Feminist movement Builder's Dictionary

JASS

INTRODUCTION

WORDS MATTER

Within the local-to-global context of citizen action, many activists and scholars agree that we face a "crisis of discourse". Words that once imparted radical visions of social change have been co-opted by more powerful groups, rendering them devoid of their original meaning or politics. For example, when the World Bank uses terms like "empowerment" or "civil society participation," they mean something quite different, or at least far less transformative, than what activists originally envisioned. Since feminist activists and movement-builders depend on the political meaning of words, we at JASS decided to generate and claim our own definitions.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE JASS' FEMINIST MOVEMENT BUILDER'S DICTIONARY

The idea for this dictionary originated with JASS Mesoamerica, where feminists and women activists from different social movements found themselves creating alternative terms to describe their context and strategies since old ones had lost their meaning. Alda Facio, a Costa Rican feminist writer, activist, and lawyer with JASS wrote the first version, Diccionario Feminista, in Spanish. Her goal was to "free words from the box or mindset of the patriarchal paradigm". As JASS' work deepened in Southeast Asia and Southern Africa, we quickly realized that we had all been searching for and "inventing" new words to more accurately describe the contexts and dynamics of power within which we're operating, and the myriad ways in which women experience and resist oppression.

We began building the English version of the Feminist Dictionary to develop a common language, history, and sense of purpose within the JASS community. As more people contributed, we quickly realized the dictionary's potential as a vehicle for the political act of defining our world based on a distinct feminist political perspective – one that is constantly shifting and recognizes how distortions in social, economic, and political power and privilege form the basis of inequality and injustice.

THE PRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE

As with all knowledge, the content of this dictionary is a reflection of the various vantage points, intersecting identities, values, and experiences of its writers and contributors. The words and their definitions reflect and are embedded in JASS' approach to feminist movement building and our analysis of how power can operate in both positive and negative ways.

As such, this dictionary is neither comprehensive nor complete, as no single volume can capture the full range and diversity of women's voices and women's knowledge. Likewise, it is not a static reference, as words and meanings shift over time and place. Instead, we hope this dictionary will nurture fresh and imaginative political thinking, debate and action, and serve as a starting point for women from all walks of life to understand and negotiate our differences and find common ground.

SHARE YOUR KNOWLEDGE!

To that end, we invite you to contribute to the development of this dictionary. We welcome and actively seek your new words and clearer definitions. Let us know which interpretations you agree with and which you disagree with. We rely on all readers to identify and fill in gaps – in terms, context, meanings – recognizing that the very act of identifying and correcting what we've left out will deepen our collective understanding of women's experiences and women's lives.

ABOUT THE SECOND EDITION

The first English-language edition of JASS' Feminist Dictionary was developed by Alda Facio, Lisa VeneKlasen, Valerie Miller, Srilatha Batliwala, Annie Holmes, Molly Reilly, Alia Khan, Maggie Mapondera, Natalia Escruceria, and Anna Davies-van Es. This version builds on and incorporates the feedback of a number of reviewers, including Patricia Ardon, Marivic Raquiza, Dudzi Nhengu, Rosanna "Osang" Langara, Shereen Essof, and Laura Carlsen. Both editions are built on the collective expertise and experience of JASS' community of feminist popular educators, scholars, and activists from 27 countries in Mesoamerica, Southeast Asia, and Southern Africa.

HOW THIS DICTIONARY IS ORGANIZED

The dictionary is organized into six sections intended to provide a conceptual and practical foundation for feminist movement building.

1. **Feminism(s)** – social and political theories and concepts
2. **Identity and difference** – the building blocks of who we are
3. **Power and knowledge** – power analysis and feminist knowledge production
4. **The State** – the institutions and practice of citizenship, democracy, and governance
5. **The economy** – deconstructing the current economic world order
6. **Feminist movement building** – organizing and leadership for a more just and equal world

HOW TO CONTRIBUTE

Send your comments by e-mail to **jass.dictionary@gmail.com**, or visit us on the web at **www.justassociates.org** or **www.facebook.com/JASS4justice**

INDEX OF ENTRIES

FEMINISM(S)

androcentrism A characteristic of sexism (that presents the male as the prototype or model for humanity and the masculine perspective as the default human point of view or as objective reality. In this form of sexism, men's lives and the masculine are privileged and taken as the embodiment of all human experience throughout history, whereas women's lives and the feminine are understood as "other."

discourse A basic definition is the language of a given field or area of study, for example, medical discourse or legal discourse. Michel Foucault, a French philosopher concerned with the origins and dissemination of "knowledge," developed the idea that knowledge is produced, i.e., that what we know about and see in the world is not simply the "natural order" of things, but is shaped by the dynamics of power and dominant ideologies that are at play in any given society. Feminists such as Chris Wheedon and Judith Butler have built upon this theory to describe how knowledge, for example regarding "women's work" or women's roles in history, is not value-neutral but instead is the product and reflection of dominant attitudes and beliefs about race, class, gender, ethnicity, etc. While "conventional" knowledge is produced in the service of male-dominated societies, feminist activists can and do produce knowledge, for example through lived experience, that is more conscious of power imbalances in society, and in doing so, alter discourse in favor of women's equality.

equality Enshrined in law, this refers to measurable, equal political representation, status, rights and opportunities. Gender equality does not imply that women and men are the same, but that they have equal value in society and should be afforded rights and treatment as equals.

equity Justice or fairness. Social and political change efforts often seek to ensure equality of opportunity without consideration of the huge power differentials and the use of privilege and discrimination in societies that put some people in a better position than others to take advantage of an opportunity. Women have stressed gender equity in development and elsewhere because equity takes into account the differences between people and the uneven playing field, focusing instead on the outcome or impact of any action.

femicide The systematic killing of women because they are women. While this term was originally used to describe any murder of a woman, it has evolved over

EQUALITY VS. EQUITY

Within the global women's movement, there has been a long-running debate about whether we should use the term "equality," "equity," or both.

From a human rights perspective, the term "equality" is essential as this is the language of all international human rights treaties, including the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Furthermore, "equality" is a measurable objective that states have a legal obligation to ensure to all citizens. Most importantly, equality obligates states to eliminate all forms of discrimination, as any form of discrimination would result in some individuals being denied equal enjoyment of their rights.

In human rights terms, equality is characterized by "equality of results," so, for example, since states have the obligation to achieve the full and equal participation of women in politics, not only must they remove all barriers to participation, they may also have to undertake "temporary special measures," such as quotas or preferential treatment, to eliminate established patterns of inequality that privilege male participation while discriminating against women.

This understanding of equality, referred to as *substantive equality*, has not yet been implemented by states, but this does not mean that they are not legally obligated to do so. In fact, to achieve substantive equality, states usually have to enact different laws and policies related to men and women or to different groups of women in order to level the playing field and ensure that both men and all women enjoy their human rights on an equal basis. For example,

for most women to have equal right to work they may actually need different policies and laws from those that other women or men need. They need maternity leave and extra safety conditions when pregnant and as long as they remain principally responsible for reproductive labour, most women need workplace nurseries and assistance to free them from household labour to enter the labour market equally. Furthermore, in human rights terms, states are obligated to take into consideration that not all women are equal either. Women of different age, class, caste, ethnicity, race, ability or other conditions have different social position and power, and therefore different needs. (Mukhopadhyay 2004)

Because "equality" in the western liberal tradition has been interpreted by states to mean formal equality, i.e. that men and women must be treated

time, specifically through the work of feminist writer Diane Russell, to mean the killing of women because they are women. It is a crime in which the motive for killing is the gender of the victim.

feminism A range of theories and political agendas that aim to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women due to sex and gender as well as class, race, ethnicity, ability, sexual orientation, geographic location, nationality, or other forms of social exclusion. Feminism as a political agenda has evolved over centuries, shaped by the politics of each historical moment. For example, many early feminists (in the 1700s and 1800s) were involved in abolitionist movements and made the linkages between women's bondage and slavery. Since the turn of the 20th century, the different historical surges of feminist political organizing have been referred to as "waves," defined primarily by feminists in the Americas. The first wave of feminism focused on legal rights, such as the suffragettes struggle for the right to vote in the early 1900s; second-wave feminism focused on a broader range of forms of subordination in the private realm, including violence against women, reproductive rights, women's roles in the family. Third-wave feminism, more heavily influenced by feminist movements around the world and post-structuralist thinking, recognizes that there are multiple feminisms operating and emphasizes diversity in theory and practice, demanding greater space and recognition of the feminisms shaped by different generations, ethnic and sexual groups, and different classes, among many other elements.

gender Relates to the characteristics – ranging from gender roles to physical appearance – that societies attribute to the notions of "masculine" and "feminine." We learn gender roles through socialization which begins very early and is reinforced constantly throughout our lives through education, the media, families, religion, public policy and other social institutions. Gender roles are different in different cultures and can change over time. Rigid enforcement of "traditional" gender roles has led to backlash and targeted discrimination and violence against men, women, gays, lesbians, transgendered and others who challenge narrow, static conceptions of masculinity, femininity, and sexuality.

gender-based violence (GBV) Violence that is directed at an individual based on his or her biological sex, gender identity, or his or her perceived adherence to socially defined norms of masculinity and femininity. It includes physical, sexual, and psychological abuse; threats; coercion; arbitrary deprivation of liberty; and economic deprivation, whether occurring in public or private life. GBV takes on many forms and can occur throughout the lifecycle, from the

in identical manner in the eyes of the laws, some feminists use the term "equity" to emphasize the notion of substantive equality and equality of impact or equality of results and to emphasize that "equality" has too often been translated into "equality of opportunity", which is only sufficient if everyone is starting from a level playing field. For these feminists, "equity" implies that men and women may need different laws and policies in order to exercise their rights on an equal basis.

The critique of "gender equity" stems in part from how the term has been used in political negotiations to undermine women's rights, and because it does not require the elimination of discrimination. During negotiation of the Beijing Platform for Action, ultra-conservative governments sought to replace "equality" with "equity" throughout the document. By doing so, they would be able to justify discriminatory treatment of women based on a government's subjective determination of what is fair or just (i.e. equitable). For example, it may be considered "equitable" to prohibit women from inheriting property because local customs or norms require men to provide for the family.

In addition, within human rights law, "equality" is clearly defined and has the power of enforcement, whereas "equity" does not provide any legal requirements for states to eliminate discrimination and achieve substantive equality between men and women. Because language is political, there is a risk that using "equity" and "equality" interchangeably can slowly unravel longstanding legal protections enshrined in numerous human rights treaties and agreements. (Facio and Morgan)

prenatal phase through childhood and adolescence, the reproductive years, and old age (Moreno 2005). Types of GBV include female infanticide; harmful traditional practices such as early and forced marriage, "honor" killings, and female genital cutting; child sexual abuse and slavery; trafficking in persons; sexual coercion and abuse; neglect; domestic violence; and elder abuse. Women and girls are the most at risk and most affected by GBV. Consequently, the terms "violence against women" and "gender-based violence" are often used interchangeably. However, boys and men can also experience GBV, as can sexual and gender minorities such as men who have sex with men and transgender persons. Regardless of the target, GBV is rooted in structural inequalities between men and women and is characterized by the use and abuse of physical, emotional, or financial power and control. (Khan 2011)

FEMINISM

In her introduction to *Changing Their World: Concepts and practices of women's movements* (Association of Women's Rights in Development (AWID), 2008), Srilatha Batliwala describes feminism as:

"… *both an ideology and an analytical framework* that is both broader and sharper than it was in the 60s and 70s. The past three decades of activism, advocacy and research, and changing global geo-political context, have generated powerful insights and experience about our gains, setbacks, and the challenges of the future. These have also enabled us to re-frame our philosophy and approach, and generate a broader vision for ourselves and the world we want to create. We now stand not only **for gender equality, but** for **the transformation of all social relations of power that oppress, exploit, or marginalize any set of people, women and men, on the basis of their gender, age, sexual orientation, ability, race, religion, nationality, location, class, caste, or ethnicity**. We do not seek simplistic parity with men that would give us the damaging privileges and power that men have enjoyed, and end in losing many of the so-called "feminine" strengths and capacities that women have been socialized to embody. But we seek a transformation that would create gender equality within an entirely new social order – one in which both men and women can individually and collectively live as human beings in societies built on social and economic equality, enjoy the full range of rights, live in harmony with the natural world, and are liberated from violence, conflict and militarization."

- In the current global crisis of rising food prices, exorbitant energy costs, and the nightmare of climate change, feminism **stands for economic policies based upon food sovereignty, clean renewable energy, and ecological soundness, in order to ensure a sustainable future for the planet, all its species and its natural resources**.

- Given the experience of the gendered and inequitable impacts of neo-liberalism and globalization, we also stand **for economic transformation that creates greater social equity and human development, rather than mere economic growth.**

- We stand for **political transformation that guarantees full citizenship rights, the full body of human rights, and for secular, plural, democratic regimes that are transparent, accountable and responsive to all their citizens, women and men.**

- Escalating levels of war and civil conflict, the conflict-related displacement and subjugation of both women and men, and increasing use of sexual violence against women as a political tool, have led feminists to **oppose violence of any kind** and to **stand against wars and conflicts that displace, violate, subjugate, and impoverish both women and men**. Conversely, we stand for **peace and non-violence** – and for peaceful resolution of disputes achieved through inclusive and participatory processes.

- We stand for **responsible co-dependence rather than individualism**, but believe in the right to **freedom of choice of individuals** with respect to their private lives.

- We oppose the rampant promotion of consumerism that continues to objectify both men and women, and which promotes the wasteful use of the planet's natural resources and devastates the environment.

- **Feminism stands for power to, not power over** – we struggle to **change the practice of power** both within our own structures and movements as well as in the social, economic and political institutions we engage.

- We support the **renewal of our own organizations and movements** through empowering new generations of actors and leaders, and **creating respectful spaces and roles** for the beginners, the experienced, and the wise.

- Finally, **we stand against all ideologies and all forms of fundamentalisms that advocate against women's equal rights, or against the human rights of any people**, be it on the basis of economic, social, racial, ethnic, religious, political or sexual identity. (Batliwala 2008)

misogyny The hatred of women. It is a psychological manifestation of sexism that is expressed socially in discrimination, denigration and humiliation of women, violence against women and sexual objectification of women.

patriarchy Literally means "rule of the father." Historically, patriarchy refers to systemic and institutionalized male domination embedded in and perpetuated by cultural, political, economic and social structures and ideologies. These systems explicitly make women inferior and subordinate and confer control and decision making on males while making values associated with masculinity the norm or ideal. Patriarchy has many particular forms in different stages of history and in different cultures. The concept, as it has been developed within feminist writings (because it has existed in anthropology far longer), is not a single or simple concept but has a variety of different meanings.

political This refers to relationships of power that exist within and among all organizations, institutions and people. "Politics" tends to refer to governments and the organizations competing for and using state power, and are often characterized by unequal power relationships conferred by wealth, social status, gender, education, etc. The feminist phrase "the personal is political," reflects the belief that families and relationships have their politics as well because power dynamics are operating everywhere. While many people have a negative view of all things political, in JASS we use the phrase "political with a small p" to motivate women to think and act politically. In this way, the word political refers to the process of resisting and challenging different kinds of control and oppression while negotiating differences – different interests, different opinions, different needs and priorities – between and among individuals and groups of individuals to be able to work together for change.

post–colonialism In a narrow sense, post-colonial thought analyzes the relationships and power dynamics between and among former colonies and their rulers. Post-colonial feminists analyze women's inequality in the public, private and intimate spheres within the context of colonial dominance and oppression. Post-colonial feminist analysis rejects the narrowly conceived "Western" categories of analysis as the reference point for all notions of ration and logic. It is important to note that the term does *not* imply that colonialism, as a system of political and territorial domination and as an internalized system of social control, is *over*. The ideological tools of colonialism, such as racism, religious intolerance, control over women's reproductive capacity, slavery, sexism and

militarism, continue to be hard-wired into modern societies and cultures.

post–modernism A set of theories that argues that there is no absolute truth, and that one's view of reality is relative and subjective, dependent on interests and perspective. It emphasizes the role of language, power relations, and motivations in the formation of ideas and beliefs. In particular, it challenges the use of sharp categories of analysis such as male versus female, straight versus gay, white versus black, and imperial versus colonial. This is in contrast to the masculinized dichotomic (binary or black and white – you're either with us or against us) way of thinking and analyzing. Writers and philosophers associated with the development of post-modern thought include Martin Heidegger and Michel Foucault as well as feminists Judith Butler, Hélène Cixous, and Luce Irigaray.

sexuality Human sexuality is how people experience and express themselves as sexual beings. Biologically, sexuality can encompass sexual intercourse and sexual contact in all its forms, as well as medical concerns about the physiological or even psychological aspects of sexual behavior. Our behavior and views about sex and sexuality is determined by cultural, social, political and legal systems. Although sexuality is the most basic and normal part of being human, in most societies, sex and sexuality is taboo and the subject of great moral, ethical and religious debate. The control of women's sexuality is a critical feature of patriarchy in all societies, and this includes how women see themselves, definitions of rape, access to contraception and abortion.

Michel Foucault, a famous philosopher who wrote in *The History of Sexuality*, that "sexual meanings" – what different people think is erotic – are social and cultural constructs. He and many other writers highlight that sex is political. In other words, those in power define what is normal and not normal through institutions, such as education, religion, media, medicine, etc. To escape this type of control of "sexuality" Foucault recommended focusing on "bodies and pleasures."

sexism The belief that the males (or members of the male sex) are inherently superior to females simply by virtue of their biological sexual traits. Sexism is the fundamental basis for the domination and oppression of women and is manifested through many social and political structures, including patriarchy (see above). This belief is not always explicit but is embedded through socialization and reinforced by beliefs, customs, values and attitudes. It is perpetuated through language, media, stereotypes, religious

beliefs, education and the like. Women experience sexism differently depending on their social position, race or ethnicity, nationality, sexual orientation, age, ability, religion and other attributes, which makes sexism very difficult to eradicate.

IDENTITY AND DIFFERENCE

ableism A pervasive system of discrimination and exclusion that oppresses people who have mental, emotional, and physical disabilities. Deeply rooted beliefs about health, productivity, beauty, and the value of human life combine to create an environment that is often hostile to those whose physical, emotional, cognitive, or sensory abilities fall outside the scope of what is currently defined as socially acceptable. Also see *disability*. (Rauscher and McClintock 1997)

ageism Prejudice against a person or people because of her age; any idea, attitude, action or mental or institutional structure that subordinates or discriminates against a group or person because of age. Building multi-generational movements that build on the knowledge and experience of people of all ages is a major challenge for feminists. Young women's voices go unheard, while older feminists sometimes feel that their hard-won knowledge is dismissed by the younger generation as no longer relevant. Feminists point out that consumer capitalism influences perceptions of women and age, subverting traditional customs and values that honor older women while reinforcing negative stereotypes of older women, all in the service of creating a fear of aging that sells skin cream and other products. (Facio 2011)

biological sex Refers to physiological and anatomical female or male characteristics with which a person is born. (Goodman and Schapiro 1997)

class Definitions vary; a working definition is that class is "a relative social ranking based on income, wealth, family lineage, education, status and/or power. (Yeskel and Leondar-Wright 1997)

classism The institutional, cultural, and individual set of practices and beliefs that assign differential value to people according to their socio-economic class; and an economic system which creates excessive inequality and causes basic human needs to go unmet. (Yeskel and Leondar-Wright 1997)

culture Refers to aspects of a social environment that are used to communicate values such as language, dress, food, traditions, and rituals. In political terms, culture can be a binding quality that strengthens the solidarity of communities, for example, by reclaiming traditional cultures, resisting dominant cultures and building "cultures of resistance." At the same time, "respect for culture" is an oft-used argument to resist social changes toward equality and justice. Culture is ever-changing, influenced by dominant economic, political and social dynamics, and varies from one context to another, for example, standards of beauty or notions of what constitutes a family. It is not a single body of beliefs immune to external influences or changes over time.

dichotomy Literally a "cutting in two." It refers to a division of a unity or system into two mutually exclusive, opposing categories. Dichotomy is a way of thinking that sees everything in purely "either-or" terms, for example male/female, good/back, obscuring complexity in analyses of difference. Feminists speak of sexual dichotomy, meaning the division of humanity into two sexes, the female and the male, which are defined by exclusion and that require that every human being belong to one or the other sex. Sexual dichotomy is a manifestation of sexism in that it denies the possibility that biological females can have masculine characteristics and biological males, feminine characteristics.

disability Disability is defined within specific contexts and depends on historical and cultural issues. A person with a disability is defined as someone who experiences a physical or mental condition that limits the ability to perform a major life activity such as walking, breathing, seeing, hearing, thinking or working. Major types of disabilities include: perceptual, illness-related, physical, developmental, mental/emotional, chronic/acute, and environmental. (Rauscher and McClintock 1997)

diversity The key physical and social differences among people as shaped by class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, etc. Diversity as a political principle for feminist organizing is about the inclusion of different types of people in a group, an organization or agenda. It refers to the complex, enriching, and natural and socially-defined variations among women and within each individual woman and group of women, understood within the context of the shared experience of all women living in a world defined by patriarchy. While diversity is an important aspiration of many feminist movements, it is also a source of conflict due to variations of power and privilege.

ethnicity A social construct that groups people based on a common language, history, religion, culture or background. It is melded with the concept of race, which refers solely to physical characteristics. For example, within the "Asian" racial category, ethnic groups include Japanese, Thai, Cambodian, and Pacific Islander. See *race* and *racism*.

gender identity One's psychological sense of self as a male, female, transgender, intersex, or otherwise. Also see *gender* in the section on Feminism.

geographic location When referred to as a factor of discrimination or difference, the meaning has to do with the location where one lives, which often determines choices, opportunities, and access to resources. For example, rural residents are usually discriminated against in comparison to urban residents because they have less access to resources, services, and decision makers. For many decades, another important geographic cleavage has existed between the "global north" and the "global south," referring to the north's access, exploitation and control of resources over decades of colonialism and imperialism. While the "global north/global south' discourse remains relevant, an overly-simplistic, dichotomic (to use a popular feminist concept) interpretation has been critiqued, given that there is also a 'south' (i.e. poor and socially-excluded groups) in the global north as well as privileged actors in the south.

heterosexism The individual, institutional, and societal/cultural beliefs and practices based on the belief that heterosexuality is the only normal and acceptable sexual orientation. (Griffin and Harro 1997)

homophobia The fear, hatred, or intolerance of lesbians and gay men or any behavior that falls outside of traditional gender roles. (Griffin and Harro 1997)

identity politics In many societies, sexual and racial or ethnic minorities are systematically excluded. Vibrant social movements such as the Dalit movement in South Asia, the US civil rights movement, and the global movement for lesbian, gay and transgender rights focus on bringing people together to build pride, reclaim dignity and identify common interests based on a collective identity, and to make political demands and fight discrimination. These movements have built solidarity and active citizenship among many formerly socially and politically excluded groups. The risk of identity politics is that the complexity of human identity is reduced to labels that exclude or marginalize people, such as "HIV-positive" or "migrant worker," even as every individual has multiple identities defined by race, gender, class, religion, sexual orientation, ethnicity, age, and the like. Identity politics can also lead to discriminatory forms of politics that focus narrowly on the self-interest of a particular group, rather than building alliances with others around common interests to advance rights and build inclusive societies.

intersectionality An analytical tool that helps to understand and respond to the ways in which multiple aspects of each person's social identity and status intersect to create unique experiences of oppression and privilege. The concept evolved in part as a response to a critiques that "women" as a political category over-generalized women's experiences, privileging white, middle class women, while making invisible the ways that race, class, colonialism, and other factors of discrimination contribute to the experience of oppression. Intersectionality aims to move beyond overly simplified conceptions of identity – such as "working class" or "indigenous" – to examine complexities of multiple sources of privilege and subordination. (Miller et al 2006)

othering The process by which social exclusion occurs, where a dominant group claims normative status, and everyone outside of that group is defined in relation to the dominant group. "Othering" is also described as what happens when a person, group or category is treated as an object by another group. This objectification allows dominant actors to rationalize or justify the subordination of individuals and groups of people based on arbitrarily defined characteristics. (GSDRC) Also see *social exclusion*.

privilege An unearned resource or state of being that is only readily available to some people because of their social status, such as being male, white, certain nationalities, heterosexual, or wealthy. Privilege confers benefits with respect to access to resources, social rewards, and the power to shape the norms and values of society. People with privilege become the norm against which others are defined, hence, those with privilege are considered "individuals," while those without are defined by their socially constructed categories such as race, nationality, or gender. (Wijeyesinghe, Griffin and Love 1997)

queer Originally a derogatory label used to refer to lesbian and gay people or to intimidate and offend heterosexuals. More recently this term has been reclaimed by some lesbians, gay men, bisexual people, and transgender people as an inclusive and positive way to identify all people targeted by heterosexism and homophobia. (Griffin and Harro 1997)

race Refers to the physical characteristics of people, but has been used as a social construct that goes beyond a biological or genetic characteristic in many countries. Racial categories typically exist in relation to a dominant group and are based on relatively small external physical differences such as skin color. For example, in the United States, Western Europe, and South Africa, "black," "colored," "non-white," and "Asian," are understood in contrast to "white" people of Anglo/European/North American descent. Similarly, 'whiteness' or 'western-ness' is constructed in contrast to stereotypes of black or "third world" women. Racial categories are typically created by the socially dominant group to reinforce their own power or supremacy and to justify differential treatment for other groups of people. At the same time, racial categories have been used in more neutral or positive ways to establish group identity and solidarity.

racism Prejudice or discrimination is rooted in the idea that race or skin color is a determinant of human traits or capacities, and that differences in skin color confer or reflect inherent inferiority and superiority. Racism and racial discrimination can be overt, for example, in the form of discriminatory laws and policies. More often, racism is deeply embedded in social and political institutions and in belief systems in ways that are unexamined or disguised.

sexual orientation Refers to a person's preference for a sexual partner. Whether an individual is heterosexual, homosexual, or bisexual is usually highly politicized. There are for example, different views as to whether sexual orientation is a matter of socialization or innate behavior and whether homosexuality is immoral. Many societies are extremely oppressive toward people who do not follow social norms regarding sexuality.

social exclusion A framework that has been used and expanded upon by feminists and disability and queer rights activists to deepen analyses of poverty and inequality to address the multiple ways that people are excluded from full participation in society, based not only on material deprivation, but also on non-economic factors such as mental health, gender, physical ability, caste, sexual orientation, and age. The concept moves beyond notions of material disadvantage or "poverty" to address inequalities in terms of other forms of social power required to live a free and dignified life, such as respect, understanding, citizenship, education, and rights. (Batliwala, 2011b)

socio-economic status Generally refers to a person's position in society as determined by a combination of factors, such as education and economic means. Socio-economic status is one of the most important sources of disadvantage or privilege, but differs from class in that it is assessed with less attention to family lineage and other structural factors that shape economic opportunity and status.

transsexual A person whose biological sex does not match their gender identity and who, through gender reassignment surgery and hormone treatments, seeks to change their physical body to match their gender identity. Transsexuals' sexual orientation can be heterosexual, homosexual, or bisexual. (Griffin and Harro 1997)

transgender person A person whose self-identification challenges traditional notions of gender and sexuality. Transgender people include transsexuals and others who do not conform to traditional understandings of labels like male and female or heterosexual and homosexual. (Griffin and Harro 1997)

POWER AND KNOWLEDGE

feminist epistemology The study or theory of how gender influences the production of knowledge. Epistemology is concerned with what constitutes knowledge, and who decides it to be so. A core assumption of *feminist* epistemology is that knowledge is produced. *Who* creates the knowledge (the "knower" or the "subject position"), and the multitude of social, economic, cultural, political, and personal factors at play in any given time and place have a distinct and profound influence on the knowledge that is produced. Therefore, knowledge is situated, i.e., it always reflects the assumptions, biases, values, and context of the person(s) who created it. As such, knowledge is political, and the power to create knowledge is a function of social relationships. (JASS 2008)

hegemony The process through which the world view of dominant groups come to be accepted as "common sense" or the "natural" order of things. Italian activist and theorist Antonio Gramsci developed the concept of cultural hegemony to explain how a dominant group generates ideas and consensus about those ideas to maintain popular support and legitimacy. Hegemony can be expressed through language, culture, patriarchy, political and economic systems, etc…and is designed to maintain the status quo in the interest of those in power.

ideology A system of ideas or beliefs or ways of perceiving and analyzing social reality. Ideologies can justify, support, or challenge the power and interests of the dominant group. Ideologies are disseminated and enforced through social, economic, political, and religious institutions and structures such as the family, education system, media, economy, or legal system. These institutions and structures are set up and mediated by the state and tend to reinforce the dominant ideology and the power of the dominant groups within it. Alternative ideologies, such as feminism, are created in a continuous process of resistance by the less powerful and marginalized sections of society, resulting in various degrees of change in power dynamics, including transformation.

oppression A systemic social phenomenon based on the perceived and real differences among social groups that involves ideological domination, institutional control, and the promulgation of the oppressor's ideology, logic system, and culture to the oppressed group. The result is the exploitation of one social group by another for the benefit of the oppressor group. (Goodman and Schapiro 1997) See *power*.

paradigm A pattern of thought that gives people a way of understanding and valuing their world; a worldview providing a basis for customs, explanations, perceptions, institutions and behavior. The "dominant paradigm" refers to the attitudes, values, ideologies and systems of thought in a particular society at a given moment in time. Currently, the dominant paradigm is patriarchy in a phase of globalized capitalism.

politics The process of negotiating difference – different interests, different opinions, different needs and priorities – between and among individuals and groups of individuals. At its core, politics is about power – it's about whose interests and voices count and prevail in decision-making. Politics is often associated exclusively with formal decision-making bodies, such as legislatures and national assemblies, but politics occurs across all social relationships, from the home to the corridors of government institutions. (VeneKlasen and Miller 2002)

power The degree of control over material, human, intellectual, and financial natural resources exercised by different sections of society or individuals. The control of these resources becomes a source of individual and social power. Power is dynamic and relational, rather than absolute. It is exercised in the social, economic and political relations between individuals and groups. It is also unequally distributed; some individuals and groups have greater control over the sources of power, while others have little or none. Different degrees of

power are sustained and perpetuated through social divisions such as gender, age, caste, class, ethnicity, race, and location; and through institutions such as the family, religion, education, media, the law, government, etc. Power and the institutions through which it is wielded and mediated are varied and changing. Through a continuous process of challenge and resistance, less powerful sections of society can effect changes in the structure of power.

Theorists and philosophers distinguish among multiple sources and expressions of power. Power over is the most common understanding referring to the control, dominance, exclusion. This is a zero-sum view of power. Alternative, inclusive forms of power include: power with (collective power), power to (agency), and power within (empowerment). Drawing on different theorists and from our own work, JASS looks at power over as it operates in visible (through formal decision making), hidden (forces operating under the table that control forms of all decision making) and invisible (socialization) forms that interact. Within the context of feminist movement building, making underlying power differentials visible and understanding the sources and expressions of power is a strategy for unpacking and challenging oppression and developing different, more collaborative ways to express power. (VeneKlasen and Miller 2002, See JASS publication, *Making Change Happen 3: Revisioning Power,* 2006.)

LEADERSHIP AND ORGANIZING

activist (for justice) Someone who cares deeply about injustice, inequality and/or the wellbeing of others and the planet, and who takes or organizes political action with others and is driven by a belief in an alternative, and the hope and conviction that a better world is possible.

advocacy An organized, concerted effort by people and organizations to effect change in both the formal political and policy arena as well as social attitudes. There are many understandings, definitions, strategies, and applications for advocacy, including public interest advocacy, policy advocacy, social justice advocacy, citizen-centered and participatory advocacy. Feminist advocacy refers to strategies, skills, and tools used to influence decision making processes in the public and social arenas in order to eliminate inequalities between women and men. It often challenges other forms of oppression and exclusion. Feminist advocacy seeks to achieve

respect for diversity and difference, and to contribute to cultural, social, and political change for women's full and active citizenship. (AGENDE 2001)

> Advocacy efforts concerned with empowerment, citizenship, and participation appear different than those that focus solely on policy reform …. [this] advocacy is not just about getting to the table with a new set of interests, it's about changing the size and configuration of the table to accommodate a whole new set of actors. Effective advocacy challenges imbalances of power and changes thinking. (VeneKlasen and Miller 2002)

agency The capacity to take action or to wield power. Conventional social change efforts often involve top-down, expert-, and/or externally-driven approaches that treat primary beneficiaries as targets, rather than agents, of change. In contrast, movement-building and other empowerment approaches explicitly seek to engage and support primary beneficiaries in defining and driving the change that they themselves wish to see.

citizen and citizenship A citizen is most commonly understood as an inhabitant of a specific country who owes allegiance to its government and is entitled to protection and rights it provides. From this legal definition, citizenship is viewed as the exercise of rights and responsibilities. Even as governments exert legal control on who is and isn't a citizen, definitions of citizenship vary with different understandings of democracy and the role of the state. The prevalent narrow view is that a government decides who legitimately belongs (excluding immigrants); citizens' rights are limited to voting and using public services and infrastructure. Alternatively, a social justice notion of citizenship and being a citizen is dynamic – makers and shapers – as opposed to the above "users and choosers" definition (Gaventa, 1997). From a feminist point of view, citizenship involves claiming voice and accountability in all areas of life – public, private, and intimate – to challenge power hierarchies and exercise rights. (VeneKlasen and Miller, 2002)

coalitions, alliances and networks While these terms are used differently in different context, they are often used interchangeably. Some distinctions are helpful in order to envision and tailor relationships to best suit their purpose and the needs of diverse members. Coalitions generally have a more formalized structure, for example employing staff or having standing committees, and usually involve long-term relationships among the members. Alliances generally involve shorter-term relationships

that come together around specific objectives and/or at distinct moments. Networks tend to be loose, flexible associations of people and groups brought together by a common concern or interest to share information and ideas. (VeneKlasen and Miller 2002)

community organizing Community organizing is a process by which a group of people come together around a shared concern or problem and work together to find a solution that includes taking measures to influence the policies or culture surrounding them. Community organizing often starts by addressing a concrete, unmet practical need and evolves to address the structural causes of the problem, thereby transforming power. A critical element of organizing is the development of community leaders, using the organizing process to better understand political dynamics, change and organizing. (VeneKlasen and Miller, 2002)

critical consciousness An ever evolving questioning awareness about the world and how power operates. A strategy and objective of feminist movement building, consciousness-raising includes developing an understanding of how personal experiences are linked to and influenced by political and economic systems; history and awareness of current events; and the dynamics of power. It engages an understanding of self, including the simultaneity of privileges and oppressions (e.g., race, class, gender). For women, developing a critical understanding of our situation helps us to overcome self-doubt fostered by subordination and sexism enabling us to recognize and tap into our own power and link with others to address common issues. (VeneKlasen, 2006)

constituency building Activities aimed at strengthening the involvement of those most affected by an issue in the design and leadership of advocacy. Effective constituency building enhances the organization and political voice of people and lends legitimacy and leverage to change efforts. However, by focusing on constituencies solely for the purpose of legitimizing and bolstering policy claims without concern for the longer term questions of power and citizenship, some of these efforts have been criticized as "instrumentalist," and worse, have alienated communities otherwise interested in supporting change. (VeneKlasen and Miller 2002)

democracy System of decision making in which power is exercised by the people. Democracy depends not only on the structures that allow decision-making by the people but also on whether those people are free, informed, and safe to have input into and control over decisions that impact their lives. For feminists, questions of democratic participation in the household, sexual realm, media, knowledge

creation, and the economic sphere are as important as the quality of participation in the public arena.

empowerment A process involving a range of activities from individual self-assertion to collective mobilization and resistance aimed at upending systemic forces and power dynamics that work to marginalize women and other disadvantaged groups. Empowerment begins when individuals recognize the systemic forces of inequality that influence their lives and consciously act with others to change existing power relationships. (Batliwala, 1994)

engendered citizenship Concept in which rights and responsibilities of individuals in the formal political arena are applied across all social relationships and institutions, specifically, the family which is conventionally understood as the "private" sphere and therefore not subject to the formal laws and policies of the public sphere. (Molyneaux 1997)

feminist leadership An evolving way of thinking about leadership in which power and positions of authority – among individuals, in organizations and within movements – in the state and elsewhere – are used to create inclusive processes and structures that privilege people who have been traditionally excluded, foster democratic participation, and operate on the basis of authenticity, legitimacy and accountability to constituents or stakeholders. (Batliwala, 2011a)

feminist popular education A political, collective learning process aimed at "consciousness-raising", based on facilitated dialogue that places the learners' voices and lived experiences at the heart of the learning and enables an analysis of power and patriarchy. Brazilian scholar-activist Paulo Freire originally developed popular education about 50 years ago. Freire's methods have been widely critiqued and adapted over the years, spawning many participatory and interactive learning processes. Feminist popular education incorporates a gender and a class analysis of oppression and starts with the personal dimension as a site for consciousness-raising and change. In this way, it seeks to develop understanding and capacities to influence how power operates within the private realm: families, sexual partnerships, and marriage. Feminist popular education acknowledges how socialization impacts a woman's sense of herself, her self-confidence, health, body image, psychology, and ability to seek fulfillment and pleasure in all areas of life. (Freire 1970 and VeneKlasen 2006)

feminist transgression Individual or collective forms of resistance that challenge or subvert the norms and customs imposed on women by capitalist patriarchy and has as its goal the permanent eradication of all forms of oppression. Recognizing and acting in solidarity with women who resist and push back against increasing oppression, fundamentalisms, and violence is an essential element of feminist movement building.

intention/intentionality In essence, refers to a clarity and determination of purpose. It was applied as a planning term by Maria Suarez to describe the aim of social or political change efforts among feminists in Mesoamerica. The term was conceived as an alternative to linear goal- and outcome-oriented planning and evaluation frameworks that have contributed to the depoliticization of social change efforts. The prevalent technical approach to planning emphasizes qualitative and cause-and-effect thinking that does not accurately capture the dynamic patterns of feminist organizing and often does not account for the underlying structural drivers (i.e. power) of inequality. The term seeks to recover the dynamism and uncertainty in political work and to ensure flexibility while simultaneously communicating clear political meaning, particularly with existing and potential financial donors. Also see *NGO-ization*.

mobilize To engage people as political activists through actions that build and use the strength of organized numbers and other resources to make demands known, influence those in power, and ultimately bring about a particular political objective. All too often, people find themselves "mobilized or "turned out" in the service of an agenda that they had no voice in shaping. This can weaken linkages and leave people feeling hostile and alienated. In contrast, movement-building approaches to mobilization engage people as political protagonists, educating and building new leadership in addition to activating their support. Also see *constituency building*. (VeneKlasen and Miller 2002)

movement Characteristics include: a) an organized set of constituents pursuing a common political agenda of change through collective action; b) a membership or constituency base – the individuals or communities most vested in the change; c) some degree of formal or informal organization – networks, member collectives, etc. – are part of the organized core of a movement; d) a clear political agenda – common analysis, goals, targets for change; e) *leadership from the constituency* at multiple levels – i.e. not entirely dependent on external leadership; f) *collective or joint actions* in pursuit of common goals – movements are not based on providing services alone (though they may do so, for their members) but on acting for change; g) *Some continuity over time* (movements are not a "campaign," though they may use campaigns as a strategy, nor are they a one-time struggle over a specific issue); and h) *strategies* that combine

contestation (e.g. marches, protests) and *critical cooperation* (advocacy and lobbying) forms – i.e. the strategies manifest visible political struggle.

feminist movements Movements with a) *gendered political goals*, privileging women's interests and seeking to transform both gender and social power relations; b) *gendered strategies* – that build on women's own strategies and capacities, and involve women members at every stage of the process; and c) an agenda built from a *gendered feminist analysis* of the problem or situation they are seeking to change.

movement-building A process of organizing and mobilizing communities and/or constituencies to respond to common problems and concerns; the organizing process involves developing a shared analysis of why the problem exists, a common vision and agenda for change, and short and long-term strategies; movement-building also requires that those involved define shared principles and mechanisms for communication, roles, responsibilities and all of the internal governance of the movement itself.

feminist movement-building Political organizing that is characterized by inclusive and egalitarian processes designed to foster both individual agency and a common agenda that can serve as the basis for collective political action. Feminist movement building is not limited to or solely defined by any single issue(s) (e.g. "women's issues" such as reproductive rights or equal pay), and can focus on bringing women from different social movements and agendas together. Feminist movement-building brings a feminist analysis and principles, and specifically, the equal role and voice of women, into other agendas and movements, including the environmental, human rights, peace and labor movements. This is different than building feminist movements which are a process of mobilizing women and women's organizations for struggles whose goals are specific to gender equality outcomes, such as sexual and reproductive rights or violence against women. (Srilatha Batliwala, 2008 and JASS 2009)

NGO Non-governmental organization

NGO-ization A phrase to critique the dominance of NGOs within social justice organizing efforts. It also refers to a trend toward the professionalization and institutionalization of civil society, and a shift in accountability from communities and constituencies to financial donors. Although NGOs take on many forms and are not inherently problematic, the critique holds that NGO-ization often weakens social justice efforts by de-politicizing them, replacing grassroots organization that challenges power with technocratic institutions that soak up donor funds even as they become increasingly removed from the needs, experiences, and priorities of grassroots

"the debate about NGOization was, to put it mildly, particularly heated and often acerbic. In fact, in the eyes of their staunchest critics, NGOs were traitors to feminist ethical principles. [NGOs] depoliticized feminist agendas and collaborated with neoliberal ones. But those kinds of blanket assessments of feminist NGOs as handmaidens of a global neoliberal patriarchy, in fact, failed to capture the ambiguities and variations in and among NGOs in particular countries, and regions, and even the same neighbourhoods. The good NGOs/bad NGOs binary simply doesn't do justice to the dual or hybrid identity of feminist NGOs: technical organizations that are, at the same time, some of them, intricate parts of what we call "the movement." (Alvarez 2008)

organizing Deliberate action intended to bring people together to develop leadership strategies and the collective capacity needed to confront a common issue or push an alternative justice agenda. For justice organizing, the people involved are often those who are disadvantaged by the system or excluded from decision-making venues and their allies. Ideally, people gradually take on greater leadership in addressing problems and build organizations and movements bound by mutual respect, trust and common purpose. Also see *constituency building*.

outreach (for organizing) A wide variety of strategies – participatory planning and organizing, media, education, mobilization, and direct recruitment – that aim to gain the support and direct involvement of constituencies and to build their capacity as active citizens.

participation An active and informed process through which people expand consciousness and citizenship, learn to navigate power, come up with solutions, and actively influence decision-making that impacts their lives.

resistance The act of challenging the dominant power structure. There are every day acts of resistance, for example, challenging rigid gender roles within the family or calling out discrimination within the workplace. Alternately, organized, collective forms of resistance range from subtle, symbolic gestures, such as silent protests, to highly visible demonstrations such as marches, strikes, or boycotts. At its core, resistance is a dynamic, revolutionary or radical action used in some instances after engagement with

the established channels and formal institutions of power fail.

resonance The ability of people to see their own lives and experiences reflected in the lives, feelings, and struggles of others, built on empathy and solidarity, it can serve as a transformative political process that helps people analyze discrimination and inspires deeper relationships, visions of justice and action. (Suarez and Miller)

safe space (for feminist organizing) A closed environment built on the basis of trust where women can be open and honest in discussing their fears, risks and, if needed, recover from the physical and psychological effects of burnout and violence, and identify resources and pursue solutions. A safe space acknowledges differences among women and consciously works to avoid reproducing oppressive social hierarchies that both privilege and silence individual and groups of women. In some situations, physical, emotional, and psychological violence is used as a weapon to undermine women's political participation or to silence women. Sustainable feminist organizing requires spaces to deal with the conflict or violence that women's resistance can generate and develop strategies for risk assessment and safety.

wellbeing The state of being healthy, fulfilled and thriving. Activism, particularly in risky environments, can put our wellbeing at risk, and many of us carry out our work at huge personal costs. The personal risks that women face in their homes, communities and organizations for being empowered and speaking out can be formidable, causing them to withdraw from political roles and involvement so they can avoid stigmatization and loss of connection to families and other loved ones. Wellbeing becomes an even more critical political issue as economic instability and poverty among women focuses their energies on their families' survival. In order to be sustainable over the long term, feminist organizing and social and political change efforts need to acknowledge the importance of the impact of the current moment in which we live on women's bodies and health, and incorporate self-care and other opportunities refresh energies, imagination and hope. In a broader development context, many feminists and activists argue that the well-being of a population, in terms of access to the various dimensions of quality of life indicators (which includes sustainability), should be the main goal of development rather than economic growth. This perspective serves as one of the basis for calling for an alternative paradigm of development.

THE STATE

civil society The arena of social interaction between the family, market, and the state where the level of community cooperation, voluntary association, and networks of public communication determine its potential. Civil society includes non-profit institutions, NGOs, and grassroots groups that sometimes provide services or represent citizen interests (e.g., human rights organizations, labor unions, community development groups, private universities). In a strong civil society there are many different types of groups, communication is open, and there is a high level of public involvement. Repressive states control social relationships and organizations and often break down the values that enable people to work together. (VeneKlasen and Miller 2002)

development A multi-dimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes, and national institutions as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of widespread poverty. (Gabriela's Women's Party, Philippines)

family The family is defined by a set of relationships created by birth, adoption, lineage, marriage, common law partnership, or other social commitments. These relationships usually extend beyond a single household to other households and groups. The family promotes social attitudes and values that influence the nature of the state, civil society, and the market. In the neoliberal paradigm, the family is considered a private realm; however, there are usually laws to regulate some aspects of family relationships. (VeneKlasen and Miller 2002)

fundamentalisms A global phenomenon based on strict adherence to a specific ideology—religious, political, economic, or otherwise—that is acted out through concerted efforts to impose this ideology on all social, political, and economic arrangements and structures. Fundamentalist tendencies are present within all religions, including Buddhism, Catholicism, Christianity, Hinduism, Judaism, Islam, and localized religious traditions such as the ethno-religious Kenyan Mungiki movement, Mexican indigenous Tepehuan, and Nepali shamanism. Fundamentalisms are largely associated with religion, but should not be conflated with it. There are also economic fundamentalisms (e.g. market fundamentalism refers to the rejection of state intervention in economic activities whatsoever) and political fundamentalisms (e.g. extreme stances that reject all other points of view such as libertarian fundamentalism). Fundamentalisms vary in form and content but share

common features including intolerance for all other points of view and suppression of dissent. Within fundamentalist discourses, women are viewed as the reproducers and symbols of a community's collective identity. This translates into an obsession with the control of women's bodies and autonomy, and the prescription of strictly defined gender roles.

Although fundamentalist movements in different regions and religions may emphasize one or another issue more strongly, in all contexts, these campaigns seek to exercise strict control over women's bodies and autonomy, and actively deny the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersex (LGTBQI) persons and communities. Because their messages become strongly internalized as part of people's identities, religious fundamentalisms are able to restrict the space for dissent much more than other patriarchal systems. They limit questioning and freedom of choice, erode people's sense of self and autonomy, and attack tolerance and pluralism. Fundamentalisms exert control in societies through ascendance to state power, overt or covert alliances with state power, control of mass media and/or cultural/ideological campaigns that influence civil society. Fundamentalist movements in all regions and religions specifically target youth – appealing to their needs and subjectivities, and penetrating the education system to mold future generations. (AWID, 2009)

governance Governance is the capacity and the quality of governing. In its broadest terms, governance refers to the relationships between people and different institutions; it is the mechanism that allows for information flows, decision-making and accountability. This might be between a government and its citizens, between an NGO and the people with whom they work, or it could be the internal management structure of any organization and applies to international organizations, such as the World Trade Organization, national government or grassroots organizations. Each level has relevance in the fight for justice and equity for poor and marginalized people. Moreover, different people will conceptualize and experience governance differently due to their power and position in society. Over the last few years governance has become a buzz word in development, referred to frequently by organizations such as the World Bank and international and national NGOs. "Good governance" is heralded as a prerequisite for positive change by strengthening government accountability, decreasing corruption and abuse of power, and increasing citizens' voices in decision-making. A major critique of the "good governance" discourse is that it is focused on making power more efficient, not redistributing it. (Newman 2004)

human rights See *rights* and *women's human rights.*

human security A people-centered approach to security that responds to authentic causes of vulnerability by expanding human rights, basic economic justice, access to food and healthcare, protection from the ravages of environmental disasters and degradation, personal freedom from violence, including domestic abuse, and protection from ethnic and sectarian violence. Also see security

militarism A broad analytical framework for describing the collective impacts of the use of military force and violence on everyday life and on the social, economic, and political institutions that shape it. This analysis identifies a military logic in the organization of society, beginning with the violent oppression of colonialism and its legacies, vis-à-vis militaristic post-colonial regimes; proxy wars during the Cold War that propped up authoritarian dictators and led to arms proliferation; and current-day military rule and violent civil and political conflicts. It also encompasses the role and effects of US military bases on communities and the impact of the US-led "wars" on terror and drugs that have led to massive flows of resources to law enforcement and defense sectors in the name of "national security." (Mama and Okazawa Ray 2008)

neo-liberalism A set of economic and political theories that posit the centrality of a "free-market" system under which market forces, rather than governments, determine key aspects of the economy, with governments acting to support globalized markets, market-oriented processes and the interests of capital Neo-liberal economic reforms over the past three decades have expanded and deepened the influence of capitalism, especially consumerism and the use of credit, on social and political institutions and on culture. This agenda includes free trade, privatization, reduced government spending on social programs, huge increases in spending on subsidies to business and security, deregulation of businesses, no curbs on foreign investors, low taxes on the wealthy and corporations, minimal labor and environmental protections, no subsidies or supports for poor people and sectors, etc.

Neo-liberalism has accelerated the accumulation of capital and the taking of huge profits by the "big capitalists." As a result, the crisis of overproduction and over accumulation by a few has persisted at a rapid and worse rate. These big capitalists have resorted to tricks of finance capitalism and have spawned a financial oligarchy in an attempt to override the recurrent crisis of overproduction and the tendency of the profit rate to fall. These big capitalists have repeatedly expanded the

money supply and credit, generated derivatives in astronomical amounts and made one financial bubble after another in order to raise their profits and overvalue their assets.

rights Something to which a person has a just claim. Rights may be enshrined in law, defined by custom, and/or established as a social norm. Rights confer a certain degree of power and for this reason, what is recognized and protected as a right is a perpetual work in progress. The concept and international consecration of rights is a potent tool for reframing people's hopes and needs as legitimate political claims for which the state and/or other actors have responsibility and can be held accountable. That said, for this conceptual approach to have practical meaning, definitions of citizenship (i.e. who has rights), the state's jurisdiction with respect to the public and private spheres, and the indivisibility of social, economic, civil, and political rights must be addressed. See also *women's human rights.*

security The traditional understanding of security revolves around the security of states from external attacks, provided by governments through military means. The realities of the current historical moment, however, argue for a broader understanding of security that takes into account the dangers people confront from environmental degradation, violent conflict, human rights violations, the inability of states to deliver on basic human needs and similar challenges. Also see *human security.*

state Consists of the people, procedures, and institutions of government bound by a particular territorial borders. The state's authority and duties, and people's access to public decision-making, resources and opportunities are defined and regulated through laws and policies. Policies and laws are enforced and implemented through government ministries, the police, courts, schools, local government and ministries, and other institutions. Different states exert various levels of control on civil society and on the market, and regulate relationships in the family through family law. (VeneKlasen and Miller 2002)

women's human rights The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 outlines what is considered in this century to be the fundamental consensus on the human rights of all people in relation to matters such as security of person, slavery, torture, protection of the law, freedom of movement and speech, religion, and assembly, and rights to social security, work, health, education, culture, and citizenship. The human rights delineated by the Universal Declaration are to be understood as applying to women. However, tradition, prejudice, social,

economic and political interests have combined to exclude women from prevailing definitions of "general" human rights in practice and to relegate women to secondary and/or "special interest" status within human rights considerations. During the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985), women from many geographical, racial, religious, cultural, and class backgrounds took up organizing to improve the status of women. The United Nations-sponsored women's conferences, which took place in Mexico City in 1975, Copenhagen in 1980, and Nairobi in 1985, convened and took up the first steps to evaluate the status of women and to formulate strategies for women's advancement.

In 1979, the UN General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which is often described as an international bill of rights for women. Consisting of a preamble and 30 articles, it defines what constitutes discrimination against women and sets up an agenda for national action to end such discrimination. Following this historic breakthrough, women in many diverse countries worked to get CEDAW ratified by their countries and began developing analytic, political and legal tools for enforcement. The Vienna Conference on Human Rights in 1993, finally recognized women's rights as integral and indivisible from all human rights, and launched a process for developing legal alternatives for enforcement, including the Optional Protocol for the CEDAW, which enables women to take their country to court for failure to enforce CEDAW. Today, women's movements continue to use the human rights system and frameworks to push their governments to recognize and enforce their basic rights.

THE ECONOMY

capitalism An economic system in which products are produced and distributed for profit using privately owned capital goods and wage labor. Many feminists assert that a critique of capitalism is essential for understanding the full nature of inequality, as global economic restructuring based on capitalism reflects a particular ideology that celebrates individual wealth and accumulation at the lowest cost to the investor, with little regard for the societal costs and exploitation

care economy An unpaid economy sometimes called the "domestic" or "reproductive" sector or "social reproduction" in which women do most of the work of maintaining the labor force and keeping the

social framework in good order – both vital services for government and the commercial economy. The care economy produces and reproduces family and provides community-oriented goods and services such as healthcare, childcare, education and the like as a part of the process of caring for people and often outside the money economy. The care economy overwhelmingly depends on women's labor. The value of the care economy is usually excluded from official economic statistics, making it hard to assess the gender impact of budget and policy decisions that touch on this sector. Work in the care economy is often not paid, though it may be supported by payments from the government. Conversely, government cutbacks on social programs or funding inadequacies in the provision of basic social services and essential utilities in infrastructure and other areas of basic needs can add substantially to women's burden of unpaid work in the care economy. Also see *domestic work*.

commons Concept from the 18th century pre-capitalism period referring to resources that the public shares. Commons include tangible and intangible resources like parks, air and space, clean water, traditional knowledge, biodiversity, and the Internet—areas of common interest and necessity to which all members of a society have or should have access. Commons embody the efforts of multiple individuals and inputs; i.e. no single individual or entity can claim private ownership of common resources (e.g., government funded scientific research, intellectual property) The current stage of capitalism includes a major offensive against the public commons, through privatization of land and resources as seen in the expansion of extractive industries like mining, oil and timber production onto public and indigenous lands, for example. Today, activists are "reinventing" and "reclaiming" the commons to democratize access to these vital resources and ensure that we protect them for current and future generations. But most of all what they are doing is defending the few spaces of commons left from encroachment.

consumerism The practice of purchasing the goods and services one needs or perceives as needed to sustain life and wellbeing (as opposed to building or creating things yourself or sharing them cooperatively within a community, for example). Consumerism represents a way of life, a way of projecting a social identity based on the things you buy. The neo-liberal free market economy relies on consumerism to drive economic growth. Public and economic policies promote consumption, for example, by making it cheap to borrow money or by allowing employers to eliminate costly labor standards, thereby making their products cheaper

for the consumer while media is used to induce new needs and desires.

deregulation The removal or watering-down of government rules and regulations, including consumer, labor and environmental protections, that constrain or increase the cost of the operation of corporations and other economic actors, often to protect the public good. Also see *neo-liberalism*.

domestic work Domestic work covers work in the home (one's own or another's), including many different activities, situations and relationships and specific tasks such as cleaning, laundry and ironing; shopping, cooking and fetching water; caring for the sick, elderly and children; looking after pets; sweeping and garden-tidying. Domestic work fundamentally involves power relationships and is usually under-valued, unpaid, largely invisible, and seen almost exclusively as "women's work" as a result of the sexual division of labor. In all societies, domestic work is assigned to women based on gender criteria; while men may occasionally share in these tasks, nowhere do men do an equal work in the home. When women work outside the home in the labor market, other women (or children) are brought in to do domestic work, when finances permit, or women work double workdays, rather than men of the household doing more of the caring work. (IDWN)

domestic worker Domestic workers perform a range of tasks (see above) for and in other peoples' households. They may cook, clean and wash the laundry, and look after children, the elderly or persons with disability. They may work as gardeners, guardians or family chauffeurs. Most of them are women. They are often excluded, de jure or de facto, from labor laws and social protection. (ILO). Domestic workers are involved in many types of employment relationships that almost always involve elements of race, ethnicity, age, poverty, and class: most domestic workers are and obliged by economic need to leave their own homes to work in those of usually wealthier people. The vast majority of domestic work is done through private arrangements between individuals, someone hired in or a family member, sometimes with a written contract but usually with none. This makes domestic work a frequently unregulated and unsupervised sector, where women domestic workers face discrimination, labor law violations and sexual harassment and abuse with little legal or social recourse. In some countries, domestic workers have organized in innovative and influential organizations to collectively transform this situation. (International Domestic Workers Network)

economic democracy A vision in which access to and control over the world's resources – material, financial, human, and natural – are shaped by democratic, transparent, and accountable systems and institutions. Governments, international financial institutions, civil society actors, private companies, and others are all influential in determining whose economic and social interests are advanced and how, yet they lack effective mechanisms for democratic participation. Most people don't know how to engage with these entities or hold them accountable for economic injustices, and the entities block efforts to do so. Policies are based on economic theories and beliefs such as free market economies and consumer-driven capitalism, rather than resulting from an open debate on serving the public good. In the absence of economic democracy, these policies enable the consolidation of wealth and further marginalize and exploit women, serving as the basis for shredding social safety nets, human rights, and environmental protections.

extractive industries Industries that mine natural resources, such as petroleum, coal, gas, and minerals that are sold for profit and/or used for the production of other saleable goods, such as oil, jewelry or computer chips. These industries are usually run by private foreign or national companies that accumulate huge amounts of wealth, rarely returning or re-investing their profits in the communities from which the natural resources came. Extractive industries are notorious for displacing indigenous populations, wreaking environmental havoc, and exploiting local labor, often enabled by local and national governments eager for private and foreign investment.

free-market or market economies Economies in which goods and services are reduced to saleable units (commodities) and bought and sold on a market "free" of state regulation or interference. Prices are theoretically determined by supply and demand, in a competitive system that enhances efficiency. In reality, speculation, monopoly control and state subsidies to large industry in the form of cash payments or assumption of many of the real costs of production (environmental and social costs) exert major influence over prices. Proponents of the free market claim that by exchanging everything on the market, ranging from consumer electronics to real estate to education and health care, the law of supply and demand will regulate prices in a way that everyone will be able to have access to everything they need to survive. The theory also argues that the market will create competition among sellers to offer the best product at the best price, thereby benefitting all consumers. In reality, there is no such thing as a "free" market; global economic

policies, trade agreements, and politics apply rules that overwhelmingly favor sellers, for example, by removing "barriers" such as environmental and labor standards that would otherwise drive up the financial cost of production. A market economy also assumes that everyone has the similar potential and opportunity (if they just work hard enough). But things like wage discrimination, racism, and unequal access to quality education mean that that just isn't true. Also see *solidarity economy*.

free trade Refers to trading agreements and relationships between states and sub-state actors based on neoliberal, free-market principles. Free trade agreements, particularly those promoted by the US government, typically require the state to remove "barriers" to trade, such as labor standards, tariffs on incoming goods and supports to strategic sectors, under the assumption that the global flow of goods and services will be more efficient, for example, things like food will ultimately be produced in the cheapest place possible, thereby making it affordable for everyone involved. Other social values such as employment generation, social equity, sustainability and sovereignty do not enter into this model.

globalization A highly contested term. As a technical process, globalization can be understood as the increasing ease and speed at which people, commerce, culture, media, and ideologies move across political and geographic borders, thanks to increasing access to various technologies, not the least, internet communications technologies. As a political process, globalization refers to the way in which states and multinational actors (such as corporations) have used these new technologies to restructure political and economic arrangements based on neoliberal principles, eliminating trade barriers in order to expand their influence and reach. Critics see globalization as the current model of world development that seeks to reorganize the distribution and use of natural resources in favor of companies and profit generation in which the global North plays a dominant role in coordination with elites in the Global South. The globalization of production has forced free trade agreements and have led countries to try to compete for investment by offering ever- cheaper labor, state benefits and access to natural resources to increase the profit margins of transnational corporations, dismantling labor and environmental regulations in the process. (Kerr and Sweetman, 2003)

informal economy Not one but many economies or parts of the economy in which goods and services are bought and sold outside of the formal market, without state regulation or taxation, and in some cases, based on non-monetary exchanges. Informal

economies and the people in them are often invisible within "official" data on economic growth and labor. The informal sector creates opportunities for people to earn income, for example by selling food, caring for children, or providing labor, when jobs aren't available in the formal sector. Because the informal sector operates with little or no government oversight or regulation, workers do not receive benefits or protections in labor law. Participants can establish and enforce their own rules of exchange to protect themselves. Alternatively, informal economies can be highly exploitative and violent, particular where the goods and services exchanged are highly restricted or illegal, like weapons or illicit drugs. Due to discrimination that presents barriers to women's participation in the formal labor market, women's labor is concentrated in the informal economy in many countries; as a result of neo-liberal policies to avoid labor rights, the informal economy is the fastest-growing economic sector in many developing countries. In many developing countries around the world, women are disproportionately represented in the informal sector.

informal labor Informal labor refers to income producing work that happens part or partially outside the formal employment system that is regulated and taxed by the state.

international financial institutions (IFIs) These institutions provide loans to cash-strapped countries to cover funding shortfalls or to finance development projects, for example, to build roads, improve sanitation, or fund education and health care services. Although they are "multinational" institutions, their lending policies are driven and determined by wealthy Western countries and private enterprised that have a long history of promoting large loans to low-income countries accompanied by conditions that require economic reforms to support neo-liberalism. IFIs have issued massive loans, particularly in the 1970's, to prop up dictators, buy small arms, repay other loans, or cover the artificially high cost of oil. Today, low-income countries still carry huge amounts of this "illegitimate debt," along with other loans that force poor countries to adopt neo-liberal "conditionalities" imposed by the IFIs that service these loans. (Jubilee USA Network)

livelihood A person's or community's livelihood is productive activity that sustains life and , supports themselves and their families.

market Arena where the exchange of goods and services occurs and where business, industry, trade, and consumption happen.

privatization When the state or other collective entity sells off goods or services to private sector. Shorthand term for a complex web of policies, processes, and a core component of neoliberal ideology in which responsibility for distributing public resources and essential services is shifted from the government to the private sector (for-profit and non-profit entities). Privatization is based on the market model and is often proposed as a response to dysfunctional or under-performing government programs. It assumes that market forces will promote consumer choice and healthy competition, thereby creating an incentive to improve services. Privatization emphasizes individualistic and competitive values and focuses on economic returns. This is in contrast to concepts such as mutual responsibility or community solidarity and downplays the notion of public services as a right or public good. (Reilly and Marphatia 2006)

reproductive tax Feminist economist Diane Elson coined this term to acknowledge the penalties that women male bias in the economy; wages participation in the labor market does not account for women's unpaid work – housework, child care… penalties women face in the workforce/labor market; motherhood penalty.

social protection A group of policy initiatives that ensure the provision of basic needs to vulnerable or precarious sectors usually in the form of social assistance programs and social safety nets, social insurance and active labor market activities. They protect vulnerable people against livelihood risks, and seek to enhance the social status and rights of the marginalized. *Transformative social protection* does all this **and** works to ensure that all people realize their rights to the resources needed to maintain and sustain a decent living and security. (IDS 2009)

solidarity economy Is an alternative or complement to the market economy consisting of economic enterprises undertaken not for profit but for collective benefit. In many instances, women have banded together to produce needed items or coordinate small enterprises such as shops, gardens, neighborhood kitchens, and childcare or financial cooperatives. The solidarity economy promotes organization and a culture of shared decision-making, and can help women access basic economic and social rights such as food, credit and education. It can also help reduce women's burden of unpaid labor in the care economy.

REFERENCES

AGENDE (Brazil), Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristan (Peru) and Equidad de Genero (Mexico). Training. (2006) "Course on Feminist Advocacy". *Strengthening Advocacy Skills of Latin American NGOs that work on Reproductive and Sexual Rights*. Brazil, 2001. Cited in VeneKlasen and Miller, A New Weave of Power.

Alvarez, **Sonia**. (2008) "*The NGO-ization of Women's Movements and its Implications for Feminist Organizing*", workshop at the AWID International Forum on The Power of Movements, 14–17 November 2008, Cape Town.

Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID). (2009) New Insights on Religious Fundamentalisms, Research Highlights. Toronto, Mexico City, and Cape Town: AWID.

Batliwala, Srilatha. (2008) "Introduction." *Changing their world: Concepts and practices of women's movements*. Ed. Srilatha Batliwala. Toronto, Mexico City, and Cape Town: Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID).

——————. (1994) *The Meaning of Women's Empowerment: New Concepts from Action*. In Population Policies Reconsidered: Health, empowerment, and rights. Boston: Harvard University Press.

——————. (2011a) *Feminist Leadership for Social Transformation: Clearing the Conceptual Cloud*. New Delhi: CREA.

——————. (2011b) "Unpacking social exclusion: a primer for marginalized women." *Count Me In! Conference Papers, Kathmandu*, 16–18 April 2011. New Delhi: CREA. 17-36.

——————. 1993. *Women's Empowerment in South Asia – Concepts and Practices, Asia Pacific Bureau of Adult Education's (ASPBAE) study on FAO's Freedom from Hunger campaign*. In VeneKlasen and Miller, "Basic Concepts of Power," A New Weave of Power, People and Politics. 41. Print.

Bunch, Charlotte and Samantha Frost. (2000) Women's Human Rights: An Introduction. *Routledge International Encyclopedia of Women: Global Women's Issues and Knowledge*. Routledge.

CREA. (2006) Sexual Rights and Social Movements. CREA: New Delhi.

Facio, Alda. (2011) *Age Matters*. Discussion paper prepared for JASS (Just Associates).

Facio, Alda and Martha I. Morgan. n.d. *Equity or Equality for Women? Comparative Constitutional and International Human Rights Law Perspectives*. Lecture, Women, Gender and Justice Program at the United Nations Latin American Institute for Crime Prevention (ILANUD). Costa Rica. Unpublished.

Gaventa, John. (1997) "Citizen Knowledge, Citizen Competence, and Democracy Building." *The Good Society*, 5:3 (1997).

Goodman, Diane and Stephen Schapiro. (1997) "Sexism Curriculum Design. *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice, A Sourcebook*. Ed. Maurianne Adams, Lee Anne Bell, and Pat Griffin. New York: Routledge, 110-140. Print.

Governance and Social Development Resource Centre (GSDRC). *Social Exclusion as a Process*. Web page. UK: University of Birmingham. Accessed 23 March 2011.

Griffin, Pat and Bobbie Harro. (1997) "Heterosexism Curriculum Design." *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice, A Sourcebook*. Ed. Maurianne Adams, Lee Anne Bell, and Pat Griffin. New York: Routledge. 141-169. Print.

Institute for Development Studies (IDS). (2009) "Social Protection Responses to the Financial Crisis: What do we know?" *IDS In Focus Policy Briefing 7.4*. UK: IDS.

International Domestic Workers Network (IDWN). (2011) "What is Domestic Work?" *Respect and Rights for Domestic Workers*. Online posting. Switzerland: IDWN, n.d. (Web). Accessed 27 December 2011.

International Labour Organization (ILO). (2011) *Domestic Workers*. Online posting. Geneva: ILO, n.d. (Web). Accessed 27 December 2011.

JASS (Just Associates). (2008) *Feminist Epistemology*. Unpublished.

—————. (2009) Imagining and Rebuilding Feminist Movements for the Future. Internal strategy document. Washington, DC: JASS (Just Associates).

Jubilee USA Network. *Beginners' Guide to Debt*. Online posting. USA: Jubilee USA, n.d. (Web). Accessed 27 December 2011.

Kerr, Joanna and Carolyn Sweetman. (2003) "Editorial: Women Reinventing Globalisation." *Gender and Development* 11.1 (May 2003): 3-12.

Khan, Alia. (2011) *Gender-based Violence and HIV: A Program Guide*. Washington, DC: USAID's AIDS Support and Technical Assistance Resources (AIDSTAR-One).

Mama, Akina and Margo Okawaza-Ry. (2008). "Editorial: Militarism, Conflict, and Women's Activism." *Feminist Africa* 10 (August 2008): 1-7.

Moreno, Claudia. (2005) *WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence Against Women: Initial Results on Prevalence, Health Outcomes and Women's Responses*. Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization.

Miller, Valerie, Lisa VeneKlasen, Molly Reilly, and Cindy Clark. (2006) *Making Change Happen: Power. Concepts for Revisioning Power for Justice, Equality, and Peace*. Washington, DC: JASS (Just Associates).

Molyneaux, Maxine. (1997) Gender, Citizenship and Democracy: Reflections on contemporary debates, Institute de la Mujer. In VeneKlasen and Miller, *A New Weave of Power, People and Politics*, 2002.

Mukhopadhyay, Maitrayee. (2004) "Introduction." *Gender, Citizenship, and Governance. A Global Sourcebook*. Ed. Minke Valk, Sarah Cummings, and Henk van Dam. The Netherlands: KIT (Royal Tropical Institute) and Oxfam Publishing. 13–28. Print.

Newman, Kate. (2004) *Reflect, Rights and Governance: Insights from Nigeria and South Africa*. UK: Action Aid International.

Rauscher, Laura and Mary McClintock. (1997) "Abelism Curriculum Design." *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice, A Sourcebook*. Ed. Maurianne Adams, Lee Anne Bell, and Pat Griffin. New York: Routledge. 198–229. Print.

Reilly, Molly and Akanksha Marphatia. (2006) *Forging a Global Movement: New Education Rights Strategies for the United States and the World*. Washington, DC: Action Aid USA and JASS (Just Associates).

Suarez Toro, Maria and Valerie Miller. (Forthcoming) "Resonance and the Butterfly Effect: Feminist Epistemology and Popular Education." *Asking, We Walk: South as New Political Imaginary*. Ed. Corrine Kumar. Bangalore: Streelekha Publishers.

VeneKlasen, Lisa and Valerie Miller. (2002) *A New Weave of Power, People and Politics*. Washington, DC: World Neighbors.

VeneKlasen, Lisa. (2006) Popular Education Revisited. Washington, DC: JASS (Just Associates).

Wijeyesinghe, Charmaine L., Pat Griffin, and Barbara Love. (1997) "Racism Curriculum Design." *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice, A Sourcebook*. Ed. Maurianne Adams, Lee Anne Bell, and Pat Griffin. New York: Routledge. 82–109. Print.

Women, Law, and Development International and Human Rights Watch Women's Rights Project. Women's Human Rights Step by Step, 1997.

Yeskel, Felice and Betsy Leondar-Wright. (1997) "Classism Curriculum Design." *Teaching for Diversity and Social Justice*, A Sourcebook. Ed. Maurianne Adams, Lee Anne Bell, and Pat Griffin. New York: Routledge. 231–260. Print.