

AN ACTIVIST'S LIFE



A Companion Discussion Guide to the film

Passionate Politics: The Life and Work of Charlotte Bunch

A Joyce Warshaw film

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To order the film go to: passionatepoliticsfilm.com

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A Companion Discussion Guide to the film: *Passionate Politics: The Life and Work of Charlotte Bunch*

Introduction: Who is Charlotte Bunch?

Charlotte Bunch is an activist, writer, teacher, and organizer in the feminist and human rights movements of our day. She was born during World War II in the mountains of North Carolina on Friday, October 13, 1944 – the third child and middle daughter in a family of four children. Her family moved across the country by car with wartime gas rations to Artesia, New Mexico, when she was six weeks old. Charlotte attended public schools throughout her years in Artesia and participated in student clubs, edited the school newspaper and yearbook, and kept busy warding off boredom in a dusty town of eight thousand some two hundred miles away from any big city.



After high school graduation, Charlotte traveled across the country to Duke University, where she was active in the YWCA, the Methodist Student Movement, and many other student activities. She discovered her life passion for activism through the civil rights movement and graduated with a BA in history and political science in 1966.

After Duke, Charlotte moved to Washington D.C., where she was both a local community organizer and did national organizing as the president of the University Christian Movement. This newly formed progressive

ecumenical organization was affiliated with the World Student Christian Federation, whose Executive Committee took her on her first travels around the world. In Washington, she became the first woman tenured fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) – a left-leaning think tank where she worked for a decade, learning how public policy actually gets made. From her position at IPS, Charlotte helped found Washington D.C.'s Women's Liberation in 1968, The Furies Lesbian Feminist Collective and Newspaper in 1971, and *Quest: A Feminist Quarterly* in 1974. Her life in the 1960s and 70s reads like a classic chapter from the movements of the time, as she was both shaped by and helped to shape the era and especially the U.S. women's liberation movement.

In the 1980s, Charlotte took another prescient turn and moved to New York City to devote her time to developing the potential of global feminism, a topic she had begun to explore in the 70s but now saw as the future of feminism. She worked as a consultant on a wide range of projects, organized an early international workshop on sex trafficking, taught activist courses in Latin America and South Asia, and



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gradually developed a focus on the United Nations World Conferences on Women and their potential for advancing feminism. As a result of this work, she was invited to Rutgers University in New Jersey on a two-year visiting professorship in women's studies, which



morphed into a next-stage career as a global organizer and thinker based at the University.

In 1989, Charlotte founded the Center for Women's Global Leadership (CWGL) at Douglass College, Rutgers University. CWGL initiated groundbreaking Women's Global Leadership Institutes and launched campaigns for women's rights as human rights at the U.N. and globally that are still models for this work. As the Founding Director for 20 years, she remains a Senior Scholar at the Center. Charlotte is also a Distinguished Professor in [Women's and Gender Studies](#) at Rutgers University, where she teaches courses in women and leadership as well as gender and human rights.

A prolific writer, Charlotte has published many influential essays and edited nine anthologies. She is the author of *Passionate Politics: Feminist*

Theory in Action and co-author of [Demanding Accountability: The Global Campaign and Vienna Tribunal for Women's Human Rights](#). Throughout her life, she has served on the Board of Directors and advisory groups for many organizations and is currently on the Board of the [Global Fund for Women](#), the Advisory Committee for the [Women's Rights Division of Human Rights Watch](#), and the [Global Civil Society Advisory Group](#) for UN Women. She has been central to feminist organizing around the U.N. World Conferences on Women (1980-95) and to numerous civil society efforts at the U.N., including the Advisory Committee for the Secretary General's 2006 Report to the General Assembly on Violence Against Women, and as a leader in the GEAR (Gender Equality Architecture Reform) campaign for a new U.N. agency on women's rights. Bunch's contributions to women's human rights have been widely recognized: the [National Women's Hall of Fame](#), the White House Eleanor Roosevelt Award, and the "[1000 Women Peace Makers](#)" nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize are a few examples.

Passionate Politics: The Life and Work of Charlotte Bunch is a one-hour documentary film that brings Charlotte's story to life – from idealistic young civil rights activist to lesbian separatist to internationally acclaimed leader of a campaign to put women's rights on the global human rights agenda. In dramatizing Charlotte's life and work, the film also reveals the wider landscape of modern feminist activism – from its roots in the 1960s struggles for social justice to international campaigns against gender-based violence today. Interweaving past and present interviews with rich archival material, ***Passionate Politics*** is at once a deeply moving personal portrait of an activist life and an inspiring chronicle of the building of a global social justice movement.

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The film focuses in particular on Charlotte's involvement in the important movements that have marked the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Starting with her childhood in New Mexico,

Passionate Politics

covers Charlotte's leadership in the struggle for civil rights, women's liberation, lesbian-feminism, LGBT and sexual rights, global women's rights, and human rights.

Charlotte's story is also narrated by her vast political and social networks around the globe. We hear the inspiring voices of women from Asia, Africa, North and South America, and the Caribbean, who have worked with her and whose efforts she has encouraged and supported. Interwoven throughout the film are excerpts from Charlotte's personal letters, which illuminate her determination to create a more just world.

As a companion to the film *Passionate Politics*, this Discussion Guide puts into historical context the broad span of events depicted in the film and provides guidelines for further exploration, reflection, and discussion of the topics in the film and in Charlotte's life. Notably, the Guide is intended to stimulate discussion about the transformational strategies that appear throughout the film.

While the film draws from an extensive visual archive, the Guide points readers to a rich textual archive. Several of these texts were written by Charlotte; others highlight

organizations, activists, and documents that appear in the film. Thus, the Guide introduces readers to a network of resources that shed light on Charlotte's life and work all over the world, spanning more than four decades.

The film appears

almost twenty-five years after the landmark publication of Bunch's collected essays, *Passionate Politics: Feminist Theory in Action (St. Martin's Press)*. Published in 1987, the book is, in the words of Rita Mae Brown, an "odyssey of intellect as well as years," as it traces the contemporary history of women's struggles for justice since the 1960s. *Passionate Politics* the book is a particularly important companion for this guide to *Passionate Politics* the film.

The Discussion Guide's five chapters follow the chronological order of the film.

- **The Introduction** presents Charlotte's personal and professional history and provides an overview of the Guide's content and purpose.



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- **Chapter 1** describes Charlotte's involvement in the student Christian movement and in civil rights activism in the 1960s.
- **Chapter 2** highlights texts on the women's liberation movement in the 1970s and particularly brings attention to Bunch's involvement in defining lesbian feminism and the Furies collective as well as in the lesbian and gay liberation movement.
- **Chapter 3** explores Charlotte's key role in the evolution of global feminism in the 1980s and 1990s.
- **Chapter 4** focuses on the Center for Women's Global Leadership at Rutgers University, founded by Bunch in 1989.
- **Chapter 5** explores the ways in which women's movements around the world have mobilized to make "women's rights understood as human rights" and in particular to make violence against women a human rights issue, building on Charlotte's key role in this conceptualization and strategy.

The **Appendix** provides resources to further contextualize *Passionate Politics*, including short bios of key activists who appear in the film, a timeline of events related to Charlotte's life story, and a bibliography.

Two historic videos are also included on the DVD of *Passionate Politics*. ***World Feminism: Are You Listening?*** (1980), produced by Martha Stuart, is a dialogue about feminism with women from around the globe. The film was made to provoke discussion at the NGO Forum held concurrently with the 1980 United Nations World Conference on Women, in Copenhagen, where it was shown daily.

Feminist Visions: Global Change (1983) is a recently rediscovered historic cable TV pilot in which Charlotte Bunch and Achebe (Betty) Powell interview U.S. women of color theorist-activists Cherrie Moraga and Barbara Smith, as well as Fany Donton Russell from Ghana about issues of gender, race, and class in the women's movement.

This Companion Discussion Guide is intended for teachers, organizers, diversity trainers, community activists, and film programmers. It can be used as a whole or can be shown in segments that correspond to the chapters in the Guide. The film and the Guide are valuable tools for courses in a wide variety of disciplines that touch on social movements in anthropology, sociology, political science, American studies, history, queer studies, women's and gender studies. It is especially relevant for courses such as:

- Feminist Theory and Ideas in Action
- Introduction to Women's and Gender Studies
- History of Social Movements and Social Justice
- History of the Women's Movement
- Human Rights and Gender
- Lesbian Feminism, LGBT movements, and Sexual Rights
- Transnational or Global Feminisms
- Violence Against Women

Note: Sources for all quotes (except quotes from the film) are listed in the Bibliography in the appendix.

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Chapter 1: Personal and Political Evolution

Women's liberation is my priority because it is me. Collectively, it is the struggle that incorporates my personal and political sense and makes them one.

– Charlotte Bunch,
from the film *Passionate Politics*

*When I was in the sixth grade at Hermosa Elementary School in Artesia, New Mexico, in the 1950s, I earnestly bet my teacher, Mr. Damron, that when I grew up I would be a missionary in some faraway country. He was skeptical, but I was insistent. As a bright, adventurous girl growing up in a small rural town, I saw the missionaries who occasionally came to our local Methodist Church to show slides and talk of their work in distant places as my role models – especially the women. They seemed to have exciting lives as women who traveled and also did good works. The next year someone gave me a book called *Girls' Stories of Great Women*, and I began to imagine that I might become a social worker, like Jane Addams, helping people in the United States. I was restless, searching for something I did not know how to name. It was through the student Christian movement in the 1960s – The YWCA and the Methodist Student Movement in particular – that I was able to transform my vague ideals into a life as a political activist (Bunch in Evans, 2004, p. 122).*

The Student Christian Movement

In the 1950s and 1960s, many young people in the U.S. engaged in social justice activity as part of student Christian movements. These groups, located on campuses across the country, were

often liberal-minded and open to women's participation and even leadership at a time in American public life that did not fully allow women to take significant roles. Through the YWCA, the World Student Christian Federation, the Methodist Student Movement, and a number of other organizations, women learned critical leadership and organizing skills that allowed them to participate in efforts to combat racism, poverty, oppression, and other social injustices.

In the 1960s, as a freshman at Duke University, Charlotte became active in both the campus YWCA and the Methodist Student Movement. These organizations provided a familiar structure and a set of values from which to become part of larger movements for social change. This was during the prime period of the black civil rights movement in the U.S., which fought for the rights of all citizens through nonviolent resistance to racism. The modern



era of the civil rights movement began in the 1950s but became larger and more visible in the 1960s. As Charlotte recalls in a collection of reflections about women's experiences in the student Christian Movement:

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It happened gradually, but as I look back, I see that 1963 was the turning point in my life, moving me inexorably from timid moral opposition to the unfairness of segregation in the South to a wider political understanding of injustices in the world and a commitment to work against them. My participation in my first civil rights demonstration was sparked by a photo in the local paper of the police beating one of the black students from North Carolina Negro College whom I had met at a MSM [Methodist Student Movement] event. In the spring of that year, I participated in a Duke MSM study tour to New York City and met activists in Harlem and toured Greenwich Village. That summer I learned about poverty and racism in the North while working in an inner-city project for children sponsored by the Methodist Deaconess Home in Philadelphia.

*These opportunities helped me begin to understand the race and class divisions throughout the country, from north to south, east to west, including in my hometown, which was divided between Anglos and Mexicans. I read the recently published book *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan, which our YWCA director recommended for summer reading. This book confirmed my unarticulated suspicions about the prospects for educated women and helped clarify the fuzziness I had felt about having a career. Just before I returned for my sophomore year at Duke, which was now integrated, I watched Martin Luther King, Jr., deliver his "I Have a Dream" speech on television (Bunch, in Evans, 2004, p.125).*

The 1965 Selma-to-Montgomery Civil Rights March

Ten of us, all connected to the Methodist Student Movement, met in Montgomery and stayed in the Holiday Inn for our first

week. We experienced the hatred and fear that possess most white Alabamians. From the moment we arrived in the Negro community we were fed and housed by local women. We were accepted just as we were, middle-class whites with mixed motives and feelings of guilt. As I left Montgomery, I felt that I had been given an irreplaceable gift. That my whole understanding of the movement, its fragmentation, its urgency, and its basic humanness had changed.

Bunch's letter to her family (1965), from the film

In March, 1965, Bunch, along with other members of the Methodist Student Movement, took part in some of the events surrounding the historic march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama. On March 7, some six hundred civil rights demonstrators gathered in Selma, Alabama, to begin the fifty-four-mile march. They were protesting the murder of a civil rights activist, and as film director Henry Hampton explains in the film *Eyes on the Prize*, they also had a broader agenda: to overturn unfair state laws and local violence that prevented African-Americans from voting. The peaceful protestors got only as far as the Edmund Pettus Bridge, six miles



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outside of town, when the police attacked them with clubs and tear gas – an event remembered as “Bloody Sunday.”

Two days later, Martin Luther King, Jr., led another march to the bridge but was soon turned back by Alabama’s police. The march was only permitted to resume after a federal judicial review. By then the protest had grown to more than three thousand marchers, who set off on March 21. As they made their way to Montgomery, walking some twelve miles a day, scores of participants joined the march, until, on March 25, 25,000 marchers arrived at the State Capitol building in Montgomery. Soon afterward, the U.S. Congress passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which obliged states to end discriminatory voting practices. The Act followed the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which had begun addressing the unequal and racist application of voter registration requirements.

The Peace Movement and Protesting the Vietnam War

In her sophomore year at Duke, Charlotte was elected president of the North Carolina Methodist Student Movement (MSM), a position that increased her visibility and expanded her activist opportunities. She attended national Methodist Student Movement events and was elected to the National Council of the MSM, which exposed her to many more educational opportunities, provided a broad network of contacts and proved to be a site from which she could sharpen her leadership skills. In 1966, she became the national president of the University Christian Movement – a new ecumenical body on campuses across the country – and a member of the Executive Committee of the World Student Christian Federation, which took her to international meetings in Finland, Lebanon, Japan, Ethiopia, and Switzerland between 1968 and 1972.

These international experiences spurred Charlotte’s interest in making connections between local and global issues. She studied the role of women in the Chinese revolution (from 1929-59) for her Senior Honors Thesis at Duke and became involved in several groups critical of U.S. foreign policy, including the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), which she helped to found.

It was a natural evolution for Charlotte to become active in the rapidly growing protest movement against the Vietnam War. In the winter of 1965 she participated in her first anti-war demonstration, at the Durham Post Office, and later that spring she attended the first national anti-war rally in Washington, D.C. Like many activists of her generation, Charlotte began to see the war as part of a bigger picture of American imperialist domination and struggled to see how to connect it to her work for domestic social justice. This tension is reflected in a speech included in her book *Passionate Politics* which she gave at the Jeanette Rankin Women’s Brigade for Peace National Congress in 1968. As one of only a few young women invited to speak, Charlotte reflected on how the war was bringing together her emerging feminist commitments and her anti-imperialist concerns:

Three years ago when I first demonstrated against the Vietnam War, I thought that it was just a bad mistake in U.S. policy that if we protested enough, would be remedied. Since then, we have seen many disturbing events – U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic, the militaristic reaction to black riots at home, the further escalation in South East Asia, and so on. Today it is clear that we not only protest ruthless slaughter in Vietnam but also must examine why that “mistake” has not been easily remedied. We must see Vietnam, not as an aberration, but as a logical extension of U.S. foreign policy.

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It is this policy, to which the United States has committed our national energy in lives and dollars over the past twenty years, which we must reverse if we are to stop both the war in Vietnam and the Vietnams of the future... we must realize the domestic results of this policy, specifically a "war" against dissent and social change that we see vividly in the ghettos today and in the coercive use of the draft and the recent indictments of antiwar leaders...

The imperative on us – this room full of women – is great. We cannot wait passively

to see what 1968 will bring... We must escalate our efforts – research, organize, act, and do it over and over. Bringing change in foreign policy involves not so much influencing top decision makers in Washington, but building a massive base of people at the local level who demand the necessary changes. We must develop new responses that put human priorities first, that attack racism and domination at home and in foreign policy, that redefine our interests and the role of the U.S., not as a world policeman, but as part of a more humane order internationally (Bunch, 1987.)

Questions for discussion:

- Why does the film begin with Charlotte's childhood? Why did the filmmaker decide to focus on "The Life and Work of Charlotte Bunch," instead of only on her work? How does learning about someone's personal life help us understand their political actions? How have your views been affected by your personal background and life experience?
- How can religious and faith-based groups work for political and social change – as progressives or conservatives? Name some examples in your community of both.
- How did Charlotte's participation in the civil rights movement affect the rest of her career? Which ideas, actions, or politics from this era appear throughout the film?
- Civil rights activism was based on nonviolence as a strategy for social change. What nonviolent strategies are shown in the film? What is their impact? What nonviolent struggles are happening now, and how do you view this strategy today?

Group Activity:

- Research and compare the anti-Vietnam War movement with present-day anti-war activities. Assess how these movements have intersected with feminist politics.

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Chapter 2: U.S. Women's Liberation and Lesbian Feminism

Women's Liberation Movement

In the late 1960s, Bunch became a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington D.C. She was the first woman to be admitted as a resident fellow with tenure at the Institute. While she was there she observed how during meetings her (and other women's) ideas were often ignored by male colleagues who would

say virtually the same thing later and assume it was a valuable contribution to the conversation. In this context, she became aware of how sexism was affecting her personally, despite her years at the forefront of student organizing and her leadership in the student Christian movement.

Early in 1968, Bunch joined with other women from "new left" movements in the formation of a radical women's discussion group, which later became the Washington DC Women's Liberation Movement. She was part of a burgeoning trend: indeed, over the next two years, hundreds of women's groups, with various agendas, formed all over the country. Some of these groups were more mainstream like the National Organization for Women (NOW) formed in 1966, but many emerged through the contradictions found in organizing in the often male dominated New Left, the black liberation, Chicano, anti-war, and other such movement groups. In her history of the women's movement, Jo Freeman, a feminist political scientist also active at this time, described how certain women's groups adopted formal institutional modes of organizing while many others flourished independently, loosely linked only by journals, newsletters, and word carried by travelers. It was the vital work of all these groups – with their mission of opposing sexist oppression – that came to be called the women's liberation movement (Freeman, 1971).

Lesbian Feminism and The Furies

There was really a big split in women's liberation. We needed to develop a politics to make clear to people why we felt this was so important, why we didn't think you could achieve women's liberation without dealing with homophobia, without dealing with lesbian rights.

– Joan Biren, from the film



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“A Broom of One’s Own: Notes on the Women’s Liberation Problem”

As the women’s liberation movement has grown rapidly in size, self-confidence, and analysis, so also it has grown in the development of programs. Our programs must both confront the sexist system and enable us as women to struggle for our liberation. This involves three interlocking and reinforcing processes that must go on at once: raising consciousness, ending dependencies, and challenging sexist institutions.

Raising consciousness: Consciousness-raising is our term for the process by which women begin to discover ourselves as an oppressed people and struggle against the effects of male supremacy on us. It happens when we describe and share our individual problems so that we can understand the universality of our oppression and analyze its social roots.... A major goal of consciousness-raising, ending our isolation from each other and our silence about the fears and frustrations of our lives, is primarily accomplished through the small group.... But consciousness-raising is not simply awakening to one’s condition. It must also be the process of finding the courage and confidence to move.

Ending Dependencies: We have all grown up in a male supremacist society that has made us dependent on men and caused us to neglect our growth in many ways: physically, politically, economically, and psychologically.

Challenging Sexist Institutions: The third essential process involved in the struggle for liberation is confronting both the institutions that oppress us as women and the sexist ideology that supports those institutions. Over the past year women’s groups have also begun to analyze institutional oppression, demanding change in those that perpetrate and profit from sexism, such as corporations and the health system. In the process we have begun to define social structures for a humane, nonracist, nonsexist society, thereby projecting visions for the future and producing what we can now, where that is possible (Bunch, 1969/70).

The mood and era was one of people separating in order to create their issues. I had been in the civil rights movement when blacks began to demand black power and say to whites, “You have to work on your own people, you have to leave now.” And then I had been in the women’s movement where we had essentially done the same thing.

– **Charlotte Bunch**, from the film

In 1971, a group of twelve women who had been active in women’s liberation in Washington D.C., formed a separatist collective called The Furies.” The Furies saw the liberation of women as their top priority and also wanted to transform lesbian-feminist theory into practice in their everyday lives. The women lived in three communal houses, where they sought to embody communal values by sharing their salaries, cars, clothes, and all their private property. To articulate and disseminate their vision and analysis further, they published

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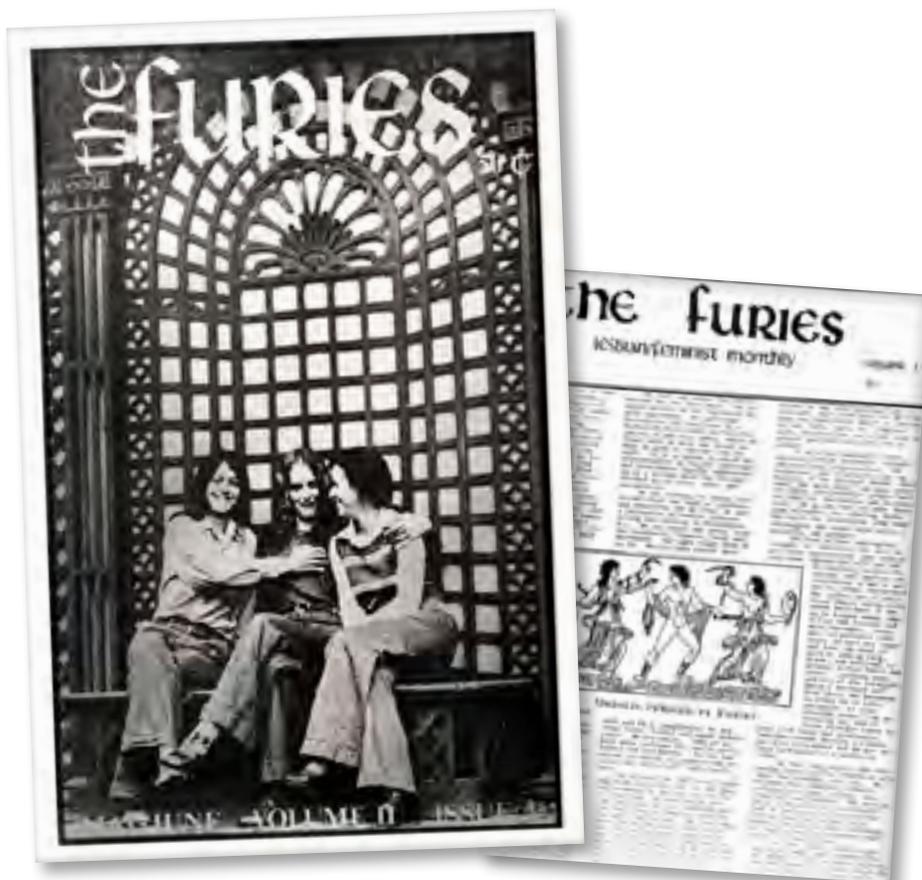
a newspaper, *The Furies: Lesbian/Feminist Monthly*. In the first issue, they set forth a bold definition of their politics. Here is the introduction to these historical first words:

*The development of Lesbian-feminist politics as the basis for the liberation of women is our top priority; this article outlines our present ideas. In our society, which defines all people and institutions for the benefit of the rich, white male, the Lesbian is in revolt. In revolt because she defines herself in terms of women and rejects the male definitions of how she should feel, act, look, and live. To be a Lesbian is to love oneself, woman, in a culture that denigrates and despises women. The Lesbian rejects male sexual/political domination; she defies his world, his social organization, his ideology, and his definition of her as inferior. Lesbianism puts women first while the society declares the male supreme. Lesbianism threatens male supremacy at its core. When politically conscious and organized, it is central to destroying our sexist, racist, capitalist, imperialist system (Bunch, *The Furies*, 1972, reprinted in Bunch, 1987)*

The Furies were leaders in articulating these ideas, but they were not an anomaly. Separatist politics was a hallmark of feminism and other movements in the early 1970s. Lesbian feminists all over the U.S. began to engage in consciousness-raising, reflecting on their commonalities and sources of systemic common oppression. Separatist politics envisioned cutting all ties to men and patriarchal institutions. Despite these forceful ideas, after one year as a separatist organization, the Furies disbanded. Charlotte wrote about the limits of

separatism in Volume 1, Issue 7, of *The Furies* suggesting that separatism can be a useful strategy at times but that it is not a final vision and that it can lead to a narrow politics:

We begin to think in terms of purity rather than revolutionary consciousness, limiting our vision and leadership. We start with the useful strategy of working only with a particular group, x, lesbians, working class women, young women. But we slip into the purist assumption that if you aren't x, you can't be in our revolution, rather than stressing the development of x-consciousness whether you are x or not. We may chose to work with a limited group, but if we develop this purist attitude toward others, we narrow the number of people who can join our struggle... Of course, lesbians are most likely to develop lesbian/feminist consciousness, but anyone



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*can criticize white male heterosexual domination and fight against its privileges and oppressions (Bunch, *The Furies*, 1972 reprinted in Bunch, 1975).*

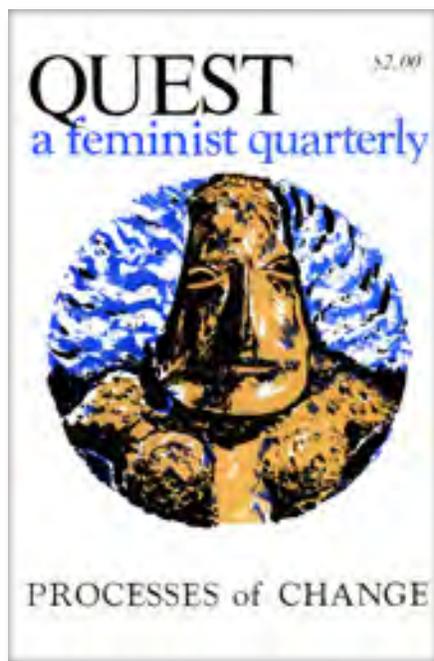
Quest: A Feminist Quarterly and Women's Publishing

In the early 1970s the women's liberation movement produced an impressive amount of feminist publishing, bookstores, women's music, art, and drama, as women sought more control over their lives and more expression of their viewpoints. As noted by Agatha Beins, in her dissertation, "Free Our Sisters, Free Ourselves!" the first feminist periodicals appeared in 1968, and by 1973 more than five hundred feminist newsletters, newspapers, and literary journals had been published. These publications emerged across the U.S., in rural outposts, suburban towns, and urban centers; they were central to the development of the women's liberation movement (Beins, 2011).

Charlotte was active in these developments and in the creation of *Quest: A Feminist Quarterly*. In the Introduction to *Building Feminist Theory*, the collection of essays from *Quest*, she describes the evolution of the quarterly as part of the movement of women in print:

In the summer of 1974, a small group of feminists in Washington D.C., published the first issue of Quest: A Feminist Quarterly [out of Bunch's office at The Institute for Policy Studies]. The story of Quest's

development revolves around women in Washington D.C., who struggled with the help of many others, to build a national journal of feminist political thought. But to talk about Quest's earlier years involves several stories. It is a story of feminist theory and its evolution in the women's movement, of tensions between theory and action and between intellectual and activist demands. It is the story of a feminist group determined to create a non-authoritarian work process based on feminist principles of cooperation and sharing of skills that would also meet the rigorous demands of publishing. It is a story about the effort to build a feminist institution with an independent economic base controlled by women. Quest's stories reflect the 1970s spirit and struggles, successes and failures of the decentralized radical wing of the women's movement in the United States... Quest continued to publish until 1982.



The activists who began Quest felt that political strength and clarity would come from exploring feminist analysis from a fairly wide range of viewpoints within the movement. The staff of Quest considered certain questions of class, race, and sexual oppression, as well as strategic and organizational matters such as leadership, to be of paramount importance to this evolving theory... In addition, our various movement experiences led us to explore strategic issues such as conflict in the movement centered around questions of power, leadership, and organizational structure... In seeking to ensure that these

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and other issues would be covered in Quest, we decided to have a broad theme for each issue of the journal...The themes included: Processes of Change; Money, Fame, and Power; Women and Spirituality; Organizations and Structures; Leadership; Communication and Control; and Race, Class, and Culture (Bunch, 1981).

Lesbian Visibility in the Mainstream

Lesbians and gay men have always been in the vanguard of struggles for liberation and justice in this country and within our community.

– Audre Lorde, from the film

By the late 1960s, the lesbian and gay liberation movement began to be visible in public life as a growing political force. Its more public phase grew out of the now-famous three days of civil disobedience in 1969 at the Stonewall Inn, a bar in New York City. While this event was crucial in galvanizing public attention, the movement had its roots in several groups, such as the Daughters of Bilitis and the Mattachine Society, which had been actively defending gays and lesbians since the 1950s.

Charlotte participated in the lesbian and gay liberation movement from a feminist perspective and was added to the Board of the National Gay (and Lesbian) Task Force in 1974, six months after its founding, when it decided to have gender parity on the board. She also sought to draw attention to the presence of lesbians and gay men in other social justice movements.

Charlotte's main focus was the women's movement, and an opportunity to advance lesbian rights in the movement came with the National Women's Conference for International Women's Year, held in Houston, Texas, in 1977. The Conference was a result of Congresswoman

Bella Abzug's initiative to get the U.S. Congress to respond to the U.N. declaration of 1975 as International Women's Year. The Conference's mission was to develop a national agenda for women's rights and empowerment and it was the only event of its kind ever funded by the U.S. government. In the *Journal of Women's History*, Bunch recalls the process:

In every state of the union, women passed resolutions and elected delegates to go to Houston to develop a national agenda in the context of the U.N. Decade. The feminist Coalition led a successful 25-plank National Plan of Action which included women's economic and political needs, lesbian rights, reproductive choice, and recognition of the double burden of race and sex. This extensive coalitional effort linked various strands of feminism with a wide range of women's organizations at the state and national level to create a comprehensive agenda and to defend it from a growing right wing backlash against women's rights. For example, I worked with a national caucus to ensure lesbians participated in state conferences – getting elected as delegates and building coalitions that often had a lasting impact at the grass roots. We learned lessons not only in coalition building but also in how engagement with government and the U.N. context can bring feminism into public policy discussions and galvanize women in ways that have a wider impact (Bunch, 2012).

The 1977 National Women's Conference, which succeeded in bringing greater unity and visibility to women's rights in the U.S., was followed two years later by the First National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights, held on October 14, 1979. About 100,000 people participated. The march served to unite thousands of activists and organizations from around the country in a massive show of visibility. It also symbolized a moment in which coordinated efforts to intervene in the

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realm of legislative national politics were taking off. In the film, Bunch speaks at the March on Washington, where she highlights lesbian/gay visibility and leadership across movements and calls for coalitional politics:

If they thought that we were everywhere in the 1970s, wait till they see the 1980s. We will quadruple our numbers in leadership of the other movements that we've all participated in – open leadership of the feminist movement, open leadership of the black and minority movements, open leadership of the anti-nuke movement. We have been in those movements and we are going to be open and showing the

leadership we have given all these years; and we are going to do it as lesbians and gay men, as well as building our own movement and our own power.

– **Charlotte Bunch**, from the film

Since 1979, there have been five marches on Washington for the rights of gays and lesbians. Most recent demonstrations have also included a defense of the rights of bisexuals and transgender people. The most recent one, The National Equality March, was held on October 11, 2009; an estimated 200,000 people participated.

Questions for discussion:

- Early in her activist career Charlotte says: “As I moved into the adult left is when I discovered sexism.” What does she mean by that? How is sexism portrayed in the film? Is it a situation that changes in the film through time and place? How would you describe sexism today? Have you had personal experiences with sexism? If so, how have they affected your professional and private life?
- In the film, Bunch says: “You can’t build a political movement out of an exclusionary politics. I’m a political organizer. I wasn’t really interested just in having my own life as a separatist. I wanted to bring change. I wanted to change the world.” What do you think Charlotte means by exclusionary politics? How would you approach this issue today?
- How do you think Bunch’s participation in the Furies influenced her trajectory and politics as an activist later in life?
- What are coalitional politics? Can you identify in the film any moment in which coalitional politics take place? Thinking of your school, community, or recent news events, can you identify alliances between different movements and organizations that illustrate coalitional politics? What are the strengths and challenges that emerge through these kinds of politics?

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Chapter 3: Global Feminism Emerges

Women have engaged in transnational struggles for social justice and gender equality since at least the mid-nineteenth century. For example, in the 1850s in the U.S. and the U.K., women who would later become suffrage leaders like Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were active in the transcontinental abolitionist movement which taught them the value of transnational ties which they later used in seeking women's suffrage. Kumari Jayawardena, a Sri Lankan feminist historian, has documented how women who were engaged in political struggles to end colonialism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Asia and the Middle East often made connections across national boundaries that influenced their work to bring women into the political process as part of anti-colonial struggles. (Jayawardena, 1986). By the early twentieth century, several international women's organizations, had

been organized to advance women's rights, girls' education, peace and social justice. Among these are the YWCA (Young Women's Christian Association), founded in 1855, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), founded in 1915.

Through their campaigns against colonial powers, for the right to vote, for peace and/or girls' education, women became increasingly aware of the importance of global interconnections and were an active force in both the League of Nations and the founding of the United Nations (U.N.) (Pietila, 2002). With the new waves of feminism around the world in the 1960s-80's, women again turned to organizing through institutions such as the U.N. Feminist networks emerged that responded to the environmental crisis, militarization, aggressive neoliberal economic policies, peace and security, reproductive rights, violence against women, and other pressing contemporary issues. What follows is a description of some of the events that influenced the growth of this global movement, which is vividly depicted in the film *Passionate Politics*.



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The Four U.N. World Conferences on Women: 1975-95

Charlotte helped me become the woman my governments had warned me about.

– Peggy Antrobus, from the film

From 1975 to 1995 the U.N. organized four World Conferences on Women, at which representatives of governments and women from around the world gathered to discuss the status of women in their countries and regions. State representatives and some non-governmental organization (NGO) observers negotiated the terms that would be included in the official conference documents, through intergovernmental negotiations. Additionally, a parallel NGO Forum, open to everyone, was held alongside the official U.N. conference. The U.N. Decade on Women (1975-1985), which was launched with the First U.N. Women's World Conference, greatly assisted the growth

of feminism globally. In her book *The Global Women's Movement*, the Barbadian feminist activist and economist Peggy Antrobus describes the impact of the Conferences on that movement:

These meetings enabled women to gain new knowledge and to learn from each other's experience. They facilitated the organization of joint projects and collaborative efforts. They gave birth to issue-based networks at local, regional and global levels, which in turn provided the research and analysis that served to empower women's advocacy. They helped women to develop self-confidence and leadership skills. They linked activists with researchers and, more importantly, validated and encouraged the pursuit of research among activists, and activism among researchers. They forged and strengthened links between organizing at local and global levels. They facilitated the

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U.N. World Conferences on Women

The **First World Conference on Women, held in Mexico City, 1975**, was tumultuous and groundbreaking in bringing global attention to a multitude of issues raised by the 8000+ people who attended the conference and/or the NGO parallel Tribune. Government delegations - 73% female and primarily headed by women – brought many into the orbit of the U.N. for the first time; both events introduced activists to the potential of pursuing their interests through the U.N., at a time when there were few international venues for women's rights. The conference developed a Plan of Action and, recognizing that a year was hardly enough, called for a U.N. Decade for Women. Further, over 100 governments set up "national institutions" dealing with policy, research and programs on women as a result of IWY.

*Awareness-raising about women's status prevailed even amidst differences in Mexico, but the **Second World Conference on Women in Copenhagen in 1980** brought out the heat in debates North- South, as well as over political divisions, especially around Zionism and the Middle East. Nevertheless, especially at the NGO Forum, women listened and networked – a learning experience that prepared the groundwork for greater understanding of the enormous diversity of women and their needs.*

*The **Third World Conference on Women, held in Nairobi in 1985**, ushered in the era of the international women's movement, with its multitude of diverse regional and global manifestations. Women's groups and feminist leaders had been emerging over the decade in all regions, and more Southern voices now took center stage. For example, DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) – a new network of researchers from the Global South – launched its feminist critique of development in Nairobi. The NGO forum embraced women's diversity as strength and reflected the growing consensus that all issues are women's issues and all would benefit from gender analysis. The "Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women Towards 2000" coming out of the Inter-governmental conference contained a detailed and sophisticated approach to what achieving women's equality required.*

*The **Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995** showcased this movement and consolidated its gains on the UN agenda. The largest UN conference held to date, it had delegations from 189 governments and 17,000 (governments, NGOs, journalists, and UN personnel) in attendance. Meanwhile some 35,000+ people attended the NGO Forum. Beijing illustrated the enormous interest in this topic globally as well as exposed its controversial aspects and the growing political strength of opponents to women's rights. The Beijing Platform for Action covers the human rights of women in 12 critical areas of concern, ranging from poverty and education to violence against women and armed conflict, and including the girl child – a topic that African women advanced. There have been no more world conferences on women, but the CSW has conducted well attended reviews of implementation of the Beijing Platform – in 2000, 2005 and 2010. These events reaffirmed the Platform and added to it in areas, such as HIV/Aids, but they are less bold in spirit and reflect the impact that conservative forces have had on governments' attitudes toward women's issues, especially in areas like sexual and reproductive rights.*

Adapted from Bunch, Charlotte. 2007. "Women and Gender". In Thomas G. Weiss & Sam Daws (Eds.). *Oxford Handbook on the United Nations*, London: Oxford University Press.

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growth of a global women's movement of the greatest diversity and decentralization, a movement that expanded its agenda from a narrow definition of 'women's issues' to one that embraced a range of concerns for human welfare. In the process it transformed itself into a major alternative political constituency (Antrobus, 2004).

Women and Development Debates

Women's role in economic development policies was one of the central issues raised in the 1970s as part of the U.N. Development Decade, and it was placed more squarely on the global agenda in 1975, through the U.N. International Women's Year Conference. During that year, and as a consequence of the Mexico City conference, two new U.N. bodies were created to address this topic: UNIFEM (United Nations Development Fund for Women) and INSTRAW (United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women).

Much of the early global feminist discussion and networking across national boundaries took place in the context of women seeking to define a feminist perspective on development. The publication of *Women's Role in Economic Development* (1970), by economist Esther Boserup, marked a key moment in the process of questioning the absence of women in development thinking and projects. At that time, development was largely considered in relation to economics, and the initial focus was on bringing attention to women's labor and inclusion in development planning. Discussions about women and development were central to women of the Global South, where U.N. and governmental policies saw development as key for women's advancement, especially for poor women. However, as Peggy Antrobus noted in *The Global Women's Movement*, a feminist critique eventually emerged of Boserup, "for not challenging the modernization paradigm and for assuming that the capitalist model of development was benign" (Antrobus, 2004).

Debates over development also led to wider discussion among feminists over what is a "women's issue" and how gender disparities interfaced with other factors, such as class and race. Feminists had begun by defining "women's issues" in areas that had great impact on women that were not on the global agenda, such as reproductive rights and equal pay for equal work. Through global dialogue, many women came to see the need for a greater focus on analyzing social structures, including development paradigms and macro-economic policies, instead of focusing only on "women's issues" like reproduction as separate matters. Feminists came to demand a complete transformation in the development agenda from a gender perspective, one that would lead to alternative modes of development (Jain, 2008). Development projects indeed shifted from a "welfare" approach to an empowerment approach. Gradually, development agencies also changed their focus to a gender-in-development perspective, which took into account power imbalances between men and women, as well as women's participation in the economy.

Devaki Jain, in her book on *Women, Development, and the U.N.*, provides a useful overview of this "women and development" discourse and the context in which global feminism emerged. Her study ends with a critical questioning of how much change for poor women has actually been achieved by the UN focus on development. She states:

Despite great leaps forward in theorizing about development that moved women from the periphery to the center and began to see them as the holders of solutions to global problems, the poverty of the world's women has increased and intensified in most countries. It seems time to take a step back and ask some larger questions about why this is so (Jain, 2005).

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Latin American and Caribbean Feminist Encuentros

It was one of those magical moments in the history of the women's movement in Latin America where people from all different countries came together to discuss what it meant to be a feminist.

– Roxanna Carrillo, from the film



Since 1981, feminists from all over Latin America and the Caribbean have been gathering every two or three years in “Encuentros” – conferences or gatherings organized

by feminists, not in connection to the U.N. or to governments. As noted in the feminist journal *Signs*, these events have “served as critical transnational sites in which local activists have refashioned and renegotiated identities, discourses, and practices distinctive of the region’s feminisms” (Alvarez, 2002). The Encuentros have served to create and strengthen feminist transnational networks in the region. They have defined common struggles and have confirmed regional solidarity across the continent (XI EFLC, 2009).

Among the issues that have been discussed at the Encuentros are: the relationship between feminism and diverse social movements; the effects of globalization; social and gendered justice; inclusion and expansion of the feminist movement in relation to the critique articulated by black feminists, indigenous women, young women, and lesbians. The institutionalization of feminist organizations, the relationship between feminism and the state, the U.N., and other

international institutions have also been part of the agenda (CIMAC, 2009). One concrete result from the first Encuentro, in Colombia in 1981, was the call for an International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women, on November 25th. This day was adopted by the civil society organizers of the 16 Days of Activism Against Gender Violence Campaign in 1991 and by the U.N. in 1998 (see 16 Days Website: <http://16dayscwgl.rutgers.edu/>).

The Encuentros have taken place in Colombia, 1981; Peru, 1983; Brazil, 1985; Mexico, 1987; Argentina, 1990; El Salvador, 1993; Chile, 1996; Dominican Republic, 1999; Costa Rica, 2002; Brazil, 2005; Mexico, 2009; Colombia, 2011.

ISIS International has documented the history of the Encuentros in the CD *Los Encuentros Feministas de America Latina y el Caribe 1981-2009. Relatos y Reflexiones*.

Transnational Feminist Networking

Feminists like Charlotte, Roxanna, Peggy, and Sunila – as portrayed in the film, had begun meeting and working with women from other countries before 1985, and often this included meeting in contexts created by the UN World Conferences for Women. But although transnational feminist networking had begun earlier, many more feminist networks formed and many more women became active in them after the 1985 World Conference on Women in Nairobi. Nairobi is seen as the moment that feminism as a global development became most visible to the world as well as to the women there. In recent years, feminist networking has expanded via the power of electronic communications, but it is important to note that women’s networking existed before the “net.”

Feminist networks are usually made up of different organizations and often individuals that work together for common goals – short or long term – while maintaining their own organizational identities and programs. According to Bunch et al.: “In networks,

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different groups can use their organizational strengths, commitments and resources to participate in projects on a flexible basis. Networking allows for coordinated but decentralized and non-hierarchical action around common goals" (Bunch et al., 2001).

Networks form for many reasons, and can be temporary or long term, but central to them is the members' ability to learn from one another's experience and to generate cross-border solidarity that increases each group's power. Feminist networking over the past three decades has been crucial to shaping the global

women's movement. Some of the key networks include: Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), Women Living under Muslim Laws (WLUML), Women in Law and Development in Africa (WILDAF), Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD), CLADEM – The Latin American and Caribbean Committee for the Defense of Women's Rights, Women's Learning Partnership (WLP), and the Women's Human Rights Defenders International Coalition (WHRD-IC). See Resources in appendix for information on how to contact these and other feminist networks.

Two Examples of Transnational Feminist Networks

1. Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) is a network of feminist scholars, researchers and activists from the economic South working for economic and gender justice and sustainable and democratic development. DAWN provides a forum for feminist research, analyses and advocacy on global issues (economic, social and political) affecting the livelihoods, living standards, rights and development prospects of women, especially poor and marginalized women, in regions of the South. Through research, analyses, advocacy and, more recently, training, DAWN seeks to support women's mobilization within civil society to challenge inequitable social, economic and political relations at global, regional and national levels, and to advance feminist alternatives.
Source: <http://www.dawwnet.org/>
2. **WLP** (Women's Learning Partnership) was created in response to the expressed needs of a network of NGO leaders and grassroots activists in the Middle East-North Africa region in the aftermath of the 1995 Beijing Fourth World Conference for Women. On their recommendation, WLP organized a dialogue in June 2000 for 15 women NGO leaders from Muslim-majority societies to identify the themes and priority areas for the newly established organization. The participants concluded that it was of utmost importance to redefine concepts of leadership and power to conform to women's values; develop culture-specific curriculum that could be adapted to varied societies; and train and help women achieve positions of leadership and decision-making in the public sphere.

The Partnership has grown to include 20 autonomous and independent organizations from the Global South and our culturally-adapted curriculum is now available in 20 languages. We have disseminated our participatory leadership training methodology and expanded and strengthened our networks through six National and Regional Institutes for Women's Leadership and Training of Trainers.

Source: <http://www.learningpartnership.org/lib/history>

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Questions for discussion:

- In the film, Bunch says: "For me the local and the global are always different dimensions of the same struggle." What do you think of this affirmation? Can you identify moments in the film that illustrate this claim? Can you identify other examples from your experience or in your community?
- Many global feminist networks developed in the context of U.N. conferences. What were some of the advantages of gathering in this arena and how might it happen today in international or regional arenas in or outside the U.N.?
- What are some of the opportunities that network organizing offers today locally and nationally as well as globally? What are some of the difficulties networks encounter? How is this affected by electronic communications?
- What principles might help networks work better across diverse lines of class, race, culture and sexualities?
- **Group activity:** In the film, Roxanna Carrillo says, in reference to the Latin American feminist Encuentros: "It was one of those magical moments in the history of the women's movement in Latin America where people from all different countries came together to discuss what it meant to be a feminist." In small groups, discuss what it means to be a feminist today in your community. Have you experienced special moments of feminist solidarity? Describe and discuss?

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Chapter 4: Center for Women's Global Leadership

The Center for Women's Global Leadership (CWGL) was founded in 1989 by Charlotte Bunch as a project of Douglass College at Rutgers University. CWGL has fostered women's leadership in the area of human rights through women's global leadership institutes, strategic planning activities, international mobilization campaigns, U.N. monitoring, global education endeavors, publications, and the establishment of a resource center and archives on the global women's movement. CWGL's current programmatic areas are: the promotion of women's leadership, the advancement of feminist perspectives in economic and social rights, and the elimination of violence against women in local, national, and international arenas (source: cwgl.rutgers.edu).

This chapter focuses on some of the Center's activities depicted in the film – including the women's global leadership institutes, the 16 Days of Activism against Gender Violence campaign, and the organization of tribunals for women's human rights. Also included is information about the Institute for Women's leadership at Rutgers University, a consortium of which CWGL is a part.

Leadership Institutes at CWGL

This program that Charlotte has put together to bring together women from all over the world, we can do this in Africa. We can create a leadership training institute for young feminists. And that is how the African Women's Leadership Institute was born... Eleven years after the launch of the African Women's Leadership Institute it has helped train over 5,000 women across the continent and many of them are

running feminist institutions of their own. And I like to think that it's not just the work of myself and other African feminists, it's part of Charlotte's legacy.

– Bisi Adeleye-Fayemi, from the film

From 1991 to 2002, the Center organized annual Women's Global Leadership Institutes (WGLIs), which helped to build a core of women leaders around the world who worked to advance women's human rights activities and networking globally. About twenty-four women, representing diverse regions, cultures, and interests, participated in these intensive two-week sessions held at Rutgers University. The Institutes helped participants become more effective women's human rights leaders in policy and practice, in their own countries and globally. The WGLIs were directed to an emerging leadership core around the world and proved to be popular, resulting in ten applicants for each available space. During the sessions, participants analyzed human rights from a feminist perspective, developed local and global strategies for advancing women's rights, attended workshops on different aspects of leadership skills as well as on U.N. structures and operation, and engaged in other forms of human rights education. They also met and exchanged ideas with New York based resource people as well as CWGL staff on fundraising, organizational development and strategic planning, and understanding and dealing with diversity (source: cwgl.rutgers.edu).

Leadership Institutes

- Women, Violence and Human Rights, 1991 (<http://cwgl.rutgers.edu/globalcenter/publications/report91.pdf>)
- Women, Violence and Human Rights, 1992 (http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/component/docman/doc_view/172-womenviolenceandhumanrightspdf)
- The Indivisibility of Women's Human

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Rights: A Continuing Dialogue, (1994
<http://cwgl.rutgers.edu/globalcenter/publications/indivis.html>)

- Bringing Women's Human Rights Home: International Strategies for Change, 1996
- Women's Human Rights: Realizing Our Visions, 1997
- Building a Culture of Human Rights, 1998
- Challenges of the New Millennium, 1999
- Women's Leadership in a Globalizing World, 2001
- Realizing the Vision of Women's Human Rights: Understanding the Intersection of Racism, Sexism, and Other Oppressions, 2002 (<http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/component/content/article/155-vaw/302-women-at-the-intersection-indivisible-rights-identities-and-oppressions>)

Regional Institutes

- Feminism in the Muslim World Leadership Institutes. Co-organized with Women Living Under Muslim Laws International Solidarity Network (WLUMI), Istanbul, 1998, Lagos, 1999. (<http://www.wluml.org/sites/wluml.org/files/import/english/pubs/pdf/misc/fmw-institute-eng.pdf>)

Central and Eastern European Regional Women's Leadership Institute. Co-organized with the National Women's Information Center of Poland (OSKa) and the Center for Russian, Central and Eastern European Studies of Rutgers University, Warsaw, 2002. CWGL also assisted in the development of other women's leadership institutes around the world. The best known of these is the African Women's Leadership Institute, sponsored by Akina Mama wa Afrika (AMWA) began its residential leadership trainings after four of the African participants in the WGLIs chose to organize their own version of the Institutes adapted to the needs of the region. The African institutes, which are both regional

and national, base their programs on the transfer of knowledge on an intergenerational level and on applying a gender analysis to various challenges faced in the region. Leadership skills are taught to strengthen the work of the participants and to encourage them to promote an African women's development agenda.

The 16 Days of Activism Against Gender Violence Campaign

Twenty-five women from around the world met in 1991 and were asking: "How can we make the world understand that violence against women is a human rights abuse? How can we link Human Rights Day to November 25th, the International Day Against Violence Against Women?" And so someone in the group said: "Well, why don't we call for sixteen days of activism?"

– Charlotte Bunch, from the film

The "16 Days of Activism Against Gender Violence" campaign was born in 1991 out of the first Women's Global Leadership Institute



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at CWGL. The activities of the campaign begin each year on November 25, International Day Against Violence Against Women. This day was proclaimed in 1981 by the first Feminist Encuentro for Latin America and the Caribbean in Bogotá, Colombia to commemorate the murder of the Mirabal sisters for their opposition to the Trujillo dictatorship on that date in 1960 in the Dominican Republic. (See the 16 Days web site for more information on this date and others included in the 16 Days – such as World AIDS Day, December 1). The 16 Days conclude on December 10, International Human Rights Day, which marks the anniversary of the adoption of the International Declaration of Human Rights by the U.N. in 1948. Since 1991, more than 3,500 organizations in approximately 164 countries have participated in the campaign. The campaign literature is translated into at least 25-30 languages each year; governments and U.N. agencies often participate and initiate activities each year along with civil society groups.

A great variety of events mark the campaign each year – including protests, rallies, marches, art exhibitions, political lobbying, theater performances, vigils, roundtable discussions, film screenings, fundraisers, letter writing, workshops, support groups, street theater, trainings in schools, media campaigns, petition signing, and even some reports by governments to civil society on what they are doing to end violence. Every year the theme of the campaign

is chosen in consultation with women's rights advocates around the world. Among the themes have been: "Violence Against Women Violates Human Rights" (1991/1992); "Vienna, Cairo, Copenhagen and Beijing: Bringing Women's Human Rights Home" (1995); "Racism and Sexism: No More Violence" (2001); "For the Health of Women, for the Health of the World: NO MORE VIOLENCE" (2004/2005), and "From Peace in the Home to Peace in the World: Let's Challenge Militarism and End Violence Against Women!" (2011/2012).

The Global Campaign for Women's Human Rights and the Vienna Tribunal

These women are holding back a silent scream, a silent anger that is so strong that if it was let out it would shatter this earth.

– Dr. Nahid Toubia, from the film

In 1993, the United Nations held its second World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, Austria. Member states of the U.N. came together to reaffirm their commitment to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other UN Human Rights treaties as well as to look forward to shaping the future of human rights at the end of the Cold War. The conference was intended to appraise the current status of human rights worldwide and to recommend better mechanisms to achieve universal human rights. In preparation for the Vienna conference, CWGL, along with a

Get Involved in the 16 Days!

You can take part in the 16 days as a participating organization and campaign partner by submitting your planned activities to the International Calendar of Campaign Activities administered by CWGL.

You can also join or attend an already existing student, community, national, or international initiative for the 16 Days or take actions on your own. For ideas about how to plan activities, see the "Guide for Planning Your Campaign" in the Take Action Kit (*available at:* <http://16dayscwgl.rutgers.edu/2012-campaign/2012-take-action-kit>)

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number of other partner organizations, launched a global campaign for women's human rights. A key component of the campaign was a petition demanding the inclusion of women – and violence against women in particular – on the human rights agenda. Pre-internet, the petition circulated around the world by hand and by mail in twenty-five languages, informing women about the conference and how to become involved in it, as well as raising awareness of the issue of women's rights as human rights. This petition – which garnered half a million signatures from 124 countries, including thumb prints from illiterate women – was presented to the U.N. in Vienna, and, with another million signatures again later in Beijing at the World Women's Conference in 1995, as seen in the film. The campaign also lobbied to include text about women in the U.N. document and to ensure that thousands of women from around the world would attend the Vienna conference and give evidence to the international community on gender-based violations of women's human rights, as well as urge governments to take action to end this violence.

"The Vienna Tribunal: Women's Rights Are Human Rights," which the Center for Women's Global Leadership organized in collaboration with many partners in 1993, was a key element in that strategy. It provided a global forum in which to demonstrate that violations of women did indeed constitute a human rights violation and to show the failure of existing mechanisms to promote and protect the human rights of women (source: cwgl.rutgers.edu).

At the Tribunal, thirty-three women from around the world gave personal testimonials about gender-based violations of human rights, illustrating the abuses suffered by millions of women who could not be there. Four distinguished judges, invited by the organizing committee, presided over the Tribunal and assessed accountability for the human rights abuses that the women described. The judges also delineated the human rights principles and agreements that had been violated, and

they made concrete suggestions about how to redress those violations. They worked in consultation with an advisory committee of women lawyers from different regions of the world, and their landmark recommendations were presented to the conference delegates (Bunch and Reilly, 1994).

After Vienna, there was no going back on the recognition that violations of women's rights are violations of human rights in the global community. Women's efforts resulted in a sea change of understanding in the human rights community internationally and therefore were a significant advancement for women's human rights (source: cwgl.rutgers.edu) that included:

- Major coverage by global media – TV, radio, and print – casting a worldwide spotlight on violations of women as issues of human rights.
- Sensitization to the issues surrounding women's human rights amongst key decision-makers from the 171 member states participating in the conference.
- Recognition within the Vienna Program of Action that violence against women is a violation of human rights.
- Adoption by the U.N. of a Declaration on Violence Against Women (<http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/48/a48r104.htm>) six months later.
- The appointment of a Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, its causes and consequences, by the U.N. Human Rights Commission in 1994 – a position that issues annual reports on this issue to this day. (See facts, reports, and individual complaints written by the rapporteur at: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Women/SRWomen/Pages/SRWomenIndex.aspx>).
- A sense of empowerment among the women involved that we can work together and influence the global agenda.

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Other Tribunals on Women's Human Rights

Popular (or peoples') tribunals and hearings first emerged in the 1960s and have been a strategy used increasingly by marginalized groups to bring attention to neglected issues and even to announce a people's sense of justice for crimes not prosecuted by governments. Countless women's tribunals, courts and hearings at formal events like U.N. Conferences, as well as in more grass roots arenas, have brought attention to critical human rights issues at local, regional, national, and global levels (Reilly and Posluszny, 2005). A video based on women's organizing at Vienna entitled: *The Vienna Tribunal: Women's Rights Are Human Rights* is available from CWGL. Some other tribunals and courts that have been used as a strategy to advance women's rights include the following:

- International Tribunal on Crimes against Women (Brussels, 1976)
- The Beijing Tribunal on Accountability for Women's Human Rights (Beijing, 1995) (<http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/coliation-building/313-without-reservation-the-beijing-tribunal-on-accountability-for-womens-human-rights>)
- Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery (Tokyo, 2000)
- Courts of Women (35 courts organized over the past two decades by el Taller International in partnership with organizations from around the world. <http://www.eltaller.in/>)
- International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women of Burma (New York, 2010) (<http://www.nobelwomensinitiative.org/wp-content/archive/stories/burma.pdf>)
- Women's Tribunal on Gender and Climate Justice (a series of fifteen tribunals and hearings in Africa, Asia, and

Latin America, 2011 (<http://whiteband.org/en/women-climate-hearings>)

Institute for Women's Leadership and Women's and Gender Studies at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

In 1987, I got invited to go to Rutgers for two years to help them make the Women's Studies curriculum more global... When they first came to me with the idea of being at Rutgers, I was worried that I would feel trapped in this academic environment, not as fully an activist as I had been. And I was in therapy at the time and I remember saying this to my therapist, and she said: "Why don't you think about it as a base of power for your work?"

– Charlotte Bunch, from the film

Establishing the Center for Women's Global Leadership was possible at Rutgers because it has a thriving women's studies program, other women's centers and institutes, and until recently had a women's college (Douglass) within the university. Today CWGL is part of the Institute for Women's Leadership (IWL) – a consortium of eight units at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey – the most comprehensive set of university resources in the nation dedicated to



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issues of women's scholarship and leadership. Other units in the consortium include: Douglass Residential College, the Department of Women's and Gender Studies, the Center for American Women and Politics, the Institute for Research on Women, the Center for Women and Work, the Institute for Women and Art, the Office for the Promotion of Women in Science, Engineering, and Mathematics, and the Center on Violence Against Women and Children.

CWGL works closely with the Department of Women's and Gender Studies, contributing to the curriculum and training students who take part in the program. Since its first course offerings in 1969, the Department of Women's and Gender Studies, School of Arts and Sciences, has become one of the strongest programs in the United States, offering courses every year to more than two thousand students. The department offers

an undergraduate minor and major and an MA and PhD program. Committed to research and teaching that explores the complex intersections of gender, race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, and national identity, the faculty offer courses that focus on the study of women, gender, and sexuality in Africa, Eastern and Central Europe, East Asia, South Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America, as well as the United States and the European Union (source: iwl.rutgers.edu).

Charlotte was the Founder and Executive Director of CWGL for twenty years. In 2009, she stepped down as director and is currently a Senior Scholar at CWGL, working on special projects, and a distinguished professor in the Department of Women's and Gender Studies. Since the fall of 2009, Radhika Balakrisnan has served as the Executive Director of CWGL.

Questions for discussion:

Group Activity:

If you were to take part in the 16 Days Campaign, what kind of activities would you organize on campus, in your community, or in your city? Please consider the following:

- Which aspect(s) of violence would you address?
- What activity would you conduct to address this issue?
- What are the concrete results you expect to obtain from the planned activity?
- How would you spread the word about your activity?
- For more ideas, consult "A Guide to Planning Your Campaign," available in the Take Action Kit (see <http://16dayscwgl.rutgers.edu/>).

Group Activity:

- In this chapter, there is a list of tribunals held on women's rights issues. Research the background, goals, and activities of some of these events, or others, and reflect on their particular goals and approach. After presenting your findings to one another, please identify the commonalities among the diverse situations and strategies and what you found most useful.
- What kinds of tribunals or hearings might be convened to advance the cause of women's rights as human rights in your area?

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Chapter 5: Women's Rights Are Human Rights

How can you build a country, how can you speak of democracy, when women and children are suffering from violence and hunger? Human rights are this: defending a dignified life for all women and the community. To lift up a woman is also lifting up the country.

– Rosa Dueñas, from the film



Putting it into the human rights perspective makes this difference, that when you have a document that says violence against women is a terrible thing and we should do something about it; it's not quite the same as saying violence against women is a violation of international human rights and states have an obligation to take measures to make the perpetrators of violence accountable and to bring to bear positive measures to eliminate violence.

– Rhonda Copelon, from the film

Women's Human Rights as Idea and Movement

One of Charlotte's most important contributions has been the development of the concepts and strategies needed to move women's rights as human rights from idea to reality. As Bunch and Frost explain, this innovative approach was developed primarily in the 1980s and 1990s through the efforts of the global women's movement:

The term "women's human rights" and the set of practices that accompanies it are the continually evolving product of an international movement to improve the status of women. In the 1980s and 1990s, feminist movements around the world formed networks and coalitions to give greater visibility both to the problems that women face every day and to the centrality of women's experiences in economic, social, political, and environmental issues.

The concept of "women's rights as human rights" owes its success and its widespread use to the fact that it is both simple and revolutionary. Simple, because the idea that women's rights are human rights makes common sense. It declares that as human beings women have human rights. No one would argue that women are not human. So in many ways the claim that women's rights are human rights seems mundane and obvious. At the same time, "women's human rights" is a revolutionary notion. Incorporating women's perspectives into human rights standards and practice casts a glaring light on the failure of countries worldwide to accord women the human dignity and respect that they deserve simply as human beings. A woman's human rights framework gives women a way to define, analyze, and articulate their experiences of violence, degradation, and marginality. Finally, and very importantly, the idea of women's human rights provides a common framework for developing a vast array of visions and concrete strategies for change.

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When people use the human rights framework, they bring clarifying analyses and powerful tools to bear on women's experiences. This strategy has been pivotal in efforts to draw attention to human rights that are specific to women and that heretofore have been seen as women's rights but not recognized as "human rights". Take, for example, the issue of violence against women. The Universal Declaration states: "No one shall be subject to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment." This formulation provides a vocabulary for women to define and articulate experiences of violence – such as rape, sexual terrorism, and domestic violence – as violations of the human right not to be subject to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment. Recognizing these violations as human rights abuses raises the level of expectation about what can and should be done about them. Defining violence against women in terms of human rights establishes unequivocally that states are responsible for such abuse. It also raises questions about how to hold governments accountable for their indifference and about how best to expedite the process of redress.

The large body of international covenants, agreements, and commitments about human rights gives women political leverage and a tenable point of reference. Similarly, the idea of women's rights as human rights enables women to define and articulate the specificity of the experiences in their lives at the same time that it provides a vocabulary for women to share the experiences of other women around the world and work collaboratively for change (adapted from Bunch and Frost, 2000).

As described in Chapter 4, Charlotte and the Center for Women's Global Leadership played a key role in the development of the Global Campaign for Women's Human Rights that emerged around the Vienna Human Rights Conference to advance the idea of women's rights as human rights. Based on the recognition of women's rights in Vienna, the

campaign went on to influence the adoption of a human rights framework for women's rights at the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo. At the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, Hillary Clinton gave this idea greater global visibility. The campaign turned into a major strategy of the feminist movement that has also been taken up by many human rights organizations. This strategy elaborates the gender-specific ways that women's rights are violated and suggests how these violations can be remedied. As a result of this initiative, women's human rights have been recognized in a wide range of areas, from health and political participation to the socio-economic rights of women.

Many activities and approaches to women's human rights have developed over the past two decades as these ideas have been mainstreamed, and it is impossible to cover them all here. One key focus, as seen in the film and discussed in Chapter 4, is on violence against women; it includes the 16 Days of Activism Against Gender Violence campaign, as well as many other strategies like the holding of hearings and tribunals to expose these abuses. Other areas of work shown in the film and discussed in this chapter include monitoring government compliance with U.N. human rights conventions, recognizing and supporting "women human rights defenders," and applying these ideas to the field of sexual rights.

U.N. and Regional Human Rights Conventions

Understanding women's rights as human rights has helped to expand the ways that advocates can utilize U.N. and regional conventions and has led to the creation of new legal tools to seek



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government action on conditions that deny women's rights in every sphere. Such work is being done in relation to many human rights treaties and bodies, such as the U.N. Human Rights Council Periodic Review of governments compliance with human rights, as efforts are expanded to bring women and gender into all aspects of human rights activity.

The basic international instrument created specifically to address women's rights directly is the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, commonly called CEDAW, which was adopted in 1979 by the U.N. General Assembly. Its thirty articles set up an agenda to end discrimination, which the Convention defines as "...any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field."

More than 185 governments have ratified the CEDAW Convention, leaving the U.S. and Iran among a small handful that have not. Governments who have ratified the convention must submit periodic reports to the group of experts – known as the CEDAW Treaty Committee – set up by the U.N. to monitor implementation of it. One form of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) activism aimed at

putting pressure on governments to meet their commitments is to submit alternative reports, which bring to the attention of the committee issues and information that might not be part of official governmental reports. These NGO "shadow reports" are essential for presenting other information that the governments do not submit. Examples of shadow reports to the CEDAW Committee may be found at: <http://www.unwomen-eseasia.org/projects/Cedaw/shadowreports.html>

A few new regional legal instruments that directly address women's rights have been adopted through the efforts of women over the past two decades. For example, the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence Against Women – "Convention of Belem Do Para" – addresses violence against women across the Americas and provides legal redress for women in the region. <http://www.cidh.org/Basicos/English/basic13.Conv%20of%20Belem%20Do%20Para.htm>



Women's groups in Africa worked for almost a decade with governments to get the African Union to adopt the "Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa." This provides women in the region with a legal tool to challenge their governments in national courts when such rights are violated. <http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/Documents/Treaties/Text/Protocol%20on%20the%20Rights%20of%20Women.pdf>

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Women Human Rights Defenders

Since the 1990s, women have faced more backlash against their activism for human rights, and there is growing recognition of the need to find better ways to defend such activists. In 2005, as an outgrowth of the campaign for women's human rights, an international coalition of women's and human rights organizations met to work on this urgent problem and sponsored an International Consultation on Women Human Rights Defenders in Sri Lanka. The Consultation sparked a number of projects on this theme and led to the creation of the Women Human Rights Defenders International Coalition (see box).

"Women human rights defenders" is a concept that includes women who are active on different fronts, bringing attention to human rights violations around the world – whether that work is about women's rights or on other issues – as well as women and men who work for sexual rights. Whether working on environmental issues or in the battles for worker's rights or sexual and reproductive rights, women activists often face specific gendered attacks and negative consequences for their work. An international strategic conversation on this issue held by the coalition at CWGL in 2009 reported on this situation:

Women human rights defenders experience shared risks and vulnerabilities with their male counterparts. However, as women, they are also at risk and vulnerable to specific abuses because of their gender and/or gendered forms of abuse – including, but not limited to, sexual abuse; attacks and intimidation of family members; and sexuality-baiting or the manipulative use of sexuality to delegitimize political organizing. Women human rights defenders are also prone to abuse from non-state actors: actions that are seldom regarded as human rights violations. Violations from partners, husbands, and/or male colleagues, attacks

Women Human Rights Defenders International Coalition

The WHRD IC is a resource and advocacy network for the protection and support of women human rights defenders worldwide. An international initiative created out of the international campaign on women human rights defenders launched in 2005, the Coalition calls for the recognition of women human rights defenders. It asserts that those advocating for women's human rights – regardless of the gender or sexual orientation they claim – are in fact human rights defenders. Their gender or the nature of their work has made them the subject of attacks, requiring gender-sensitive mechanisms for their protection and support. The Coalition involves women activists as well as men who defend women's rights and lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, and transgender (LGBT) defenders, as well as groups committed to the advancement of women's human rights and sexual rights. The Coalition is currently composed of twenty-five members.

The Coalition conducts the following activities:

- Producing documentation manuals
- Monitoring mechanisms for urgent appeals
- Public education and policy advocacy
- Global reporting on women human rights defenders
- Advocacy on "sustaining activism" with donors

For more information on the current work of the coalition, see,
Source: <http://www.defendingwomen-defendingrights.org/about.php>

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by paramilitary units, fundamentalist forces, and other non-state actors abound with impunity because there are no adequate ways to hold them directly accountable for human rights violations. In addition, women human rights defenders face heightened risks and vulnerabilities because their work on women-specific rights and issues is perceived as an affront to cultural or religious traditions. Such efforts can result in high levels of hostility and associated abuses (Rotramel and DasGupta. 2011).

Sexual Rights and LGBT Issues on the Global Human Rights Agenda

The amount of time and anxiety that Roxanna and I've had in our lives, worrying and trying to figure out what we are going to have to do to be sure we can be together and simply be in the same country. We wouldn't have that if we had equality for lesbian and gay rights.

– Charlotte Bunch, from the film



Zoliswa Nkonyana
1987 – 2006

Zoliswa was killed in 2006. A young lesbian woman who was murdered on the way home from a social evening out with her partner. She was stoned and bashed to death by a mob of twenty young men. What's horrible is that they knew most of these young men.

– Marlow Valentine, from the film

“Sexual rights” is a concept that has been evolving as part of human rights for several decades. It has been advanced both in relation to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Issues (LGBT) and linked to women’s reproductive rights struggle to control their bodies, including the right not to be violated by gender-based



violence. Sexual rights became more explicitly linked to reproductive rights in the global U.N. discourse through the 1994 Cairo International Conference on Population and Development. This conference redefined the international community’s approach to population from one of family planning to focus more on women’s rights and sexuality. As the feminist scholar Rosalind Petchesky (2003) has noted, women’s groups had been strategizing for a few years before Cairo, to establish frameworks and strategies that linked reproductive and sexual health issues to both human rights and development. Yet, sexual and reproductive rights have remained controversial in U.N. documents and negotiations ever since, even though a comprehensive framework of sexual rights has been gaining more acceptance in many quarters.

“Sexual rights” means that all individuals have the right to control what happens to their bodies, including their sexuality. As the social justice advocates Stefano Fabeni and Susana T. Fried (2008) have explained, sexual rights “commonly include the right of an individual to choose and express his or her sexual identity

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free from discrimination, coercion, or violence; the right to sexual health information and services; the right to experience a safe and satisfying sex life – including the ability to choose one's sexual partner – as well as the right to express sexuality outside the context of reproduction. Sexual rights also include the right not to be punished arbitrarily or imprisoned because of discriminatory laws or prejudices about sexuality, as well as the right to the full development of human persons and to sexual citizenship."

Over the last two decades, there has been growing documentation of sexual rights abuses such as the murder, torture, and arbitrary detention of LGBT people like Zoliswa for their sexuality. This has led to several resolutions in the U.N. explicitly denouncing violations based on sexual orientation and gender identity

The Yogyakarta Principles

In 2006, in response to well-documented patterns of abuse based on sexual orientation and gender identity, a distinguished group of international human rights experts met in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, to outline a set of international principles relating such violations to core principles of human rights. The experts were considering growing documentation of killings and abuses such as the brutal murder of Zoliswa, which appears in the film. Zoliswa was a young South African woman who was killed by her comrades, because she was a lesbian.

The group of experts elaborated the Yogyakarta Principles, a universal guide to human rights principles in this area that links such abuse to binding international legal standards with which all states must comply. http://www.yogyakartaprinciples.org/principles_en.htm

(SOGI) and growing acceptance of LGBT rights, especially through the U.N. Human Rights system based in Geneva.

Multigenerational Issues and Young Women

"I sometimes get very angry with feminists of my generation who act like the younger women aren't doing enough or don't care. I don't agree with them at all. I think the younger women are very engaged and they're facing a different set of struggles."

– **Charlotte Bunch**, from the film

In 2007, twenty-six feminists from sixteen countries met at Rutgers University for a dialogue on multigenerational feminisms, organized by CWGL with CREA and the Youth Coalition. The meeting addressed the challenge of broadening and renewing feminist movements by examining the obstacles and opportunities for collaboration across generations. Participants of different ages recognized that they had "joined" the women's movement at different moments and that the face of transnational feminist movements had changed and poses fresh challenges to newer generations. Participants observed that perceptions and stereotypes about a specific generation – as well as other stereotypes about gender, race, and sexual orientation – could hamper work across generations. As the report of the meeting notes, while differences always exist it "is important not to lose sight of unequal power relations; ... [and] also important to examine the ways in which we all have power and agency."

The dialogue emphasized the importance of fostering multigenerational spaces, where feminists of different generations can work together. One of the recommendations was for feminists of different generations to

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communicate their own histories. Participants also thought that it was important to bring new people into organizations through such strategies as establishing board quotas, rotating decision-making positions, and increasing transparency. Notably, the participants challenged the traditional structure of mentor/mentee relationships, pointing out that

feminist peers may learn from each other, regardless of generational differences. Finally, according to the report, participants proposed that “organizations should create enabling environments in which newer actors can take initiative and older actors can re-invent themselves” (CREA, 2007).

Get Involved!

Many women’s rights organizations are setting up specific programs dedicated to developing and supporting young women’s leadership. Here are some programs open to young women from around the world:

DAWN Training Institute:

<http://www.dawnnet.org/training-institutes.php>

CREA Institutes:

<http://web.creaworld.org/home.asp>

AWID- Young Feminist Wire:

<http://yfa.awid.org/about-us/yfa/>

For additional information on local or regional programs, please visit:

<http://yfa.awid.org/directories/young-womens-programs/>

Questions for discussion:

- In your opinion and experience, do women of different ages face different challenges? If yes, what issues do they face in your community? What examples do you have of good and bad communication across generations of activists?
- What sexual rights issues appear in the film? How do these relate to the definition of sexual rights in this chapter and to issues of women human rights defenders?

Group Activities:

Activity 1

In small groups read CEDAW and identify moments in the film when there is a rights violation that is protected by the convention. Discuss how the situation is handled in the film and the strategies that are used to challenge these forms of discrimination. Would you do something different in such a situation?

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Activity 2

This activity is adapted from “Local Action/Global Change: A Handbook on Women’s Human Rights” (2008), by Julie A. Mertus and Nancy Flowers. (# 6, p. 19).

Objective: To relate personal experience to human rights concepts and articles of the UDHR and/or CEDAW.

1. Remember

After gathering participants into small groups, ask each woman to remember a time in her life when she asserted her human rights or stood up for herself as a person entitled to dignity and fairness. Have her tell her story to the group, taking about five minutes each.

2. Analyze

After everyone has told her story, the small group should take up each story and analyze the conditions that made each woman’s act of assertion possible.

Chose someone in the group to act as recorder to write down the responses to these questions:

- Who or what helped me stand up for myself?
- What was the driving motive?
- What were the sources of strength?
- What conditions are necessary for women to recognize their needs and stand up for themselves?

For example, some women find self-determination is possible only with social and economic conditions that allow them to say “yes” to their needs. (e.g., “I couldn’t tell him ‘no’ until I could afford to have my own place to live”). For some, the support of other women is crucial (e.g., “I knew my mother was behind me all the way”).

3. Plan/Retell

Each small group presents one story told in that group. While the stories are being told or reenacted, the facilitator represents each graphically as a wheel with spokes. On the spokes themselves are written acts of assertion (e.g., “demanding equal pay,” “challenging harassment”). The spaces between the spokes are taken up with “supports” that helped enable the woman or girl to stand up for herself (e.g., “self-worth,” “mother,” “colleague”).

4. Analyze/Connect

After the stories have been shared, the group examines the “spokes” and “supports” on this wheel and derives from them the basic human rights or needs that the stories represent (e.g., “Education,” “Economic Equality,” “Freedom from Violence”). These rights or needs are written on the rim of the wheel.

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Appendix A: Two Historic Videos Included on DVD

World Feminism: Are You Listening? (1980)

World Feminism is a video about the meanings of feminism and its related struggles around the globe. The dialogue is led by Martha Stuart, with feminist leaders from twelve different countries – including Peggy Antrobus, Charlotte Bunch, Adrienne Germaine, Rounaq Jahan, Carmen Lugo, Elizabeth Reid, and Anne Walker. Women reflect on the various forms of oppression in their societies. They articulate the ways in which feminism has the potential of transforming the structures of inequalities and comment on some of the strategies they have mobilized in their regions and across borders. They highlight the importance of feminist solidarity around the world. The film was made to provoke discussion at the NGO Forum held concurrently with the 1980 United Nations World Conference on Women, in Copenhagen, where it was shown daily. (Produced by Martha Stuart Communications: www.c4c.org)

Feminist Visions: Global Change (1983)

In this recently rediscovered historic cable TV pilot Charlotte Bunch and Achebe (Betty) Powell interview U.S. feminist theorist-activists Cherrie Moraga and Barbara Smith, as well as Fany Dontoh Russell of Ghana. The women discuss feminism as an ideology that has the potential to offer real solutions to how society can best organize itself to reach our fullest potential as human beings. The episode was produced shortly after the publication of *This Bridge Called My Back* (1983) and the second United Nations World Conference on Women in Copenhagen (1980). The pilot highlights ways in which feminism can offer a powerful analysis and practice against sexism, racism, classism, and imperialism.

To order the film go to:
passionatepoliticsfilm.com

Appendix B: Biographies of Key Activists in the Film

Achebe Betty Powell is an activist and educator in diversity and anti-racism training. She is the founder and Director of Betty Powell Associates. She was a key player in the Gay Academic Union, the National Gay Task Force, Salsa Soul Sisters, and the Astraea Foundation. <http://www.culturalbridgestojustice.org/about-us/trainers/#2>

Alejandra Sarda is an Argentinean feminist, sexual rights and social rights activist. She has been an advocate in both radical lesbian groups and the U.N. corridors for more than twenty years. She currently works for Mama Cash and lives in Amsterdam. <http://www.mamacash.org/page.php?id=2412>

Audre Lorde described herself as a black feminist lesbian mother poet. Lorde was also an important theorist, well known for challenging racism in the U.S. She published numerous essays and books, including *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*. She died in 1992 after struggling with breast cancer. <http://www.poets.org/poet.php/prmPID/306>

Bisi Adeleye-Fayemi was the executive director and co-founder of the African Women's Development Fund. Previously, she was the Executive Director of Akina Mama wa Afrika (AMwA), where she founded the African Women's Leadership Institute based in Uganda. <http://www.changemakers.com/users/bisi-adeleye-fayemi>

Charlotte Bunch, the Founding Director and Senior Scholar of the Center for Women's Global Leadership, Rutgers University, has been an activist, writer, and organizer in the feminist and human rights movements for more than four decades. See the Introduction to this Guide or <http://www.rci.rutgers.edu/~cwgl/globalcenter/staff.html>

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Joan E. Biren (or JEB) is a photographer and a documentary filmmaker, whose work has largely focused on LGBT communities in the U.S. Her books are: *Eye to Eye: Portraits of Lesbians* (1979) and *Making a Way: Lesbians Out Front* (1987), and her documentary films include *No Secret Anymore: The Times of Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon* (2003). http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joan_E._Biren

Lesley Ann Foster is the executive director and founder of Masimanyame Women's Center in South Africa. The Center supports women and girl survivors of domestic and sexual violence. She is also President of Amanitare – an African based network for sexual rights. She was one of the one thousand women proposed for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2005. <http://www.word.world-citizenship.org/wp-archive/1538>

Nahid Toubia, the first woman surgeon in Sudan, was the founder and President of RAINBO (Research Action and Information Network for the Bodily Integrity of Women) as well as a co-founder of Amanitare, an African Sexual Rights Network. <http://www.learningpartnership.org/node/1780>

Peggy Antrobus, a long-time Caribbean and global feminist activist and scholar, was a founding member and the former general coordinator of Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN). She is the author of *The Global Women's Movement: Origins, Issues, and Strategies for a New Century* (2004). <http://www.learningpartnership.org/node/1768>

Phumi Mtetma, an activist since the 1980s, participated in the South African freedom struggle and later focused on LGBTIQ activism in South Africa. She was International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) co-secretary general from 1999 to 2001 and the director of the Lesbian and Gay Equality Project until 2011. <http://www.fahamu.org/activist-in-residence>

Rhonda Copelon, a long-time U.S. and global human rights lawyer and activist directed the International Women's Human Rights Clinic at CUNY School of Law. She also co-founded the Women's Caucus for the International Criminal Court and played a key role in the codification of sexual and gender crimes as part of its jurisdiction. Copelon died in 2010 from ovarian cancer. <http://jwa.org/weremember/copelon-rhonda>

Rosa Dueñas is a human rights activist on women, indigenous, and economic rights. She founded the first shelter for women suffering domestic and sexual violence in Peru in 1982. She is at the forefront of RECARE (Red Nacional de Casas de Refugio – National Network of Shelter) activities today, a network of women's shelters in Peru. http://www.recare.pe/?page_id=90

Roxanna Carrillo, a Peruvian feminist who pioneered the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)'s work on human rights and violence against women, retired from the U.N. in 2011. She was a co-founder of *Centro de la Mujer Peruana Flora Tristan*, one of the first non-governmental feminist organizations in Peru. <http://www.alainet.org/publica/femlead/en/presenters.html>

Sunila Abeysekera is the coordinator of the Women's Human Rights Defenders International Coalition and previous executive director of INFORM, a human rights documentation center based in Sri Lanka. U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan presented Abeysekera with a U.N. human rights award in 1998. http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunila_Abeysekera

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The Triangle Project in South Africa:

Asanda Fanti was a fieldworker at the Triangle Project. <http://art.sy/artwork/zanele-muholi-asanda-fanti-stockholm-sweden-2011>

Marlow Valentine is the Deputy Director of the Triangle Project and manages training on LGBTI issues with specific target groups such as politicians and educators. <http://www.triangle.org.za/programme-areas/public-education-and-training-programme>

Vanessa Ludwig, an African womanist and activist, is Director of the Triangle Project in South Africa, an LGBTI support, services and advocacy organization, specializing in sexual health issues. http://fahamubooks.org/author/?fa=ShowAuthor&Person_ID=66

Appendix C: Timeline

- 1944** – Charlotte Bunch is born in North Carolina and moves to New Mexico.
- 1946** – The United Nations is founded and the UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) is established.
- 1948** – Adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the General Assembly of the United Nations.
- 1962** – Bunch graduates from Artesia NM High School and goes to college at Duke University in NC where she becomes active in the Methodist Student Movement.
- 1965** – Selma to Montgomery Civil Rights March.
- 1966** – Charlotte graduates from Duke University and moves to Washington D.C., where she serves as the national president of the University Christian Movement.
- 1967** – The Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women is adopted by the U.N. General Assembly.
- 1967** – Charlotte marries Jim Weeks.
- 1968** – Washington D.C. Women's Liberation Movement is founded.
- 1970** – Bunch travels to North Vietnam as part of a delegation from the Mobilization Committee to End the War.
- 1971** – The Furies Collective begins in Washington D.C.
- 1974** – The first issue of *Quest: A Feminist Quarterly* is published out of the Institute for Policy Studies in D.C., where Bunch is a fellow.
- 1975** – The U.N. designates 1975 as International Women's Year and holds the first U.N. World Conference on Women in Mexico City.
- 1976** – Establishment of INSTRAW – the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women – and UNIFEM – the United Nations Voluntary Fund for Women.
- 1977** – National Women's Conference for International Women's Year is held in Houston, and Bunch coordinates the Lesbian Caucus that gains recognition there.
- 1979** – CEDAW – the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women – is adopted by the U.N. General Assembly.
- 1979** – The First National March on Washington for Lesbian and Gay Rights.
- 1979** – Charlotte moves to New York City.
- 1980** – The Second U.N. World Conference on Women is held in Copenhagen, Denmark.
- 1981** – First Feminist Encuentro of Latin America and the Caribbean is held in Bogota, Colombia, and declares November 25 as

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International Day Against Violence Against Women.

1983 – Second Feminist Encuentro of Latin America and the Caribbean is held in Lima, Peru.

1985 – The Third World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women is held in Nairobi, Kenya.

1987 – *Passionate Politics: Feminist Theory in Action* is published.

1987 – Bunch takes two-year position at Rutgers University in New Brunswick NJ as the Laurie NJ Chair in Women's Studies.

1989 – The Center for Women's Global Leadership (CWGL) is founded at Rutgers University.

1991 – CWGL holds its first Women's Global Leadership Institute at Rutgers University.

1991 – The 16 Days of Activism against Gender Violence is launched globally with a petition to the UN World Conference on Human Rights to add women to the agenda.

1992 – At the Earth Summit and NGO Forum in Rio de Janeiro the Women's Caucus wins acknowledgment of women's critical role in sustaining the environment.

1993 – At the U.N. World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, women lobby and gain recognition of women's rights as human rights and of violence against women as a human rights abuse.

1993 – Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW) is adopted by the U.N. General Assembly on December 20.

1994 – International Conference on Population and Development held in Cairo agrees to the centrality of women's rights in discussions of population and development.

1994 – InterAmerican Convention on the Prevention, Punishment, and Eradication of Violence Against Women is adopted in Belem do Para, Brazil.

1995 – At the World Summit on Social Development held in Copenhagen women gain acknowledgment of the devastating impact of economic policies on women.

1995 – The Fourth U.N. World Conference on Women, Action for Equality, Development and Peace, is held in Beijing, China.

1996 – Bunch is inducted into the U.S. National Women's Hall of Fame.

1997 – African Women's Leadership Institute is launched by Akina Mama wa Africa in Uganda.

1998 – The Conference to establish an International Criminal Court in Rome codifies rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization, and sexual violence as war crimes and crimes against humanity.

1999 – President Bill Clinton selects Bunch as a recipient of the White House Eleanor Roosevelt Award for Human Rights.

2000 – United Nations Security Council adopts first women-specific Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security.

2000 – Tokyo Tribunal – Women's International War Crimes Tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery—finds Emperor Hirohito and the government of Japan guilty of "rape and sexual slavery as a crime against humanity" in the case of "comfort women" during World War II.

2001 – The World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance decries the intersectionality of oppressions that women face, including racism and sexism and all forms of discrimination.

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2003 – Election of seven women out of the eighteen judges for the International Criminal Court is an historic first for gender balance in any international justice body.

2003 – Adoption of Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa.

2005 – First International Consultation on Women Human Rights Defenders (WHRDs) is held in Colombo, Sri Lanka, and WHRD International Coalition emerges from it.

2006 – United Nations publishes a Secretary-General's Study on Violence Against Women, and Bunch serves as part of the international advisory group for it.

2009 – Charlotte steps down as Executive Director of CWGL after twenty years, and Radhika Balakrishnan takes up the position.

2010 – United Nations launches U.N. Women – an agency dedicated to gender equality and women's empowerment, which Bunch and other NGOs had worked to create for more than five years.

2011 – Charlotte Bunch and Roxanna Carrillo get married in the state of Connecticut.

2011 – Four men, among the nine arrested, are convicted of the murder of Zoliswa Nkonyana in Cape Town South Africa – after five years of trial postponements.¹

2011 – The film *Passionate Politics: The Life and Work of Charlotte Bunch* is released.

¹ "South Africa Lesbian Zoliswa Nkonyana's Killers Sentenced" *Huffington Post*, 02/1/2012. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/02/01/south-africa-zoliswa-nkonyana-lesbian-killed-sentencing_n_1247320.html

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To order the film go to: passionatepoliticsfilm.com

Useful Web Sites:

African Women's Development Fund
<http://www.awdf.org/our-work/about>

Association for Women's Rights in Development
<http://www.awid.org/>

Astraea Lesbian Foundation for Justice
<http://www.astraeafoundation.org>

Center for Women's Global Leadership
<http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/>

CLADEM
<http://www.cladem.org/>

CREA
<http://web.creaworld.org/>

Development Alternatives with Women
for a New Era
<http://www.dawnnet.org/>

Global Fund for Women
<http://www.globalfundforwomen.org/>

International Gay and Lesbian
Human Rights Commission
<http://www.iglhrc.org>

International Women's Health Coalition
<http://www.iwhc.org/>

Isis International
<http://www.isiswomen.org/>

Madre
<http://www.madre.org/>

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<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Pages/WelcomePage.aspx>

U.N. Special Rapporteur Reports on Violence
Against Women. To obtain UN Special
Rapporteur Reports follow the link:
[http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Women/
SRWomen/Pages/AnnualReports.aspx](http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Women/SRWomen/Pages/AnnualReports.aspx)

U.N. Women
<http://www.unwomen.org/>

Urgent Action Fund for Women's Rights
<http://www.urgentactionfund.org/>

Women Human Rights Defenders
International Coalition
<http://www.defendingwomen-defendingrights.org/>

Women in Black
<http://www.womeninblack.org/en/vigil>

Women Living Under Muslim Laws
<http://www.wluml.org/>

Women's Environment and
Development Organization
<http://www.wedo.org/>

Women's Learning Partnership for Rights,
Development, and Peace
<http://www.learningpartnership.org/>

Youth Coalition
<http://www.youthcoalition.org/html/index.php>



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