



REPORT

Conference
WOMEN & GENDER
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

January 30th - February 2nd, 1991
University of Natal · Durban

Organised by the Gender Research Group

October 1991

Erratum

Due to late submission, M.T. Mapetla's paper "Notes on the evolution of Women's Studies in Lesotho" was left out of the list of available papers. Please contact the conference organisers if you wish to obtain a copy.

Report of the

Conference on Women and Gender
in Southern Africa

Gender Research Group
University of Natal, Durban
30 January to 3 February 1991

by the Gender Research Group Conference Planning
Committee: Debby Bonnin, Jean Fairbairn,
Gillian Finchilescu, Shireen Hassim,
Ros Posel, Cherryl Walker

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The Gender Research Group is a forum for academics interested in gender and related issues, in teaching, research and our personal lives. The group is based at the University of Natal and has links with the University of Durban-Westville. Besides organising the conference, we have run a regular seminar series, produced a bulletin of courses on women and gender offered on the campuses, and run a reading group on feminist debates. An important sub-group is the Contact Group, which is the bridge between academics and women's organisations.

Report of the Conference on Women and Gender in Southern Africa

INTRODUCTION

Women's studies and courses which incorporate gender into their analysis have slowly, over the last five or six years, been gaining a toe-hold at South African universities. More and more academics, most of them women, are doing research in the area. Despite this, Women's and Gender Studies are often marginalised and lecturers have to fight for the space to teach them. Papers on women tend to be ghettoised at conferences.

Thus at its first meeting in 1989 the Gender Research Group (GRG) felt the need to celebrate this growing area of work being produced under difficult conditions by organising a conference. The purpose of the conference was to stimulate further research and provide a forum for the work people were already doing. The organising committee wanted the conference to be a place for debate with an emphasis on research and theory.

The Conference was organised around four main themes:

- * Race, class and gender
- * Culture and ideology
- * Organising women and policy
- * Everyday life

It was the first academic conference in South Africa to focus directly on women's and gender issues. It was attended by participants from most southern African countries as well as southern Africanists from the USA, Britain, Canada and the Netherlands.

There were sixty-four papers, some presented in plenary discussion and others in smaller parallel sessions. In addition, two panel discussions were organised, one on 'Conceptualising gender' and the other on 'Organising women'. The conference was followed by two one-day workshops - 'Teaching Women's Studies' and 'Gender and Popular Education'.

The conference was not only papers. Three books were launched: *Women in Southern Africa: A Bibliography* (revised edition), by the Durban Women's

Bibliography Group; *Breaking the Silence: A century of South African Women's poetry*, edited by Cecily Lockett, and *Drawing the Blinds: A century of South African women's short stories*, edited by Annemarie van Niekerk. Dina Cormick exhibited her statue, *Earth Mother*; members of the Community Arts Project in Cape Town displayed photographs of scenes of township life, and poet and storyteller Gcina Mhlope entertained delegates over dinner. There was also a mini-market with books, clothing and other items on sale.

As an academic event, the conference stands out as a landmark in the development of Women's and Gender Studies in the region. However, it also gained significance in other, more political, ways. It has left its mark as the conference where the intersection of race and gender was put under the spotlight and the possibility of sisterhood between women was hotly contested. Feminist academics were called to account: What does it mean to be a feminist academic? What is the relationship between 'academics' and 'activists'? How should feminist politics affect the organising of an (academic) gender conference? These were some of the uncomfortable challenges.

Debate flowed freely and fiercely from the first session until late at night and it is these debates that will earn the first women and gender conference a special place in history.

PLANNING

It took 18 months to organise the conference.

From the start we saw the conference as an academic event - something that would draw together all those interested in analysing and understanding gender relations and the position of women in southern Africa. However, what we meant by academic, and how we could create an event that would be inclusive rather than exclusive, moving beyond the narrow confines of the university community, was a major source of debate within the committee. We recognised that important intellectual work on women and gender takes place in non-university organisations, but worried that we might raise expectations about the nature of the event amongst non-academics. To a degree our concerns anticipated some of the debate on academic accountability that emerged at the conference, but we were unprepared for the intensity of feeling these debates aroused.

The conference organising committee did not fully resolve its differences on the scope and value of an academic conference, although a working understanding did develop. We were clear that this conference should complement events such as the Malibongwe conference (Amsterdam, January 1990), but would not replicate them. We saw it as an opportunity for reflection and debate, where theorising around women and gender in the region would be pushed forward. We argued about the meaning of academic accountability and academic autonomy, but agreed on the importance of scholarship that was rigorous and feminist. We wanted it to be interdisciplinary and hoped that the themes would cross-cut conventional disciplinary boundaries and allow us to pool knowledge and ideas creatively. We worried about jargon, but did not see how we could control that except by appealing for accessibility in presentation. We worried over a language policy for the conference as a whole, and eventually decided to use English, as the dominant language of academic work in southern Africa, but to arrange for translation for members of the audience who might wish to speak in their home languages.

Keynote speakers

We spent many hours working through criteria for a keynote speaker. This was debated both within the organising committee and the larger GRG. Eventually the choice was posed as one between a speaker whose theory was rooted essentially in first-world conditions and someone whose theory grew out of conditions that were closer to those in southern Africa, and chose the latter. We invited Dr Naila Kabeer, of the Institute of Development Studies at Sussex University, England, because we felt that her work on gender and development policy and her experience in Bangladesh would be useful for us in southern Africa.

The unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) during the planning stage inspired us to invite a second keynote speaker, to give us an ANC perspective on gender policy and the way forward. Unfortunately, because of the heavy demands on her time, our invited speaker, Dr Zanele Dhlamini, had to withdraw from this engagement at the last moment.

Our mailing list

Drawing up a mailing list was a large task. The original list was based on the mailing list of *Agenda*, which the editorial collective generously made available. In addition, we also sent an initial circular to: heads of appropriate departments at all South African universities; individual academics, mostly working overseas, who were not *Agenda* subscribers but were thought to be interested; various research institutes; SRCs; organisations known to be working on women's issues, such as Rape Crisis, the Abortion Reform Group and the Women's Bureau, and a range of community, labour and political organisations including the ANC Women's Section, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the various women's organisations within the United Democratic Front (UDF). The unbanning of the ANC in February 1990 dramatically changed the situation and allowed the committee to enter into more direct communication with the reconstituted ANC Women's League, first in Lusaka and later inside South Africa. We also placed advertisements in the *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *Agenda*, and *Transformation*, and a number of international publications carried news items (*Match*, *Southern Africa Report*, *Women in Action* and the joint Berkeley/Stanford African Studies newsletter).

In trying to broaden the target audience, the committee held meetings with representatives of the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW), the local (Durban) COSATU office, and individual women based in a range of church groups. We also approached the Malibongwe conference to publicise the conference and seek support for the initiative; the message that was brought back from that, in the form of a resolution, was that the 'women and gender' conference was regarded as a useful initiative and should be used to further the liberation struggle of South Africans. The Lawyers for Human Rights conference, 'Putting women on the agenda' (Johannesburg, November 1990), was another opportunity to publicise the conference.

In retrospect the degree to which the publicity for the conference ran along communication channels that we knew well becomes clearer. Our weakest link was with academics and other intellectuals in the region outside of South Africa. Here we relied largely on individual contacts. Our network in Namibia, Botswana and Swaziland was particularly ineffectual, while contact with the delegates from Mozambique and Lesotho came right at the end of the planning stage. The degree of our isolation in the region was illustrated by the route through which the delegates from Malawi heard about the conference - via the newsletter of the

Stanford/Berkeley Joint African Studies Centre in California, USA. Similarly, the Mozambican delegates heard about the conference through the Canadian anti-apartheid network (which also sponsored their participation).

Our main lines of communication were with the English-language, metropolitan campuses and individuals within the UDF/COSATU alliance. We hoped that by circulating heads of departments we would reach into the bantustan and Afrikaans-language universities but this did not work effectively. At the same time we also over-estimated the degree to which information about the conference would percolate through departments and campuses, as well as off-campus organisations, and so reach a wider audience. To an extent this 'snowball' effect did begin to happen at the end of the planning stage, but it was a somewhat random process. One of the suggestions received after the conference was that we should have initiated regional committees to facilitate outreach in the different regions - a useful idea which organisers of future events should keep in mind.

We also under-estimated the enthusiasm the circular would provoke. Originally we envisaged a reasonably small event with about 100 delegates and perhaps 30 papers. We imagined many small-group discussions and tried to think of ways of getting everybody to participate. In the end there were three times as many attending and twice as many papers (100 abstracts offered and 64 papers finally presented) - leading to yet another conference overloaded with papers. Because the initial circular called for papers, the conventional conference format was entrenched at the start of the planning process and, given the response, dominated the programme. Adding an extra day to the proceedings, which we decided to do in mid-1990, did not adequately resolve this problem.

FUNDRAISING

(A full list of sponsors as well as a budget are included in the appendices.)

Fundraising proved a difficult and nervewracking task - with some funding coming through the night before the conference began. We are grateful to the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW) and the Women's Research and Monitoring Group for an initial donation for use as seed money.

We also attempted to solicit funds from a range of leading South African companies. However, apart from a welcome grant by the Anglo-De Beers Chairman's Fund to cover the travel expenses of our keynote speaker, local business showed no interest in the event.

We were thus obliged to seek funding from international agencies. We are grateful to the Canadian Catholic Organisation for Development and Peace, IDRC and Hivos for their support. We also thank Hivos for funding the printing and distribution of this report.

The Centre for Development Studies (CDS) helped with travel expenses for a number of delegates representing organisations in the Western Cape and Johannesburg, and the South African Educational Trust Fund sponsored Canadian and Mozambican participants.

Registration fees made up the rest of our budget. We were also able to offer a number of full and partial scholarships from our budget.

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CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

The debate on racism and academic accountability

The debate on women and gender in South Africa shifted significantly during the conference. As already noted, the debates on racism and academic accountability dominated the proceedings. The legitimacy of feminism, previously a central issue for Women's Studies, was overshadowed by questions about the nature of the relationship between black and white women on the one hand, and between "academics" and "activists" on the other. A complicating factor was that the two debates were often conflated. Expressed in different forms and with varying degrees of anger, these questions erupted throughout the conference. They produced some of the most creative and participatory sessions. Confronting these issues brought into question the feasibility and even the desirability of "sisterhood" in South Africa.

Major tensions arose during the first session, when the role of intellectuals in the women's movement was put under the spotlight during the discussion on 'Feminism, nationalism and gendered politics'. The discussion revolved around critiques of the use of concepts such as triple oppression by the progressive movement, and the problems of nationalist discourse for women. This opened the space for a consideration of *who* defines the nature of struggles, whether conceptual rigour can be a priority for organisations, and whether the analysis of intellectuals based in universities has validity for the masses of women.

A parallel development was a feeling of alienation among some activists because of the form of the conference. They felt that the centrality of papers, the formal style of presentation and debate, and the dominance of academics limited the participation of non-academic women. They decided over lunch to call a meeting of activists that evening to discuss ways of increasing their participation.

Matters came to a head in the final session of the first day, a panel discussion on 'Conceptualising Gender'. The strength of emotions expressed took many by surprise. The scheduled discussion was pushed aside by a more urgent debate on the nature of the conference, the role of academics, and the issue of race. The debate was sparked in part by the argument made by some of the panelists that gender could not be conceptualised in isolation from an understanding of struggle. Another factor was an announcement by one of the conference organisers of the meeting of activists scheduled for that evening. This raised angry questions from the floor about the definition of "activist" and the wisdom of allowing separate meetings and caucuses to develop during the conference. Was the academic/activist division the same as the white/black one?

Different arguments were fiercely made. Several white delegates insisted that they were also activists. Other delegates argued that the issue was not the marginalising

of activists, but the dominance of white women. In the words of one: "To ask who qualifies for the label of activist is a good question, but the character of the group of women who got together to call a separate meeting was predominantly black. I think that's the split."

Some of these issues were carried over into the smaller sessions, in particular the sessions on Women's Studies in Southern Africa and Discourses on Women and Gender, where one theme was the tenability of white women conducting research on the lives of black women.

There are important threads to be pulled out of the furore:

- * Some black women expressed their anger at being the subjects of academic research, with little control over the nature or products of research. They argued that the conference was disempowering because their lives and experiences of oppression had been appropriated by white women as 'research material', often under the guise of sisterhood. Others adopted a more radical position, that white women could not comprehend the nature of black women's oppression and that academics should confine their research to women of their own race. Many academics argued that this prioritisation of experience would make any analytical enterprise untenable.

- * Many white women felt unjustly accused, arguing that the dominance of white women at the conference reflected the prevailing structure of universities. Some women (both black and white) argued that the polarisation of activists and academics and of blacks and whites was unconstructive and did not reflect a more complex reality.

- * Some delegates questioned the validity of an academic conference; others wanted to transform the style and form of conferences so that a more 'feminist' process could develop. Although there was very little discussion of what a more appropriate conference might look like, the activists' meeting came up with some concrete suggestions to make the conference more participatory.

- * There was some debate about the autonomy of intellectuals. For the most part, this debate blurred into a critique of the conference organisers, who were challenged about their consultative process and the absence of formal representation of particular organisations. There were also calls for intellectuals (particularly academics) to make themselves directly accountable to 'the progressive movement'.

These debates were conducted over three days of intensive engagement. Many people made the point that the whole experience had been cathartic and that by the end of the conference a healing process had begun. Clearly, the issues remain

crucial, whether in academia or organisations, and anger and passion will continue to drive the debates.

The sessions

It is impossible to provide a comprehensive overview of the sessions and debates given their diversity and number. The programme is attached as an appendix, and copies of the papers are available. In addition, the plenaries were all taped and a transcript will be available at the E.G. Malherbe Library at the University of Natal. Some very general comments follow:

The first plenary session on Feminism, Nationalism and Gendered Politics generated considerable debate about how to analyse the women's struggle in a society dominated by the politics of national liberation. Implicit in this debate were some of the tensions which later erupted and which we have dealt with above. While the plenary session on Conceptualising Gender got diverted by other pressing debates, there were papers looking at conceptualising patriarchy, the nature of feminism in South Africa and other more theoretical issues in sessions such as those on Women, Power and Patriarchy, Women, Work and Class Formation, Representation of Women in Art and Media, Women and Writing, and others.

The plenary on Sexuality, Reproductive Rights and Violence illustrated the centrality of these issues within feminist politics and their ability to unite women. Discussion was lively and open.

The Southern African focus came through most clearly in the sessions on Organising Women: for the South African delegates they provided a much-needed sense of location within the region and the exciting potential for developing links and ending their isolation.

A common perspective in many of the papers was the necessity for women to make interventions in policy formulation in the new South Africa. One arena where this was emphasised as especially important was in the development process. In her keynote address, Dr Naila Kabeer put the spotlight on the debate on women and development, an increasingly important debate in Southern Africa. Kabeer argued in favour of a 'holistic understanding of development'. This would take into account the links between production and reproduction, give weight to the ways in which development takes place as well as to the outcome of projects, and ultimately is concerned with the transformation of society and social relations as a whole. These themes were picked up in the session on Gender and a Post-apartheid Land and Rural Development Policy.

The broader economic and political context within which these issues have to be addressed was provided by an interesting set of papers ranging from a gendered analysis of the state and the impact of reform and restructuring on women, to

women's access to housing and housing subsidies, and the significance of the notion of 'community care'. These papers showed the importance of a gendered analysis of the state and its various agencies, an area of feminist research that is highly underdeveloped in South Africa.

A very different set of papers explored the way in which women have been represented in art, literature, feminist journals and the theatre. Various papers discussed the way in which patriarchy structures discourses on women, whether it is because the dominant culture is an androcentric one, imposing eurocentric aesthetic criteria for assessing literature, or because nationalist resistance often mobilises around archetypal gender stereotypes.

POST-CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES

From its inception, the GRG committed itself to making its work relevant and accessible to off-campus groupings such as community-based women's organisations and trade unions. This commitment was taken up by the conference organisers in discussions around the nature of the conference. Following a decision that the conference should be an academic event, the organisers were concerned that such a forum, with input and discussion based on papers, would prove alienating and inaccessible to members of off-campus organisations. Conference organisers therefore agreed that post-conference activities should have two thrusts:

1. Academic - such as publications arising out of papers and debates, reports on the conference and further workshops; and
2. Popular - such as publications and workshops aimed at members of organisations which did not form part of the conference target audience.

The decision to engage with off-campus groups was taken further with the creation of another interest group within the GRG: the Contact Group. The task of this group was to set up links with off-campus organisations and keep them informed about the conference. The Contact Group was also responsible for drawing feedback on the conference from these organisations, and collecting ideas for post-conference activities. In addition the conference organisers held discussions with NOW and COSATU about activities to follow up the conference.

A number of ideas for non-academic post-conference activities emerged in these discussions, such as

- * Hosting a non-academic workshop on women's organisations in SA;
- * Arranging for keynote speakers to meet with off-campus organisations;
- * Translating key papers into African languages and making them available to organisations like the COSATU Women's Forum for use in seminars and workshops;
- * Workshopping major debates and/or specific issues with worker and community organisations;
- * Hosting a programme of lectures aimed at worker and community organisations;
- * Eliciting feedback on different organisations' research priorities and assisting with researcher training workshops;
- * Producing a conference booklet highlighting issues, debates and process;
- * Producing booklets based on papers and/or a single popular publication based on an academic book arising out of the conference;
- * Assisting with the production of resource packages;
- * Involving individuals and organisations with the relevant educational and popular writing skills in post-conference activities; and

* Employing someone to act as a link between the GRG and off-campus organisations and work on post conference activities.

We hope that other regions and organisations will pick up on some of these ideas.

The process of engaging with off-campus organisations began during the conference itself. Our overseas speaker, Naila Kabeer, was invited by the ANC Women's League to address a seminar on Women and Development. The seminar drew about 35 people, including members of the League and other organisations. Kabeer also gave a seminar for rural development and community workers at the Valley Trust Centre outside Durban.

Some of the conference organisers have begun working on an academic publication based on conference papers. At this stage we have had interest in the book expressed by local and overseas publishers. The editors will be drawing out issues for a possible popular publication as work on the book progresses.

WOMEN'S STUDIES WORKSHOP

Some 50 women attended the workshop, which was held on the final day. Input from those involved in teaching and research in Southern Africa was complemented by the experiences of women from the USA, Holland and England. A wide and far-reaching exchange of ideas ensued during which four main areas of interest were identified and discussed.

1. An obvious starting point was to clarify the experiences of people working on various campuses. It emerged that there are two models: firstly, women's/gender studies programmes like the Honours and Master's courses at the University of Natal, and secondly, gender courses within departments, as at Wits, UCT, UWC, Rhodes and in other departments at the University of Natal. People discussed some of the difficulties involved in setting up courses in environments which were not always supportive, the importance of moving from specific courses within departments to fully-fledged programmes, the problem of staff qualified to teach such courses. Moreover the double burden of women involved in teaching both within the ordinary curriculum and in women's studies was exacerbated in the case of those who struggle to combine an academic career with motherhood. These issues took on an added significance given the need to ensure the academic excellence and integrity of gender and women's studies courses within the universities concerned. The problem of attracting students to gender and women's studies courses is partially related to the current focus within the student body on career orientated studies. The importance of such courses in conscientising students was noted. In this regard it was pointed out that unlike the USA, UK and Europe, women's studies did not have its roots in either national or local feminist movements. In the USA, some courses were organised around the early feminist methodology of small group consciousness raising. Nevertheless the large popular movement in South Africa is looking at gender issues, and as such, greater interest in these questions is being generated amongst students.

Women's studies is not simply confined to academic pursuits, however. The importance of addressing problems such as sexist discrimination with regard to promotions and sexual harassment was also discussed.

2. The issue of networking with South and Southern African universities was an obvious priority. To start with, contact needed to be made with women involved in gender and women's courses and who were not at the workshop. Indeed links need to be established between all Southern African campuses. Various methods of creating such a network were discussed including regular newsletters and the preparation of a research bulletin (and/or data base) detailing courses offered at campuses plus research programmes being undertaken and those recently completed. A formalised network including regular national meetings involving campuses in the Southern African region might form the basis for a national

women's studies association which would meet annually and organise regular conferences. Part of the brief of such a network would be to discuss the nature and content of women's studies courses which would be particularly appropriate within the Southern African context. Such a network might also become linked to other such organisations in Africa (for example, Women and Law in Southern Africa). The use of established networks would preclude the possibility of multiplying such organisations unnecessarily. The changing political situation in SA might also facilitate links with sister universities world-wide.

The full realisation of such plans requires funding. Various avenues in this regard were mentioned including academic and activist forums, contact with some American women from a global women's network who have offered to try to raise funds for networking programmes; and the Ford Foundation which is interested in gender issues work with grassroots women and past boycott research opportunities. It was pointed out that aid to South Africa from Europe is now uncertain, but that there were donors who could be approached, for example MATCH, IDS and HIVOS. The international organisation WISE was also mentioned as a possible channel for financial support in setting up regional and national networking.

3. Funding is also required in order to ensure the establishment of links between the academic institutions and women's organisations and the community at large. Given the importance of assisting in women's struggles, a programme of 'outreach' was clearly a priority for women's studies in universities so that information could be shared with various communities and their research priorities addressed. Rural women, in particular, are very isolated, and structures are required to facilitate contact. Possible means for achieving these goals include the creation of internships, the training of local women as field workers, forging links with women's organisations, bringing community speakers into the classroom. In these skills transfers could be effected. It was furthermore, essential that academic research become accessible to communities. This requires the assistance of people with popular education skills to counter the possible lack of feedback to such communities. A women's studies association should play an important role in acting as an umbrella organisation, forging links between the needs of communities and academics.

4. In the light of the discussions and debates certain recommendations were made with regard to future plans as a follow up to the workshop.

It was agreed that the conference had afforded people the unique opportunity to meet and exchange ideas. In order that this initiative be maintained, an ad hoc working group could be established to coordinate a future meeting. The suggestion was raised that such a meeting be held outside SA to avoid her regional dominance. The need for a post-workshop structure was articulated, with UND suggested as the contact university liaising with representatives or link-persons from Western Cape, Eastern Cape/Transkei, Transvaal, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The

GRG conference committee undertook to coordinate communications and to set up a meeting with interested people in Natal so as to elect Natal's link-person. The names and addresses of all the link-persons would be circulated amongst interested parties.

The need for women to build structures together , to work together and to sustain such networks was reiterated. It was proposed that a committee should be set up to draft a proposal for possible overseas funders.

Apart from the idea of a network, other means of going forward in the field of women's studies are the newsletter, the holding of annual workshops , organising visiting lectures, and the encouragement of regional initiatives.

(Following the workshop, a Women's and Gender Studies Network has been launched in Natal, embracing the universities of Durban Westville, Zululand and Natal, and the Natal Technikon.)

GENDER AND POPULAR EDUCATION WORKSHOP

"We assume that we can't challenge gender subordination without acknowledging our differences, as a creative possibility, regarding colour, sexual preferences, class, cultural practices and the complexity of their interrelationships."

This was the underpinning assumption stressed at the popular education workshop on gender organised by the Centre for Adult and Continuing Education (CACE). Another assumption was that each of us has a rich experience, both of gender subordination and attempts to deal with it, politically, personally and organisationally.

Thirty women and three men attended the workshop. They came from educational institutions and projects, trade unions, political organisations, media projects, research bodies, resource units, a foreign government ministry and a funding agency. They were from Natal, the Cape, Transvaal, Lesotho, Mozambique, Britain and Canada.

The workshop was part of an action research process aimed at furthering participants' understanding of the dynamics of gender subordination as it affects women, and at developing educational strategies to challenge it. It was the third in a series of Talking Gender workshops organised by CACE. The first two, at the University of the Western Cape at the end of 1990, both lasted several days and involved the same group of women.

The conference workshop was the first mixed (men and women) workshop of the series. It was designed and facilitated by CACE staff including Shirley Walters, Joe Samuels and Liz Mackenzie. Other facilitators included Nazeema Mohamed, Sally Andrew and Louise Hall. Michelle Friedman and Linzi Manicom were also asked to facilitate.

Participants felt that the workshop provided a debriefing space after the conference. Inevitably there was some spillage from the more volatile debates of the conference, particularly on the 'academic/activist split' and the conference format. Workshop participants expressed how important it had been for them to experience the popular education process in which "the head was reintegrated with the heart and hands" and in which all had the chance to speak for themselves. As one participant said in the evaluation of the workshop, it was "a grounding experience after the conference."

The workshop was designed to introduce gender and popular education. We began with getting to know one another, clarifying our aims and agreeing on ground rules for group work. We explained the group ground rules developed in the two previous workshops. These included awareness of language; speaking simply and clearly;

avoiding being judgmental; asking questions to further one's understanding of the experience of others; respecting confidentiality within the group, and giving support to people for taking risks.

The first exercise was 'human sculpturing'. This process aimed to help participants find out what they knew about gender subordination and its interconnections with race, class and culture, and build a collective analysis. Individuals took turns positioning people in ways that depicted moments of gender subordination. This 'frozen moment' allowed relationships between people, in terms of their social categories, to be examined via specific questions.

Different issues emerged, including:

- * the collusion of men (and women) in group situations
- * the sense that being small was an important factor in feeling vulnerable
- * that a tension exists between culture being used as an excuse for sexist behaviour and the different cultural perceptions about what is acceptable behaviour between men and women
- * that men had a clear sense of the powerlessness of the victimised woman and experienced more power when she shrank back
- * that when women didn't challenge gender oppression they could be feeding into it
- * that women often feel responsible when men harass them sexually
- * that when it is done by a 'comrade or sister' it is less easy to deal with
- * that women could use assertive non-verbal gestures to intervene when they are being ignored or dismissed.

The gender tree was introduced as a useful theoretical framework for analysing gender. The leaves symbolise the visible outcomes of gender subordination, the trunk represents the beliefs and values that support it and the roots are the systems of power that feed it.

In discussion of participants' educational work some useful strategies for challenging gender subordination emerged, including using participatory methods in meetings; changing the seating arrangements; forming women's groups and putting forward clear proposals to men's groups; running assertiveness workshops for women; making allies out of 'converted' men; using role plays 'to let the men see for themselves how much they talk and take over'. Some participants felt that popular education methods used in highly formalised structures had generally not worked well.

In an evaluation session, participants expressed their interest in the process and particularly the sculpturing method. They felt there had not been enough time and that the group needed to do further critical analysis. People also experienced a sense of 'immense relief' through their involvement in the workshop after the conference.

STATEMENTS READ TO THE CONFERENCE

At the end of the conference three statements were read:

1. Statement from the Women in Religion session:

"Women in Religion wish to bring to the attention of the Conference Forum that in view of the fact that 70% of women in SA are involved in Religious Organisations, the hope is that more time and space in future conferences will be given to discussions of religion in its broadest sense.

We felt concerned that the Conference was reluctant to acknowledge the role of spirituality, somehow it was not academically or politically correct to be a spiritual being.

Women's religious commitment and the strength of their church/ faith organisation has importance and validity of its own, although it may also be used for political motivation.

We felt that Feminism can help to interpret both women's religious faith and their political activism.

We wish to emphasize that Faith and Feminism and Political Activism can enrich one another.

2. Statement and recommendations based on a meeting of Black women on Saturday, 2 February 1991 at the Women and Gender in Southern Africa Conference.

We deplore the marginalising of black women at this conference. We feel that there *are* black women working at the grassroots level, in political organisations and in universities who could have presented papers here.

We cannot condone the way entrenched apartheid relationships have been reproduced at this conference and feel that more efforts should have been made to correct imbalances.

We recommend that in future endeavours of this sort, efforts should be made to network extensively with black and white academics and activists, and that the composition of the organising committee should better reflect the majority of women of Southern Africa.

In conclusion we wish to stress that our statement and recommendations are not aimed at placing white feminists under emotional attack, but at facilitating black

and white feminists' co-operation in reassessing and changing existing agendas and issues.

3. Statement by Lesbian women

(Based on a report-back of a discussion by a group of lesbians at the conference on the gap of lesbian issues.)

It was an emotional discussion, with strong and painful feelings coming up. There was fear of identifying ourselves in this conference as lesbians, of being identified by others as lesbian, of putting careers at risk, and even expressing other dangers of being public. So we felt our oppression acutely.

The reasons we feel unsafe have to do with our general and total exclusion in society. We want a feminist conference on gender to be a safe place. We have felt that this hasn't been a safe place, because we felt a sense of exclusion from the conference. Not only have there been no papers on lesbianism and heterosexism, but the role of sexuality in gender discrimination and gender relations has been missing in the papers given. Carla Sutherland's paper on sexual harassment was the first mention of homophobia. People have talked about the triple oppressions of race, class, and gender, and about non-sexism and non-racialism, but significantly left out non-heterosexism or non-homophobia. We understand that there is internalised oppression amongst the lesbian academics and activists here, who haven't incorporated issues around sexuality into their papers. Because of this suppression, we would like to suggest to future organisers of such wonderful conferences to try actively to encourage papers on lesbian issues, and invite activists from progressive gay and lesbian organisations.

So why do issues of sexuality need to be addressed? Because they relate to gender, and to discrimination against women. Why then, in the discussion on sexuality, reproductive rights, and violence, were heterosexuality, masculinity, and lesbianism as topics for analysis excluded? The process of being a lesbian is a political struggle every day, at work, at home, within and without conventional politics. Here competing loyalties often manifest themselves. For example, black lesbians may choose black male or heterosexual women allies, rather than other lesbians. Lesbians in politics silence themselves, ourselves. These sets of making priorities occur within the context of the homophobia in our society.

Lesbianism also offers a fundamental challenge - political challenge - to gender relations, and is therefore vital in a conference on women and gender. The omission of lesbianism, and a questioning and problematising of sexuality, further serves to perpetuate our oppression as women. Some of the ways that we would like to see things change are not merely to treat lesbianism as an addendum - for example, have one or two papers on the issue - but rather to present the assumption of heterosexuality as a norm as a problem. We also need to look into ways in which academics are aware of the current political and cultural debates that are going on.

One example is the debate that OLGA and other organisations have been having with the ANC about the inclusion of the term 'sexual orientation' in the constitution.

So, in conclusion, we hope there will be many more conferences on women and gender, and that these issues will be addressed.

LETTERS AND COMMENTS

The following extracts have been taken from letters and notes written to the organisers during and after the conference. We have not included the full texts as authors may wish to remain anonymous. However, we feel that these extracts reflect the diversity of opinion expressed and include interesting and controversial points for future conference organisers. They do not necessarily reflect the views of the conference organisers.

* * * * *

Thank you very much for construction of a rich and challenging event. The 'moment' added additional challenges for all of us, for example, how do we in the future hold conferences which are 'academic' and which reflect the concerns more directly of the majority of women in SA? How do we work with a central notice of diversity and conflict of interests as the norm and work with that - developing unity out of diversity? Difficult but, we believe, important stuff!

* * * * *

The conference was an undoubted success for many reasons. The fact that it happened is of immense historical importance, and that it brought together so many women from such a wide spectrum of the community in this country, let alone beyond our borders, says much for your determined efforts to reach out. . . I do not think you need apologise for establishing certain parameters for your concept of a conference at a university. That this generated tension is a statement about fears and injustices which have so long been rooted in this society. I tend to think it is a positive thing that anger was voiced, not only because the utterance of aggression probably would not have occurred several years ago, but also because one needs to know what women are thinking if one is ever to locate common ground. I know that I learnt a lot by listening. . . If I have one doubt about the conference structure it is that too little time was allowed for the presentation of complex papers and in the process of summarising them, people may well have furthered the insecurities of some of the audience. However, I understand your reluctance to turn down the many offers of papers that you received. At a first conference it was entirely understandable that enthusiasm be utilised fully. So while feeling that we did not always get the full benefit from a number of well resolved papers, I do not know what alternatives you had with regard to presentation.

* * * * *

I was absolutely amazed at the numbers of women who attended and at the high level of involvement. It persuaded me at least that things have changed dramatically.

.. and that at last women are beginning to acknowledge their part in that process and to articulate their expectations from it.

* * * * *

Thank you for making the conference happen - it was indeed a risk, and I share Cheryl's view that it was a worthwhile one. However, I do believe that this risk might have been substantially minimised and much of the difficulty circumvented had planning and process been conducted more appropriately for a feminist event.

1. Decentralised planning.

Decentralised planning reduces the organisers control, but it makes for greater participation and a wider range of participants and views. Had one or two people in each region or major centre or rural 'focal point' been asked to facilitate the production of papers, I believe that many women unaccustomed to the detached (male) conference mode of impersonal circulars and lengthy time lapses between bouts of correspondence might have been encouraged to write and attend the conference. Moreover, most black feminists and activists do not have the institutional backing enjoyed by white academics. Conference planners, I believe, need to be sensitive to this inequality. Had academics been asked to facilitate the production of papers in the regions, more black women might have been able to write papers.

2. Academic Language.

A Feminist academic conference would lose little and gain much if all the papers were written in accessible language. This might have been made a condition for the acceptance of the papers. The very process of writing more accessibly would have empowered academics to engage with activists - and even facilitated new insights into the material itself.

Moreover, the defensive stance adopted by both academics and the organisers might have been avoided.

3. The structure of the agenda

In my view, the agenda needed to take greater cognisance of the diversity of women at the conference. We wasted a superb opportunity to learn from each other. One possibility might have been to have included a training component on 'Doing Feminist Research' where real skills could have been shared. Another might have been to have workshopped (in small groups etc) key theoretical sessions like Conceptualising Gender - or even had accessible notes circulated beforehand with key focus questions. Activists might have led a session on linking Feminist theory and practice in political struggle, or some such. Also, every panel would have come across more successfully had black women been properly represented - and so on, the possibilities are endless. I believe that we need a range of methods and methodologies if we are to make space for diversity of needs and interests and levels.

In sum, what I am trying to say is that a Feminist conference - whether academic or otherwise - fails women if it merely follows in the male-invented tradition of organising conferences. I believe that we need to break with that tradition and to develop more creative, egalitarian and empowering ways of inviting contributions, structuring agendas and working together at conferences. We need to develop processes consistent with Feminist theory and practice not only in the political struggle but also in the academy. Academic feminists are quick to criticise the shortcomings of women activists; it is time that we academic feminists did something about our practice - qua feminist academics if you like.

* * * * *

1. A social event involving delegates in dance to open opportunities to get to know each other. One form of dance which is very good for this purpose is called CIRCLE DANCE. In light of the realisation that there are conflicts between groups this is very important.

2. Continue to provide time - as much as possible - for discussions and exchange of ideas

3. Emphasise more the aspect of learning from each other - not sure how but sure it is important

* * * * *

My only recommendation that has not yet been raised is that if any future conference is going to demand 'accessible' presenting - then the presenters will need training. It is a special skill and does not come naturally

* * * * *

Dear Conference Organisers

Please could we have a session on 'Conceptualising Gender ' in the 4-5:30 pm slot for Saturday.

This debate was not done justice in Thursday's session.

I am sure many of the delegates would support this suggestion.

* * * * *

This conference is not empowering me as a woman, in fact I feel disempowered. It is because of the academic and exclusive language that is being used. The same things can be said but in much simpler ways. We are talking about making things accessible

and appropriate yet the cost and language here ,excludes most women, especially the more oppressed. There are also signs of domination around. Women, especially those who have made a 'name' for themselves seem to be going on power trips. This does not seem very feminist to me. . . And lastly, why are the crusts cut off the bread?

* * * * *

Is a written evaluation form included in your evaluation session? If not I think it vital to draw one up, and to assure all delegates that they will get an 'unedited' break down of it distributed to them. I would even suggest that you ask the 'activists' to draw up this questionnaire and work out how best to distribute it.

* * * * *

It was very well organised - bureaucratically magnificent! The accessibility question, I think is possible to cope with in future. If you don't know how, there are many of us who can help. The activists endorsed the importance of such conferences and we hope that the criticisms won't put you off trying again. The issues raised by black academics are separate from the ones raised by activists - and should be addressed through struggle at the universities. I think you tried hard enough on that front. Congratulations on pulling it off and coping well with all the ructions.

* * * * *

1. Please ask chairs to be strict about timing and ask people presenting papers not to read them out! A suggestion to help with timing - have a time keeper in the front row who indicates by means of a bell or yellow card that the speaker has 5 minutes left, and a second bell or red card when time is up. This signal has to be recognised - saves the chair from embarrassing attempts to shut up speakers - and allows proper time for questions and responses at the end of the session.

2. I'm concerned that there is not enough time for individuals to participate - could chairs occasionally ask the audience to turn to their neighbour for a few minutes to discuss a controversial or interesting contribution?

* * * * *

Conferences should have space for reading papers - an hour or so.

* * * * *

Some critical suggestions:

Workshops to include people who feel excluded from intellectual debate;

Include black women in the panel up there in front - it looks better and it helps participation from the audience by those of us who are intimidated by intellectuals;

Use differences perhaps in terms of workshops to enable more grassroots women/rural/domestics to participate.

* * * * *

1. The creche was great. I'm surprised more people did not use it. It's the first conference I've been to that has this. This is crucial in organising women.
2. Saturday afternoon session was well chaired - the discussion idea worked well and could have been used in other forums.
3. Themes etc. were really exciting
4. The informal networking was good and important.

* * * * *

1. I am not white!
2. Conference was very stimulating. It was very good to see so much was done on gender.

Panel sessions in particular were very good - i.e. stimulating, interesting, informative.

As someone trying to voice gender issues in a concrete way in organisations I felt stimulated and strengthened.

3. It was very good that people raised problems/issues they felt strongly about - even though this might have rocked the boat.

3.1 Comments on inaccessibility and need for greater participation were resolved by bringing out these issues.

3.2 Comments and anger from Black women were not so easy to deal with and this was evident from discussion in every session I went to. The main problem here is the refusal of white women to deal with the reality that this anger exists. It should not matter if this anger is based on valid grounds from the viewpoint of white women. It exists and must be heard. It is good that Black women made their voices heard. White women are not responsible for the situation but there is perhaps a lack of awareness of how race affects us all - i.e. in as much as we accuse most academia, planning etc, for being insensitive or blind to gender, we have the problem of a lack of sensitivity or blindness to how race affects us all.

My worry is that in their defensiveness most white women and maybe some/most of the conference organisers might in the act of being busy defending themselves not see/hear the anger and why it is there.

4. Issues of class/socialism were not really part of the debate on feminism in papers. This was a pity as the term feminism as used in the conference was almost useless.

5. Pity that the ANC Women's League was not a part of the panel on organising. They are looking at strategies to voice gender and could have made useful input.

* * * * *

Dear organisers - You did a fantastic job! Thank you for a great conference and all the effort you put into it.

* * * * *

Comment written during the opening session:

A split between the 'inner group' and the 'outsiders' is already becoming apparent. At the time I am writing this (after about 12 questions/comments from the floor) all the participants have been identified by the chairperson personally by first name. 'Cheryl now - then Mike - after Mary.' First of all Jane in the audience, who perhaps comes from an 'unfashionable' origin (UPE, RAU or even a household where she is 'just a housewife') doesn't have the vaguest idea who Cheryl or Mike or Mary is. The impression is created of a privileged in-group, all of whom know each other and who are talking to each other, basically uninterested in 'new' people. Second, Jane has now heard Francie speak, but who the hell is she? How do I get in touch with her if I'm interested in discussing something with her? Third - and most damaging potentially to the Conference's success - Jane as an outsider feels unwelcome and as an 'unknown', she feels shy to butt into the magic circle.

Suggestion - to be enforced RIGIDLY by each chairperson
The chairperson should not confer 'favoured status' by saying 'Now Francie, or Tessa' but should rather 'Now you near the back in the yellow shirt.' AND when each speaker from the floor comments, (she should commence by saying 'I'm Janice Ndlovu from Transnet Public relations. . . If (s)he forgets, (s)he should be reminded. I feel the organisers should be trying purposefully to integrate the 'outsider' with the privileged 'in-group'. Arranging a braai or two is not enough! For similar reasons, name tags should be WORN!

* * * * *

As an archivist, one of the clearest impressions I received was that many records of archival significance are being generated at present. There must be many small organisations across the country, some of them possibly remaining in existence for only a short while whose activities might be recorded in a few letters, flyers, handouts or minutes. It would indeed be a loss if these records were to be destroyed. Similarly, those organisations which remain in existence for some length of time might also be unaware of the potential value of their records to future researchers.

APPENDICES

1. Appendix A: Programme
2. Appendix B: Budget Report

APPENDIX A.

WOMEN AND GENDER IN SOUTHERN AFRICA
PROGRAMME

WEDNESDAY 30 January 1991

- 1pm REGISTRATION STARTS
- 4 - 6pm KEYNOTE ADDRESS: *Rethinking development from a gender perspective: insights from the Decade*
Dr Naila Kabeer, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex University, England.
- 6 - 8pm OFFICIAL OPENING AND RECEPTION
BOOK LAUNCH: Durban Women's Bibliography Group Women in Southern Africa: A Bibliography (revised edition)

THURSDAY 31 January

8:15 - 8:45 PLENARY: Introduction to the conference

8:45 - 10:30 PLENARY

1. Feminism, nationalism and gendered politics (papers)

Discussant: Frene Ginwala

- A Charman, C de Swardt, M Simons, S Hassim, T Ruzvidzo
- The Politics of Gender: discussion of the Malibongwe conference papers and other current papers within the Africa National Congress
- Where have all the women gone? Gender and politics in South African debates
- Race, class and gender with reference to Zimbabwe

10:30 - 11 TEA

11 - 12:30 PARALLEL SESSIONS

2a. Women, the household and production: historical perspectives

Discussant: Shula Marks

- W Annecke "Out of the fire to find new fetters": The violence of poverty in a shack settlement
- I Berger "Never far from home": family, community and working women in the 1940s and 1950s
- B Bozzoli Life strategies, household resilience and the meaning of informal work: some women's stories
- B Freund Indian women and the changing character of the working class Indian household in Natal, 1860-1940: Unpacking the Indian family

2b. Women, power and patriarchy: theoretical issues

D Lewis	Myths of motherhood and power: reflections on black women in literature
D Posel	Women's power, men's authority: rethinking patriarchy
A van Niekerk	Towards a South African feminism

2c. State policy and women's health

Discussant: Helen Rees

G Eagle, Frenkel, Green & Wolman	Women and mental health in South Africa: An overview
S Middleton, G Morgen, J Segar, R Smith	The hidden burden: the impact of detention on the women left behind
D Cooper, M Hoffman, J Kloppe, J Myers, W Pick, R Sayed	The effect of urbanisation on the health of black women

12:30 - 2:00 LUNCH

2:00 - 3:30 PARALLEL SESSIONS

3a. Gender struggles and the household

Discussant: Sheila Meintjes

J Wells	"The rise and fall of "motherism" as a force in black women's resistance movements
C White	"Close to home" in Johannesburg: Sexism in township households

3b. Women, work and class formation

Discussant: Debby Bonnin

T Barnes	Differential class experiences amongst African women in colonial Harare 1935-1970]
D Budlender	Women and the economy
D Gaitskell	"What an educated African girl can do": Women teachers in African education in South Africa, 1910 - 1953
G Jaffee	Female commuter workers: A study of their position in the workforce and the effects of industrial work on household structures
S Marks	The paradox of apartheid in nursing

3c. Women and political organisation: historical case studies

Discussant: Deborah Posel

D Chetty
M du Toit
A Mager
U Mesthrie-
Dhupelia

Indian radicalism of the 1940s - women's voices
"Gevaarlike moederskap: The ACVV and the
management of childbirth, 1925-1939
"Things of the Trust": Gender, rehabilitation and
the South African Native Trust in the Ciskei
1945 - 1953
Finding a place in history: Indian women in Natal
and the Transvaal from c 1908 to 1946

3:30 - 4:00 TEA

4: 00 - 5:30 PLENARY: PANEL DISCUSSION

Conceptualising gender

Chair/discussant: Mary Simons
Panelists: Rosalind Boyd
Ann Levett
Ginny Volbrecht
Belinda Bozzoli
Other panelists to be confirmed

5:30 - 6 SUMMING UP

Evening Social at the University Club
Entertainment by Gcina Mhlophe
Book launch: Cecily Lockett (ed) Breaking the Silence. A century of
South African women's poetry: Annemarie van Niekerk (ed) Drawing
the Blinds. A century of South African women's short stories

FRIDAY 1 February

8:15 - 8:30 Announcements

8:30 - 10:30 PLENARY

5. Sexuality, reproductive rights and violence (papers)

Discussant: Barbara Klugman

H Bradford
A Levett:
D Posel &
R Posel
C Sutherland

Herbs, knives and plastic: 150 years of abortions
in South Africa, c. 1840 - 1990
Trauma, fears and gendered subjectivity
practice/research dilemmas
A feminist contextualisation of prostitution in
contemporary society: the impact of AIDS
Sexual violence and the law

10:30 - 11:00	TEA
11:00 - 12:30	PARALLEL SESSIONS
<u>6a. Women and war</u>	
Discussant:	Heather Hughes
J Cock	Colonels and cadres: the relation between feminism and militarism in South Africa
G Dominy	Women and the garrison in Pietermaritzburg during the colonial period: a survey
E v Heyningen	Women and the second Anglo-Boer War
<u>6b. Women and religion</u>	
Discussant:	Dina Cormick
B Govinden	Interdisciplinary study between literary criticism and theology in relation to feminism
Christian Women's Movement	Church Women: Religion and Culture
<u>6c. Representations of women in art and media</u>	
Discussant:	Lindy Stiebel
M Arnold	"The source material of all art is man's experience": contesting visual androcracy in South African art
C Steinberg	Us and them: the actor-audience relationship in <u>Asinamali</u>
<u>6d. Women's Studies in Southern Africa</u>	
Discussant:	Iris Berger
I Dubel	Wither South African Women's Studies?
T Mapetla	The evolution of Women's Studies in Lesotho
S Nene	The dilemma of black feminism
D Russell	
12:30 - 2:00	LUNCH
2:00 - 3:30	PARALLEL SESSIONS
<u>7a. Discourses on women and gender</u>	
Discussant:	Helen Bradford
S Meintjes	Ideologies of female subjectivity and the gendered nature of legal practice in South Africa
K Letlaka Rennert	Women's oppression and power relations in the act of writing

7b. Women and education: policy implications

Discussant: Linda Chisholm

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| D Dowling | A defence of positive discrimination |
| L Hall | The use of drawing in the development of a gender-sensitive participatory training methodology in the Natal/KwaZulu area |
| R Morrell | Gender and South African education: Is there space on the agenda |
| A von Kotze | Domestic workers and English |
| S Walters | But what do we do with the boys in our organisation? Gender and popular education in South Africa |

7c. Women and writing

Discussant: Margaret Daymond

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| K Lazar | Something out there/something in there: gender and politics in Nadine Gordimer's novella |
| C Lockett | The politics of poetry in South Africa: women as consumers and producers of cultural artefacts |
| V Soobrayen | South African women's writing: towards an appropriate critical practice |

3:30 - 4:00 TEA

4 - 5:30 PLENARY

8. Gender policy and the state (papers)

Discussant: Frances Chinemana

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| Gender Policy Group | Contested terrains: State, gender and restructuring in South Africa since the 1970s |
| P Horn | Problems concerning the status of women in a post-apartheid South Africa |
| L Manicom | Ruling Relations: rethinking state and gender in South African history |
| M Turok | How independence failed Africa's women |

5:30 - 6 SUMMING UP

Evening Tables have been booked at a local restaurant

SATURDAY 2 February

8:15 - 8:30 Announcements

8:30 - 10:30 PLENARY

9. Organising women: regional perspectives (papers)

Discussant: Shamim Meer

R Boyd	Organising women in Uganda
F Chinemana	Organising women in development: the Zimbabwean experience
J Davison	"Let the bread rise": Organising women in collective enterprise and individual entrepreneurship in Malawi and Zimbabwe
T Shefer	Women in the unions: organisation and developments
J Taylor	Organising women around the issue of violence against women: A South African perspective

10:30 - 11 TEA

11 - 12:30 PARALLEL SESSIONS

10a. Gender and a post-apartheid land and rural development policy

Discussant: Naila Kabeer

M Friedman	Is a feminist development appropriate and/or possible in South Africa?
T Marcus	Land and agrarian reform: a gender perspective on key issues
C Murphy	Gender constraints to increased agricultural production faced by rural women in KwaZulu
TRAC	Demanding a place under the kgotla tree: rural women's access to land and power

10b. Social reproduction and state policy

Discussant: Linzi Manicom

S Parnell	Women's access to home ownership in South Africa
F Lund	Women, welfare and "community care"
A Todes & Walker	Women and housing policy: Analysing the past, debating the future

12:30 - 2:00 LUNCH
PERFORMANCE BY STUDENTS OF THE CULTURE COURSE, CULTURE AND WORKING LIFE PROJECT

2:00 - 3:30 PLENARY: PANEL DISCUSSION

11. Gender and organisational strategies

Chair: Beattie Hofmeyer

Panelists: L Kompe
P Govender
M van Zyl

3:30 - 4:00 TEA

4:00 - 6:00 EVALUATION SESSION: Facilitated by Francie Lund

Evening Braai

APPENDIX B.

CONFERENCE ON WOMEN AND GENDER IN SOUTHERN AFRICA
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE

INCOME

Funding	39255.32
Catholic Organisation for Development & Peace	13088.95
IDRC	10933.37
HIVOS	8073
Chairman's Fund	5956
NOW/Women's research & monitoring group	1000
CDS	204
Registration	24200
Sales (Meals, accommodation, posters, T-shirts)	15775.18
Conference papers	4936.35
Bank interest	2529
NET INCOME	86696.35

EXPENSES

Catering	26255.50
Printing	24415.86
Accommodation	9520.00
Transport	7776.66
Promotions (T-shirts, posters, advertisements)	5995.47
Creche and student workers	2099.60
Postage, telephone, fax	1579.47
Stationery and equipment	1524.75
Miscellaneous	1022.18
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	80239.49

BALANCE as of October 1 1991	6456.86
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BALANCE as of October 1 1991	6456.86
Estimated outstanding conference accounts (Postage, faxes, printing, stationery, telephone)	1000
Estimated book expenses (Including secretarial assistance)	2500
PROJECTED BALANCE	2956.86
(To be spent on appropriate post-conference activities, such as workshops)	