male violence and control of women" (Molyneux, 1985: 284).

Though a direct causal relationship cannot be confirmed between the rise of consciousness among environmental issues and the Chipko movement, these would be among the claims that Molyneux classifies as reflecting strategic gender

interests, interests which she contends stem deductively from an analysis of women's subordination rather than practical gender interests arising from the "concrete conditions of women's positioning by virtue of their gender within the division of labour" (Molyneux, 1985: 284). Strategic gender needs feature prominently in many feminist and feminine political policies. The ideological underpinnings of women's gender interests and the reformulation of strategies essential to advance them were constructed through political practice rather than external ideological interventions such as increased exposure to international feminist ideas (Jacquette, 1989). Strategic gender interests were politicised by women's movement organisations, whilst political parties sought to instrumentalize them.

1.9.10 PRACTICAL GENDER NEEDS: "FAMILY CENTRED PERSPECTIVES, WELFARE STRATEGIES AND PRACTICAL GENDER NEEDS

Mayra Buvinic (1984) categorizes women in two main types: "family-centred" and "woman-centred." The family-centred perspective tends to exhibit a powerful welfare element in which women better their execution s better mothers and wives. these could include maternal, child-health, nutrition, education and were visible in "women's" programmes up until 1975 (Moser and Levy, 1986). The distinguishable feature of this perspective was its objective of addressing women's practical needs and didnot challenge the traditional women's role and the balance of power between men and women (Molyneux, 1982, 1985: Moser, 1986). According to Molyneux (1985: 284):

"Practical gender interests are given inductively and arise from the concrete conditions of woman's positioning by virtue of their gender within the division of labour... practical gender interests are

...formulated by the women themselves who are within these positions rather than through external interventions. Practical gender interests are usually a response to an immediate perceived need and they do not generally entail a strategic goal such as women's emancipation or gender equality."

Relating to this Buvinic (1983: 25) cites the following: "welfare programmes are technically simple and politically safe." This is reaffirmed by Moser (1986, 29) in the following: "in reality practical needs...are required by all the family, especially children, and their identification as women's needs serves to preserve and reinforce the sexual division of labour." The politicisation of gender can be traced to the state and its apparatuses.

1.9.11 THE STATE AND ITS CONTROL OVER WOMEN'S STRATEGIC GENDER NEEDS

Sarvasy (1985, cited in Charlton et al, 1989: 8) classifies the feminist perspectives on the state as twofold: the state can be a positive force for women, or the state is inherently patriarchal. Assessing the state as Zillah Eisenstein (1983) argues that in the conflict between patriarchy and capitalism, the state becomes a domain in which conflicting class and gender interests are mediated and where women's struggles can make a difference.

Theda Skocpol notes:

"As we bring the state back in its proper central place in explanations of social change and politics, we shall be forced to respect the inherent historicity of socio-political structures, and we shall necessarily attend to the inescapable intertwining of national-level developments with changing world historical contexts. we do not need a new or refurbished grand theory of the "state." Rather, we need

solidly grounded and analytically sharp understandings of causal regularities that underlie the histories of states, social structures, and transnational relations in the modern world (Skocpol, 1985: 28).

Consequently the thesis seeks to answer the following questions: Under what circumstances does women's imposition lead to the improvement or deterioration and/or change of women's practical and strategic gender interests? The identification of gender is an integral concept in the understanding of the state. Parpart and Staudt (1989: 6) point out:

"Gender is at the heart of state origins, access to the state, and state resource allocation. States are shaped by gender struggle; they carry distinctive gender ideologies through time which guide resource allocation decisions in ways that mould the material realities. Through their ideological, legal and material efforts, states foster the mobilisation of certain groups and issues. This mobilisation usually benefits men rather than women."

In the study titled The Concept of Gender, Conway, Bourque and Scott (1987: 21) state:

"the production of culturally appropriate forms of male and female behaviour is a central function of social authority and is mediated by complex interactions of a wide range of economic, social, political and religious institutions." They go on to indicate that "gender boundaries, movable and negotiable, are drawn to serve political, economic and social interests."

Hence it is indicative that women hardly ever have a voice in conceptualizing these institutional forms. Due to their social defined biological beings, women are dictated by state policies. Whilst in Latin America, the catholic church also governed such a framework. Conway, Bourque and Scott (1987) further state that gender was both biological and modern. The assertion by Talcott Parsons is quite

relevant in this regard, he argued that modernization "brought about a rationalization in role allocation"(Conway et al, 1987,).

The study depicts a changing relationship between gender and the state arising from the state's domination of gender ideologies. At this point, the importance of gender and power comes to the fore. As Michelle Rosaldo writes: "sexual asymmetry is a political and social fact, much less concerned with individual resources and skills than with relationships and claims that guide the way people act and shape their understandings" (1980, 389).

1.9.12 DEFINING PATRIARCHY

The concept of patriarchy, from its narrow and traditional meaning to its wider concurrent usage, reflects the evolution and subordination of women.

"Our society, like all other historical civilisations, is patriarchy....The military, industry, technology, universities, science, political office, finances- in short, every avenue of power within society, including the coercive force of police, is entirely in male hands (Millet, 1970: 25).

Weber (1964: 346) referred to "patriarchalism"

"Patriarchalism is the situation where, within a group which is usually organised on both an economic and a kinship base, as a household, authority is exercised by a particular individual who is designated by a definite rule of inheritance... The authority of the patriarch carries strict obligations to obedience only within his own household" (Weber, 1964: 346).

According to Warren (1994: 181ff) patriarchy is the

"systematic, structural unjustified domination of women by men and patriarchalism refers to any ideology, attitude, prejudice or behaviour which functions to perpetuate, or justify patriarchy."

Mackinnon (1987 cited in Van Den Bergh, 1995: 207) argued that under this social hierarchy, men are dominate and women are subordinate.

"The characteristic relation of human reproduction is patriarchy, that is control of women, especially of their sexuality and fertility, by men" (Mackintosh, 1977: 122).

Hartmann defined patriarchy as:

"a set of social relationships between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create independence and solidarity among men that enables them to dominate women... The material base upon which patriarchy lies most fundamentally in men's control over women's labour power" (Hartmann, 1981: 14-15)

According to Walby patriarchy can be seen as:

"a system of interrelated strictures through which men exploit women....The model I shall construct here will be composed of a limited number of relatively autonomous structures with the relative importance of each specified. the key sets of patriarchal relations are to be found in domestic work, paid work, the state, male violence and sexuality; while other practices in civil society have a limited significance (1986: 51-52).

1.9.13 THE PATRIARCHAL STATE

In 1983, American feminist Catherine MacKinnon abruptly stated that "feminism has no theory of the state." Feminists classics such as De Beauvoir's The Second Sex and Kate Millet's Sexual Politics rarely address the state, whilst the work of Mary O'Brien The Politics of Reproduction neglects the theory of the state. Feminists, in a general sense have addressed the state as male or masculine. Eisenstein (1985, 113) defines the maleness of the state descriptively: "Until recently public power has been wielded largely by men and in the interest of men

,and indeed by only a small number of them." According to Game (1985, 167), the state is not neutral, but

"feminists face a dilemma in developing strategies for state intervention: how can demands be made on the state to intervene in the interests of women when the state embodies the interests of men? If the state is not neutral and benevolent with respect to women, is a challenge to patriarchy possible through state activity?"

It appears that the predominant mechanism of power of the state sustaining men's interests, is in resisting or limiting female demands. MacKinnon views this as patriarchy residing in the "objectivity" of state's structures or what she terms "ideology of procedure" (1983: 658).

In South Africa, state repression began from the policies and strategies of apartheid. South African women consolidated against the apartheid regime in order to eradicate the structures of patriarchal domination. Making use of "opportunity spaces" these women resisted the repression and hardships.

Monopoly capitalism dominated the South African economy where economic power was highly concentrated in one sector i.e. the white minority. The resistance movement highlights the forms of discrimination inherent in the South African society. These forms of protests whether hidden or covert formed part of the forms of consciousness and action by women. The discriminatory laws guaranteed an efficient economic system where Black men and women would provide the necessary labour. The essential tool of this discrimination was the influx control or the pass system. This law reduced black worker's bargaining power, inhibited workplace organisation. The pass laws also induced black women from developing a fixed resident in the towns. The commission argued that this provided a stable

and skilled workforce. In essence, this migrant labour system cheapened the cost of the reproduction of labour and resisted full proletarianisation (Callinicos, 1994). The feminist project to transform gender relations, to end the oppression of women, requires "that the state be challenged, subverted, revolutionised" (Franzway et al, 1989: 157).

With reference to the migratory system, it can be argued that work reproduces a particular set of social relations such as gender and race. Amos and Parmar (1982: 12) define it with the following:

"Racism is not only oppression a black woman faces. She is also oppressed in class terms, as part of the working class and in gender terms because she is a woman."

Because of the centrality of race in South Africa, gender inequalities have often been underplayed (Webster et al, 1994: 10). Nevertheless, work cannot be understood without its interrelationship with other institutions, such as political, economic, ideological or religious institutions. Chapter two clarifies this relationship with reference to patriarchy, capital and religion.

1.10 THE TRIPLE ROLE OF WOMEN

In all countries, there are some tasks which are performed by women, other tasks performed by men, still others are done by both women and men. Thus women and men often have different and distinct roles, allocation of these specific tasks is based on sexual division of labour. Barrett (1980) argue that the division of labour has nurtured and embodied female subordination. In analysing the different roles for women and men, the sexual division of labour becomes an underlying precept. Gender divisions as well as sexual identity are intrinsic to the cultural experience

of all women. Roberts (1984, 180) asserts ..."they constitute the limits and substance of common sense. They are the most difficult to challenge and change because they appear to be the most natural of all 'human' traits." Within the institution of the family is relations of production, reproduction and community politics. Reproductive relations are structured by power relations between women and men.

1.10.1 REPRODUCTIVE ROLE

The term "reproduction" has a multiplicity of meanings, extending from the process of "biological" reproduction to the process of social reproduction. Biological reproduction embraces child-birth, "physical reproduction" incorporates wage labour or daily chores and social reproduction encapsulates the maintenance of ideological conditions which reproduce class relations sustain the social and economic status quo (Barrett, 1985). In South Africa, women's reproductive responsibilities proliferated an immutable set of economic and social interests. The apartheid state sought to enshrine traditional womanhood, Black South African women defied traditional gender role expectations and began participating in grassroots opposition movements in unprecedented numbers. In short the political exclusion of Black women engendered significant changes: one of the results was the politicisation of motherhood. Women have used motherhood as a basis for their mobilisation. In this way distinctions between private and public, political and domestic, productive and reproductive have begun to blur and the "home and family suddenly become important dynamic centres of discussion, criticism and resistance (Tornario, 1986: 25ff).

In Brazil, the Brazilian women's movement stressed the importance of the politics of the private sphere, the politics of family and reproduction. As symbolised in the following:

"Women's principal function in the society in which we live is still reproduction, rearing and education of their children, who will be the future workers (of Brazil). For their domestic labour, women receive no remuneration, but that does not mean the fact that with their labour they are complementing the salary of their husband or mate. And in spite of the fact that they perform this invisible, but fundamental work for society on a daily basis, they have no legal protection nor are they protected by the state" (Alvarez, 1990a: 103).

Control over female sexuality and reproduction requires male power. This male power enhances control. Iran is an excellent example of the manner in which ideologically retracted norms are enforced by state power to limit or determine women's behaviour in the private domain. Shanin Gerami (cited In Mogahadam, 1994, 331) states that in order to safeguard the family and umma (community), men must be saved from their insatiable search for sexual gratification...."to this end, Islamic patriarchy confines women to the private domain and restricts their movement in public. Should women appear in public, they are required to observe dress and behavioural standards (hijab) that obscures their sexual identity."

These ideological norms reproduce and maintain class relations termed "social" reproduction.

Manuel Castells (1978: 177) draws attention to the fact that women's reproductive work is often overlooked. Women are increasingly exhibiting a tendency to become involved in organisations and political activity around

reproductive issues. The relations between productive work and reproductive work is indicative in the following:

"The household has become a kind of mediating institution, mediating that is two sets of social relations and that of marriage and filiation, which act to constitute the household and determine the context of much child-care, and the wider economic relations of society. Women's performance of domestic work, especially the care of children within the home, both express their dependence and subordination within marriage (since men actively benefit from this work) and also weakens their position within the labour market, contributing to their low wages and poor conditions as wage workers" (Mackintosh, 1981: 11).

A similar parallel can be drawn with the South African state. The work of Mary O' Brien is stimulating with regard to women's reproductive capabilities, she argues that men "need to compensate for their inability to bear children through the construction of institutions of dominance (1981). While Gerda Lerner (1986: 45-46) demonstrates that men's trepidation and fear have led (men) "to create social institutions to bolster their egos, strengthen their self-confidence and validate their sense of worth."

1.10.2 PRODUCTIVE ROLE

Caroline Moser (1993) defined productive work as

"work done by both women and men for payment in cash or kind. It includes both market production with an exchange value, and subsistence/home production with an actual use-value, but also a potential exchange value. For women in agricultural production this includes work as independent farmers, peasants' wives and wage workers" (Moser, 1993: 31).

For the purposes of this thesis, the writer uses the concept productive work to denote the continuum of use and exchange value. In the German Ideology, Marx

refers to women and children as the slaves of the male family head. Lenin (1962: 206-7) calls women "domestic slaves." Fredrick Engels, in The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State, explains that the source of women's oppression is private property, which requires women's separation from production and their increasing responsibility for the care of the young and old. The result is "open or concealed domestic slavery" (1972: 137-38). The hierarchical division of labour between women and men and its dynamics forms an integral part of the dominant relations of production: namely class relations of a specific epoch and society. The sexual division of labour produces a hierachization between male and female, comparable to that between class and races. In her book titled The Domestication of Women, Barbara Rogers (1980) tells us of the discrimination against women within the agencies (United National Development Program UNDP, the United National Food and Agricultural Organisation FAO, World Bank etc). She argues that erroneous assumptions about social and economic roles result in women and their productive work often being misrepresented or omitted altogether in statistical data. Rogers also stresses the significance of women's roles in subsistence production, but argues that women's control of productive resources has been unwittingly undermined in the course of market expansion, formal land registration and the "suppression and matriliney" (Rogers, 1980: 125ff). Besides, women have been increasingly constrained to an underdeveloped domestic subsistence sector while men are drawn into the cash-crop section. This emphasises the difference between men's productive work and women's reproductive work, women's productive work is invisible. This devaluation of women's work coupled with female life and gender is a rigid subordination of women which is operative throughout the world.

In the preceding section, the term productivity was discussed. From the succeeding discussion, "what patriarchy sees as productive work, is, in ecological terms highly destructive production" (Shiva, 1988a: 9). The reductionist argument is important. Reductionist economics speculates that only paid labour provides value. This ideological orientation of gender division asserts that women's work in producing sustenance has no economic value, while it provides the basis of subsistence and survival. Hence a gendered dichotomy is constructed between "productive" and "non-productive" work, based on monetary value as being the only evaluation of economic worth. The invisibility of women as producers has helped form the

"Cheapest, most docile labour force best suited for tedious, monotonous waged work, whose lower wages are attributed to their secondary status in the labour market, which in itself identifies because of their capacity to bear children" (Moser, 1993: 33).

Feminists have often argued that the disappearance of women from conventional social analyses was conditioned by the uncritical acceptance of the way gender relations were presented in the household. The household can be viewed as a potential arena of subordination intricately linked to and affected by the larger economic and political structures.

1.10.3 COMMUNITY POLITICS

Within New Left politics, "the community" has been presented as an alternative model to "class" or "party" politics (Gortz, 1982). Given women's insertion into the social and economic relations in South African society, women play a crucial role in the articulation of family, as primary producers and reproducers in the "non capitalist axis of reproduction." Caroline Moser (1989: 1801) refers to a "spatial division between the public world of men, and the private world of women."

Mobilisation and organisation at community level is often viewed as an extension of women's reproductive work. Examples of community managing roles include the Chipko Movement in India and the Day-Care Movement in Brazil. Gender divisions also exist at community level. For women community work is viewed as an extension of their domestic roles while men are involved in community managing. Women provide a great deal of effort and labour into community projects and schemes and often go unpaid since women are supposed to be "selfless and pure" (Moser, 1993: 36). Men, on the other hand gain positions of authority within the community as well as earn an income. This tends to reinforce the idea that women's work is "unproductive" and has little economic value. For example, Slayter's study of class, gender and resource management in Kenya shows that:

"When there are community-based, labour intensive tasks to be done, it is the women, not the men in the community, who are mobilised to undertake them. If a road needs repair, if gulley erosion must be stabilised, if a school needs maintenance, it is the women who are asked to provide the services (1992: 818).

According to Slayter (1992) women are more responsive to calls for voluntary service which often means unpaid work done by women. Men, on the other hand have a community leadership role often with compensation.

The triple role of women allows us to recognise that women have different positions within the household and different control over resources, "they not only play different roles in society, but also often have different needs" (Moser, 1993: 15). A major theme in the thesis is the pursuit of gender based claims known as "strategic gender interests" or "practical gender interests." Based on their gender roles, women identify these needs and attempt to achieve these needs.

Frequently women take advantage of political spaces available to them thus creating a new strategy to affect state policies (chapter two and four).

1.11 CONCLUSION

The political participation of women has had a long and checkered history. Women have organised strikes, participated in street demonstrations and joined political parties. This study assesses the mobilization of women and the advent of a new women's programme. The study also explores the manner in which women's mobilisation has influenced the course and content of politics. This study is informed by a comparative perspective since "macro-sociological analysis used to be the focus of sociological analysis and theory. One of the arguments is that it is within this framework that theories from the many different sub-fields of sociology can be tested, and that macro-sociology offers the best arena for sociologists to examine their skills as sociologists. " In addition cross-national research provides an especially useful method for the further development of sociological theory, and for the establishing the generality of findings and the validity of interpretations derived from the studies of single nations (Kohn, 1989: 77).

The importance of these sociological theories will be evident in the case studies that follow. The next three chapters, therefore, deal with some of the key debates.

It is hoped that the findings of the present study will be of assistance to all women, and that it will enkindle greater awareness and responsiveness to gender inequality.

1.12 SUMMARY

In chapter one, the researcher offers an important backdrop to the study. This chapter lays the basis for the understanding of the political underpinnings of the countries concerned. The researcher also provides clarity of certain terms used throughout the study. These terms particularly "gender interests" are examined in great detail so as to provide a framework in which patriarchal values and practices can be examined and evaluated.

1.13 ORGANISATION OF CHAPTERS

Chapter One of this research project, provides an overview of the objectives and rationale of the study. It is an introductory chapter which sets the parameters for this thesis.

Chapter Two begins with the Chipko movement and makes a detailed analysis of the relationship between women and the environment. It considers particularly the in India. This is largely a discussion on development and the anti-patriarchal elements in the Chipko movement.

In Chapter Three focuses directly on the South African situation. This chapter offers insight into the politicisation of motherhood. In this chapter women are defined in terms of the household rather than their participation in the popular front. The emphasis here is on the politicisation of motherhood and its transformative potential on

the struggle outside. Examples of such systems across the world are analyzed, concluding with information specific to South Africa.

Chapter Four describes the Latin American scenario, framework, organisational structures and considers relevant issues such as reproductive rights and family planning.

Chapter Five synthesizes the three case studies to provide a clearer overall perspective of women and development. Chapter five then extrapolates important themes which run through the chapter.

The final chapter draws conclusions where the researcher shows that the state plays a constitutive role in women's subordination and permits the unequal gender arrangement. The conclusion would also demonstrate that the state is both product and determinant of the struggle.

The Bibliography and Appendices are included in the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 INTRODUCTION

A central theme of this thesis is that women find a political voice through protest. In supporting a variety of causes, they have approached political issues essentially from a familial perspective, particularly as mothers and wives. As nurturers, protectors and bearers of the subsequent generations, women have used their "female consciousness" to mobilize and politicize themselves (Kaplan, 1982: 551). The basis of their activism was their belief that women's maternal role extended beyond the family. Examples of such participation are numerous. Female Nazi leaders in Germany drew women into Hitler's Third Reich under the slogan "*Kinder, Kirche, Kuche*." In North America and Western Europe, women have united together in the 80s to protest nuclear war. Women joined these peace movements to create a world free of nuclear hazards for their children and future generations. Women in South Africa have demonstrated their ability to use their maternal position to oppose the pass law system.

South African people have a long history of organized struggle, and women's involvement has always been present. This chapter presents a historical overview of South African women's political participation in the apartheid era of their country and to examine the interrelationship between the nature of women's organisations and the form they have taken.

Women's political participation has had a long history in South Africa. From the 1950s with the anti-pass campaign, women have been active in the wider political

movements. The history of South African feminism goes back to this campaign. Black women conducted two of the most significant protests in South Africa, the 1913 and 1959 anti-pass campaigns which had an unprecedented impact. It seems clear that South Africa experienced a new era of women's mobilisation, comparable in many ways to the women's emancipation movement in the early twentieth century, yet unique in the sense that women mobilized around the idea of motherhood.

The pass laws were created in order to control the African population so that labour was directed to white businessmen and farmers. Under the so-called Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act of 1952, the various passes required by Africans were combined into a single pass book formally known as the "reference book." For the first time in 1920 women had to carry passes. According to the Fagan Native Laws Commission a pass was a document:

- a) "which is not carried by all races, but only people of a particular race; and which either
- b) is connected with restriction of the freedom of movement of the person concerned; or
- c) must at all times be carried by the person concerned on his/her body since the law lays the obligation on him of producing it on demand to the police and certain other officials and the mere failure to produce it is by itself a punishable offence" (cited from Horell, 1961: 3).

This book was to be carried at all times and produced to any policemen on demand. Those who did not carry the passes were often fined or imprisoned (see Appendix A). Because the pass laws formed the cornerstone of women's oppression, the Federation of South African Women took up this issue.

Women opposed the passes for the following reasons:

The pass laws helped provide a cheap reservoir of black labour by controlling the movement of African people. Serving as dispensable units of labour, these black workers were forced to leave their site of employment, once their labour was utilised regardless of their family ties. Migrant labour segregated African families and made it illegal for African women to live with their families. In 1969, a Deputy Minister of Justice, Mines and Planning stipulated the conditions under which migrant labour would function:

"African labour could be used without conflicting with apartheid. This included the denial of rights of domicile or citizenship outside the Bantustans. He emphasized that the African labour force must not be burdened with the superfluous appendages such as wives, children and dependants who could not provide service" (quoted in Bernstein, 1985: 14).

In addition pass laws controlled areas where black people could stay and work. They served to prevent the influx of blacks into urban areas thereby stripping them of humanity as well as the humiliation of being stopped by a policeman to ask to see their passes. More importantly, "women lost the concept of the family as the nucleus of the community" (Winnie Mandela quoted in Russell, 1989: 103).

Often women were vulnerable to sexual assault and persecution from black policemen, since women were subjected to body searches or were yielded to questioning. They lived in constant fear of being stopped for their passes. Women were often *sjambokked* (whipped) inside the pass offices when fines were paid late (Wells, 1993: 30). Clearly then, pass laws denigrated womanhood. The carrying of passes deprived them by having a damaging effect on their femaleness.

One resistance pamphlet captured this:

"It means that no husband can ever be sure any day that his wife is his wife; nor can he be sure that this child may not be taken away from him and sold to the farmers under the pretext of failing to comply with the "pass" regulation. A man has only to come into any home or stop a woman on the street and say he is a policeman or detective, and the law of the country empowers him to take away that woman and to touch any part of her body as they can do with men under the pretext that are searching for a 'pass'. Even in the days of slavery there was nothing like this. This is the basest method of humiliating people and destroying the honour of its womanhood" (Lodge, 1983: 144).

The women's massive resistance to passes became an important rallying point against white domination. Women who had never been politically active stepped onto the political stage to defend their homes and families. They did not see themselves as feminists; on the contrary, their political strategies were an extension of their traditional family roles. Women who opposed the reference book system were consciously exhibiting their pursuit for freedom. This form of resistance is valuable in understanding gender relationships since it serves as a "diagnostic of power relationships that particular women have to deal with (Abu-Lughod, 1984: 41). This chapter will examine the manner in which women mobilised around practical gender interests and explores its impact on women's politicization. Inverting the lens, it offers a comparative analysis of the ways in which practical and strategic gender interests shaped women's strategy.

2.2 WOMEN'S POLITICAL ACTIVISM IN SOUTH AFRICA: WHERE DID IT ORIGINATE?

"The history of the world shows that the oppressed can get allies and need to get allies from dominant groups as they wage their struggle for equality, human dignity and progress. But no one, and no group can be liberated by others. The struggle for women's development has to be conducted by women, not in opposition to men, but as part of the social development of the whole people" (Nyerere quoted in Nijieholt, 1991: 146). *

Bernstein (1985, 60) notes that for South African women dismantling apartheid and national liberation are the "absolute conditions for any change in the social status of women." Discrimination in South Africa is based on both gender and race and these two factors fuse and reinforce each other. Both tribal and modern bases of social, cultural and economic female oppression are aggravated by apartheid's racism. Ruth Mompati expressed the logic of double militancy in the resistance movement:

"If we continue to shy away from this problem, we will not be able to solve it after independence. But if we say that our first priority is the emancipation of women, we will become free as members of an oppressed community. We feel that in order to get our independence as women, the prerequisite is for us to be part of the war for national liberation. We are free as a nation, we will have created the foundation for the emancipation of women. As we fight side by side with our men in the struggle, men become dependent on us working with them. They begin to lose sight of the fact that we are women. And there's no way that after independence these men can turn around and say, 'but now you are a woman'" (quoted in Russell, 1989: 116).

Women's concerns for their families compels them to act politically. Women have acted within the private sphere, in order to reconcile their immediate interests with those of other social actors, so as to balance their "strategic" and "specific" gender interests. The struggle to attain strategic interests, by representing motherist issues equips them with a feminist strategy.

The political and economic crisis of apartheid rule have propelled many women to take on new roles. Much of this activity has been organised around traditionally defined political roles which is further reinforced by women's traditional roles. The South African case is interesting in the sense that African women became politically active for the first time, and thereafter justified their participation in terms of being good mothers. Simultaneously they were forced to question the very roles which provided an introductory stimulus for political mobilisation. They can be viewed as historical actors, who have "determined, and are yet determining their own history" (Comaroff, 1985: 1). Shortly after his release from prison in 1990, Nelson Mandela paid tribute to the "mothers, wives and sisters of our nation," calling them "the foundation of our struggle" (from the Transcript of Mandela's Speech in 1990).

According to Lodge (1983: 139), "the 1950's were a period of unprecedented activity by African women in political organisations as well as in spontaneous forms of protest." It was at this time that women's political activism arose in defence of everyday life issues that came to constitute the most formidable opponents of the passes. Their resistance was especially marked by their maternal desire. The anti-pass campaign raises theoretical and ideological questions as well as issues specific to women who engaged in them. Women soared in the campaign due to their worsening conditions of existence affecting their practical gender interests.

The recognition of one's class, culture, and historical place creates a sense of what is right, which in turn provides the motive force for action. Female consciousness centres upon the rights of their gender, on social concerns, on survival. Those with female consciousness emerge from the division of labour by

sex, which assigns women the responsibility for preserving life. But accepting this task, women with female consciousness demand the rights that their obligations entail. The representation of women in the anti-pass campaign founders on the shared interests of these women, and the mechanisms through which these interests were voiced.

The passes cannot be seen simply as the defence of the home. The pass laws signified an attack on the African population as a whole. Hence the campaign represented a resistance to this offensive. Carby (1982: 24) points out that the family can be viewed as a foundation of resistance to forms of political and economic oppression. The following is indicative of this fact:

"We need to recognise that during slavery, episodes of colonialism and under present authoritarian state, the black family has been a site of political and cultural resistance to racism"

2.3 THE LIMITS OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL POWER

In a study of women's political participation in the Ukraine, Shupick (1993 quoted in Karl,

1995: 84) noted the following:

"Women still remain removed from the mainstream of politics. Women are deprived of the opportunity to prepare themselves from leadership positions not only by political, socio-economic and cultural factors, but also by their own ideas about their place in society. For example, in the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, there is only 3% women deputies. There is no women in government and almost no women leaders of political parties. It is no accident, therefore, that there has been a very active process of the formation of women's organisations lately to defend women's interests, help them with their survival and develop their consciousness."

A number of factors contribute to the lack of proportionate representation and the minimal

political participation of women. Renzetti and Curran (cited in Van Den Bergh, 1995: 146) cite five closely related factors:

1. Women are socialized to be apolitical.
2. Domestic demands have confined women to the home.
3. These roles have created an image that women are not qualified or capable of understanding politics.
4. The pervasiveness of gender inequality and discrimination have kept women out of politics.
5. Networks of men and incumbency have closed access to women.

Women are often perceived as part of the social structure and not as part of the structure of power; as being rather than doing (de Beauvoir, 1949). Consequently, women are seen as part of sociology, psychology, anthropology, rather than political science. Many black South African women had for a long time felt that feminism was a concept alien to African traditions, dismissed as a white, Western or bourgeois movement. The struggle for female emancipation in South Africa has been controlled, shaped and articulated by state policies. Staudt (1987: 203) has described:

"Women have not been universally disadvantaged, thus suggesting the importance of sex and class interaction in politics....[Very] rarely do women activists in conventional politics articulate genuinely redistributive issues. Rather, their issues benefit themselves in a particular class...women's politics is another dimension of class politics, wherein the political process is used to advance the interests of those already privileged."

Women who live in a patriarchal and oppressive environment are frequently viewed

as passive or inferior beings. This perception in South Africa was largely the result of the absence of women's voices, hence women were considered passive and in submitting to their own oppression. In addition, there was a general conception that women were first and foremost mothers. In addition motherhood entailed a kind of independence from the full and equal participation in all spheres. Politicians tended to emphasis women's "natural" or reproductive functions and came to the conclusion that women had no place in politics. The sarcastic words of an MP, "the question of why are women without votes is on a par with why are women without beards (Walker, 1982: 22) are indicative of their view.

Marxist writers have assumed two reasons for this passive behaviour:

1. the reproduction and maintenance of domination and control presumes a certain kind of consensus which views actors as being shaped by values and dominant discourse of society.
2. the reproducing and maintenance of the dominant ideology depends not on consensus, but on the fragmentation of society which prevents the emergence of a rational counter ideology or opposition (Althusser 1971, Bourdieu, 1977).

Both these perspectives are counter-productive since they fail to take into account that power is embodied in a dialectic of domination and resistance. The following recounts how power operates in gender relations:

"...women have characteristically entered into sexual struggles as something more than the passive recipients of sexual codes. Indeed, it was in coming to terms with women's resistance to oppression that historians of women began to abandon their earlier focus on victimization in order to reconceptualize the very nature and locus of power. While continuing to maintain that power is exercised by historical agents with access to

different levels and different sources of power, they have also come to see power less as one group's consolidated and homogenous domination over others' than as something 'which circulates' or functions 'in the form of a chain' (Foucault, 1983: 7).

Political power refers to the influence over policy issues and the control of power positions. Political participation occurs in three different arenas, namely:

- a) in elected bodies controlled by political parties and legitimised through constitutions
- b) in corporate bodies controlled through economic organisations
- c) in political movements, neither institutionalized nor legitimized but popularly accepted

These three arenas are important since a women's possibility of accumulating power is very different in these settings, hence, it is in the arena of least institutional power (the movement arena) that women are active. Not surprisingly black women in South Africa became active in the Federation of South African Women (FSAW). Values such as motherhood situated itself within FSAW. The consciousness of being a mother armed women with power so as to gain control over those issues that most affect them. Despite their organising strategies, women had not occupied enough positions of political power to affect political outcomes. Frene Ginwala succinctly captures this when stating the limitations of the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL) as an instrument of women's emancipation:

"I don't think the ANC Women's League can liberate women. To assume that it can, that is ignoring political reality. It is true that as a national liberation movement the ANC's priority is national liberation....But we have progressed by moving to integrate into it, an understanding of gender oppression and a commitment to the emancipation of women. And the

Women's League has taken on an autonomous role. But being realistic we have got to accept that when it comes to a choice, either or, the decision is more than likely to fall towards national liberation. I mean that is by virtue and definition of what the organisation is." (Agenda, 1990: 13).

Women's absence from politics was an entrenched feature of many societies. In addition women's traditional work has been severely affected by the shifting relations between state and civil society.

In societies marked by patterns of male dominance, women often have to subscribe to the norms that define activities of men and women. These perceptions of women's roles are shaped by world views or belief systems.

2.4 WOMEN'S CONSERVATISM

"Women are not natural revolutionaries. They are loyal and law abiding, and want above all the preservation of their religion and their homes" (Campbell, 1987: 49).

Religion has also played a role in propagating masculine ideology and practice. The latter part of this thesis focuses on the Catholic church in Brazil religious conservatism served to oppress Brazilian women. According to Gaitskell (1990) South African women "who prided themselves on being 'respectable', their lives modelled on church ideals and mission education" opposed the pass system "for their right to remain at home as housewives." According to Meintjes (1990: 138) Christianity provided women with a means to escape tribal patriarchy (the rule of chiefs, homestead heads), whilst on the other hand it drew women into a separate world of domesticity..."the cult of domesticity was developed to legitimate a subordinate place for women in the productive and reproductive relations not only of the household, but of society as well."

Bea Campbell's study "The Iron Ladies," details the women in the Tory Party in England. She provides constructive insights into the conservative values of home and the family, and how women were instrumental in revolutionising the British Conservative Party: "from a cliquy elite to a mass party" (Campbell, 1987: 2). According to Campbell the Tories "profiled personal responsibility in a chaotic world. Women sought safety in their own survival skills, in religion, in their separate sphere, and among women" (Campbell, 1987: 2). It is indicative that Campbell presents a feminist explanation for the appeal of conservative values for women, hence emphasizing the significance of personal politics, which is imperative for the social construction of motherhood. A great deal of parallelism can be drawn between the "Iron Ladies" and the FSAW. A conservatism has ensued in the ANCWL and FSAW, where women embarked on the anti-pass campaign. According to Walker (1982: 219), "one of the strongest arguments used by FSAW and the ANCWL in opposing the pass laws for women [was]: what would happen to their children if women were subjected to arbitrary arrest for infringing or being suspect of infringing pass laws?"

2.4.1 THE CHURCH

The church has assigned to women, as mothers the sacred duty of defending their integrity of the Christian family. The creation of patriarchy assigns a particular dynamic to struggles against it, a dynamic that is quite specific in South Africa, since the linkage of patriarchy with other structures of exploitation such as race, class and its appropriation by capitalism, have particular results. The following section deals with patriarchy, since patriarchal laws has created huge barriers in women's lives.

In the reconstruction of gender relations in South Africa, christianity played an important role. In the early nineteenth century missionaries flocked to South Africa and began missionary work within a vanguard of colonialism and capitalism. The missionaries portrayed an ideology of female domesticity and laid significance on female's reproductive and nurturing roles above their autonomy and productivity (Walker, 1990: 13).

Church often seemed to elevate and entrench the importance of marriage, wifehood and motherhood for women (Gaitskell, 1990: 271). Mission education also served to specify the contours of "proper" relationships expected between Christian men and women, these hallmarks were often marked by female subservience (Meintjes, 1990). This type of education was pivotal in defining the separate spheres and roles of men and women. The circumscribed nature of female education severely limited its emancipatory potential. Finance, household labour, early marriage denoted that African females receive fewer years of schooling than males. This scenario can be likened to China and the legacy of Confucius. Confucianism served as a state ideology in China and has been the chief source of sexual discrimination in China. Confucianism defines the inferior status of women as being heaven-orientated. Moreover housework was seen as virtuous, these chores were supposed to be performed with "diligence and skill" (Lin, 1976: 346). As a consequence females were denied intellectual participation and were socialized into a specific set of behavioural roles. These roles restricted women from taking part in any kind of politics, which were men's concerns. Therefore for over two millennia, Chinese women inculcated virtues that confined them to their home and institutionalized biases that denied them any economic, political and legal rights.

2.5 THE CONCEPT OF PATRIARCHY AND PATRIARCHAL VALUES IN SOUTH AFRICA

This section attempts to analyze the distinct nature of patriarchy for a precise understanding of gender inequality since the root of women's subordination lies in the family system. In searching for the origins of patriarchy it is evident that in certain periods of history, the social relations of production were based on biological differences between the sexes, resulting in the sexual division of labour. This constitutes the material basis for patriarchy which is then reinforced by ideological and psychological factors. Radical feminists emphasise patriarchy as the primary determinant of women's subordination. Marxist feminists accept the notion of patriarchal ideology in both pre-capitalist and capitalist societies, but shows how patriarchy has moved from a private-centred to a public-centred exploitation. To explain this point: women continue to accept unequal wages as a result of the unquestioned and internalised assumption that the man is the breadwinner and women are dependent. The ideology of the family and the sexual division of labour also serves and supports the interests of international capital. The early Marxists showed that women's work in the home served to maintain and reproduce the labour force as an integral part of capitalist exploitation. By lowering the wage claims made by the employed work force, it contributes directly to the accumulation of profits (Costa, 1972).

There are numerous theories of why patriarchy exists. Some feminists emphasize the advantages that men receive from their domination of women, this gives them a justification to continue dominating them. Other feminists stress the effect of the ideology of the family, or the psychological processes in early childhood through which women and men develop their sexual identity (Firestone, 1970).

Another group of feminists focus on the way in which capitalism and patriarchy interact to produce the domination of women. While another group of feminists regard the relegation of women to the private sphere and their exclusion from the public sphere as the source of patriarchal relations.

Patriarchal traditions are deeply ingrained in South African society, which creates a sense of ambivalence with regard to emancipation. Belinda Bozzoli has discussed the varieties of patriarchy (rural African and Boer, in particular). She argues that women were first oppressed by patriarchy, but the forms which patriarchy took historically were deeply affected by capitalism. Thus...

"the various patriarchies were seized upon by the processes of capitalist penetration, proletarianisation and class and state-formation, and transformed in significant ways in the 19th and 20th centuries" (Bozzoli, 1983: 168).

Barrett (1988: 253) states that patriarchy as an ideology is "the site for the construction and reproduction of women's oppression" in the political, social and economic institutions of society. Coinciding with this view Zillah Eisenstein (1979: 24ff):

"A patriarchal culture is carried over from one historical period to another to protect the sexual hierarchy of society; the sexual division of society is based on real differences that have accrued from years of ideological pressure. Material conditions define necessary ideologies and ideologies in their turn have impact on reality and alter reality."

However, we cannot define or situate women's oppression only at the ideological level, because it does not explain how it is constructed in relation to production. Patriarchal ideology constructs the image of women confined to the domestic sphere. Ideology cannot be detached from the economic relations of production if we are to explain the patriarchal exploitation of black women. Hence the

construction of gender identity does not take place exclusively within familial relations, the state is also site for the reproduction of a material reality of familial and cultural relations (Althusser, 1971: 150). The concept "patriarchy as a mode of production" is often fraught with contradictions (Ramphela, 1990: 7). According to Barrett (1988: 9), an "examination of the relations between the organisation of sexuality, domestic production, the household and so on, and the historical changes of the mode of production." Later in this thesis, the researcher re-examines patriarchy and capitalism.

It can be further argued that men's biological advantage need not materialise into patriarchal relations of power. Posel (1991) introduces the distinction between power i.e the capacity of the individuals or groups to further their interests in the countenance of actual resistance from others and "authority" i.e. power which is legitimised in terms of the hegemonic ideology of the society in question. The distinction between power and authority broaches the distinction between women's struggles which serve to challenge the patriarchal order and the struggles which do not. This is perceived as an important challenge to advance the analysis of gender relations; at this point it is important to identify that the organisation (as mothers) can also involve the defence and rationalization of patriarchy. With regard to the anti-pass campaign, this is certainly erroneous as will be evidenced in the thesis. The position of African women was relatively contained within traditional tribal limits. According to Walker (1982: 13)

"Within tribal society women traditionally occupied a junior position in the basic unit of that society, the patriarchal and extended family. This position had entrenched in the codification and interpretation of tribal laws during the course of the nineteenth century. In the process, they had exaggerated and ossified the inferior status of women."

In order to understand gender, one has to understand the changes in power relations. In a general sense, patriarchy may be characterized as "the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women and children in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general" (Lerner, 1986: 239). Patriarchal power is thus exercised within the family but also in "anonymous social mechanisms and assumptions, in social institutions" (Stacey and Price, 1981: 8).

The notion of motherhood has been distorted by patriarchal and capitalist ideology. Patriarchal ideology has served to reinforce women's subordination, that is, the notion that women are essentially different from men. Anne Phillips hints that this creates a tension which is:

"built into the feminist project. Men and women are different; they are also unequal; feminists will continue to debate and disagree over how far the inequality stems from difference, and how far the difference can or should be eliminated" (1987, 22).

In order to understand the term "patriarchy," especially in South Africa, a differentiation needs to be made between "power" and "authority."

In Sexual Politics, Kate Millet defined power as "the institution whereby that half of the populace which is female is controlled by the half which is male (1970, 25), while authority refers to power which is constitutionally recognised as legitimate. Jean O' Barr (1984,140) points out that women have more political power than authority." This power occurs through women's reproductive role. Relations of patriarchy should be viewed in terms of their historical specificity, because they are by products of particular historical conjunctures. Indeed, it would be a mistake to view the anti-pass campaign as a rationalization of patriarchy since

women are also an integral part of the patriarchal value system. Women live within this system of patriarchy, internalising its values, hence women's consciousness is continually shaped by these values.

Capitalism and patriarchy are important, capitalism is not responsible for creating sexual hierarchies; it simply used the gender differences it found. The most compelling analysis has been the work of Heidi Hartmann (1976). Hartmann has analyzed the conditions under which the united labour reform efforts of women and men in the first half of the century were replaced by negotiations of male-dominated trade unions seeking protective legislation for women and children. She states: "the response to an economic system was to exclude women from the job rather than to organize. Patriarchy rather than class solidarity was the chosen path and protective legislation the means" (Hartmann, 1976: 138). Industrialization and modernization of developing countries have often meant the institutionalization of patriarchal controls over women. Protective legislation phrased in terms of safeguarding "weak and defenceless" crystallizes women's inferiority (Hartmann, 1976: 137ff). Her approach will be discussed in the later section.

2.6 THE EXTENT OF WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS

"Although men may say it is sexism in reverse, I think women's organisations are very important. Women have to encourage one another as women so that they can go out and face the world, including men. They need to talk to each other about intimate issues that affect them and that they can't talk about in front of men" (Sethmbele, quoted in Russell, 1989: 197).

The participation of black women in South Africa has taken place in the context of predominantly black organisations. These organisations included the African

National Congress (ANC), the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA). The activities of the ANC from 1912 tended to be male dominated with no questioning of the different roles between men and women. It was only in the forties and fifties that the ANC transformed into a mass party to address the grievances of the Black working class. Black women did not see their struggles against the apartheid state as separate from those of black men. Black male struggles continued to marginalise women and the ANC stipulated that black women could only be seen as auxiliary non-voting members of the party. It was only in 1943, that women secured the right to vote in the ANC, this was led by Madie-Hall, wife of the ANC president Dr Xuma. Membership within the organisation increased and women began mobilising around campaigns to defy pass laws.

The history of the women's movement in the South African context has a particular reference to the socio-political niche within which this organisation emerged. The impetus for women's organisations grew out of the material reality of women's lives. Women movements are "defined as sociopolitical movements, composed primarily but not necessarily exclusively of female participants, that make claims on cultural and political systems on the basis of women's historically ascribed gender roles. These movements constitute attempts to push, redefine, or reconstitute the boundary between the public and private, the political and the personal, the 'natural' and the 'artificial' - a boundary that is instituted by the modern State"

(Alvarez, 1990). The women's movement has been an important force of change in almost every society. Black South African women have a wide range of strategies of resistance, which are collective, active organised, passive or spontaneous. These

women take up resistance in a male dominated society because:

"Different forms of patriarchy present women with distinct rules of the game and call for different strategies to maximise security and optimize life options with varying potential for active and passive resistance in the face of oppression" (Kandiyoti, 1988: 274).

In June 1958 Chief Lutuli in an interview commented the following:

"There are signs that women are beginning to play an effective part in politics. I cannot visualise a situation in which the movement will be overwhelmingly feminine, but they will play a very important part. More and more African women will not only actively but in silent ways contribute to the struggle" (cited in Walker, 1982: 262).

The Following table characterizes the emergence of South African Women's Organisations:

Table 2 : Chronological Emergence of South African Women's Organisations, 1912-1981

Year	Organization
1912	Native and Coloured Women's Association
1933	National Council of Women
1933	National Council of African Women
1934	Garment Worker's Union
1938	Salt River and Ladies Welfare Organization
1938	The League for the Enfranchisement of Non-European Women
1943	ANC's Women's League
1946	Women's Food Committee
1947	Transvaal All-Women's Union
1948	Non-European Women's League
1949	Union of South African Women
1954	Federation of South African Women
1955	Congress of Mother's Committee
1956	The League of Non-European Women
1957	Cape Association to Abolish Passes for African Women
1970	Crossroads Women's Committee
1975	Black Women's Federation
1981	United Women's Organization

The FSAW remains an important organisation in the history of the women's movement despite its short lifespan. The FSAW had a commitment to the national liberation movement as well as aiming to improve the lives of women in South Africa. Yet this organisation also met with subordination by males. As Walker states:

"although conceding priority to the national liberation movement, it did not lose sight of the necessity of the women's movement if full equality for women was to be won. The women's struggle, it argued, is more than just the struggle of the non-European people of South Africa for freedom, justice and security: it is a struggle within a struggle, which transcends them...a struggle which will continue long after freedom has been won" (Walker, 1982: 278)

2.7 BACKGROUND TO THE FORMATION OF THE FSAW

It was in the absence of the right to vote that the Black women's campaign came under way. The issues that motivated black women towards political activity were not fundamental "women's issues," they were basic "bread and butter issues," issues of survival which affected the community as well as racist laws. According to Walker (1982: 136) the FSAW had a desire to form a strong organisation of women with "a national strategy to fight for the improvements the women wished to see." It is obvious that organisations which sought to take up community issues were of significance to black women in politics. As a result, an organisation that was prepared to articulate its demands for national liberation began materialising. Before the second world war, three important organisations dealt with women politically [within a general context]. These included the African National Congress [ANC], the Communist Party of South Africa [CPSA] and the trade union movement.

The exploration of women's movements in South Africa along the axes of gender and race draws on the fact that black women's political activity was limited to an extent. Not only do women have to face the consequences of state repression, but they experience dispute from their husbands. Often when women take leadership and expand their boundaries for action, they often have to confront patriarchal controls. In the following statement FSAW denotes the "backward attitude of the men" towards women's political endeavours:

"Many men who are politically active and progressive in outlook still follow the tradition that women should take no part in politics and a great resentment exists towards women who seek activities or even express independent opinions. This prejudice is so strong that even when many of those in leading positions in the ANC appear to be co-operating with the Federation, it is sometimes difficult to avoid the conclusion that they would prefer to hinder the work of the Federation and to withdraw their own womenfolk from activities" (Walker, 1982: 196).

By skipping the political arena and becoming militant women transgressed their traditional gender roles, which were often seen threatening by men. This problem was not confined to South African women: in Nicaragua, (Association of Nicaraguan Women *Luisa Amanda Espinoza*) AMNLAE's symbol was a picture of a young woman with a rifle on her back and a baby in her arms, in fact most Nicaraguan women were encouraged to put away the gun and pick up the baby. Thus despite the personal transformations experienced by women who stepped outside their traditional roles, they were still expected to perform their primary roles as reproducers and mothers. For many women the construction of their mothering roles as a primary identity substantiates an important area of their experience that was denounced by the apartheid state.

This is recapitulated by Wieringa (1985: 34) in the following:

"...in the recent past, women have been organised in a massive way to fight for their own defined interests which do not appeal as such to the present male holders of power in society. So women's interests have to be redefined, and women have to be re-subordinated. And what could be a better structure for women's re-subordination than women's own organisations."

The FSAW desired to emulate a "national strategy to fight for the improvements the women wished to see" (Walker, 1982: 136) and was the culmination of their activities. Walker argues that "one of the strongest arguments used by the FSAW and ANCWL in opposing the pass laws for women was: what would happen to their children if women were subjected to arbitrary arrest for infringing or being suspect of infringing pass laws?" (Walker, 1982: 219). According to African men, the traditional African family was breaking down. The women's fundamental concerns were on how to preserve and restructure their family in order to allow themselves greater autonomy. Frene Ginwala (1990: 77) argued that women's exclusion from full membership with the ANC prior to 1943 clashed with their participation. The FSAW had to defy male domination, as the following indicates:

"The national leadership of the ANC has agreed that the FSAW shall have an independent political existence but it is not always easy

The incident when women were arrested seems to illustrate this point further. On October 25, the Joint Women's Executive of the Federation and ANCWL met and claimed that

"It was strongly and unanimously felt that no further bail should be paid and that demonstrations to the pass office should continue as long as the support of women could be maintained....[The campaign] then appeared to have almost unlimited potential" (Wells, 1993: 120).

Clearly women were struggling against state inference in their home, since the passes threatened their identity- as being mothers and carers. The male leaders of the ANC failed to conceive the gendered nature of the situation, hence they believed that women's vigour and determination could be focused into other campaigns. The decision to bail women out of prisons proved to be critical. At this stage African men demanded that women be restored to their traditional roles. This led to the dismantling of the most forceful protest against state inference with their traditional roles. In addition male leaders were of the opinion that the passes were inevitable whilst women believed that the state could be deterred. Women were still expected to defer to male authority within households and to leave politics to the men.

The arrests of women instituted a new phase in the struggle, since the government began using coercion. At this stage, "material" factors came into play, the burdens of domestic work and child-care put constraints on women's militancy. Perhaps, even more sensitive, though is the whole issue of sexuality and male control. In the process of movement involvement, men felt their dominance being threatened. Given the dynamics of women's mass participation, this brought them into confrontation with various aspects of patriarchal control, which must either lead to moving further or participation diminishing. With reference to South Africa, the former had occurred. The formation of FSAW has played an influential role in the shaping of women's roles. The fusion of the roles mother, wife and woman were able to transform FSAW into a potentially powerful weapon. However, as pointed out, the FSAW was not without its limitations. The relationship between women and politics became even more direct with the formation of ANCWL.

The FSAW was the

"first national women's organisation to include a comprehensive programme for the emancipation of women along with its general political programme and to take up this issue with its male colleagues. For all the qualifications that tempered its stand on women's emancipation in practice, it represented a real and serious attempt to incorporate women into the political programme of the national liberation movement, for this it warrants recognition" (Walker, 1990: 276).

2.7.1 THE AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL WOMEN'S LEAGUE (ANCWL)

The ANCWL was established in 1943 under the tutelage of the African National Congress (ANC). The Women's League aimed to represent the interests of the majority of women. The policy, programmes and structure dovetailed with that of the ANC. By establishing a "women's league," the ANC acknowledged that women possessed an inferior and distinct position and thereby sustained the existing sexual division within its organisations. The emergence of the ANCWL as a "real force" was sparked by escalating black resistance. However, the single most influential incentive was the threat of the passes. For example, a statement presented by the FSAW to local government officials stressed: "as wives and mothers we condemn the pass laws and all they imply" (Kimble and Unterhalter, 1983: 26).

2.7.2 THE BANTU WOMEN'S LEAGUE

The anti-pass campaign of 1913/14 gave rise to the founding of the Bantu Women's League within the ANC. However the role of women was very limited at this stage.

"In terms of the ANC constitution that was drawn up and adopted in 1919, women could not become full members, but were accorded the status of 'auxiliary membership' only, without voting rights" (Walshe, 1973: 206).

This systematised the ANC's treatment of women for the next twenty five years, as a category on its own, namely outside the scope of its customary activities. The position of women was no different in the white political parties at that time. The chief function of women's organisations within parties was to provide for catering and entertainment, and fund-raising.

2.7.3 THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AFRICAN WOMEN (NCAW)

The NCAW emerged as an offshoot of the All African Convention [AAC] in 1937. The AAC met in 1937 to discuss Prime Minister Hertzog's recently passed "Native Bills," which stripped Blacks of their rights. Women of the NCAW patterned their organisation along the lines of the all- white National Council of Women. Charlotte Maxeke, became the first national president. According to Walker, Maxeke exhorted the values of a stable African family, "in which women played a central role, the source of both its physical and spiritual well-being" (1982: 39). In Walker's words:

"Even though her own life represented a radical break from the normal pattern of women's lives at the time, she did not reject conventional attitudes about women out of hand....She did not question the assumption that women's primary function was a domestic one" (1982: 39).

Walker (1990) indicates that the prominent women in the ANC at that time tended to be Western-educated black women. They prioritised welfare-type approaches to the problems of the black family. The welfare feminist instituted the view that women's roles in mothering were important and the need to defend the family against the ravages of capitalism. The concept of mothering will be discussed later in the chapter.

2.7.4

FEDERATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN

Feminist writers have been concerned primarily with the patriarchal control over mothering. This is highly significant with regard to FSAW, since many of the problems that hampered FSAW's development as an organisation resulted from restrictions placed on women by their position within their family.

FSAW termed this the "backward attitude" of men since it served as a major impasse for FSAW's development. This "backward attitude" was been described as:

"Many men who are politically active and progressive in outlook still follow the tradition that women should take no part in politics and a great resentment exists towards women who seek independent activities or even express independent opinions. This prejudice is so strong that even when many of those in leading positions in the ANC appear to be co-operating with the Federation, it is sometimes difficult to avoid the conclusion that they would prefer to hinder the work of the Federation and to withdraw their own womenfolk from activities" (Walker, 1982: 196).

In condemning the anti-pass campaign the ANC argued for the sanctity of the family. This has led the writer to understand the explicit paradox of women's militancy coupled with their conservatism in conceiving their goals. Black women in South Africa view their contributions to the anti-apartheid movement as crucial for its success and the attainment of their own liberation as well. In fact, female activists have suggested that women have played an important role in the resistance movement than their male companions : "women are the people who are most involved and active in the struggle, but men are in control because of the social structure and because some women are made to feel inferior" (quoted in Russell, 1989: 340). Mavivi Manzini, a prominent ANC activist who is now an ANC MP, recalls that "women's students actually accused men of being cowards because

time and again it was us who had to be in front of the demonstrations facing the guns and the bullets" (quoted in Russell, 1989: 132). Unquestionably women believed that they have contributed for the national liberation movement.

2.8 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FSAW AND THE CONGRESS ALLIANCE

The FSAW was created on the basis of the member organisations, thus FSAW's position within the Congress was not distinct. However, the male dominated Congress Alliance shaped the role and scope of the women's movement within the national liberation movement. This culminated in FSAW challenging the discrimination against women within the ANC and Congress Alliance. FSAW discerned the significance of mobilising women as well as acknowledged the male hegemony within the alliance. By 1954, the ANC acknowledged that women needed to take a serious interest in politics, hence this led to a restructuring in their programmes of traditional relationships between women and men on paper surely ! In 1955, the ANC executive announced the following:

"We know that we cannot win liberation or build a strong movement without the participation of the women. We must... make it possible for women to play their part regarding them as equals and helping to emancipate them in the home, even relieving them of their many family and household burdens so that women may be given an opportunity of being politically active" (cited in walker, 1982: 259).

This call for a change of conservative and traditionalist attitudes towards women, whilst men were complacent for women to be organised politically and to end discrimination, black men were intimidated by a questioning of patriarchal values. With regard to the ANC in particular, Rhoda Bertelsmann-Kadalie contends: "The ANC is known to be very patriarchal and very conservative with regard to women's issues... they are certainly very male-dominated" (cited in Russell, 1989: 342).

Hence "it was rare for male resistance to female political achievement to assume overt forms within the congress movement of the 1950s...the most serious of this was the anti-pass campaign" (Walker, 1982: 260).

The relationship between FSAW and the Congress Alliance were twofold: FSAW saw the need to mobilise women actively in the national liberation movement, yet it was not transparent about the actual role of women. FSAW's attitude to and relationship with the ANC was fraught with condemnation and conciliation, thereby complicating the affiliation. Ultimately the FSAW recognised the need for women to be emancipated from gender-based discrimination:

"The fundamental struggle of the people is the National Liberation and...any women's organisation that (stands) outside the struggle must stand apart from the mass of women...this statement does not in any way mean that the Federation of South African Women was not concerned with the problem of women's rights, and that it did not strive for the emancipation of women...what was realised was that it would be impossible for women to achieve their rights as women in society in which so many fundamental rights were denied to both men and women by virtue of their sex"(Walker, 1982: 263).

As the anti-pass campaign eroded, FSAW alleviated the fears amongst the ANC men. This is expressive in Lilian Ngoyi's speech, where she cautioned against the impression that women were seen as "courageous and militant" and men "frightened and timid." Ngoyi's views conformed with the political choices of FSAW, reflecting the influence of the patriarchal ideology. Women committed to the FSAW and the ANCWL accepted that women were, in some way, subordinate to men, mainly in the domestic arena. The traditional defence of the home or the household typified much of the protests, which in turn expedited the anti-pass protest. Amongst FSAW leadership the quest for women's rights and the abolition

of gender discrimination were forcefully emphasised. It should also be restated that "mother" and woman" were synonymous terms in FSAW discourse. The memoranda against the pass laws which FSAW submitted to a mayor embraced the following:

"We say to you, and we speak from our hearts as mothers, whatever our race, that the pass system is in itself a crime against humanity; to inflict it upon women is an even greater crime-a crime against motherhood."(Memoranda on pass-laws, FSAW cited in Walker, 1982: 264).

The above attitude reinforced women's rudimentary identification with the domestic and maternal domain. It strengthened the unconscious reservations about women's political autonomy that existed within the Congress Alliance.

2.8.1 REGROUPING IN FSAW

The banning of the ANC and ANCWL had severe effects on the FSAW. The FSAW leadership decided that a relationship between the community and women had to come into being. The first step was the establishment of community-based clubs amongst African women, which would serve to merge the banned ANCWL. The clubs known as "Save our Families Clubs" were viewed as an immediate replacement of the ANCWL branch organisation. The Women's Charter which was drawn up in 1954 to articulate women's demands, dealt with the right to vote, equal opportunities for employment, remuneration, maternity benefits, welfare, clinics, creches etc. Contrast to the stress on emancipation of women, women's domestic role as wife and mother was continually emphasised.

In assessing the FSAW, Walker (1982: 14) states:

"Within the FSAW, the degree to which the importance of the battle against sex discrimination was stressed varied from woman to woman and from occasion to occasion... amongst the FSAW leadership, where women's rights and the abolition of sex discrimination were strongly endorsed, women's domestic role as wife, more often mother was continually being stressed.

2.9 THE CONTENT IN WHICH THESE ORGANISATIONS AROSE

There is a widespread conception that women do not win their emancipation simply in the politics of mass mobilisation. Women struggle for their emancipation within organisations which address their specific needs within the overall struggle for national liberation: Women's organisations make it possible to challenge traditional patriarchal values

"...for the black working class women, the realisation that conditions in the home must change, this flows from their political involvement and discussion around questions of political power and democracy" (Volbrecht, 1986: 22).

In areas such as Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare pass raids in which policemen entered homes demanding permits and documentation intensified. These raids violated the fundamental integrity of the home. According to a FSAW document:

"The intensification of pass raids in recent months has reached alarming proportions and created an intolerable situation which has infuriated the mothers of Africa, thousands of whose sons are thrown into jail every month, only to satisfy the demands of the labour shortage on European farms" (quoted in Wells, 1993, 108).

Given the fact that women have played a fundamental role in the politics of protest, there exists a definite link between the level of politicisation and the

consciousness of women. Armed with their maternal responsibilities, women managed to mobilise around this concept. The content of motherhood, and the need to examine the processes and mechanisms that foster such roles, is therefore important.

2.10 THE CONTENT AND MEANING OF MOTHERHOOD

"A woman is a mother, and women are the people who are suffering most. Look at the forced removals. People are put in the open veld[countryside] where there is no water, where there is no transport to get to the nearest town. Who is suffering? The mother. Because she looks at the children who are thirsty and crying. 'Mama, we want water'" (Albertina Sisulu quoted in Russell, 1989: 151).

Mothering is often romanticized as a labour of love, consequently issues of power are deemed irrelevant. Motherhood takes place in a social context where unequal power relations between men and women exists. Hooks (1986, 135) writes:

"the resurgence of feminist interest in motherhood has positive and negative implications for the feminist movement. On the positive side there is a continual need for study and research of female parenting which this interest promotes and encourages....On the negative side,[by] romanticizing motherhood, employing the same terminology that is used by sexists to suggests that women are inherently life-affirming nurturers, feminist activist reinforce tenets of male supremacy."

An important theme that emerges regarding gender and motherism is their close interconnection: each is a constitutive of the other, affirms Connell. For him the social relations of gender are fundamentally "organised in terms of, or in relation to, the reproductive division of people into male and female" (1987: 140). It is themes such as motherism and gender that allows one to perceive the unequal relations of power. Motherhood has been a "bitter trap for women" and it is

maternal power that men attempted to limit when they attempted to control motherhood"(Connell, 1987: 140). Rich (1976) in her analysis distinguishes two meanings of motherhood:

"I try to distinguish between two meanings of motherhood, one superimposed on the other: the potential relationship of any woman to her powers of reproduction and to children; and the institution which aims at ensuring that potential-and all women-shall remain under male control" (Rich, 1976: 13).

Although women are often motivated by the same concerns as men, (a desire to overthrow apartheid, colonialism etc) women also join revolutionary struggles on behalf of their practical and strategic gender interests. They are drawn into the struggle both as mothers, responsible for providing for their families as well as striving to attain equality. Margaret Randall in a study of Nicaragua reported that women were drawn into the struggle on the basis of their family and maternal roles. Carrion (quoted in Randall, 1991a: 10) described women as "the centres of their families- emotionally, ideologically and economically, who do not see themselves simply as housewives subordinated to husbands."

The single most important path of resistance undertaken by South African women was in the most traditional of roles. Frances Baard (1986: 47ff) recalls the conversation among women in the anti-pass campaign:

"we knew that you would be carrying a child, or have your child on your back, and the police will be coming behind you wanting your pass and you won't be able to run away and jump over that fence there and that will be the time the police will get you, or else your child will fall and get hurt because you are trying to run away from the police. And then who is going to look after the children when they take you to jail because you haven't got your pass, or your pass is not right? We explained to the women what would happen if we accepted these passes and no one wanted them."

The FSAW has laid much emphasis on the image of the mother. Posters, pamphlets, poems and speeches have used the image of mothering (Gaitskell and Unterhalter, 1989: 68). For example, Rebecca Matlou in a poem titled "Mother Patriot" describes a woman shot dead during the Soweto uprising in 1976 and ends "she must be avenged" (Gaitskell and Unterhalter, 1989: 70).

The appeals to motherhood are also utilized by the Afrikaner nationalists. The notion of "*volksmoeder*" is also an integral constituent of the Afrikaner nationalist ideology. As Brink (1990: 273) documents:

"In terms of the '*volksmoeder*' concept, the Afrikaner woman is depicted not only as a cornerstone of the household, but also as a central unifying force within Afrikanerdom and, as such, is expected to fulfil a political role as well. The function which women are expected to fulfil as mothers within society is idealised into an image of Afrikaner womanhood containing a spectrum of reproductive and nurturing characteristics."

Comparable to the "*volksmoeder*" notion, Gaitskell and Unterhalter argue that "motherhood within the *volk* [was] perceived as far more active and mobilising....The home was focused on as women's appropriate arena for fostering Afrikaner national identity through their child-rearing and domestic responsibilities" (Gaitskell and Unterhalter, 1989: 60). The gist of Gaitskell and Unterhalter's study characterizes the "mothers of the nation," where they assert that "Afrikaner motherhood is exalted as saintly in suffering, admired for stocisim in victimisation, its strength an inspiration to the rest of the deceased nation" (Gaitskell and Unterhalter, 1989: 60, see appendix E).

According to Gaitskell and Unterhalter (1989: 58) official nationalism constructs an ideology of motherhood which relegates women to the home by focusing on

women's appropriate arena for advancing national identity through their child rearing and domestic responsibilities as wives and mothers. Reproduction is seen as women's divinely determined responsibility. The mobilisation of women around the roles of mothers reflects the genuine concerns of women as mothers. But it also serves to perpetuate the constricted image of women as nurturers rather than workers.

The conceptualization of motherhood leads to an understanding at various levels, each with its own internal logic, i.e motherhood within the liberation period, motherhood within the contemporary period. According to Ruddick (1983: 232) maternalism remains a volatile force, capable of stirring women to support repressive campaigns. For the purposes of the thesis, it is important to consider the institutional settings and spaces that may constrain or promote such a consciousness. Some writers such as Ortner (1974), Rosaldo and Firestone "root femaleness in biology and maleness in the social domain" (MacCormack, 1980: 18). Ortner and Rosaldo view the symbolisation of women as being closer to nature and the identification of men with culture. According to Rosaldo "male as opposed to female activities are always recognised as predominantly important and cultural systems give authority and value to the roles and activities of men (Rosaldo, 1974: 19).

Recently feminist anthropologists have pointed out that, it is only in Western societies that the concept of "woman" and "mother" overlap in such a way that it leads to a dominant definitions of woman which are crucially dependent on the concept of mother. It is not simply a question of cultural diversity in the way in which women perform their roles as mothers. However, it is a matter of how the

category of woman is linked in each culture to certain attributes such as maternal love, nurturance, fertility (Moore, 1988: 25-30). According to Moore motherhood is a concept which is culturally constructed as man and woman (Moore, 1988: 25-30).

2.10.1 MOTHERHOOD WITHIN THE LIBERATION PERIOD

The motivation of much of women's political activism has been identified with mothering. Women have been concerned with protecting their children and future generations. In 1986, during a speech at the University of Cape Town, Albertina Sisulu (president of the United Democratic Front, UDF) expressed the following: "No self-respecting woman can stand aside and say she is not involved while police are hunting other mother's children like dogs in the townships...A mother is a mother, black or white. Stand up and be counted with other women" (Argus, 3 June 1986). Groups like the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina and Mothers of El Salvador organized in a bid to end political violence which made their children "disappear." Consequently women's political action often arises from "practical" gender interests that enhance women's stipulated roles in the private domain. For example, Baleka Kgositsile's poem the mother inspires children with the commitment to revolution:

your sweat and tears
let our future burn in them
that they create
years of the child
let their hunger
bear their anger
let our children live
and live (quoted in Gaitskell and Unterhalter, 1989: 70).

The pass laws incarnated a new way of being a woman, not bound by the limits of the household, but adjusted to the newly formed militancy. In the 1950's, the

United Democratic Front (UDF) had attempted to win over women through the defence of the family and of the children into the 1980's (Walker,1982). This focus on ...

"the sanctity of the family and the special role of women within it, was a major strand in the arguments condemning pass laws for women. It dominated the ANC's thinking on women at the time and would remain strongly entrenched in later years as well. The criticisms and re-evaluations of the primacy of women's domestic role would surface within black women's organisations from time to time" (Walker, 1982: 39).

Julie Wells (1993) identifies motherism as "a women's politics of resistance that affirms obligations traditionally assigned to women and calls on the community to respect them."

The debate on motherism has focused on two integrated issues namely:

- 1) the way in which motherhood has been understood and employed by political organisations.
- 2) the manner in which African women have organised themselves politically around the concept of motherhood.

The identification of motherhood has been frequently interpreted as an indication of women's conservatism and rationalization of the patriarchal processes and institutions. According to Wells (cited in Walker, 1982: 18) then, "motherism is not feminism. Women swept up in motherist movements are not fighting for their own personal right as women, but for their rights as mothers.... Motherist movements must be recognised as limited in scope, duration and success in achieving their goals." Consequently this has led to endeavours to discern the obvious contradiction of women's militancy in protest fused with their conservatism in the formulation of their goals.

What is clear by now is that the attachment to values of motherhood characterizes the conservatism of women, whilst it simultaneously exhibits militant behaviour. Hence, the need for identity building (women mobilising as mothers). Society has had the double task of creating the context (i.e patriarchy), whilst women had to look for "opportunity spaces." In searching for these "opportunity spaces," women found social mechanisms that make up patterns of behaviour that stress solidarity, such as the case of motherhood.

2.10.2 MOTHERHOOD AND POLITICS: A CONTRADICTION?

Throughout the history of the women's movement in South Africa, the struggle against the political and economic exploitation of women has been intertwined with the national liberation struggle. The origins of the political militancy of women can be traced back to the formation of Federation of South African Women. According to Gaitskell and Unterhalter (1989: 70), "the images of motherhood suggest strength and suffering and sadness. The mother is an inspiration to the daughter, but it is the daughter who is the protector of the mother and in that guise and in her decision to join the struggle and build a new society becomes the mother to future unborn generations." This is contrasted to the Afrikaner nationalist literature, where it is the "self-sacrificing mother, whose sacrifice rather than whose strength is the inspiration, generally to the son who is the poet" (Gaitskell and Unterhalter, 1989: 70).

Moreover, the suffering of motherhood has led the ANC to call for women's emancipation, however this has never been part of Afrikaner nationalism, where women were seen as mothers in a rather domesticated sense. According to Dr Rina Venter the former president of "*Vrouefederasie*," Venter saw women's role as

"creators of life." In 1974, the *Vrouefederasie* called women to serve, inspire and support her husband, her nation and her country (see Appendix B).

During the first national conference of the ANCWL in Johannesburg, the Federation officials of the ANCWL revealed the following sentiments:

"We women have the greatest force in the world in our hands; it is the courage and determination of the mother to fight for the rights of the children she had born in pain and suffering. There is no power on earth that can prevent the mothers of South Africa, and of the world, from achieving justice for their children, if women organise together and go forward, together with their men, on the march to freedom" (Wells, 1993: 110).

Walker (1982) argues that although the immediate incentive for the protest of women was the extension of passes to them, their participation led to more awareness of the wider political-economic context in which the pass laws operated. The struggle over beer brewing exemplifies the contradictory position of black women in South Africa. The following example explicates my point:

2.11 BEER BREWING: A MEANS OF SURVIVING

Earlier in the thesis, I discussed how the labour system defines a severe oppression suffered by black women. It coerces a considerable proportion of them into a position where they subsidise capitalist enterprises with their unpaid labour. For capital to be adequately served, black women had to be confined to the reserve areas, since those who own and control the means of production contemplate that:

"The African population should not become wholly proletarianised nor that it should become completely separated from the land, for the profitable operation of the mines necessitated indirect subsidisation by reserve agriculture, just as the imperative of cost minimization made mining industry reliant upon the migrant labour system. So long as migrant labourers had

access to means of subsistence and remained politically rightless, wages could be fixed at the level of subsistence for the individual worker, since it could be presumed that, to some extent, his dependents were supported by agricultural production in the reserves" (Southall, 1983: 75).

This led to the composition of female-headed households, which forced women to rely on some form of cash income. Women are not only responsible for child rearing, subsistence agriculture, but they are also restricted in their access to essential strategic resources (Davidson, 1989). Unable to gain access to the necessary resources for family subsistence, women are forced to look for alternate avenues to supplement the husband's income. Beer brewing becomes an option.

Ellen Hellmann's study (quoted in Gaitskell, 1981: 151) suggests that women who brewed beer were motivated purely by economic considerations. According to Hellmann, in rural African societies, the sexual division of labour allocated the task of making beer to women. This played an important part in many African customs and traditions. The creation of *shebeens* (an illegal drinking place in an African township) provided a form of recreation and entertainment for black workers. The creation of these *shebeens* were able to create "cultural alternatives to everyday coercion and control." They emerged as a "central institution within an emerging proletariat" (Hausse, 1989: 23). They threatened the nuclear family as well as women's independence, since many women supported their families through illegal brewing. By most estimates, illegal beer brewing represented a major income-generating activity. Women not only contributed to the support of their families but functioned as traders to survive. Charlotte Maxeke noted that "many an honest girl and woman was tempted into the liquor trade because she had nothing else to make her living from" (Eales, 1989: 110).

The year 1938 led to the establishment of beer halls which were legal. This for women beer brewers made it increasingly difficult to make ends meet. The state appropriated beer brewing, since acquiring the beer halls was meant to regulate workers and to generate a income. A report issued by the Johannesburg Joint Council indicated that the authorities "provoked a widespread revolt against the law and a wholesale evasion of it" (Wells, 1993: 94). Law enforcement intensified and women risked imprisonment to maintain their economic independence.

The creation of beer halls unified women in an effort to undermine the power of the municipality and defend their family as well as economic activities. This situation was the outcome of the gendering of reproduction as female and of attempts by state and capital to control women by restricting and regulating the economic opportunities available to them. Hence the establishment of beer halls fundamentally restrained women's ability to accumulate independent capital as well as to fend for their families. In addition, men squandering their wages in the beer halls became a symbolic and economic assault on the integrity of the household in which women occupied an essential role. Included within the militancy of these beer protests rests a conservative tendency: an attempt to reconstitute appropriate female roles. This example illustrates that the apartheid state shaped women's experiences, moreover, women's lives were affected quite differently from that of men. The state policies provoked women's resistance as well as organized struggle. In the process women developed considerable independence and self reliance. The concept "gender" helps us to discern these difference in experiences. Women's experiences of the proletarianisation process differed quite distinctly from men. In order to understand the impact more fully, one has to analyze the theoretical constructs emerging from this gendered experience.

2.12 THEORY

"Constant evaluation of our theoretical framework is essential and should not be seen as an act of 'disloyalty' to the cause, because failure to do so is likely to increase the risk of the feminist movement withering under the weight of fossilized theories" (Ramphele, 1990: 8).

Gender has been a powerful analytical concept for academic investigation. Focusing on issues of gender at the core of historical processes has enabled researchers to postulate new questions about these processes and, as a result, to examine these issues in new ways. This is especially relevant where issues of race, gender and class are concerned. In South Africa researchers have focused on the following areas:

1. women's involvement and participation in the political struggle (Bernstein 1985, Walker 1982, Sultner and Cronin, 1985, Wells 1993).
2. the position of women in the family, community and the workplace (Bernstein, 1985, Meer 1983, Goodwin, 1984).
3. the effects of the migrant labour system on women (Bernstein 1985, Wolpe 1972, Clarke and Ngobese, 1975, Bozzoli 1983)
4. domestic service as a form of exploitation (Perold, 1985)

Although a vast body of literature documents the proletarianisation of black women. Bozzoli (1983: 170) remonstrates that just exposing women's experiences is not enough. Instead one needs to consolidate class, race and gender into a single intelligible theory. The following reverberates Bozzoli's argument:

"is unlikely to be solved by writing separate sentimental studies on 'women'; or indeed on 'men and women'; or by glorifying in an uncritical manner the resistance of women in the past. If we are to provide ourselves with a rigorous basis on which to make decisions about how gender relationships interact with class and race ones, we need to develop a general theory, which is also a historical one, and which considers the place of gender in the system as a whole" (Bozzoli, 1983: 170).

We need to utilise the notion of "domestic struggle" in order to understand the proletarianisation of women. The concept of "domestic struggle" will be discussed in greater detail.

2.12.1 THE CONCEPT OF DOMESTIC STRUGGLE

In discussing women's productive and reproductive role, women are integrated into the production process as a "reserve pool of labour." This labour is controlled by capital. In their marginally utilized roles women have to bear the brunt of being the lowest paid and at times having no monetary value to their attributed labour. South Africa remains a crucial arena in which to explore the contradictions in women's position resulting from the uneven expansion of capitalism.

Women have become victims of the hegemony of the male world, Simone de Beauvoir (1949, 154) captures this point:

"The privileged place held by men in economic life, their social usefulness, the prestige of marriage, the value of masculine backing, all this, makes women wish ardently to please men. Women are still, for the most part, in a state of subjection. It follows that women sees herself and makes her choices not in accordance with her true nature in itself, but as a man defines her....Representation of the world, like the world itself, is the work of men; they describe it from their own point of view, which they confuse with absolute truth."

Researchers examining the origins of women's subordination have recognised the close connection between women's productive roles outside the home and their reproductive role within the home (Hartmann, 1976). In this perspective (reproduction/production) the roots of women's secondary status can be traced to the interaction of capitalist economic institutions with the patriarchal family. However, the fundamental source of women's subordination is the patriarchal

family: prior to capitalism arriving, patriarchy created mechanisms to control women and labour. By comparison "capitalism is a latecomer (Hartmann, 1976: 138), which built and intensified gender inequality.

Bozzoli's concept of "domestic struggle" transcends the conflicts between husband and wife to encompass the labour struggle. Barrett argues that capitalist development and the social definitions of masculinity and femininity are intertwined because "the gender divisions of social production in capitalism cannot be understood without reference to the organisation of the household and the ideology of familism" (Barrett, 1980: 186).

Through the Marxist affiliations of most of the feminists led to a kind of broad agreement that a materialist framework was imperative for the analysis of women's oppression. It is within this context that Bozzoli tries to offer an analysis of the relationship between particular social systems and particular forms of female subordination (1983, 168). In response to this, Bozzoli argues that women played a pivotal role in maintaining capitalist societies. As reproducers, women both subsidised capitalist production and underpinned the social relations on which the state built its rule.

The gender division of labour has placed women even more firmly in the domestic domain of female labour. This clearly reflects Western patriarchal ideologies where "seeing women's work as concerned with the sustenance and the feeding of the family, while regarding men as somehow associated with the cut-and-thrust of the market and outside/non-domestic world" (Moore, 1988: 77). According to Maria Mies "women's unqualifiedness [this refers to her natural capabilities,

childbirth, friendless, emotional care] is in reality a super-qualification; on its free cost of production and appropriation rests not only on wage labour, but on the whole system of capitalist accumulation" (1988, 179).

It can be stated, that the gender dimensions of politics emphasizes the integral relationship between the condition and prospects of women and their specific socio-economic and political condition. It becomes evident from Bozzoli's argument that women do not construct their own life histories, instead these are the subsequent effects of the state. Bozzoli argues that women become responsible for maintaining the social system. Hence the burden of maintaining the social system rested with the women or family. In response to the pressure of capitalism, this resulted in an internal "domestic struggle" in which the "social security" functions in the reserves (the reserves referred to fragments of land set aside for African occupation which later became known as the Bantustans or the homelands) were carried out by women. Women were major agricultural reproducers in the rural areas, whilst men were more available for work outside the homestead. This culminated in a process whereby capitalist production became increasingly male, while reproduction conversely became a female domain. Thus women's continued (re)productive labour activities was absolutely essential for capital because it constituted the necessary precondition without which capitalist production clearly could not develop. Similarly women's labour in the rural areas equipped men with political power to control women's mobility.

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This in turn was closely connected to women's sexuality. The establishment of mechanisms for effective control of its subjects constituted an essential part of the construction of state power. Restricting freedom of movement was one means

by which the state sought to control women. In addition women's migration also represented a fundamental challenge to the structural basis of power (i.e tribal authorities in Zulu societies). Women played a crucial role in rural subsistence, particularly as men were drawn into the migrant labour system (Bozzoli, 1983). Moreover, it was necessary for the married women to be kept at home by their husband's kin to become subsistence workers as well as guarantee the return of their spouses, if and when their labour was no longer required by capital. A quotation from Wolpe (cited in Bozzoli, 1983: 146) captures this point:

"...the extended family in the Reserve (rural area) is bale to and does fulfil 'social security', functions necessary for the reproduction of the migrant work force. By caring fr the very young, and the very old, the sick, migrant labourer in the periods of 'rest', by educating the very young etc., the Reserve families relieve the capitalist sector and its state from the need to expend resources for these necessary functions."

The public/private dichotomy is important since neo-classical theory devalues women's domestic labour. The pass system provided the necessary conditions to reproduce an African working class.

A basic premise of Marxist women's history is the view that women's issues must be seen as closely interconnected to the entire social process, such as the development of the economic structure and its accompanying conflicts. Consequently, the development of the relations between the sexes cannot be seen purely biological terms, but as a result of particular social-economic conditions. In South Africa, the pass system has contributed to the reproduction of labour power corresponding to the labour requirements of the different sectors. The major argument is that the pass system was shaped, albeit in an inconsistent and contradictory fashion.

According to Wolpe (1972) the erosion of the *Bantustan* economies increased the level of state repression to guarantee the reproduction of the cheap labour system. However, Wolpe does not explain the basis of cheap labour in the face of the erosion of subsistence economies. The explanation lies in the reorganisation of the urban administration to bolster the competitive advantage of the urban population in the labour market. The employers also used the wages of migrant labour as the yardstick by which urban wages were measured. Thus urban workers found it difficult to sustain their families. In order to increase household income, women began taking sub-tenants or lodgers, but this avenue was severely enveloped by the resolution of the housing crisis in the early 1960s. Housing policy, had an ulterior motive to incorporate African women into the urban economy (Mariotti, 1980). The rise of income earning families and the exploitation of African women in the urban labour market therefore provided a new basis on which the cheap labour system could be created:

"this contribution (of women) did not lower the value of African labour power but made possible the distribution of its costs of reproduction to more than one source of income, thereby relieving the pressure on the wages of the individual worker (Mariotti, 1980: 170).

Therefore, women came under increased control in the 1950s and 60s. This, however was met with intense resistance. This forced the Central Reference Bureau to selectively target the more vulnerable targets, domestic servants both on farms and urban areas, the aged (those who required the reference book to withdraw savings etc). The incorporation of African women into employment in the urban areas, was indicative of a larger process in which blacks were being absorbed into the industry in large numbers. Industry, continued to rely on the urban population to supply needs for the semi-skilled labour, and drew on migrant labour to fulfil its requirements for unskilled manual labour. It is a principal law of

capitalism that workers have to sell their labour power in order to subsist and capitalists have to buy labour power in order to generate profit through their ownership of the means of production. Thus, women contributed to the reproduction of the labour force in two ways, as household labour in the *Bantustans*, this labour is seen as non productive and having no monetary value, as wage earners in the urban areas. It is clear that the pass system was structured in such a way not to eliminate the African working class but entrench it. Since capitalism ties workers and capitalists together in a system of mutual dependency.

Men and women were thus influenced by the processes of state control in dissimilar ways. The South African economy contributed to the development and facilitation of a cheap labour system. In addition capitalism consolidated the existing ideology of female subordination, since a significant gulf emerges between the public and private realms. This gulf or separation refers to the sexual division of labour, i.e. women are confined to the private or domestic sphere whilst men are confined to the public or productive work. This chasm between the public and private will be discussed in greater detail in the ensuing section of the thesis.

2.13 THE DICHOTOMY BETWEEN THE PUBLIC AND THE PRIVATE

Michelle Rosaldo (1974) argued that gender inequality begins with the conceptual and psychological linking of women with birth and child care. This association "leads to a differentiation of domestic and public spheres of activity and underlies those facets of social organisation and human psychology that relate specifically to gender (Rosaldo, 1974: 23). Gender roles and the relationships between men and women can be analyzed in terms of two spheres of activity, the public and private. Sherry Ortner widened the dichotomy. Ortner (1974) is a feminist

associated with the "symbolist" tradition, she views women's oppression as universal. Ortner (1974) begins her argument with the premise that women's bodies condemn them to being "more enslaved to the species" than men. This argument follows de Beauvoir (1949) who asserted that women's bodies were devoted to the reproduction of the other. Ortner arrives at the assertion that women are closer to nature.

Ortner fuses a symbolist with a biological/behavioural approach and posits a universal antagonism between culture and nature, following the work of Claude Levi Strauss (1969). Strauss views the exchange of women as brides by men as the basic and primal act which defines human activity as social and cultural. Hence from the beginning of anything worthy of being called "society" men dominated women and this is reflected in the universally lower status of the female activities (Levi Strauss, 1969). According to Ortner, culture is the realm of men. She then forms these opposition or dichotomies: culture: nature; male: female; public: private; economy: household.

This means that if we accept these constructs then the economy and the household are in a separate sphere. Everything associated with men becomes socially valued. These dualistic understandings are underlined by hierarchical relations. These relationships are often with a gendered aspect to hierarchy and present disjointed understandings of culture and social relationships. Ortner (1974) argues that an intermediate category is potentially dangerous and must be controlled. Women's subordinate (controlled) status is reinforced because they are confined to the domestic realm by their child rearing responsibilities, while men control interaction and exchange in society, making them dominant (Ortner, 1974). Thus as women are

more and more occupied to the domestic sphere, men concentrate their relationships with others outside society and women's status declines.

This explanation by Ortner ultimately rests on the idea that women's biology, their sexuality, reproductive capabilities represses them to universal subordination (Ortner, 1974). Women's house work and child rearing becomes an extension of their physiology. Thus due to the biologicistic definition of women's interaction with nature her domestic work (in giving birth and rearing children) does not appear as work or labour but part of nature. On the contrary productive work is only applicable to men's productive work under capitalism. This biologicistic bias also predominates in the sexual division of labour. Furthermore Ortner argues that the work done by women, socially necessary as it may be, is universally devalued..."the secondary status of women in society is one of the true universals, a pan cultural fact (Ortner, 1974: 67).

Claude Meillassoux has stressed the importance of women in what he terms the "economies domestiques" or domestic economy. He states that the wealth of society depends upon the control women as reproductive beings. In this system economies are interested in the increase of labourers, hence women are essential as child bearers. Meillassoux reduces women to their biological functions thus depreciating and devaluing them as primary producers of subsistence (Meillassoux, 1981).

The gulf separating the public realm and the private sphere is quite profound. During the anti-pass law campaign this separation transformed the home into a militant domain. The term politics has, however, become synonymous with the

public sphere of life (Randall, 1987). Scholars have frequently restricted politics to the public sphere and distinguished the precinct as male activity, whilst the private domain refers to the institution of the family and at times can include the civil society. Within this realm, according to their view there is no politics (Randall, 1987:11). Thus it can be assumed that woman's roles, in most societies, have been conceptualised as apolitical and limited to the private sphere.

Feminist thinkers have often used the private/public dichotomy to examine and investigate the relationship between women and politics. Carolyn Elliot (1977) states that women's lack of participation in politics can be attributed to their enclosure in the family. This is reinforced by Jaquette (1974) who suggests that the family acts as a mechanism of social control, which serves to reproduce traditional conservative values, whilst de Olomo (1986) states that women are incapable of organising themselves politically because their roles are outside the realm of politics. These analyses point towards the assumption that women had a presumed preoccupation with the family and are not given a public space. The researcher, on the other hand has argued that the state has played an integral role in repressing and restraining women. This postulate is precipitated from the work of Charlton (1989) who argues that "this private/public distinction is actually a distortion of reality." The example of the anti-pass campaign is quite phenomenal in this regard. The South African women had organised against the apartheid government to safeguard their family. This ideology of motherhood became the pivotal force in mobilising women to form the FSAW. The FSAW capitalised on values equated with women's domestic roles and ventured to organise women against the pass documents.

The use of the "preservation of the family" was a politically inspired tactic which sought to place the family as "above" or "outside" politics. Hence the FSAW manipulated values which traditionally justified women's place in the home to influence women to take political action so as to defend their roles. Similarly, in Chile, Marjorie Agosin in Scraps of Life tells an inspiring story of the "*arpilleristas*," women in Chile who make small wall hangings (appliqued and embroidered) to portray the sufferings of women under the Pinochet dictatorship (See Appendix C). According to Boyle (1993: 168) the *arpilleras* were "naive depictions of desperate reality, they were statements without words, a cry against the absolute invisibility of the hell of the *poblaciones* in the worst years of repression after the coup." The *arpilleras* created a deposit for memory, for expressing and talking about those years without using words. It was the disruption in their personal lives

"...the arrests, disappearances, exiles, deaths of sons and loved ones" that motivated women to take to political action and to become a collective. The words of one activist are significant in this regard: "because of all this suffering we are united. I do not ask for justice for my child alone, or the other women just for their children. We are asking for justice for all" (Agosin, 1987).

Though the apartheid state sought to enshrine traditional womanhood, Black South African women defied traditional gender role expectations and began participating in grassroots opposition movements in unprecedented numbers. In short, the political exclusion of black women engendered significant changes: one of the results was the politicization of motherhood. This led to the realisation of the social rather than "natural" function of motherhood.

The existence of the historical and social attributes of motherism, confirms that motherism is socially constructed and not biologically inscribed. Hence it can be argued that motherism occurs within a specific social context and it is constructed through women and men's actions within a specific historical conjuncture. In short, motherism is a social rather than a biological construct.

2.14 CONCLUSION

In 1939, a Bill introduced in South Africa stated: "Woman means a woman who is wholly of European parentage, extraction or descent" (quoted in Yuval Davis and Anthias, 1989: 94). It became the responsibility of black women to play a crucial role as mothers in opposing this bill, which formed part of the apartheid policies.

South African women courageously opposed the institution of the pass system. The harsh economic and social conditions suffered by these women helped inspire the Federation of South African Women (FSAW). The political accomplishment of the FSAW has provided an insightful example, counter to feminist theory, which holds that women's political marginalization is a result of their confinement to traditional roles. The African women challenged the conventional wisdom by demonstrating that the bond between a mother and child could become the justification for political action.

In India, millions of women struggle for daily sustenance, barely managing to survive, these women mobilized to protect their sources of food supply. To prevent forest trees from being felled, women began embracing trees. The next chapter focuses on the spread and influence of the Chipko Movement of India with the attention of gender interests and environmental planning.

CHAPTER THREE

WOMEN AND THE CHIPKO MOVEMENT

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In rural communities, women and men often have different and distinct roles. In their reproductive role, rural women are often the collectors of wood, water, and tillers of the soil and are thus the primary users of the environment (Agarwal, 1981). Men traditionally have been more connected with community management, although in some places women are involved. Given their varying roles, women's practical gender needs are often not recognised by those who utilise the environment as a productive resource (Moser, 1993: 52). Due to their "politics of location" (Rich, 1986: 210), they are imbued with household responsibilities which are often identified with the subsistence economy, thus their interests revolve around preserving or conserving nature, and they are, consequently believed to suffer the most from environmental degradation. The Chipko Movement in the Himalayan foothills reveals this conflict of needs. Shiva has played a significant role in documenting grassroots environmental struggles, particularly in India. In books such as Staying Alive (1988a), she has revealed the centrality of women and gender issues to many of these struggles. But more than that, Shiva has shown how grassroots struggles centre around the environment giving rise to alternative visions of nature, of gender relations and of international solidarity. Similar sentiments are echoed by Donna Haraway (1991: 154). She argues that "the need for unity of people trying to resist worldwide intensification of domination has never been more acute." In what follows, I focus on the concerted struggles of the movement as a whole as it confronts several crucial questions. By exploring the contradictions that impinge on the movement as well as those internal to it, I hope to conceptualize and historicize the struggles.

Although the Chipko Movement began in the mid-seventies, there was little or no international discussion of the movement at that time. In the eighties, however the "special relationship" between women and the environment became a focal point. An example of this relationship, was the unique way in which in the village of Henwal `Ghati' women protested against the haphazard tapping of pine trees. These Chipko women dressed the "wounds" of the trees with mud and sack-like materials. According to Chipko activists, this protest, whether hugging or bandaging the trees, expressed women's closeness to nature.

3.2 BEFORE THE CHIPKO MOVEMENT

Ecological struggles have important implications for the meaning of gender especially in relation to women's roles. Three reasons become explicit, rural women are often the managers of soil, water, fodder and agricultural production. Secondly, women are the majority of the rural constituency and are most affected by development and environmental programmes. Finally women are often involved in initiating programmes for conserving and preserving the environment. Thus gender is a central element in the positioning of women and men. Sen (1990: 123) states that "the systematically inferior position of women inside and outside the household in many societies points to the necessity of treating gender as a force of its own in development analysis."

Central to women's agricultural roles is the managing of resources. Forests are at the heart of India's rural production systems (see, figure 1). The forests of India are a critical resource for the subsistence of rural peoples throughout the country, but especially in hill and mountain areas, both because of their direct provision of food, fuel and fodder and because of their role in stabilising soil and water

resources. Forests have an important place in Indian civilisation. For example, in India, forests form the basis of civilisation, or a forest culture and forest-based settlements produced best scientific research and cultural writings (Shiva et al, 1985). A number of sacred forests and groves are created and maintained throughout India. Pant (1922, 75) views the Himalayan as:

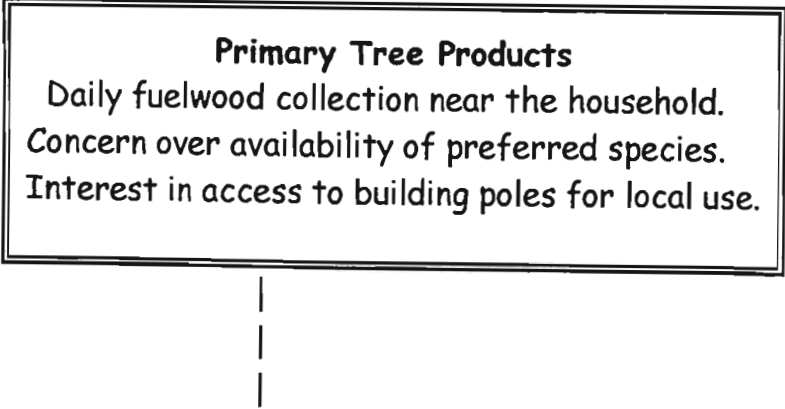
"a natural system of conservancy was in vogue; almost every hill-top is dedicated to some local deity and the trees on or about the spot are regarded with great respect so that nobody dare touch them. There is also a general impression among the people that everyone cutting a tree would plant another in its place."

For many years rural women have gathered forest products and have learnt the value of these

forests:

"the time spent in the forests, gathering wood, has taught women the many uses of trees, including providing fibres for cloth, mat-making and basketry. Many trees are used as a source of food, offering vegetables, nuts, fruits and even vines. Women also know the medical uses of various trees" (cited in Dankelman and Davidson, 1988: 43).

Figure 1: Summary of Women's Interests in Forest Resources



Secondary Tree Products

Major involvement in collecting human food and having available fodder for small animals near home site. In certain areas where cattle are kept at the household, women are in charge of gathering fodder.

Tertiary Tree Products

Collect numerous products needed in the household and for barter or sale. Women's employment or extra cash income may depend on access to tertiary products as raw materials.

Soil

Use limited to areas near household. Special interest in gardens and fields with subsistence crops.

source: Dankelman and Davidson, 1988: 44

Thus for women, trees and forests are multi functional, whereas men have concentrated on the commercial potential for timber and pine (Dankelman and Davidson, 1988: 44). The women in the Chipko have a different perspective of the forests from that of the foresters. The following song explicates my point:

Foresters : What do the forests bear?
Profits, resin and timber.

Women (chorus): What do the forests bear?
Soil, water and pure air.
Soil, water and pure air,
Sustain the earth and all she bears (Shiva, 1988a: 77).

As these forests have been increasingly felled for commerce and industry, Indian villagers have sought to protect their livelihoods through the Gandhian method of *Satyagraha* or non-violent resistance. Hence the Chipko Movement can be traced to the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi. In Gandhi's (1957: 184) vision the village plays an important role, in that in a village-based society every person has control over the things that are necessary for sustenance of life. The village in Gandhi's vision reveals the spirit of *swadeshi and swaraj*, where people should restrict themselves to the use and service of their immediate surroundings. Gandhi's vision could be characterized as a universalist moral utopia. Instead of strategic action, technocratic planning such as building of dams, roads, building of water pipelines, health schemes etc, Gandhi's desire was to change the moral order of society. For Gandhi, independence and political autonomy were conditions for allowing a re-interpretation or revival of moral values and ideas which defined the Indian civilisation (Gandhi, 1957). Industrialization or large-scale production of wealth produces desires, which after satisfaction will produce new and stronger desires, hence he believed in setting a limit to this desire:

"A certain degree of physical harmony and comfort is necessary, but above a certain level it becomes a hindrance instead of help....The satisfaction of one's physical needs even the intellectual needs of one's narrow self, must meet at a certain point a dead stop, before it degenerates into physical and intellectual voluptuousness" (Gandhi, cited in Chatterjee, 1984: 15).

According to Gandhi ancient Indians deliberately decided against the use of machinery and in favour of doing things with "hands and feet," because they saw happiness as a mental condition (1984: 158). Inherent in Gandhi's *Satyagraha* is voluntary co-operation in community programmes for building new a social and economic order. This can be seen as a form of "endogenous" development, which refers to the establishment of a form of self-respect in order to change the social

structure. In this sense, Gandhi viewed culture as a form of resistance, with the oppression which comes packaged as historical necessity, often under the auspices of worthy causes such as scientific history, technological growth, national security and development (Cited in Nandy, 1993: 5). Following Gandhi, Shiva recreates a past where people lived in perfect harmony with nature and women were highly esteemed in society, however, this past may have never existed. Shiva's model of "traditional society" fails to account for highly exploitative structures (caste, class) within Indian society. Instead, Shiva blames the environmental crisis wholly on the state. Her neglect of class and caste has brought her much criticism from Indian Marxist Scholars (Bradiotti et al, 1994: 95).

The Gandhian activists mobilized around their perception of deforestation as causing landslides and floods. An important aim of Chipko has been to formulate a vision of a non-violent alternative in forestry:

"The Chipko struggle is a struggle to recover the hidden and invisible productivity of vital resources, and the rights to have and provide nourishment for sustained survival, and to create ecological insights and political spaces that do not destroy fundamental rights to survival" (Shiva, 1988a: 95).

The first Chipko action took place spontaneously in April 1973 and over the next five years spread to many districts of the Himalayan in Uttar Pradesh. The name of the movement comes from a word meaning "to embrace": the villagers hug the trees, saving them by interposing their bodies between them and the contractor's axes. Processes such as deforestation, desertification and water pollution have threatened women's abilities to draw upon the natural resources for their families and themselves, the women then act in the only way available to them...

"In 1974, village women of the Reni forests of the Chamoli district in Uttar Pradesh decided to act against commercial enterprise about to fell some 2,500 trees. The women were alone; the menfolk had left home in search of work. When the contractors arrived, the women went into the forest, joined hands and encircled the trees (Chipko means to hug). The women told the cutters that to cut the trees, they would first have to cut off their heads. The contractors withdrew and the forest was saved" (Rodda, 1991: 110).

The Chipko women have "a holistic understanding of the environment in general and forests in particular (Agarwal, 1991: 35ff). Shiva (1988a) details the links between ecological destruction and imperialism. According to Shiva deforestation in India began under the Colonial British forestation which reduced "this primary source of life into a timber mine," replacing oaks with commercialized and valuable pine. The Western model of economic development is seen as profoundly patriarchal, a process which transforms forests, seeds or women's bodies into resources which have value only when profits accrue (Shiva 1988a). Women's environmental thinking has to be seen in the light of current thinking which suggests that geological forces rather than deforestation is the likely cause of landslides and flooding downstream (Thompson and Warburton, 1985). Hence we cannot simply assume that women have a monopoly of environmental knowledge. However the dominant discourse on Women and Environment (WED) literature emphasizes a certain relationship between women and nature.

3.3 WOMEN AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Susan Griffin in her book Woman and Nature states that women speak to nature. That she hears voices from under the earth. The wind blows in her ears and trees whisper to her... "the dead sing through her mouth and the cries of the infant are clear to her. But for the man, this dialogue is ours...But we (women) hear" (Griffin, 1984b: 1978ff). The above passage implies that women are for some reason epistemological or ontologically "closer" to nature than men. Being closer to nature

they are subsequently supposed to know more about the environment. For many years ecofeminists have argued that women and nature are intrinsically linked and that women have certain "feminine" characteristics, that are naturally more compassionate, loving and understanding than men were capable of being. As a result the world's problems resulted because these "feminine" virtues have been suppressed by the patriarchal system. In order to save and restore the planet these virtues have to be revived.

The idea that women are seen as closer to nature than men was introduced into contemporary feminist thought by Sherry Ortner. Ortner argued that "woman being identified with nature seems to be a symbol of something that every culture devalues, is seen as being of a lower order of existence than itself....That something is "nature" in the most generalized sense...Women are everywhere being symbolically associated with nature, as opposed to men, who are identified with culture" (Ortner, 1974: 72ff). In Ortner's formulation the link between women and nature is clearly rooted in the biological tradition. Ortner has been severely criticized by social anthropologists, while others have taken a more extreme approach.

In a study titled **Deeper than Deep Ecology** Ariel Kay Salleh grounds women's consciousness in biology and nature, she asserts:

"Women's monthly fertility cycle, the tiring symbiosis of pregnancy, the wrench of childbirth and the pleasure of suckling an infant, these things already ground women's consciousness in the knowledge of being coterminous with nature. However tacit or unconscious this identity may be for many women...it is nevertheless a fact of life" (Salleh, 1984: 340).

These ecofeminist arguments are rather problematic in that they locate the domination of women and of nature almost solely in ideology, overlooking the interrelated material sources of dominance i.e. political power and economic advantage. The ecofeminist argument can be seen as adhering to some form of essentialism, some notion of female "essence" which is unchangeable and irreducible (Fuss, 1989). The debate highlights the significant effect of ideological constructs in shaping relations of gender dominance. It would be of further importance to examine the underlying basis of women's relationship with the non-human world at other levels, not simply the ideological level. These levels can include the work women and men do, property relations and the material realities of women from different classes and castes have responded to environmental degradation.

It is counterproductive to divide characteristics into "masculine" and "feminine." Differences between the two sexes no doubt exist, but it is important to acknowledge that both sexes are equally capable of practising love, compassion and understanding. The writer asserts that to say one sex is naturally or socially conditioned to possess these virtues with more ease than the other is perpetuating a system of inequality.

Dankelman and Davidson (1988) state that "women have a profound knowledge of the plants, animals and ecological processes around them" (1988, 11). This perception leads to the assertion that women's knowledge makes them a justifiable target group for conservation. More importantly, the problem of accessing women's knowledge is unrecognised. Instead knowledge is constructed and expressed through social processes and therefore exhibit gender relations.

Sontheimer in a review titled Women and the Environment states the following:

"The motivation for their actions is based on the full recognition that without a healthy environment, there is no life. [Women] express their concern for local ecological problems and a philosophy of living with nature rather than against it" (1991, 3).

We cannot presume that women have vast amounts of environmental knowledge nor that their knowledge can be expressed and articulated by development agencies. The second conception is the idea that women "naturally" care for the environment as a continuation of their caring roles. The following summarizes this point:

"Women's priorities are usually oriented towards the good of the community thus placing more emphasis on the protection of the environment and the resource within it" (WEN, 1989).

According to Moser (1989, 1801)... "women are involved in community managing work undertaken at the local community settlement in both urban and rural contexts." The Chipko case illustrates community action by women. Shiva, one of the main contributors to the ecofeminist debate argues that women are responsible for community and forest management due to their inherent closeness with nature. In Shiva's words "the organic process of growth in which women and nature work in partnership with each other has created a special relationship of women with nature (1984: 43). But just because women are not in the forefront of logging and mining does not necessarily mean that women are "naturally" environmentally friendly. Shiva employs a rather simplistic understanding of gender divisions of labour, in which this, so called "special relationship" tends to ignore the context within which environmental relations are situated, since women associate with natural resources as part of their livelihood. Social relations exist which differentiate men and women in the processes of production and reproduction. Leach (1991: 14) argues that the relationship between women and the environment

"cannot be understood outside the context of gender relations." In emphasizing the role of women in the Chipko Movement, the researcher claims that the "special relationship" cannot be, since women are not a unitary category, and their environmental relations reflect gender relations, divisions among women as well as the dynamics of political economies. Bina Agarwal (1991) points out that women, especially, but not only women in the South, suffer in gender specific ways from environmental destruction. Moreover, women in India have been active in environmental movements not because of their "natural" relation to the environment as Shiva, Griffin etc argue. Due to their position in society, they are most affected by environmental degradation. The woman/nature link has been socially and culturally constructed, not biologically determined:

"The link between and the environment can be seen as structured by a given gender and class (caste and race) organisation of production, reproduction and distribution. Ideological constructions such as of gender, of nature and of the relationship between the two, maybe seen as (interactively) a part of this structuring, but not the whole of it. This perspective I term feminist environmentalism" (Agarwal, 1991: 8).

Local Organisation and grassroots movements are often viewed as effective for social change and empowerment (Ekins, 1992). Such organisation and movements may focus on practical needs or strategic needs and often include both on the agenda. Given the preceding discussion of ecological perspectives, gender and resources it is essential to consider how these organisation work at community-level to ascertain gender-defined interests. Thus the Chipko Movement is a grassroots organisation that strives to make an ecologically sound environment.

3.3.1

IS THE CHIPKO A FEMINIST MOVEMENT ?

In attempting to contextualize the Chipko Movement, it is important to examine what type of movement the Chipko is. The Chipko Movement is usually represented as displaying women's concern for conservatism. This "natural" conservatism for the environment has categorised the Chipko Movement as a women's movement, simply because of the presence of women, although male leadership exists. Consequently, women were working "only as the limbs of the movement, not as its brain" (quoted in Linkenbach, 1994: 77). The style of accounts given by the Chipko are inherently emotional and reflect the images of defenceless women hugging trees and singing songs.

For Guha (1989: 174), the Chipko is essentially a conservative and anti-change movement:

"only one in a series of protest movements against commercial forestry dating from the earliest days of state intervention....the peasantry was protesting against the denial of subsistence rights which state policy has wrought. Essentially the movement was a response to a perceived breach of the informal code between ruler and the ruled known as the 'moral economy' of the peasant."

According to Guha (1989) who claims that the Chipko is mistakenly characterized as solely an environmental movement, is above all a peasant struggle in defence of forest rights. Shiva, on the other hand, interprets the Chipko Movement as an ecological and women's movement that has the power and will to free women and nature from male domination, exploitation, maldevelopment and the patriarchal project. But ecological movements like the Chipko, are not creating new economies for a new civilization. Nor do they have the solution for the modern day crisis. More importantly, they do not have the capacity to end maldevelopment.

There is a tendency to label as "ecological" any social movement which grows out of conflict over the use of natural resources between state and industry on the one hand and the local people on the other. Social movements can be viewed in two ways as social movements that are testifying to the uprising of the depressed, namely becoming an audible voice and trying to make a viable change for the future, or as ecological movements that determine a way out of the destruction of nature and thus embody a source of hope. The Chipko Movement is the result of "hundreds of decentralised and locally autonomous initiatives. Its leaders and activists are primarily village women, acting to protect their means of subsistence and their communities" (Shiva, 1988a: 218).

Jayawardena (1986: 10) in her historical analysis of women's organisations, notes that "women's movements do not occur in a vacuum but correspond to, and to some extent are determined by, the wider social movements of which they are a part." For women all over the world, women's movements have been a significant agent of empowerment. Empowerment deals with self-organisation. "Self organisation and democratization may do nothing for sustainable development in itself, but provide a type of enabling environment which makes progress along the path of sustainable development a real possibility" (Utting, 1993: 171). It is through establishing and joining women's groups that women become aware of their oppression. In so doing, the movement consolidates into an institution with legitimised control over the management of natural resources which is an influential precondition for sustainable development to be met. In order to achieve these long-term rights over resources, there is a essential precondition for women to amplify their involvement in sustainable development. The empowerment approach recognizes inequalities between women and men, and the origins of women's subordination in

the family. It also emphasises the fact that women experience oppression differently namely according to race, class, colonial history and their position to the current economic order (Moser, 1993 74). Thus women have to challenge oppressive structures and situations simultaneously at different levels.

The effectiveness of grassroots ecofeminist action is explicitly illustrated in the Chipko Movement, where women have successfully organised to protect their forests and natural resources against environmental degradation. This political action suggests that women are empowered by knowledge of ecological relationships. According to Kazenstein (1980) political participation is conceptualized as, "public membership of citizens 'sharing' justice and orienting their action towards public or common good." This political participation is conceived as an instrument for subserving women's interests or needs.

The experience of the Chipko women can be linked to family survival issues. Implicit in their struggles is the need for family subsistence. Declining fuelwood reserves forces people to eat partially cooked food, which is potentially unhealthy or they could simply skip meals altogether. The burden of family health falls mainly on women, they are directly exposed to water pollution because of the nature of the tasks they perform such as fetching water, washing etc. For example, the task of rice transplanting in Asia is related to a number of diseases ranging from arthritis and gynaecological ailments (Mencher and Saradamoni, 1982). Cotton-picking also exposes women to the hazardous effects of pesticides.

In most cases women's empowerment can only be achieved through strategies of positive discrimination and organisational structures that protect women's

ecological interests such as the Chipko Movement. Writers have described it as a continuation of a long history of peasant and anti-colonial struggles, or as a reflection of Gandhian philosophy. However Shiva (1988a) feels that at the heart Chipko reflects the particular interests and perspectives of Indian women. Clearly then, women's liberation requires both collective social change and individual personal change, to break down the barriers between public and the private in the political as well as domestic sphere.

3.4 THE GREENBELT MOVEMENT

"Professor Wangari Maathai tells the story of a large wild fig tree that grew near her home. Her mother told her that it would never be cut down and that she must not even break off its twigs. As a child, Professor Maathai collected water from the spring near the tree, fascinated by the way the cool, clean water pushed its way through the soft red clay, so gently that even the individual grains of soil were left undisturbed. Tragically, the tree was cut down to create space for a tea plantation; the spring promptly dried up; the soil began to erode. Food in the area is now scarce, and women search for hours to collect the firewood they need" (cited in Snyder, 1995: 206ff).

The theme of women mobilizing in defence of the environment is not confined to the Chipko Movement. Other examples include the silkworm development in West Bengal, the Guarari Community Development Project and the Kenyan GreenBelt Movement. The purpose of this chapter is to identify common frameworks which inform women's perspectives and activism around ecological issues. The GreenBelt Movement started in 1977 by a biologist Wangari Maathai. It was introduced and promoted by women as a solution to diminishing supplies of fuelwood in rural Kenya. In 1977, Kenya's first woman professor moved to abandon her eminent position as head of the department of anatomy at the University of Nairobi and launched a simple tree planting strategy. Maathai incited fellow women to take note of the environmental degradation...."since women use wood fuel for cooking and they also

till the land, my focus was and still is on women...we work together to conserve what is remaining of our environment" (Katumba, Akute, 1992: 55). The GreenBelt Movement grew rapidly. By the mid-1980s Maathai estimated that it had about 600 nursery trees, involving the earning income of 2,000-3,000 women.

An important aim of the GreenBelt Movement was to develop knowledge and self-confidence to enable people to participate in sustainable and not destructive development. The GreenBelt Movement is one example of the many thousands of ecologically sound development projects in the Third World (the term Third World refers to women residing in decolonized countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, whose economic and political institutions have been changed by Western colonization and domination).

Wangari Maathai is very popular and was put forward by women's organisations as a presidential candidate against Moi in the 1994 general election in Kenya. Maathai has tried to use popular action to lobby the main opposition position to unite against the ruling KANU party and put forward only one presidential candidate. She declined to stand for office and instead concentrated her efforts in organizing hunger strikes of the mothers of political prisoners held by the KANU/Moi government. Maathai and her GreenBelt Movement have become a powerful symbol of how Kenyan women are fighting for far more. Consequently, it is from the Green Belt Movement that these women have found their voice. As Maathai expresses:

"planting trees is something that can be done by people themselves. People in Africa have to know that you do not have to do big things. You can start at home by doing simple things, like planting trees" (Morna, 1992: 51).

Maathai can be seen as one of the most articulate environmentalists. Yet this has also met with controversy. In the later part of 1989 Maathai opposed the siting of the 60-80 storeyed Kenya Times complex in Uhuru Park, the only green belt left in the centre of Nairobi. This has also made Maathai keenly aware of the fact that leaders need to be educated on environmental issues and that the government has to integrate environment in its development plans. "Environment is yet to be taken with the seriousness it deserves. People must appreciate the linkages between environment, politics and the economy of the country" (Maathai cited in Katumba and Akute, 1992: 57). According to Rodda (1991: 111):

"Women are involved in rearing the seedlings, planting and marketing; in addition to becoming expert foresters, they also earn a cash income. The GreenBelt Movement is not only restoring the environment, but also enables women to benefit from environmental education, and to practice professional forestry techniques, while at the same time they are developing their status."

Women's groups in Kenya are actively involved in many other Kenyan women's organisation. One such example is Kenya Energy Non-Governmental Organisation (KENGO). KENGO consists of women's groups, churches, youth groups and development agencies with the primary objective of safeguarding energy supplies. The organisation has worked extensively in promoting fuel-saving stoves (Kenya Ceramic Jiko and the *Kuni Mbili* stove), reforestation and tree-seed projects. In all its ways, KENYO strives to promote reforestation with indigenous trees (Musumba, 1985). The GreenBelt Movement not only meets women's practical gender interests but also creates conditions under which women can fight for strategic gender interests.

3.4.1 NOT QUITE HUGGING THE TREES: AN EXAMPLE OF THE LUKOZI VILLAGE

Ecofeminists have argued that women are closer to nature, implying that all women are environmentalists. Kheel argues that:

"It is out of women's unique, felt sense of connection to the natural world that an ecofeminist philosophy must be forged. Identification may, in fact, enter into this philosophy, but only to the extent that it flows from an existing connection with individual lives. Individual beings must not be used in a kind of psychological instrumentalism to help establish a feeling of connection that in fact does not exist. Our sense of oneness with nature must be connected with concrete, loving actions" (Kheel, 1990: 137).

While Bernadette Vallely of the Women's Environment Network (WEN) stated:

"Women's priorities are usually reoriented towards the good of the community thus placing more emphasis on the protection of the environment and the resources within it" (WEN, 1989).

This suggests that "women are involved in community managing work undertaken at a local community settlement level in both urban and rural contexts (Moser, 1989: 1801). This statement asserts that collective action is "naturalized" for women. In WED context Shiva believes that women are "naturally" responsible for community and forest management. The example of Lukozi village makes this quite questionable.

The villagers of Lukozi in Tanzania have acknowledged a severe deforestation problem. Incidentally these villagers do not want new trees to be planted in the forest. In a dire attempt to conserve trees, the government proposes to grow wattle trees. However, the villagers, especially the elderly, pray in the forest and claim that the forest spirits will not be able to live in new trees. In the past, this

belief helped preserve tree forests. Due to the decline of cultural practices, control over the forests has, however slackened. According to government statistics more than 50 percent of the forests have been destroyed through debarking, while 90 percent of the houses in the villages have been thatched with the bark. According to plantation officials, what villagers really fear is that wattle trees will replace the *mirungi* or *Qat*, a plant which thrives in the area. *Qat* provides a stimulant when chewed and sells in neighbouring Arusha and Kilimanjaro regions for exorbitant prices. Government intervention will definitely put an end to this lucrative business of *mirungi* cultivation.

Women cannot simply be seen as slaves to the environment and be constructed as carers of the environment. The example of the Lukozi village does not seem to support the view that rural women are profoundly altruistic but rather respond to wider economic changes. The transition to sustainability requires institutional reform as well as a change in lifestyles. Yet, despite this emphasis on reforms and changes, one wonders whether the lessons will be learned too late before effective action can elude catastrophic consequences.

3.5 THE MASCULINE AND FEMININE DICHOTOMY

Ecofeminists argue that women and nature are intrinsically linked and that women have certain "feminine" characteristics, that women are naturally more compassionate, loving and understanding than men are capable of being. Ecofeminists, believe that the world's problems have resulted because these "feminine" virtues have been governed by the "patriarchal system.

This is reiterated in the work of Shiva (1988a: 76)

"there are in India, today, two paradigms of forestry-one life-enhancing, the other life-destroying. The life-enhancing paradigm emerges from the forest and the feminine principle; the life-destroying one from the factory and the market."

Extensive literature now exists on the contrast between masculine (rational sphere of public life, production, social and cultural life) and feminine (sphere of private, domestic, reproductive) spheres, the latter represents the natural or the individual while the former represents the social or cultural where human freedom and control are exercised over nature (de Beauvoir, 1949; Lloyd, 1983).

Thus women are seen to be opposed and subordinate to men who are conceptualized as the ravagers of nature. In this historical context women have a special responsibility to restore nature, thus the Chipko Movement is conceptualized as an ecological and women's movement. A movement that will free women from male domination and exploitation. According to Griffin, the Chipko struggles for a recovery of life in diversity since women must and will liberate the earth (Griffin, 1983). The diversity refers to living resources in the forest (natural or an agro-ecosystem) which is crucial for soil and water conservation. This is decisive in satisfying the diversity of the needs of the people who depend on the forest, and the diversity of nature's needs in reproducing herself. The destruction of this diversity has culminated in the loss of women's control over conditions of producing sustenance. The so called "social forestry" or "reserved forestry" by means of "wasteland" development has presupposed maldevelopment of forestry.

Maldevelopment has come to mean:

..."the violation of the integrity of organic, interconnected and interdependent systems, that sets in motion a process of exploitation, inequality, injustice and violence. It is blind to the fact that a recognition of nature's harmony and to maintain it are preconditions for distributive justice" (Shiva, 1988a: 6).

As "daily managers of the living environment," women increasingly bear the brunt of maldevelopment (Dankelman and Davidson, 1988). Structural changes arising from maldevelopment have weighed heavily on women. To sustain themselves most women have relied on the Chipko Movement. Increasingly, women are "finding a voice" by participating in groups and organisation. For many, rural women, both economic and ecological conditions are pressing, since they face severe constraints on their livelihood. Since most rural women are marginalized from formal politics, they have much to gain by joining the Chipko Movement. Linkenbach (1994: 68ff) points out that ecological, technological, historical, structural, and cultural factors may limit or facilitate the ways in which women and men respond to their conditions and thereby transform them. Shiva believes that the Chipko Movement is a profound example of women empowering themselves ... "to conserve an organic system of food production based on conserving trees, soils, water and genetic diversity, are struggles that challenge the gender and class-based ideologies of exclusion with trans-gender, declassified ideologies of inclusion" (Shiva, 1988a: 178).

Shiva cites women's prominent role within the Chipko Movement as life-creating and preserving the "feminine principle" or *prakiti*. According to Shiva the Western patriarchal concept of development "becomes maldevelopment-deprived of the feminine, the conserving, the ecological principle" (Shiva, 1990: 191). This

suggestion leads Shiva to the notion that the Western patriarchal concept of development ..."ruptures the cooperative unity between the masculine and the feminine" (Shiva, 1990: 191). To survive their domination, women have taken up an important task of challenging western patriarchy, namely its concepts of nature and women, science and development. Ecological struggles such as the Chipko are aimed coincidentally at liberating nature from continuous exploitation and women from ongoing subjugation to men.

Riane Eisler (1988) argues that the pitfalls of patriarchy lies in the devaluing of the so called "feminine principle." Eisler contends that through the reaffirmation of values such as compassion, non violence etc, a form of ecological consciousness emerges which can deal with destructive proclivities. The Women's Environmental Network [WEN] in Britain which began in 1988 also employs the feminine principle, "WEN's ecofeminist philosophy elevates the feminine aspect of intuition as a leading mechanism for the preservation of life (Cox, 1992: 290).

In the last fifteen years a number of grassroots organisation have emerged among the rural poor, which have tried to challenge class, caste and gender. Issues such as subsistence rights, health, ecology, violence against women "get defined as political and provide areas of struggle" (Everett, 1989: 162). Likewise in Latin America women's groups in Latin America are active in raising awareness about health, day-care, reproductive rights and economic issues. According to Vickers (1991: 112): "Major communication strategies with poor women are being established by several feminist networks; the *Centro de Estudios de la Mujer* in Chile; *La Morada*, also in Chile; *Flora Tristan* in Peru; IDAC in Rio de Janerio; the *Rede Mulher* in Sao Paulo, CEAAL throughout Latin America; the *SOS Corpo* in Recife and innumerable other groups have maintained a systematic service."

The activities of organisations, women's groups can do much to encourage awareness and conscious raising. Other movements in India, have employed innovative strategies in dealing with problems such as domestic violence, work laws etc. The following section of the thesis provides a synopsis of each movement. It should be noted that in India women's concerns are being given recognition in diverse forums, the working-class, peasant, tribal and mass based movements. The issues of these groups vary, yet there is an increasing realisation for the need for a united force.

3.6 THE ANTI-ALCOHOL MOVEMENT

Closely linked to the Chipko Movement is the anti-alcohol Movement. In the Garhwal and Kumaon district, activists realised that alcoholism in men posed a major problem for the women. Some of the effects were severe wife battering (domestic violence), men squandering their earnings on alcohol, hence women had little if no access to money for the household. In response to this, activists adopted a non-violent means of protest namely fasting. This Gandhian method was only successful in the widespread disapproval of alcohol consumption but could not abolish the sale and consumption of alcohol. Pam McAllister's claim that feminist nonviolence involves the coalescing of "rage with compassion" is important in this instance. McAllister writes:

"The peculiar strength of nonviolence comes from the dual nature of its approach-the offering of respect and concern on the one hand and the defiance and stubborn noncooperation with injustice on the other. Put into the feminist perspective, nonviolence is the merging of our uncompromising rage at the patriarchy's brutal destructiveness with a refusal to adopt its ways...to focus on rage alone will exhaust our strength...force us to concede allegiance to the path of violence and destruction. On the other hand, compassion without rage renders us impotent, seduces us into watered-down humanism, stifles our good energy.... (McAllister,1982: 3ff).

McAllister's contention is really far fetched with regard to the anti alcohol Movement since non-violence did not curtail the wife beating let alone alcohol consumption. The point of hope, however, lies in the growth of consciousness among rural women. Rural women have organised against oppression, both outside and within the home. The Shahada Movement resorted to much more militant means.

3.7 THE SHAHADA MOVEMENT: BREAKING THE SILENCE

Male violence against women in the home was rarely publicly discussed. But the Shahada movement recognised this as a serious problem. The Shahada movement acquired its name from the area in the Dhulia district of Maharashtra. This recognition stemmed from the fact that

landlords resorted to sexual abuse, rape as well as physical abuse. Mies (1988: 138) documents some important examples:

"Formerly poor women were allowed to cut the grass on the edges of the landlord's fields but they are now beaten up if they do so, because this grass has become a commodity which is claimed by the owner of the field, who sells it to dairy farms."

Sexual exploitation occurs mainly in the form of rape. Under the ruling class landlords, women were particularly vulnerable to abuse. According to Mies (1988: 138)

"Sexual aggression on the part of the landlords against the poor women is a weapon with which to beat the men of the propertyless classes and to stabilize the existing or newly emerging power relations in the countryside. Class rule and the oppression is closely interwoven. He who owns the land, owns the women of the land."

The Shahada movement defined abuse as a social problem, not a problem of individual women. They argued that it was rooted in an unequal exchange relationship between men and women, and for the situation to change, this

inequality had to be addressed and the privateness of the home had to be challenged. The agitation of women crystallized in the anti-alcohol protest. Women went from village to village breaking liquor pots, as their militancy progressed an organized network of women formed. At this point the Shahada Movement began a new role i.e. as soon as a woman reported an incident of wife beating, other women would beat the offender in public and demand an apology. Through the use of performing arts, women began making a statement about domestic violence. In the process, women develop as individuals, reaching out to the community to create new attitudes and actions. Rape was an issue on which the group campaigned strongly, but it should be noted that the movement did not call for changes in the national rape laws.

The experiences of women both in the Chipko and the Shahada Movement are similar. Issues that are essential for daily living such as subsistence rights, health, ecology, violence against women "get defined as political and provide areas of struggle" (Kothari, 1984: 220). Thus women define their interests in terms of family, class, community and gender. Moreover women in the grass-roots movements link issues of survival with issues of women's self-respect. A comparison between the Chipko Movement and Shahada Movement sheds light on unequal relations between women and men by contrasting the strategies used. The Shahada Movement is clearly confrontational. Wwomen have organised marches and campaigned against caste discrimination. This collective action provided a forum for politicizing relations of domination within the capitalist state as well. In a different way the Shahada Movement also led the anti-price rise campaign. In response to the famine ravaged Mahashastra, the Movement grew rapidly becoming a mass women's movement for consumer protection, demanding that

certain commodity prices be established by the government. This form of protest took on a new form encompassing close to twenty thousand housewives.

In 1974 the movement spread to Gujarat and became known as the Nav Nirman Movement. It shifted its focus from protesting soaring prices to the criticism of the Indian state. The forms of protest ranged from hunger strikes to mock courts, mock funerals as well as women ringing the death bell of the Legislative Assembly with their rolling pins. Women activists were fuelled by "total revolution." The sharpness with which these issues were articulated seemed to appeal to the rural women. Significantly, women participated far more enthusiastically and in far greater numbers. A concept embraced by Jai Prakash Narayan, "total revolution" referred to the notion of limiting state power in favour of people's rule or *lokniti*. Central to their definition of *lokniti* was the opposition to the caste, religious, political, economic system as well as changing familial relationships. The movement did not however stress the importance of changing these relationships. Thus whether the Nav Nirman movement can be called anti-patriarchal or not is quite explicit. The movement was crushed in 1974 when approximately one hundred people were killed.

The preceding movements have depicted women's ongoing mobilisation against specific concerns, domestic violence, rape, alcoholism and economic rights. The strength and durability of mobilisation on practical issues (high prices) was far greater than on strategic issues such as (rape) which questioned the bases of oppressive structures. Another example of peasant women organising for economic rights is the Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA).

The sexual division of labour, coupled with unequal wages assigned women "unskilled" spheres of work, thereby confining them to a reserve army. This cry of helplessness brought about a new movement concerned with women's issues. SEWA has heightened awareness of the innumerable inequalities as well as efforts to make women's lives better and more self reliant.

3.8 SELF-EMPLOYED WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION (SEWA)

"Organizing is the answer for those who are economically, or socially active. They have to come together and work and struggle together to achieve a better life...After twenty years' experience I would put the emphasis on organizing on the basis of economics" (Ela Bhatt quoted in Snyder, 1995: 201).

Women workers have found ways of organising themselves to address the problems they face in the workplace. The Self-Employed Women's Association (SEWA) was formed in the interest of women workers who worked in different trades in the informal sector, but shared the common experience of low earnings. SEWA originated in Ahmedabad out of an initiative of Ela Bhatt of the Textile Labour Association (TLA) and the self-employed women labourers in the informal sector of Ahmedabad. In 1974, SEWA set up their own co-operative bank with the objective of providing loans to both low income urban and rural women. Access to finance for Third World women is usually difficult, since they are less likely to have literacy or negotiating skills when dealing with interest rates. In response to this Women's World Banking was set up with the objectives of financing and providing information, technical assistance about business development (Helmores, 1986).

SEWA has initiated a number of schemes and skills training programmes which is

presently funded by UNIFEM (The United Nations Development Fund for Women), (Helmore, 1986). Recently SEWA has also been engaged in exploring alternative methods of providing child care for women workers. SEWA exhorts the values of improving working conditions, through collective bargaining. This gives women an understanding of labour struggles which are integral to combat oppression and exploitation respectively. Armed with these skills, women fight for specific demands as women workers. The advent of SEWA can be comparable to the role of the Communist Party in the 1920s and 1930s. As Walker (1990: 56) points out in the following:

"The trade union movement thus acted as a training ground for a new class of leader, working women who rose to leadership positions within their union and who from there were frequently drawn into a wider political movement....The unions also introduced a far wider range of women, their general membership to new techniques and concepts of organisation, while encouraging them to reflect more critically upon their experience as workers within society. For most women workers, generally poorly educated, without political rights, the trade union was the one area where they could come into contact with ideas and issues that stretched beyond their narrow experience within the home or factory."

According to Ela Bhatt (Chair of SEWA Bank), the rural women have "come out of the clutches of private moneylenders, of contractors and middlemen" (Snyder, 1995: 204). The following article is an impressive feature of SEWA fighting battles for rural women.

TWO SEWA STORIES

Jyotiben lives in Raikhad on the river bank. She sells fish for a living. When the water level of the river rose, her home was flooded. The fish stored there for sale spoiled and she lost her fishing net too. If she borrowed money for those damages how could she ever repay and feed her family? Being a member of the SEWA Insurance scheme, she obtained a loan, after the damage to her home and goods were assessed. First of all she bought a new fishing net. She said 'With my net, at last I can breathe in peace. I can earn and rebuild again' (cited in Snyder, 1995: 205).

Hansaben is an executive committee member of Raipur village's dairy co-operative in Gandhinagar district. Her co-operative's milk was of the best quality, grade A, and had been so for years. Some time ago it was suddenly judged to be grade B and the women started getting a lower price per litre for it. Hansaben looked into the matter and found no error in the sales figures. What went wrong? To find out, one day at 7:30 in the evening she hid in a field when the truck from the dairy came to collect her co-operative's milk. She caught the contractor red-handed adding water to the co-operative's milk, thus lowering the quality. The next day Hansaben lodged a complaint with the dairy. The contractor was forced to admit to diluting the milk. She managed to obtain the price for grade A milk for as many days as she and her colleagues had been cheated. Extra income of Rs15000 thus came to the co-operative, which Hansaben had saved from ruin. (cited in Snyder, 1995: 205).

The activity of women in SEWA not only radicalised the women into articulating their interest, but has also encouraged community support systems. This organisation has deliberately set itself apart from the Chipko and other grass roots organisation since it has challenged the sexual division of labour in order to bring about greater equality. Women's involvement in collective action around practical gender interests has created a forum for the articulation and struggle around strategic gender interests.

The differences between these types of organisation reflect the different contexts in which they occurred as well as their strengths and weaknesses. Despite their "small victories" women need to challenge domination and a redistribution of power needs to occur. Women's associations may win a few concessions, yet without the redistribution of overall power there can be no definite improvement in their lives. These organisation have articulated both practical and strategic gender interests yet the question needs to be asked: will these efforts lead to a greater gender and community equality? As witnessed above, women have resorted to resourceful ways to articulate gender interests against male domination. The key concern in the following section, is to show how gender, nature and imperialism are connected to ecological destruction.

3.9 GENDER, NATURE AND THE CAPITALIST ECONOMY

A large body of feminist theory has attempted to reveal the ways in which the oppression of women and the exploitation of their labour is justified or concealed by a whole constellation of ideological constructions that identifies women and colonized people as a kind of natural resource. In her book Staying Alive, patriarchy corresponds to women and nature based on their femininity or passivity. To be natural then is to be docile, it's to take everything lying down, it is to be available for manipulation, it is to be no more than raw material for men's agendas. Today, despite political independence, India experiences involvement with the global economy, but on less favourable terms. Moreover agricultural policies have generally ignored the role of women. This inattention to women's roles have been reviewed by many writers (Rogers, 1980; Shiva et al, 1993). The failure to count women and their activities is well documented by Elise Boulding (1976). According to Boulding, this failure to count women is not new;...

"...while the practice of census-taking is an ancient phenomenon. The counting of men has been necessary for all societies...so that societies would know how many soldiers could be placed in the field during war. Societies have generally been more eager to count fighters than producers" (1976, 5).

In most of rural India, handicrafts play a large part in supplementing family income. Despite their obvious labour (examples of the carpet weavers in Iran and the Lace-makers in Narspur) women are reflected as invisible. Mies (1982) study of the lacemakers of Narspur, India provides a graphic illustration of how women bear the impact of development processes in countries where peasant labour are being "integrated" into an international division of labour under the dictates of capital accumulation (Mies, 1982). Her study further illustrates how capitalist production relations are built upon the backbone of women workers or housewives. In many cases, handicrafts are marketed by middlemen and are produced at home. The earnings are minimal, moreover, the incorporation of women and children into the process of obtaining a monetary income has made the household economy more dependent on the market.

Hence ideologies of gender and work provide the necessary ground for the exploitation of the lacemakers. Moreover patriarchal ideology and the presence of the capitalist system has sought to control women's collective labour for its own purposes. The operation of capitalist processes from the position of the worker/housewife who produces for the world market makes the gendered opposition between labourer and housewife visible. Therefore Mies work illustrates the concrete effects of the social definition of women as housewives. Not only are the lacemakers invisible in census figures (their work is considered leisure), but the definition of them as housewives makes possible the definition of men as "breadwinners."

3.9.1 THE CAPITALIST ECONOMY

Latin America, Africa and Asia have suffered a brutal plunder in order to supply natural resources to the North, while an increase in population is held accountable for environmental degradation: "The Sarawak forests are being cleared and their peoples made homeless in their own land, so that Japan can have an abundant supply of disposable chopsticks, Indonesian forests are being felled to make toilet paper and tissues and Amazon forests are burnt down to create cattle ranches to provide beefburgers" (Mies et al, 1993: 290). Despite the arduous labour, women remain the lowest-paid group of workers. An important example is provided by the *volantes* in Sao Paulo, Brazil. Seventy five percent of them came from a rural background: Their first job is an unpaid farm job, generally in the coffee plantations. Work on the coffee plantation is often difficult and affects women adversely because of an image problem, the *volantes* rank very low on the peasant scale.

Maria Mies believes that women's relationship to nature is productive because "women not only collected and consumed what grew in nature but they made things grow" (Mies, 1986: 16). This organic process of growth has created a women and nature partnership where:

- a) their interaction with nature is a reciprocal process ie women perceived their bodies as being productive.
- b) although they appropriate nature, their relationship towards nature is not one of dominance or property, but they co-operate in order to "let grow and to make grow" (Mies, 1986).
- c) as producers of new life, they also become the first inventors of the productive economy. This implies the creation of social relations.

Mies further argues that man is "basically a parasite-not a producer." Herbert Marcuse (1974: 74) shares similar sentiments: "inasmuch as the male principle has been the ruling mental and physical force, a free society would be the definite negation of this principle, [implying] that it would be a female society." These sentiments of biologically defined traits correspond to patriarchy's gender ideology. "The social factors which determine male aggressiveness and female receptivity, a natural contrast exists; it is the woman who 'embodies' in the literal sense the promise of peace, joy and harmony. Tenderness, receptivity, sensuousness have become features (or mutilated features) of her body-features of her (repressed) humanity (Marcuse, 1974: 77). This type of gender ideology has produced a dichotomisation.

Mies view of the internationally predatory capitalist system, and how it uses patriarchal violence on women and nature to secure economic ends, fuses this "feminine voice," and then brings it into dialogue with the basic presuppositions of Marxism itself. Shiva's post-colonial "expose of development" out of other ecofeminist positions, have developed the interplay of gendered living, environmental struggle, and intensive study of dialectical philosophies.

3.10 DEVELOPMENT, IMPERIALISM AND PATRIARCHY

The past two decades have featured a predominant rethinking of development. Women feature prominently in the conception of development, yet their voices are almost unheard, essentially because they are largely absent from the state and agencies that formulate and monitor these developmental policies. Third World women tend to operate only on the margins of the world economy, to live as a class of landless rural or urban, low-paid labourers. They have inferior access to

education, training, health and employment opportunities. The capability of women are repeatedly undervalued, ridiculed and restricted. In order to understand the concept of development in the Third World, one has to comprehend it from the women's point of view. Hence the colonial, class and gender biases of development constitute a countervailing politics of transformation.

Colonialism and development have instituted new forms of gender oppression and gender polarisation. The history of the colonial underdevelopment is epitomised in economic and political processes which are the hallmark of modern western patriarchy. According to Eduardo Galeano (1993, quoted in Carmen, 1994: 1):

"Underdevelopment is something that forces you at an early age to think someone else's thoughts and to feel something your own heart does not feel and to somehow being unable to stand on your two feet. They train you to be paralysed, then they sell your crutches."

Women's role as primary agricultural producers in the Third World equips them to experience and understand the ecological issues surrounding them. The displacement of women from productive enterprises by the increase in development ventures appropriated and ravaged the natural resource base, which was crucial for sustenance and survival. It destroyed women's productivity by removing land, water and forests from their management and control, as well as through ecological degradation this ensured that nature's productivity were impaired. Whereas gender subordination and patriarchy are the oldest forms of oppression, this subordination has become more profound through the project of development. These patriarchal categories view destruction as "production" and rejuvenation of life as "passivity." Passivity has become an assumed category of the "nature" of nature and of women, which repudiates the activity of nature and life.

Gender aspects of environment often relate to agencies' overall gender policies and programmes. The shift from Women in Development (WID) to Women, Environment and Development (WED) which took place in the late 1980S and 1990S is significant since it opens up the questioning ground between women and development. Feminist movements and the growth of awareness of gender inequalities have instituted gender concerns into the development argument. A number of questions take precedence at this stage namely: How have women become integrated in the development process? What are the implications of this process for women? The need to identify integrated gender concerns in Indian development have been highlighted by many authors (Sen and Grown 1984).

3.11 "DOMESTICATION OF WOMEN"

"Women are half of humanity. They do two-thirds of the world's work. But they earn perhaps one-tenth of the world's income; and they own less than a hundredth of its property" (Ekins, 1992: 73).

In 1938 Virginia Woolf captured the devaluation of women's work in a feminist polemic titled Three Guineas. She writes:

"The world as is at present is divided into two services; one the public and the other the private. In one world the sons of educated men work as civil servants, judges, soldiers and are paid for that work; in the other world the daughters of educated men work as wives, mothers or daughters...but the wives, mothers and daughters who work all day and every day without whose work the state would collapse and fall into pieces, without whose work your sons, sir, would cease to exist, are paid **nothing** whatever (Woolf, 1938: 11).

Third World women have made it increasingly clear that they are the ones who will analyze their own situation (Rogers, 1980). Gender distinctions are common to all societies. Women's work in sustaining families and communities - whether it is planting and harvesting crops, collecting fuelwood, taking care of children, cooking

ood (and these are still primarily women's jobs) is generally not counted in standard economic measures of a country's level of economic status, since most of this labour is unpaid. Such jobs tend to be subsidiary, 'helping' the men. All these jobs are time-consuming and labour-intensive. Fuelwood and water for example may have to be fetched far away.

Table 2: Time Taken and Distance Travelled for Fuelwood Collection

Region	Year of data	Firewood collection*	
		Time taken	Distance travelled
Chamoli (hills)	1982	5 hr/day†	over 5 km
(a) Dwing		4 hr/day	over 3 km
(b) Pakhi			
Gujarat (plains)	1980	Once every 4 days	n.a.
(a) Forested		Once every 2 days	4-5 km
(b) Depleted		4-5 hr/day	n.a.
(c) Severely depleted			
Madhya Pradesh (plains)	1980	1-2 times/week	5 km
Kumaon (hills)	1982	3 days/week	5-7 km
Karnataka (plains)	n.a.	1 hr/day	5.4 km/trip
Garhwal (hills)	n.a.	5 hr/day	10 km
Bihar (plains)	c. 1972	n.a.	1-2 km/day
	1980	n.a.	8-10 km/day
Rajasthan (plains)	1986	5 hr/day	4 km
	(winter)		

Notes: *Collected primarily or solely by women and children

†Average computed from information given in the study

n.a. = Information not available

(adapted from Agarwal, 1988: 108)

Domestic tasks are thought to be natural for women. Little attention is paid in economic planning to ways of lessening the burden and the time spent in this work. Women are thus often neglected in development programmes which focus on increasing income as the way to "develop" a country. Emphasis is placed on growing cash crops rather than on growing crops for food. This has several effects: it increases the burden on women, who often have to work harder and longer to supply their families needs and it often results in over use of resources and

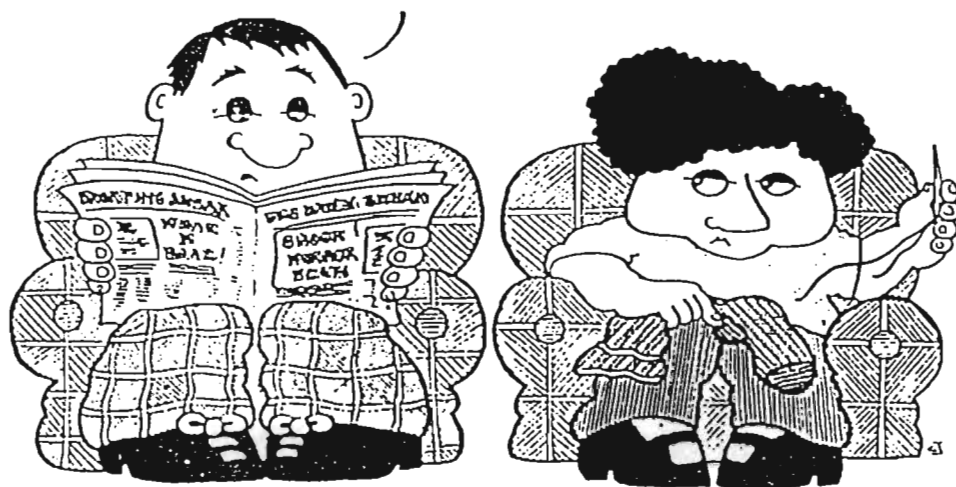
degradation of the environment. This ultimately increases the poverty of many people even while the gross national product increases. Gailbraith observed that the disguise of women's work serves an important function since "what is not counted is usually not noticed, planners are able to assume that, in a literal sense, women do not count" (Gailbraith, 1974: 79). According to Barbara Rogers (1980: 14) there is an often held assumption that all men are

"naturally incapable of nurturing children and, to compensate, are naturally stronger than all women, who are deemed incapable of heavy work. The work that women perform, regardless of its actual character, is seen as somehow not work or at best very light work."

The division of labour identifies women with the domestic sphere and men with the public sphere. Development agencies have come to view women's roles in terms of "home economics" (Rogers, 1980). Development planners have also labelled women's subsistence work as domestic and therefore to be dismissed as insignificant. The example of Kenya is quite appropriate here. In Kenyan agricultural co-operatives, women contribute substantially to co-operative production, but women are not formally recognised, neither do they receive benefits (Adagal, 1988). According to Momsen (1991: 1) "economic development" has been shown to have a differential impact on men and women and the impact on women has generally been negative, thus

"the modernisation of agriculture has altered the division of labour between the sexes, increasing women's dependent status as well as their workload. Women often lose control over resources such as land and are generally excluded from access to new technology. Male mobility is higher than female, both between places and between jobs, and more women are being left alone to support children. Women in the Third World now carry a double burden or a triple burden of work as they cope with housework, childcare and subsistence food production, in addition to an expanding involvement in paid employment. Everywhere women work longer hours than men."

YOU SHOULD GET
YOURSELF A JOB



WELL, IT MAKES
A NICE CHANGE
FROM WORK



"A woman's domestic role as wife and mother – which is vital to the well-being of the whole society – is unpaid and undervalued", says the State of the World's Women Report 1985.

Cartoons by Cath Jackson

(Source: Vickers, 1991: 35)

The equating of women with subsistence work places them in a non-paid agricultural sector, thus "seeing women's work as concerned with sustenance and the feeding of the family, while regarding men as somehow associated with the cut- and thrust of the market and the outside/non-domestic worlds (Moore, 1988: 77). Pepe Roberts (1984, 12) states that the omission of any reference to the cost of labour in the cost-benefit analyses of the new inputs, is linked to the supposition that all labour will be 'supplied by women or "family labour" to which no value or "opportunity cost" is designated. Using the example of post-colonial Africa, Barbara Rogers (1980) has argued that the income disparity exists in the income earning pattern of men over women from non recognition of women as producers. Citing several examples she shows that the underpinning conceptual bias of development militated against women in the distribution through stereotypically treating them as dependents. At the same time this failure to count women's work in economic measures leads to the exploitation and marginalization of unpaid subsistence workers. Hence the discovery of women as a stratagem for development was "based on considerations of equality, but rather on the necessity of extracting more labour from women" (Anderson et al, 1985: 13).

The perception that women's work is of less worth, largely because it is either unpaid or poorly paid (despite the fact that in most places women perform most of the tasks which is crucial to the survival of the household) contributes to women being devalued and having limited power within and outside the family. This in turn increases the likelihood that the division of labour between the sexes will continue, augmenting women's complete or partial economic dependence upon men. According to Orkin (1989) women become involved in a downward spiral of socially caused and distinctly asymmetric vulnerability. This devaluation of work, as well as their

physical lesser strength and economic dependence upon men also allows them to be subject to sexual and psychological abuse (Gordon, 1988). In poor countries, the power differential moves beyond overwork and abuse towards deprivation in terms of healthcare, education of female children as well as the question: to be born or not? "Of 8,000 abortions in Bombay after parents learned the sex of the foetus through amniocentesis, only one would have been a boy" (NiCarthy, 1995). A UNICEF report found that:

"a quarter of the 12 million girls born in India annually are dead by the age of 15, many of them victims of neglect, discrimination and sometimes infanticide because of their sex...Although girls are born biologically stronger, 300,000 more of them die each year than boys. The World Health Organisation reports that in many countries, girls are fed less, breast-fed for shorter periods of time, taken to doctors less, and die or are physically and mentally maimed by malnutrition at higher rates than boys" (Nicarthy, 1995: 53).

The development of reproductive technology has taken on an ideological climate which works on the basis of selection and elimination. Moreover the rapid spread of amniocentesis has also sparked protest from Indian feminists. While protests continue more sophisticated methods are being practised. A sex-determination test under the auspices of Dr Ericsson or GAMETRICS Ltd has flourished in India in 48 centres. GAMETRICS uses a filter method to select male-bearing sperm using fluid albumin. Doctors at this clinic are able to select with 80% accuracy Y chromosomes which are then inserted into women. Patel (quoted in Mies, 1993: 194) states the following:

"In countries with a strong patriarchal preference for males. GAMETRICS can be sure of a bright future in such countries."

The control of human biological reproduction allows us to see clearly the patriarchal culture. Sex predetermination is no threat to male dominance; hence no obstacles are anticipated in its use. In these ways a child's sex and means of conception are in the process of becoming a new battleground in the war between the sexes.

The economy has become increasingly global, rather than national, in nature. Capital is ready to take advantage of this trend and will use it to dismantle labour, environmental and social justice laws. The burden of these changes often falls disproportionately on women, which leads to a "tremendous reduction of labour costs, extracted from women" (Mies, 1986: 12).

Maria Mies study: The Lacemakers of Narspur (1981/82) examines how women from the former Andhra Pradesh state crochet lace at home.

"The work of the lacemakers and the labour time which it costs are not only 'invisible' for the exporters of the world outside but also for the husbands in front of whose noses the work is done. Even they define it as non work. The money earned by women appears as a miracle or as something natural" (1982: 82).

Haleh Afshar (1985) discusses the carpet weavers in rural Iran. Money derived from the carpet weaving does not become woman's own assets, but instead goes to the husband's coffers. Women's work can be considered as an integral part of the capitalist process or in Beneria's words, "a case where the capitalist organisation of production uses pre-existing gender relations for the purpose of reaching the cheapest labour possible" (1982: 157). Using these very examples, women become the product of a very modern division of labour on the world scale. The so-called traditional patriarchal relationships characterize the creations of the world-

economy. The international community should agree on the design of unified markets, but these must contain social and labour standards guaranteeing the fundamental rights of women and all workers. Unless this happens, women will continue to suffer.

Capitalist penetration has resulted in the increased exploitation of rural women. Not only as women's labour intensified, but her dual involvement in production and reproduction has assured the survival of the peasant household while simultaneously freeing male labour to the capitalist sector. In its resolution on "Women in Changing Economic Systems," Socialist International Women stated that the imbalance of women's representation in decision making bodies is of crucial importance. Since the limited participation of women in decision-making processes has put women in the position of passive recipients of social and economic benefits of development. The feminist perspective of political, social and economic matters must be taken into account. As Vickers (1991) writes: "women and children ...are typically seen as neither economically or politically significant enough constituencies to matter." Thus so long as policy makers continue to make a distinction between paid and unpaid work, productive and domestic work, women will continue to be overlooked. In order to challenge these dichotomies, attention will have to be paid to the inequalities that occur within households. As Papanek argues "given a focus on socialization for inequality, power relations within the household as a central theme in examining the dynamics of the households deserve special attention" (Papanek, 1991: 170).

3.12 DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVES WITH WOMEN FOR A NEW ERA (DAWN)

The acronym DAWN stands for Developing Alternatives With Women For a New Era. This group was formed in 1986 and from the outset operated as an autonomous women's organisation. DAWN is noted for its vision of a world "where inequality based on class, gender and race is absent from every country, and from the relationships among countries...a world where basic needs become basic rights and where poverty and all forms of violence are eliminated" (Sen & Grown, 1987: 86).

DAWN has been well known for its empowerment approach. It originated in the Third World women's feminist writings and grassroots organisation. It encourages women's greater empowerment through self-reliance, and views women's subordination as due to neo-colonial oppression. Activists in DAWN suggest that the solution to Third World economic crisis lies in the "strength of women." This becomes consolidated with the notion of family as "the family is a remarkable institution as well as complex one, so complex that much of economic theory proceeds as if no such thing exists" (Sen, 1984: 369). According to Geisler (1993: 1975) this form of "glorification of women's self-reliance in food production has come to powerfully confirm notions of efficiency within mainstream development." Clearly, then this reliance on women rather than state agencies indicates the continued reification of women as "subsistence workers" leads to the devaluation of women's work.

3.13 SWEDISH INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (SIDA)

In 1972, SIDA made an analysis of the situation of women in developing countries. The importance of "integrating women in the development process" was enthusiastically discussed. Through its aid programmes SIDA endeavours to promote not only economic equality and social equality between the rich and the poor, but also between women and men. The general aim of SIDA's Action Plan is to make assistance more women orientated. SIDA's aid strategies for women have included a "welfare strategy," concerned with reaching women and children through social and health care measures. The second strategy for "economic independence" is based on the view of women as producers and active participants in the economy. This principle of empowerment is used to "distract attention from the enactment of real power at all levels: of global capital, of the local state and big business and...of the power of men over women" (Bujra, quoted in Geisler, 1993: 1975).

3.14 NORWEGIAN ROYAL MINISTRY OF DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION (NORAD).

NORAD has developed a strong focus on the human and social aspects of development. It recognizes the relationship between the productive and reproductive roles of women. The two major goals in promoting the development of women are:

- * women's living conditions must be improved.
- * Women must be motivated and provided with opportunities to participate in the economic, cultural and political activities with a view to change in the mainstream of development to benefit women. According to Geisler (1993: 1975) capitalist development is considered as a precondition for the alleviation of poverty since "development assistance has to be in accordance with the priorities of the partner

countries." One can easily ascertain that development ideas are only applied to women and the household or when "these rhetorical acrobatics gain meaning when women's essential roles in ensuring the survival and development of children, limiting population growth, conserving natural resources and lastly productive activist in the informal sector are quoted as the prime reasons for their participation in development" (Geisler, 1993: 1975).

The researcher has articulated some sceptism about the notion that these agencies are unambiguous assistance deserving public support. This sceptism is fuelled by the fact that these agencies have encouraged capitalism as the main aim of aid giving (Mackintosh, 1990: 45). Shiva refers to the commodization of women ie women are portrayed as relating to the environment for the purpose of "sustenance" while men exploit the environment for cash (Shiva, 1988a: 96). One might, however, question this commodization since the burden of environmental degradation still falls unevenly on women and it does not derive from a growing awareness of the reproductive labour of women. Shiva and other ecofeminists have assumed that women are the custodians of and carers of the environment. The example of women collecting fuel wood for food cooking and beer brewing in Zimbabwe makes this quite questionable. According to Mc Gregor (1991: 208) beer brewing has been shown to demand substantial amounts of wood which is "live" and of large dimensions since this gives the slow burn. This distinguishes such usage from fuel for domestic cooking. One of the shortcomings of Shiva's approach is that it does not allow the analysis of changes in the relationship between women and their environments in either short or long term.

Kardam (1991: 119) concluded that development agencies are, for the most part not interested in empowering women, only with providing them with minimally and irregularly "welfare and access."

3.15 AN OVERVIEW OF AGENCY POLICIES CONCERNING GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

In 1947, the United Nations initiated a commission on the status of women authorized to prepare recommendations and reports on fostering women's rights. But it was only in 1975, the first International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City that the world highlighted the full and equitable participation of women in the development of countries. The conference focused on a world plan of action which encapsulated recommendations and targets to promote the status of women in a variety of social, economic, legal and other areas. The conference also called for national governments and international agencies to embrace special mandates to advance women's participation.

In the aftermath of the conference, the United Nations appointed 1976 as the UN decade for women, a manoeuvre which provided the stimulus for the establishment of a wide diversity of national women's movements and organisation in the North and South. The legacy of the UN decade for women has been fraternised, i.e. while the decade succeeded in increasing the consciousness of the world community and gaining legitimacy for women's needs and concerns on the global development agenda, it has failed to dispense any significant changes for the majority of women living under conditions of increasing poverty and deprivation in developing countries. The decade furthered discussion and debate on the theoretical and conceptual approaches to women in development, discussions which are still proceeding. The

1950s and 60s witnessed the predominant view of women in development or welfare approach which focused exclusively on women's reproductive roles. A subsequent analytical shift took the emphasis away from "Women in Development" toward "gender and development." Rounaq Jahan (1995) includes this issue as well as clarifying the relationship between WID/GAD policies and overall objectives of agencies and governments. This shift accentuated that the concerns of women should be perceived simply in biological terms but towards the consideration of socially constructed relations between women and men. It becomes explicit that the gender roles of women and men are diverse and they diverge between and within countries. Hence there needs to be a better understanding of cultural and social factors if programmes are to intervene successfully.

Despite the analytical shift, the terminology "women in development" will be used throughout this chapter. From the mid-1980's, the transition from WID to WED began. WID attempted to focus on women's contributions to development, in addition it was realised that this "... led to a focus on women in isolation from the rest of their lives....The implication was that the problem- and hence the solution- concerned only women" (Kabeer, 1994: 12).

3.16 THE WORLD OF DEVELOPMENT AGENCIES AND MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS

Since Ester Boserup's seminal piece Women's Role in Economic Development, development specialists have become concerned with making Third World women visible in development theory and practice. The Women in Development (WID) literature sought to expose the androcentric biases in theories and assumptions, and has been particularly critical of the gender-biased use of government

statistics and how the development process has disadvantaged women. The main premise of the WID discourse is that development equals economic progress.

Western development programmes are believed to be responsible for the destruction of life support systems in developing countries which threaten people's lives. These projects include dams, roads, and power stations which are funded by the West through international financial institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank. The consequences of these projects, aid agencies continue to lend money to finance projects which countries cannot afford financially, socially and ecologically. Some environmental groups believe that the answer lies in the "greening" of development projects and of the policies of aid agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The World Bank (International bank for Reconstruction and Development) is an important agency in the Third World. In a strategy to develop the poor McNamara, the bank's president stated that the ways "in which basic human needs can be met earlier in the development process must be found....To the extent that the poor possess some tangible assets, however meagre, it is possible to help them become more productive" (McNamara, quoted in Thomsen, 1988: 51).

In response to pressure, the World Bank has established an environment department to review the environmental impact of projects it proposes to fund. Rather than banning tropical timber, the World Bank proposes "forest management" or "sustainable forestry," harvesting timber without the forest being destroyed. Companies are being encouraged to harvest and renew forests gradually, therefore treating forests as long term investments. According to Guha (1989)..."Third World capitalism (seen in such commercial forestry), is a gross

caricature of European capitalism, reproducing and intensifying its worst features without holding out the promise of a better tomorrow (1989: 195). Burkey (1993: 67) writes:

"Is it the role of international development agencies to fight for women's liberation in the Third World? Wouldn't that be cultural imperialism at its worst? It isn't necessary to campaign for women's liberation: it is necessary that agencies make sure that their programmes and projects do not make the situation of women worse."

The newness of capitalist patriarchy is that it mediates first and foremost through material exploitation and dispensability. An important example to illustrate this point is population policy. Multinational drug companies dump their contraceptive pills, hormonal drugs to control fertility on Asian and African women. Sexuality is sometimes considered to be a central aspect of women's subordination. The ruling class of the Third World, in order to further their own economic interests, instantly agree to this policy of "forced sterilization," applying even harmful birth control devices for women in India. One such drug was Depo-Provera (a contraceptive which is banned in most advanced industrial countries). Depo-Provera (DP) is an injectable contraceptive consisting of progestogen. DP has an effectiveness comparable with the Pill and has been widely used despite its side-effects. According to Mies(1993: 192)

"third world women are used as guinea pigs by multinational drug industries. It is cheaper, faster and politically more convenient to use a crash programme against fertility to discover long-term effects of a contraceptive than it is to run clinical tests on samples of women in the West. In this sense, a number of Third World countries have been turned into human laboratories for transnational drug companies."

It is evident that the range of contraceptive choices open to women is very much governed by population control interests. The early programmes of population

control in the Third World assumed that poverty could be reduced by limiting societal fertility. In a study of contraceptive technologies in Bangladesh, noted that after serious flooding in 1984, food aid was denied until women agreed to be sterilised (1991: 10). In his research Gupta (1991) found out that women in India want to regulate their own bodies. Unfortunately, given the present circumstances of public education and primary health care in rural areas, the use of modern contraceptives results in more misery and distress than dependability (Hardon, 1991). With the birth control pill Depo-Provera being given out indiscriminately without concern for individual biochemistry, women's health and education or circumstance amounts to the rural women being used as research subjects. According to Sen and Grown (1987: 48)...

"the negative aspects of available contraceptive technology are insufficiently researched by agencies or by national governments, which often find it convenient to accept the findings of the private firms producing the products. Nor are the specific problems experienced by poor women given much credence or importance."

Women certainly deserve a forum for input to ensure the concerns about side effects, alternatives and health education are addressed. In addition, access to information is of limited value without the ability to understand and evaluate it. A paternalistic view of the whole issue of women's problems and men's solutions comes into being. Linking the problems of the environment with health and women is a relatively new force in the movement to social, economic and environmental justice. Furthermore concern for the reproductive freedom is frequently low on the agenda of population agencies.

According to Rogers (1980: 107)

"Population programmes are planned-and organised mainly by men, and aimed almost entirely at women- women as objects whose fertility is to be controlled (hence the phrase population control) rather than as people who wish to control their own fertility. It is assumed that women do not know what is good for them, and that they must be persuaded to become family planning acceptors."

In approaching the issue from a "eco-feminist" perspective the following principles apply:

Empowerment comes with knowledge. In the Developing world, illiteracy is still a serious problem. Despite literacy campaigns, the total number of illiterates continue to rise, faster for women than men. The silence on women's need for birth control takes place against a background of staggeringly high rates of illegal abortions and even worse, high maternal mortality and permanent injury as a result of botched abortions. In this case knowledge of women's bodies, natural functions/abilities, knowledge of the system of "patriarchy," its goals, processes, laws, particularly environmental and health legislation.

Women have authority and choice with respect to their bodies. While being given information (package inserts for the Pill) most of the women are totally ill-equipped to evaluate and use it. Due to the high illiteracy rate most women are unable to read the counter-indications and possible side-effects. The situation is due, at least in part to silence on the issue of women's right to reproductive self-determination, including knowledge of their physiology and how to ensure that every pregnancy must be a wanted one. Women should have authority over their lives and real choice about health matters and health reform. Since giving women reproductive autonomy is the first step to creating a more politically aware, and

more self-determining capacity within the population as a whole. Family planning programmes need to include campaigns to motivate and train both male and females so that they share responsibility and decisions on birth control.

Women are part of nature not superior to nature, and should not be seen as the custodians or protectors of nature. Women, have undoubtedly played an important role in the Chipko Movement, however, this mobilisation strategy cannot be reproduced in all parts of India. Since India is characterised by rigid class and caste differences, hence it is really a superfluous question whether ecological mobilisation is readily possible.

Patriarchal models of power over control and hierarchy are the problem therefore alternative models must be used to foster evolutionary change. These are based on communication, non-adversarial tactics, coalition building based on common goals, collaboration and sharing of information and other resources. A number of grassroots movements have emerged, yet these rural organisations are outside the political party context, these movements need to wage a struggle against women's oppression, in addition to their ongoing mobilisation against caste and class. According to Ela Bhatt (cited in Snyder, 1995: 191):

"If we accept that women's problems are not going to be solved in the cause of the current type of development, then we are looking for a political solution-a method of giving added priority in state policies for helping these women. As past experience has shown, there is little chance of even existing facilities like education, primary health services or access to capital ever reaching women at sufficient and sustainable levels unless they build up organized pressure."

Thus women are not an undifferentiated category. Indeed, in a multilingual and

multi-religious state like India, it would be difficult not to recognize this fact. The Chipko Movement should aim to promote the interests of women, rather than a house of religious category (Hindu, Muslim) a linguistic category (Tamil, Hindi, Urdu and so on), or a regionalist category (Uttar Pradesh, Garhwal Ghet, Bihar, Rajasthan etc). Thus the Chipko Movement need to advocate a gender identity that is national in orientation. Moreover it is necessary for the movement to struggle both simultaneously; and that, in favour policies including all women as a gender category, not simply categorizing them into peasant or working class struggles, but to forge an identity for women as a gender group, while recognizing that women in different classes can and do have divergent interests over specific issues. Within the Chipko Movement predominates a male/female difference..."it seems that those who are acting as its heads have not always succeeded in transmitting the voices of the participants, their models for future life as well as their praxis do not generally reflect or show congruency with the needs and ideas of the villagers" (Linkenbach, 1994: 79). The central challenge for development strategies designed to improve the social and material conditions of rural women is to engage women's participation in decision-making about their own lives and communities. Thus the goal is to transform women from objects of development to subjects or participants in research. It is evident that Third World women are treated as numerical entities in demographic statistics an not as persons.

According to Vickers (1991: 61) "women should be recognised as agents of development, and all kinds of work that they provide, visible or hidden, should be taken into account by economic research, by national accounting agencies and in planning." Women need to be recognised as an intrinsic and valuable component of household labour, rather than a supplementary reserve of low cost and devalued

labour supplier. Thus sensitization to gender issues in access to income, educational, political activities as well as the transformation of obsolete stereotypes are also essential for changing the status of women.

3.17 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the writer has reviewed the instruments used by the Chipko Movement to operationalize gender aspects of policies. Incorporating gender concerns into the policies of the movement highlights some of the women's experience thus far, providing some lessons and pointing the way toward the future.

The documentation of the social, economic and ecological value of women's consciousness and understanding is important if we are to increase our understanding of sustainable biodiversity management and to augment support and recognition for women. In addition to these factors, one also has to understand the social and political context in which they function as well as the specific strategies employed by women to overcome any constraints. The Chipko Movement reviewed in this chapter reveals a movement that has promoted practical gender interests.

The Chipko did not challenge areas of male dominance or oppression, neither did they demand equality with men. Their struggle against gender-based definitions of the roles of women and men, or the categorisation or the biological difference in social practice. This movement appeared to directly or indirectly maintain the principle of complementarity between the two distinct biologically defined areas of masculine and feminine, but resisted practices of privileging men over women.

It is in this sense that the Chipko can be viewed as anti-patriarchal. Women's approach to the environment from a gender perspective can be imbued with mobilizing political potential. Although Chipko women have mobilized around the environment, they have failed to define the environment as a political fact. The "environmentalization" of the forests brought more women into the organisation, but these women had little if not no formal power. To achieve political-environment demands, new forms of articulation needs to be created. The creation of a political space is essential for addressing environmental issues.

More importantly the leadership of the Chipko is predominantly male, hence the incorporation of specific female or gender specific demands could disturb the general objective of the organisation. It is for this reason that the Chipko cannot be labelled as feminist. Women in the Chipko Movement need to question this male leadership, the gender division of labour and the practices of the Chipko. When women assume leadership roles they are able to mobilize, and transform their environmental demands into "political demands." Some of the so-called environmental problems include shortage of water, this problem has been traditionally associated with the domestic domain. This tends to perpetuate women's traditional domestic roles hence working against the advancement of women's equality. Women need to become critical actors and arise against this subordination. In these circumstances a transformation needs to come from the male leadership but given women's ambivalent attitude, it is unlikely that they will carry out such a transformation. From the experience of the Chipko Movement, we can conclude that when environmental problems are identified with the domestic terrain, these problems have little if any symbolic value.

A key approach to changing the national agenda in a sustainable way has been to institutionalize women's presence at government policy level. The creation of a women's bureaux can be effective for accelerating equal opportunity for women. The Green Party is important in this regard. The Green Party in West Germany has been a successful movement. The high point of the movement has been the "Green femininat," the exclusively female leadership. The Green Party has been very successful in the mobilisation of women. In their Reconstruction programme, concrete demands are made for women, women's rights are defended, an end to the sexual division of labour, freedom in the choice of lifestyle, sexual self determination, an end to discrimination against homosexuals, concrete measures against violence against women as well as a law against discrimination, the main element of which should be a quota system in all areas guaranteeing at least 50 percent of all jobs for women (cited in Hurlberg, 1988: 195). In short, the Green Party has demonstrated its ability to survive, strengthen, both politically and practically the interests of women.

The Chipko Movement has not presented a solution for the crisis of the modern world. Neither does it have the capacity for ending development.

Petra Kelly provided leadership in forming the Green Party movement in Germany, and Russian zoologist Maria Cherkasova helped stop the destruction of the local ecology by organizing protests against Central Asia's Katun river dam project. Wangari Maathai, founder of the GreenBelt Movement, organized the planting of more than ten million trees in Kenya and Vandana Shiva helped the Chipko Movement prevent the felling of trees in rural India. These women serve as examples of the uncelebrated leadership and organisation by women every day in

parts of the world. Given the influence a handful of women have wielded, it is inspiring to imagine the impact a knowledgeable and well-organized global network of women can have on environment and development planning, policies and programmes worldwide.

MAP OF BRAZIL



Source: Diamond et al, 1988

CHAPTER FOUR

WOMEN IN BRAZIL: FORGING NEW PATHS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

"In the past decades, women in Latin America have spoken out in different ways, with different voices, in shouts and whispers, in what already amounts to a historically significant rebellion. Having being confined for too long to private, invisible spaces, women throughout the continent are now invading the streets, town squares and other public terrain, demanding to be heard" (Vargas, 1995: 73).

After World War II women gained the same political rights as men in all Latin American countries and were able to stand for political office (see table below).

Table 3: Date of Women's Suffrage in Latin America

Country	Suffrage Granted
Ecuador	1929
Brazil	1932
Uruguay	1932
Cuba	1934
El Salvador	1939
Dominican. Rep	1942
Guatemala	1945
Panama	1945
Argentina	1947
Venezuela	1947
Chile	1949
Costa Rica	1949
Bolivia	1952
Mexico	1953
Nicaragua	1955
Peru	1955
Columbia	1957
Paraguay	1961

(source: Nash and Safa, 1976)

However, the right to vote does not automatically guarantee a right to stand for elections (See Appendix D, for statistics). Changes in women's position can only come about when women themselves become members of elected legislatures. Alongside the formal rights, a literacy qualification is a prerequisite. Often women are excluded due to their low literacy levels (see appendix d). This is not to deny that there have been outstanding women politicians in Latin America, such as Carmen Naranjo in Costa Rica, Lydia Gueiler who was briefly president of Bolivia and Eva Peron.

The task of analysing and describing the characteristics of women's political participation, especially the collective expression of women's demands in Brazil is becoming increasingly important. But this process cannot be analyzed without reference to the long period during the 1982 elections which presented an important turning point in Brazilian history.

"To think in terms of Latin American women's gender identity also means turning our view to the path of conquest, of colonisation; of how peasant women have been forced into submission; to the slavery of black women; to the historically rooted isolation of middle class women; to the effects of these and other crises in women's lives; to the strong presence of the traditional Catholic church in the lives of many women. In sum, to the traces each and all these experience leave upon the minds and bodies of this heterogenous category of women" (Vargas, 1990: 10).

4.1.1 AN OVERVIEW OF LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS

Latin America has been synonymous with political instability, civil wars, revolutions and coups. The politics of Latin America oscillated between military dictatorship and competing political parties. This meant widespread political repression.

Throughout Latin America, military regimes were responsible for "disappearances" and torture. In Argentina, it was the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo referred to as "crazy women" by military officials who, tied to their familial values, opposed the disappearances and torture of their children. The mothers marched every Thursday throughout the years of dictatorship, confronting the authorities with their demands for knowledge of the whereabouts of their disappeared children.

It is impossible to understand the apparent "success" in Brazil, without looking at the factors that facilitated this. The installation of a military government was followed by attempts to depoliticize women. Such attempts are often part of authoritarianism, which is the "result of the interaction among internal political structures and institutions. Such regimes are characterized by repression, intolerance, encroachment on the private rights and freedoms of citizens and limited autonomy for nonstatist interest groups" (Perlmutter, 1981: 7). Authoritarianism has contributed to the re-evaluation of the lack of democracy in the lives of Brazilian women, since authoritarian policies not only engendered dramatic changes in women's socio-political roles but also, ultimately in their consciousness as women (Alvarez, 1990).

In March 1964, a military coup took place and the incumbent president Joao Goulart was ousted from office. Merquior (1985: 284) describes:

"Government instability, the disintegration of the party system, virtual paralysis of legislative decision-making, equivocal attitudes on part of President Goulart, not least with regard to his own succession; the threat of an ill-defined agrarian reform; military concern with government blessed sergeants, mutinies; and mounting radicalism on both the right and the left...all of this compounded by soaring inflation and of course by the haunting ghost of the Cuban revolution."

After the coup a two party system came into existence with the government party known as ARENA (National Renewal Alliance) and the opposition party, the MDB (Brazilian Democratic Movement). One military government succeeded another hence a growing crisis of legitimacy and deepening economic collapse occurred. It is perhaps, important to remember that latin America has been integrated into the world market since the time of colonialization, albeit on very unequal terms. Thus it slowly became explicit that the change in the political structure generated a reduction in the standard of living for the majority of Brazilian people. This economic downturn critically undermined support for the regime. In March 1974, the second military government succeeded Goulart. During this phase the military regime introduced a multi-party system with opposition parties such as the *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (PT or Worker's Party), the *Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro* (PMDB or the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party) and the government Party, the *Partido Democrático Social* (PDS or Social Democratic Party) emerging. During this stage the military instituted more authoritarian laws such as *Estado de Emergência* (State of Emergency).

Throughout this phase the standard of living continually worsened, unemployment rose, while wages were reduced drastically hence the Brazilian economy could no longer sustain itself. The International Herald Tribune, 12 February 1980, reported that "poor people in Brazil had started looting food stores as Brazil's monthly inflation rate soared" (cited in Vickers, 1991: 55). In response to this economic crises the poorer sections of the population expressed their outrage with the state of affairs. Latin American economies were subjected to a type of development that is dependent on external finance capital and advanced technologies. The women constitute a marginal, unskilled labour force working at

the lowest levels of productivity, pay and status (Nash et al, 1976). Women especially in urban areas were involved in consumer issues, primarily those relating to the welfare and survival of their families (Moser, 1987). The 1982 election initiated a fundamentally different situation where direct elections were held and the opposition party was elected into office. The process of change was the result of a conjuncture of political and economic factors. The transition to democracy presented new opportunities. This process of political liberalisation became known as the *abertura* process. It symbolized that the authoritarian regime was now losing legitimacy. Mc Adam terms this change "the structure of political opportunities" (Brazil's return to civilian rule in the 1980s rewrote the chapter on feminist theory (McAdam, 1982). The emergence of the decompression or *abertura* process opened up unique political opportunities. According to Cardoso (1983) the suppression of institutional channels of communication encouraged a new form of authentic action by popular sectors. The fact that these opportunities were so readily grasped owed much to the Brazilian tradition of authoritarianism and Catholicism. This chapter compares the experiences of Brazil with Australia. It focuses on the limitations women experience in the male dominated arena of party politics.

Clarity between the public and private dichotomies have appointed women as the "upholders of the private foundation of the political world of men" (Pateman and Shanley, 1991: 3). The feminist slogan of the 60s which suggested that the "personal is political" challenged these dichotomies. Feminists began drawing attention to the household/private sphere and questioned both the places within which politics transpires and the subject matter of the political. This redefinition transformed women's roles to become politically active. Women's pathways to

power have traditionally been so limited, that they had to innovate strategies to insert themselves into politics. The promotion of "new machineries" have definitely shown a different side of the state. The state was perceived as masculine and male dominant, but with the promotion of gender equity and feminist demands, the state has become more "women friendly." There is evidence that similar levels of participation existed in other Latin American countries such as Peru, Chile, Mexico and Ecuador (Chuchryk, 1989a, Moser, 1987). While there are many definitions of participation, as there are bodies of theories, for the purposes of this chapter, the subject of participation is considered on the basis of the unique links between civil society and the state. The civil society in Brazil "unfolded" with a number of groups.

In Mexico, the women's movement conducted a campaign *Ganando Espacios* or known as Gaining Spaces, this campaign based on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women helped ensure that the constitutional right of equality is put into practice through legislation that guarantees 50% representation in all decision making bodies in society.

In Paraguay, the *Coordinacion de Mujere* an umbrella organization of women's groups which brings together women in an annual forum to build gender awareness among women who are already politicians as well as to encourage the entry of more women into politics. Moreover the need to develop greater expertise in the political process has engendered women from different countries in Latin America together in seminars to discuss issues such as "*Feminismo, poder y practicos politicos*" Feminism, power and political practice and "*Mujer y democratization del poder*" women and the democratization of power. As a result of one of these

seminars, a Network of Women in Politics as the Southern Cone of Latin America was formed (Rodriguez, quoted in Karl, 1995: 77).

In Chile women formed a political action group called *Mas Mujeres al Parlamento* (More Women in Parliament) for the purpose of fostering the empowerment and presence of women in politics. The *Mas Mujeres* was consolidated with both men and women from political parties, professional and intellectuals, "all of whom seek to increase political participation and the empowerment of women and to build bridges in the political sphere, where women have traditionally been excluded- and the sphere of social action where women have historically been active in large numbers in Chile" (Karl, 1995: 87).

Latin American women have participated in community women's groups, grassroots struggles, militant trade unions and human rights movements, working closely with women from popular sectors who constituted what later became known as the *Movimiento de mujeres* or larger women's movement.

Having examined Brazilian history, this section will consider the responses to authoritarianism. Most marked has been the *abertura* process which has had important political dimensions for Brazilian women. This change was "crucially important ...expressing itself in electoral mobilization as well as in the political activation of professional and civic associations of numerous types" (Lamounier, 1988: 132). Ironically then the military government failed in their attempts to depoliticise women.

In tracing women's political involvement in Brazil, three aspects emerge: first, the range of women's activities in the so called private sphere of the home, secondly in the community and the degree to which these can be recognised as political and finally the representation of women in the public sphere of formal politics, within both political parties and the bureaucratic machinery. This chapter is divided into three parts: the first specifies the historical roots of the present structure of women's political participation, tracing the network of community organisations. The second section portrays the transformation of these precursors into councils. The final part examines the difficulties of these associations in Brazilian politics as associated organs of political parties and concludes with an assessment of the extent to which women's political participation has been successful.

4.2 PATHS OF ENTRY: CIVIL SOCIETY

Between 1972 and 1976, 60 women mayors were elected in Brazil (Blay, 1979). This phenomenon was quite novel since politics in Brazil have always been a male domain. The initial steps towards democracy resurrected civil society, understood as "the relatively autonomous space that is not wholly controlled by the state or the corporate sector, in which citizens can develop their own social relations and actions for mutual support and survival. This included networks of friends and relatives, women's centres, neighbourhood organizations, church groups, trade unions and so on" (Jelin, 1990: 11). Jaquette (1989: 5) relates the following:

"Ironically, military authoritarian rule, which intentionally depoliticized men and restricted the rights of 'citizens' had the unintended consequence of mobilizing marginal and normally apolitical women" (Jaquette, 1989: 5).

The civil society represented an "opportunity space" for Brazilian women. Research on the state has been concerned with the interaction between state elites and civil

society. "The forms of collective action through which groups make political demands or through which political leaders seek to mobilise support are also partially shaped in relation to the structures and activities of the states" (Skocpol, 1985: 22).

Apart from the church and a host of women's groups, a newspaper titled *Mulherio* played an important role in developing the genderic political perspective. Dissatisfied with traditional roles assigned to them, Brazilian feminists founded *Mulherio* in a bid for self-realization and social improvement. Latin America has also been famous for "*Telenovelas*," soap operas that explore the contradictions in women's lives. These popular modes of repertoire articulate important demands. According to Eckstein (1986: 10-11) the

"Latin American repertoire has been shaped...by dependence on foreign trade, technology, and capital, a bureaucratic centralist tradition, and a distinctive Catholic-inspired worldview.....The different modes of 'popular' defiance are rooted in different traditions of protest."

The International Women's Year in 1975 marked an appropriate accession for celebration in Brazil and elsewhere. International Women's Year promoted by the United Nations in 1975 emphasized the integration of women into the public domain since it provided a "political platform" (Jaquette, 1989: 33). The year marked an appropriate accession, not so much for celebration but for women to organise and assess their position within the Brazilian society. During this year, a seminar on "the role and behaviour of Brazilian women" was organised by the United Nations Information Centre in Brazil and the Brazilian Press Association. An important outcome was the setting up of a Brazilian Women's Centre in Rio de Janeiro. Given that the political scenario in Brazil during the 1970s made it illegal for more than ten people to gather, the Centre had, however, great difficulty in reaching the vast, exploited and politically marginalized population.

In the past four decades education in Latin America has expanded at a significant rate. The expansion of universities and the improvement of new careers led to an increase in the proportion of women in universities, hence a high degree of specialists emanated. Consequently it will be obvious to expect a number of Brazilian women playing an important role in the politics of Brazil. Thus educational changes also constitutes a factor of importance, since it yields the proportion of highly qualified women in the national economy to increase. Moreover, the problem of educational content is important for the full participation of women. Women, in school literature are characterized exclusively in roles of wife, mother and are thus confined to the private sphere.

Madiera and Singer (cited in Tabak, 1981: 69) suggest that women's political participation is determined by the changes that have taken place during industrialisation in Brazil, it is therefore necessary to examine these changes. Rapid industrialisation and modernisation of the national economy permits an increase in the percentage of females in the various sectors of society. When female workers participate in labour organizations, it is usually in connection with demands made in their capacity as workers and mothers. Women workers were mobilized to obtain support services such as creches.

Mass media had an enormous impact especially television. According to Shohat (1997: 196), "While most Third-Worldist films assumed the fundamental coherence of national identity, with the expulsion of the colonial intruder fully completing the process of national becoming, the films call attention to the fault lines of gender, class, ethnicity, region, partition, migration and exile."

By focusing on female protagonists, television films expounded a political project to empower women. Just as the Women's Year raised world-wide consciousness of the socio-economic and political importance of redefining gender constructs, the Brazilian church also attached importance to the raising of female consciousness.

4.3 FACTORS AFFECTING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN BRAZIL

In traditional Latin America, the legal status of women was based upon "*patria potestas*," this code afforded men, the patriarchal right to control his family. Legally, women were "equated with idiots and children" (Kinzer, 1973: 304). This male dominance still prevails in the form of patriarchal attitudes which reflect and reinforce the subordination of women and their confinement to the domestic sphere. These attitudes, which represent "fitting" configurations held by both men and women, are reviewed by Schmidt (1976: 244):

- a) the sexual division of labour reflects natural differences between women and men
- b) women's identity comes through their relationship with men
- c) women achieve their highest fulfilment as wives and mothers
- d) women are apolitical

The patriarchal model of Latin American family is portrayed as male control over activities related to the outside world or public sphere "*calle*" (Nash and Safa, 1976; Fox, 1973). In the domestic sphere or "*casa*," women maintain significant control through their competence in child rearing and household activities (Chaney, 1979). The structural constraints of women's role in reproductive activities have been their impetus in joining organizations and women's movements. Related to their family and means of survival, Brazilian women began confronting barriers and provided a basis for political action. For example, the neighbourhood associations established by Brazilian women, "stemmed from their immediate needs ..their day

to day needs as wives and mothers" (Flora, 1984: 78). These associations, began as associations focusing on day-care, helped women gain organizational experience that later facilitated their involvement in political issues.

Virginia Sapiro (1984: 245ff), while focusing on electoral politics, also examines women's alleged absence from other kinds of political involvement. Writers are now beginning to acknowledge that women participate politically in ways that are scarcely recognised or documented as political behaviour or protest. For example, feminist politics or the use of "feminine traditions," women made use of tapestries or "*arpilleras*" to communicate political messages under the Chilean totalitarian regime. Other examples also include their involvement in clubs, churches and other organizations. Traditionally orientated women defined these activities as an extension of their nurturing role.

4.3.1 THE CHURCH

Catholicism is the dominant religion for Brazilians. The influence of the Catholic Church and historically deep-rooted authoritarianism has greatly affected women's status in Brazilian society. The Fourth Beijing World Conference on Women (FWCW) held in August 1995 persuaded Latin American governments to make women more "incorporated into national development" and women need to embrace feminist claims for reproductive choice, sexual self-determination, lesbian rights etc so as to unsettle the prevailing gender power arrangements (Alvarez, 1997). However governments of Argentina, Ecuador and Honduras, in particular, lined up behind the Vatican and took reactionary positions on every conceivable issue that undermined Catholic family values.

The military government elevated motherhood as women's primary role. The conception of the proper role for women does dovetail with that of the Catholic church. Eva Peron, wife of the president Juan Peron, is a famous example of this type of contradiction, a women with charisma defined herself in relation to motherhood, as a mother of the nation, as a helper to Juan Peron. It is no doubt that motherhood is given high social value in Latin American ideologies.

4.3.2. *MACHISMO: A LOCUS OF POWER*

In Latin America, notions of power *el poder* are part of the male discourse. Power is usually assumed to be a male prerogative and is often characterized as the hallmark of Latin American society. *Machismo* derives from the Spanish word "*macho*" meaning male and is often associated with male control or the incarnation of a flamboyant masculine behaviour. The roots of this behavioural complex can be traced to the influence of Mediterranean cultures. Manifestations of *machismo* include male domination of household, restrictions on women's social, political and economic decision-making and is also frequently used as a cultural legitimization of violence against women (Arizpe, 1982; Stevens, 1973). Moreover, the Catholic Church has also been significant in perpetuating some of the attitudes underlying *machismo*, namely the forms of sexuality proper to men and women, promoting an ideology of female chastity, fidelity and subservience (Scott, 1986a).

The stereotype of the *macho* is the violent, aggressive, unfaithful, sexually assertive young man. Concomitantly, the stereotype of the female counterpart is the suffering, virtuous, reserved lady. Latin American feminists have simultaneously exalted women for example in the form of the Virgin Mother. The Virgin Mother in Catholicism is an object of veneration and this power of women

as an exalted female power is characterized by *marianismo*. It refers to the feminine superiority and the celebration of the domestic sphere. This has often been a source of power for women (Stevens, 1973). Latin American women have thus been able to legitimate to their political involvement. Conversely, the state has also used motherhood to manipulate women eg of the *supermadres*. Chaney (1979) characterizes female politicians in Chile and Peru as "super mothers," transferring their caring and nurturant qualities deliberately and effectively to the public stage (Quoted in Cammack, 1988: 200). In Chile, for example the Allende government which "enabled the military to consciously and deliberately manipulate the ideology of motherhood for its own purposes (Chuchryk, 1989a: 161). Thus the military state has sought to limit if not completely eradicate a public role for women.

Women's increasing integration into politics-particularly during the *abertura* process, is also a result of the Catholic church initiative to create organised movements. To recapitulate, civil society provided important access points for women. Brazilian women in non-institutional politics protested about the lack of basic services, health, transport, housing and day-care. The methods of organization in these social movements have been comparable to many developing countries (Matterlart, 1980). Through their participation, women have developed a new public identity and a new form of political consciousness in the political sphere. In addition, Brazilian women have moved to extend their participation into political parties and the formation of women's councils. Lewis (1990: 180) states that these councils, ministries or bureaus are "administrative voices for women in Third World States. Hence these "specialized governmental machineries" are found in most Latin American states: SERNAM (National Women's Bureau) in Chile,

CONAMU (National Women's Council) in Venezuela and DINAMU (National Women's Directorate) in Ecuador. The importance of Councils can be seen in the following quotation:

"Women must work with and within government agencies and attempt to influence government policy, while simultaneously building a power base outside the government. Even 'bad' governments may yield good policies when the conditions are right" (Charlton, cited in Levy, 1988).

4.3.2 The CHRISTIAN BASED COMMUNITIES (CEBs)

The Christian Based Communities developed out of the philosophy of the Theology of Liberation, which saw the role of the popular Church as representing the poor and thus promoting collective action for change (Calderia, 1990: 75). Women made up the vast majority of participants in CEBs and other church organisations. A survey of religious beliefs and practices among Brazilians conducted in 1975 affirmed that women outnumber men among the "faithful" (Bruneau, 1982: 32). Additionally, women's roles as pillars of the family help explain their greater participation in community organisations. Others, in keeping with their maternal and socially ascribed roles joined these neighbourhood groups as the primary determinant of family survival. Throughout Latin America women reasserted their familial values in an apolitical manner. Participation in the Ecclesiastical Based Communities is said to have empowered women and heightened their consciousness as citizens and as women. These groups became active in presenting demands to local governments as well as in providing leadership for broader social movements (Caldaria, 1986: 43). The CEBs were also viewed as very "feminine," as women in these groups identified common domestic problems and made new friendships. Hence the CEBs could be viewed as an environment of collective discussion. Although apolitical in nature these organizations were important mobilizing

mechanisms. Vicky Randall (1982: 46) argues that despite their avowed apolitical position, women's associations are politically significant. According to Randall (1982) women may very well use their positions within groups or associations as "a stepping stone to a more conventional political career." Randall's comments are significant as the women's groups were the starting point for institutionalized politics.

4.3.3 THE MOTHER'S CLUBS

The processes of urbanisation and migration led to a proliferation of deficiencies in urban areas. In pursuit of improved sanitation, health centres, schools, day care centres etc, neighbourhood movements become important avenues for women's public participation. Sao Paulo serves as an important neighbourhood for mobilization. Within this context women's mobilization and solidarity is seen as beneficial since it creates a sense of gender identity, yet their organizations are considered apolitical.

The Mother's clubs functioned primarily as "ladies auxiliaries" to parish organizations, the clubs targeted housewives in neighbourhoods and organised activities compatible with women's roles in the family and the community. The clubs provided a number of stereotyped courses such as sewing, knitting or painting whereas men attended community meetings and made important decisions. Women were responsible for cleaning up and providing refreshments, a chore they usually perform at home. This no doubt encouraged the participation of housewives in community life and limited women considerably in the public sphere.

The Mother's Clubs formulated no gender-specific needs or demands, as the following strongly indicates:

"I did not see or hear of a single club that had been created with the intention of helping women gain consciousness, or act politically, as women" (quoted in Alvarez, 1989a: 392).

Women's role in the family, although typically perceived as an obstacle to participation also served as a rationalization for mobilization. According to Schmink (1981: 128) "Brazilian women's neighbourhood associations belie the myth of the housewife as isolated and non-associative." Mothers began defending legitimate rights of their children, with the most important being day-care.

4.3.4 A SEPARATE WORLD FOR CHILDREN: THE DAY-CARE MOVEMENT

"Motherhood" provided an important mobilizational referent for Brazilian women, since it considered not only the natural destiny of women but also their societal responsibility. Gender-specific roles define that care and upbringing of the children lies exclusively with women. Since structural changes in Brazilian economy led to a decline in the standard of living, women struggled to make ends meet and consequently felt the economic hardship. a number of Latin American researchers share similar sentiments with their US counterparts, who emphasize the significance of capitalist reproduction of inequalities between men and women (Alvarez, 1989b). This in results in capitalist's need to reproduce itself and subsequently women's subordination. Hence, the sexual division of labour emerges and women are faced with the double burden. This meant that women had to join the workforce care for the children. This stress on child rearing, in fact undermines women's entry into the productive sphere because involvement in one is at the expense of the other. Without day care women had limited possibilities

for employment. It is these conflicts which have to be resolved by women's programs to further equality of sexes. The articulation of gender interests was thus shaped by the socio-political environment, since the rising work force participation of women increased public child care facilities. The planning of day-care facilities necessitated a good example of the way in which gender needs could be met.

The "new" form of politics in Latin America demonstrates that the political has not dissipated but has become embedded in institutional spaces previously considered apolitical (Jelin, 1990, 1982). The struggle for day care centres as become a domain of silent, daily politics. Women have found that in daily politics they have a space to voice their demands and identify themselves with "other women" (ibid).

As reproducers of the workforce, Brazilian women have constantly made demands for day care. The slogan "caring for the workers of tomorrow" became their focus. The following elucidates their demands:

"We are workers who are a little different from other workers... we are different because we are not recognised as workers...we are different because we work outside the home, we accumulate two jobs-at home and in the factory...We want creches that function full-time, entirely financed by the state and by the companies, close to workplace and places of residence, with our participation in the orientation given to children and with good conditions for their development-we will not accept mere depositories for our children (Alvarez, 1990: 44).

The struggle for day care facilities was thus an extension of women's reproductive role. The Day Care Movement grew from links between neighbourhood and feminist movements during the First Congress of Paulista Women in 1987. However, the Day Care Movement was rather short-lived. Instead the State Council on the

Feminine Condition (known as CECF) established a day care policy as a focal point in its political defence. The CECF is discussed later in the chapter.

4.3.5 THE HEALTH MOVEMENT

Attempts to improve the health of the Brazilian population have hinged on women as the implementers of new programmes and policies. In the process, thousands of women have had the chance to receive training and gain confidence in community organization and leadership. Moreover, due to Brazil's world economic crisis, indiscriminate cuts in government expenditure, are often part of an adjustment programme. In 1985, the Head of the Armed Forces insisted that family planning should become a matter of National Security. Simultaneously, the government delayed the implementation of the Expanded Programme of Immunisation in Sao Paulo. This delay led to an outbreak of deadly communicable disease among children (Vickers, 1991: 26). The Health Movement began in the Jardim Nordeste area in the Eastern Zone of Sao Paulo. The Catholic Church, specifically the Popular Church (a sector of the Church) contributed to the formation of this movement.

Motherhood and its political dimensions have also been reinforced by some of the ways that family planning has been introduced. In a number of Latin American countries women have unwittingly been used in experiments to improve contraceptives. The health movement in conjunction with feminist groups strongly opposed all family planning proposals by the government. Brazilian women have become visible through their participation in the popular mobilization. The Catholic Church provided an important rallying point. Through the impetus of the Mother's Clubs, women were now being introduced into a new sphere previously unknown to them.

A host of women's groups culminated during the decompression phase. Women's political involvement especially in the poor neighbourhoods coincided with Molyneux's "practical gender interests." These mobilizations have been confined to the neighbourhood rather than the workplace reinforcing their familial values.

By 1980, 21 neighbourhood women's associations (including the Housewives Association, the Struggle for Day-care Movement, the cost of Living Movement) as well as 9 explicitly feminist movements came into existence. Kaplan (1982: 546) highlights this need to preserve life:

"By placing human need above other social and political requirements and human life above property, profit and even individual rights, female consciousness creates a vision of a society that has not yet appeared. Social cohesion rises above individual rights and quality of life over access to institutional power. Thus female consciousness has political implications."

Most of the organizations were too small to make an impact and often had to use political channels to lobby for their demands. The women's movement in Brazil has also endeavoured to control sexist expression in advertising. In 1990 Brazilian women obtained a new Consumer Defence Code. The Director of Consumer's Protection Office in Sao Paulo prohibited "misleading" as well as "abusive" advertising.

4.4 CONCLUSION: THE POPULAR MOVEMENTS

The participation of women in these movements precipitated from their collective interests and needs, and created a sense of solidarity and formed part of their conscientization. The political mobilization of women from the poor neighbourhoods arose from their practical gender interests. In their quest for survival women prioritized action around social and economic issues. Therefore

women are drawn to participate in women's groups because these neighbourhood organizations respond to their real needs and to the totality of their role as shock absorbers.

Thus through their participation in Mother's Clubs, the Health Movement, Day-Care Movement they gained experience within consciousness-raising groups gained new confidence and determination to raise the profile of women's issues. According to Hale and Kelly (1989) moving into the political system is aided through mentoring, networking and prior experience. Thus much of this has been done through the popular movements. Through their struggles around practical gender interests, Brazilian women have developed a perception of strategic gender interests.

4.5 INSTITUTIONAL POLITICS

Molyneux (1985: 236) stressed the importance strategic and practical gender interests since "the formulation of these practical interests and their transformation into strategic gender interests which constitutes a central aspect of feminist practice." In the popular movements women organised around practical gender interests. The transformation of women's practical gender interests into strategic gender interests requires a political space within the conjuncture so as to pressure the political parties in favour of women's constituency. Consequently Brazilian women have legitimated their political role and have become experienced political actors. Moser (1987) states that those who enter institutional politics are able to do so from a much stronger position and with greater assurance in their political abilities.

In 1985 Brazilian feminists were now faced with a dilemma of participating in or remaining outside government. They could no longer ignore the presence of the state. Like their counterparts in Netherlands (Lycklama a`Nijeholt, 1986) they realized that the state is not a monolithic institution but has accessible spaces. State penetration also "engenders" the political, inserting issues such as reproduction, family, household and sexuality into a state-defined political agenda (Alvarez, 1990). This incorporation creates a political foundation for women from which to articulate their needs, priorities and views. The following section describes the processes of participation and reveals how bureaucratic devices were which were created were competent/incompetent in generating political influence for feminists.

4.6 THE COUNCILS:

In the last decade virtually all Latin American governments established specialized state agencies, ministries or secretariats charged with improving the status of women and "incorporating" them into "development" (Lind, 1995; Alvarez, 1990, Vargas, 1990). Brazilian women have had significant opportunity to shape their political context. Women have been elected to national state and municipal offices in major cities of Sao Paulo and Rio de Janerio. The dualistic expression "state versus civil society" became quite common in Brazil by virtue of the struggle against authoritarian rule. The state became virtually synonymous with "militant opposition," civil society was understood as the opposition as a whole (Lamounier, 1988: 150). In the Brazilian context, the pursuit of feminist demands was expressed institutionally through a system of Councils which could either be municipal, state or federal. This system signalled a new relationship between the women's movement and the state. Thus women's councils were set up in an attempt

to counter the under-representation of women in government. They were inspired by a critique which saw the state as reinforcing discrimination, neglecting women's demands and transacting decisions over which women had no control. Prior to the decompression period, the authoritarian regime had pursued "gender-blind" policies. Women's presence within these relevant Councils has often presented an access to decision making. In order for Brazilian women to advance their institutional capacity, they began establishing a formal coordinating machinery so as to increase their bargaining power.

4.6.1 COUNCIL ON THE FEMININE CONDITION (CECF)

In 1982 the PMDB won elections in Sao Paulo with overwhelming majority. Following the election victory the PMDB women proposed that their party set up a Council to defend the rights of women. This Council became known as *Conselho Estadual da Condicao Feminina* or the CECF. Whilst it would be impossible to say that the CECF is the perfect example of a feminist approach, it displays many of the characteristics and consequently problems of subsequent councils, since feminists were faced with fears of cooption or dilution of their demands. Although the CECF comprised of representatives from the women's movement, it was given no executive power to influence policy making. The CECF was, however, quite effective in the areas of reproductive rights and women's health. The struggle to achieve full reproductive choice is perhaps the most difficult issue women face throughout the Third World.

Given the debt crisis and deteriorating standard of living Brazil resorted in 1982 to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and structural adjustment policies. Since the early 1970s, population policies have been criticized as "racist, sexist,

imperialists and anti poor" (Mies and Shiva, 1993: 289). Population policies in the Third World are coupled with strict monetarist policies imposed on the national governments by the international aid community (Barroso, 1984). The social costs of these Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) have largely been carried by women due to the neo-Malthusian recommendations, which were aimed at minimizing the population. The regime formulated state intervention in women's fertility, by simply controlling women's fertility. General Figueiredo commented as follows:

"In Brazil, during the last 40 years, demographic growth has surpassed 50 million inhabitants. This human growth, in explosive terms, devours, as has been observed, economic growth. As the agent of stability, population growth causes social, economic, cultural and political disequilibrium which call for profound mediation (Alvarez, 1990: 186).

Often fertility in Latin America is viewed as an epidemic similar to cholera, malaria, smallpox. Hence the conceptualization of Third World women's fertility as an epidemic means that the state must intervene in the reproductive behaviour of women. Thus population control or family planning becomes the concern of the state. The state begins opting for solutions and women become the main victims of such solutions.

Many population programs implemented by development agencies stress the importance of achieving specific numbers of "family planning" acceptors (of contraception and sterilization). For example, Brazil's population programme was officially estimated that in 1986, 45 percent of all Brazilian women of reproductive age had been sterilized, many without their own knowledge, during Caesarean deliveries. By 1991, an estimated of eight out of ten black women in Brazil had been sterilized (Braidotti, 1994). From a woman's point of view, population growth is a problem but population control programs that overtly or covertly operate in a

coercive fashion must be rejected. The CECF and Sao Paulo women began to criticize this "imperialist population control." They began thinking about new ways of "doing" politics and stimulated speculation about better ways of organizing social life (Mainwaring and Viola, 1984). They sought to orientate programs towards the needs of contraceptive users, hence implying a radical rethinking of the nature of approaches to population programs. During May 1983, a few independent women's groups called a public forum to address the movement's potential relationship to the Council. Subsequently this forum was established as a monthly event to discuss recent developments within the PMBD administration. During these forums the PMBD planned unified movement strategies in response to the developments as well as the creation of united feminist political action. The movements' reaction to state policy incentives was an apparent expression of the dialectical nature of the relationship between the social movements and the state.

At this stage the CECF recognized the importance of sustained political pressure on gender-specific issues from outside the State and claimed that it hoped to "serve as an instrument for the dynamization and reinvigoration of the autonomous women's movement" (Alvarez, 1994: 202). By 1985, feminists activists became distressed since the CECF seemed to be preempting many of the movement's independent mobilizational initiatives i.e the mobilizational of gender-conscious political pressure from outside the PMDM.

"This tendency towards the eradication of gender-based inequality by preempting organised, gender-conscious political pressure from outside the State, which is critical for mediating the State's propensity and to co-opt women and women's issues to suit the wider goals of a given incumbent administration" (Alvarez, 1994: 202).

The CECF's mobilisational ability as a component of the State was deployed to promote the eradication of gender inequality, but also to support the larger interests of the PMDB.

Brazilian women utilized institutions. This in effect added a public dimension to their domestic role. With the aid of the CECF women began regaining greater autonomy with regard to their sexuality.

Although tensions existed between the council and certain sectors of the women's movement in Sao Paulo, the CECF had a substantial impact on public policies. The family planning policy is important in this respect: the CECF ensured that safe, accessible and non-coercive family planning was available to women. Hence the CECF played a primary role in the formulation of family planning policy at the state level. However the threat of co-option became decisive at this point. The historical inclination in Latin America and elsewhere in the Third World has been the distribution of State-sponsored family planning. Consequently, the existence of a gender-conscious medium within the State to direct and regulate the implementation of state-sponsored family planning was critical for arbitrating this historical tendency.

As the council advanced a position on reproductive rights and women's health that reflected the consensus of major segments of the feminist movement, CECF's actions in the sphere of family planning policy stimulated little controversy. In this area, the council appeared to be fulfilling its function as the direct representative of women's movement demands within the state apparatus. In the area of day-care policy, the movement's consensus proved to be more evasive. By 1986, the

women's movement in Sao Paulo began to question the concept of representation as illustrated by the Council, since members of the Council were appointed by the governor, rather than by independent women's groups or citizens. The question arose "how the Council could represent the divergent sectors of the women's movement in the absence of movement consensus on a specific issue?"

Often governments and health authorities have used Third World countries for experiments with new drugs. In January 1986, Brazilian women succeeded in convincing the health Ministry to prohibit research on more than three thousand women with the hormonal contraceptive Norplant. According to Alexander (1997: 72):

"the unexamined introduction and diffusion of Norplant, an invasive birth-control procedure, without the knowledge or consent of women, enabling and reinforcing the metropolitan ideology of backward Third-World women as silent, yet willing receptacles of the technologies of development and modernity."

Moreover, hormonal contraceptives increasingly take away from women control over reproduction processes and place it in the hands of pharmaceutical industry and doctors. An additional source of concern among movement participants outside the State apparatus was that the assimilation of some gender-specific demands by the State apparatus and local PMDB threatened to "over-absorb" the dynamism of feminism and women's mobilisation in general as forces for social change in civil society. What distinguishes autonomous social movements from traditional interest groups, political parties, and state linked women's institutions is that movements have cultural, social as well as political and policy goals. They seek normative and structural transformation of society more actively than do traditional groups or political parties.

Hence the majority of the women's movement established a link between government and the movement to have a better basis for affecting policy.

Feminists working within male dominant State apparatus endeavoured to define their genderic claims in less radical terms that were open to negotiation and compromise. As Alvarez recounts, Brazilian feminists made strategic decisions to rephrase their agenda in gender-neutral terms. Thus they allowed daycare to become a "workers," "children" or "health" issue, thereby receiving greater state responsiveness, whilst, on the other hand, the male dominated state would impose policies detrimental to women's needs. The following is quite explicit in this regard: the CECF could insist on promoting safer birth control measures, but it could not hope to advance proposals to legalize abortion on its own initiative without endangering its bargaining position within the State. David Bouchier argues:

"written out of history when [the] movement gain[ed] momentum and wider political and commercial considerations [came] into play." In the case of the United States, liberal "feminism [was] more quickly and thoroughly integrated into the middle class status quo than any other protest movement in history." (Bouchier, 1979: 392).

This thorough integration of the more acceptable or moderate demands of the Brazilian women's movement seemed to have been under way in Sao Paulo since 1983. The indirect de-legitimation of the more radical core of the women's movement's political claims, through the consolidation of its more acceptable claims- those that did not directly conflict with larger state political or developmental objectives or did not challenge prevailing gender power arrangements- potentially weakened the movement as a force for change within civil society. Even as progress towards women's emancipation was made within the

political society. The likelihood of more thorough co-optation of movement demands was also increased. Bouchier implies:

"a radical core produces a fruitful and dynamic tension in a social movement...[a] mass following of people with moderate views needed to influence elites. But a radical wing, constantly raising unresolved issues and generating new ones, constantly on the alert for cooption and retreat, is essential to preserve the oppositional movement from a gentle slide into the prevailing hegemony. They also, quite unintentionally, help give the more moderate wings of the movement an appearance of relative acceptability which they might not otherwise achieve" (Bouchier, 1979: 392).

4.6.2 THE NATIONAL COUNCIL ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS (CNDM)

By developing councils, women are able to struggle more effectively within them and with them. Women's organizations are often revolutionary. They tend to need and to seek the support of the government. When a country is politically polarized, women are often faced with the dilemma of how to command a degree of political power without being subsumed by one of the opposing parties. Women are best served by an organisation that clearly represents their interests rather than those of the government or any political party. This decision has made the CNDM's path a difficult and controversial one.

This section offers a contribution to the study of party politics in Brazil from the perspective of gender, tracing the new forms of ideological struggle within the women's movement. Brazilian politics has been dominated by PMDB since its establishment in 1974.

The CNDM was established in 1985 by the civilian administration of Jose' Sarney with the aim of implementing policies to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women. It became a link between governmental power, public policies and

gender. The CNDM favoured to keep a clear vision of social change and to build bridges between the state and civil society which was divided after years of authoritarianism. The CNDM worked on three fronts, the women's movement, the legislature and the executive (this included establishing proposals for the executive and legislative assemblies for the new constitution). The CNDM called for an expanded definition of democracy that included the democratization of public and private life:

"For us, women, the full exercise of citizenship means, yes, the rights to representation, a voice and a role in public life, but at the same time, it also implies dignity in daily life, which the law can inspire and should ensure, the right to education, to health, to security, to a family free of traumas. Women's vote brings with it a double exigency: an egalitarian political system and a non-authoritarian civilian life. We, women, are conscious of the fact that this country will only be truly democratic and its citizens truly free when, without prejudice of sex, race, colour, class, sexual orientation, religious or political creed, physical condition or age, equal treatment and equal opportunity in the streets, podiums, workshops, factories, offices, assemblies, and palaces, are guaranteed" (quoted from a pamphlet in Alvarez, 1990b: 65).

Brazilian feminists realized that the CNDM could be a new power base for women. Since individual groups of women would have little effect on government action but, together women might become an effective force to win the attention of the government to their needs.

The CNDM worked chiefly in the areas of health, reproductive rights, the struggle against violence for women, day care centres. The CNDM adopted a strategy of national campaigns, promoting on going debates, education and media conferences around family planning and reproductive rights. These campaigns and protracted debates culminated in a radical proposal of legalising abortion.

Violence against women has become a highly visible social issue in Brazil. This is partly due to the sharpening focus on women's issues and partly to the publicity given by the newspapers and women's magazines. The rising pressure from women's organisations and the CNDM for exemplary punishment culminated in a "national dossier on the impunity with which violence against women is cloaked and in the mid-1986 launched a "Say No to Violence against Women" campaign, with television spots featuring renowned actors, transmitted on government air time" (cited in Alvarez, 1990b: 66). A notable attempt of the CNDM was the "*delegacia de defesa da mulher*" (women's police station), which was implemented in police departments in Sao Paulo and 19 other cities. *Delegacia* (women's police stations) cogitate in cases of rape, domestic violence, also provided legal support and service to victims of such abuse. The tireless efforts of feminists are now dispersed throughout Latin America, specialized police precincts have been set up in Nicaragua and Peru to prosecute crimes committed against women.

The CNDM also encouraged autonomous women's organizations to coerce bureaucrats and policy makers in favour of the Council's policy agenda. The legitimacy and success of the agenda depended upon continued mobilizational efforts since church and conservative factions of the ruling party had initiated a nationwide campaign against reproductive choice. Throughout the years of campaigns in the mass media, women's claims and proposals became visible. Thus the women's movement uses networks that mobilize women and resources around specific issues. The media provides an important link. The CNDM also established the Centre of Information and Documentation, CEDIM and many new largely male dominated "women's institutions." These "women's institutions" were created by electoral schemes, mayors and governors. Feminists were disillusioned with these

institutions, since they served as tools for the top-down mobilization of women. Consequently, the CEDIM faces the danger of becoming isolated from the CNDM. It is this process of absorption that threatens to weaken the feminists. An important lesson emerges that women must seek funding within the confines of their own institutional structures or else their organizations face the prospect of eventual absorption.

The integration of women's organisations and gender issues into the council did not have beneficial outcomes for women. Clearly, CNDM has forced the state to pay more attention to women's politics. Today, at least there is a verbal recognition of women's contributions at many levels of the state apparatus, and there are even state-sponsored programs. The councils explored a number of issues and have encountered some real political dilemmas. While some councils have proved successful, professional and effective, others have foundered through naivety, confusion and political intrigues of both officers and members. Councils were often co-opted by dominant political interests. The example of the Sao Paulo Municipal Council on the Status of Women exemplifies the problems that were involved.

4.6.3 THE SAO PAULO MUNICIPAL COUNCIL ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

At times it is simply not credible to view the institutions that comprise the state as being rational or pursuing explicitly defined single strategies. Feminists have also argued that feminism and bureaucracy are inherently in opposition to one another (Ferguson, 1984). The example of Sao Paulo Municipal Council typifies this.

The Sao Paulo municipal council on the status of women was created by Janio Quandros in 1987. The Council was one of the most depressing examples of political manipulation by opportunist governments and anti-feminist groups. According to the staff at the municipal council, it was quite different from that proposed by feminists who conceived the councils. The new administration thought that women were 'politically backward' and needed to be encouraged to 'bring their special qualities' to politics; they have special needs, defined by unique role as mothers which the council should advance (quoted in Alvarez, 1990b: 67). One of the council's program that obviously concealed its legitimate objectives was the Program for Integral Assistance to Women's Health.

4.6.4 PROGRAM FOR INTEGRAL ASSISTANCE TO WOMEN'S HEALTH (PAISM)

The Program for Integral Assistance to Women's Health was formed in response to a request by the Ministry of Health. The Program for Integral Assistance to Women's Health (PAISM) was committed to the female reproductive role yet this objective went beyond the Ministry's established responsibility of providing better health care for women. PAISM adopted *anti-controlista* (anti-control) tactics so as to curtail women's reproductive functions. This seemingly "women friendly" program roused a great deal of mistrust from the Brazilian women's movement organisations. The cooptive potential of this program was further elicited when the state coopted certain slogans raised by the women's movement. The most popular of these were "Constituent assembly Now!" and "Family Planning Now!" The recognition and response towards this ploy can be seen in the following:

"PAISM was created by the military regime in recent times, however, contains some of the demands that feminists have been making. In spite of this we believe that the bureaucratic manipulation of this program could

result in few advances [for women] and for this reason, we have decided to participate more actively in its implementation, monitoring it, demanding forums and debates with institutional organisms, participating in conferences and other activities proposed by these organisms" (Alvarez, 1990b: 56).

The demands of this Program was quite impressive on paper, but it was simply a population control initiative in disguise. The vision of the Municipal Council on the Status of Women and PAISM was surely attractive. The endeavour to serve women appears superficial since the programs began favouring the agendas of the regime.

4.7 POLITICAL PARTIES

In Brazil the move of the women into the political domain did not simply emerge to bring about a new era of gender sensitive policies, but as a reaction to the dictatorial regime. Given Brazil's dictatorial history as well as theological formations, severe restrictions were imposed on women's political roles. Women believed that they could not single-handedly improve the status of women. This gave way for the women's movement to lobby through the political parties, which had become more important over the last ten years. The seemingly powerless official opposition party, the MDB, established by the military regime in 1965 became the magnet for politicians concerned with restoring democracy. Norris (1993: 309) states:

"Political parties serve vital functions as one of the main linkages between citizens and government: structuring electoral choice, recruiting legislative candidates, providing a legislative agenda in government. Parties provide a range of opportunities for women to participate in political life from the polling booth to local meetings, the conference platform, legislature and cabinet."

Although new parties contributed political legitimacy to some genderic claims, the electoral competition and schisms among the women's movements generated a great deal of confusion. At this point, the parties became an important sphere of gender struggle since public policy was futile in the redressing of gender inequality. As Geisler (1995: 22) states:

"Unless women keep to the prescribed spaces and roles in the political women's corner, they are considered to be out of bounds. As a minority they are very visible and vulnerable, continuously watched by their male and female colleagues, the media and the women's movement. The criteria that are applied by different observers and actors in judging women politicians obviously differ, and they almost always create conflicting expectations and suggested behaviour patterns."

The example of Scandinavia is quite phenomenal in this regard. Hernes (1987) argues that the politicization of gender in terms of political behaviour and in terms of policy formulation, is much the outcome of protracted social and cultural change. Women have occupied an important place in Scandinavian society and they have been able to conceptualise gender as a relationship of power and inequality (Scott, 1986b). Political parties in Norway feared losing women voters hence they became responsive to the women's movement and their genderic claims. Several parties in Norway guaranteed women's representation through formal regulations that specify quotas for elective positions.

The Norwegian women's movement proposed an alternative view of equality in consensus with women's interests. Norwegian women have made important resourceful ways to party politics: these women enable parties to address gender issues which then became arenas for political competition. Secondly, as the initial policies were implemented, a number of debates took place, new agendas were established including strategies to get more women into political office. The

Norwegian Housewives Association of Oslo is now perhaps the largest and most active political pressure group, making its views known at local, national and international political levels. The Association has programs serving almost 2,000 study groups to encourage a greater awareness for shared responsibility and economic equality. It has began including unpaid housework and community work in the gross national product statistical reports. Moreover the Association states that this labour needs to be protected.

The 1982 elections rewrote a new chapter in Brazil's history, for the first time direct elections were being held. While the civilians welcomed the opening of the political climate, the military was determined to control and manipulate the elections. It was during this period that the PT or Worker's Party sought to use the electoral campaign to build on two important themes, empowerment and working-class majority. Although in many ways these themes are complementary, in reality they produced contradictory expectations and images of the party (Keck, 1986: 85).

4.8 THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT: THE WORKER'S PARTY (PT)

Corporatist labour legislature allowed the state to control the trade union movement (Erickson, 1977). However, in the 1970s a new movement, the "trade unionist opposition" developed and consequently organized strikes in 1978-80 in the most industrialized area of Sao Paulo. The non-Marxist, progressive Worker's Party, known as the *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (known as the PT) grew out of this "new trade unionism" of the late 1970s and 1980s, as a consequence of its origins in union struggles for autonomy and independence from traditional populist and communist parties and the state. Created as an internally democratic, socialist

mass party based in the working-class, the PT saw itself acting in both the social and political arenas. In the political arena, the party was to provide a political voice for workers, in the social arena, the party saw itself as strengthening autonomous forms of social and labour organization so as to transform the environment of politics (Keck, 1986: 68). The PT, in marked contrast to the Left, has been committed to supporting social movement demands and to respecting the autonomy of movement organizations. According to Schmink (1986, 128)

"The right wing in Latin America has often recognised in working class women a political potential that has been generally ignored by the Left. Relying on traditional images and values regarding women's roles, the right has fostered the idea of the 'natural corporativeness of women' and the fundamental unity of interests shared by all women."

In 1964, Brazilian women were mobilised by the right wing, with support from the church protesting food shortages and the high cost of living. This strategy was more fully developed by the Chilean right wing during the Allende period, when existing neighbourhood organizations and mother's centres were controlled by Christian Democrats and the National Party in order to mobilise working-class women for public demonstrations that contributed to the fall of democracy in Chile. In marked contrast, the Chilean Left failed to recognise the political potential of women in their neighbourhood groups, and relatively few women were included in Chile's strong tradition of working-class politics (Mattelart, 1977: 83-102).

The early years of military rule has helped shape the ensuing nature of the PT. Many feminist within the PT have been disappointed with the role of "women's spaces" in Brazilian gender politics. The grass roots Worker's Party has no women's representation and women are rarely mentioned by the speakers. Lula da

Silva, a charismatic president of the Sao Paulo's Metalworker's Union and the leader of the massive strike wave of 1978 and 1979, became the PT's first president.

Also the election of Lula da Silva was not open for debate..."no one took the trouble to explain why he had been chosen, who he was, what he had done, or what his program was; all that mattered was that his comrade, the lawyer approved of him. Even at the end of his campaign, many could not remember his name" (Calderia, 1986: 51). Within this context, women felt distant from the Worker's Party..."they make a constant effort to define such a space and steer clear of, a space they have no desire to find out about (Calderia, 1986: 62). A great deal of women believe that participation in the party is a "fight for personal interests."

The following interview response reveals this:

"In the party it is easier to participate out of self-interest. And in the community, I at least believe that in the community it is not based on self-interest, but in the party it is interest-orientated...Because in the party people want to get to the top, and nobody can change my ideas about that...But in the community no one is above or below the other, it seems, in my opinion, that everyone is equal" (Calderia, 1986: 62).

This idea of community seemed to be a determining factor and helped sustain the social movements, and in this sense their *raison d'être* sets them apart from political parties (Calderia, 1991). Hence in the 1982 elections the PT had failed to win a significant percentage of the vote, but it also failed to consolidate its social organization. PT's role has been more expressive than effective, hence the PT needs to develop an effective presence in political institutions. Recently CUT also established representational quotas to enhance women's participation among union leadership as well as combat sexual harassment at workplace.

The Brazilian church's conservative stance on women's role in politics repeatedly restricted the process of self empowerment. Many Latin American Feminists have criticised the "sin of sexism" and called for a more people's orientated church. Although women participate in community and neighbourhood organizations, not all participation affects their understanding of politics and female subordination. Brazilian women needed political empowerment to make a more fundamental challenge to the male decision making domain. In a move to influence and monitor state policies affecting women's space was being redefined and the limits of what constitutes public and private was reconstituted. One of the great innovations promoted through the councils was a change in the policies affecting women.

4.9 BUREAUCRACY AND THE RELATIONSHIP TO GENDER

There is a commonly held belief that bureaucracies are an exclusively male domain and that the task of women is to invade such a domain because they want to have influence. Ferguson (1984) and Foucault (1972) argue that bureaucracy can be understood as a web of power, which controls even those who use it for their own purposes. Two key questions need to be answered in this section: can bureaucracies meet women's needs in Brazil? Do women in these bureaucracies favour women-centred outcomes? The political conjuncture provided Brazilian women an advantageous space to voice their gender-specific demands. The councils have made a contribution by politicising the practical needs and demands of women by transferring them to the institutional agenda. Moreover the councils have activated women and influenced the content of bills. However, despite the accomplishments, there are often difficulties.

4.10 THE DIFFICULTIES

The entry into politics brought with it new contradictions. Although there were women in councils and organizations who are genuinely concerned about the emancipation of women, they are constantly constrained by the framework within which they have to operate. Political parties and the women's movement proved to be "strange bedfellows." These "tensions" or difficulties have made many feminists wary when dealing with male-dominated political parties. In Brazil, feminist gains in government have been threatened by cooption and manipulation. In the course of women's interests being formulated into public policy, political parties, governments and trade unions invariably pursued their own agenda.

I should like to suggest that movements such as the ecological movement or the human rights movement have not merely "disappeared" or been "swallowed up" by dominant institutions.

4.11 INCORPORATION OR INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

Women have attempted to transform parties into women friendly institutions, but they risk incorporation as they have to adapt to the rules of the game. A notable dilemma for second wave feminism has been whether "women will change institutions before institutions change women" (Lovenduski, 1993: 6). Against this backdrop, I examine the manner in which women have utilised the Councils within a male dominated arena. The Brazilian case is especially important, since Brazilian feminists feared that the state would be insensitive to women's issues.

The establishment of entry points or "opportunity spaces" raises two interrelated themes: cooperation or cooption. An integrative strategy usually seeks to gain

positions of influence within the party and government to shape official policy as this creates greater political influence, while at the same time, a dilution of gender specific issues occurs. The experience of the Council in Sao Paulo was quite positive, but there was always the fear that occupying institutional space gender concerns would be irrelevant. Horowitz (1982: 134) has argued that bureaucracy can respond to particularized interests as long as these interests do not threaten its legitimacy or authority.

Nevertheless one cannot dismiss the incorporation of women's organisations into political arenas since it resulted in concrete improvements in lives of women. The examples of Argentina and Cuba are worth considering. In both these countries incorporation led to increased job opportunities for women, improved working conditions for women workers, decreased pay differentials between women and men and greater civil rights for women citizens. In both situations, gender-specific issues were ideologically politicized, besides the proper role of women in social, economic and political life became the focus of national debate. This led to a restructuring in the relationship between state and society. In both countries women's organisations began mobilising around gender-specific outcomes, and consequently, this increased political elites' awareness of women as a group and as a mobilizational constituency. Fused with this need to mobilise, Peron and Castro targeted women as supporters and to bring about legislative reforms in women's status.

Ultimately, women need to distinguish between cooption and incorporation, since the entry of women into the state either thwarts or facilitates the redefinition of politics in a direction that meets women's practical and strategic interests, and

whether women by entering the state can eventually transform the state (Charlton et al, 1989: 189).

4.11.2 DECLINE OR DISAPPEARANCE OF GENDER CONSCIOUS POLITICAL PRESSURE

The introduction of women into the political conjuncture can sometimes result in a declining or fading away of radicalism. This common practice of "double militancy" whereby many feminists participated both in party or class organization to advance the general struggle and in feminist groups to promote changes of specific concern to women (Sternbach, cited in Alvarez, 1997: 7). Politicians often view women's demands as potentially "disruptive" to the status quo, often feminists have said that "institutions have swallowed up the movement" (Alvarez, 1990: 228) or movement militant have "conservatized" or "neutralized" by their participation in party politics. Feminists should not necessarily look for a "trade off" but view their involvement as a feminist revolution in the lives of women.

Occasionally, feminists abandoned movement activism altogether to engage in almost feminine work within the party. Instead of pursuing a "party line," these feminists began pursuing a "feminist line." Moreover political agendas are controlled by those in positions of power. Segal and Brzuzy (1995: 155) state that:

"women must work toward proportionate representation to influence the agenda and the course of debate. In addition, women must be inclusive and support candidates who share feminist values and promote a feminist agenda. Until women achieve gender equity in the political system, they will be recipients of a political stem that is controlled by a political elite."

4.11.3 THE MANIPULATION OF WOMEN'S POLITICS TO SERVE THE LARGER ADMINISTRATION

The incorporation of women and women's issues into Brazilian politics is often fraught with tensions and contradictions. Often political elites tend to respond selectively to these issues since they are most likely to disrupt the status quo. A closer look at the issue of day care reveals that electoral officials drew support from women by projecting a women friendly outlook. Prior to the democratization process, the military regimes manipulated family values and reinforced women's traditional roles and "proper sphere." In Chile, Pinochet manipulated women's reproductive roles to serve the needs of the state. He attempted to depoliticise women and situate them outside the realm of traditional politics. In this way Pinochet made it quite clear that images such as mother and wife had to be retained. Thus male dominance was secured by presenting the sexual division of labour as natural ie women's place is in the private sphere and by ensuring there has been no threat to their "institutionalized male supremacy" (Randall, 1987).

They believe that day -care centres are "caring for the workers of tomorrow." A number of church-linked mother's clubs and neighbourhood groups presented a set of unified demands to the Sao Paulo mayor, Reynaldo de Barros. de Barros used creches for canvassing his political career. In 1979, 123 creches were in existence. Despite the looming economic crisis de Barros promised to build a further 830 day care centres. In 1981 the pledge of 830 creches had diminished to 330.

4.11.4 PARTISAN RIVALRIES: TAKING SIDES

Feminist inroads into politics is often coupled with partisan rivalries. Often debates within feminism have somewhat misconstrued the view of women. Fraser

and Nicholson (1988: 102) captures my point:

"whereas some women have common interests and face common enemies, such commonalties are by no means universal, rather they are interlaced with differences, even conflicts."

A great deal of controversy existed within the women's movements in terms of feasible strategy, where the PT or the PMDB was a viable means of achieving and securing women's rights. Other feminists feared the feminists would lose their political clout and compromise their goals and objectives. By the 1980s, the split in the movement culminated in exacerbating political tensions within the feminist movement and shattered the movement's unity. Consequently, partisan disputes among feminists prevented them coming together to propose a united set of feminist demands.

4.11.5 MISTRUST OF GOVERNMENT RHETORIC

Feminists expressed a great deal of wariness when dealing with the state, precisely because seemingly "women centred" policies often had some hidden agenda. Prior to the 1982 elections power was solely concentrated in the hands of the military and ruling classes. The 1982 elections were viewed as an important avenue through which feminists could influence policy making. Feminists in Sao Paulo began arguing that women should be encouraged to participate in the elections. In an attempt to feminize politics, political elites in Brazil have wholeheartedly accepted women's claims in their campaign rhetoric, but they are considerably less enthusiastic in endorsing strategies to pursue such claims. Given this scenario, women wielded their support in favour of the gender favourable constituency, while politicians managed to secure sizeable votes.

It is not surprising that the political elites manipulated these policies to suit the regime. Studying the issue of reproductive rights makes this quite conspicuous.

Feminists have continually denounced these programs for isolating women's reproductive function from women's health issues. The policy discourses on women's health in no way addressed the health care needs of Brazilian women. It became obvious that the control of fertility was issue the only issue for public and political debate.

In 1983 a number of state policy papers were drawn up pertaining to women's economic rights. However, many feminists expressed a great deal of opposition. The incorporation of women and women's issues into Brazilian institutional politics cannot be seen as totally good but rather as a kind of mixed blessing.

Feminists felt that the goals of the women's movement would be subordinated to the goals of the political parties. Cardoso (1983, 59) notes that many of the new social movements had no previous experience in party politics and therefore viewed party politics with a certain amount of apprehension. The following quotation describes this:

"During elections, say critics, the politicians come and ask for the vote. Later they manipulate power without rendering accounts to the electorate, and worse, use politics for their personal profit....In this attitude, there frequently exists a super-estimation of the "grass-roots movements" and a sub-estimation of the political function of parties."

With the installation of a new multi-party system, a different relationship between political parties and the women's movement emerged. In an effort to gain electoral support many parties introduced women's issues into national policy

discourses. For the first time issues such as contraception and reproduction were being voiced. For feminists, the bureaucratic machinery of the state brought at last some important gains.

4.11.6 HOW TO CHANGE THE WORLD WITHOUT LOSING OURSELVES

Most of the time women's demands for equity have been denied or considered of secondary importance. Women within the bureaucratic machinery need to preserve their own autonomous space and need to achieve their specific goals without compromise. As an example, women's organizations have their own space and mandate, while they continue to be subordinated ideologically to the discourse and influence of political parties or the Catholic Church.

As specialized government machineries, these councils are often understaffed and underfunded and at times marginalized from centres of power within the state. The issue of funding is often fraught with contention. Brazilian women have objected to USAID, USAID is seen to be responsible for military dictatorship and promoting population control and sterilization abuse in Brazil, whilst others feared potential manipulation. Despite the inherent difficulties women in councils should not be seen as beguiled, "bought off" or have "sold out" to masculine domain, instead Lind (1995: 217) convincingly argues :

"in the past fifteen years...many [feminists] have come to realize that [the state] and other institutions as well, such as foreign banks and multinationals, play increasingly powerful roles in defining what can and cannot be placed on the development agenda"

and are thus crucial areas for feminist struggle.

4.12 THE AUSTRALIAN SCENARIO

Australian feminists were alienated from politics, excluded from leadership positions by forces of opposition as well as by governments. Miriam Dixson (1975) argued that women were the "doormats" of the western world. According to Chafetz (1990) stressed that for women to truly gain gender equity, they must occupy elite roles. In 1972, the Tory government was replaced for a brief while by a reformist labour government. Since 1970s Australian women have written a new chapter in Australian history of campaigning in federal politics. The following table tells the story.

Australian women have achieved a significant percentage of membership, thus they have begun to have some impact on the political process. It is possible to say that when a larger number of women infiltrate the public office, empowerment ensues. The following table depicts the increase in women's representation from 1969-1990. Consequently when women's representation increased, women's issues and perspectives began to gain legitimacy. According to Chafetz (1990) the only way to favour women's representation is to increase the number of women occupying elite power roles. The gender division of labour, male superiority and consequently male occupation of elite roles in society are the main factors that account for the maintenance and stability of gender inequity (ibid). Thus it can be stated that when an increase in women's representation occurs, female incumbents are more emancipated to address women's issues. Moreover the larger the number of women's representatives can facilitate the exhibition of women's needs, interests and issues.

Table 4: Party Affiliation of Women Candidates, House of Representatives 1969-1990

Year	ALP	Lib	NP	DLP	LM/AP	AD	Ind and Others	Total
1969	3	1		8	3		14	29
1972	4	3		7	14		10	38
1974	3	5	1	4	27		7	47
1975	6	3	1	3	8		10	31
1977	15	2	1			22	9	49
1980	23	5	1	1		30	15	75
1983	20	10	1	1		25	29	86
1984	18	14	9	11		36	19	107
1987	26	12	4			44	21	107
1990	19	18	6			39	57	139

source: Sawer, 1993

But women have not simply advanced their political interests by working through the state, instead have looked for alternative avenues. The Communist Party has provided an outlet for radical women. Women have begun working in the state administration, the culmination of feminist groups as well as the creation of women's bureaus and women's committees, in Australia, the "femocrat strategy" has surfaced out of a political coalition between the Labour Party and the feminist movement. Feminists in Australia believe that the state can be made "to work for women." Commenting on the nature of the state, Eisenstein (quoted in Savage and Witz, 1992: 199) explains:

"I think it is inaccurate to say that "the state is male" but it is accurate to say that up to now the state has been male if by that we mean that until recently public power has been wielded largely by men and in the interest of men....The possibility of altering that fact may now lie within our grasp."

Australia provides an interesting point of comparison with Brazil. Weir (1987) has contributed extensively for evaluating these interventions. Australian feminist interventions into political and bureaucratic arenas can be traced back to the early

1970s. The Australian Labour Party (ALP) and the Coalition did not focus on making any changes in women's perception of themselves and society. The Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL) was formed to enter and change the mainstream political arenas. Despite their lack of a national organization, the various WEL groups made a significant impact on the political climate of the 1972 election. Although there were important divisions within the membership, there was a general consensus that WEL should be extended into state politics and local government. Local government is an important arena for the development of female political participation. A significant parallel is found in Norway, where the National Council of Women organized a campaign to secure women into municipal councils, where they were previously excluded. By 1971, women had gained significant momentum in large cities including Oslo. Following this campaign the Council established a "little red book for women," which described how public and domestic responsibilities could be consolidated. Statistics depicts the growing number of women politicians in Norway (See Appendix F).

WEL proved to be an important domain for feminist activity, one in which Australian feminists pursued a number of long-standing goals. Issues such as Federal support for Day-care centres, abortion law reform, equal pay, removal of tax on contraceptives, provision of family planning services and homosexual law reform were some of the issues dealt with by WEL. The term "femocrats" was embraced to describe feminists who took women's lobby positions in the bureaucracy. The hub of feminist activity was highly effective in translating the demands of the women's movement into public policy. The following statement sums up the importance of WEL in terms of feminist politics:

"in terms of recent history, WEL not only got the issues of greatest concern for women on to the public agenda, but provided a political education for large numbers of women whose latent skills and talents emerged in the campaign. This process of political empowerment led to a more fundamental challenge to the male monopoly of public decision- making. WEL was to be a springboard for the entry of large numbers of women into public life. These women are now to be found in influential positions throughout the bureaucracy, statutory authorities, political parties and governments" (Sawer, 1990: 7).

Before the end of 1972 WEL had a membership of 2000 members and operated in all states and territories. Femocratic interventions have definitely made an impact in Australia where they have sought fundamentally to alter the character of the state. Despite the success of this strategy, there are limitations.

The portrait merging from Australia and Brazil exhibits the fact that women's issues have finally reached the political agenda. Feminist groups such as the CNDM and WEL must take credit for this. Sex remarks an American writer, is regarded by most people as a suitable reason for disqualification from political and public life (Kinney, 1971: 19). The evidence quoted in this chapter tells a different story. The extension of equal consideration to women represents a qualitative shift in the meaning of equality. Femocrats have definitely made a difference, their very presence coupled with their ideas of sexuality, power transforms the bureaucratic debate. One should not misconstrue this, ie simply enlisting women to higher positions of authority would culminate in a women friendly state. The most important element of the femocrat approach is the recognition that women's interests have to be actively and collectively sought to generate a positive end result. Thus the task facing women is monumental, in order to change an unfavourable economic, social and domestic condition, women must seek not only to

enter the political arena in greater numbers, but must also expand it to include "private" issues on the public agenda (quoted in Lovenduski and Hills, 1981).

4.13 NOT SO FEMINIST: WOMEN IN BUREAUCRACIES ARE STRANGERS IN A MAN'S WORLD

A recurrent question among feminists is whether the insertion of women at the higher echelons of bureaucracy transform these structures. Ferguson has repeatedly suggested that bureaucracies are inherently masculine. Other theorists have questioned whether female bureaucrats would prefer evolving more women friendly modes of organising independent of male dominated structures (Kanter, 1977). This brings up an important issue of whether women's interests should be pursued via the state.

In the light of the above contention one could suggest that bureaucracies can also transpire at the expense of women. In response to these the Cameroonian Ministry of Women's Affairs is an important example of how irreconcilable interests have been played out in a particular bureaucratic and political environment (Lewis, 1990: 196). Jane Guyer (1986: 393) has reflected on this diversity:

"Women's offices seem to have intrinsically incompatible aspects to their mandates. Research in technical areas, from tax policy to crop rotation, requires integration into the rest of the technical community. Political action, such as advocacy of a women's perspective, lobbying for more funding for women's projects, or the maintenance of links to other women's groups, demand cross disciplinary organization and a somewhat more confrontational collective stance. Working on project administration involves yet another kind of structure defined by authority and cooperation."

In her study of the Cameroon Barbara Lewis has detailed a type of opportunist politics and bureaucratic competition. The Cameroonian political women merged

with the party as a women's wing. In her study, Lewis (1990) describes a scenario where the Women's Ministry is situated within a stable one-party system, in which all the power is monopolized by the ruling party. Perhaps even more troublesome, the ruling party opposes confrontational politics. Thus the party has the insidious potential to interfere and control the work of women. The example of the Women's Ministry in the Cameroon describes the co-option of Women's Ministry by a totally male-dominated state. According to Lewis these institutions "are not created on tabula rasa, but are constrained and shaped by preexisting institutionalized partisan and administrative behaviour" (Lewis, 1990: 181).

The Councils in Cameroon were indifferent to the needs of non-elite women and the women's programs merely served elite interests. These rural women had little or no voice. Here the "integration" strategy could lead to effective empowerment for women.

4.14 CONCLUSION

Joan Scott (1986b:1067) has argued that "politics constructs gender and gender constructs politics." This chapter has attempted to illustrate these points by examining state constructions and resistance by civil society. I have argued that this resistance has culminated in the political activism of Brazilian women.

Authoritarian regimes have often served to limit women's political roles. In Brazil the renewal of civil society and the grassroots movements was crucial in keeping women on the political agenda.

The emergence of the *abertura* process brought about a constituency for change

among women. By the 1980s Brazil had introduced feminism to the state. The Women's Council in Brazil pressured the state to introduce gender specific demands into its constituency. The key link has been the sustained pressure from the outside so as to make the state vulnerable to the demands of women. However, the point of admission for the Council also had a high price tag, the Council could either serve to radicalise or moderate the women's movement. Moreover the more incorporated the council becomes into the state, the more likelihood of a self-interested constituency. But this by no means implies that the Councils gains are insignificant, since concrete gains have been made in the area of day care and reproductive rights. This now brings us back to the importance of the local women's organizations, since the council would dissipate without the women's organizations.

Feminists, in a general sense have addressed the state as male or masculine. Eisenstein (1985, 113) defines the maleness of the state descriptively:

"until recently public power has been wielded largely by men and in the interest of men, and indeed by only a small number of them."

Alvarez has argued that the state is not a monolithic entity. This chapter has attempted to illustrate this point by examining state constructions of bureaucratic machinery. I have argued that the civil society has fed into the political culture thereby impacting on the nature of political activism in Brazil. Over the period under consideration (*abertura*), the Brazilian state attempted to establish bureaucratic apparatuses which tended in some cases to express gender interests. These bureaucracies occurred in the form of Councils which reinvented and rearticulated the needs of feminists. To return to the assessments of the CNDM cited earlier I would argue that despite the difficulties, the CNDM has a

reputation for the identification with the interests of women. It has consistently worked with women to produce gender-specific outcomes. Overall it can be said that the state is an important arena in which the construction of gender interest takes place. The profusion of feminist spaces has not necessarily led to a "fragmentation" of feminisms. Rather this profusion has culminated in a web of political and communicative networks. These articulations can be viewed as encompassing what Nancy Fraser (1993) called "subaltern counterpublics." This alternative publics have helped widen "discursive contestation" around issues of concern to different groups of women which might otherwise have remained excluded from dominant publics.

The new Brazilian Constitution of 1988 like all constitutions reflects a new chapter in Brazil's historical political moment. The first chapter of the Constitution declares a fundamental right: "No one shall be subjected to torture or to degrading or inhuman treatment" an ardent reminder of the twenty one years of abuse and torture. Also included in this chapter the principle of equal rights for women.

The new laws in the constitution have been particularly meliorative and have experienced some success. An increasing number of women in the paid work-force are earning their own retirement benefits as well as increased attention to the contributions made by housewives.

Before closing, an important question has to be asked: Is CNDM, its vision and concerns relevant for the next decade? I believe so. Thus far, CNDM remains unique in its potential to mobilise and inspire women nationally, keeping the concern

for gender equality in democratic struggles to change the nature of social relations. The Beijing conference is important in this regard.

During the Women's Conference in Beijing, a strategy called "Bringing Beijing Home to Brazil" was formed to enable women to "evaluate" from their own "specific perspective" and remobilise local movement organisations. This coalition launched an unprecedented effort to focus on the importance of women's rights and raising public awareness of gender inequality. In Brazil, women's entrance into the political sphere did not imply a new era of gender sensitive politics, but a reaction to the regime's gender restrictions. As a consequence, the women's movement resolved to create Councils to incorporate women's concerns so as to redress the relative absence of women in decision-making bodies. Yet while the *abertura* process and the women's councils has given the space and confidence to start grappling with their oppression, it has not yet provided them with total revolution. In conclusion, if accepting and working with state programs produces conditions that would mean curtailing the Councils autonomy, or inhibit its ability to criticize and work with any other organisations for fundamental transformation, then the Councils should keep a distance from the state.

In the Beijing World Conference on Women, the CNDM has been recognized as the organisation that works at all levels for improving the conditions for Brazilian women that has led to the current situation, in which higher levels of activity are constantly demanded of CNDM.

CHAPTER FIVE

A COMPARATIVE ASSESSMENT OF BRAZIL, INDIA AND SOUTH

AFRICA

5.1 DIVERGING GOALS, CONVERGING STRATEGIES

"We live in a class society that is also structured by gender, which means that men and women experience class in different ways, and that potential unities of class are disrupted by conflicts of gender. To put the emphasis the other way around: we live in a gender order that is also structured by class, which means that women experience their womanhood in different ways, and that their unity as women is continually disrupted by conflicts of class. Draw in race to complete the triangle and you can see how complex the geometry becomes. No one is 'just' a woman, 'just' black. The notion that our politics can simply reflect one of our identities seems implausible in the extreme" (Phillips, 1991: 155).

The previous chapters covered a number of issues pertaining to gender interests or gender needs. This chapter complements the account by providing an assessment of each. Beyond the differences of these three case studies, they have one thing in common: the scenarios they describe are wholly male dominated. The conclusion (in the subsequent chapter) will however, show that women have been partially successful in challenging these patterns of male domination.

The chapters in this thesis have focused on politics redefined in terms of gender. It is unmistakable that politics need not be confined to the public realm. On the contrary, women have engaged in social and developmental movements. They have made use of "motherism" for the attainment of empowerment. It is within the sphere of such politics (as seen in the preceding chapters) that women have successfully empowered themselves.

The central tenet of this thesis is the degree to which the state serves to enhance these interests. It becomes clear from the progression of the thesis that the answer depends on the manner in which women define these interests and the characteristics of the particular state/s involved.

The three chapters discuss how women's needs, whether strategic or practical have become important in the struggles for empowerment. While each chapter focuses on somewhat different strategies relevant to specific conditions of the countries under attention, it becomes visible that feminist consciousness is necessary for women's thinking, organising, mobilising so as to create empowerment for themselves.

Chapter one considered the question of gender socialization and its significance. The writer discussed issues of gender inequalities, that of gender socialization, by underlining and endorsing a separation of spheres for male and female, reflecting and reinforcing gender ideology and hence maintaining the unequal distribution of resources and the gendered division of labour. It also proposes that gender socialization via the gender division of labour devalues women.

What is needed is a re-evaluation of the concept work as it applies to women, to gender relations and to society. To do this, it is necessary to broaden the scope of activities defined as productive labour and view women as a distinct social group, before assigning them socio and economic positions. What emerges in the literature, is that the social identity of women, in general and rural women, in particular is given substance by their roles as reproducers (mothers of children). Women are also providers.

In an assessment of the three countries, the women's movement had accomplished a significant degree of autonomy. The studies show that "gender is a social construct that differentiates men and women in ways that become embedded and institutionalized in the political and bureaucratic authority of the state" (Conway et al, 1987: 21). Suitable forms of female behaviour are a principal function of social authority and are mediated by the multifarious interactions of the economic, social, political and religious institutions. Hence it can be concluded that "gender boundaries" benefit the political, economic and social interests.

The study looked at the comparative analysis of gender interests in Brazil, India and South Africa. The introductory chapter examined the concepts "practical gender interests" and "strategic gender interests" in a variety of cultural contexts. The discussion of "gender interests" or "gender needs" is then put forward to frame and explain the phenomenon in political terms.

Gloria Bonder in her work entitled The Study of Politics From the Standpoint of Women has argued that breaking the barrier between private and public realms has consequential implications for women liberating them from lives that are "naturally determined" to enter the "socially determined" world where they can become subjects rather than objects of political action:

"The identification of politics with public life and power emanating basically from the state excludes a whole set of social practices which are labelled private and therefore nonpolitical. This applies to social functions traditionally attributed to women, namely reproduction, domestic tasks, socialization of children within the family, sexuality etc. These female functions are regarded as private, and also as "natural." Because they are not identified as political, they lose the character of social practices and are relegated to the sphere of nature" (Bonder, 1983: 570).

5.2. PRODUCTIVE AND REPRODUCTIVE SPHERES

Black women in South Africa have faced an intricate web of oppressive relationships between patriarchy, capitalism as well as the integration of race, class and gender. For black women in South Africa, the household became a site of struggle for survival as well as a mechanism for gender subordination.

The household has also replicated a sexual division of labour. The migrant labour system had contradictory effects on gender relations and social organisation. Women carried out their domestic duties as well as engaging in subsistence agriculture or beer brewing. Throughout this research the importance of women's productive and reproductive labour has been emphasised. Moreover, women have been increasingly restricted in an underdeveloped domestic and subsistence sector, while men have been drawn into the cash crop sector. As the major family providers and nurturers women have increased workloads, often at unbearable levels.

The crux of the argument is that the notion of motherhood is in a transitory phase, i.e. corresponds to different shifts in history and different facets of nationalism. In the 1950's motherhood was perceived by the ANC as "a common experience of women, in towns and rural areas, in wage employment or working in the formal sector" (Gaitskell and Unterhalter, 1989: 60). This idea propagated the belief that mothers needed protection due to their reliance on the wages of male workers. Whilst in the 1970s, the state sought to separate Africans along ethnic lines, this influenced women directly since "even more stringent controls were placed on where black woman might live with their children, as African women with children were perceived by the regime as a threat to the strategy of

returning all Africans to the bantustans" (Gaitskell and Unterhalter, 1989: 75). The hardships faced by the women led to a number of uprisings as well as increased mobilisation, organisation and militancy. The Soweto revolt and the upheavals also touched the lives of women.

"Do not worry about me but worry about those who are suffering. I have done my bit of contribution and may God spare you. My blood will nourish the tree which will bear the fruits of freedom. Tell my people that I love them and that they must continue in the struggle. *A luta continuad*" (Pomeroy, 1986: 187).

In sum motherhood revolutionized "from a protective status to a dynamic force for change" (Gaitskell and Unterhalter, 1989: 75). Given that the reason for the anti-pass campaign can be found in the family, it becomes imperative that the family served as a mobilising factor. This is similar to Brazil where women as mothers struggled against the military regime. The feminist intention in the two examples exemplifies the refutation of apartheid and authoritarianism and the negation of women's issues being considered as outside the historical context as well as the belief that women's issues should be treated outside the social sphere. The researcher has sought in the course of the thesis to merge class struggle with gender issues. The project of women working collectively results in an awareness of their disadvantaged situation.

What connects all three groups is their struggle towards democracy, even though some feminists have argued that democracy has never really existed for women (Kirkwood, 1983: 82). This argument is associated with the analysis of the relationship between public sphere and private sphere. For women democratisation entails self-determination, autonomy and freedom from violence and oppression (ibid). A struggle for democracy must include a struggle for women's emancipation.

The studies conducted thus far suggest that women have initiated tangible changes within societies. The chapters on South Africa and Brazil reveal diverse but successful strategies employed by women in their struggle to change the power relationships in society. The politicization of gender and its manifestation in politics can be traced to the state. Tentative generalisations about existing strategies provide a basis by which to consider future implications. I have tried to show that motherhood has intensified women's political activism.

5.3 THE CHIPKO MOVEMENT

Shiva (1988) has played an important role in documenting grassroots environmental struggles, particularly in India. In books such as Staying Alive, she has revealed the centrality of women and gender issues to many of these struggles. Indian women have sought to define their interests primarily in terms of family survival. Participation in politics is seen as irrelevant (Everett, 1989: 168). Consequently, Sontheimer (1991, 3) sees the Chipko Movement as women "working together and ... uniting their voices to demand that both their rights and nature should be treated justly." From the different case studies, there is no doubt that women have participated in social movements, many of them as part of survival strategies, and others in many ways may appear to be extensions of their traditional roles. Particularly important in this respect is that participation of women in the Chipko Movement received the lowest, if not no income. Hence participation in the Chipko Movement is viewed as a key to the satisfaction of their basic needs.

In this study, I have looked at the contexts of the rural women's movement in India, the anti- alcohol, the Shahada the Chipko movements. The chapter began with the concept of development. The researcher has argued that development relegates women ideologically and in practice to the domestic sector. The

development process assumes women are dependents on men and hence overlooks their broader economic roles and potentials. The organisation and mobilisation of women in the Chipko Movement reaffirms the central role of women in the forest utilisation and maintenance. The women have proved positive and as a potential force in both restoring and conserving the rural environment. The institutionalisation of the Chipko Movement had been designed specifically in relation to their environmental concerns. It becomes evident that women have different values, needs and strategies for environmental issues. Examination of the Chipko Movement indicates that women's values and behaviour reflect their adaptation to the state of environmental conditions as well as structural constraints in the socio-cultural and institutional context.

Furthermore women's behavioural strategies such as organising and forming groups are fortified by the values placed on sharing, caring and nurturing. The pivotal role played by women in the Chipko point towards the need for their inclusion in agricultural extension activities. Development agencies such as the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the U.S Agency for International Development (AID) have produced discriminatory policies against women within the agencies and the implementation of field projects. Women are often misrepresented or altogether omitted in statistical data bases used by development planners. Hence, in response to growing demands for women's integration into development, development agencies often create marginal "women's projects" with a strong emphasis on domestic science.

Thus the training of women's groups should be given high priority in research

funding and training programmes. The following quotation is expressive of the Chipko movement and its future:

"Movements like Chipko are signs of a growing militancy amongst poor women to protect and enrich the natural resources that sustain them, but before these straws can come together to form a powerful movement for change, there is still a long way to go" (Katumba & Akute, 1992: 154).

The Chipko Movement is clearly not a feminist movement since women are working "only as the limbs of the movement and not as its brain"(Linkenbach, 1994: 77). Many questions arose around the issue of women being intrinsically closer to nature. The entire issue of women's links to ecology is highly problematic when it is essentialized. The recent United Nations global conferences on development, as well as regional preparatory conferences for the Fourth World Conference on Women, have all acknowledged that sustainable development policies that do not involve women and men alike will not succeed in the long run. They have called for the effective participation of women in the generation of knowledge and environmental education in decision-making and management at all levels. Women's experiences and contributions to an ecologically sound environment must therefore be central to the agenda for the twenty-first century. Sustainable development will be an elusive goal unless women's contribution to environmental management is recognised and supported.

But ecological movements don't possess the solution for the crisis of the modern world, and they do not have the capacity to end development. Perhaps, the activists within the Chipko Movement can learn from the current Green Movement paradigms in West Germany. Women worked as organizers in the Green Movement and developed a coalition between environmentalists and feminists. United in their struggle, these women fought to transform their world into a safer place. The

women gradually moved into electoral politics, campaigning for elections and gaining leadership positions. The Green Party has now integrated feminist issues into its party organisation. There can be little doubt that the Greens have realised a degree of participatory democracy.

Thus the ultimate aim of the Chipko Movement should be the transformation of social relations of gender and caste. To accomplish this goal, The Chipko Movement needs to have both widespread mass support as well as the endorsement of mass organisations with access to power. There are too many examples, in India and elsewhere, in which small groups or movements not empowered with a political base, hence their disintegration. The Chipko Movement needs to transform itself into a party or vanguard rather than see itself solely as an environmental movement.

5.4 SOUTH AFRICA

The case study also attempted to show the constraints faced by women, within the context of the natural unfolding of the household.

"No mother is asked what her ideology is or what she does; neither do we ask what her children are doing. We do not defend ideologies; we defend life....Our great concern is not to be manipulated by any political party....Neither the government's threats nor their rifles are a match for the faith of a mother" (cited in Bonder, 1983: 581).

The chapter also dealt with the public/private dichotomy. The work of Elshtain "Moral Woman and Immoral Man" was effective in this regard. Elshtain (1974) argued that the earliest Western political tradition had excluded or defined women outside the realm of polis, culture and citizenship. Hence the polis was inaccessible to women.

The apartheid state substantiates this point since:

"Politics is the realm of public power, the sphere of justice, and systems of law...Women are not part of politics per se, but provide, in their capacities in the private sphere, a refuge from public life for men when they share in the private sphere...Non-politics is a private realm of feeling and sentiment, or moral situation, not subject to laws and not judged by rational standards....This realm is not properly part of the public sphere but provided a base for it. Women are part of non-politics" (Elshtain, 1974: 460-61).

According to Bernstein (1985) women's organisations play a key role in the liberation struggle. Women's liberation is seen as an essential part of the liberation struggle, not something to be fulfilled subsequently, but "there is a very specific women's element to oppression which will not just naturally work itself out through national liberation" (Ginwala, 1986: 13). Hence there is a need for women to organize themselves in specific women's organisations (Davies et al, 1984: 369). Women may choose organisational autonomy vis-a vis a political party or a liberation movement. Underlying the efforts by black women and their collective action, it is important to note that in South Africa, the apartheid era barely represented the black people, hence race-specific claims were difficult to articulate within institutional arenas. This was motivated by the racist policies practised by the minority government. This resulted in a black women's movement. South Africa saw the unfolding of a new wave of feminism, a stage in which feminist demands were placed on the political agenda. It is imperative for South African women, with their specific historical and cultural backgrounds to develop parameters to address their position in the new South Africa.

Despite the methodological difficulties involved, it is analytically useful to distinguish between the variety of reproductive and productive roles in which women engage, conceding that both are interrelated. Reproductive duties are

socially agreed upon to include the biological function of reproduction, care, health and socialization of children. This was discussed in greater detail under the heading "the triple role of women."

One of the organisations that emerged as a direct response to the repression was the ANC's women's league. The anti-pass law resistance campaign is an outstanding example of how traditional roles provided women with the motivation to organise against the apartheid state.

This politicisation of motherhood provided the basis for women to pursue practical gender interests. South African women have struggled for representation in the public sphere. In the African National Council Women's League (ANCWL) there was a deliberate attempt to mobilize women and to take up a campaign that affected their practical interests. The concept of motherhood then, is "fluid and manipulable...especially in the context of a divided society where class and race divisions overlap....The different circumstances of black and white mothers have shaped the relationship between ideas of nation, state and motherhood" (Gaitskell and Unterhalter, 1989: 60).

Feminism in South Africa has emerged from the women who are most victimised by gender oppression and a racist regime. A central principle of modern feminist thought has been the contention that "all women are oppressed." This contention implies that women share a common fate, that determinants such as class, race, religion, sexual preference do not create a diversity of experience that determines the extent to which gender inequality will be an oppressive force in the lives of individual women. Gender inequality as a system of domination is institutionalised

but it has never concluded in a definite way the fate of all women in society. Being oppressed means the "absence of choices."

The pass law campaign of 1973 ushered in a period of intense political expression. Given the circumstances of this resistance, mothers, wives, sisters and daughters were first to mobilise in opposition to the apartheid state. Acknowledging that equality between men and women will not come about automatically, the Women's National Coalition declared:

"The future depends on us whether there is to be a non-sexist South Africa. No one is going to give it to us...Now we have to force open the doors through the voices of millions of South African women" (Speak, no: 40, 1992: 6).

5.5 BRAZIL

The researcher has aimed to disclose that important changes in Brazil's political and economic digressive policies contributed to their political socialization. Brazilian women experienced a number of contradictions from the male-dominant state. The *abertura* process expanded the space available for protest and mobilisation. It also enabled more public discourses on gender and hence facilitated the women's movement.

Skidmore and Smith (1984,65) have argued that "the social role of females has typically been confined to the private sphere, particularly the family, and here women have often reigned supreme," Munck argued that women's achievements have been indiscernible and argues that "it remains a fact that women as a whole have had an only limited history of political activity in Latin America (Munck, 1985: 127). Other Latin American Scholars such as Garreton (1986), Valenzuela (1986)

leave women out of their political accounts altogether. The women's movement in Sao Paulo sought new ways on how to approach the opposition, while the governments averred to address gender interests articulated by the movement. The chapter on Brazil has shown how state policies affecting women's rights and status are inherently contradictory. I have attempted to explore Brazilian feminism and its relationship to the state. Feminist interventions have provided either incorporation or an institutional change.

5.6 THE STATE

Women do not experience the state in the same way as men do, whether one is considering the ideological, legal, political dimensions of the state. The case studies suggest that the view of the state from the local level differs for men and women. Political actors, parties and the women's movements deem a much more separate understanding of the state. The absence of women from state institutions, implies that state policies toward women have, as a result, exhibited varying degrees of discrimination and constraint. Despite these constraints, women have been able to establish channels to enhance the decision-making process (Brazilian Councils).

5.7 SOME CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

A common thread that runs through all the chapters in this thesis is that women are deeply rooted in their communities. Moreover, women's mobilisation often rests in their self-definition as mothers and their commitment in fulfilling the responsibilities implicit in this role. One of the many roles performed by women, is the domestic role i.e the reproduction of the labour force and the daily effort to ensure the survival of their family. It becomes evident from the thesis that in

different situations, different survival strategies are brought into play. In Society, women are allocated the responsibility of producing, reproducing and maintaining the life of the population. Hence women need to be viewed as agents of production as well as reproduction.

In Brazil, women participate more than men in community organisations. In keeping with their socially ascribed responsibilities as wives, mothers and nurturers they have taken a lead through the formation of organisations and community activities. With the promulgation of the Councils, this created a high level of activism among Brazilian women. Through their visibility in the CECF and CNDM, they were able to convert women's problems and interests into political agendas.

The apartheid situation coupled with the pass laws in South Africa contributed to Black women being mobilized. Black women tended to perceive the pass laws as hindering the proper performance of their motherhood role. In addition capital expansion has affected more women than men because women are responsible for the household economy and family survival. In the process women have played a more important role than men. Consistent with women's traditionally defined roles, they took the responsibility of providing for their family and seen at times rebelling with the police.

Women were more deeply rooted in the Chipko Movement since the Chipko Movement had a potential for mobilisation. The environmental nature of women's demands are related to the damaging effects of the crisis on the quality of life and the satisfaction of basic needs that are essential for survival. In the case of the

Chipko women, the sense of their natural role is seen as much more apolitical and submissive constant with custom. These women need to refuse to accept the boundaries installed by the state. The case studies in this thesis demonstrate that women do:

"not come together as isolates but as women strongly rooted in their class, ethnic, or cultural communities....For these women, the 'problem of politics' is...finding ways to link the concerns, visions and perspectives they share with their neighbours and co-workers to the 'political system' that stands apart from them and seems to control their lives (Ackelsberg, 1988: 303).

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

"I would go so far as to say that even before slavery or class domination existed, men built an approach to women that would serve one day to introduce differences among us all" (Claude Levi-Strauss)

6.1 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The feminist methodological mandatory is to allow women's voices to be heard and women's consciousness to be expressed. Gender was constantly interpreted by women analysts as pertinent to the domestic rather than the public sphere. This occurred since gender-linked social characteristics were culturally and personally salient to them.

This thesis originated with thoughts on gender consciousness and the manner in which it developed. Using the words of Simone de Beauvoir (1949: 8) "One is not born, but rather becomes a woman...It is civilization as a whole that produces this creature." The intellectual issue underlying the resurgent feminism of the 60s and 70s is precisely this question: born or made? The rest of the thesis deals with four basic aspects production, reproduction, socialization and sexuality held firmly together by an ideology of female submissiveness. The rise of women's movements and organisations represents a challenge to this ideology.

The thesis concludes with reflections on gender consciousness. Since feminists must recognise that ideologies of difference which define women and men as well as inequality is propagated socially, psychologically and culturally by people living in and creating their social, psychological and cultural worlds. In addition women participate in the creation of these worlds and ideologies. Therefore, one should

view gender as processual, reflexive and constructed. The notion of difference is important since it produces sexual inequality.

The chapters produced in this study document the powerlessness of women caught up in the wider political struggle. Many women responded with their capacities of forming organisations and exercising their powers. They discerned and probed the limitations of their conventional gender roles. Drude Dahlerup (1991: 10) who has carried out comprehensive research on women in politics states:

"Don't expect us to make much difference as long as we are only a few women in politics. It takes a critical mass of women to make a fundamental change in politics."

When significant numbers of women are present in politics, as in Nordic countries where women hold a relatively high percentage of elective positions in government have made a difference, Dahlerup (1991: 46) recaptures:

"Many women in politics in the Scandinavian countries have to some extent changed people's attitudes towards women as leaders, have changed the political discourse somewhat, have placed women's issues on the agenda, and have to some extent changed the political culture."

The diverse examples of Brazil, India and South Africa show how political conflict designates women's active involvement. Feminist scholars (Janeaway, 1981; Randall, 1982) have extended the scope of political studies by posing new questions about women and their political domain as well as analysing relations of power and gender. The examples cited in this thesis represent the situation of many other women caught between the symbols of tradition and the yearning for social change. In the thesis the state has been conceived as a bureaucratic, normative and coercive directive. Sonia Alvarez has noted that ..."variations across states lead to different opportunity spaces for women to attempt to realise practical or

strategic gender interests through engagement with the state (Charlton, 1989: 187). The thesis began with an explanation of basic terminology such as women's interests. To recapitulate, Molyneux (1985: 283ff) "gender interests are those that women may develop by virtue of their social positioning through gender attributes." The researcher's analysis of Brazil and South Africa definitely exhibits this suggestion.

The political transformation which began in Brazil challenged women's organisations to try and influence public policies. The implementation of Councils was important in gaining political clout and was quite effective in influencing public policies. For example the controversial issue of reproductive rights became legitimized.

The dissertation contributes towards an understanding of the concept of gender. Rather than offering a grand feminist theory. The concept has challenged the very nature of the conceptual framework necessary to sustain the "Up-Down" relationships of domination. The central elements are the social constitution of the household, the sexual division of labour and the social construction of the civil society (Moser, 1993).

It becomes evident from the thesis that all the above elements are inextricably linked and arise from the differences and the process of the social production of gender. The gender significance of the processes of the state has definitely reinforced and increased female subordination.

In the three case studies, whether referring to urban or rural women, impediments to women's integration into the public domain have descended from the domestic sphere. The reproductive sphere is linked to patriarchy, since patriarchy in a general sense can be seen as "the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women and children in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general" (Lerner, 1986: 239). In South Africa gender inequality takes different forms among different racial groupings. As mentioned previously women do not suffer oppression only as members of an subordinate class but also as second class citizens in a male controlled society. I have pointed out that black women in South Africa have been allocated specific roles and activities which confine their political activity. Certainly in the anti pass campaign African women's lack of power did not stop them. The centrality of motherhood to national survival is recognised universally. After South Africa's struggle against apartheid, women are now trying to change and challenge the status-quo. Women need to redefine the concept of power, as well as cultural and political institutions or else they will remain within the patriarchal system that has marginalised them. Women in the new South Africa have embarked in an on-going women's campaign to promote their agenda. Currently women constitute 25 percent in parliament, occupying 120 out of 450 seats.

Women have the "double burden" of reproductive and productive work. The overriding conclusion of the thesis is that women's experiences of development are generally negative, hence intervention is urgently required to prevent their positions relative to men's deteriorating still further. Women's issues were afforded a small political "space" in which they began organising their opposition to military rule in Brazil. In South Africa, women opposed the pass laws which was

a extension of the apartheid state. The feminism of these countries was shaped from their opposition to the respective regimes. Ironically, military authoritarian rule and apartheid discriminatory politics which were proposed to depoliticize and restrict the rights of individuals had the contrary effect of mobilising women.

The Chipko Movement comprised of women from the grassroots base. In response to the economic decline, women were forced to rely on the natural resources to ensure the survival of their families. The Chipko Movement provides a vivid example of the conflict of needs. I have examined the Chipko Movement with special attention to the conflict (identified by Maxine Molyneux) between women's practical interests, which often reinforce the sexual division of labour, and their strategic gender interests in reproductive rights and equality. In environmental planning, women's practical gender needs are not usually recognised by those who utilize the environment as a productive resource. Third world women should be viewed as the agents of change, creators of new feminist theory rather than victims of oppression.

6.2 GENDER DYNAMICS

At the onset of the study, the researcher stipulated the rationale of the study, namely a focus on gender. Placing gender at the centre of an analysis elucidates the unequal relationship between women and men:

"Gender is at the heart of state organs, access to the state, and the state resource allocation. States are shaped by gender struggle; they carry distinctive gender ideologies through time which guide resource allocation decisions in ways that mould material realities. Through their ideological, legal, material efforts, states foster the mobilisation of certain groups and issues. This mobilisation usually benefits men rather than women" (Parpart and Staudt, 1986: 6).

A focus on gender is illuminating in several ways. The focus on gender is valuable itself, since this perspective focuses upon relations, it approaches issues on the basis of a macropolitical point of view. The gender approach is critical in that it generates a framework within which socio-economic issues can be contemplated analytically.

This thesis explored the gender dynamics of three movements to demonstrate these gendered processes. From the foregoing discussion, it should be clear that political and cultural projects are gendered. The three cases vividly illustrate the salience of gender in politics, culture and social identity. Politics has often been studied as "engendered" that is gender neutral. In chapter one the researcher connected women's strategic gender interests with the transformative strategy of reformulating world politics. To "ungender power" and politics, the gendered division of power has to be altered. Women have to become visible in politics.

6.3 "UNGENDERING" POWER AND POLITICS

"The political space belongs to all citizens; politics is everyone's business and affects the lives of each of us...the more women are associated, in numbers corresponding to their percentage of the population, in the political decision making process, in parties, in located bodies in governments and in international bodies, the more they can be associated with this process as protagonists and the more they can change the modalities and outcomes of politics. Only then will the concept of democracy find concrete and tangible expression...democracy and the participation of women go hand in hand and promote each other mutually" (quoted in Karl, 1995: 59).

Based on what we have seen in chapter three, we can state that within the context of Latin America, Brazil represents one of the few cases of women's organized experience, particularly within popular sectors. The reactivation of the civil

society and the advent of the *abertura* process enhanced women's political participation. Women created social organisations and councils to achieve a new kind of social and national emancipation.

As we enter the twenty first century, it comes as a painful surprise that 62 countries in the world have no women ministers at all, even though women constitute over half of their national populations. Ultimately, the case studies in this thesis delineate that men have no exclusive right to be defined as "political" and women as "apolitical." Moreover the studies have portrayed that political behaviour occurs in the public and private sphere.

6.4 "UNGENDERING" LABOUR

Despite the International Decade for Women, there has not been much improvement in the lives of women in the Third World. There is a general identification of women with the domestic sphere, even though the roles and responsibilities of women in this sphere are culturally and economic specific. The chapter on the Chipko Movement shows that women's employment is envisaged as low status. Even in India where there is a stated intention to incorporate women in the public sphere, traditional views continue and pose hindrances on such activities. Rosaldo and Lamphere (1974: 3) conclude:

"Everywhere we find that women are excluded from certain economic or political activities, that their roles as wives and mothers are associated with fewer powers and prerogatives than are the roles of men. It seems fair to say then, that all contemporary societies are to some extent male dominated, and although the degree and expression of female subordination vary greatly, sexual asymmetry is presently a universal fact of human social life."

This is due to the fact that women's activities are merely seen as extensions of domestic chores. The examples of women managing the households and agricultural labour is a message that reflects gender differences. It represents a demand from the most overburdened group for accountability and visibility.

6.5 "UNGENDERING" RESOURCES

Women's access to productive resources and to services, like their access to education is frequently more limited than that of men. Their mobility is constrained by economic considerations, household, childcare as well as customs. Women were also constrained by legal restrictions, (such as the former pass laws in South Africa).

Soil, water, forests are embedded in a web of human social relations where gender matters. Throughout the discussion of the Chipko Movement women have raised issues of survival. Many men are absent, women are required to meet the subsistence needs of their families. The relationship between family survival and gender issues is quite explicit in the three case studies. For women, these resources, fuelwood, soil, water are critical resources, awareness of shortages and problems is acute, thus community and preventive action is sought. Women form the backbone of grassroots organising around ecological issues worldwide.

Women's political strategies in relation to environmental goals differ from men's. Women's environmental groups articulate their demands through gender and tend to identify themselves with the role of mother and with family survival.

Women are viewed as "invisible" in relation to their work let alone their political role. Given the difficulty and restrictions placed in their terrain, women formulate

alternate avenues or social movements. These social movements represent "new" spaces so as to mobilize women around ecological issues. Environmental demands are identified with the domestic domain, hence the power of an organisation rests on its ability to gain wider articulations. Women in the Chipko Movement tended to be more defensive rather than pro-active. It is clear to be effective demands need to be transformed into political agendas, since women's demands lack symbolic value due to their identification with the private sphere and domesticity.

6.6. ADDRESSING THE WORKING HYPOTHESES

This study has highlighted the complex and multifaceted nature of women and the political sphere. The three case studies centre around gender consciousness to produce gender specific outcomes. This thesis has demonstrated that the conclusive test of feminist politics is the extent to which it can equip women with the faculties and skills to challenge the masculine domain. We are now in a better position to address the hypotheses posed in chapter I.

- i) Gender differences are attributed to the social and political construction of society.
- ii) Women's movements have a profound effect on gender politics in Latin America.
- iii) Black women's political involvements have been predominantly conservative as far as gender relations are concerned as indicated by their defence of their families and the notion of motherhood.
- iv) Women's movements give social and political expression to women's gender interests.
- v) Feminist movements, for example the Chipko Movement, have led towards

the 'conscientisation' of gender inequities and have introduced gender concerns into the ecology argument.

The first four working hypotheses were confirmed. The last hypothesis needs to be rephrased since the Chipko Movement cannot be classified as a feminist movement, but rather a social movement.

While the results of the present study have been in correlation with the postulated hypotheses, it is worth noting that:

"women are important, and why gender is an indispensable concept in the analysis of political-cultural movements, of transition, and of social change. It is in the context of the intensification of religious, cultural, ethnic and national identity-itself a function of uneven development and social change-that we see the politicization of gender, family and the position of women" (Moghadam, 1994: 16).

Social scientists need to understand and explain the persistent and socially significant phenomenon that influence women to pursue family interests in the preference of their personal interests and to construct models in which women's interests and roles, as conceived by the majority of women, are socially relevant. What this study suggests is that the greatest area of need is in the area of gender roles. The state is a complex formation. Different historical, economic and ideological frameworks have produced different bureaucracies. As the case studies in this thesis show, the nature of the state's policies have varied differently, at times they appear inconsistent and contradictory. At times the state becomes increasingly centralised and powerful, and some of its actions begin to threaten women (the apartheid state in South Africa). But there are cases, when bureaucracy begins to play a part, to undermine state policies either through integration or separatism. However, a common thread runs through the states in

terms of their ideological definition of gender and the part ascribed to women. As the preceding chapters have illustrated, state policies and practices have affected gender directly and indirectly. Yet it is "motherhood" and reproductive rights that motivate women to participate in politics.

6.7 FUTURE AREAS OF STUDY

The present study has focused specifically on women's movements/Councils effectiveness in representing the practical or strategic interests of its members. Women have been very vocal as organised actors and creators of alternate policies and strategies. The important contributions in this thesis shows how women can empower themselves and effectively change government policies which oppose their needs and interests. Given the significance of the women's movements and its wider political and social implications, it is of paramount importance that further research be undertaken. The women's movement has been the strongest exponent of a less rigid division between the public and private domains. While the basis of analysis lies with the three case studies, this thesis cannot claim to have exhausted all the possibilities. It is recommended that research be conducted about how women have sought effective ways to transform politics all over the world.

6.8 SUMMARY

This study attempted to comprehend women and the political process with reference to three case studies: South Africa, India and Brazil.

The aims of the study were as follows:

- a) to establish a theoretical basis and framework compatible to the study of gender.

- b) to evaluate the link between non-revolutionary political change and changes in women's consciousness and mobilisation.
- c) to further amplify our understanding of the democratisation process in Brazil and other Latin American countries.
- d) by comparing Brazil to South Africa, the political role of women examined from military authoritarianism to democracy as well as from motherism to militancy.
- g) to investigate how the Chipko Movement has located women's practical gender interests within an ecological paradigm.
- h) to show that women are agents of change rather than victims, thereby seeking a more sustainable future for humanity.

The study was based on a comprehensive literature review. Throughout, the thesis gives a distinct perspective on women organising. It shows how women have always subverted the codes determining the spaces in which they move, extending the boundaries of their social space, empowering themselves as well as trying to resit power relations. This study of women gaining access to the public realm gives good insight into the imperatives of party politics (in the case of Brazil) as well as the importance of mobilisational referents (motherhood in the case of South Africa). The example of Chipko Movement shows that women's groups outside the realm of conventional political structures have sought to make some environmental changes.

The thesis also focused on household, production and reproduction and reproductive rights. The study also shows that knowledge about the interaction between gender and politics is of central importance to the understanding of the political status of women.

Perhaps it would be fitting to end with a quote:

Women

We have a purpose in our lives

to be part of history, of a new dawn

to be an overflowing river

that waters the world

which belongs to all, equally (taken from the song Women)

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX: A

Table: 5 Pass Convictions 1921-1957

Year	Africans	Year	Africans
1921-24	48,292 (ave)	1950	217,387
1925-29	59,799 "	1951	232,420
1930-34	94,267 "	1952	272,166
1940	183,829	1954	321,463
1941	169,945	1955	345,421
1942	120,126	1956	365,484
1943	115,527	1957	375,587
1944	124,980	1958	406,603
1945	137,177	1959	413,639
1946	---	1960	340,958
1947	173,718	1961	375,417
1948	176,129	1962	384,497
1949	217,538		

Notes:

1. These figures include the following categories of infringements: failure to register and produce passes, curfew offences, infringements of location, unlawful entry into urban areas, seeking work without permission or entering or remaining in an urban area for more than 72 hours without permission.
2. These figures do not include people arrested and not brought to court (those who pay admission of guilt), or people ordered out of the urban areas by labour bureau officials.

Source: Compiled from Hindson (1982)

WOMEN OUR COUNTRY'S INVISIBLE WEAPON

WE live in a crucial period characterised by far-reaching changes. The onslaughts against our Fatherland are increasingly becoming more virulent and calculated and the road ahead is becoming more difficult — for these reasons increased service, increased involvement and increased patriotism are required from everybody, particularly also from South African women.

We are engaged in a war, although war has never been declared officially — a war in various spheres, viz. military, economic, psychological-propagandistic and political; and in each sphere we must fight back, which means we must defend ourselves against a total strategy.

It is not only the soldier on the border who has to fight, but each one of us — women are the indispensable "soldiers" within our country's borders and their spiritual power is South Africa's invisible weapon.

*Knowledge ensures
preparedness*

AS WOMEN WE MUST:

- ✧ understand the nature and extent of the onslaught
- ✧ make ourselves available

APPENDIX: C

THE *ARPILLERISTA*

The *arpillerista*,
artisan remains
burns with rage and cold
as she tenderly
picks through the remnants of her dead,
salvages the shroud of her husband
the trousers left after the absences
submerges herself in cloth of foaming, silent blood
and though she is fragile she grows large,
sovereign over her adobe hut,
her ragged scraps
and determined to tell her story
truer than the tale woven by her
sister Philomena

Disruptive and beautiful she
puts together her flayed remnants
like a greenish and forgotten skin
and with her disguised thimble
hidden in the pocket of her modest apron
and her harmless needle
she conjures up victorious armies
embroiders humble people smiling, become triumphant
brings the dead back to life
fabricates water, bell towers, schools, dining rooms
giant suns
and the Cordillera of the Andes
peaks opening like portals
of this splendid city.

Marjorie Agosin

The Achievement of Women's Right to Vote on an Equal Basis with Men

1893 New Zealand	1945 France, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Vietnam, Yugoslavia, Bolivia
1902 Australia	1946 Albania, Rumania, Panama
1906 Finland	1947 Argentina, Venezuela
1913 Norway	1948 Israel, Korea
1915 Denmark, Iceland	1949 China, Chile
1917 USSR	1950 El Salvador, Ghana, India
1918 Canada	1951 Nepal
1919 Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, Luxembourg, Czechoslovakia	1952 Greece
1920 USA	1953 Mexico
1922 Ireland	1954 Columbia
1928 Great Britain	1955 Nicaragua
1929 Ecuador	1956 Egypt, Pakistan, Senegal
1930 South Africa	1957 Lebanon
1931 Spain, Sri Lanka, Portugal	1959 Morocco
1932 Thailand	1962 Algeria
1934 Brazil, Cuba	1963 Iran, Kenya, Libya
1936 Costa Rica	1964 Sudan, Zambia
1937 Philippines	1965 Afghanistan, Guatemala
1941 Indonesia	1977 Nigeria
1942 Dominican Republic, Uruguay	1978 Peru, Zimbabwe

Source: Lisa Tuttle, *Encyclopedia of Feminism*, Longman, London, 1986, pp. 370-1

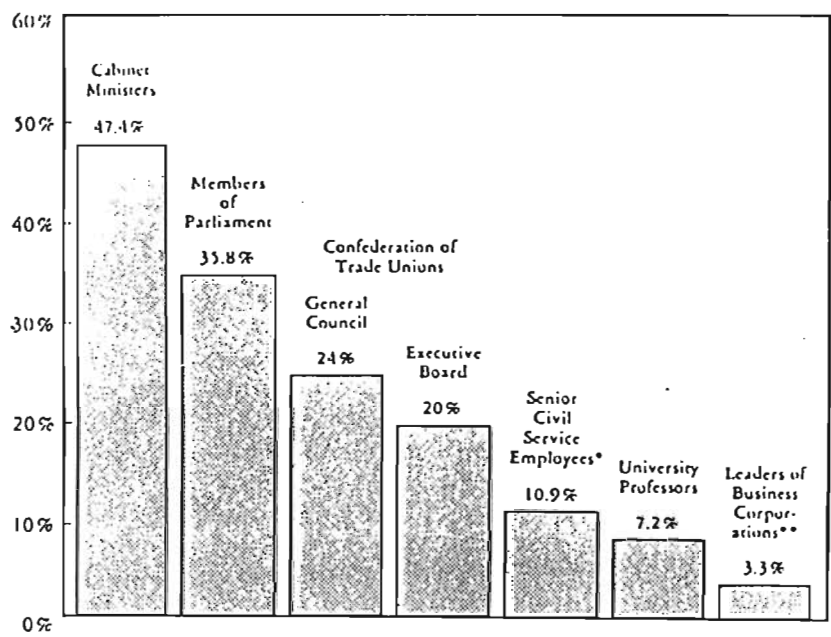
APPENDIX: E

Table: 7 Percentage of Illiterates Per Population By Sex

Country	Year	Males	Females
Argentina	1971	8.4	-----
Bolivia	1976	24.8	49.0
Brazil	1976	22.0	26.5
Chile	1970	10.1	11.8
Columbia	1973	18.0	20.2
Costa Rica	1973	11.4	11.8
Cuba	1979	4.3	4.9
Dominican. Rep	1970	31.2	34.3
Ecuador	1974	34.5	29.6
El Salvador	1975	46.1	41.1
Guatemala	1973	41.1	61.5
Honduras	1974	16.7	44.9
Mexico	1980	42.0	21.2
Nicaragua	1971	21.0	42.9
Panama	1970	14.9	22.2
Paraguay	1972	16.7	24.5
Peru	1972	42.0	39.2
Puerto Rico	1970	21.0	13.4
Uruguay	1975	6.6	5.7
Venezuela	1971	20.3	26.2

APPENDIX: F

Figure: Percentage of Women in Different Norwegian Leadership Strata



Source: Skjeie, 1991: 80