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Pan-African Women Organising for the Future: The Formation of the Pan African Women's Liberation Organisation and Beyond

Zaline Makini Roy-Campbell

African women share a common history, a common conceptual framework in understanding our reality in order to change it, and common enemies and friends within and outside Africa. We have similar challenges to face and a better future to look forward to. There is now a serious need for a new Pan African Women's organisation, embracing African women on the continent and in the diaspora, to address these commonalities.

Fatima Babikar Mahmoud

Introduction

Until recently, much of the past has been recorded and presented as his-story. The male voice and perspective have dominated the interpretations of the past, focusing on the deeds of "great men" and a few "outstanding" women. Conventional wisdom has cast men as the knowers and entrenched their construction of social reality in the collective memory as knowledge. In the case of pre-colonial Africa, women were assumed to be helpless, downtrodden and voiceless. Male centred historiography rarely mentions African women except in accounts of polygamy or the few women whose contribution they considered noteworthy.

In the past twenty years, gendered historical interpretations of Africa's story have highlighted the central position of women in some pre-colonial societies, particularly in areas of medicine and spirituality.¹ Under colonialism, these positions held by women were devalued systematically, especially by Christian missionaries, and this knowledge possessed by women was supplanted by the colonial construction of social reality and forms of knowledge which aided the

colonial mission. The essential role for both men and women was to serve as a labour force for colonial capital. During colonialism in some African societies, women's roles were viewed as that of mother and wife, to preserve the home as a haven for men.² Elizabeth Schmidt describes how missionaries in Zimbabwe "educated" African women for domestication to ensure that the women's influence on the men and children corresponded to the requirements of the colonial system.³

Recorded history of the nationalist struggles in Africa provide narratives of women in the anti-colonial struggle, whether they were the veiled Algerian women or combatants in the liberation struggles in Southern Africa. Despite the central role that women played in the decolonisation process, their voices have not been heard. The negative silences with respect to women also abound in the recorded history of the Pan African Movement. The fact that women in Africa daily move beyond the colonial borders to engage in trading activities points to their vast potential as agents of Pan Africanism.

Because historical accounts of the Pan African movement have tended to focus on formal meetings, this history falls within the male-centred framework. Women, with the exception of Adelaide Casely-Hayford, Shirley Graham DuBois, Amy Ashwood Garvey and Amy Jaques Garvey, were virtually invisible in this history, particularly for the first five Congresses. There were, however several forthright women who participated in these congresses. Some of the Black women participants in the early Congresses included Annie J. Cooper, Jessie Faucet, Ida Gibbs Hunt and Mary McLeod Bethune.⁴ A group of twenty-one women of African descent were the main organisers of the Fourth Pan-African Congress, held in New York, 1927. Many of them were members of a women's organisation called 'The Circle of Peace and Foreign Relations'. Dorothy Hunton, who was the President of this organisation, was involved in the struggle for Pan Africanism for many years.⁵

The Sixth Pan African Congress, held in 1974, was the first of these Congresses to openly address the issue of women. Women were members of the organising secretariat and among the resolutions passed at the Congress was a Resolution on Black Women:

The Sixth Pan African Congress:

1. Decides to give its total support to the political struggles for equality undertaken by black women.
2. Above all, calls upon all the states and organisations participating in this Congress to tackle the problems of the oppression of women thoroughly and profoundly.⁶

The impetus for this resolution was surely women, in the forefront of organising at the 6th PAC and the fact that women were on the Frontline in the

liberation movements. Women's presence had to be acknowledged. Apart from this resolution, however, women's voices were still marginalised, as very few of the other Congress documents, which have been published⁷, include women or were even written by women.

In this regard, the Seventh Pan African Congress was path breaking. It was the first of the Pan African Congresses which clearly placed women on the agenda. A pre-Congress Women's Meeting was held the two days preceding the Congress. The rationale for this meeting was to provide a framework for ensuring that women's concerns were addressed in the main Congress. The commitment for this meeting emerged after some struggle within the International Preparatory Committee (IPC) for the 7th PAC. However, the persistence of women ensured that this meeting occurred.

This article examines the context of women of African descent coming together at the 7th Pan African Congress to discuss the formation of a Pan African women's organisation which clearly places on the agenda the issue of women's liberation from all oppressive forms. It considers the issue of why, in a time of burgeoning women's organisations, there should be yet another women's organisation. The article proceeds to propose issues which could propel the Pan African Women's Liberation Organisation into the 21st century.

Women in The Context of The 7th PAC: 1974-1994

There is a need for a specific forum for women within the Pan African context.

Janet Museveni⁸

Women have been organising on a global level since 1975, when the First United Nations World Conference on Women met in Mexico City. African women entered the foray more forthrightly in 1985, with the Third UN World Conference on Women, held in Nairobi, Kenya. Taking advantage of the meeting being held on its soil, Kenyan women activists ensured that grassroots women's organisations in Kenya were provided a platform. This assisted in bringing into the open the plight of rural African women whose voices are seldom heard except through the mediation of NGOs.

An additional advantage to the Conference being held in Kenya is that it provided relatively easy access for African women in general, particularly those from neighbouring countries. Bus loads of women went from Tanzania and Uganda to the Conference in Kenya. The Nairobi meeting provided an opportunity for African women to come together as a bloc to ensure that their issues were given a hearing. It provided the ground work for the Platform for the Development of African Women which eventually evolved from the Africa Preparatory Meeting in Dakar, Senegal, in 1994.

On a wider scale, African women's voices became more audible in a number of other spheres. Films and books by and about women became more widely known. Pan African women's writings that had been buried for decades were republished. One outstanding example of this is the anthology compiled and edited by London based publisher, Margaret Busby — *Daughters of Africa*. This collection includes writings of women across the Pan African world from Ancient Egypt to contemporary times. In addition to Black women from Africa, the Caribbean and the United States, are women born in Belize, Brazil, Costa Rica, Cuba, England, Germany, and Russia. It can be seen as "a contribution to the cause of reclaiming for women of African descent a place in literary history."⁹

The Background to PAWLO

On the two days preceding the Seventh Pan African Congress a Women's Pre-Congress Meeting was held in Kampala, Uganda to enable women to discuss issues they wanted to have dealt with in the main Congress. More than 300 people (74% women) attended the Women's pre-Congress Meeting, many of them were grassroots Ugandan women. Spanning the Pan-African world participants in the Meeting hailed from Botswana, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Cuba, Egypt, England, Eritrea, Gambia, Germany, Ghana, Guyana, Jamaica, Kenya, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Somalia, South Africa, Spain, Sudan, Sweden, Tanzania, Trinidad, Uganda, the United States and Zimbabwe. Some of the guest speakers who addressed the Meeting included: Janet Museveni, the First Lady of Uganda; Dr. Specioza Wandera Kazibwe, Ugandan Minister for Women, Youth and Culture; Graca Machel, former Minister of Education in Mozambique; Dr. Betty Shabazz, Medgar Evers College in New York (USA); Miria Matembe, the 7th PAC Deputy Secretary General (Uganda); Esi Sutherland, former Minister of Education in Ghana; Dr. Fatima Mahmoud, Sudanese political exile living in England; Dr. Abiola Ogunsola, Councillor in England; Beth Maina Alhberg, Coordinator of Akina Mama in Sweden; Mariam Kramer, President of the National Welfare Rights Union (USA); and Bonita Harris of Red Thread and the Working People's Alliance (Guyana). This Meeting did not have the constraints of being dominated by Heads of States or Government Ministers; the momentum was carried by the women participants who set their own agenda.

A major component of the Meeting was the 7 workshops: African Women and Culture, the Status of African Women and the Law, the Survival of the African Women and Child, Women and the Environment, Women and Structural Adjustment Programmes, and Building a Pan African Women's Liberation Movement. The aim of the workshops, all of which were held concurrently, was to enable smaller groups of women to discuss in depth issues of concern to them. There was a proposal from several Rwandese sisters at the Meeting to include a workshop on Women and Peace. This suggestion was accommodated by the

organisers. However, because less than five participants attended this workshop, the women themselves decided to disband and join one of the other 7 workshops.

Discussions in all the workshops were engaging, as women from various countries and backgrounds were able, probably for the first time, to share their experiences and perspectives. Although each workshop focused on a different topic, there was some overlap in the discussion of the different workshops. On the cultural front, women emphasised the need to address cultural practices which are oppressive to women, e.g. widow inheritance, collective dowry, genitalia mutilation, damaging food taboos. It was acknowledged that women are often strong supporters of these traditions, so a gender sensitivity must be engendered among women and men to provide an awareness of the detrimental effects of some traditional customs and practices. In the same vein, the necessity of tapping, from some of the custodians who are dying out, aspects of cultural values and traditional knowledge that are being lost and documenting this knowledge was discussed. The apparent contradiction between these two points must be noted, since defenders of African traditions might argue that some of the "oppressive practices" that are being condemned are part of the cultural traditions which should be preserved. Within all cultures there are positive and negative aspects. Those which are clearly oppressive to any section of the society are negative aspects which should be discarded.

Another point, which bridges culture with education, was that the use of local languages in all communities must be encouraged, starting with home and schools. It was noted that there are some children who do not know how to speak any of the indigenous languages and this arises from parents who devalue the languages. Currently, within many African countries, there is an effort to promote the uplifting of the status of indigenous African languages in schools. Related to this is the recommendation that the school curricula should be revisited to integrate traditional knowledge with formal education. Education should be viewed as wider than book knowledge. Much of the traditional knowledge which helped the society to be self sustaining before the advent of colonialism, is locked in the indigenous languages. It is only when these languages are allowed to bloom freely that much of this knowledge will be released.

The conditions of female domestic workers was also addressed. There was particular concern about young girls, 12-13 year old, who are taken into households and remain for 15 to 20 years without any training opportunities. It was also pointed out that structures must be set in place to protect these women from rape and other forms of physical and psychological abuse. One recommendation was for the unionisation of all domestic workers to ensure certain basic conditions and protection. Domestic workers, primarily women, are one group who are ignored and oppressed by both men and women. Because domestic workers release other women from more mundane, labour-intensive tasks for a very low wage, some women who employ them treat them as less than human.

Families and children of domestic workers often suffer or are neglected while their mothers are looking after other women's families and children.

Out of the workshop discussions emerged the recognition that African women internationally face similar forms of oppression, so women must organise and build networks internationally that will expose and do away with unjust conditions inflicted upon women. This recognition informed the discussions of the proposal to build a Pan African Women's Liberation Movement. At its conception, the Pan African Women's Liberation Organisation was seen as an umbrella organisation that could oversee and coordinate all issues related to the emancipation of women from all forms of oppression. The necessity for networking and building mutual solidarity across diversities and barriers was emphasised. An overarching aim of the movement was to ensure greater and more effective participation by Pan African women in the Permanent Pan African Congress secretariat, and, by extension, future Pan African Congresses, as well as in other national and international fora.

Woman participants at the 7th PAC began to move towards building a framework for the Pan African Women's Liberation Organisation. Women met daily to discuss the logistics of building such a movement. An ad hoc committee was formed and regional contact persons were identified to facilitate the building of regional branches of the Pan African Women's Liberation Organisation once women returned to their respective homes. In Kampala, women participants identified certain key issues that provided a common ground through which mobilisation at a regional and global scale could have some impact. Issue-based working groups were formed around the following concerns: agriculture, education and training, environment, health and welfare, law and human rights, political education and participation, refugees and migrants, research and documentation, science and technology, and youth and children. African women currently working within these areas were encouraged to network with women in other countries to share their approaches towards encouraging women to empower themselves in these spheres.

Why Another African Women's Organisation?

Throughout the Pan African world, there are numerous women's organisations, ranging from cooperatives, women in development groups, social groups, political groups, economic empowerment groups, self-help clubs, etc. There is also a Pan African Women's Organisation in existence. Why then, one might ask, should yet another organisation be formed? Why not make use of existing organisations to address our concerns as women? This is a valid concern. However, there are very clear reasons for building PAWLO.

Let us begin by looking at the existing Pan African Women's Organisation (PAWO). This organisation is an arm of the Organisation of African Unity

(OAU) and essentially embraces wives of heads of state, ministers and other women with high ranking associations. The average women on the streets of African countries or in the rural areas have never heard of PAWO despite its 30 or more years of existence. Additionally, membership in this organisation is restricted to continental Africans. PAWLO embraces the Pan African world - continental African women and women of African descent in the diaspora. In particular, PAWLO seeks to reach out to those women whose voices are not usually heard. It is an acknowledgement that African women, at home and abroad, have a common struggle and that there is strength in unity.

More importantly, however, the major rationale for the Pan African Women's Liberation Organisation is its concern with the liberation of African women from all forms of oppression. This organisation is an effort towards providing a forum for all formations of Black women, globally, who are engaged in struggles against various forms of gender oppression to share concerns, ideas, and strategies. Recognising that there are African women who actively oppress or who are complicit in the oppression of other African women, however, this organisation cannot embrace women who do not genuinely have the interest of the most oppressed women at heart. The focus on Pan African women is not intended to exclude other oppressed women, particularly Asian women, Native American women, Amerindians and other indigenous peoples of the Caribbean, and Latina women in the Americas. PAWLO will have solidarity with these women and work with them on common issues in our broader struggle for women's emancipation.

One encouraging aspect of the founding of PAWLO was the affinity that sprung up between African women from different age cohorts, cultures, social classes, political persuasions and geographic areas. Women at the Congress were bound together by their lived experiences of being black and the baggage that accompanies the black skin and of womanhood which had been epitomised in the historical positioning of women within the global Pan-African movement. Women were, for the most part, behind-the-scene-players, receptionists, typists, mothers, nurturers, cooks and cleaners - passive and invisible. The concerns of African women in the Caribbean, in North America, in Central and South America, in Europe, who support the emancipation of women from all oppressive forms, should also be that of women in Africa and visa versa, as racial discrimination at the global level is a reality.

Intertwined with the conventional concept of woman are terms such as duty, self-denial and silence, constituting subjugation and oppression and manifested in the absence of power. There are many calls now, in the North and the South, for the empowerment of women, but African women's voices are barely heard among them. While it is important that African women's voices be amplified in the call for self empowerment, Pan African women must be cautious of the term

empowerment of women. It has been co-opted from the women's movement and become part of the jargon of institutions that seek only to capture the productive capacity of women and stifle their independent initiatives. The institutionalisation of women's struggles has set in motion the process of 'femocratisation' through which women are absorbed into bureaucracies to 'fight the struggle from within'.¹⁰

PAWLO offers a space for Black women globally to come together to define their own priorities — apart from African men, apart from white women and apart from African women oppressors. Lived experiences have shown that in the global movement women's voices have been stifled by men's voices; in the women's movement, Black women's voices have tended to be overshadowed by White women's voices, and in all class movements, middle and upper class women's voices silence working class and grassroots women. Once Pan African women, bound by the triple oppression of race, class and gender, have been able to get in touch with their own concerns, set their own priorities, establish their own voices, they can then work together with Pan African men, White women, and any other groups working towards the betterment of humankind.

Acquiring power is a necessity for overcoming the strictures of oppression. Power gives women the confidence to decline when they do not want to do something, to assert themselves when they have something to say. Lacking the confidence or strength to challenge leads many women to constantly concede to demands which they do not support. Such strength can arise through co-operation and support. To empower themselves women cannot act individually; they must act collectively.

Objectives of PAWLO

Conventional wisdom has universally defined women as the property of men. Society expects women to get married, bear children and be taken care of by men. Women who remain single after a certain age, or who divorce their spouses, are often the centre of derogatory remarks by men and even other women. As the assumed property of men, some women have been subjected to psychological, physical and sexual abuse by men, including their husbands, and often have had no recourse to the law. Due to early pregnancies and early marriages, many women's educational opportunities have been far less than for men. All of these practices hinder African women from contributing their full potential towards the development of the society. They contribute to women's position as second class citizens. Women who have attempted to resist laws and practices which define their position in society have often been ostracized by both women and men in their societies. In some African societies women who have refused to adhere to certain cultural expectations, particularly older women, have been branded as witches, and at times persecuted and even killed by other members of the society.

Many women who have obtained positions of power in political and social structures have tended to perpetuate practices initiated by the men in an effort to preserve the status quo. This is not difficult to understand as both women and men have been socialised into accepting oppressive and repressive cultural practices and laws as legitimate, e.g. widow inheritance, female genitalia mutilation, damaging food taboos which engender nutritional problems among women. Since they have always seemed to exist, having been passed down from one generation to the next, there appears to be no alternative to them. There are even some women who vehemently defend these traditions, more strongly than some men. In addition to cultural practices which negatively affect women, the bodies of African women are being violated on a persistent basis for the testing and disposal of dangerous drugs. Contraceptives are more vigorously promoted among African women in North America, Europe, the Caribbean and on the continent of Africa. Methods such as Depo-Provera and Interferon, which have been banned in most western countries because of prolonged and dangerous side-effects, are liberally given to African women.

To ensure that oppressive cultural practices and other abuses are addressed in a Pan African organisation which is directed towards the liberation of women, it is important to come to terms with these practices as women. As the ones most affected by certain forms of oppression, women must lift their voices to remove the burden. This requires mobilisation to end the perception that women are helpless victims.

As part of the Global Pan African Movement, the Pan African Women's Liberation Organisation seeks to be part of the global call to advance the cause of emancipation, freedom and unity of African peoples at home and abroad. However, because of the gender oppression encountered by African women globally, women need a space to consolidate their voices. It is within this context that Pan African women joined together to form a Pan African Women's Liberation Organisation (PAWLO). As a Pan African organisation, PAWLO seeks to embrace Black women at home (on the continent) and abroad (in the diaspora) in the effort towards self-emancipation.

Addressing the general assembly of the Seventh Pan African Congress, Fatima Mahmoud proposed the following agenda for a Pan African Women's Liberation Movement: To

1. bring together all African Women with the objective of liberation into a Programme of Action to work towards improving the situation of African women.
2. intervene to solve Africa's problems emanating from the heritage of a) colonialism, b) neo-colonialism, c) and the present social order in so far as it adversely affects African people and women in particular.
3. re-write the history of African women.

4. address alarming issues, such as Islamic Fundamentalism, and their effects upon women.
5. provide research by African women to address the question of development with a gender sensitive understanding of this problem.
6. provide in studies and practice a gender sensitive understanding of the environment and its management for and by African women.
7. organise courses, studies and seminars to raise the consciousness of women and encourage them to participate in a liberating Pan African Women's Movement.
8. publish an African Women's journal that addresses African Women's history, past and present, in order to change the African Women's situation.
9. encourage African Women researchers to write on the history of African women.
10. create a centre for Africa Women Studies to provide for Certificates, Diploma and Post-graduate studies on African Women's history, present problems and future challenges.

This agenda provided the framework for the discussion on building a Pan African Women's Liberation Organisation. Some of the specific objectives adopted by the founding meeting include: increasing women's awareness of their ability to resist oppressive forms, providing support services to assist more women in this resistance; providing a forum for women to consider issues which directly impact upon them and hinder their ability to participate in the society as equal citizens; and rewriting African women's history with an emphasis on women as agents rather than victims of history. The issue based groups which were formed provide the terrain for women to begin to address these objectives.

Building The Pan African Women's Liberation Organisation

The unshackling of women, the producers and reproducers of labour power, must become the priority of Pan Africanist organisers because it makes sense. How can women be expected to play an effective role in the wider movements needing their talents and energies when they are hemmed in by life itself, when they are constrained by multiple social oppressions which are not the chief concerns of pan movements?

Bonita Harris¹¹

Subsequent to the founding of PAWLO in Kampala, Uganda, in April 1994, meetings have been held in Uganda, England, Germany and Zimbabwe to discuss

the building of local chapters. The establishment and maintenance of regional chapters of PAWLO remains a challenge for the Global Pan African Movement, particularly in this time of economic hardships in many countries compounded by structural adjustment.

There have been several major initiatives by representatives of PAWLO based at the Pan African Movement secretariat in Kampala. In September 1994, members of PAWLO together with the United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM) held a conference aimed at elaborating strategies for a women-led coalition for conflict resolution and peace in Africa. The conference, which was held under UNIFEM's umbrella programme of African Women in Crisis (AFWIC), had as its main objective: to promote women as crucial resources and participants in the promotion of peace in Africa.

A follow-up to this conference was held in Beijing, China, at the Fourth World Conference on Women (August-September 1995). A group of African women participating in African Women and Peace Day, which was initiated by PAWLO members present in Beijing, issued a set of resolutions to be transmitted to the NGOs engaged in drafting the global NGO document. They included recommendations that:

Every African government formalise and include peace reconciliation as part of the school curriculum.

Traditional mechanisms for the prevention of peace resolution be rehabilitated and institutionalised and that women be fully involved in these processes.

In order for women to fulfil their roles as peace-makers, we need an environment which offers, promotes and supports justice and equity at all levels.

Local branches of PAWLO could also take up this issue of promoting peace in Africa, however they should be organised around issues which are pertinent to their specific countries. This would ensure that PAWLO become a concrete organisation rather than a theoretical one. In most countries, there are a plethora of women's organisations addressing a multitude of issues. Sometimes there is overlap with different groups separately working on the same or similar issues. Rather than being viewed as simply another women's organisation among many, PAWLO could act as a facilitator for the various women's groups by establishing a common forum for those organisations concerned with liberating women from oppressive conditions.

Often, despite the numerous women's organisations in a country, some women do not know where to go to address their problems or concerns. One central task of local branches of PAWLO would be to document, for their specific countries, these various organisations which address women's needs and their activities. This information could then be made available to women throughout the country. Such documentation would also reveal areas which are not being addressed and around which PAWLO could organise. The various local branches of PAWLO could share their documentation with each other across countries as

a means of sharing information and finding areas of common concern. Through this form of interaction, the global objectives of PAWLO could be realised.

Women in development is a big industry in Africa and other parts of the Third World. During a time when financial assistance is being cut in many sectors, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) from the North and local NGOs funded by countries and organisations in the North, which address women's issues continue to thrive. As the saying goes: 'The one who pays the piper calls the tune.' It is important to understand that many of the organisations which address women's issues are not concerned with the self emancipation of women. Some of these organisations circumscribe particular spheres in which women should operate. Other organisations attempt to incorporate women into the existing economic organisation of the society to be oppressed in new ways. As we approach the 21st century, Pan African women's voices need to be part of the transformation which seeks to uplift the dignity of all African peoples. This can only be realised with the unshackling and empowerment of African women. The slogan of the Global Pan African Movement is "Resist Recolonisation." Through the Pan African Women's Liberation Organisation, women can be an integral part of this resistance.

Notes

1. See in particular, Ifi Amadiume (1987) *Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in an African Society*, London: Zed Books, Waibinte Wariboko (1995) "The Status, Role and Influence of Women in the Eastern Delta States of Nigeria, 1850-1900: Examples from Calabar" in *Engendering History: Caribbean Women in Historical Perspective*, V. Shepherd, B. Bereton and B. Bailey. eds., Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers and E. Schmidt also discusses this in *Peasants, Traders and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe, 1870-1939*, London: James Currey.
2. See M. Strobel (1984) "Women in Religion and in Secular Ideology" in *African Women South of the Sahara*, M.J. Hay and S. Stichter, eds., London: Longman, pp87-101.
3. Elizabeth. Schmidt (1992) *Peasants, Traders and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe, 1870-1939*, p 122-154.
4. See Michael W. Williams (1993), "Unsung Heroines of Pan Africanism," *The Nkrumahist* 9 (1).
5. Rakina Alorsey makes references to these women in an article entitled "Sisters in the Struggle to Build Pan Africanism" *SAPEM*, Vol 7 Nos 3/4, Dec/Jan 1993/94.
6. This resolution was reprinted in *Resolutions and Selected Speeches from the Sixth Pan African Congress*, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania Publishing House, 1976, p.197.

7. Selected documents of the Sixth Pan African Congress have been published in two separate books: Tanzania Publishing House, ed. (1976) *Resolutions and Selected Speeches from the Sixth Pan African Congress*, Dar es Salaam; Tanzania Publishing House and Horace Campbell, ed. (1975) *Pan Africanism: Struggle Against Neo-Colonialism and Imperialism: Documents of the Sixth Pan African Congress, 1974*, Toronto: Afro-Carib Press.
8. Taken from the Opening address given by Mrs Janet Museveni, Uganda's First Lady, to the Seventh Pan African Congress Pre Congress Women's Meeting, April 2, 1994.
9. See Margaret Busby, ed. (1991) *Daughters of Africa: An International Anthology of Words and Writings by Women of African Descent from the Ancient Egypt to the Present*, London: Jonathan Cape, pxxx.
10. Bunie Sexwale critiques the politics of gender in the context of a developing gender industry which ultimately seeks to maintain the status quo. See B.M.M. Sexwale (1994) "The Politics of Gender Training" in *Agenda A Journal About Women and Gender*, No 23, Durban, South Africa.
11. Bonita Harris is a member of Red Thread, a multi racial women's organisation in Guyana.